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# THE BAGANDA



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SEZIBWA WATERFALL, KYAGWE, UGANDA.

*[Frontispiece.]*





# THE BAGANDA

AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR NATIVE CUSTOMS  
AND BELIEFS

BY

THE REV. JOHN ROSCOE, HON. M.A. (Cantab.)  
*Formerly of the Church Missionary Society.*

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED  
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RICHARD CLAY AND SONS, LIMITED,  
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S

TO MY FRIEND,  
PROFESSOR J. G. FRAZER,  
WHOSE SYMPATHY, ENCOURAGEMENT,  
AND GUIDANCE IN MY  
ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES  
HAVE CONSTANTLY INSPIRED  
ME TO FRESH EFFORT.





## PREFACE

IN this work my aim has been to describe the social and religious life of the Baganda in the old days before their country, Uganda, came under the influence of Europe. Though several books on Uganda have appeared during the past few years, giving general accounts of the country and people, I have written the present work without any feeling of encroaching upon the field of earlier writers, as this volume is compiled from information which I have obtained at first hand from the natives themselves concerning their social customs and religious beliefs. I have therefore made no reference to other books on the subject. Having spent twenty-five years as a missionary in the heart of Africa in intimate relations with the natives, I have had greater opportunities for obtaining some knowledge of their mode of life and habits of thought, as well as for becoming intimately acquainted with their old religious ideas, than falls to the lot of most men. None of the Baganda who gave me information about their early institutions knew English, nor had they come into contact with Englishmen; their minds were uninfluenced by foreign ideas. My desire is to place the facts so collected in the hands of experts for scientific purposes, and I venture to think that Government officials, missionaries, and merchants, may also find the record useful in helping them to understand the religious and political questions of to-day, for the past customs and beliefs still, to some extent, influence the present life and thought of the Baganda.

For the interest I now take in anthropological questions and also for my more accurate knowledge of the science, I am indebted to my friend, Professor J. G. Frazer, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; it is impossible for me to repay the debt of gratitude I owe him for all the help and encouragement he has given me during the past eighteen years of my missionary life. He has added to his many past favours another token of friendship by reading the proofs of this work. My regret is that it is not more worthy of such an illustrious teacher. During the past eighteen years notes have been made and carefully checked as opportunity offered itself, though my life as a C.M.S. Missionary has been a busy one, and anthropological studies have had to be pursued as recreation after hours of teaching in the class-room were ended. The reader is referred to "A Handbook of Luganda," by G. L. Pilkington, B.A., and to "Elements of Uganda Grammar," by a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society in Uganda, published by the S.P.C.K., for information on the language.

When I first entered Uganda, Christianity was rapidly gaining ground, and for several years it was not possible to gather much trustworthy information owing to the difficulty, in the first instance, of learning the language, which had still to be reduced to writing, and afterwards of obtaining the confidence of the natives, which had to be gained before their religious secrets were divulged. Again, the old men who knew most about the former religious customs were not numerous, war and famine had killed most of them. I owe a debt of gratitude to my friend, Sir Apolo Kagwa, K.C.M.G., Prime Minister and Regent of Uganda, in whose house most of my information was collected. He spared no pains to bring old people whom I should otherwise have failed to see, and who would have refused to give information to an Englishman, had not Sir Apolo induced them to do so. Often Sir Apolo had men carried sixty and sometimes a hundred miles, and entertained them for several weeks at a time that I might have opportunities of seeing and questioning them, and writing out their accounts. Through Sir Apolo's kindness, too, I have been able to see priests and mediums

from most of the old temples, and the principal men from each clan, from whom I have been able to take notes of the customs which were peculiar to their clans, and to gain a better understanding of the general customs of all the clans. Again, medicine-men versed in the past customs have been brought to me and warned to speak the truth and hide nothing. In addition to this Sir Apolo himself has not only placed his large store of knowledge at my disposal, but has been ever ready to prosecute the most careful enquiry into any difficulty that arose in the path of investigation. It is sad to think that only one or two of the numerous men with whom I spent hours of happy work are alive, the others have passed away.

I have thought it advisable to end my account with the early years of Mutesa's reign, because he admitted Arab traders into Uganda and also received the first missionaries. Changes were introduced in quick succession during the later years of his life, especially in matters of land-tenure and methods of warfare even before religious questions came upon the native horizon.

The Prime Minister, Sir Apolo Kagwa, has made two plans for me, one of the old Capital, the other of the Royal Enclosure, which are given with explanatory notes by him, supplemented by notes from older people.

My sincere thanks are due to the Rev. G. A. Schneider, Librarian of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, who has spent much time in reading the manuscript and in making verbal corrections in it. I am indebted to Baron A. von Hügel for kindly permitting me to photograph objects of interest which are now in the Museum of Ethnology, Cambridge: to Dr. W. H. R. Rivers, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, for valuable advice in regard to relationship: to the Rev. E. Millar, C.M.S., Uganda, who kindly worked out the Anthropometric tables; and also to Dr. C. S. Myers, of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, for looking over the tables. I am deeply grateful to Professor W. Ridgeway and to Dr. A. C. Haddon for help and advice given during the years I have been collecting the information. For the photographs I am chiefly indebted to S. C. Tomkins, Esq., C.M.G., Chief Secretary

to the Uganda Protectorate, and to the Revs. R. H. Leakey and E. Millar and C. Hattersley, Esq., of the Church Missionary Society.

The spread of Christianity and modern progress in Uganda are left for other pens to describe; if what has been here written should assist men in some degree to understand the Baganda and to help them in their many difficult problems, the writer will feel that his hours of research have not been spent in vain.

J. ROSCOE.

CAMBRIDGE,  
*March*, 1911.

# CONTENTS

PREFACE . . . . . ix

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . . xvii

## CHAPTER I.

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE COUNTRY, LIFE AND CUSTOMS . pp. 1—45

The approach to Uganda, p. 1, political changes, p. 2, sources of information as to the past, p. 3, geographical situation of Uganda, p. 4 *sq.*, the climate and rainfall, p. 5 *sq.*, the people, physical types, social life, p. 6 *sq.*, class distinctions, p. 12 *sq.*, how slaves were obtained, p. 14, peasant life, p. 15 *sq.*, travelling, p. 17 *sq.*, sleep and dreams, p. 18, the sacredness of blood-brotherhood, p. 19, murder, p. 20 *sq.*, causes of fires, p. 21, imprisonment, p. 22 *sq.*, fear of shadows, p. 23, dancing and musical instruments, p. 24 *sq.*, divisions of time, p. 37, methods of measuring, p. 39, counting, p. 40 *sq.*, salutations, p. 42 *sq.*

## CHAPTER II.

BIRTH, INFANCY, AND PUBERTY . . . . . pp. 46—81

Treatment of childless women, p. 46, conception by ghosts, p. 46 *sq.*, treatment of pregnant women, p. 48 *sq.*, proving the legitimacy of a child, p. 50, the King's wives, p. 50 *sq.*, birth of royalty, p. 51 *sq.*, foster mothers, p. 53, general birth customs, p. 53 *sq.*, customs observed in the Bean clan at birth, p. 56, testing a child's legitimacy, p. 56 *sq.*, nurse-maids, p. 58 *sq.*, naming and receiving a child into a clan, p. 61 *sq.*, the birth of twins, p. 64 *sq.*, purificatory rites for the parents of twins, p. 68 *sq.*, naming twins, p. 69 *sq.*, ending the birth ceremonies of twins, p. 70 *sq.*, weaning princes and princesses, p. 73, guardianship of children, p. 74, child life and games, p. 75 *sq.*, the duties and pleasures of girls, p. 79 *sq.*

xiii

## CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGE . . . . . pp. 82—97

Descent through the male line, p. 82, polygamy and the marriage of sisters, p. 83, the Queen and her status, p. 84, princes' wives, p. 85, the King's wives chosen from the common people, p. 86 *sq.*, the custom followed by chiefs and common people in obtaining wives, p. 87 *sq.*, a wife's redress should she dislike her husband, p. 92, a wife's duties, p. 94 *sq.*, re-marriage of widows, p. 96 *sq.*

## CHAPTER IV.

SICKNESS, DEATH, AND BURIAL . . . . . pp. 98—127

The King's sickness, p. 98, treatment of sickness, p. 99 *sq.*, exorcising ghosts, p. 101, infant sickness, p. 101 *sq.*, death of the King, p. 103, embalming the King's body, p. 104, royal widows, p. 105, burial of the King, p. 106 *sq.*, ending of the royal mourning, p. 108 *sq.*, the temple of the King's jawbone, p. 110 *sq.*, death of the Queen, p. 113, death of the King's Mother, p. 114, death of the King's wives, p. 115, death of a princess, p. 116, death of a chief, p. 116 *sq.*, installing the heir of a deceased person, p. 122 *sq.*, death of twins, p. 124, funerals of peasants, p. 125 *sq.*

## CHAPTER V.

RELATIONSHIP . . . . . pp. 128—132

Descent through the male line, p. 128, terms of relationship, p. 129 *sq.*

## CHAPTER VI.

THE CLANS AND THEIR TOTEMS . . . . . pp. 133—185

Explanation of clans, p. 133, family estates, p. 134, divisions and subdivisions of clans, p. 135 *sq.*, list of clans with their totems, p. 138 *sq.*, history of clans with their estates, p. 140 *sq.*, list of kings, p. 175 *sq.*, genealogical tables of Oribi and Grass-hopper clans, p. 181 *sq.*

## CHAPTER VII.

THE KING . . . . . pp. 186—231

Sketch of the rise of the Baganda kings, p. 186, descent through the male line, p. 187, princesses not allowed to marry, p. 187, guardianship of princes and princesses, p. 188, choosing the King, p. 189 *sq.*, ceremony of "eating Uganda," p. 193 *sq.*, the King mourning for his predecessor, p. 196, coronation customs, p. 197 *sq.*, building the new capital, p. 200 *sq.*, the sacred fire, p. 202, the Queen's enclosure, p. 203, widows of the late King, p. 204, gate-keepers, p. 204, fire-wood tax, p. 206, the King's meals, p. 207, the King's private courts, p. 208, human sacrifices to invigorate the King, p. 209, ceremony to prolong the King's life, p. 210 *sq.*, commemoration feast of the coronation, p. 213, the kings of Uganda, p. 214 *sq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

GOVERNMENT . . . . . pp. 232—270

The King's powers, p. 232, principal chiefs, p. 233 *sq.*, the Queen, p. 236, the King's Mother, p. 237, a chief's representative, p. 237 *sq.*, roads in the capital, p. 239 *sq.*, sanitary arrangements, p. 243, tax collecting, p. 244 *sq.*, building in the royal enclosure, p. 246, chiefs and sub-chiefs, p. 246, the districts and district chiefs, p. 247 *sq.*, the King's private servants, p. 257, court house, p. 258 *sq.*, the Katikiro's court, p. 260, adultery, p. 261 *sq.*, imprisonment, p. 264 *sq.*, homicide and murder, p. 266 *sq.*, land tenure, p. 268, class distinctions, p. 269, inheritance, p. 270.

CHAPTER IX.

RELIGION . . . . . pp. 271—345

Baganda gods and objects of veneration, p. 271 *sq.*, national gods, p. 273, mediums, p. 274, vestal virgins, p. 275, temples, p. 276, medicine-men, p. 277 *sq.*, fetiches, p. 279 *sq.*, ghosts, p. 281 *sq.*, contents of the temple of kings, p. 283, victims sacrificed to the dead King, p. 284, ghosts of common people, p. 285 *sq.*, methods of exorcising ghosts, p. 287, ghosts of animals, p. 288 *sq.*, the god Mukasa, p. 290 *sq.*, rebuilding temples, p. 292 *sq.*, the priest's office, p. 296, medium of Mukasa, p. 297, temple functions, p. 298 *sq.*, the war god Kibuka, p. 301 *sq.*, the war god Nende, p. 308, the god of plague, p. 309 *sq.*, the god of the chase, p. 311 *sq.*, the god Katonda, earth god, etc., p. 312 *sq.*, tree spirits and hill spirits, p. 317 *sq.*, the python god, p. 320 *sq.*, forest gods, p. 322, fetiches, p. 323 *sq.*, amulets, p. 329 *sq.*, sacrificial places, p. 331 *sq.*, divination, p. 338 *sq.*, ordeals, p. 341, scapegoats, p. 342. *sq.*, magic, p. 344 *sq.*

CHAPTER X.

WARFARE . . . . . pp. 346—364

Causes for war, p. 346 *sq.*, preparations for war, p. 348 *sq.*, dress of warriors, p. 350, warriors travelling, p. 351 *sq.*, the army taking the oath of allegiance, p. 353 *sq.*, sham fight as a purificatory rite, p. 355, ceremony to ensure success in war, p. 356 *sq.*, ending twin birth rites, p. 358, return of the army, p. 359 *sq.*, a warrior's return home, p. 362, purificatory rites to cleanse spoil, p. 363 *sq.*

CHAPTER XI.

INDUSTRIES . . . . . pp. 365—425

Gift of imitation, p. 365, building the capital, p. 366 *sq.*, building houses, p. 369 *sq.*, ceremony performed at entering a house, p. 377, iron working, p. 378 *sq.*, canoe building, p. 383 *sq.*, fishing, p. 391 *sq.* fish lines and traps, p. 394 *sq.*, potters, p. 399 *sq.*, drying, baking, and glazing pots, p. 401 *sq.*, barkcloth making, p. 403 *sq.*, shield making, p. 406 *sq.*, leather workers, p. 408 *sq.*, basketry, p. 410 *sq.*, ivory workers, p. 412, rope and twine making, p. 413, mat making, p. 413, soap making, p. 413 *sq.*

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE KEEPING OF COWS AND OTHER DOMESTIC ANIMALS pp. 415—425

Breeds of cattle and the kinds of pasturage, p. 45 *sq.*, boys the herdsmen of peasants, p. 417 *sq.*, milk vessels, p. 419 *sq.*, churning, p. 420 *sq.*, goats and sheep, p. 422, fowls, p. 423, dogs, their breeding and training, p. 424 *sq.*

## CHAPTER XIII.

## AGRICULTURE AND FOOD . . . . . pp. 426—444

The garden the wife's domain, p. 426, initial clearing, p. 427, customs concerning first-fruits, p. 428, cultivation of plantains, p. 429 *sq.*, ceremonies observed to stop storms, p. 432, maize and semsem growing, p. 432 *sq.*, cultivation of coffee-trees, p. 434, cooking, p. 435 *sq.*, salt and how it was obtained, p. 438, fish, grasshoppers and ants used for food, p. 439, beer and brewing, p. 440 *sq.*, clothes and ornaments, p. 442 *sq.*

## CHAPTER XIV.

## HUNTING . . . . . pp. 445—451

Elephant hunting, p. 445 *sq.*, buffalo hunting, p. 447, hunting small game, p. 448, dividing game, p. 449, pits and spring traps, p. 450, hippopotamus hunting, p. 451.

## CHAPTER XV.

## MARKETS AND CURRENCY . . . . . pp. 452—457

Goods offered for sale in markets, p. 452 *sq.*, country market places, p. 456, currency, p. 456 *sq.*

## CHAPTER XVI.

## WELLS . . . . . pp. 458—459

## CHAPTER XVII.

## FOLKLORE . . . . . pp. 460—491

Legend of Kintu, p. 460 *sq.*, story of Mpobe, p. 465 *sq.*, the leopard and the hare, p. 467 *sq.*, the cat and the fowl, p. 470, the lion and the crocodile, p. 471, the dog and the leopard, p. 471 *sq.*, the lioness and the cow, p. 474, Sesôta, the large snake, p. 475 *sq.*, Kiwobe and his sheep, p. 477, Sifirwakange and Kasokambirye, p. 478, the hare and the elephant, p. 480 *sq.*, Ndyakubi and Ndalakubi, p. 482, Wokubira omulalu mu kyama, p. 484, proverbs, p. 485 *sq.*

## ANTHROPOMETRIC TABLES . . . . . pp. 493—522

## EXPLANATORY NOTES TO PLANS . . . . . pp. 523—525

## INDEX . . . . . pp. 529—547



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIG.	PAGE
Sezibwa waterfalls . . . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
1. Typical Uganda hut . . . . .	11
2. Road in a plantain grove bordered with barkcloth trees . . . . .	16
3. Dancers and drummers . . . . .	25
4. Drums (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	26
5. Royal drum, decorated with beads and cowry-shells (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	27
6. Drums of office . . . . .	28
7. Drums used for dancing (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	29
8. Baganda musical band . . . . .	32
9. Madinda and drums . . . . .	33
10. Harps and fife . . . . .	34
11. Blind harpist . . . . .	35
12. Baganda fife players . . . . .	36
13. Baganda women . . . . .	47
14. Mothers carrying children . . . . .	60
15. Baganda boys at a meal . . . . .	75
16. Boys and girl in usual dress . . . . .	76
17. Baganda boys wrestling . . . . .	77
18. Boys playing the <i>weso</i> game . . . . .	78
19. Cupping horns and burning irons . . . . .	99
20. Temple (Malalo) of King's jawbone . . . . .	111
21. Sacred objects from a king's temple . . . . .	113
22. Thatched grave . . . . .	115
23. Grave with mound of beaten earth . . . . .	118
24. Mutesa's tomb . . . . .	120
25. The young King of Uganda, Daudi Cwa . . . . .	177
26. A hut to which the King goes for the coronation ceremony and in which the fetiches are kept . . . . .	191

FIG.	PAGE
27. Baganda hut on the hill of Budo used by the King during the coronation ceremonies . . . . .	192
28. Site on Budo hill where the kings are enthroned . . . . .	194
29. Site on which the King stands when being enthroned . . . . .	195
30. Carrying the King and his brother . . . . .	198
31. Carrying the Queen . . . . .	199
32. The sacred fire (gombolola), by the entrance of the royal enclosure, and the hut in which it is kept during the day . . . . .	203
33. Group of gate-keepers . . . . .	205
34. Mutesa's Queen Damali and women . . . . .	228
35. A road and bridge through a swamp . . . . .	239
36. Making a bridge and road in a swamp . . . . .	240
37. A road in the capital . . . . .	242
38. Carrying loads of cowry-shells for the King's tax . . . . .	245
39. Native house with pinnacle . . . . .	247
40. The Katikiro's enclosure, with old court-house in which appeals were heard . . . . .	260
41. Stocks for arms and legs (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	265
42. Sacred rocks . . . . .	272
43. A temple . . . . .	277
44. Medicine-man carrying medicines . . . . .	278
45. Fetiches (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	280
46. Fetiches (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	281
47. The war god Kibuka (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	285
48. Fence enclosing King's temple . . . . .	304
49. Stool on which the war god Kibuka was placed (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	306
50. Drum of the god of the chase (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	311
51. Amulets (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	330
52. Place of human sacrifice with bones lying about . . . . .	333
53. Sacred pots, from which medicated beer was given to victims about to be put to death (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	335
54. Armed Baganda . . . . .	350
55. Building temporary hut . . . . .	353
56. Temporary hut ready for use . . . . .	354
57. Building a chief's fence . . . . .	367
58. Gate to royal enclosure . . . . .	368
59. Central ring for house (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	370
60. Thatching a hut . . . . .	373
61. Native house . . . . .	376

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

xix

FIG.	PAGE
62. Smith's bellows . . . . .	380
63. Baganda dog and cow bells (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	382
64. Baganda canoes . . . . .	384
65. Baganda "dug out" canoes . . . . .	385
66. Baganda canoes on lake shore . . . . .	387
67. Fish traps (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	392
68. Samples of Baganda pottery (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	400
69. Barkcloth making . . . . .	405
70. Baganda shields, showing one in process of making (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	407
71. Baganda baskets (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	411
72. Baganda cattle . . . . .	416
73. Cattle kraal . . . . .	417
74. Baganda milk pots (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	419
75. Herdsman churning . . . . .	421
76. Goats resting at mid-day in goat shed . . . . .	422
77. Beer gourd-bottles, wooden milk pot and meat dish (in the Ethnolog. Mus., Camb.) . . . . .	441
78. Carrying ivory . . . . .	453
79. Beer in gourd bottles being sold in the market . . . . .	454
80. Meat stall in market . . . . .	455
81. Cowry-shells, ivory discs and early kinds of beads . . . . .	457



# THE BAGANDA

## CHAPTER I

### GENERAL SURVEY OF THE COUNTRY, LIFE, AND CUSTOMS

UGANDA is to-day no longer the unknown land of the past, when the traveller thither was regarded as passing from civilisation to barbarism. The long and tedious journey of some eight hundred miles from Zanzibar to the Victoria Nyanza through the weary, waterless plains of Ugogo, with their dangers of fever, or of attacks by the fierce natives, no longer exists. The difficulties of those days were increased by the fact that everything had to be carried on the heads of porters; and no load, as the carriers called it, might exceed sixty-five pounds in weight; the constant worry lest the porters might desert, and the inconvenience and delay entailed, were the great drawbacks of this caravan system. These troubles belong to the past; so, too, do the weary days of sitting cramped in a canoe skirting round the three hundred miles of Lake Victoria Nyanza, whilst the Basese paddled on from the embarkation port in the south to the King's landing place near the native capital Mengo. To-day there is a comfortable railway which covers the six hundred miles to the nearest point of the lake in two days and two nights, while the traveller sits contentedly and gazes with interest upon the country traversed, where both scenery and animal life are so different from what he has known in the north. Good meals are provided at intervals at the Dakbungalows. There is no calling in the early morning, nor

The approach to Uganda.

B

wearisome plodding through the wet, dewy grass, nor toiling onwards in the heat of the day, nor the revolting sight of meeting the Arab slaver with his victims in chains labouring under the weight of tusks of ivory and other merchandise.

To-day neither king nor priest can treat human life as though it were of no value; superstitions which occasioned the sacrifice of human life have been abolished, and woman has been raised from the drudgery of a household chattel to the position of wife and mother in the family. The country has undergone other changes which have obliterated the old régime.

Political  
changes.

The first great change was made between 1854 and 1884, when King Mutesa instituted a standing army with a permanent General (*Mujasi*) and with sub-chiefs (*Mutongole*, pl. *Batongole*), or captains, over the troops; these captains were given estates in each district (*Saza*) in lieu of pay, and were exempted from any obligations to the chief of the district (*Owesaza*). The captains were responsible to the General (*Mujasi*), who in his turn was responsible to the Prime Minister (*Katikiro*) and to the King.

Another great change was introduced by the treaty made with the British Government in 1900, when the land, which in the past had belonged to the King alone, was divided between the King and the chiefs, while a portion of it became British territory. The old clan burial-grounds, which even the King had no power to desecrate, have since then been desecrated. Under the same treaty land has lost its sacredness, and in many cases the bones of the dead have been removed from places where they had rested for generations, to other sites which have been allotted to the clans concerned. It would be impossible to realise how the native government of the past worked, if the country were to be judged from its present state. Doubtless a more intimate knowledge of the former social conditions would have saved many changes and much heart-burning amongst the people. In the following pages we propose to deal with Uganda in its early days, before Europeans had penetrated into the heart of Africa. An attempt is here made to give first-hand information, obtained from the Baganda themselves, of their history and their social

institutions, at a time when their kings believed that they themselves were the most powerful of all sovereigns, and their country the largest and most important in the world; a time when paganism held undisputed sway, and the kings and chiefs bowed before the multitude of gods; a time before the Arab influence had begun to make itself felt, or the Coast civilisation to pervade the interior. After the famous King Mutesa had come to the throne, we find changes taking place rapidly, until to-day it seems well-nigh incredible that such cruelties as we shall hereafter describe could ever have been practised, either under cover of religion, or through the anger of some cruel despot.

The reader should bear in mind that the people have no literature of their own, and that all records of the past have been orally handed down from one generation to another. We have, however, a compensating advantage afforded by their remarkable system of inheritance. In accordance with this system an heir not only takes the office of his predecessor, but so impersonates him, that it is common to hear a man telling another that he is the father or the chief of a person who is known to have died years before. Similarly, a woman belonging to a particular clan will claim to be the mother of a king who has been dead for several generations. Bearing this system in mind, and also taking into consideration the remarkably accurate memories of the people, their graphic power to recount the details of events long past, and their conservatism in religious ceremonies and social customs, the reader will recognise that it is possible to obtain from them a fairly accurate account of past ages.

The latitude of Uganda was from one degree north to one degree south of the Equator, and its longitude was between the thirtieth and the thirty-third degrees east of Greenwich. It was bounded on the north by Bunyoro, on the south by the Ziba country, on the east by Lake Victoria Nyanza, and on the west by Ankole. Of the tribes inhabiting these countries the Banyoro were the most feared by the Baganda, and raids and skirmishes were frequent between the two tribes. In the south the Ziba people were tributary to Uganda, and the pastoral people of Ankole found it wise to live on good

Sources of information as to the past.

Geo-graphical situation of Uganda.

terms with their stronger neighbours ; they secured peace by sending frequent presents of cattle to the King, and to the chiefs whose districts bordered on their country.

Physical  
features  
of the  
country.

The kingdom of Uganda may be described as hilly ; the plain is said to be fully four thousand feet above sea level, and some of the hills rise five or six hundred feet higher. Most hills are either covered with grass or cultivated, and here and there are clumps of trees. There are a few large forests containing some very big trees, the growth of which is so thick that it is impossible to see the sky through the branches. In some parts these belts of forest land run down to the lake, and some trees are in the water. Formerly, natives only used the trees for building houses and canoes, and for firewood ; now the forests are found to contain timber valuable for many other purposes, and also rubber vines.

The land is well watered, and every depression contains a swamp or river, the water of which is held up by the vast growth of papyrus and reeds. The Baganda lay out their gardens on the sides of hills, and seldom descend into the lower parts of the valleys, except when there is a long period of drought, and they seek moist land for their sweet potatoes. The plantains cover large areas of land ; sometimes a garden (so-called) extends for several miles, the houses of the people being quite buried amidst the luxuriant foliage of the trees. The land between two estates is left for the pasturage of goats and cows belonging to the peasants. The principal estates are connected by a good road with the capital.

The rainfall is plentiful ; even in the dry season, rarely a month passes without some showers, as the chart on page 6 will show. This copious supply of rain is essential for the growth of plantains, and may be accounted for by the prevailing wind from the lake which supplies these local showers, while the more distant parts of the country are dry and burnt up by the heat. The large area of plantain trees may also, to some extent, cause the local showers. Again, owing to the amount of water in the swamps there is more moisture in the air, and the nightly dews are heavier than those in the surrounding countries, where the land is better drained, and there are fewer rivers. All this tends to make



Uganda an evergreen country, with trees in leaf, and grass and pasturage of a far better quality than that found in other parts of the Continent.

In other respects Uganda is at a disadvantage, for there is no grain grown there, the natives finding that it disagrees with them when they live upon it. Since the plantains, which furnish their staple food, bear the whole year round, they do not store food, and an occasional lack of rain, while it occasions inconvenience, has seldom been known to cause a famine.

So much for the appearance of the country ; we now turn The soil. to the soil and its formation. The soil itself is in most parts singularly productive, and very varied ; there is the rich, black loam, the heavy red loam, the clay, the sandy soil, and the gravel. Rocks and hard stone are not common except in certain localities. Along the shores of the lake, however, there are many places where rocks tower above the land.

The plantains grow so freely that a woman can supply the needs of her family with a minimum of labour, and with the barkcloth trees a man can supply their clothing. The country had all its needs supplied by its own products for many years, and the people were happy and healthy before the introduction of Western civilisation. The hills to the south-west supplied them with the iron which they needed for weapons and implements. Other requisites, such as salt or hoes, they obtained from Bunyoro to the north. In the central parts iron is not found, nor indeed any stone of any kind, nor have other minerals been discovered there since the advent of Europeans.

No fruit of any value is indigenous to the country, though coffee of a certain kind has always been cultivated on the islands in the lake, and in certain parts of the mainland, and is being more extensively cultivated now. There are a few wild fruits which are eaten by the people, and especially by the children. The Arabs introduced some kinds of fruit trees, and more recently other kinds have been introduced, especially orange trees, which appear to be doing well.

The temperature is moderate ; it seldom exceeds 80 degrees The in the shade, and rarely falls below 60 degrees by night. climate

Gentle breezes keep the air moving, and on the whole the climate is pleasant. The rainfall, as has been mentioned, is good and regular, so that the natives have no fears regarding their crops. When food is abundant, they have their three meals daily; when it is scarce, they content themselves with two, and hope for the rain and a plentiful supply of food.

The rainfall for the months named below (according to the readings given in the official Gazette) was :—

	1908	
May 2'32	Nov. 2'42	Dec. 4'27
	1909	
Jan. 1'89	Feb. 1'44	
Mar. 5'60	April 12'09	

The Baganda belong to the great Bantu family, and are perhaps the most advanced and cultured tribe of that family; in their dress and habits they were superior to any of their neighbours, while their extreme politeness was proverbial. Not only were the Baganda more careful of their personal appearance, but their homes had a neatness and tidiness in structure and finish, and a certain cleanliness in their surroundings, which were entirely lacking in the adjacent tribes. Their manners were courteous, and they welcomed strangers and showed hospitality to guests; every visitor was given a female goat at least when he arrived—it was not polite to give a male animal—and they never looked for nor expected a return present, whereas among other African tribes a chief gives a visitor a present and expects a return present of at least double the value, which he will even ask for if the gift is long delayed.

In the early days of Mutesa's reign the Baganda were said to have numbered three millions; civil war, which broke out at the death of the famous king, and famine, which followed the war, reduced the number of the people to about a million and a half, and during the past few years sleeping sickness has still further reduced them to about two-thirds of the latter number.

The Baganda are the only Bantu tribe in Eastern Equatorial Africa who do not mutilate their persons ; they neither extract their teeth nor pierce their ear lobes, nor practise the rite of circumcision ; in fact, they are most careful to avoid scarifications of any kind. The physical type varies greatly both in feature and build. There are to be found clans with Roman features, and others varying from this type to the broad nose and thick lips of the negro ; so too in build there are tall athletic figures over six feet in height, while on the other hand there are thick-set, short-built men only about five feet tall. The same variation holds good in colouring, the shades varying from jet-black to copper colour, some clans being much lighter than others ; a few freaks (albinos) are to be found, but they are not at all common ; formerly they were kept as curiosities in the King's enclosure or in that of some chief. The Baganda have invariably short, black, crisp, woolly hair, though in the clans with the Roman features and light skin the hair is softer, more silky, and less crisp than in other clans. Men rarely grew hair on their faces—they plucked it out, or shaved it off. Women were most particular to keep the hair in the arm-pits shaved, unless their husbands were at war or on a journey, when custom forbade them to shave until the husband returned and sexual intercourse had taken place, after which the wife shaved every part of her body.

The Baganda are a sociable people ; all classes prefer to live in company, and not alone, in their plots of land which they call gardens. The men were formerly quite free to roam about and pay visits, and they incurred no danger, except when the secret police were seeking victims for sacrificial purposes. Then it was not safe for anyone to venture out, because even those men who were immune might have to undergo the tedious process of proving that they belonged to one of the principal clans. Women were not free to move about without the consent of their husbands or masters, and in the capital every woman and girl had some guardian from whom she had to obtain an escort when she wished to visit a friend or relation. The King's wives, and women attached to his household, paid visits from time to time to their friends and relations, with an escort whose conduct was

most overbearing to the public. Princesses were able to move about at will, and were bound by none of these restrictions. Both men and women paid these ladies the greatest respect, when they met them or spoke with them; even chiefs bowed low when addressing them in the road, and often kneeled to them when they went to visit the princesses in their homes. No woman would think of saluting a man standing, and a woman carrying a load would excuse herself from saluting a male friend by saying: "I am carrying a load and unable to ask you how you are," meaning that she was unable to kneel to him. If a man greeted a woman thus laden, she would answer: "I am unable to answer, because I have a load."

The wives of chiefs would not kneel to a man of inferior position, though they promptly did so to an equal. In like manner a man would kneel at once when he met a superior and saluted him, for it was the custom for every inferior to salute his superior. It was also the custom to speak to everyone, and especially to thank a person engaged in any work, even though he was a complete stranger, and the work which he was doing was not for the advantage of the speaker. The people had attained the height of politeness in this respect, and were naturally very friendly in disposition. No chief would remain alone at home for any length of time; he would either have some visitor, or he would go to visit someone himself. Whenever one man visited another, it was customary to offer coffee-berries, or else beer was brought in and drunk. News travelled quickly; many interesting subjects were discussed in a chief's house. The women met with their friends and talked about their gardens, and discussed any bit of gossip they could get hold of; they too had their own visiting circles. Women of the lower orders had not much to talk about beyond their gardens and their young children, *i.e.*, those who were still too small to be taken away from them for education by members of their father's clan. The wives of chiefs living in the capital often received female visitors in their own quarters; scarcely a day passed without some friend coming to see them, and they were permitted to receive their male relatives.

The King and each important chief had a girl in personal attendance wherever there were restrictions and taboos to be observed. This girl was called *kaja burwonga*; she lived in her master's house, and was ready for any service. Her birth had been predicted by a priest; she was dedicated to some god from her birth; and when old enough to take up the office called *kaja*, she was given to a chief to perform the duties of this office. These duties were to tend the fire in the evening, and by night, to bring the chief water with which to wash his face in the early morning, to bring him the butter or medicine with which he smeared his body, and to hand him the fetiches which he required, after obtaining them from his principal wife who had the charge of them. When he went on a war expedition, she accompanied him for a short distance, carrying in front of him his fetiches which were to protect him from danger; these she afterwards restored to the principal wife. No boy was ever permitted to play with her, or even to touch her, for she was a consecrated person. When she attained puberty, the god to whom she was dedicated ordered her marriage, and another *kaja* girl from the clan was sent to take her place. The King and the chiefs often took these girls to wife. The clan from which she came profited by receiving presents and other favours from the King or the chiefs, as the case might be.

Girls dedi-  
cated to  
the gods  
and chiefs.

In homes where several women lived together, these usually had their beds at the side of the house; barkcloth was draped round this part to make it private. Several women were usually housed in one room, those who were more particular and more cleanly would have bedsteads made and would arrange their possessions tidily; others slept upon the floor, and took no pains about their chamber, nor about their own personal appearance. In like manner girls and boys, so long as they obtained their meals and were in good health, cared nothing for their own appearance; they slept on the floor near the fire, and picked themselves up when they woke in the morning, going off at once to play. Washing was not congenial to them, and clothes they did not possess; hence, when they were tired, they merely looked for a warm corner, rolled themselves up, and went to sleep.

Women's  
houses.

In the homes neither the actions nor the language were restrained or guarded; parents and other grown-up people would talk about delicate matters quite openly before children; hence the children knew of many things which they ought not to have heard of for years to come.

Profligacy  
of the  
sexes.

Sexual passions were not checked either by men or by women, whenever it was possible to gratify them. No doubt in large establishments the women were seldom able to gratify their passions except by stealth, and for this purpose they would resort to the most obscene practices. They thought that there was no moral wrong in indulging sexual desire; if an unmarried woman became pregnant, a fine would be imposed, and the man would be asked whether he wished to marry her. In the enclosures of important chiefs there were hundreds of women called their wives; if there was a case of adultery among these, the wrong was considered to lie in the using of a woman who had been set apart for another man's use. If a husband caught a man in company with his wife, he had the right to put one or both to death. The women therefore resorted to clandestine meetings, and men were admitted to the houses and secreted when possible. The most stringent care was exercised by the King and the chiefs, but it proved inefficient to keep the sexes apart, while the horrible punishments meted out to delinquents, when caught, seemed only to add zest to the danger incurred. As no quarter was shown to a man caught in the act of adultery, the culprit always went armed, and was ready to strike the first blow, should he be disturbed. The women made it possible for men to enter the inner enclosures by enlarging the water gutters under the fences, so that a man could crawl under them; or they placed a pole against a fence, on which he could climb down without making a noise. On the outside the man would get some friend to stand while he mounted his shoulders; and having thus gained the top of the fence, he would use the pole for his descent, and the woman would be waiting below to lead him into her house.

Theft.

Theft was not common, for the people were deterred from stealing by fear of the punishment which was certain to

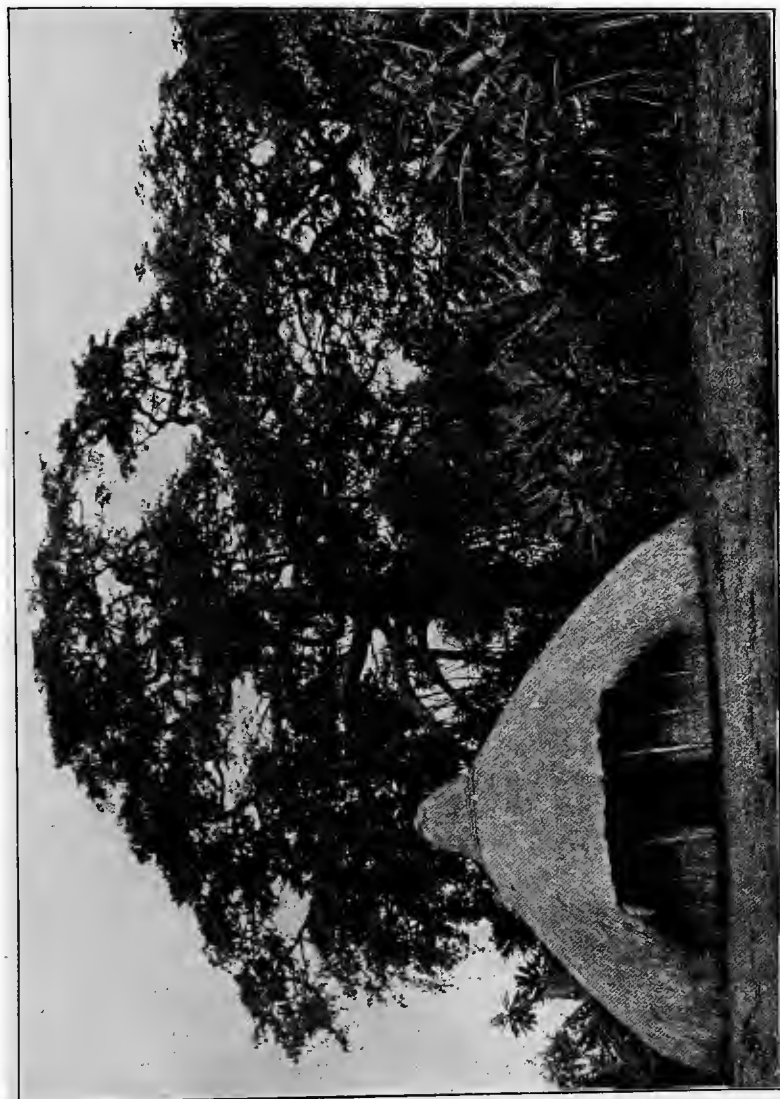


FIG. 1.—TYPICAL UGANDA HUT.

follow. In an important case the medicine-men would be sure to be called in to divine, and in more trivial cases the people would set traps to catch the thief. If thieves forced a house, they might be killed at once; in other cases they were punished, if detected, by the loss of their hands, which were cut off without compunction.

Messages  
and mes-  
sengers.

Chiefs were very strict in insisting on the proper delivery of their messages; as there was no writing, this was important. If a messenger made a mistake in delivering his message, or wilfully changed the wording of it, he was liable to lose an ear. The King was remorseless in his punishment of a tardy or careless messenger. The punishment for delay on the road was to break the messenger's leg just above the foot, by tapping it with a heavy stick. If the King felt inclined to pardon the culprit after inflicting this punishment, he sent him to the medicine-man to have the bone set; but in some instances the King sent the man to be killed, after his leg had been broken.

The  
charitable  
disposition  
of the  
people.

The Baganda were charitable and liberal; no one ever went hungry while the old customs were observed, because every one was welcome to go and sit down and share a meal with his equals.

Real poverty did not exist. When a member of a clan wished to buy a wife, it was the duty of all the other members to help him to do so; when a person got into debt, the clan combined to assist him to pay it, or if a clansman was fined, the clan helped to pay the fine. There were no orphans, because all the father's brothers were fathers to a child; and the heir to a deceased person immediately adopted and became responsible for the children of the latter. No woman could receive the guardianship of a child; she might, indeed, nurse and tend a small child, cook for it, and in a general way watch over it, but she could not take it away from the father's relations, and it was these latter who were directly responsible to the clan for its care.

Class dis-  
tinctions.

The class distinctions were marked, even though there was no blue blood among the chiefs. When a chief died, his own son did not necessarily become his heir. The clan looked upon all members of the branch to which the deceased



belonged as his sons, and chose the most promising member to become the heir.

Chiefs were not a distinct hereditary class, but men who, attaining to chieftainships, were looked up to and revered even by their own clan, and called chief *mwami*, and addressed by the respectful title of "Sir" by their relations and friends. Though custom permitted any man of ability to rise to a chieftainship, yet in practice the sons of chiefs were generally appointed to these offices, because they were best qualified for them owing to their social advantages and training. No chief was ever rich except in wives and cattle; he had crowds of dependant relatives who would wait on him directly he received his money, and within a day or two he had paid away everything, and was no better off than before his revenue came in; then, too, his wives would clamour for gifts. It was foreign to the Baganda to lay by, or to store up, wealth for a future time. In their own districts the chiefs maintained greater state than in the capital, because they were the chief authority there and were like petty kings. They had enormous enclosures with wives, men-servants, and slaves; in addition they had the care of many women related to them who had lost their husbands, or who had never been really married, and, as they grew old, had been turned away or made into household drudges; such oppressed women escaped from their former homes and took refuge with their relations.

Selection  
and status  
of chiefs.

As soon as a man was made a chief his relations flocked round him to solicit minor offices or gardens; many of these men became his trusted servants and received important posts; in times of disturbance and danger they gathered round to protect him, and they rallied to him in time of war.

Besides clan relations and trusted slaves a chief had with him free men, who might leave him at any time if they were dissatisfied with his rule. These free peasants belonged to different clans, and took service with chief after chief as they willed. If a chief gave them more work than they wished to do in a year, they left him and went to someone else. Thus it became part of a successful chief's rôle to be popular; otherwise the peasants would leave him, and the amount

of work which would fall upon his few servants would make these so discontented that his district would soon be deserted, and the King would then have to depose him, since he was unable to do the work demanded from him by the state.

When a chief was deposed or promoted to another place, he was not able to take much property with him ; he would just gather up his moveable possessions from his houses and hurry on to the new place. If he wasted time the chief whom he was to succeed would destroy the garden, and the outgoing women would cut down all the fruit in it. No compensation was paid to a chief for any improvements he had made or new houses he had erected, or to enable him to build houses in his new place.

How  
slaves  
were  
obtained,  
and their  
standing.

Slaves were obtained by raids, or from wars made upon neighbouring tribes, or they were inherited from the owner's predecessors, or they were given in payment of a debt. As a rule slaves were foreigners, chiefly Banyoro and Basoga ; Baganda who were slaves were treated with much consideration in their own country ; they were men and women who had been sold by a relative in trouble, children who had been kidnapped, or who had been pawned to raise money in an emergency. A child was sold for a goat, and a woman for a cow, while a good-looking woman might command two cows ; boys were sold for a young cow, or three or four goats. The status of slavery was not so dreadful in Uganda as in many other countries. In many cases the worst that could be said against it was that a slave was deprived of his freedom, that neither his wife nor her children were his own, and that his life was at his master's disposal. On the other hand if a man married his slave girl, and she had children, she became free, and her children were acknowledged by the clan. They were sometimes allowed to inherit property, even though the mother was a woman of another tribe ; this, however, was not a general rule, more frequently the children were passed over because of their foreign blood. The status of the slave women given to the King will be noticed under the marriage customs. When the King gave one of these away, she might become the wife of the recipient, but he

could not sell her out of the land. Other slaves could be sold just as cattle, and could be put to death at the will of the owner, who looked upon them as his property. Slaves were often treated as members of the family, the only difference being that, when a question of inheritance arose, they were called children of the door *wa lugya*, which meant that they could not succeed to the property, and, if women, they were handed over to the heir as part of his possessions.

The peasants in the country lived in their gardens or plantations. These gardens were often joined one to the other, and a number of people lived in a community, often forming four or five miles of continuous garden with families living each on their own plot; the boundaries were vague, merely defined by a gutter or a shrub here and there. These communities were the nearest approach to village life such as we know it. Children had free scope to enjoy life to the full, because there were many of them to herd the large flocks of goats and sheep which belonged to the communities, and to play as they herded them. Food was plentiful, restrictions were few, clothing was not required, and the children were free to do as they liked; when tired they would go and lie down near the fire, which was always burning on the hearth, and would sleep, and then go off to play again.

There was little in a peasant's house to tempt a thief; still, the people lived in fear of thieves, and placed fetiches in the roof over the door to protect their dwellings. Stories are told of men who stole into peasants' houses, collected what goods they could find, and who, on leaving with their stolen property, were confronted by a snake which the fetich had sent, so that the thief was thereupon caught by the owner and severely flogged. Women would place fetiches in their gardens, so that the food became taboo, and any one stealing it would either be caught by the owner, or would be killed by the food. A thief caught in a garden by night-stealing food might be killed with impunity; the person who discovered and killed him tied a plantain round his neck, and cast his body out into the road; no one would claim the body, for it was understood why the person had been killed, and the

Peasant  
life.

Theft  
from  
peasants.

disgrace prevented any one of the clan from carrying away the body or acknowledging it.



FIG. 2.—ROAD IN A PLANTAIN GROVE BORDERED WITH BARKCLOTH TREES.

Peasants' children living in the country were often kept at home much longer than those of chiefs or other people living in the capital, in order to assist their parents in their work.

Home life in the country districts was much more natural, judged from the European standpoint; a peasant had fewer wives than a chief, and kept his family about him, the whole family partook of meals together. In the capital a chief had his meals with his friends, his wife or wives ate apart, while his children had their meals either with the women or with their own friends.

In a country surrounded by hostile tribes it was not possible to travel much; the journey from one end of the country to the other was quite a long one for most people, and often those who travelled a hundred miles took a year to do it, because of the number of visits they made, and the time they stayed at each place. Though not so suspicious as the surrounding tribes, they nevertheless observed many omens. For instance, if a man met a woman directly after he had set out, even if the woman was not his wife, he would turn back and not make the journey that day. Again, if he had decided to go on a particular day, and sneezed while he was making his preparations, he would defer his start. If a man had started on his journey, and a snake crossed his path, he turned back and would not continue the journey that day, for the snake represented to him the rope of the chief of the guard sent to take him prisoner. If on starting a man thought that his feet dragged, or if he felt unwell, he would say that his heart was left behind, and that, if he persisted in going on, he would fall ill and die. Sometimes members of his family dreamed that they saw him ill, or wounded, or in some danger; in that case they warned him and dissuaded him from taking the journey. If a bird flew over the traveller's path in the early morning, it was a bad omen, and he would turn back and wait until the following day. Again, if a rat crossed the path in front of him, he turned back and put off the journey for the day. If a man had a young child that was still being nursed, then, before he set out, his wife brought out the child's bedding, and the husband jumped over it, and then he jumped over his wife. Should he omit these precautions, and during his journey have sexual intercourse with any other woman, his child would die, and his wife would also fall ill. No man ever thought of undertaking a journey with-

Travel-  
ling.

out first consulting a medicine-man, and through him the deity, to obtain their blessing upon it. When the traveller returned to his house, he had first to jump over his chief wife, before he might go in to any of his other wives.

Changing  
service.

If a peasant wanted to leave one chief, and take service with another, then, after collecting his goods together, he would jump over his chief wife, before leaving the house; and he would repeat the action when he entered the new home. If he neglected this observance, the evil from the place he was leaving would follow him.

Sleep and  
dreams.

Most people of the better class went to rest at noon for two hours, while the sun was too hot for them to go out with comfort; and no important person might be disturbed during sleep. It was considered bad for people to be waked suddenly; if it became necessary to wake a person, this was done gently, and the same care was observed in waking infants. A person roused suddenly was liable to wake up ill. Under ordinary circumstances the people went to rest soon after sunset and rose at sunrise, with the exception of the chiefs, who had torches to light up their rooms and received their friends in the evening.

Dreams were regarded as important, and as the means of communication between the living and the dead. No person ever let a dream pass unnoticed, without drawing from it the lesson it was intended to convey.

Whenever rain storms came on, no matter at what time of day, it was the custom to turn in and go to sleep until the storm was over; this custom was followed by old and young of all classes.

Ablutions.

When a man visited another, intending to stay the night, he rarely went without one or two of his wives. A house was put at his disposal, and all his wants were supplied; even the water for washing was brought by a servant to the wife whose duty it was to attend to her husband's ablutions. No woman was allowed to wash in the same water or to use the same bath as a man used except his wife, and no woman would allow any man to use the pot which she washed in except her husband. A transgressor against either rule was at once judged to be guilty of immoral conduct. Even a peasant's

house had its reed enclosure at the back which was the private bath room for the husband and wife.

When for special reasons two men wished to be united by a sacred bond, they made blood brotherhood, the clans to which they belonged acknowledging the sacredness and the binding nature of the ceremony; each called the other his brother (*munyaniwe*) after the rite was performed. Blood brotherhood might be made between Baganda of different clans, or between two men of different races. It was a most sacred bond, and the breach of it was expected to be followed by sickness and death. The two principals met with their witnesses, representatives of each clan, and sat opposite each other on a barkcloth; a coffee berry was then divided; each man took half of the berry, made one or two slight cuts in the flesh of his stomach which he pinched up for the purpose, rubbed the half berry in the blood, and put it in the palm of his hand, whereupon the other man took it from the palm with his lips and swallowed it whole. They then promised to be faithful to each other, to help one another in every possible way, and to care for each other's children. A sacred meal followed, in which all the witnesses were asked to join, and the ceremony ended. From that time onwards until the death of one of the parties the two clans had a special bond of friendship, though they could intermarry when they wished to do so. If a member of one of the clans injured a member of the other, he had at once to pay in full the sum assessed by the judge, or to take the consequences from the ghosts of the ancestors of the injured man.

Though members of a clan might be separated, and be ruled by chiefs of other clans, still the head of their own branch of the family had to know all about their doings, and to keep in touch with them, and help them when they were in trouble. In this way the *Butaka*<sup>1</sup> system proved useful, because the head of any branch of a clan was always in a position of influence, and had both the means and the power to investigate any charge brought against a member of that branch. It was the duty of the head of the branch to prevent any member contracting marriage with a woman

<sup>1</sup> *Butaka* were freehold estates of the clans for burial purposes. See pp. 133-37.

Murder.

within the forbidden degrees of relationship, to see that the members had justice done to them in any trial, and that their dead, however poor, were interred. In cases where a charge of murder was brought against a member, it was the head of the branch whose duty it was to see that justice was done to the member, and that he was not given up to be killed, until the case had been proved against him. Cases of deliberate murder were rare; it might sometimes happen that a man killed another in a heated quarrel or while drinking, but even such cases were rare, because men going to drink were not wont to take any weapon with them. When a murder had taken place, the accused was put in the stocks to await his trial. If this went against him, the murdered man's clan might possibly prefer to accept a heavy fine, instead of exacting the death of the accused; under these circumstances the latter would be liberated. During the time that the case was being tried, the near relations of the murdered man could not eat with members of the clan to which the accused belonged, but immediately the fine, or any part of it, was paid, the taboo was removed, and they might mix together freely. If a man deliberately went about to kill another, he would lie in wait for him and spear him secretly, and then escape into some of the adjacent countries, where he would remain for years, perhaps until his death.

Wife and  
slave  
murder.

No punishment was inflicted on a man who speared his wife or slave to death. The relatives of the former would indeed investigate the matter (which had a deterring influence upon would-be wife slayers), but they were powerless to punish him, because the wife was his property.

Suicide.

The Baganda were very superstitious about suicides. They took innumerable precautions to remove the body and destroy the ghost, to prevent the latter from causing further trouble. Shame for crime committed led to suicide, but this occurred rarely in any section of the community, and most rarely among women. When a man committed suicide, he hanged himself on a tree in his garden or in his house. In the former case the body was cut down, and the tree felled also; then both the tree and the corpse, the latter tied to a pole like the carcase of an animal, were taken to a distant place



where cross-roads met, and the body was burned, the tree being used for the firewood. In the latter case the house was pulled down, and the materials were taken with the body and burned in the road. People feared to live in a house in which a suicide had taken place, lest they too should be tempted to commit the same crime. Those who burned the corpse washed their hands carefully at the place of burning with sponges made from the plantains, and threw them on the pyre. When women passed the place where a suicide had been burned, they threw grass or sticks upon the heap, to prevent the ghost from entering into them and being reborn. The idea in burning the body was if possible to destroy the ghost.

The houses were built of the most inflammable materials, hence fires were of frequent occurrence. They generally originated in the carelessness of an attendant who made too large a fire when cooking food in a hurry, or threw grass upon it. This blazed up and caught the dry, tinder-like reeds, so that soon the whole place was in flames. The people did not seem much distressed when a house was burning; they seldom attempted to put out the fire, but got their goods out as speedily as possible, and left the building to burn down. It was the first care of a mother to snatch up her child and carry it to a safe place before saving other things, though occasionally a child was overlooked and was burnt to death. It was a different matter when a fire occurred in the royal enclosure; then the war-drum sounded at once, summoning people to prevent the conflagration from spreading, and to save the houses from being all burnt down.

The men came equipped for their work with branches or with young plantain trees; they mounted the roofs of the houses near the fire, and as sparks fell upon them they brushed them off and extinguished any flame. As they went to the royal enclosure each man called the name of his chief, and the stamp of hundreds of feet, added to the sound of hundreds of voices, was such as to produce a most disquieting effect upon the nerves in a dark night. No one who has heard the war-drum beat, and has witnessed the assembling to the chief, will readily forget the scene: the set countenances

Fires and  
their  
causes.

of the rushing crowd, as they brandished their spears and called the name of their chief; their charge when they arrived before him, and rushed at him with the poised spear to within a few paces, as though they intended to transfix him; and then the sudden dropping on one knee, as they swore to be loyal to him. Such scenes fix themselves upon the spectator's mind, never to be erased, especially when the scene has been followed by a prolonged war. Owing to the danger to buildings from fire, it was a rule that no grass or rubbish-fires should be lighted in gardens adjoining houses when the wind was strong. They might only be lighted by night, when the damp from the dew made the houses less liable to take fire.

One of the horrible customs of incendiaries was to set fire to the thatch over the door, when the inmates were asleep, and to leave the unfortunate beings to be burned alive, unless they could break out at the back and escape. As the fires were started while the inmates were asleep, they seldom woke until the fire was in full force, and escape by the door was impossible; sometimes their remains showed that they had been suffocated on their beds. When fires took place by night, a crowd would gather quickly, because it was a favourable opportunity to carry off goods in the rush and distraction of the moment.

Imprison-  
ment.

Chiefs and heads of clans could put a man in the stocks for an offence; and it rested with the members of his clan to see that he had justice done to him, and that he was liberated, or that his case was taken to a higher court. If the relatives were negligent, the man might be left to suffer and perhaps to die. The guards were, however, open to bribes, and for a small sum they would let a prisoner out by night, to visit his friends and relatives; this gave him an opportunity to stir them up on his behalf. Relatives dreaded a member of their clan being put to death unjustly, because of the trouble the ghost was able to give them; hence they were willing to do all in their power to help him, even if they had no love for him.

When a man lost his reason, which sometimes happened, and he became dangerous to the community, his relations

put him in the stocks and kept him under restraint. They were afraid to do more than restrain him, so they gave him food and shelter, but left him so confined that he did not live long. They were afraid, however, to take active steps to end his life.

Wives were put into the stocks when they displeased their husbands, or were accused of immorality. Sometimes a woman became rebellious and unmanageable, and escaped from her husband and fled to her friends; in such cases the husband, after he had brought her back once or twice, and had paid the usual fees to her relations for returning her, proceeded, if she would not remain with him, to use a little forcible persuasion, and put her in the stocks until she promised not to run away again. In revenge wives tried to take both their own and their husband's life by setting fire to the house when he was asleep at midnight; as the native sleeps soundly, and no noise will wake him once he has fallen asleep, and has his head covered according to the common custom, the house would be half burnt, and escape would be impossible, by the time he woke.

When travelling, it was customary for the wife to carry the load of bedding, and for the husband to march behind, so that he was ready to defend both her and his property, should occasion arise. Two people passing one another on the road passed so that the left arm was on the inner side, and the right arm with the weapon was away from the person encountered, and free to be used, if an attack was made.

No man liked another to tread upon his shadow, or to have his shadow speared; and children were warned not to allow the fire to cast their shadow upon the wall of the house, lest they should die from having seen themselves as a shadow. At meals no one sat so as to cast his shadow over the food, for this was considered dangerous to all who were at the meal. Should any one, when taking up a piece of food, drop it, he would say, "Death wishes to rob me," and would pick up the food, and throw it over his shoulder, in order to break the spell. If a person sneezed just before a meal, he would get up and walk away and stand at a distance, until asked to come back and eat by one of the company. It was

A man's shadow.

thought that a ghost wished to make him ill by eating ; so by leaving the food and going away, until recalled, he deceived the ghost.

Cutting  
the hair  
and the  
nails.

The King, his wives, and all members of the royal family had their nails cut into a V-shape, so that the point was in the centre ; if any one else was detected cutting his nails in a V-shape, he was accused of trying to represent himself as connected with the royal family, and might be put to death for presumption. After cutting his nails a man would say, " I shall eat meat, before I need cut my nails again," and this was supposed to bring him luck.

The King's wives cut the sides and middle of their front hair well back ; by this they were known at once to belong to the King ; no one else might imitate them in this respect.

Beer  
drinking.

Beer drinking was common, and many chiefs and peasants spent a large portion of their time, when not at war, or actively engaged upon business, in talking and drinking from morning until night. Still, there was not much of what we should call excessive drinking, and men, when they became the worse for drink, went to sleep, until the effects passed off. Should a man, who had taken too much, forget himself, and pass water on the floor, he had to pay his host a fine of a goat, a barkcloth, and a fowl. Under no circumstances might a man go to a place used by women for the relief of nature ; for such an offence he would have been killed. Among the lower orders, men after drinking sought out women, so that a man who got drunk was also immoral.

Dancing.

Dances, among the young people, took place nightly amidst the plantain groves during the time that the moon was nearing the full, and especially on the night of full moon. Neither the King's wives nor the wives of chiefs were permitted to dance, except alone amongst themselves. The mixed dances ended frequently in immoral conduct. Young men often made masks of the root of a plantain by hollowing it out, so that the head was completely enveloped ; they cut holes for the mouth and eyes. Wearing these masks and clothed in old barkcloths, they danced before the girls whom they admired. When the moon waned, it was said to bring on

menstruation, and also fits on those who were subject to them.

Among the musical instruments of the Baganda drums Musical instruments. Drums. must be given the first place. The drum was indeed put to a multitude of uses, quite apart from music; it was the instrument which announced both joy and sorrow, it was used to let people know of the happy event of the birth of children, and it announced the mourning for the dead. It gave the alarm for war, and announced the return of the triumphant



FIG. 3.—DANCERS AND DRUMMERS.

warriors who had conquered in war. It had its place in the most solemn and in the most joyous ceremonies of the nation.

The most important drums were the royal ones, called the *Mujaguzo*; they numbered ninety-three in all. Two were very large, forty were large, gradually diminishing in size, and fifty-one were small. These drums were guarded by a chief, *Kawuka*, who had his assistant, *Wakimwomera*. The royal drums. Every chief in the country supplied a drummer, and filled his place with a new man, if the first died or wished to leave. The two chiefs mentioned were directly responsible to the King for all

the drummers ; they paid their taxes directly to the sovereign, and were refunded one-tenth of the whole sum. Drummers never worked for the district-chiefs, but only for their own masters, and took their turn of a month's residence each year in the royal court for beating the drums. Each drum had its name, and each man his special work in beating them. The drums were made from hollowed-out tree-trunks encased in



FIG. 4.—DRUMS.

cow-hide ; only one end of the drum was beaten upon, and that was always kept uppermost. Some of these drums were beautifully decorated with cowry-shells or beads. It was the rule to suspend them on posts slightly raised from the ground, so as to get the full benefit of the sound, and the man stood over the drum with two short sticks for beating it. The very big drums needed drummers who had some idea of time, because they had to bring in the beats at particular moments,

in harmony with the other drums. The vibration from these large drums was so great that a man who did not understand how to beat them, might have his shoulder dislocated by the rebound of the leather when struck. Music could be got from these drums, so much so that anyone a mile away would scarcely believe that a drum, and not some other instrument, was being played. In the drum house, which was very large, the noise was deafening, and to the person near it conveyed



FIG. 5.—ROYAL DRUM, DECORATED WITH BEADS AND COWRY-SHELLS.

nothing but terribly confused sounds. These drums were beaten to announce the coronation of the new King, to announce war, at the death of one of the King's children, at the time when the King entered a new house, and at new moon.

When the special drum, *Kaula*, had a new skin put upon it, not only was a cow killed for the skin, and its blood run into the drum, but a man was also killed by decapitation, and his blood run into it, so that, when the drum was beaten, it was supposed to add fresh life and vigour to the King from the

life of the slain man. When any of the other drums needed new skins, four sets of oxen of nine each were fetched from the King's herd, and from these animals one was chosen to supply the drum skin; all the other animals were killed for the benefit of the drummers. The ox set apart for the drum had to be killed, and its blood poured into the drum which required repairing; the flesh from the beast was sent to the King for his table. All drums contained their fetiches, and



FIG. 6.—DRUMS OF OFFICE.

special men were kept for putting the skins upon them and renewing the fetiches in them, when necessary. Other royal drums were kept in the royal enclosure, and one or two men were in constant attendance to beat them, and to accompany the beat with the grunt or howl of wild animals, when visitors were announced to the King.

The drums for the temples were next in importance after the royal drums; they had their own rhythm, and all contained fetiches; they were sounded at the time of the new moon or some special feast.



A particular drum was attached to each chieftainship and conferred with the office on each chief; it was known and recognised by the whole country.

For dancing and for drinking feasts a long drum was used with the bottom end left open; this drum was also carried when chiefs were journeying, and was beaten to encourage



FIG. 7.—DRUMS, USED FOR DANCING.

them and to keep them from feeling tired, when they had long distances to walk. A young man carried the drum, beat the rhythm with his hands, and sang songs accompanied by the fife, and all the followers joined in the chorus and kept time with their steps. The people when carrying loads, or when on a march, loved to be accompanied by the drum, and, if they had no drum, they sang songs, and set the time for marching by the song.

The Baganda were remarkably good runners and walkers, and could carry a load of some thirty pounds' weight a distance of thirty miles in a day.

When the King engaged a new drummer for any of the royal drums, he gave him a woman, a cow, and a load of barkcloths. No woman might touch a drum when she was menstruating; she had to keep at a safe distance, lest it should kill her, and she should defile the drum.

When a drum belonging to a clan required a new skin, the leading members of the clan had to assist in supplying it.

When the King conferred a chieftainship on a man, the latter took a representative from the King to beat his drum, as he proceeded to take over the chieftainship. The drummer had to be paid either a cow or a goat, according to the importance of the office into which the chief was instituted.

Native names given to the rhythm of the drums.

Each chief, in addition to the drum of office of his chieftainship, had also his own private drum belonging to his clan, which was beaten from time to time to ensure the permanency of his office. On this latter he would beat the rhythm of his own clan. The people say that the rhythm of the various clan-drums is as follows:—

The Locust clan beats *Mpagi* ("post").

The Manis clan beats *Galinya*, or *Gasengeja* ("they go up," and "they filter," or "strain").

The Monkey clan beats *Senya enku* ("gather firewood").

The Buffalo clan beats *Kagwa* ("it has fallen").

The Elephant clan beats *Nakatiayuga*.

The Katinvuma clan beats *Asude kasude mu Kyadondwa* ("he throws it down, he throws it down in Kyadonda").

The Mushroom clan beats *Wekirikiti*.

The Leopard clan beats *A kana kengo* ("ah! child of the leopard").

The Yam clan beats *Kasonze*.

The Lion clan beats *Nsabiyo kyoto* ("beg a fireplace for me").

The Otter clan beats *Lwajali* (which is the name of a river, Lwajali).

The Colobus monkey clan beats *Tatula* ("he does not sit down").

The Lung fish clan beats *Kalya koka* ("he only eats").

The Sheep clan beats *Waja ngala musaja mukulu ogula ngabo*.

The Gazelle (oribi) clan beats *Nampima*.

The Bird clan beats *Waliva nyonyi abuse* ("where is the bird that flies?").

The Rat clan beats *Kibu tekizekuleuna kiza kutwalana*.

The Heart clan beats *Nakatete*.

The Bean clan beats *Sambigoto*.

The Bushbuck clan beats *Tade kaku*.

The Hippopotamus clan beats *Nyanja wedira maki*.

The Jackal clan beats *Bampita kasengeja* ("they call me to strain it").

The Cephalopus clan beats *Kado omulamazi*.

The Gennet clan beats *Kyaguligamba*.

The Crow clan beats *Nkyabuza kagera*.

The King and some of the greater chiefs maintained bands which were called the Busoga bands. Trumpets or horns from long bottle-gourds were made and were covered with skin, and men learned to blow them in such a manner that, with a number of eight or ten, they managed to produce different sounds, and by blowing them at intervals they made up tunes which were not at all unpleasant, though they were somewhat weird. By making instruments in different shapes and sizes they obtained different tones.

The *madinda* was also a favourite instrument in the court of the King and of the leading chiefs. It was like the zither <sup>The</sup> *madinda* in principle, formed of two logs over which were placed pieces of wood from three to four feet long and three or four inches square. These pieces of wood were scooped out underneath, and were laid across the logs with their ends only resting upon them, and were graduated so as to produce a very mellow sound. There were usually twelve pieces laid on the logs for the scale, though in some large *madinda* there were as many as nineteen. Two players were required, who sat, one on each side of the instrument, opposite each other;



FIG. 8. -- BAGANDA MUSICAL BAND.

each of these had two short sticks to beat upon the pieces of wood. Some of the more expert players could produce very pleasant tunes.

The harp has always been a favourite instrument in the country. There are two kinds, one purely Baganda, and the other Basoga, which has almost entirely superseded the original Baganda harp. The latter was made with a base consisting of a shell of wood twelve inches long, eight inches

The harp.



FIG. 9.—MADINDA AND DRUMS.

wide, and five inches deep ; this shell was scooped out like the back of a tortoise. Into the shell a curved stick eighteen inches long and three-quarters of an inch thick was fixed, so that its end was inside, below the sides of the shell. The shell was generally covered with water-lizard skin ; it was stretched and stitched over while it was moist, so that when it dried it was taut. At the top end of the curved stick eight holes were pierced, and pegs were fitted into them, to which the strings, which were the sinews of animals, were fastened ; these passed to the inside of the shell. The strings were of

D

different length, owing to their position on the curved stick; the player tuned them by turning the pegs and tightening them, just as a violinist tightens the strings of a violin.

The Basoga harp, which has recently superseded the older harp, has two bars projecting upwards from the base or shell at angles, so that the outer ends are wider apart than those in the shell; on them a cross-piece is morticed which has rings of twisted cord on it, to which the strings are attached



FIG. 10.—HARPS AND FIFE.

for tuning. The rings can be turned round upon the bar to tighten the strings when they are tuned. At the end of the cross-piece are ornaments consisting of tufts of goats' hair. The strings of the Basoga harp are horizontal, while those of the Baganda harp are vertical; in the Basoga harp the short strings are in the centre, while the outer ones are longer. The side bars are eighteen inches long, and the cross-piece for the strings is fifteen inches long.

The tunes played upon these harps are invariably in the

minor key, and the player accompanies his tunes with songs. The Basoga harp is almost entirely used for love songs and drinking ditties, which are mostly impure and obscene. The old harp used at the court of the King and chiefs used to be accompanied by songs belauding the King's power and benevolence, praising him, and belittling his enemies. The words were made up to fit the tunes at a moment's notice, and were suited to passing events. Both the King and the chiefs had musicians, who were expected to come forward



FIG. 11.—BLIND HARPIST.

and play, especially when the evening meal was ended. The bard was usually a man who had been deprived of his sight, that he might not look upon the court ladies or fall in love with them, and who made it his business to learn all the gossip of the day, and to retail it in his songs. In this way he would entertain his hearers as they sat together in the evening. The older and more popular songs were the traditions and legends of the nation, sung in a minor key.

The fife was another favourite instrument ; almost every The fife. herd boy possessed one, and could play the ordinary tunes.

Fifes were made from a reed which grows freely in the swamps and rivers ; six holes were bored for the fingers, and the end was notched for the mouthpiece ; the lip was used to fill up the end, and to modify the amount of space required for playing it. The King and the chiefs had their special fife-players, some of whom always accompanied them, and had grown quite old in their service ; their fifes were beautifully decorated, and ornamented at the end with a tuft of goat's hair, which they flourished as they played. These



FIG. 12.—BAGANDA FIFE PLAYERS.

men could travel fifteen or twenty miles, playing the whole time and keeping time to the drums. Some of the older players could also introduce words of songs into their music, by playing a few bars, and then singing a few stanzas, so that it sounded as though there were two musicians at work, one playing, and the other singing. Sometimes two performers played duets on their instruments, but, as a rule, the fife was played alone, except when it was introduced into one of the bands which we have mentioned above as the Basoga bands. The tunes played on the fife were also in the minor key, and they were not unlike Gregorian chants. The music was not



unpleasant, and, when men were on the march, it undoubtedly stimulated them to keep time and step.

Hunters' horns were also transformed into musical instruments, and the players who become experts on them could vary the sounds by placing their finger upon the hole made in the end: the hole for the wind was always at the side. These performers also used words which they interspersed with their tunes, in order to give the impression that two men were performing, one singing, the other playing.

Judged purely from a native standpoint, the Baganda were most musical. The sound of song or instrument was seldom absent from their homes, and even accompanied them when marching or working. Their voices had a nasal sound, and they had no idea of singing in parts. The sailors were the acknowledged songsmen of the country, and it was their invariable habit to sing while paddling. They seldom put in more than a few strokes, before some one started the song, to keep time for the paddlers; all the men joined in the chorus. The effect of their songs on the water, especially by night, was inspiring and soothing to a high degree. The King often sent for the canoe-men to come and sing their songs; when they came, they marched round and round in one of the courtyards, working their arms as though paddling, and singing at the same time.

Periods of time were marked by the reigns of the kings, called the *mirembe* of each king; *mirembe* signifies the time of peace enjoyed during the reign of the king, after the anarchy and disturbance which were rife during the interregnum between the death of one king and the appointment of his successor. The events falling in the reign of a particular king were fixed chronologically by the wars in which he engaged or, if there was no war, by the hill upon which the king lived at the time, before he moved his capital to another hill. By this method of marking time the people were able to tell within a few weeks when an event had happened, or when a person had been born.

The  
Division  
of time.  
The  
Calendar.

A season of rain followed by drought made up a year; accordingly, the people regarded the year as consisting of six months, or moons, and they called it the *mwaka*. In

Uganda there was seldom a full month, even in the driest season, in which some rain did not fall, and though the natives have fixed their year as consisting of six months, there is no doubt that the dry season which falls about December, is much more severe than that which falls about June. The rainy season occurring between February and June was termed *Togo mukazi*, because the rains fall then without much thunder; the second rainy season from August to November was called *Dumbi Musaja*, because of the thunder and the frequent deaths from lightning.

The months were marked by the appearance of the moon; they served to inform people when they might expect the rains, which were so important for cultivation.

The days were reckoned from sunset to sunset, that is to say, a night and a day, not a day and a night, made up their day (lunaku).

The day was divided up as follows:—

Night (Ekiro).

Midnight (Tumbi).

Very early in the morning, about 4 a.m. (Matulutulu).

Early morning, about 5 a.m. (Mumakya).

Morning used generally (Enkya).

Morning from 6 o'clock to 9 o'clock (Akasana).

Morning from 9 o'clock to 12 o'clock (Musana).

Noon (Tuntu).

Afternoon, that is from 1 o'clock to 4 o'clock (Olwegulo).

Evening from 5 o'clock to sunset or dark (Akawungezi).

Uganda being on the equator, there is practically no twilight; the sun sets, and in a few minutes it is quite dark.

By some of the lower orders the times were measured by the meals of which they partook, the morning meal at about seven o'clock (okulya kya enkya), the midday meal (emere ya musana), and the evening meal (emere ya ekiro), which was served about six o'clock.

Women digging in the gardens spoke of the time when any event took place as the time of the first, or second pipe; the first was smoked about eight o'clock when they rested, and the second pipe was smoked when they ceased work at about ten o'clock.

The sun was the Baganda timepiece. When it sank they said: "She has gone to Kiwalabya to eat the peelings of plantains which were placed there for her; while there, the people of Nakakakulu have taken her by the horns and kept her from falling down from the earth and being lost; they send her back across the earth to the East by night, and she will be ready for another day's journey early on the following morning."

In measuring length, they spoke of roads as being *Mitala*, Measure-  
ment. which meant a stretch of road from one swamp to another, possibly including a hill. Plots of land in which plantains were planted were called *Nsuku*. One such plot was thought to be enough to maintain a family with sufficient food. Plots upon which potatoes and maize were sown were called *Misirye*; such a plot was usually ten or twelve yards square.

Poles for building purposes were measured by the foot (*kigere*); this was done by men going along the tree after it had been felled with one foot placed immediately in front of the other, and so counting the number of feet.

They used the outstretched arms for measuring such things as the space to be left between one pole and another in building a house; this was called *Kifuba*.

The cubit (*mukono*) was used for measuring the length of a fence, and also for road measurements; for smaller measurements they used the span, which they took from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the second finger.

For dry measure, such as salt or grain, they used a small basket called *kibo*, generally containing about ten pounds' weight. As a rule salt was tied up in small packets, containing about a tablespoon full, called a *tu*, and sold for ten cowry-shells; they also had loads of about thirty or forty pounds of salt, which they called *luby*.

Coffee berries were sold in packets of twenty pounds called *kiribwa*, done up in plantain fibre, but sometimes the coffee berries were sold by the basket.

Sweet potatoes were done up in bundles of thirty pounds fastened in grass, which they tied in a long bundle called *lutata*.

Firewood was tied in bundles, called *kinya*, of about forty pounds' weight; or, when larger bundles were made, they were called *lusekese* and were as heavy as a man could carry.

Grass for thatching houses was done up into small bundles called *enjola*, and these were again tied up into larger bundles called *kinya*; when brought in by workmen, or when bought for thatching, it was done up into the *enjola*.

Reeds either for building or for torches, were tied in bundles called *muganda*, or *kinya*, or sometimes *luseke*, according to the size of the bundles.

Beer was measured by the gourd, which was called a *kita*, or, if it was wanted in smaller quantities, it was sold by the *ndeku*. For brewing purposes it was measured by the bath (*lyato*), a large tub six feet long by two feet six inches wide, and eighteen inches deep.

Counting Owing perhaps to the introduction and free use of the cowry-shell, counting has never presented any difficulty to the people. The numbers run up to ten; then twenty, thirty, etc., are expressed as so many tens, until sixty is reached.

One is *emu*.

Two is *biri*.

Three is *satu*.

Four is *nya*.

Five is *tano*.

Six is *mukaga*.

Seven is *musanvu*.

Eight is *munana*.

Nine is *mwenda*.

Ten is *kumi*.

Eleven is ten and one *kumi ne emu*.

Twelve is ten and two *kumi ne biri*.

Twenty is two tens *amakumi abiri*.

Twenty-one is two tens and one *makumi abiri ne emu*.

Sixty is *enkaga*.

Seventy is *ensanvu*.

Eighty is *kinana*.

Ninety is *kyenda*.

One hundred is *kikumi*.

Two hundred is *bikumi bibiri*.

Six hundred is *lukaga*.

Seven hundred is *lusanvu*.

Eight hundred is *lunana*.

Nine hundred is *luwenda*.

One thousand is *lukumi*.

One thousand two hundred is *lukumi mu bibiri*.

Six thousand is *kasanvu*.

Twenty thousand is *bukumi bubiri*.

One hundred thousand is *busirivu*.

One million is *akakade*.

Two millions are *bukade bubiri*.

Ten millions are *akatabalika*, the uncountable number.

Twenty millions *ebutabalika bubiri*, the uncountable amount twice over.

Ten thousand is often spoken of as a *mutwalo*, because it was the number of cowry-shells which a man carried, and so the term came to be applied to anything containing ten thousand.

The fingers were often used to demonstrate, when counting; thus the first finger extended denoted one. The two first fingers extended denoted two; the first finger bent inwards and held down by the thumb, while the other three fingers were extended, denoted three. The entire four fingers extended with the thumb turned inwards denoted four. The fist closed with the thumb bent inwards under the fingers denoted five. The two fists closed and held together denoted ten.

There was a system of rhythm taught to children, while they were quite young, which was sung in a droning manner thus:—

*Kanamu nabiri kafumba mwani, kuta enkoni malangaje kanawale ofumbotya kulugyo.* As they sang each word, they pointed to a finger on each hand.

Another little ditty was:—

*Nkoma nkomagiri kanyonyi kamufumuse mpindi nokolera matale magunda titi wagugana.* While singing this also, they pointed to the fingers of each hand.

When a person had a number of things to remember, he cut bits of stick one to represent each thing, and tied them

into bundles ; as he delivered each subject of his message he took one stick out of the bundle ; this was done more particularly when a man was sent some distance with a message.

To remember the days of the month the people sometimes tied knots on a piece of plantain fibre, one for each day ; then they counted the knots when they wished to know the exact number of days.

When a person was being entrusted with an important message, and had no one to remind him of its purport, he recited the message several times, until it was firmly fixed in his mind. It was the usual custom to make a boy repeat a message after it was given, to see if he understood it, and also to ask him where he was going.

Saluta-  
tions.

The Baganda were most polite in greeting one another, and in inquiring after one another's welfare ; in the same way they were careful to thank anyone for doing work, whether it were his own or his master's. It was the custom for the inferior to address the superior. When any man saw the King approaching, he went down on his knees ; and if he wished to be particularly polite, he said *nkusinza*, which means " I worship you," or he might say *otyano sebo*. It is not quite easy to give the exact meaning of this last phrase : in *otyano* the letter *o* is without doubt the pronoun " thou," *tya* is the verb " to fear," while *no* is simply an enclitic which adds to the politeness of the word ; the literal meaning must have been " Have you any cause for fear ?" to which the reply would be in the negative, "*ah ! ah ! no*." Then the phrase came to mean, " Are you well ?" the underlying idea being possibly, " Have you cause to fear some one has worked magic upon you and caused you to be unwell ?" Sometimes the question asked was "*Otya wanwe ?*" *i.e.* " Is there cause for fear at your home ?" The reply was invariably in the negative, even when some one was ill : the person addressed, after saying that there was no cause for fear or anxiety, would proceed to tell about the sickness or other trouble.

Another question asked when meeting a friend was "*Agafayo ?*" which may be equivalent to "*Amarwulire agafayo,*" " What is the news where you have come from ?"

After a person had asked these questions, he might ask, "*Osulotya?*" "How have you slept?" if it was still early in the day. At noon, or later, he asked the question, "*Osibotya?*" "How have you spent the day?" The answer might be a negative, "*ah, ah,*" "no, no," or it might be "*Sigalaba,*" "I have seen nothing wrong," that is, "All is well." When friends met who had not seen each other for some time, it was the custom for them to embrace; they put the hands on each other's shoulders, slightly to the back of the shoulder, and put the head first on one shoulder, and then on the other; the faces never touched, though the chin might rest on the other's shoulder. In greeting, a person took the other's hand and shook it, but that was probably a Bahima custom, and not a genuine Baganda one. Friends who met and embraced always asked the question over and over again, "*Otyano?*" and afterwards they continued for a long time to utter a string of ejaculations, "*Ah! Ah!*" first one, and then the other; these were little more than negative grunts, and may be interpreted, "No, there is nothing bad, I am not unwell." These ejaculations were repeated for twenty minutes when attached friends met, and, after a few other remarks, they would begin all over again, before they settled down to a long talk. During the whole time they would laugh with pleasure at meeting and ask repeatedly *Otyano*, if one of them had been on a journey, the other would congratulate him upon his safe return with *kulika*; the real meaning of this word is doubtful, though some say that it means "I am glad you have escaped the dangers of the road."

Other expressions used between great friends who met after a long separation were *manu* or *nyoge*. The exact meaning of these expressions is lost, but they convey the idea of warmth in welcome, and of great pleasure at seeing a person again. Sometimes the expression *erade* was used, which means, "Is all as peaceful as the Lake on a calm day?" The reply was also *erade*, meaning "It is peaceful."

It was the custom for a person, when visiting another, to stay for some time before making a move to leave; when he wished to go, he was not at liberty to say "good-bye," and start off at once. He would say *Maze okulaba*, "I have

seen you and wish to go." To this the host would reply, "*Eh! Eh! we laba,*" "Yes, good-bye"; he might add, "*webale okuja kundaba,*" "Thank you for coming to see me"; the guest replied, *welaba*, and departed. If it was a maid or a servant who had been sent by a master or mistress to another person with a message, then, after delivering the message, she could leave by simply saying that she wished to do so. It was customary for a man's servants to kneel when they spoke to him, or when they came to receive orders or explanations about their work. When a chief called his men servants they often replied, "'*wampa,*' You have given to me," meaning, "It is you who have given me all that I have, my wife, food, and clothing." This could only be used by full grown men, and not by boys; the latter, when called, replied "*wange,*" "My master," so too, maids, when called by their mistress, replied *wange*.

It was considered rude for a boy or girl to keep silent when called, and any chief would punish severely either a boy or girl for such a breach of good manners. When an inferior addressed a superior, he prefixed his remarks with "sir," *sebo*, and when equals spoke to one another they said, "my fellow being," *munange*; this term might also be used when a superior thanked or praised an inferior for something which he had done. Girls and boys often addressed a woman of superior position with *nyabo*, which is a term of respect like "mother," or they might use the word "lady," *mukyala*. Ladies of position, and the king's wives were called *Bakyala*, because they ruled over a house, and had gardens and servants under them. This title belonged, strictly speaking, only to the man's wife, but it came to be used more generally for any woman holding a position of trust and authority in the family. It could not be used when addressing any unmarried woman, for she was a girl, *muwala*.

No inferior might take a thing from a superior, or pass it to him with one hand; he was obliged to hold out both hands, or to take the object in one hand and stretch out the other hand so as to touch the arm in which the object was held. Children always addressed their father as "sir," *sebo*, or



“chief,” *mwami*, and their mother as “lady,” *mukyala* or “mother,” *nyabo*.

In many Bantu tribes there is no word for expressing Thanks. thanks, and people take favours or gifts as a matter of course, and show no gratitude for them. In Uganda this is far from being the case; the people have forms and words which express their gratitude and pleasure for the smallest trifle. When an inferior received any favour from his superior, he knelt down, and, putting his hands together, brought them up over the right shoulder and down to the knees, where they were slightly parted, repeating the action in quick succession, and keeping it up for a longer or shorter time, according to the value of the gift and his pleasure therein; at the same time he said “Thank you,” *nyanze* or *webale*. When profuse thanks were offered, the recipient put his face to the floor, to show how utterly he adored the giver. Women thanked either their husband or their friend in this manner for any gift, though their movements were not so demonstrative or vigorous as those of the men. When a person thanked another for benefits received, all present joined in with the recipient, making a chorus of thanks.

## CHAPTER II

### BIRTH, INFANCY, AND PUBERTY

Treatment  
of childless  
women.

“EVERY married woman was anxious to become a mother, and expected to show signs of maternity within a few weeks of her marriage. A woman who had no children was despised, and soon became the slave and drudge of the household. If the wife was a favourite, her husband would persevere in the use of charms and drugs for months and sometimes for years; the medicine-men and the gods would be consulted, and no means would be spared to obtain children. After a husband had tried other methods in vain, the medicine-man ordered him to come with his wife and to bring a male goat; and the goat was killed by the medicine-man, who cut out the male organs and gave them to the woman to cook in a small pot; when she had done so, the medicine-man mixed the soup with herbs, and sent the couple to some place where a wild banana was growing. There the man stood on one side of the tree, and the woman on the other. The man drank some of the soup from the pot, and passed it round the tree to his wife who also drank of it; it was assumed that after this ceremony their union would be fruitful, and that the desired child would be born in due time. When a husband lost hope of having children, and the woman was pronounced to be sterile, she lost favour with him; and though he seldom put her entirely away, yet, where there was a second wife, the latter came to the front, and received the attentions and affection of her husband, while the barren wife became more and more his drudge.

Concep-  
tion by  
ghosts.

“While the present generation know the cause of pregnancy, the people in the earlier times were uncertain as to its real cause, and thought that it was possible to conceive without any intercourse with the male sex.” Hence their precautions when passing places where either a suicide had

been burnt, or a child born feet first had been buried. Women were careful to throw grass or sticks on such a spot, for by so doing they thought that they could prevent the

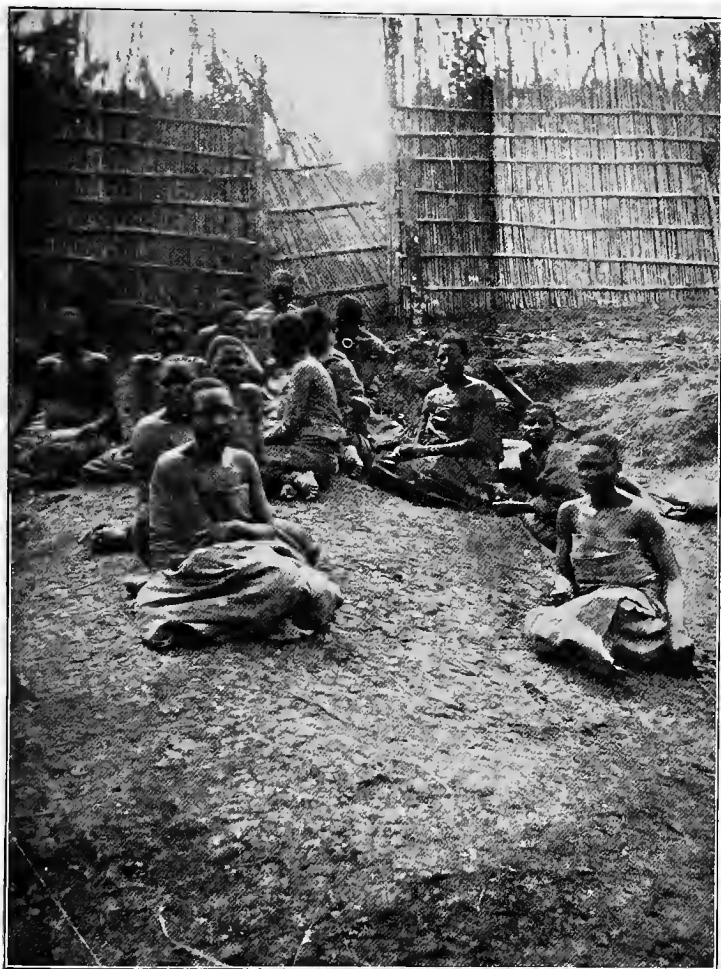


FIG. 13 —BAGANDA WOMEN.

ghost of the dead from entering into them, and being reborn. Women, who were found to be with child in circumstances in which they ought not to be with child, might deny any wrong-

doing on their own part ; they might affirm that some flower falling from a plantain upon them, while they were digging, had caused them to become pregnant. If the reader considers what a close connection was thought to exist between the plantains and the ghosts of the afterbirth, and also how the ghosts of ancestors were thought to reside amongst the plantains, he will readily understand that the conception was supposed to have taken place by the reincarnation of one of the ghosts.<sup>1</sup> The woman who pleaded that she had become pregnant by the falling of a plantain flower upon her back, was apparently not punished, as was the case with a woman who had committed adultery.

Treatment  
of preg-  
nant  
women.

As soon as a woman knew that she was pregnant she consulted the medicine-man ; and he would give her drugs to drink before she took her daily meals. In most instances the husband caused an elderly woman, one of his relations, to come and look after his wife until the child was born. In all cases it was the husband's clan who were specially interested in the pregnancy ; they looked after the mother, and made her do whatever they considered to be best for the unborn infant. No woman might allow a man to step over her legs when she was sitting on her mat. Women were never permitted to sit on any raised seat ; in fact, the introduction of stools even for men was of later date ; both sexes formerly sat on the ground, upon which they spread either skins or mats. Women always sat with their legs placed together, and brought back from the knees, so that the feet were together under the knees to one side ; if they wished to change their position, they leant forward on to their knees, and moved their feet to the other side and sat back again. Being taught from childhood to sit in this position, it was not difficult for them to continue thus for hours. For a woman to sit with her legs straight in front of her, or apart, was looked upon as unbecoming ; and for any man to step over her legs was equivalent to having intercourse with her ; the mere fact of stepping over a wife, or over some of her clothing, was a method frequently followed to end a taboo which necessitated intercourse. A pregnant woman had to be

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 52 and 54.

careful not to step over the mat or the feet of a man. Even peasant women were not allowed to sit in the doorway when a man entered the house ; they had to move away, otherwise it was thought their condition might be affected, the child might be killed. When a pregnant woman wished to pay a visit anywhere, her husband would send with her a boy belonging to his clan, whose duty it was to beat the grass on either side of the path, if it was a narrow one, in order to take away any evil effects which a man passing beforehand might have left behind. She was not allowed to drink from or to touch any vessel from which a man had drunk, and she had to avoid any contact with the garments which a man had worn. It was looked upon as unfortunate if a pregnant woman came in contact with, or even saw, any child that was not healthy and strong ; wild animals also, such as monkeys, were to be avoided, lest they should affect the mother, and the child should be born with large deep-set eyes like the animal's. If the woman laughed at a lame person it was thought that her child would be born lame. It was therefore deemed wise to keep wives within an enclosure and to limit the right of access thereto, so that all influences on the unborn child might be for good. During the period of pregnancy a woman had a number of taboos to observe ; she was not allowed to eat certain kinds of food ; and salt was also forbidden except one kind made from a grass which grows in the swamps, and obtained by burning this grass and washing the ashes and then evaporating the water. She was not allowed to eat any baked plantains, nor might she eat one particular kind of plantain (gonja) which was a favourite food either baked or boiled, certain kinds of beans, yams, the meat from the head of a goat, and an acid fruit (mutungulu) from the swamps. A woman in this condition had to drink a little water before she partook of any food, because it was thought that the child needed it, and that this would save it from being scalded by the food. No woman might eat hot food when in this condition, because it was thought that the child stretched out its hand to take the food which she swallowed, and that it would be scalded thereby. If a child was born without pigment on its hands, the absence

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was accounted for in this way, and the mother was blamed for scalding her child.

Proving  
the legiti-  
macy of a  
child.

Some clans had a custom of testing whether the child was legitimate before it was born. The woman had to sit nude in the evening, whilst all women of her husband's clan who cared to do so came and inspected her. They cooked a meal which they served for the husband and his wife, and after the meal they held a dance outside in the open air. The dance continued all night, and in the morning the wife was again subjected to the ordeal of being inspected while nude. The husband then came, himself nude, and jumped over her: if she had done wrong with any other man, it was supposed that the child would die after this ceremony, while, if it was the husband's child, it would gain strength thereby.

The  
King's  
wives.

When a wife of the King was pregnant she was sent to the King's Mother's sister, who had a house a little way from the royal enclosure, called *Nabikande*. As soon as a king came to the throne, he appointed two of his mother's sisters, whom he called his "Little mothers," to take the office of midwives to his wives; they lived near the royal enclosure, on land which was the private property of the King's wives, and where no man might walk without special permission. If any person was found trespassing on this land, he was put to death at once, because he was said to be intending undue familiarity with the royal ladies. The chief of the midwives took the title of *Nabikande*; she visited the King's wives from time to time, to see if any of them were pregnant. Those who said they were with child were inspected by her; and, if she thought it was the case, she took them away. She was accompanied by a female servant of an officer called *Mugema*, who while carrying out the duties belonging to her master received his own title *Mugema*. *Mugema*, it may be here mentioned, was a chief who, owing to his past services to King Kalimera, whom he rescued as an infant in Bunyoro, brought up, and restored to Uganda, was called the King's father. The term used for being with child was "*etu lya Mugema*."<sup>1</sup> The midwife *Nabikande* went into the royal

<sup>1</sup> This term only applies to the King's wives; no one seems able to give an explanation of the term; it may, however, be translated "a small portion of the *Mugema*."

enclosure, taking with her a few cowry-shells, and some seeds from the wild banana (*bitembe*), and when she wished to take out a wife, she would say, "I wish to buy a slave." The chief wife of the King would answer, "Buy this one," pointing out the woman who was with child; *Nabikande* then examined her, as though she were purchasing a slave, and, if satisfied, agreed to take her, and gave for her one cowry-shell and one wild banana seed, which were handed to the *Mugema's* woman. If there were two or three women to be taken, *Nabikande* paid one shell and one seed for each, and they were told to go with her. Each wife then rose up, took her water pot upon her head, and followed by her maids went to *Nabikande's* house, where the *Mugema* himself was awaiting them. He gave to each pregnant wife a maid, whose duty it was to wait upon her, and to see that she took her medicine, and did nothing that would be likely to injure her baby. The maid was not allowed to go away, or to leave the woman for more than a few moments by day or by night, until the child was born. The other maids of the expectant mother looked after her garden, and brought her food daily from it, while *Nabikande* watched over her and attended to her other wants. Other ceremonies were observed. The pregnant wife was shown into a new house; she also received a new cooking pot, a new water pot, and new clothing; everything about her had to be new, and she was shielded, so as not to see any deformed child, or any sickly person. The maids who waited on her were not allowed to eat their meals in company with any one else, and, when they went to the garden to bring food for their mistress, they had to avoid being seen by any one, and to go as secretly as though they were bent on theft; they ate only baked food; and in general their behaviour was like that of a prisoner's maid, because the condition of their mistress was termed "Being a prisoner."

The woman was confined in the same position as ordinary women, namely, kneeling. She was held in front by one of the midwives, while the other was behind ready to receive the child, a barkcloth only being spread on the floor for her to kneel upon. When delivered, the child was laid upon a plantain leaf, and those present waited for the afterbirth.

Birth of  
Royalty.

When this came away, the umbilical cord was cut, with a bit of reed taken from the doorway, if the child was a boy, and from the fireplace, if it was a girl. The midwife washed out the child's mouth with her finger and a little water, and blew up its nose to start respiration, and often placed a large thorn in the child's mouth for a few moments, to cause its breath to be sweet. As soon as the child was born the *Mugema* was told of its birth, and sex, and he announced the facts to the King. The maids announced its birth and sex in the royal enclosure by going leisurely into the garden, and cutting some of the plantains on the right side of the gate, if it was a boy, and on the left side, if it was a girl; they also stopped to trim the stem from which they had cut the food. The guardians of the place knew by this sign that the child was born, and also what its sex was. The after-birth was in most cases taken and placed at the root of a plantain tree; if the child was a boy, it was put at the root of a plantain tree from which beer was made; if it was a girl, at the root of a plantain used as a vegetable. The mother, assisted by the midwife, had to carry the afterbirth; she scraped a small hole in the centre of the cluster of plantain roots, and deposited it, covering it with a piece of a broken cooking pot and with plantain leaves, to prevent animals from taking it. In other cases the afterbirth was put into a piece of a broken cooking pot, and placed between the branches of a barkcloth tree where they forked out from the main stem, and covered with plantain fibre. The plantain tree which had been chosen for the deposit of the afterbirth was guarded by old ladies, who prevented anyone from going near it; they tied ropes of fibre from tree to tree to isolate it, and all the excretions from the child were thrown into this enclosure. The ceremony of placing the afterbirth at the root was called the *kufugika* of the child. When the fruit was ripe it was cut by the lady in charge. If it was the plantain used for beer, she had to brew it, and, together with *Nabikande*, to drink it. If, on the other hand, it was the kind used for food, it was cooked, and some of it was sent to *Nabikande* to eat. The mother was guarded by the midwives for nine days after the birth, and was not allowed



to leave the house after burying the afterbirth ; she took all her meals with the midwives, and all the leaves, in which the food was brought, were kept in a heap in the house, nor was the house swept or cleaned out during this time. A log supplied by *Mugema* was placed on the fire as soon as the child was born, and it was kept burning during the time of seclusion. At the end of nine days the mother was brought out; she washed at the back of the house, and, while she was washing, the house was swept and cleaned, and the log was taken and cast upon some waste land ; this purificatory ceremony was called the *kasiki*. The King came that evening and jumped over his wife, or, if he could not do this, owing to pressure from State duties, the *Mugema* had to take the girdle, which the woman wore, and place it on the ground, and the King jumped over it.

If the wife was a favourite, and the King wished to have her back at court as soon as possible, the *Mugema* had to secure a nurse for the child. This was done by watching for a mother with a child of about the same age and sex passing on one of the public roads ; the woman was caught and taken to *Nabikande*, and she became foster mother to the King's child. She was kept three years with the child, and was then sent back to her husband, and was rewarded with a cow or some other handsome gift. The husband soon heard what had become of his wife, and he had to manage as best he could until she was allowed to return to him. She nursed her own child chiefly upon cow's milk, and devoted herself to the King's child. To be foster mother to a prince was considered a great honour, and a prince always remembered his foster mother and often raised her husband to some important office. The same custom was followed in the case of a woman concerning whom the gods foretold that she would not make a good mother. Under ordinary circumstances, however, the wife of the King would herself nurse her child for three years, and then wean it.

In the case of a chief's wife, her husband's father's mother, if still alive, came to take charge of her, and failing that, some other old woman nearly related to the husband's father. As a rule, the wife was taken away to the paternal grandmother's

Foster-  
mothers.

General  
birth  
customs.

house to be watched and cared for, until the time of birth. For some weeks prior to the birth the woman was daily smeared with butter, and rubbed to make her bones supple. When the time for birth arrived, the old woman called in some one to assist her, and if the birth took place by day, the mother was taken outside into the garden, or into the yard at the back of the house where the people washed. She held on to a plantain or other tree, the second woman stood by her, and supported her, while the other was ready to receive the child. As soon as it was born, it was laid upon a plantain leaf, and the midwife washed out its mouth in the way already mentioned. In cases of cross birth they would send for a medicine-man, who would assist the woman by gently turning the child; if, however, he found this impossible, he would try to save the woman's life by removing the child. In most clans the first child born to a chief was awaited with considerable anxiety, because it was thought that the birth of a boy indicated that his father would die; hence, if a male was born, the midwife strangled it, and gave out that it was born dead; in this way the chief's life was ensured, otherwise, it was thought, he would die. If a child was born feet first, it was strangled, for it was thought that it would grow up into a thief and a murderer, and would be a disgrace to its parents, even if it did not kill them. The body of such a child was buried at cross roads, and not in the family ground; it was called *Kija nenge*. If a woman disliked her husband, or if she had any quarrel with him, it might happen that she would try to kill the child during the time of delivery, either by crushing it, or by sitting on it. The midwives at such times threatened the woman, and went so far as to whip her if she did not remain in the best position for the delivery. The custom mentioned before for cutting the umbilical cord was followed, but if the afterbirth was delayed, they tied a piece of fibre round the cord and cut it. The afterbirth was called the second child, and was believed to have a spirit, which became at once a ghost. It was on account of this ghost that they guarded the plantain by which the afterbirth was placed, because the person who partook of the beer made from this plantain, or of food cooked from it, took the ghost from its clan, and the

living child would then die in order to follow its twin ghost. The grandparent, by eating the food or drinking the beer, saved the clan from this catastrophe and ensured the health of the child.<sup>1</sup> When there was a case of retarded delivery, the relatives attributed it to adultery; they made the woman confess the name of the man with whom she had had intercourse, and if she died, her husband was fined by the members of her clan, for they said: "We did not give our daughter to you for the purpose of adultery, and you should have guarded her." In most cases, however, the medicine-men were able to save the woman's life, and upon recovery she was upbraided, and the man whom she accused was heavily fined. As soon as the child was born, the midwife sent a boy, who had to be a younger brother of the child's father, to fetch a log of wood, which was placed upon the fire and kept burning for the first nine days after the birth. No one was allowed to take any fire or water from the house during the nine days. When they were completed, the log was cast away upon some waste land, and was supposed to remove any evil that might be in the house. No one was allowed to enter the house; the mother had her meals with the midwife, and was said to be lying in *alkali*, and to be unapproachable. When the nine days (or in the case of some clans, seven days) were ended, the woman went out to wash, and her house was swept, and cleansed from all traces of the birth. The woman sent the sponge, with which she washed, to her husband, and he sponged his private parts with it; but in some clans it was customary for the wife to perform this office for her husband. She then cooked a meal, which her husband and the midwife ate with her; after the meal the husband paid the midwife for her services either a goat or a bark-cloth, and one hundred cowry-shells, whereupon she returned home. Later on, the husband jumped over his wife and ended the taboo; if he had intercourse with any of his other wives prior to observing these ceremonies, any child born to him would die. A wife lived apart from her husband

<sup>1</sup> It was thought that the grandparents, by eating the food or by drinking the beer from the plantains, retained the ghost of the afterbirth in the clan; whereas if a person belonging to another clan ate the food or drank the beer, he thereby carried away with him the ghost of the afterbirth.

for three years, while nursing her child ; but if she was his only wife, she joined her husband and continued to nurse her baby.

Custom observed in the Bean Clan to ensure the birth of a healthy child.

A woman of the Bean Clan, when about to have a child for the first time, had to observe a custom which they called *Kuanyia*. The members of the clan met together, about a month before the birth of the child, at the house of the expectant mother ; she was stripped of all her clothing, and was painted from head to foot with wood, ashes, and water, and a bunch of plantain-fibre was hung at the back of her neck reaching to the calves of her legs. She was paraded from house to house in the evening, while members of the clan accompanied her dancing ; this dancing and visiting continued the whole night. In the early morning she was taken home, and washed, and her body was rubbed with butter ; she was then dressed, and taken to the house of her mother-in-law ; the mother-in-law waited for her at the fireplace in a stooping posture ; the daughter-in-law was given a spear, and entering she pricked the great toe of her mother-in-law sufficiently to draw blood. The company then returned home with the expectant mother, dancing and beating their drums. They supposed that, if this ceremony were not observed, the child would be born dead, or would die immediately after its birth.

The Bean Clan custom to test a child's legitimacy.

The Bean Clan did not place the afterbirth at the root of a plantain, but buried it in the house near the door ; and again, they had no ceremony at the naming of the child. They kept the umbilical cord for three or four months on the husband's bed ; the mother then took it, and placed it between the toes of her husband, as he lay upon the bed, and he threw it as far as he could with his foot, and left it. They tested the child's legitimacy by another ceremony ; they took a small fish (nkeje), something like a sprat, and baked it with its fins and the ridge of spikes along its back left on it ; next a little banana flour was sprinkled on it, and the mother had to swallow it tail first. If the fish stuck in her throat, the child was disowned, whereas, if it was the child of her husband, she would be able to swallow the fish without any difficulty. If she failed to swallow it, she was accused of adultery, and

was severely handled by the clan, who also disowned the child.

In the Genet Clan, the afterbirth was hung upon the leaves of a plantain and left there. In the Grasshopper Clan, the afterbirth was buried in the house: if the child was a boy, they buried the afterbirth between the fireplace and the wall farthest from the door, and if it was a girl, they buried it between the fireplace and the doorway. The midwife in each clan was given a goat, or a barkcloth, and one hundred cowry-shells in recognition of her services. In the Grasshopper Clan, directly the cord dropped off the child, the mother announced the fact; and, as it was thought that the child would have died before this happened if she had been guilty of any misconduct, the child was provisionally accepted as legitimate, until the final testing took place. This clan adhered in other respects to the customs followed by the rest of the clans; a plantain tree, where the child's excretions were thrown, was guarded by the husband's mother. When the wife was allowed to go out and wash, she had to wash her husband also before he could eat the food which she cooked for him; and after the meal he jumped over her. In each clan the members of the clan could come and see the child as soon as the mother had performed the washing ceremony; till then the child was not seen by anyone except the midwife. The examination of the child by the husband's clan was very thorough, and they looked more particularly for any marks of skin disease. If they found such, it was a sign to them that the mother had broken some of the taboos which she should have observed during the time of pregnancy. In some cases they beat her for breaking the taboos and causing their child the sickness.

It has been said, and is thought to be a fact, that men who have many wives have only small families by each wife. Certainly the time that was given in these clans to the nursing of each child must have tended to decrease the number of children that a woman could possibly have; still, as they married young, and many of them became mothers at fifteen, and often continued to bear children until they were well over forty, numbers of them had large families. There are many women who are reported to have had ten and even

twelve children where the husband had forty wives. Cases are also recorded of men having had as many as four hundred children. A man with one hundred children was not regarded as having a large family. ☞

Nurse-  
maids.

Each child had a nurse appointed to take charge of it soon after birth; this girl was expected to be in constant attendance upon the child, and to be ready to amuse it and keep it quiet. Peasant women observed the same rules at birth as chiefs' wives, the only difference being that they had to begin work again at the end of seven days, and lived with their husbands just as they had done before the birth took place. The mother also had to take care of her child, unless the husband could find some one from his clan to come and act as nurse for his wife. It was customary for each mother to take her child out at the first new moon after its birth, and to point out the moon to it; this was supposed to make the child grow healthy and strong. A baby was never put down to amuse itself until the ceremony of placing it on the floor had been performed by the husband's mother; she came at the end of about three months, early in the morning, and after scooping a shallow hole in the floor, placed a piece of barkcloth in it, and seated the child on the barkcloth. The child's mother cooked a feast; her husband and a few friends gathered together to see the ceremony, and afterwards ate the meal. In the evening the husband jumped over his wife to strengthen the child (*kukuza omwana*). Until this ceremony of placing the child to sit had been accomplished, the nurse, or the mother, had to carry the child about, or to put it to lie down on its back.<sup>11</sup> A child's early days were never very interesting; it had its bed of thick barkcloth on the floor, near its mother's bed, where a good part of the first three months was spent. It never had any clothing except a string of beads around its waist, and perhaps a string of beads or of wild plantain seeds around its neck; these were worn to give the child strength and to make its neck grow straight. A string was tied round its waist to keep its stomach from becoming too big; this was not tight, but it had medicine on it to protect the child from growing out of true proportions. It underwent its daily washing, which was performed as follows: the child was taken out near the door,

a pot of warm water was brought by the nurse, two or three plantain leaves were spread out as a bath-mat, then the mother took the child by one arm, poured warm water over it, and rubbed it down. Sometimes, when the child was refractory and would not allow its face to be washed, she took its feet into her lap, rested its head on her hand, drew the water into her mouth, and squirted it over the child's face, while she rubbed it gently with her hand. No towel was used; the child had to become dry by draining and evaporation; after its bath it was taken into the house again.

“At the end of a few months children were fed with artificial food, in addition to being nursed; the food consisted chiefly of ripe banana boiled, or steamed, and mixed with milk; the mixture was plastered into the child's mouth as it howled and gasped for breath. From birth until the naming ceremony took place, a child never had its hair cut; the hair was carefully preserved, and often decorated with beads or cowry-shells. If one of the tufts of hair broke off, or was accidentally plucked off, it had to be tied on again, because it was unlucky to allow any hair to be lost until after the ceremony. “The child was visited and watched over by the husband's relatives, who took the mother to task if it did not thrive as it should do. “Children were never rebuked in early years, and received no moral training. “When the time came for an infant to learn to walk, the grandmother came again and tied some small bells on its legs, which answered the double purpose of strengthening its legs, and also of inducing it to make an attempt to walk, in order to hear the bells ring. A child was carried on the nurse's or mother's back in a barkcloth sling, or, in later times, in one of calico; it sat with one leg on either side of the nurse's back, and its arms above the sling. When not in the sling it was put on the nurse's hip with one leg in front of, and one behind its nurse, and her arm around it, thus leaving the other hand of the nurse free for work. As soon as a child showed signs of teething, it was watched anxiously by the mother, for if it cut the upper teeth before the lower, this was regarded as an evil omen that it would ill-treat its mother when it grew up. Women carried their children on their backs in slings, and carried wood or water upon their heads. At home a child

was allowed to lie upon the floor, and, when it grew older, it played in the dust ; it was not trained in habits of cleanliness, and it grew up more like an animal than a human being ; the mother's affection for it was not unlike that of an animal for its offspring. If a man divorced his wife, she was not



FIG. 14.—MOTHERS CARRYING CHILDREN.

allowed to take her child with her ; it belonged to the husband, it was his duty to look after it as best he could. A mother, who was nursing her child, would tear it away from her breast, and pass it to her husband, saying, " Take your child." This seems to point to a lack of real love, as also does the fact that children were taken away from their



mother after they had been weaned and had little, or nothing to do with her afterwards. Still, children, as they grew up, had some regard for their parents; the father was at least feared and respected, while there was something approaching love shown towards the mother. No mother ever thought of kissing her child; there was nothing known among the people like kissing. She might hug it, and pat it, while it was small, when it was cross or had been hurt; and the child would cling to her for protection, when in danger, or turn to her to be comforted when in distress. The language contains no word for tender affection such as love; the word in use, *kwagala*, has to serve for liking and love, but does not convey the idea of affection; another word, *kuganza*, was used when a person became demonstrative and showed his affection by making gifts; this was the word used when a man made love to a woman, especially when he was anxious to have sexual intercourse with her.

Children, when they were old enough to leave their mothers, were taken away to some member of the father's clan. They had, however, a warmer feeling for their mother than for their father. This can be accounted for by the fact that a father had often so many wives and children that the attention which he gave to them could only be of a general character, while the claim on the mother was more direct. Still, the father and the members of his clan had a real interest in the children, and cared for them from their birth onwards till their death, while the mother's clan took less interest in them.

The next event of importance in a child's life was the naming ceremony (*kwalula*), which gave it its standing in the clan, and it was on this occasion that its legitimacy was established once and for ever. The marriage of the parents was unimportant compared with this ordeal of proving the child's legitimacy. If a woman had intercourse with any man, and became a mother by him, the child, if once it was accepted by the man's clan as his child, took its place among his children, with all the rights of a son whose mother had gone through the marriage ceremony. The gathering for the purpose of naming the child was generally held at the house of the chief of the clan, who took charge of the ceremonies.

Naming  
and re-  
ceiving a  
child into  
a clan.

No child could be brought singly for the ceremonies ; there must be at least two, one of either sex ; and children of one sex, however numerous they were, could not go through the ceremonies without awaiting at least one child of the other sex. The children were not necessarily all by one mother, or indeed by one father ; they might be members of several families ; they might also vary in age from a few months to four or five years. The mothers took their children to the appointed place, and each carried with her the piece of umbilical cord which she had preserved carefully from the time of birth ; in many clans the mothers wore it tied round their waist, so that it was kept safe. They also had to prepare some salt from the river reeds, and to take it with them to the feast. The head of the clan provided a barkcloth for each mother to sit upon during the ceremonies. When all was ready, the mothers assembled, placed their barkcloths in a row, and each one sat with her child, or children, with her ; on the opposite side, also on barkcloths, sat the husbands' mothers, whose office it was to test the cords. A space was left between the two rows, and a large wicker waterproof basket was placed there ; into this, beer, milk, and water were poured ; each mother then produced the umbilical cord of her child, and handed it to her mother-in-law, who dropped it into the vessel. In some clans the grandmother touched the cord with oil before she dropped it into the water ; as she dropped it in, she said : " This is the child of so and so," and mentioned some of the forefathers of the clan. If the cord floated, the women opposite raised a shrill cry of delight, *mizira*, and clapped their hands ; if it sank, the child was disowned by the clan, and said to be a child born in adultery. When the test ended, the cords were given back to the care of the mothers, until such time as they were wanted again. A feast was made for all the relatives who attended the ceremonies, while the mothers on that day had only an ordinary meal, because their taboo was not ended. One or two clans, in addition to the ceremony just described, took the cord in the evening, sought out a plantain just about to bear fruit, choosing the kind according to the sex of the child, then cut off the top of the plantain, just below the spot where the

leaves branched out, and made an incision in the stem a few inches below, cutting right through to the heart of the tree with a knife used to serve up the cooked plantain food. The cord was inserted so as to rest in the core of the tree, and was left there. Early in the morning they went again to the tree, and if the core of the tree had shot up during the night, so that the piece of cord had come out and was above the place where the tree had been cut, this was regarded as a good sign; the previous decision had been confirmed, and the child was without doubt a member of the clan. The custom of another clan was to put the cord into a piece of moist cowdung, and throw it against the wall of the house; if it stuck to the wall, this was a good sign, which confirmed the other test; if, however, it fell off twice, this was a sign that the child was not a member of the clan. Other clans preserved the umbilical cord on their bed, or put it with the afterbirth at the root of the plantain tree. When the test of placing the cords in the mixture was ended, the children, sometimes two at a time, were placed upon the back of one of the strongest girls present, and some of the mixture was sprinkled over them, until it was all emptied from the vessel. The head of the clan then presented each boy with a goat skin and each girl with a piece of barkcloth. After the ceremony the people who had already partaken of their meal separated, while the mothers were required to draw water, or to bring firewood, for the head of the clan, before they were allowed to take their evening meal. The meal ended, they sat in the house in a row, with their feet in front of them, and the head of the clan jumped over each one, and, as he did so, the woman would tell her child that he was its father. In many of the clans the husband also jumped over his wife. They all stayed the night at the house of the head of the clan, and early next morning a feast was prepared for the wives who had passed the test for their children. Each mother again sat on her barkcloth in the open, and her mother-in-law sat opposite, holding a piece of cooked fish in her right hand and a piece of cooked plantain in her left. She placed her right hand on the mother's left leg, and her left hand on the mother's right leg, and went slowly through the list of her son's forefathers,

and, as she mentioned them, she moved her hands gradually higher, until she reached her daughter-in-law's mouth, into which she put first the boiled plantain and then the fish. The mother ate it, and was thereupon free to rise. The fish was given and eaten as a charm to effect rapid child-bearing, just as the fish swarm by thousands in the shallow waters of the lake. When all the mothers had undergone this ceremony, the children were brought: each grandmother went to her grandchild and mentioned the names of first one, and then another, of her son's forefathers, beginning with the name of the deceased ancestor nearest to her son, but not mentioning any living person. As she rehearsed their names, each time going further back, she watched the child, and when it laughed it was a token to her that the ancestor just named was he whose ghost would be the child's guardian. If the child subsequently fell ill, or if it did not thrive, they changed its name, and appointed another guardian, because the former was supposed to dislike the child. It was by this name that the child was known in its clan, though not commonly outside; when any matter of importance occurred within the clan concerning the child, the name would at once be mentioned, and be a proof of its membership. After naming her grandchild, the grandmother took it aside and shaved its head, then carefully gathering the hair together, she tied it in a bundle, and placed it at the root of the plantain where the afterbirth was. A feast was made for the mothers, at which they were welcomed and praised by all the members of the husband's clan. Those who failed to pass the test were scolded, forced to confess who was the father of the child, and in some cases were even beaten by the women of the husband's clan. Princes and the King's wives did not wait for several children before the ceremony was performed, though as a rule they too brought both a boy and a girl. The paternal grandmother came to perform the ceremony with *Kago* and the *Mugema* and the umbilical cords were taken to be decorated and preserved with the twins (balongo)<sup>1</sup> of the kings and princes.

The birth  
of twins.

The birth of twins was a most important event, for they were regarded as due to the direct intervention of the god

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 110, 145, 235, 283.

Mukasa, and this necessitated great care and numbers of taboos, in order to retain the favour of the god. Any mistake on the part of the parents, or any sickness which befell the twins, was looked upon as the result of the god's anger, which might extend to the whole clan. Immediately after the midwife had announced to the father that there were twins (which she did, not by mentioning the word "twins," which was taboo, but by other means, such as saying, "he has given you,") the father went to inform the medicine-man who had been his wife's doctor previous to the birth, and the medicine-man advised him what precautions to take. If born outside, the children might not be taken into the house, until the medicine-man had been consulted. The afterbirths had to be taken into the house, put into new cooking pots near the fire-place, and covered with plantain leaves, and kept there until after the children were named. The umbilical cords were cut according to the sexes of the children upon either an axe or hoe handle, as already mentioned. The persons of the parents were sacred, and they had to wear a distinctive dress, to mark them, and to prevent anyone from touching them. The father was called *Salongo*, and the mother *Nalongo*; the father wore two barkcloths, one knotted over each shoulder, and bells on his ankles, while his wife wore a band made from a kind of creeper round her chest, and also bells on her ankles. The husband, by the advice of the medicine-man, appointed some friend who lived near to come and act as *Mutaka*. The duties of this person were, to turn over the door, and, by placing it across the opening of the doorway, to make it impossible for anyone to enter. He also had to cut two openings at the back of the house, one for the mother, and the other for the husband, to go in and out. The house was divided into two parts, one for the wife and her children, and the other for the husband. Outside, around the openings, a fence was built, which again had a division, to keep the two places separated the one from the other. Special drums, one for the mother and the other for the father, were beaten continually by day and by night. Both the husband and wife allowed their hair and nails to grow during the time the twin ceremonies continued; all their plantains were cooked in

the skins, and they were not allowed to see blood. The parents preferred the twins to be one of each sex, because this equalised the favour of the god; should they both be of one sex, they thought that the god had preferred one clan to the other; *i.e.*, if the children were both boys, the god had favoured the father's clan, while, if they were both girls, the god was supposed to have favoured the mother's clan. The clan which had been neglected had to make offerings to the god in order to regain his favour. On the third day after the birth, the father of the twins had to go to his father, to give him information of their birth; he was not, however, allowed to enter his father's house, nor to see him, until after the naming of the children had taken place. Hence, on this occasion, he would take a special kind of knife to indicate a boy, and a plantain-fibre-ring, such as women put on their heads when carrying a pot, to indicate a girl, and would place these by the door, and call to his father: "I have brought the children to you." The parents understood that their son was the happy father of twins, and set about to find a boy to go with him, to act as "great father" (Salongo Mukulu), and a girl to be his "queen" (Lubuga).

The boy had to be either a younger brother of the father of twins by the same father, or his father's near relative; he had to be quite a lad, too young for marriage (for he would be living with the mother of the twins and with other girls), and he had to take upon himself the responsibility of continence, which would otherwise rest upon the father of the twins. The father of the twins was called the "little father," and might live with his other wives, without endangering either his wife or children. He left the youth to look after the mother and the twins, and to see that they had everything they needed. The father made a second pad and presented it with a knife to his wife's parents, in the same way as he had done to his own parents, calling out that he had brought the children, and they gave him a girl to be the "great mother" of the twins, and a second girl to be "queen." His father-in-law gave him two barkcloths for himself, and two for his wife, and his own father made him the same present. The grandparents on either side could not visit the twins until the birth ceremonies

were ended, nor might the father meet his sisters, or his father's sisters, until the children were named. The news was soon noised abroad, and members of the clan met, and made arrangements for the dances which attended the birth of twins. The drums were constantly kept going: one drum was beaten whenever the mother bathed the children, or when she nursed them, or when she had her meals; and the other drum announced the husband's movements, and let the people know what was going on in the enclosure. The father was supplied by his clan with a decorated basket, and a gourd-bottle, the one to put his food in and the other for his beer; the wife was also supplied by her family with a basket and a gourd; these also were carried by the husband wherever he went. When any food or drink was given him, he put some of it in these vessels for his wife, because all their food had to be shared, otherwise (it was thought) the children would suffer. The husband had to make a long round of visits, first to the members of his own clan, to announce that he intended to come and dance later on; at each place which he intended to visit he left a tuft of plantain-fibre, which he threw into the house; the inmates stowed it away, and called it "The twins." After he had visited his own relations, he went to those of his wife's clan; afterwards he might visit any of his friends, and invite them also to the feast. These visits often occupied two or three months; while making them the husband carried two spears with him, one of iron of the ordinary type, and one of wood; these were tied together to represent twins. His person was sacred, no one dared touch him, and he could do what he liked, because he was under the protection of the god. Two small drums accompanied him on his journey; they were the special drums for twins, and were known by their rhythm. All the guests invited had to prepare food for the ceremonies which attended the bringing of the children out from the house.

When all the preliminaries had been arranged, the medicine-man was asked to fix the day on which the twins might be brought out and named. When that was settled, both father and mother of the twins went by night, secretly,

Ceremony  
of stealing  
plantains  
from the  
*Mutaka's*  
garden.

to steal each a bunch of plantains from the garden of the man who held the office of *Mutaka*. They took friends with them, and crept to the desired plantain trees ; the wife had to select the kind used as a vegetable, while her husband had to select the kind used for making beer. The fruit had to be chosen from a tree on which it was not as yet fully ripe ; it was necessary that the flower stem should still adhere to it. The people who accompanied the parents had to thump the tree with their elbows, after which the fruit was cut. When they had secured the fruit, and retreated to a safe distance, they would sing out : "You our friends, we have cut the plantain with our elbows," and would run away, chased by the owners of the garden, who tried to catch them. If one of the raiders was caught, he had to pay one hundred cowry-shells as a fine. The flowers were cut from the stems, and placed over the door of the house, and the plantains were reserved for the feast. All the relatives and friends invited were told on what day the twins were to be brought out, and they made their preparations accordingly to bring cooked food and meat ; many of them, who lived at a distance, arrived before the day, and built huts round the house, and remained there, dancing daily, and assisting to collect and cook food for the feast. The leaves in which uncooked plantains were wrapped, as they were brought daily, were taken and tied to the fence which enclosed the back premises. During the time that the ceremonies were going forward, the mother (Nalongo) was not allowed to go out during the day without covering her head. Various reasons have been given for this rule ; some say that it was to prevent her being seen by any man, others say that it was to prevent her from gazing upon the sun, for should she do so, it was believed that the earth would be burnt up. It was thought that any indiscretion on the mother's part would be visited by the god Mukasa upon the clan. The grandfather of the twins wore a strip of the barkcloth which his son had worn when the twins were born ; he kept this on him until the final ceremony was performed. On the day on which the twins were brought out and named, the *Mutaka* came, and kicked open the door before daybreak ; the mother of the twins was then brought

Purifica-  
tory rites  
for the  
parents of  
twins.



out; the father, and also the boy *Salongo Mukulu* stood near. All the friends and relatives present at once brought torches of reeds, formed a procession, and went with the father (*Salongo*) and mother (*Nalongo*) to some waste land near by. There *Salongo* stripped his wife, and spread her barkcloth on the ground, while the people, with their backs to her, formed a circle around her. *Nalongo* lay down upon the barkcloth, and a flower from the plantain (which is a tapering cone about three inches long) was inserted between her legs over her private parts by her husband. The boy *Salongo Mukulu* approached and knocked the flower away with his foot, or, in some clans, he kneeled down, and knocked it away with the male organ. The moment this was done, the guests raised a shrill cry of delight, and *Nalongo* arose and wrapped her barkcloth around her, whereupon she and her husband were conducted to a stream of running water, if there was one near, or, failing that, to a well. In some clans they were carried like princes and princesses on men's shoulders. Both parents were washed and shaved all over, and the husband's father's mother, or one of her sisters, shaved their heads and bodies. The hair and the nail parings were collected and tied up into a ball in a piece of barkcloth, and kept until the man went to war, which completed the taboo called *lukanda*. The parents were provided with new barkcloths, but the father (*Salongo*) had to wear a piece of the old one underneath the new, and the mother (*Nalongo*) wore two barkcloths, like a priestess or royal personage, because of the dignity which she held as the mother of twins. They were conducted home to the sound of song and drum beating.

When they reached home they were conducted into the house; a goat was then brought, and killed near the fireplace. This was the first blood which they would have seen from the time of the birth of the twins. The *Mutaka* was given a goat and a barkcloth in recognition of his services. The meal began early, so that it was over soon after noon. The twins were thereupon brought out, and the testing of their legitimacy took place. It differed from the ordinary ceremony in only one point; when the

Ceremony  
of naming  
twins.

umbilical cord was dropped into the mixture, they watched to see whether it went to one side of the vessel or to the other ; if it went to the side where the father's relations were standing, the ghost of the afterbirth was said to prefer the father's clan, whereas if it went to the other side, they said that it wished to be nursed and therefore went to the mother's clan. The children were then washed with the fluid, and the ceremony was ended. Twins were always named after the god, the boys took the name of Mukasa, and the girls of Namukasa ; both were under the protection of the god. The pieces of umbilical cord were taken by the husband's relatives, and made up with the tongue of a white fowl into "twins" (balongo) and preserved by the clan, who wrapped them in barkcloths decorated with beads. The afterbirths were taken in the pots and placed either on waste land in the vicinity, or in an ant hillock, and were further covered with plantain leaves and fibre. They had been previously dried in the house, being kept near the fireplace, and from time to time placed in the sun. Dancing went on all that day ; the dancers took the dried leaves from the fence at the back of the house to make girdles ; towards evening the parents' clans took sides and fought a sham fight. The clans made plantain-fibre shields and reed spears, mounted the parents upon the shoulders of strong men, and amid laughter and song fought. The mother's clan cried, "*Wusi Salongo*," while the opposite side cried, "*Wusi Nalongo*," which is said to mean "Let the evil of the twins be upon the father's clan," to which the reply was made, "Let the evil be upon the mother's clan." In some clans the parents had each a pot, in which there was a mixture of water and white clay, with which they sprinkled the people ; it was supposed to give them a blessing, and make them fruitful ; some say that the water was urine from the parents. When the dance was ended, the people returned to their homes, except those who had made their huts around the house and were residing there for the time.

Visiting  
the pater-  
nal grand

During the next two or three days preparations were made to visit the father's parents, to whom they took a present consisting of food, a goat, and barkcloths. A

messenger announced the visit to the parents, who also had to make preparations to receive their son and his party. On the appointed day the twins and their father and mother were accompanied by a large party with drums and songs; *Salongo's* father decorated both his house and the approaches to it with palm leaves, and cooked a large amount of food for the whole party. When *Salongo* arrived, his first act was to drive a goat into his father's house in the early morning; after which his father and mother came out, and received their son and the twins. They exchanged presents of barkcloths, and the parents of the twins were also given a goat, which was killed at once for the feast. The grandmother received first one and then the other of the twins, nursed them, and gave them a present of cowry-shells; indeed, every one who came to see them from that day onwards threw a few cowry-shells into a basket placed to receive these offerings. The children also received each a piece of barkcloth from their grandparents. By this time the meal was ready; *Nalongo* presented her father-in-law and mother-in-law with the food which she had cooked; and they in turn presented what they had prepared. During the meal *Salongo's* father offered his daughter-in-law a piece of food, as is the custom with an honoured guest. *Salongo* gave barkcloths to any of his sisters who came to the dance. The dancing continued until evening, when the parents returned to their home with the twins, and the taboo upon the father and son ended. They had to prepare more food and more presents for the mother's parents, and after a few days' rest they set out to visit them, observing towards them ceremonies similar to those just described.

Having fulfilled these obligations they were free to go the round of visits to their relations and friends. In each case the twins were taken with them and offerings were made to them at the dances. The dances were most popular, not only for the pleasure of dancing, but also because the people believed that thereby they obtained a special blessing from the god Mukasa, who favoured the parents of twins, and through them dispensed blessing wherever they went. The programme was to go first to the *Mutaka*, from whom they had stolen the

parents of  
the twins.

Visiting  
the mater-  
nal grand-  
parents of  
the twins  
and other  
friends.

plantains, immediately after the visit to *Nalongo's* parents had been paid; next to the members of the father's clan, and lastly to friends. The people whom they visited thought that, not only they themselves would be blessed and given children, but that their herds and crops also would be multiplied. Offerings were made daily by the parents of the twins to the god, and the people whom they visited also sent offerings to him. For young people there was the attraction of plenty of food and beer, as well as of dancing. The songs were obscene, all of them referring to licentious practices of the people. In most cases there was also a good deal of promiscuous intercourse, while the dancing went on by night. Women who gave way to their passions at such times had to undergo the cleansing ceremony called *kukansira*, otherwise their children, or their husband's children, would fall ill and possibly die. The medicine-man came, and was given some of the woman's urine, which he mixed with other medicines, and then rubbed on her chest and on the chests of her children; this was supposed to neutralise any evil that had attached itself to her or to them.

Ending  
the twin-  
birth cere-  
monies.

When the dances were all ended, *Salongo* went to the god in person, taking with him a goat, some beer, two hundred cowry-shells for the twins, and all the cowry-shells which had been given them during the dances. After this he waited for an occasion to go into Bunyoro to fight, when he took with him the bundle of hair to finish the *lukanda* ceremony. In battle he had to kill a man, and to cram the bundle of hair into his mouth, or to tie it to his neck. On his return the dancing was renewed; there was another feast; both parents were again shaved; and the visits to the grand-parents of the twins were repeated. Afterwards *Salongo* went to the King, to whom he presented a pot of beer, receiving the same from the King. Sometimes the chief *Kago* was deputed to complete this ceremony for the King. When all these rites were performed, the father of the twins ceased to wear a distinctive dress, and became once again an ordinary person. In some clans the *lukanda* ceremony and the visit to the King preceded the visit to the grand-parents. The priest of the god sent each of the twins

some seeds from the wild banana to wear, and a white fowl, which was replaced if it died, or if it was carried off by any wild animal during the infancy of the twins.

Sometimes chiefs who were not able to go to war at once, and who wished to complete the *lukanda* ceremony, put one of their slaves to death, placed the hair in his mouth, and cast the body upon waste land for the wild animals. A peasant who went to war, but failed to kill a man, took the bundle of hair, and threw it into the enemy's country, and then returned home.

Should *Salongo* have grown-up daughters who wished to marry, they had to wait until all the ceremonies connected with the birth of twins were ended, after which they received the necessary permission.

When twins were born to the King, he appointed *Kago* to undertake the taboos for him, because his duties prevented him from fulfilling them in person. *Kago* had to wear the two barkcloths, and the bells upon his ankles, and to visit the King's relations and invite them to come to the dances. The King had to be shaved and to perform one or two of the other ceremonies, while *Kago* had to fulfil the *lukanda* ceremony, and to report on it to the King.

When the King's children were weaned, the boys were taken to the King's maternal uncle (Sabaganzi), who gave to each of them a well-dressed skin to wear, and then passed them on to their eldest brother, who bore the title of *Kiwewa*, and was never eligible for the throne. *Kiwewa* took them to their father, and told him who they were, and after that they were taken care of by the chief *Kasuju*. The King gave them some article of clothing; in early times it was a well-dressed goat skin. *Kasuju* was provided with an attendant for the princes, and it was his duty to supply them with gardens; these were termed barkcloth tree gardens (*Mituba*), because, when a prince received a garden, a barkcloth tree was planted in it. Princesses, when weaned, were taken to the Queen, where they were given small barkcloths to wear, and handed over to *Nasolo*, their eldest sister, who took them to the King for inspection; the King presented them with barkcloths, and they were then placed in the various

Weaning  
princes  
and prin-  
cesses.

gardens belonging to the princesses, and cared for by *Nasolo*. Some five Princes received titles and also the chief gardens set apart for the King's sons. They were under the care of the chief *Kasuju*, who, together with their elder brother *Kiveeva*, tried cases and settled any disputes that might arise, either amongst themselves, or with other people. In like manner *Nasolo* had to deal with all the disputes of her sisters, and report them to the King. Many princesses went to live at the various temples; the rest were given land; princesses were not allowed to marry. Both princes and princesses learnt to work, they were not expected to be idle; the girls were taught to dig and to cook, and the boys to hunt and to fight. After the princes or princesses were weaned, the mother was taken to the king, and he jumped over her; she was then free to return to her ordinary duties in the royal enclosure.

Guardian-  
ship of the  
children  
of com-  
moners.

After commoners had weaned their children, the husband jumped over his wife, and she resumed normal life with her husband.<sup>1</sup> The lawful person to decide with whom children should live after they were weaned was the son of the father's elder brother; the girls usually went to live with an elder married brother, until their own marriage, but if there was no married elder brother, they went to one of their father's brothers, and remained with him; boys went to live with their father's brother.

Teething  
customs.

When children were losing their first teeth, it was their guardians' duty to assist them to get rid of the teeth quickly. Yet they seldom, if ever, extracted them for a child, but persuaded it to do this for itself. They induced the child to believe that, if the tooth were drawn, and placed in a rat run, the rat would take the tooth, and replace it with a few cowry-shells. The child would try this plan, extract the tooth, and place it in the rat run, and early next morning would go to see the result; of course, the guardian had seen to the removal of the tooth, and had put two or three cowry-shells in its place. The idea was that, if the teeth were not extracted at the right time, the new set would be irregular. They were also anxious that the old teeth should either be preserved, or

<sup>1</sup> When children were weaned it was customary to send them to a member of the father's clan to be trained.

placed with the afterbirth, and not be thrown away by the child. Some clans preserved the teeth with the hair, while others cast them at the root of the plantain with the afterbirth.

It was the custom for young children to have their heads shaved every two or three months by one of the members of the father's clan; as a rule the hair was placed in the garden, where it would be safe from being tampered with by enemies. No one but a relative, usually a female relative, was allowed to shave either boys' or girls' heads. Both boys and girls were careless about bathing during their minority; custom obliged them to wash their hands before meals, but

The life of children.



FIG. 15.—BAGANDA BOYS AT A MEAL.

they seldom did more than that until they were twelve or fourteen. When they approached puberty, they became cleaner, and took more interest in their appearance. It was the custom of grown-up people to bathe daily. Boys were sent to herd goats and sheep, and assist generally in such duties as they were able to perform. They lived in the house, not of their father, but of a relative, and were cared for by his wife, while he himself took care that they were not neglected; their wants were but few, as they wore no clothing until they were about six or seven years old; they were then given a goat skin which was worn slung over the shoulders. When

about ten, they were expected to perform light duties such as carrying their relative's beer and mat, or going messages for him. If the relative saw that the boy was bright and quick he would possibly get him into the household of some chief; there the boy, if he was attentive, might soon make his way and become a trusted servant, and be sent upon important business. He might even become a page to the King, and in this position, if he gained favour by his alertness,

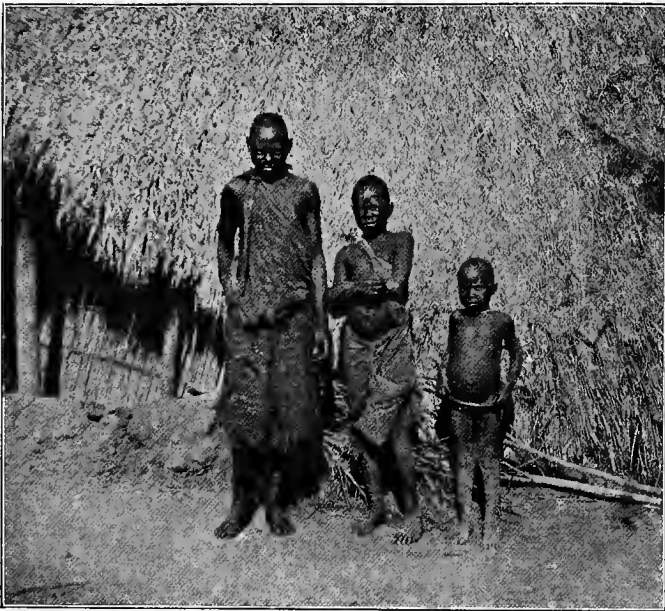


FIG. 16.—BOYS AND GIRL IN USUAL DRESS.

promotion would be certain. In other cases a boy remained with his relative, until war broke out, when he accompanied him on the expedition, and perhaps distinguished himself in battle. Much depended upon the boy himself: if he was idle, he might go unnoticed, and never rise to be anything more than a peasant. Once a boy had gained favour with a chief, he could obtain barkcloths or the means to buy them. Other boys, who were less clever, soon found their level as assistants to peasants, taking part in barkcloth making, fence



making, and house building, while every time their turn came to supply food for the over-chief, they had to carry it to him to the capital. Boys had a free and happy life while the time of herding lasted; they met together daily, and while the animals browsed, they had ample time for all kinds of



FIG. 17.—BAGANDA BOYS WRESTLING.

games. Their chief game was the throwing of a stick (kubariga); the stick was fairly stout, and about eighteen inches long; each boy was armed with two such sticks, and took turns in throwing them. The players marked a line at which to stand, and threw the sticks with such force that, when one struck the ground on its end, it went end over end for some distance. The boy whose stick fell short of the

others had to pick it up and throw it at the stick of one of his opponents ; if he struck it, well ; but if he failed, the other boy took up his stick, and with it struck a blow at the stick which had failed to hit it, and tried to break the latter ; then they all threw again. Those who were the most skilled always sent their sticks flying to a safe distance, out of danger from their antagonists.

Wrestling  
and other  
games.

The national game was wrestling ; this was indulged in by men and boys alike ; even the King frequently took part in

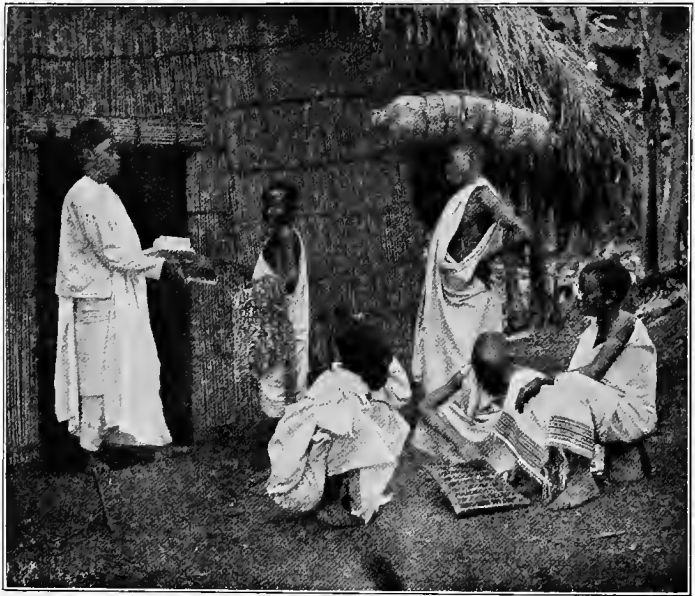


FIG. 18.—BOYS PLAYING THE WESO GAME.

it, though it was never permissible to throw the King ; in fact anyone who did so would have been in danger of being put to death. Wrestling was accompanied by beer drinking, and by songs of a doubtful character, while the onlookers clapped their hands in time to the rhythm of the drum which was beaten during the match. A chief, whose man had proved successful in the match would frequently give him a wife in appreciation of the skill he had shown. Other outdoor games

were a kind of prisoners' base, and a kicking game, in which two youths stood side by side and then kicked sideways, each trying to knock the other over or to drive him off. The chief indoor game was the game of *weso*, which is so common throughout Africa; it is played on a board with holes in it cut in four rows; two persons sit on opposite sides of the board; they have a number of seeds, or smooth stones, which they play into the holes; quickness of sight and rapidity in addition ensure success.

Girls were taught to cook and to cultivate as soon as they could hoe; to be a successful manager of the plantain grove and to be an expert cook were regarded as a woman's best accomplishments. Girls up to about twelve years of age were unclothed, but they had a ring round their waist, made either of lizard skin or from the plantain fibre. When they arrived at puberty, they were given a piece of barkcloth to wear round their loins. Peasant girls were frequently sent to herd the goats, when there was no boy available to do it; even big girls were employed in this work, and often it was a time of danger to them, because they met big boys, and got into trouble with them. It was the woman's duty, in whose charge a girl was placed, to look after her; it was looked upon as a great disgrace to a family, if a girl was with child prior to marriage. Parents would not eat food with a girl who misconducted herself: she was compelled to tell who was the cause of her trouble; and the man was fined a cow and a fowl, and had also to pay the dowry and marry the girl. Even while he was seeking the amount for the fine, the girl had to live with his relations; though she did not intend to marry him, she was obliged to go to his relatives until after the birth had taken place, because the child was their child, and it was they who had to see that the birth customs were observed, and, after the child was weaned, to take charge of it. Such an incident did not prevent a girl from marrying, nor would her husband think less of her, but it prevented her from being taken to wife by a chief, or anyone of importance; consequently every measure was taken to keep girls pure until marriage. They were often, while still young, given in marriage to some chief, when they would be placed in his

The duties  
and  
pleasures  
of girls.

enclosure under the care of one of his female relations until old enough to become wives. Girls matured at about twelve, though they never remembered their age; they were described as having breasts, and when the breasts began to hang down, they were spoken of as full grown women. Both men and women, when speaking of a girl, indicated her age by the size of her breasts, which they represented by the closed hand. When a girl first menstruated, she was secluded and not allowed to handle any food, nor to enter the house of her brother or uncle; her female relations attended to her wants and fed her. She was described as being "at peace" (*atude wamirembe*), or being "outside": when she recovered, the relative with whom she was staying had to jump over his wife; or if she was near to them, the girl had to go and tell her parents that she had just recovered, whereupon her father had to jump over her mother. If she was with her brother, she had to go to her mother when she fell ill, and to wait there until she was well again; she might then return and resume her ordinary duties. The first menstruation was often called a marriage, and the girl spoken of as a bride. When a girl cultivated her first plot of garden alone, and brought the first fruits from it, her relative with whom she lived had to jump over his wife, or her father had to jump over her mother, before they partook of the food. This caused the garden, and all her future work in the garden, to be fruitful. It was for a similar purpose that her father, or the relative with whom she lived, jumped over his wife at her first menstruation; for if this practice were omitted, the girl would not have children (so it was thought), or they would die in infancy. A girl or woman who did not menstruate was looked upon askance, and if a man married such a woman, then every time that he went to war he wounded her with a spear sufficiently to draw blood; otherwise he would be sure to fall in battle. Such women were also said to have a malign influence on gardens, and to cause them to become barren if they worked in them. Girls seldom played games; they were kept busy for the whole day, and were taught to make mats and baskets to occupy their leisure time; they also drew water and brought in fire-wood. From the time

that a girl arrived at puberty, she was called *Mulongo*, a term used of a cow when it was old enough to have calves.

When a twin had grown up, and went to war for the first time, then if he killed a man, he had on his return to go to his father's house and spend the night there. His father jumped over his mother that night, and the next morning he gave a barkcloth and a fowl to his son, who then went away to his own residence.

In more ancient times, before princes were killed when their brother began to reign, none of the King's brothers who married were allowed to have sons; any male child born to a prince was put to death by the midwife, and only princesses were allowed to live. The sons of the reigning king, however, might marry and have children, and their sons were not killed, because they were not regarded as dangerous to the sovereign.

Women who did not wish their daughters to be taken to be wives of the King, or of a chief in the yearly tribute of girls, sometimes scarified them on the forehead or some other visible place; this disqualified a girl from being taken to wife by the King.

Owing to the clan system, no occasion arose for the adoption of orphans; children belonged to the clan, and when their father or mother died, they were still under the care of some relative who took the place of the father. Women taken captive in war might become the wives of men in high positions, and the children which they had by such men would become full members of the clan, while they themselves were only slaves. On the death of the husband such a woman became the property of his heir; she might be appointed to look after her husband's grave, and in some cases she was respected by the clan. If she had borne children, she would not be so likely to be sold by the heir as would a slave who had never been taken to wife.

At puberty some of the women of the Kyagwe district scarified themselves on the stomach, the shape of the figure being usually a large W, the tips of which started below the breasts, while the middle point was between the breasts; but among other women such markings were discouraged.

G

## CHAPTER III

### MARRIAGE

<sup>A</sup>THE law of consanguinity was clearly defined, and people could not easily make a mistake as to those with whom they might enter into a marriage contract. The clan divisions and sub-divisions were so distinct that it was comparatively easy to ascertain to what clan any person, male or female, belonged. Royalty were exempt from the ordinary rules, and a special notice and explanation of their marriage customs will be given hereafter. The rules for chief and peasant held good throughout all the clans, with the exception of the Lung-fish Clan, the members of which alone were able to intermarry; the reason probably being that this clan had two distinct branches, which appear to be descended from different ancestors, and have different second totems.

Descent  
through  
the male  
line.

<sup>B</sup>Descent was reckoned through the male line; children were members of the father's, and not of the mother's clan. As soon as the naming ceremony had taken place, the child was an acknowledged member of the clan, and took the totems of the clan, with all the restrictions and taboos, for its own. In ordinary conversation all the males of a clan were called fathers or brothers, and all the women mothers or sisters, while in more formal intercourse the father's nearer relations, such as his brothers or sisters, had their special designation; they had one father (*kitabwe omu*), or they had one mother (*lubuto lumu*), and members of the same branch were called *enda*, their near blood relations. The mother's parents, brothers, and sisters were related to her offspring; in general conversation and for marriage restrictions all the mother's

clan were fathers or mothers to her children. It was compulsory for a man to take his second wife, whom he called *Nasaza*, from his paternal grandmother's clan. This second wife had her special duties, such as shaving him, cutting his nails, and so disposing of the hair and nail-chips that they should not fall into an enemy's hands. The first wife a man took was always his *Kadulubare*; she had charge of all his fetiches, and it was with her that a man was bound to fulfil the taboos of journeying or of going to war. She ruled over all the other wives, and was the wife who took the title of *Mukyala* in a chief's household. The other wives were called *Muka*, or *Mukazi*, and might, with the exception mentioned, be taken from any clan in the country. Any man becoming heir to another, when he entered upon the inheritance, took to wife *lubuga* a near female relative of the deceased; if possible, the daughter of his brother, whom he called his sister. This woman was treated by all the members of the clan as the man's wife, though he was not allowed to have marital relations with her, because she was also his sister. She slept in the same house with him for some time; afterwards, if she was a married woman, she returned to her husband; if she was unmarried, she remained with the heir until her marriage.

It was a wife's duty, when her husband called her to his house, to wash his feet before he retired to bed; in most cases she washed him all over with warm water in a little private back yard. She also performed her own ablutions there, using the same water from the same pot.

There were no restrictions as to the number of women that a man might take from one clan; he might even marry two or three sisters, if he wished to do so. When a man married more than one wife, he built a separate house for each; the houses were generally side by side, and were enclosed by a fence. He had his own house in front of the women's quarters, and the wives visited him, and slept in his house, when he invited them to do so.

Polygamy  
and the  
marriage  
of sisters.

When a new King was chosen, he was taken to see the body of his predecessor, whose face he covered with a bark-cloth. After this he was escorted by the *Mukwenda*, the

Marriage  
of the  
King.

The Queen  
and her  
status.

*Kangawo*, the *Kago*, and *Sabaganzi*, and one or two other chiefs, to some enclosure, where he awaited the *Katikiro*, the *Kasuju*, the ex-*Kago*, and the dowager Queen, who were detained for the purpose of choosing the Queen. She was elected from the new King's half-sisters by the same father, and was the daughter of a woman who had no sons. When they had chosen the Queen (*Lubuga*) and her *Kago*, she was carried off to join the King, and she shared with him the coronation and official mourning ceremonies. From the capital she was hurried with the King to Budo hill, where she was given a bed in the same house, and, like him, was presented with the official barkcloths. During the mourning she was not allowed to leave him for a moment. The Queen was not allowed to walk anywhere; she had bearers like the King. She took the coronation oath, to be faithful to the country just as he did; and like him she scattered coffee-beans while taking the oath. When the King moved from the place of mourning to his new court, the Queen was given a site for her residence on an adjacent hill, but it had to be separated from the King's by a stream of running water. In her enclosure the Queen had chiefs bearing the same titles as the great chiefs of the realm; her lands were distributed all over the country, so that she had estates in every district. She held her own courts, tried her own people, and had full power of life and death, as the King had; she had to visit him each day, unless she was legitimately prevented, in such case she sent a representative to see the King, and to explain what detained her. She was absolutely forbidden to have children; should she be found with child, she would be deposed, and deprived of her office at once; she might even be put to death, if the King chose to carry out the law to the letter. The King might take other princesses to wife, if he desired, though he never had children by them. The King's wives were chosen for various offices, after the mourning had ended, and he had gone into his new residence. The *Kadulubare* ranked first among these wives; she was always the wife whom his father had given him; she had charge of the fetiches and amulets, and took precedence of other wives in the court. *Nanzigu* of the Buffalo Clan was given her own enclosure outside the



royal one; she was carried about like a princess on a man's shoulders, and was not allowed to have any sons by her husband. *Kabeja* might be from any clan that the King wished; she was the favourite wife; she had charge of the fetich *Nantaba*, and never had any children; the King was not expected to take her to his couch. *Nakimera* had her enclosure outside the royal one, and visited her husband from time to time, as he wished. *Nasaza* was chosen for him by his father's mother, and was the wife who had to act as hair dresser; she also cut the King's nails, and took care of the hair and nail clippings, and stored them in a house built for the purpose. *Nambawoza* was another important wife; she had her own enclosure outside the royal one, though she was expected to visit the King daily. The other wives were chosen from any clan that the King wished. When children were born to them, they took their mother's totem, and were received and cared for by her clan.

Princes were provided with wives by their father, if he wished them to marry; and it was expected that they would not take a wife without his consent, though they often formed an alliance with their wives' maids, or with other women. No one dared give a prince a girl to wife, for he would have been put to death at once, as one who had designs on the King or the throne.

Princesses were neither allowed to marry, nor to have children, though it was well known that they lived free lives with men who pleased them; if they happened to be with child, they secured the aid of some skilled person to bring about a miscarriage, because it would have been death to the princess, and also to the man with whom she had gone wrong, if a child had been born to them. Still these princesses did contrive to have children from time to time, whom they secreted; they were passed off as the children of another person, but secretly they were known to be the children of a princess. The later kings were not so strict as former kings had been in regard to the observance of this custom, though occasionally some princess would be detected, and burned to death for her fault.

The marriage customs varied considerably according to the

Princes' wives.

Princesses not allowed to marry.

The King's wives chosen from the common people.

position of the bridegroom ; women did not, as a rule, carry rank, but it was the man who gave his wife her position. It may, therefore, be well, in considering the customs, to take them according to the rank of the man who wished to marry. When the King wished to add wives to those already mentioned, he simply demanded from his chiefs a woman, or more commonly several women, because he seldom took one woman only at a time to wife. Royalty never asked who a woman was ; birth or rank did not weigh in the choice of wives, and a peasant girl might become the favourite wife of a king, just as readily as the daughter of the most wealthy chief. There were indeed only two recognised classes in the land : members of the royal family, and commoners ; there was no upper or middle class. The kings never seem to have thought of seeking a wife from among the daughters of a neighbouring king ; custom prohibited it. The King was willingly supplied with young girls, for they would in all probability become mothers of princes ; every prince had a chance of becoming the heir to the throne, and naturally the successful candidate would raise his mother's clan to honour. It was customary for a person to present the King with one or two girls when asking a favour. Again, if a man was in disgrace, he made the King a present of women, in order to obtain his forgiveness. Once a year the King sent his representatives into each district, to collect young girls to be handmaids to his wives. From these girls he selected a few wives, if they were reported to him as suitable and as good-looking. In no case did a king ever go through the marriage ceremonies, which made marriage legitimate in the case of peasants or chiefs ; but he gave large presents to the families of his favourite wives. No disfigured or scarified woman could become the wife of a king ; she was debarred on the ground that a woman who endured such pain was also capable of killing her husband. In the early times kings did not have so many wives as the later kings indulged in ; as a rule, they had three, who were given titles of *Kadulubare*, *Nasaza*, and *Kabeja*. Later, when the kings took many wives, they increased the number of offices round their person which the wives could fill. Each wife, was in fact, a

great lady, with much power, and many attendants. The King's wives, when they saw a good-looking girl among their handmaids, would bring her to the King, after having bathed her, and anointed her body with butter for several days, in order to make the skin soft. They would dress the girl in good barkcloths, and then pay the King a visit, pointing the girl out to him, and praising her; in this way they themselves would gain favour and receive presents from their lord; and the girl thus brought to the King's notice would be added to the number of his wives. Many of them, when kindly treated, would tell the King of their younger sisters or relatives, and would praise them; the King would then send for these young girls, and add them to the number of his wives, giving presents to their relations, and often conferring chieftainships upon them, if the girls pleased.

Chiefs conformed to the prevailing customs in obtaining their wives, though they also often received gifts of girls, and, when there was war, they managed to capture women whom they were allowed to keep; in some instances they received them as rewards for valour.

The custom followed by chiefs and common people in obtaining wives.

Love did not enter into marriage contracts, though men and women became attached to one another, and a woman would cling to her husband in danger, and also mourn for him, when he died, with great sincerity. Women married young, or entering their teens. A girl at thirteen showed signs of maturity, and, unless she were malformed, she would have an offer of marriage, at that age. The general practice followed was for the man to go to the girl's brother, and tell him that he wished to marry his sister, or on the other hand, he might approach the girl directly, or might meet her and intimate by a small present of meat or salt, or some such trifle, that he would like to marry her, and then if she accepted the offering, he would address himself to her brother and ask for his sister in marriage. The brother would inform his paternal uncle and consult with him, and if inquiries about the suitor and his clan proved satisfactory, the brother would tell him to bring a pot of beer and possibly a barkcloth also. The suitor would come, accompanied by some of his relations, would bring the dowry, and would take an oath before the girl's relations

to treat her well, not to desert her, not to be always seeking new situations and wandering from one chief to another ; they on their part, warned him that if he injured the girl, or if he killed any one, and brought the blood avenger upon himself, they would not protect him, but would give him up to justice. After he had promised these things, his future wife had, on her part, to promise to be faithful, to cultivate and cook for her husband, and to look after his interests. At this interview the girl was asked whether she wished to marry the man ; this was her opportunity for either accepting or rejecting him. If she wished to be married to him, her uncle asked her : " Shall I drink ? " If she replied, " Drink," and he did so, the marriage was ratified ; and nothing could afterwards cancel the contract, save the husband's consent, and his accepting the return of the dowry which he had paid for her. The girl in most cases poured out the beer for her uncle and brother to drink ; this was the legally binding action in marriage, and it was to this that the husband referred back in after life, if there arose any question as to the marriage having been a lawful one. The uncle and the brother told the girl's parents that their daughter was engaged to be married, and gave them information about the suitor, and his circumstances.

Collecting  
the dowry.

“ The next step was to call together some of the clan, and to settle with them what amount the suitor should pay in dowry for the girl. They might demand any sum from one to ten goats, or even ask a cow. In addition to the animals, ten pots of beer and several barkcloths were demanded. The animals and the cowry-shells (to which we shall refer directly) were difficult to obtain, and represented a large sum to a poor person, so that it took him a long time to collect them ; a man frequently spent twelve months begging among his relatives and friends the amount asked ; for though as a rule, he had secured some of the things before he went to ask for the lady, there would be still a balance to find. During the time that the suitor was getting the dowry together, he was not expected to visit his bride, though there was no real restriction laid upon him to refrain from speaking to her. He would visit her mother or other relations from time to time,

taking small presents of salt, or a barkcloth for his bride, and hearing about her at the same time. When the amount asked in dowry had been paid, the bridegroom had to bring two thousand cowry-shells called the *kasimu* and another five hundred with which the bride's friends bought a goat for a feast. The dowry was divided between the bride's parents and her father's near relations. The cowry-shells were kept by the mother, until the marriage was consummated, when part had to be returned to the bridegroom, while part was kept by the parents. If the girl was being married from her brother's house, the shells remained there until after the marriage. Every bride before marriage was washed from head to foot by the bridegroom's sister, or by some one appointed by the bridegroom. It was the duty of this person to see that the bride had no disease which would prevent her marrying. In the case of the King or the leading chiefs, a girl would be brought to them, either naked or scantily clothed, in order that they might see her, and might discover for themselves whether there was anything wrong with her. The girl was given two days to make ready for her marriage, after the payment of the cowry-shells. For several weeks prior to this she had been fed up, and made as plump as possible, and her body had been rubbed with butter, to make it look soft.

On the day that she was to be taken to her new home, she went to the well and drew a pot of water for her mother, gathered a bundle of firewood, and cut and brought in a bundle of sweet-smelling grass such as is used for carpeting the floor. These were her last acts for her parents, rendered to them as their due, for after her marriage she was regarded as the property of another. She was taken to her husband's house after dark; if the journey was a long one, it was so timed that she might arrive after nightfall. Towards evening the bridal party assembled at the house of the male relative with whom the bride lived; she herself had been decked out with ornaments, and stood waiting for her companions to conduct her to her husband's house. She was veiled in a barkcloth which was thrown over her head coming down to her feet, and was then

Marriage  
and  
marriage  
feasts.

hoisted on the shoulders of a strong man who carried her ; or, if the journey was a long one, relays of men carried her. The bridal party consisted of the bride's brother and a number of her friends. One young girl, who was decorated, with ornaments and well-dressed, went with the bride ; she was either her sister, or a near relative. She was not an orphan or slave. This girl was called : "The one who accompanies" (mperekezi) ; she stayed with the bride for some days after her marriage, it might be for a week, or for as long a period as three months, to let the bridegroom's family understand that his wife had relations who cared for her. The party moved slowly ; the bride was usually in tears and sobbing at leaving her home. When about half way, they were met by friends from the bridegroom, who relieved them of the bride, and gave presents to all those who accompanied her. The brother handed his sister to the bridegroom's representative, and he himself returned home, though some of the friends might, if they wished, see the bride to her new home. In some cases, when the two parties met half way, the bridegroom's friends scattered cowry-shells, and, while the bride's party were picking them up, the other party carried off the bride, dropping shells as they ran, and being chased by the bride's friends. As a rule, only the girl mentioned above accompanied the newly made wife to her home ; the rest of her party returned with her brother to his house. When the bride reached her husband's house, she refused to enter, until he had given her a few cowry-shells ; and when she had entered, she would not sit down, until he had again given her a few shells. It was customary for the bride to look sad and miserable, and only to speak in whispers, as though she were deeply dejected. When the evening meal was dished up, she would not touch the food until her husband gave her a few more cowry-shells, and again when it was bed time, she would not move, until a further sum had been given her ; this proceeding was thought to be a test of their mutual affection for one another. The girl who had accompanied the bride, slept with her for the first two nights, and afterwards had a bed in another house. For the first three days the bride was fed, waited on, and

washed by the bridegroom's sister. On the third night the marriage was consummated, and on the following day the husband sent the barkcloth, upon which they had lain, to the parents. If he found that she was not a virgin, he cut a round hole in the barkcloth; this was a stigma upon the guardians who had not taken proper care of the girl. At the same time he sent a present of meat to his wife's parents, and gave the bride a goat as a token of his affection. When the animal was brought to the bride, she put her hand upon it, took a knife, and handed it to a person who killed the goat. For some time the bride remained in seclusion, only seeing her female friends and relations; if her husband was a wealthy man, she would stay indoors some three months; subsequently she came out, and bathed, and sat daily for ten days near the door, for her husband's male friends to call and see her, and also for others to come and congratulate her. The girl who accompanied her was given a present, when she went back home; it was either a goat, a barkcloth, or five hundred cowry-shells; she also took back any ornaments which the bride had worn when going to her husband, and which had been borrowed from her relations and friends. When the girl went back, she dressed as a bride, and when she reached her home, they said: "The bride has come back."/

When the bride was allowed to go out, she first visited her own people, who gave her a present of food, of which a fowl formed an indispensable part; this present was called "Taking the butter," it was the final ratification of the marriage, and showed that the wife was satisfied with her husband. On her return she was accompanied by her relatives and friends, who assisted her to carry the food; she presented her husband with the fowl as a token that she accepted him as her lord. The next day she cooked a feast for her husband, who called his friends together to enjoy the first meal which his wife had cooked for him. The shells which the bridegroom had paid, when he asked for his wife in marriage, were given to his sister-in-law, all but five hundred which were returned to him in token that the bride's people were satisfied with the marriage. After the feast the newly

A wife's first visit to her parents and to her mother-in-law after her marriage.

made wife was taken to the bridegroom's mother, given a hoe, and taken to dig in her garden; she went at dawn, and continued her work until her mother-in-law sent for her to come and have food. If the mother-in-law disliked her daughter-in-law, she would neglect her, and leave her to dig until evening. The bride would go on working all day, to show that she had cause for annoyance, and then she would go back to her people, and demand a divorce, on the ground that her mother-in-law had ruined the marriage. On the other hand, when the mother-in-law was pleased with her new daughter, she sent for her soon, and entertained her at a feast, and gave her a handsome present; the person who was sent to call the bride from digging took her a few cowry-shells. Under these circumstances the bride returned home in the evening, happy with her visit, and pleased with her mother-in-law and relations. Her husband gave her a garden of her own, and she settled down to her full wifely duties. The husband provided the hoe; and his mother tied on the blade, putting the best herbs known between the iron blade and the handle, to make the digging more efficacious.

A wife's redress should she dislike her husband.

If, after a few months, a woman disliked her husband, she took the first opportunity of escaping to her own relations without her husband's knowledge. He was then under the necessity of explaining his conduct: if the wife was in the right, he was obliged to give her a present, before she would return to him; if she was in the wrong, he only gave her relations a pot of beer, and she was sent back again. It was customary, whenever a woman went to her relations even on a visit, and stayed a night or two, for her husband to make a present of beer or of a goat to them when he went to ask her to return. If a woman ran away repeatedly, the husband would probably fetch her back two or three times; after that he would leave her, and she would be known as a bad woman. The husband would then claim the dowry-fee from the clan, and she would be free. //

Women given by the King to men to be their wives.

The King, when pleased with a chief or with a peasant for service rendered, would give him a wife. The woman in such a case was regarded as a slave, though the husband could not sell her; in like manner, if a chief gave one of his peasants



a wife, she could not be sold, though she ranked as a slave. Under these circumstances the man asked the woman who her people were, and took her to her father, or to some of her clan, with a goat and some beer; he then shaved her head, whereupon she became his legitimate wife and could never leave him. At his death she became the property of his heir.

The good qualities which the Baganda look for in a girl are diligence in her work, obedience to her guardians and parents, a good idea of cultivation, and ability to cook. Features, appearance, and age did not weigh much with the peasant, only a man would assure himself that the woman was free from disease, especially from leprosy. The King and the chiefs were more particular about the appearance of their wives; the King showed a preference for women with a light skin, and a face of the type of the Bahima, which was like that of the European.

Frequently, when a chief heard of a girl who was reported to be good looking and a hard worker, he would send to her guardian, and tell him that he wished to marry her; the guardian would then send the girl, and, if the chief was pleased with her, he would take her to wife, sending ample presents to her relations, often several cows and a number of goats, and many pots of beer. Most people liked women with a tendency to steatopygy. Chiefs frequently took into their enclosures girls too young to marry, placing them under the care of responsible women, who kept them from impropriety with men, until they were marriageable. Each bride, on entering on her wifely duties, was given a new hoe, a water pot, a cooking pot, and a basket in which to carry food. If a woman used her hoe, until the handle was worn through and broke from genuine wear, her husband gave her a goat as a present, because she had been so diligent in digging. Every man who could afford it, gave his wife a maid to wait on her, and, if he was rich, he gave her a slave to draw water and bring firewood. A peasant often secured one of his relatives to act as maid to his wife, and to help her in the work. Both the King and the chiefs exercised a certain amount of restraint over their wives, who could only visit or see other people with their husband's

Wives and the restrictions placed on them.

consent. Wives always lived in the women's quarters, and no man could enter these without the husband's permission. The houses, and even the gardens, in the capital were enclosed in high reed-fences, which were so guarded that a woman could only converse with those of her own sex, or with such men as her husband allowed her to see. The women's quarters were behind the husband's house; each wife had her own house inside this enclosure; she would go to her husband's house by invitation, and at other times live with her maids in her own house. The entrance to the women's quarters was guarded by a trusted servant, who, if he failed in his duty, paid the penalty with his life, or with some terrible mutilation in the event of his life being spared. His house was near the gate, and he could not leave his post without his master's permission. A chief had several trusted gate-keepers; each of these would be on duty for a month at a time, and would then go away for several months, while others filled his office. The women were allowed to visit certain relations of their own, if they obtained their husband's consent, and had a proper escort to take them. The King's wives sometimes went out two or three together; the King's pages escorted them, chasing away anyone who remained in the road, or who tried to pass them. People were expected to cede the road to these ladies, and anyone failing to comply with the custom was severely handled by the pages; markets and houses were plundered by the pages as they went along, and the people thought themselves fortunate if they escaped without broken limbs. The chiefs sent responsible persons with any of their wives who wished to visit a friend; in no case was a woman of position allowed to walk abroad alone. The escort had to report to the husband, what had happened, and to whom the ladies had spoken, while they were out.

A wife's  
duties.

“The principal and primary duty of a wife was to cultivate her garden, and next came cooking. In large establishments, where there were a number of wives, these took turns to cook for the husband and his friends; each important wife cooked for a month, having many subordinates to assist her.” The wives seldom took their meals with the husband, unless he

asked them to join him when he was alone. One wife dished up the meals and waited upon her lord, but otherwise the wives had their meals in their own enclosures. They also had to make their husband's bed, clean out the grass on the floor which was used as a carpet, and renew it with freshly-prepared grass. They carried water from the well, and also brought in the fire-wood, unless the husband was wealthy enough to have slaves or servants to do this menial work. In a large establishment there were not only many wives, but also girls who were destined later on to become wives of the chief, and further, there were women from the husband's clan, sisters or other elderly women, who acted as guardians to the girls until they were given in marriage. The King and the leading chiefs employed numbers of women to cultivate and cook for them, because their followers were entirely dependent upon them for food, and they had to entertain numbers of guests daily. It was the custom for any person known or unknown, to sit down and partake of a meal, if he came while one was in progress; he needed no invitation, but joined the party as a matter of course. The wives of peasants were not subject to the same restrictions as the wives of a chief, because they lived in the country, where the population was scattered, and where there were large tracts of plantains, and the houses were some little distance away from each other. A peasant's wife needed no one to guard her, because the men were either away at work, or were engaged in hunting. Peasant women had large plantain gardens to keep in order, and cooking to do, and frequently they assisted their husbands in preparing the building materials for the work demanded of them by their chiefs. The women cut and cleaned reeds; they also cut the grass for thatching; they weeded the roads; and they carried food into the capital for their husbands' chief. Their lives were lived chiefly in the open, and they were a hardy, strong race. Their leisure time they filled with basket- and mat-making. Peasants seldom had more than two or three wives, indeed, the majority of them had only one wife. With them the wife's taboos were not so strictly observed as in the case of chiefs and wealthier people. A chief held altogether aloof from his wife during her

periods of menstruation ; she would warn him, if he came near her, or send him word, if he wished to see her, and she would be permitted to remain in seclusion. She was not allowed to touch anything that belonged to her husband, nor to sit on his mat, nor to cook his food ; the expressions commonly used to describe a woman's condition at such times show how complete was the seclusion, namely, ' to sit outside,' or "to be at peace." To touch any of the husband's weapons or implements at this time was equivalent to wishing him dead, or to working magic to compass his death. While a wife was nursing, she was also separated from her husband. In each of the above cases the peasant had to modify his taboo ; his wife was obliged to cook for him during the time of menstruation, and to live with him while she was nursing her child.

Newly married couples' choice of dwelling-place.

Young men after they married preferred to go and live with some chief at a distance from their own or their wives' parents, though sometimes the bride's father asked his son-in-law to live near him, and to help him in his duties for his chief. A young man did not build his house until after his marriage ; if he had built it earlier he would have been asked whether he meant to take other women, and to live an improper life. He married, and he and his wife lived with some friend while he was building his own house ; his wife meanwhile obtained a garden, and set about cultivating, in order to supply the food.

Re-marriage of widows.

When a widow wished to remarry, she told her brother that she was tired of looking after the grave of her late husband, and wished to marry again. Her brother had first to settle the matter with the clan, and they had to repay the relations of the deceased husband the dowry which he had given ; when this was done the woman re-entered her clan, and was married in the ordinary way. If a widow had children she did not remarry, but devoted herself to her children, and continued to live at the grave of her late husband. If she did not live a chaste life, no one took any notice, unless she was with child, when it became a scandal in the clan. The man who had committed adultery with her had to pay the clan of the deceased husband heavily for his fault ; the fine

often ran to several cows, or several loads of barkcloths. When a man wished to marry a widow, he first paid the deceased husband a barkcloth and a fowl, which he put into the little shrine at the grave ; in this way he imagined he could pacify the ghost.

Once a woman had given her consent to marry, by allowing her uncle and her brother to drink the beer she had poured out, she was bound to the man ; it was impossible for her to leave him, unless he agreed to accept the full amount of the dowry paid, and this was difficult for a woman to procure. A man did not trouble to divorce his wife, if she was unfaithful ; he merely neglected her by not inviting her to share his couch, and reduced her to the status of a slave, often leaving her with very scanty clothing. As a rule women outlived men ; they did not run the same risks. The men were in danger of being caught to make up the requisite number for the human sacrifices, and war killed many ; or they incurred the wrath of their chief, or of the King, so that only a small percentage of them reached old age, and died from senile decay. The women on the other hand were seldom captured as sacrificial victims, and when their husbands were killed for various offences, their own lives were spared. It was therefore no uncommon thing to see infirm, white-headed old women. On the other hand, the hard life which they lived, and the small care which they took of themselves, carried off many of them at the age of about sixty. There were far more women than men in the country, indeed some of the old people say that there were fully three women to one man, and that more girls than boys were born. Prior to the coming of the Arabs in King Suna's reign the death-rate among infants was not so high as in later years, when specific disease had become rife, and had begun to tell upon the children.

The marriage  
vow was  
binding.

## CHAPTER IV

### SICKNESS, DEATH, AND BURIAL

Causes of death.

DEATH from natural causes rarely presented itself to the native mind as a feasible explanation for the end of life; illness was much more likely to be the result of malice finding vent in magical art. Death was the outcome of sickness which the skill and art of the medicine-man had failed to overcome. Sometimes the cause of sickness could be traced to the direct influence of a ghost which would not be propitiated: or again it might be that the god Walumbe had need of a person, and accordingly nothing could save him. If we bear these general observations in mind, we shall be better able to understand the customs attending sickness and death, and the treatment of the native by the medicine-man. Any illness of the King was generally attributed to ghosts, because no human being would dare to practise magic upon him; when anything was the matter with him, the whole country was afraid lest he should die, and everyone did what in him lay to hasten his recovery. When the King fell sick, he was said to have a cold (*senyiga*), and this pretence was kept up during the whole time that his illness lasted, unless it was proved that he had some stomach trouble. All the skill in the land was at his disposal and all the priests of the gods of the land came together to diagnose his disorder. If he died, he was supposed to have offended one of the gods by robbing the temple; or else his death was thought to have been caused by one of the ghosts. The only living people whom the King feared were the widows of his father who had sons whom they wished to see on the throne. Influenced by such fears

The King's sickness.

he made these widows prisoners as soon as he ascended the throne, and kept them in strict confinement until their sons died. This was the former custom, but in more recent times the King was wont to capture all the princes and had them put to death, in order to ensure peace: in the case of King Mutesa his Mother took this step for him, and put the princes to death by starvation.

When a man fell sick, his wife immediately consulted the nearest medicine-man, who came, and by consulting the oracle was able to tell what was the cause of the sickness, and also

Treatment  
of  
sickness.

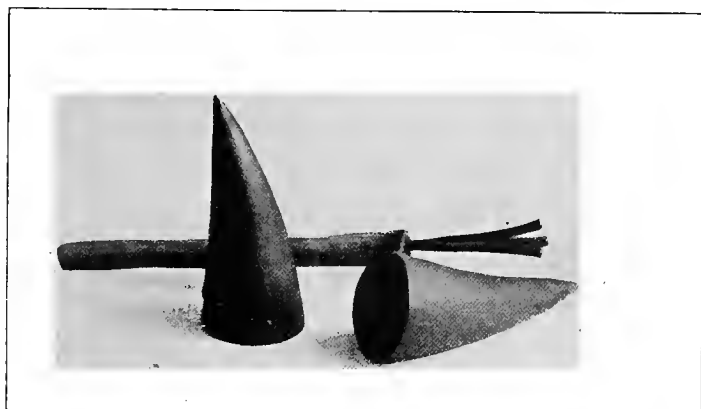


FIG. 19.—CUPPING HORNS AND BURNING IRONS.

to prescribe for the patient. If he was suffering from headache only, the usual remedy was to bleed him, in order to relieve him of the alien matter introduced into his head by means of magic, or by some ghost. When the cup was removed, the blood was poured into a leaf, and examined by the medicine-man, who invariably found something which had been drawn out in the cupping-process to account for the headache. The method of cupping was to apply one, and sometimes two cups, as the case demanded: these were short ends of horns, generally the tips of cows' horns about three inches long; at the tip a small hole was made, to create a vacuum. The medicine-man shaved the hair from the side of the head, if he meant to cup the head; washed the place with

water ; took a sharp knife and made a number of scratches or slight incisions ; again wetted the place over the scratches, applied the cup to the head, and sucked out the air, having in his mouth a little plug of leaf or grass, which he put into the hole, while still sucking out the air. For headache he usually cupped in two places, one on either side of the head. Cupping was practised for headache, for coughs (when they cupped the lungs on the back), for deep seated abscesses in the arms and legs, and sometimes for pleurisy in the side. The horns were left on the patient, until the medicine-man thought that he had drawn enough blood. In other kinds of illness the medicine-man who threw the pieces of leather<sup>1</sup> was consulted, and prescribed for the patient. A man's wife was required to send messengers to his clan, to let them know that he was unwell, whereupon some members of the clan would go at once to nurse him. Though the wife was looked upon as head nurse, she dared not be left alone with the patient, lest—in the event of his dying—the members of his clan should bring an accusation against her of having caused his death. The remedies applied were often herbs which skilled medicine-men had found useful, for though a medicine-man worked magic, yet he also administered drugs, and did his utmost to relieve the sick person, and to retain his own reputation as a doctor. In some kinds of illness it was thought advisable to apply a small burning iron, made of three pieces of iron about a quarter of an inch thick and four inches long, which were welded together at one end, and pointed to a spike fitting into a wooden handle, so that it could be put into the fire, and made quite hot, and applied to the place where the pain was. Three blisters were usually made, which were supposed to give relief, and above all to drive out the cause of the pain. For fever the medicine-men administered herbs, which had to be drunk from one of the fetiches ; this was said to increase their potency. Phthisis was always said to be caused by the ghost of some ancestor who had died of the complaint, and unless the ghost could be propitiated, it would kill the patient. The expectorations from such a person were greatly dreaded as being a channel for the

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 338, 339.



ghost's malign influence over any one who came into contact therewith.

The provision of an animal or fowl (kyonzira), to which sickness was transferred, was a favourite treatment of the medicine-man; he followed this up with herbs, which he administered to his patient, and from time to time he washed him from head to foot with warm water infused with herbs. The diet allowed to the patient was generally a liberal one; good soup, and, if he was feverish, the plantain wine (mubisi).

When the patient was said to be possessed by a ghost, it was exorcised by making the patient inhale smoke. Sometimes the entire hut was fumigated with herbs, slowly burned in a pot in the closed house. This was done to smoke out evil influences of any kind. A common cause of sickness was neglect of the graves of ancestors; the ghosts were then angry, and had to be propitiated before the remedies of the medicine-man would be of any avail. Women were often said to suffer because some man had fallen in love with them, had made advances to them which they had repelled, and had then gone away and worked magic on them. Sometimes a husband had been unfaithful, when he should have been keeping a continence-taboo; in such a case the medicine-man took some of the urine from each of the offending parties, mixed with herbs, and rubbed it on the chest of the sick woman, after which the ordinary remedies would avail. Again, a husband might be jealous of his wife because she was admired by a superior chief; in such a case he feared to adopt the usual flogging remedy, and therefore used magic and caused her to fall ill. Infants (it was thought) were born delicate because the mother had eaten some kind of forbidden food prior to the child's birth, and broken a taboo, and the penalty was visited upon the child in the shape of skin disease (munyu), or swelling in its side (nyonyi). The bones of some bird prescribed by the medicine-man were obtained, and either pounded and mixed with herbs or boiled and given to the child to drink, and this formed the remedy. Sometimes children were troubled by the ghost of the father's sister; it had to be appeased if possible, and, if that was impossible, it

Exorcising ghosts.

Unfaithfulness on the part of a husband a cause of sickness.

Infants' sickness.

was caught by the medicine-man in a gourd or pot and secured, and taken away to a plot of waste land or drowned in the river. The reason which was assigned for the ghost of an aunt troubling the children was that her brother had neglected to appoint one of their number as the heir and successor to the deceased sister; the ghost accordingly was angry, and caused the children to fall ill. It was the common belief that, as soon as a girl had been appointed as heir, the ghost would cease to trouble the family. *Amakiro* was another illness common to children caused by the father having had intercourse with one of his other wives before he had completed the taboos with the mother of the child, or by his having committed adultery. Again, if the mother of the child committed adultery, either before the child was born or while she was nursing it, the child would contract this disease. The sickness was characterised by nausea and general debility, which nothing would cure until the guilty persons had confessed their guilt and performed the *kukansira*<sup>1</sup> ceremony. A woman who was subject to miscarriage was said to have a hot inside, and she had to be treated for it by the medicine-man, or the miscarriage might be the result of adultery. If the husband gave any clothing to his mother or to her sisters and they placed it upon his wife's bed, it would cause her to fall ill of a sickness called *buko*. Bubonic plague, which had been known for many years, was more feared than any other sickness. The inhabitants fled from the place at once when it appeared, and sought the aid of the god of plague to stay it. People immediately became alarmed and fled from a place if they found rats dead or dying. Small-pox was also feared, though the patients were seldom isolated; they were treated and nursed in their homes. This disease was generally contracted by men engaged on a war expedition, and was supposed to be caused by the enemy. During his illness the patient was given water in which fish had been boiled to quench his thirst, or water mixed with butter, which kept his throat moist. An egg was rubbed over the eyes daily to prevent him from becoming blind; and when the pox formed, they were pricked with a thorn taken from

<sup>1</sup> See p. 72.

the tip of the palm leaf, and then wiped with a sponge made from the stem of the plantain.

A vapour bath was a favourite remedy for fever; the patient was stripped and placed in a sitting position on the floor, a pot of hot embers was placed beside him, and he and the pot were both covered over with a barkcloth; soon the perspiration poured from him, and he felt better. During illness the patient was not only nursed by his wives, but the house was crowded with relatives and friends, for it was considered an unfriendly act not to send to inquire after a sick man. Hence from morning to night the house was never free from friends and relatives, who talked freely, and every now and again uttered some words of sympathy with the sufferer. The main duties, however, devolved upon the patient's wives, and they were with him both by day and by night.

When the King was ill, and there was no hope held out for his recovery, the *Katikiro*, the *Kimbugwe*, the *Kibare*, and one or two other important chiefs stayed constantly with him, and kept out most of his wives, because they crowded around him so much; indeed the wives are said to have killed one king by lying upon him, when they thought he was dead. Those admitted into the sick chamber were the *Kadulubare*, the *Nanteza*, the *Kabeja*, and the *Musibika*, and even they were kept under control, and were pledged to secrecy as regards the serious nature of the illness. Outside no one was told that the King was dangerously ill; and even when death had taken place, it was kept secret as long as possible, in order to give the *Katikiro* time to take measures for guarding the capital, and to confer with his compeers as to which prince was to be placed upon the throne. In some instances the secret was kept for two days; then, when all the preparations were complete, the sacred fire at the entrance of the royal enclosure was extinguished, and the chief who had charge of it, was strangled by the fireplace. No sooner was this done than the cry of wailing began, the drums beat the death rhythm, and the country knew what had occurred, though no one was allowed to refer to the King's death otherwise than by saying: "The fire is extinguished." A wild state of disorder ensued, anarchy

Treatment  
of fever.

The King's  
death.

reigned, people tried to rob each other, and only chiefs with a strong force were safe, even the smaller chiefs being in danger from stronger chiefs, who did as they liked during the short interregnum. It was the duty of the *Katikiro*, the *Kimbugwe*, and the *Kasuju* to appoint a new King as soon as possible, in order to prevent a civil war. In the meantime, the Queen (Lubuga) took charge of the body of her brother; she had it conveyed into one of the large houses near the entrance to the royal enclosure, where it was washed, and laid upon a bed covered with barkcloths; the hands were crossed on the breast, and the great toes were tied together by a cord with two beads on it. The Queen had to remain with the body by day and by night, until it was removed to the country for embalming. The wives of the King were beside themselves with grief, calling upon their lost husband to come back, reminding him of his favours, and asking him all kinds of questions in the loudest tones of wailing and grief. No sooner was one wearied out, than another took up the cry, and often two or three wailed together, so that the noise was deafening. They beat upon their breasts, and painted them with wood ashes; they went unkempt, wearing girdles of withered plantain-leaves. Outside also everyone wore a plantain-leaf girdle, and no one was allowed to shave his head; the whole country was plunged into mourning, and all work ceased.

Embalming the King's body.

When the new King had been chosen he was conducted to the body of his father, and was given a new barkcloth by the *Mugema*, which he threw over the body, after looking for a few moments upon the face. The *Mugema's* representative and the *Kago's* were then permitted to take the body to Busiro, for the purpose of embalming it and preparing it for burial. Some of the bodyguard went with the body, and the representatives of the two chiefs just mentioned attended to the ceremonies. The body was taken to Kireka, where the first part of the embalming ceremonies took place. *Sabaganzi*, the brother of the late King's Mother, went with the two chiefs' representatives to superintend the embalming of the body. The *Mugema* in the meantime removed all the royal drums, and guarded them in his own enclosure, so that

no rebel prince might secure them and get himself proclaimed king. The *Kago*, the *Kimbugwe*, and the *Sabaganzi* went out of office at a king's death, though they still retained their titles as officers to the late King. The new King appointed chiefs to these offices as soon as he had covered the face of the corpse, before he left the capital to be crowned. Members of the bodyguard did the embalming; they first disembowelled the corpse, and washed the bowels (after removing all fluids from them) several times in beer; this beer had then to be drunk by some of the widows and by the chiefs engaged in the work of embalming. After the washing was finished, the bowels were spread out in the sun and dried; they were then ready to be replaced in the body. The body was dried with barkcloths, and squeezed until every drop of fluid had been extracted from it. It was also washed with beer, and the beer had to be drunk; nothing from the washing might be thrown away.

The royal widows were guarded by the King's orders, and were not allowed to go out during the time of mourning; those who had children by the late King were put under a strong guard, and were closely watched, lest they should work magic upon the new King, and so secure the throne for one of their sons. Royal widows.

At the end of three months the body of the King was removed from Kireka to Temengalo, where the ceremonies were carried on for another two months. Each time the body was removed it was carried feet first, for it was a custom never to carry a living person feet first, and never to carry a corpse head first. From Temengalo the body was carried to Gayaza, whither the deceased King's herdsman brought butter for smearing it.

Immediately after the new King had been chosen, his mother was brought forward from among the widows, and when she had proved her identity, her brother was also brought forward, and escorted to the body of the dead King; a knife was then handed to him, and with this he cut the cord which bound the great toes together; he also took the two beads off the cord, and put them round his neck, wearing them as a sign of his office of King's uncle (*Sabaganzi*).

Burial of  
the King.

The new *Kago* and the King's uncle *Sabaganzi* received a new barkcloth from the King, and the *Kago* undertook the ceremony of taking leave of the deceased. He had the barkcloth smeared with butter, and spread it over the body; the body was then wrapped in other barkcloths, and taken to Merera, the *Kago* and the *Sabaganzi* accompanying it. On the way they passed by the residence of a chief named *Lwambirizi*, to whom they explained that they were going to bury the late King; *Lwambirizi* thereupon took a hoe, and walked in front of the procession with the hoe as far as Sebi. In the meantime the *Mugema* had been building a tomb at Mirera. The chiefs *Kago* and *Sabaganzi* were, however, required to return to the new King before they could bury the body, and to tell him that they had taken it to Mirera, and that they awaited his instructions. The King appointed them in conjunction with *Mugema* to bury the body, and ordered them to take with them, and to put to death *Kauta*, the chief cook, *Seruti*, the chief brewer, *Sebalija*, the chief over the herdsmen, and *Kalandasi*, who had the care of the King's well;<sup>1</sup> also the following women: *Mufumbiro*, the cook, of whom it was said: "Her pot is broken, and for whom should she now work?" *Musenero*, who had charge of the beer, of whom they said: "Her beer-gourd is broken, for whom should she draw beer?" *Misibika*, who had charge of the bed-chamber, *Mulindamasi*, who had charge of the water, *Muwanika*, who had charge of the late King's clothing, and *Musumba*, who had charge of his milk-pots and milk. These men and women were now bound, and taken as prisoners to the King's funeral. When they arrived at Mirera, *Kibare* headed the procession, carrying a white fowl, and *Lwambirizi* walked behind him, carrying the hoe. *Kibare* called out to *Senkaba*: "We want to see you; Uganda is dead; we have brought him for burial"; he then presented *Senkaba* with the fowl. The fowl was killed and eaten by *Senkaba*, by *Gungu* and his chief men, after the funeral, and to *Senkaba* was given one of the deceased King's young widows to be his wife. *Senkaba* admitted the party to his enclosure, and they told him all about the King's

<sup>1</sup> The chief *Musoloca*, who had charge of the sacred fire, had already been put to death. See p. 103.

illness and death; as soon as they mentioned his death, *Senkaba* dropped down, overcome with grief, and all his attendants broke out into wailing for the departed King. When the wailing had lasted for some time, *Senkaba* conducted the party to a well-built house which had been prepared for the body, and in which there was a frame like a bedstead for the body to rest upon. *Lwambirizi* entered the house, and dug a shallow grave under the framework with his hoe; the body was then carried in, and placed upon the frame over which barkcloths had been laid; other barkcloths were then placed over it, and the nail-parings and hair, which had been shaved during the King's reign, were brought and placed by the body. Thereupon the mainpost, which supported the house, was cut down, carried out, and sent to *Mugema*. The tomb was filled with barkcloths which were packed in, until there was no room for more. The doorway was built with a hood supported with posts on either side, and when the tomb was full of barkcloths, they took out the posts by the door, and allowed the hood to come down to the ground, so that no one could enter the building again. There were two strongly built fences round the tomb, the outer one being a stockade intended to keep out the wild animals. When the hood was let down to close the tomb, the wives of the late King, who had been bound, were placed at intervals round the tomb from the left of the doorway onwards, and were clubbed to death; they also had their legs broken, so that, if they were only stunned, they could not escape; the men mentioned above were next clubbed to death on the right side of the door: these, and hundreds more, were killed and sent to attend upon the King, who was supposed to need them in the other world. None of their bodies were buried, but they were left where they fell around the tomb. The gate of the inner fence was then closed and secured. In the enclosure between the fences other prisoners were killed. The outer fence was closed against wild beasts, and three chiefs and their men, with *Senkaba* at their head, guarded the bodies from wild animals, and kept off the vultures. When the rites were ended, the chiefs of the bodyguard who had been charged with the embalming

ceremonies, namely, *Sebata*, *Mbaja*, and *Mpinga*, returned with the *Kago* and *Sabaganzi* to the *Mugema*, to tell him that the King was buried. The chiefs of the bodyguard were given ninety women, ninety cows, ninety goats, and ninety bark-cloths, for their duties of embalming the body and burying it. During the funeral ceremonies the King was in mourning, and unable to take more than a very little daily exercise; he lived in a temporary house where he awaited the news of the burial. When the chiefs *Kago* and *Sabaganzi* arrived at *Mugema's* house and told him that the burial was complete, he announced the fact to the King through the *Katikiro*.

Ending of  
the Royal  
mourning.

When the King had appointed the day on which the mourning was to cease, he sent the *Kago* and the *Sabaganzi* back to the *Mugema*; these chiefs then shaved their heads, washed and changed their clothing, and put away all signs of mourning. The *Mugema* again sent them to the *Katikiro*, who again presented them to the King, and the mourning ended on the following day. In the evening of the day on which the mourning ended, the chief *Kalibala*, of the Grasshopper Clan, brought a gazelle for the King to hunt; it was turned out near his enclosure, and the King hunted and killed it. This was to remind him that King Kimera hunted as he returned from Bunyoro; accordingly each king had to observe the hunting custom on ascending the throne. The following morning the King and Queen had their heads shaved, and the chief *Nansigu* also had his head shaved, because he had been with Kimera when he returned to Uganda from Bunyoro. This particular chieftainship has been hereditary from that time, and the chief has always had his meals supplied by the King and has been in close attendance on him as a trusted servant. In the evening the *Mugema* sent the royal drums (*Nanzigo*) to the King, and they were beaten, to let the people understand that the mourning had ended. The post taken from the tomb was brought into the King's house and placed upon the fire; the *Mugema* and the chief *Mbaja* had to sleep one on either side of it, to keep it burning during the night, and at intervals they threw a few cowry-shells on the fire. During the evening a man was brought before the King who speared him slightly; he was thereupon put to death, and



the body was thrown into a river under the papyrus roots ; he was called "The fowl." The drums warned the people to cease mourning ; no sign of it might be found anywhere under penalty of death. After the King had been crowned, two men were brought to him bound and blindfolded ; the King took a bow and arrow and wounded one of the men. The second man was freed, he was called "He who escaped" (Kawonawo), and he lived henceforth in the royal enclosure where he had charge of the King's wives. The other prisoner was taken with a cow, a goat, a dog, a fowl, the dust and fire from the King's house, and the remains of the post from the King's house to Bunyoro ; he was the "scape-goat" (kyonzira), designed to do away with any uncleanness which might attach to the King or Queen. One of the leading Singo chiefs, *Kanyolo*, with a large army conveyed him to the Bunyoro frontier, and after maiming man and animals he left them alive, and looted all that he could from the Bunyoro, and returned to the King.

At the end of five months the *Mugema*, the *Kago*, and the *Sabaganzi* arranged for the removal of the King's jawbone to make into an effigy of the deceased King. They sent three chiefs *Sabata*, *Gungu*, and *Mpinga* to do the work ; *Gungu* cut a hole through the side of the building, entered the tomb, severed the head from the body, and brought it out ; the hole in the tomb was filled up again, and all thatch straws were replaced, and the fences secured. The men took the head to the chief *Kigu* of the Civet Clan for examination. *Ndabirizi*, one of the *Mugema's* chiefs, removed the jawbone by working it from side to side, until he broke it away ; as he worked, he said : "Show me your grandchild." The jawbone was put into an ant-hillock, and left there, until the ants had eaten all the flesh from it. The guardians of the jawbone built a hut near, and watched the spot by day and by night. After the ants had done their work, the jawbone was taken to the chief *Kawululu* of the Buffalo Clan, who examined it, and passed it on to the chief *Kalogo Kalenzi*, who also examined it, and then passed it on to the chief *Nkanga Ndabyabuwo*, who washed it thoroughly. The men who had brought it returned home with it, and washed it in a mixture of beer

Removing  
the late  
King's  
jawbone.

and milk ; in doing so they had to be careful not to remove any of the teeth. The skull was taken back to Busiro, after the lower jawbone had been removed from it, and was buried with honour near the tomb. The house in which the body was placed was allowed to fall into decay, but the place in which the skull was buried was kept in good repair, and guarded by some of the old princesses and widows. Some old people state that the head was not severed, but that only the jawbone was worked out in the manner described. The jawbone, after it had been cleansed, was taken to Masangazi, where it was again washed in milk and beer, and the chiefs of the late King, the *Kago*, the *Sabaganzi*, and the *Kimbugwe*, drank the mixture. It went through two or three further washings before it was considered to be perfectly clean ; it was then wrapped in a fine piece of barkcloth which had been rubbed with butter, and was decorated with beads and cowry-shells which had been collected during the King's lifetime from people succeeding to chieftainships. In explanation of this we may mention that it was the custom for each chief who inherited a chieftainship to pay one cowry-shell and a bead, when he came to thank the King after being installed into the chieftainship ; these beads and cowry-shells were preserved for the decoration of the jawbone, and were called "The King's wealth." The decorated jawbone was put into a wooden vessel, called a *lutiba* which had been made for its reception ; this vessel was itself wrapped in barkcloths, until it assumed a conical shape some two feet six inches high, measuring eighteen inches at the base. It was given to the former *Kago* to keep, the umbilical cord was brought by the former *Kimbugwe*, and they were put side by side. The *Mugema* then took the new chiefs, *Kago* and *Sabaganzi*, to the King, who told him that the work of "decorating the King" was completed.

The temple for the King's jawbone.

A site was next chosen, and the whole country supplied labour for building a temple to receive the jawbone and the umbilical cord of the King, and also the umbilical cord of the ex-Queen, and the various officers to the late King were appointed. Those who had held important posts during his lifetime took the more important sites

near the temple, and retained their old titles. They were given sufficient land on which to live and support themselves. The ex-Queen, who during his lifetime had the title of *Lubuga*, but was now called *Nalinya*, went to live by the entrance to the enclosure of the temple, and held high rank there; numbers of his widows were drafted off to live inside the temple enclosure. The ghost of the King soon took possession of some man, who was sent to the temple to be



FIG. 20.—TEMPLE (MALALO) OF KING'S JAWBONE.

the medium; and from that time onward it was possible to hold converse with the late King, and to hold receptions in his temple. The chief who was appointed *Katikiro* managed the estates of the dead King, though the *Nalinya* had to be consulted about them. From the time of being chosen to live in the temple courts, any widow who died, or wished to remarry, had to be replaced by the members of her clan, and if the *Katikiro* died, he, too, had to be replaced. When the reigning King died, the tomb of his predecessor lost much of its importance, though it was kept up in a less magnificent

style; indeed, no temple was allowed to disappear altogether. The clans which had the honour to supply the early Kings with *Katikoros* and other chiefs, have continued to do so to the present time; the continuity has been unbroken for hundreds of years. Once during his reign it was customary for the reigning King to visit the temple of his father. The people did not approve of these visits being repeated, because they were the signal for the death of many. Crowds of people followed the monarch, and thronged to see the ceremony; the umbilical cords were on view, and the jawbone of his father was prominent. One of the old men explained everything to the King, and handed him the decorated cords to examine, and the medium foretold his future. On his return the King suddenly gave the word to the guard, and hundreds of people were caught, taken to the sacrificial place and put to death, to join the ghost of the dead King. The King had a shrine built for his father within his enclosure, and thither the medium came to give the oracles; the shrine was visited frequently by the King, who took his wives with him to sing the departed monarch's praises. The King stood in great awe of his father's ghost, and constantly made offerings to him. The noted King Mutesa changed the burial-customs by telling his people that he did not wish to have his jawbone removed, nor his body embalmed. The reason which is given for the removal of the King's jawbone is that Kalimera, the son of King Cwa, was once sent by his father to Bunyoro, to collect money for the payment of a fine which his father had imposed upon him. While in Bunyoro, he committed adultery with one of the wives of the King of Bunyoro, and fled the country to escape his wrath. On his way back to Uganda Kalimera died; his followers did not know what to do with the body, but as they would have to prove that he was dead, they beheaded him, and took his lower jawbone back to Uganda as the principal part to be saved. From that time onwards Kings and important persons have had their jawbones removed and preserved. Though this story is interesting as a tradition, and though it supplies a reason for the practice of removing the jawbone, there seems to be undeniable proof that the custom was of an earlier date, and

Reason  
given for  
removing  
the  
jawbone.

that it prevailed before Kintu<sup>1</sup> came into the country. The conception that the ghost attaches itself to the jawbone dates from very early times; there are jawbones still in existence which are said to be those of chiefs whom King Kintu found in the land when he came, and whom he left in possession of their property.

The Kings' ghosts did not give advice about ordinary cases of illness, and were not consulted by the common people;



FIG. 21.—SACRED OBJECTS FROM A KING'S TEMPLE.

To the right, a conical object containing the jawbone; to the left, an object with a loop containing the umbilical cord.

they held receptions every three or four days, and from time to time sent the King important messages about matters of state or warned him of invasions which were being planned.

If the Queen died during the King's lifetime, she was taken and buried in the Busiro district, near to her father, and if possible on the same hill. The same rites were performed as for a King, the body was embalmed, and during the time that this was being done, the country was in mourning. The new

Death of  
the  
Queen.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 126.

Queen was chosen, before the body could be moved for embalming. As soon as it was ready for interment, the Queen sent her *Kago* to cover it with the buttered barkcloth, and the body was then taken to its burial place. On the way the bodyguard caught as many people as they could, and they were killed at the sacrificial place near the tomb. The body was buried in an open place with a mound raised over the grave, and a house was built near it for the people who were to guard it. These caretakers were chosen from some of the maids of the late Queen, and the new Queen as heiress was responsible for the repairs to the grave. When the Queen outlived the King, she changed her name to *Nalinya*, and lived at the entrance of the temple until her death, when she was buried with much ceremony near the deceased King's temple. The body was taken to Busiro for embalming, and the same rites were observed as have been already described in the case of the King's funeral. Some princess was appointed to be *Nalinya's* successor, who went through the ceremony of covering the body before it was removed for embalming, and of sending her representative to cover it when the funeral was about to take place. The grave was in an open space thatched with grass; some of the later Kings had houses built over the graves of Queens. When a Queen died during the King's reign, the King had to jump over her successor, as soon as she was installed into full office at the end of the mourning ceremonies.

Death of  
the  
*Namasole*.

When the King's Mother (*Namasole*) died, fear seized the people; the King's grief usually took the form of excessive anger, and people were captured and cast into the stocks upon the slightest provocation, and kept to swell the number sent to execution at the funeral. Everyone had to go into mourning during the time that the body was being prepared for interment. The first thing to be done was to appoint the successor to the *Namasole*. The clan to which she belonged brought one of their young members, a near relative of the late *Namasole*, to the King for his approval; when that had been obtained, she was conducted to where the body lay in state, and after gazing upon the face, she covered it, and the body was taken away to Busiro to be prepared for the

funeral. After it had been embalmed, the new *Namasole* sent her *Kago*, to wrap it in the buttered barkcloth, and the interment took place upon the hill where the King's mother had hitherto lived. The new *Namasole* had to live there, to guard the umbilical cord of the late *Namasole*, and to keep the grave in good order. The King ordered the whole country to attend the funeral. The office of *Namasole* was not allowed to lapse, but a successor had to be found by the clan, as each *Namasole* died.

When the King's wives *Kadulubare*, *Kabeja*, *Nasaza*, or any of his other important wives died during the King's lifetime

Death of the King's wives.



FIG. 22.—THATCHED GRAVE.

a successor was appointed by their clan, who went through the ceremony of covering the face of the dead, before the body could be removed and embalmed before burial. If the wife was a mother, her body was buried at Fuvu or Lugi, on the hill Kyebando in Busiro. The graves were guarded by some of the King's relations. If the wife was childless, her body, after it had been embalmed, was taken to one of the gardens belonging to the King's wives at the back of the royal enclosure, and was buried there; and some slaves belonging

to the deceased were appointed to look after the grave. The graves were made with a mound, and thatched with grass. There were no human sacrifices for any of the King's wives at their death except for the Queen. The house in which the Queen, the King's Mother, or any of the King's wives had died was destroyed; the materials might indeed be used again to build a kitchen or a house for maids, but the central ring from the inside of the ceiling had to be destroyed. The site on which the house had stood, might be used again to build a house for the successor.

Death of a  
princess.

When a princess died, her body was embalmed, and some young princess became successor to the deceased, and fulfilled all the taboos. No mourning could take place for a princess until a prince died, when the country went into mourning for the two. Until then the body was kept waiting for the funeral, and this lasted sometimes for several months. Both princes and princesses were buried in the family burial grounds in Busiro. Neither the Queen nor the King's Mother had the burning log (*kasiki*) ceremony performed at their death. There is a great difference of opinion among the natives as to whether the jawbones of the King's Mother and of princesses were removed. Some affirm that they have seen such, and that they know where they are kept, while others say that this honour was never given to women.

A Chief's  
death and  
burial.

When a chief was dying, his wives, the members of his clan and as many of his friends as possible crowded into his room, and watched for the end. As soon as it was ascertained that he was dead, the wailing began; the women especially raised a woeful cry, calling upon the deceased to come back again to them. Some of the wives were genuinely sorry, and expressed real grief, but the vast majority simply followed custom, and beat upon their breasts to pacify the ghost. The eyes of the dead were closed, his hands crossed over his chest, his legs straightened, and the two great toes tied together. The body was washed and wrapped in a new barkcloth, while another barkcloth was spread over it. The middle wall of the house, which divided the sleeping apartment from the ordinary sitting-room, was cut out and laid on the floor, and the body was placed upon it. A number of plantain trees



were cut down, and the trunks were brought just inside the door of the house, and made into a kind of bedstead by being crossed in layers; the body was placed on these with the head near the doorway, but so as to leave room on either side for people to stand. The upper barkcloth was so arranged that it could be thrown back to expose the face; there was no coffin, but the reed wall which was under the body on the bedstead of plantain-tree trunks was bent round it when they wished to carry it to the grave. As a rule, the body was not kept for more than one day, though in some cases it was necessary to keep it two days to give more distant members of the clan time to arrive and to appoint the heir. Someone watched the corpse by day and by night. When the preliminary arrangements for the funeral had been made, the eldest son came and stood on the right side of the body, while the widows stood on the left; the face and hands were then uncovered, so that the son could take the right hand of the dead man. One of the relatives of the deceased brought a few pumpkin seeds, and placed them in the hand of the dead man; the eldest son removed them with his lips, and, after chewing them, blew some of them over the body, and the rest over one of the childless widows; the latter became his wife at once, and was allowed to leave and go to her new home. This ceremony was called *kulumira mpamba*; it could only be performed by the eldest son, who never inherited his father's property; he became the guardian of the other children, and looked after their interests. After this the corpse was covered, leaving only the face exposed. A pot of butter was placed near the head, and some sponges, made from the core of the plantain stem, such as were used for washing the hands before and after meat, were put by it. Each member of the family walked into the house, and, as they passed, they rubbed a little butter on the forehead of the dead, and wiped their hands on one of the sponges; this ceremony was called "taking leave of the dead" (kuziraga).

Ceremony  
of taking  
leave of  
the dead.

It was the duty of the male relatives to dig the grave; by taking the work in relays they managed to complete their task during the day, so that the grave was ready

Digging  
the grave.

for the interment by evening or early on the second day. As a rule, the grave was much deeper and wider than we should think necessary, because many barkcloths were placed in it for the dead man's comfort. It had to be dug in one of the family burial-places, so that if a man died in the capital or on a journey the body might have to be carried for several days till it reached the proper burial ground. In such cases a house on the burial ground was lent by a relative



FIG. 23.—GRAVE WITH MOUND OF BEATEN EARTH.

and made ready for the reception of the body, and there the relations gathered at the burial ground for the mourning ceremonies. The grave was lined with barkcloths, and many were also laid at the bottom of the grave for the body to rest upon. The body was carried feet first from the house, and a man, called "The eyes of the dead," preceded it, carrying a small branch cut from a tree called "The tree of the dead," the wood of which might not be used for building purposes. Several men stood in the grave, the body was handed to them, and they laid it down; in some clans they placed a

dead man so as to lie on his right side, and a woman on her left ; but in most of the clans the body was placed on its back. One of the grandsons had then to step into the grave ; he was given a knife, with which he cut off the corner of a barkcloth, near the head, in which the body was wound, and another corner of the barkcloth at the foot end, which had been left loose for this purpose. He then threw the knife at one of the childless widows, and she became his wife. The grandson who performed this ceremony was called the *mulindi* ; he walked from the grave without ever looking back, and the woman whom he had selected followed close behind him. In certain clans another ceremony was observed : if the heir had been chosen, and if he was present at the burial, he passed under a barkcloth held by four men over the body. If he was appointed but arrived after the funeral, he went to the grave and spread a barkcloth over it. The clan liked to appoint the heir before the funeral, and he remained with the relatives during the time of mourning. In one or two clans, if there was no grandson, a granddaughter might take his place, and stand in the grave to cut off the corner of the barkcloth, and claim one of the widows as her servant. The grave was filled with barkcloths, and upon these the earth was thrown ; many of the women took part in filling in the grave, and stamping the earth down as it was thrown in. A large mound was raised over the grave, and all those who took part in filling it in sponged their hands and feet with sponges made from the plantain stem, and threw the sponges on the grave. The mourners returned to the house in which the body had lain, and they remained there during the time of mourning, which lasted for two, or even for six, months. It was looked upon as a reproach not to have a grandson to perform the barkcloth ceremony. If there was a grandson, but he was at a distance, unable to reach the place in time for the funeral, the corner of the barkcloth was left protruding from the grave, so that when he arrived he could go through the ceremony, and take the woman, and satisfy the ghost. During the time of mourning, the mourners were not allowed to shave their heads, nor to cut their nails, nor to wash, except to wash their hands for meals ; they wore

Ceremony  
performed  
by a  
grandson.

old clothes and a girdle of plantain leaves; most of the women went about with ashes smeared upon their breasts, and all had to abstain from sexual intercourse. The house of mourning was carpeted with dry leaves from the plantain; all the food was prepared outside by the door, and any food that was over was thrown there. Inside the hut a number of drums were beaten at intervals by day and by night; and when the drums sounded the women wailed, especially at day-break. The widows visited the grave each morning,



FIG. 24.—MUTESA'S TOMB.

accompanied by other mourners, and wailed there for some time. The members of the clan who were not staying among the mourners brought them food and beer daily, though no one was allowed to drink to excess. While the mourning continued, the heir did not enter upon his estates. The night before the mourning ceased, the head of the clan sent word to say that the mourning would end on the following day. The friends and relatives came in great numbers for the final dance. That night the plantains were cooked with the skins on, and the people ate as much food as they wished, and

threw down the rest by the door leading out to the ground where the dance was taking place, and it was trampled under foot. On the following morning they all shaved their heads, and were ready to receive the sister's son (mujwa) of the deceased, who came to take down the main post in the house; he cut it down, laid it on the fire, and left it, until it burnt through; meanwhile, all the widows gathered together to watch this ceremony and take part in it. When the post was burnt through, one half was carried out into the garden and placed there still burning; the other half was left inside the house. The widows who had relations living, and who had been married according to the marriage customs, were claimed by some relative, and brought out to sit on the log in the garden. Those who had no relations to bring them out of the house had to sit on the log inside; they were slaves (nvuma), whom the deceased had either inherited, purchased, or captured in war. A fowl was brought, cooked over the fire in the house, and given to the men who were present, while the women sitting on the log inside were given some fish to eat. The fish was only tasted; the greater part of it was thrown into the fire and burned, because the women were taking leave of the deceased and could never have children by him; the fowl reminded the others of the legend which states that the fowl was the cause of death.<sup>1</sup> Those who remained unclaimed on the log inside were slaves for life, and passed to the clan as the property of the heir. Of those who sat outside and had children, some were chosen to live near the grave to look after it, others were sent to different members of the clan, while the majority belonged to the heir. The King was given some of the younger widows who had not been taken to wife by the deceased. If any of those appointed to go to the heir did not wish to live with him, they were allowed to return to their clan on the understanding that the clan returned the original dowry. The sister's son was given a woman to wife when he had finished his duties.

Ceremony  
to end  
mourning.

The heir<sup>2</sup> was installed by the head of the clan, who came and presented him with a barkcloth, which the heir then spread

<sup>1</sup> See p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 135.

Installing  
the heir  
of a  
deceased  
person.

over the grave, unless he had been present at the funeral and had gone through the ceremony of passing under the barkcloth. After he had spread the barkcloth over the grave, he went back to the house of the deceased, where a barkcloth or a mat was spread for him to sit upon; his sister was then brought forward to be his principal consort (*lubuga*), and was seated with him on the barkcloth, and one of the young widows was given him to wife. He was not allowed to marry his sister, or to keep her with him after this ceremony, if she was a married woman, though she was known as the consort of her brother. The heir was given a large knife, such as a man used for cutting down trees or reeds, also the shield and spear of the deceased; and the consort was given a knife and a basket, such as the women used for their household duties. The heir was presented to the members of the clan by the head, who ran through his pedigree, after which the heir went into the garden with his sister and wife, and cut a bunch of plantains of the kind used for making beer, returned with it, and hung it up in the house to ripen. He also caused some animal, an ox or a goat, and a large supply of other food to be cooked. After going round the estate, the heir with his sister (the consort, *lubuga*) returned to the house, and sat in state for the rest of the day, while people came to see him, and to condole with him about the loss of his father. Unless she was already married, the sister (consort) remained with her brother until her marriage, and she was meanwhile called his wife; if she was already married, she stayed a few days only and then returned to her husband. All the members of the clan had to be introduced to the heir, and to make presents of a few cowry-shells to him and his sister. When the heir was first introduced by the head of the family, the head tied a few cowry-shells to his wrist and to his sister's wrist, and each of them was given new barkcloths to wear. In the evening the heir killed a goat, and gave the liver and entrails to the children and widows of the deceased, who had conformed to the mourning customs. No one who had broken a taboo was allowed to partake of the meal which followed. All the children were called the children of the heir, and he took

charge of them. The next morning the house was cleansed and repaired, the whole place outside was put into order, every trace of mourning was removed, and the heir entered into full possession. None of the women who had gone through the mourning ceremonies were permitted to return home alone, but their husbands were required to fetch them, and to bring a pot of beer and a goat to the heir; the goat was not indeed compulsory, but the beer was so, and no woman would think of returning to her husband, until he had given it; it was, however, regarded as the correct thing to bring the goat also, and a man who failed to do so was despised as a mean person. A wife would even leave her husband for this omission, saying that he did not care for her if he would not give a goat to redeem her from mourning. When the plantains which the heir had cut were ripe, he called the members of the clan together, who came bringing with them a quantity of beer; the heir also made beer, using the bunch of plantains which he had cut for part of his brew for the feast. The bedstead which the deceased had used and the inner walls of the house were taken out, and used for firewood in brewing the beer for this final feast.

The relatives had to cut grass and other things necessary to thatch the grave; they first beat the earth, made the mound quite smooth, and polished it with beer; a layer of grass a foot thick was then laid upon the mound, and four stakes were driven into the ground at the corners to keep it up. The grass was tied down with rope made from the plantain fibre to keep it from blowing away. Beer was then brought to the grave, all the members of the family partook of it, and a quantity was poured on the ground at the head of the grave. Huts were built round the grave for the widows, and they had to keep the grave and its surroundings from being overgrown with weeds, and to see that the thatch was kept in repair. In most cases a shrine was built for the ghost; and if the heir was a chief living at a distance, he made a second shrine for the ghost at the entrance of his own enclosure. The heir had then to go to the King and take him a present of a white male goat and also one special cowry-shell and one bead as the

Thatching  
the grave.

offering from the dead ; these latter he laid upon the royal rug, as he thanked the King for permitting him to succeed to the property. The goat, the beer, and one hundred cowry-shells he handed to one of the King's attendants. The special cowry-shell and the bead were kept by the King, to be used to decorate his jawbone after death.<sup>1</sup>

Death of  
twins.

It was considered a great calamity when a twin died, especially if this happened before the child had been named and the ceremonies attending the birth of twins had been completed. When a twin fell ill, the father took offerings to the temple of Mukasa, and engaged the help of his priests to try and get the child's life spared. If a twin died, they never stated the fact in words, but said : "She has gone to get firewood," if it was a girl, and : "He has gone to make barkcloth," if it was a boy ; sometimes they said : "The child has flown away." The body was embalmed and placed upon the mother's bed. The medicine-man caught the ghost, and made it up into a "twin" (*mulongo*). To do this, he went by night into the space in front of the house, spread a barkcloth on the ground, killed a white fowl, cut out its tongue, and placed it on the barkcloth ; he then watched for the first insect that alighted on the barkcloth, caught it, and wrapped it up with the fowl's tongue, saying that the ghost had come back again. The insect and the fowl's tongue were made up into a "twin" decorated with cowry-shells and beads, put into the usual wooden pot, and covered again with barkcloth, and preserved. The funeral ceremonies were then proceeded with, the embalmed body was wrapped round with a creeper and put into a new cooking pot. When the preparations were complete, the relations assembled, a man called the *Mutaka* took the corpse to waste land near a main road, dug the grave, and laid the body in it ; on the grave he placed a cooking pot mouth downwards, but put no earth in. Then everyone who passed by knew the place to be the grave of a twin, and avoided it, lest the ghost should catch them. Women especially avoided the place, and threw grass upon the grave to prevent the ghost from entering into them and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 110.



being reborn. The parents of the father and of the mother of the twins, were told that the child had "Flown away," or "Gone to gather firewood," and they made offerings to Mukasa, to avert his anger from the clan. Large clods of earth, the nests of a kind of ant, were also put round the cooking pot on the grave; the parents visited *Mutaka's* garden a second time, and again performed the ceremony of stealing plantains.<sup>1</sup> The flowers from the plantain stems were taken off, and made up into a little bundle, which was called the "twin," and placed upon the bed where the child lay before its death. There was never any mourning for the child, but the songs and ceremonies for twins had to continue, as though it were still alive.

The funeral of a peasant was like that of a chief, only Peasants' funerals. rather more hurried; it took place either on the day of death, or on the following day. The body had to be taken to the clan burial-ground, no matter how far away it was; the mourning lasted about a month. Then the heir was installed, who took charge of the children; if there was a childless wife, he wedded her; for him also a consort (*lubuga*) was appointed, who was the daughter of the deceased's brother, if the heir had no sister. Goats and other small things became his property. A widow of the deceased who had children went to live near the grave, to keep it in order. All relations who took part in the funeral had to go through the same ceremonies as in the case of a chief; when the mourning was ended they shaved their heads, and all the female mourners had to wait for their husbands to come and fetch them away, and bring the usual pot of beer.

When a peasant's wife died, her body was not washed, but wrapped in a barkcloth. The next day her mother came, and placed the sponge and butter ready, the relatives then smeared the butter on the face, and the body was wrapped up and taken to the grave. A pointed stick, and not a hoe, was used at beginning to dig a grave; the hoe was employed after the work had commenced. The funeral ceremonies for a wife terminated with a round of beer drinking by the assembled relatives, after which they shaved Funeral of a peasant's wife.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 67, 68.

their heads and cut their nails, and the mourning ceased. The husband destroyed the house in which his wife had lived, and set the materials aside for building a new house ; the central ring of the roof, and the stones which had been used for the cooking pots at the fireplace, he left on the old site. The new house might be built close to the old site, but not actually on it. A widower was free to marry a new wife, the clan from which his former wife had come finding someone to be her heiress. He had to pay the usual dowry for her, though she might remain with him as his wife while he was seeking the money, once he had taken the beer to her clan.

Funerals  
of young  
children.

The same ceremonies were observed at the funerals of small children as at those of grown-up people. After the interment the mourners continued for two days in the house, going each morning to the grave. On the second day the mother took some fishes and threw two or three of them upon the fire, the mourners then shaved their heads, and went to their homes, while the mother continued to mourn alone. During the time of her mourning she allowed her hair to grow long, she did not cut her nails, and she lived apart from her husband ; she took her meals alone, and slept alone, but she was allowed to cook for her husband. If any people visited her during the time of her mourning, they either entered her house, or else they sat at some distance from it, but they avoided sitting in the doorway. When the mother had ended her mourning, her husband brought some one to be heir to the child ; after this the mother shaved her head, on the grave a mound was made, beer was poured upon it, and the ceremonies ceased. In all cases the relations made little shrines like miniature huts at the graves for the ghosts, and appointed heirs, for it was believed that, if they failed to do so, the ghost would return and haunt them.

In the case of a woman who died in a state of pregnancy the fœtus was removed, because it was held that the ghost of the child and that of the mother must have separate graves.

Children born feet first (*kija nenenge*) were invariably killed at birth, and the bodies were buried at cross roads. The ghost of such a child was feared by all women, young and old, married and unmarried, who took the precaution to

throw bits of stick or grass upon the grave, to prevent the ghost from entering into them and being reborn. The grave mounds in the course of time became large enough to deflect the path, and to attract the notice of travellers.

Suicides were burned at cross roads, the materials from the house or the tree on which the deed was done being used as fuel. The same precautions as those just mentioned were observed by women, when passing the spot, in order to prevent the ghosts from entering into them, and being reborn.

In no case were two persons ever laid in the same grave ; they might be buried side by side only a foot apart, but the people believed that, if buried together, the ghosts would quarrel for priority, and that the worsted ghost would wreak vengeance on the living.

Slaves were buried on some part of their master's estate without any ceremony ; people feared to throw them out on waste land for wild animals, because the medicine-men stated that sickness and death had been caused by the ghosts of slaves who had been thus neglected.

## CHAPTER V

### RELATIONSHIP

Male line  
and  
father's  
totems  
observed  
except by  
royalty.

DESCENT was reckoned on the father's side : that is, every child belonged to his or her father's clan and took his or her father's totems ; and every child born to a man was reckoned as his legitimate child, if it had passed the test called *kwalula*. But with royalty it was different. Every prince belonged to the clan of his mother, not of his father, and took his mother's totems. In addition the Lion and Leopard clans claimed to be descended from princes, and hence to include all princes among their members. Thus besides his mother's totems every prince and consequently every king had the lion and leopard for additional totems ; nor was this all, every prince and king claimed in addition the eagle for his totem, though in fact there was no Eagle clan. Thus all princes had three totems besides those which they inherited from their mothers. The clans to the present time speak of having given birth to such and such kings, and claim them as members of their clan.

Under ordinary circumstances a woman was lost to her clan when she married, except that the members of the clan saw to it that she was well treated and had justice done her when in trouble. Her children were taught in infancy to respect her totems and to avoid them ; but when they grew up, they adopted their father's totems, and seldom mentioned those of the mother. A man was forbidden to marry a woman from his mother's clan, because its members were regarded as his near relations.

From the following table it will be seen that a man might not have any communications with his father's sisters' daughters

or his mother's brothers' daughters; they were forbidden even to approach him, or to hand him anything. If such relations failed to observe the restriction, illness was expected to ensue, which would make their hands tremble, and would unfit them for any work. The father's brothers were "little fathers" to his children, and the father's brothers' wives were mothers to his children; their children were brothers and sisters to his children. The father's brother-in-law (sister's husband) was not considered a relation, though his children were of the prohibited degree of relationship to the opposite sexes.

The mother's brothers were all related to her children, who called each uncle *kojawe*, while her brothers' wives were called the wives of her sons. The mother's brothers' children were of the dangerous degree of relationship, and the opposite sexes might not have any intercourse with each other. The mother's sisters' children were brothers and sisters to her own children, and might intermingle freely with them.

In choosing a wife a man had to be careful to see that he was not marrying within the forbidden degrees of relationship. No man might see his mother-in-law, or speak face to face with her; she covered her face, if she passed her son-in-law, and he gave her the path and made a detour, if he saw her coming. If she was in the house, he might not enter, but he was allowed to speak to her from a distance. This was said to be because he had seen her daughter's nakedness. If a son-in-law accidentally saw his mother-in-law's breasts, he sent her a barkcloth in compensation, to cover herself, lest some illness, such as tremor, should come upon him. The punishment for incest was death; no member of a clan would shield a person guilty thereof; the offender was disowned by the clan, tried by the chief of the district, and put to death.

The term "father" or "mother" is never used alone; but a possessive pronoun must always be attached, *e.g.*, my father, or my mother, etc.

My father is *Kitange*.

My mother is *Mange*.

Thy father is *Kitawo*.

Thy mother is *Nyoko*.

His or her father is *Kitawe*.

His or her mother is *Nyinawe*.

K

Our father is <i>Kitafe</i> .	Our mother is <i>Nyafe</i> .
Their father is <i>Kitabwe</i> .	Their mother is <i>Nyabwe</i> .
Brother (in the mouth of a man) is <i>Muganda</i> .	Sister (in the mouth of a man) is <i>Mwanyina</i> .

Sister by the same mother, but by a different father, is *mwanyina mabere*, i.e., "sister of the breasts."

The term *Mwanyina* is used by a man when speaking of his sister, and by a woman when speaking of her brother. A man speaking of his brother calls him *Muganda*, and a woman when speaking of her sister calls her *Muganda*.

#### TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

1. Forefather, *Jaja* pl. *Bajaja*.
2. Father's father, *Jaja kitange*.
3. Father's mother, *Nyabo kitange*.
4. Mother's father, *Jaja mange*.
5. Mother's mother, *Nyabo mange*.
6. Father, *Kitange*.
7. Father's brother, *Kitange muto*.
8. Father's sister, *Sengawe*.
9. Father's brother's wife, *Mange*.
10. Father's sister's husband, *Kitange*.
11. Mother, *Mange*.
12. Mother's brother, *Kojawe*.
13. Mother's sister, *Mange muto*.
14. Mother's brother's wife, *Mukazi* (she calls her nephew *Ba*, i.e., "husband").
15. Mother's sister's husband, *Kitange*.
16. Brother (man speaking), *Muganda*.
17. Brother's wife (man speaking), *Muka muganda*.
18. Brother (woman speaking), *Mwanyina*.
19. Brother's wife (woman speaking), *Muka mwanyina*.
20. Elder brother (man speaking), *Muganda mukulu*.
21. Elder brother (woman speaking), *Mwanyina mukulu*.
22. Sister (man speaking), *Mwanyina*.
23. Sister's husband (man speaking), *Ba mwanyina*.
24. Sister (woman speaking), *Muganda*.
25. Sister's husband (woman speaking), *Musange*.

26. Husband, *Ba*.
27. Wife, *Mukazi*.
28. Father's brother's son (man speaking), *Muganda*.
29. Father's brother's daughter (man speaking), *Mwanyina*.
30. Father's sister's son (man speaking), *Muganda*.
31. Father's sister's daughter (man or woman speaking), *Kizibweve* (may not come near her mother's brother's sons).
32. Father's brother's son (woman speaking), *Mwanyina*.
33. Father's brother's daughter (woman speaking), *Muganda*.
34. Father's sister's son (woman speaking) *Kizibweve*.
35. Mother's brother's son (man speaking), *Muganda*.
36. Mother's brother's daughter (man or woman speaking), *Kizibweve* (may not come near her father's sister's sons).
37. Mother's sister's son (man speaking), *Muganda*.
38. Mother's sister's son (woman speaking), *Mwanyina*.
39. Mother's sister's daughter (man speaking), *Mwanyina*.
40. Mother's sister's daughter (woman speaking), *Muganda*.
41. Son, *Mutabani* or *Mwana*.
42. Daughter, *Muwala* or *Mwana*.
43. Brother's son (man or woman speaking), *Mwana*.
44. Brother's daughter (man or woman speaking), *Muwala*.
45. Sister's son (man speaking), *Mujwa*.
46. Sister's daughter (man speaking), *Mwiwa*.
47. Sister's son's wife, *Muka mwana* (her uncle may not touch her).
48. Sister's daughter's husband (man or woman speaking), *Ba mwana*.
49. Son's wife (man or woman speaking), *Muka mwana*.
50. Daughter's husband (man or woman speaking), *Ba mwana*.
51. Son's son, *Muzukulu*.
52. Son's daughter, *Muzukulu*.
53. Daughter's son, *Muzukulu*.
54. Daughter's daughter, *Muzukulu*.
55. Wife's father, *Mukodomi*.
56. Wife's mother, *Nyazala*.
57. Wife's brother, *Mukodomi*.
58. Wife's sister, *Mulamu*.
59. Wife's sister's husband, *Musangi*.

60. Wife's sister's child, *Mwana*.
61. Husband's father, *Sezala*.
62. Husband's mother, *Nyazala*.
63. Husband's brother, *Mulamu*.
64. Husband's sister, *Mulamu*.
65. Husband's brother's wife, *Mujawo*.
66. Husband's sister's husband, *Musangi*.
67. Husband's brother's child, *Mwana*.
68. Son's wife's parents, *Baganda*.

A man regarded his sisters as his slaves, and treated them as such. If a man had sexual relations with his father's sister (Sengawe), or with women termed his *Kizibwewe*, or called *Mwana*, he was called *Kive*, and put to death.



## CHAPTER VI

### THE CLANS AND THEIR TOTEMS

THE Baganda are divided into a number of social or kinship divisions, each of which is called a *kika*, which may be translated "clan." Explanation of clans.

A *kika* or clan, as recognised by the Baganda, is a family which traces its origin to one ancestor, and has common totems *miziro*. All the men of the same generation in a clan are called brothers, and all the women of the same generation in a clan are called sisters; the younger generation call the men father and the women mother. To ascertain whether two people were descended from the same parents, one asked whether they were the same *lubuto*, which means born from one mother, or *kitabwe omu*, which means having one father.

Each clan had two totems: a principal totem, by which the clan was known, called its *Muziro* (pl. *Miziro*); and a second totem, not so well known, called its *Kabiro*. Both totems were held sacred by the clan, who never destroyed them; others, however, might do so without hurting the feelings of the clan, if it was done for some reasonable purpose. A wife adopted her husband's totems, and at the same time retained her own; she also taught her children to respect both those of her husband and her own, though the children were not bound to respect their mother's totems, and they invariably disregarded them when they grew up.

Each clan had its family-estates, which were as a rule situated on some hill, with the gardens running down into the valley. On each estate there was a chief, who was responsible for the conduct of the members of his branch (siga) of the clan Family-estates which were freehold lands.

and was called the "Father" of it. The "Father" of the whole clan naturally had the most important estate. Many of the clans had their family god *Lubare*, pl. *Balubare*; or the charge of one of the national gods might be confided to them; in such a case the chief of the clan, on whose estate the temple stood, became the priest and had charge of the temple. The temples were generally built on the tops of the hills, and were surrounded by good land, which was the property of the Deity. Besides these old family-estates there were others of less importance, which were really subdivisions of estates originally larger, namely, lands where three or four generations of a branch of a clan had been buried. These were also freehold, and became the property of the special branch of the clan which had settled on them; the other branches had no part in their ownership. The members of a branch would not submit to a member of another branch being placed over them in succession to a deceased chief, though they acknowledged the right of the clan to nominate a member of their own section to the office. Chiefs had to be on the alert to prevent people from burying their dead in good gardens, because the gardens would thereby become freehold lands, and even the King did not like to turn out any family which had succeeded in burying three generations of its dead in the same place; he dreaded the anger of the ghosts. If people were discovered burying their dead in a garden, they were ordered to take the body away to the family-estate. The people settled on family-estates were called *Bataka*, which means the owners of the soil; the term was often used in derision like our expression "country cousins." The Kings were also called *Bataka*, because they owned the country. With one exception, all the clans were exogamous; that is, no man might marry a woman of his own clan, the one exception being the Lung-fish Clan. In this case, perhaps, the reason was that one branch of the Lung-fish Clan had come from a different part of the country, and the fathers of the two branches were different men; their second totems were also different, the branch bordering on the Lake taking a fish, called *Mugunya*, as their second totem, while the branch which lived inland took the frog.

It was the usual and proper thing for a man to take his second wife from his paternal grandmother's clan; this wife was called *Nasaza*, and was entrusted with the clippings of her husband's hair and the parings of his nails. Each clan had special names for their children, and the members of a clan knew by the name whether a child belonged to them or not. It was customary to have a second name for common use, and to keep the birth-name secret; indeed there was a strong feeling against mentioning the latter, or naming the clan to which a person belonged. If a matter of importance arose, a person would readily tell his birth-name and the name of his clan; but when there was no special reason for giving it, the inquirer would be referred to some one else. The benefit derived from the totemic system was great; it bound the members of a clan together for mutual assistance and defence, and it regulated the social life of the community, especially in the matter of marriage restrictions.

With the list of clans and their totems, which follows, the freeholds (*butaka*) held by each clan have been given, and the name of the father of the family from which the clan is said to have originated. The division of clans (*kika*) was according to these freeholds; each division of a clan (*kika*) constituted a branch, called a *sigā*, and the chief of the division had the right to decide cases, and to hear complaints in his branch of the clan. A subdivision of a branch (*sigā*) was called an *enda*, and the head of a subdivision also had judicial powers, though members tried by him had the right of appeal to the head of their division (*sigā*), and if dissatisfied with his decision, they might appeal to the supreme head of the clan. A freehold (*butaka*) was established by three or four generations of a family being buried in a certain place, and being left undisturbed by the District Chief and King. After three generations had been buried in a plot, the King would not dispute the right of the people to live on the land. He might indeed, if he disliked the head of the division, have him deposed, but the clan had the right to nominate the successor, and would submit his name to the King for ratification. The people regarded as the true branches (*sigā*) of a clan those which had sprung from the sons or grandsons of

A second wife was taken from paternal grandmother's clan.

Divisions and subdivisions of clans.

the man whom they called the father of the clan. There are, however, many cases where the clans until quite recently have been increasing and making divisions. According to custom a clan (*kika*) could divide into two or more divisions (*sigá*); the head of such a division (*sigá*) would be called a "father of the branch," and would have freehold estates for burial-grounds, whereas there were seldom, if ever, any burial-grounds in a subdivision (*enda*). When the head of a subdivision (*enda*) died, the heads of the other subdivisions and the heads of the main divisions (*sigá*) met together, and decided who should be the successor; the heir had to be a member of the same subdivision as the deceased, though not necessarily a son in the direct line of descent. Similarly, when the head of a clan died, the heads of the divisions met together to appoint his successor from his own section of the clan. The divisions and subdivisions of a clan retained the same totems and rules in common with all the members of the clan. The head of a clan took the title which had been borne by the first holder of this office, and in each division and subdivision the man who became the head of it was given a title which was passed on to his successor. The holder of the office spoke of past events as though he had been present and had taken part in them, and to such an extent identified himself with the original holder of the office that he would speak of himself as the leader of an expedition which had taken place a hundred years previously, or as the father of persons who had been long dead.

In the legends of the Kings,<sup>1</sup> Kintu is described as being the first man who came to earth; to him a wife named Nambi was given, and she is said to have been the cause of all evil, sickness, and death. When, however, the traditions of the individual clans are examined, some of the national traditions are seen to need modification. For example, Kintu is acknowledged to have taken a wife from a clan which he found in the country; again, several of the clans are said to have been in the country when Kintu came, or to have come to him from adjacent countries. From these traditions we may

gather that Kintu was a powerful ruler, who invaded and conquered the land, and who by his superior skill incorporated the clans into one nation under his own government. Any Muganda,<sup>1</sup> when asked from whom he is descended, will readily answer, "From Kintu"; if further questioned, he will give an account of his forefather, stating where he came from, and when he first joined Kintu, or one of the other early kings of the country. He will also be able to enumerate all the family estates, which they call *butaka*, and to give a fairly good account of the history of the clan. The members of a clan were always buried on one of their estates, and the graves were watched over and tended by one of the members, who had the land around the graves given to him in return for his services in guarding them and keeping them in order.

One tradition accounts for the origin of the clans by the following story. In the reign of Kintu, the first King, the whole nation is said to have lived by the chase. When animals were becoming scarce, Kintu, with the general consent of his people, made the rule that certain kinds of animals should be taboo to certain families. Thus those particular species of animals were left to other families, and the animals were given a better chance of multiplying than if every man had been free to hunt every species for food. Each family abstained from eating that particular kind of animal of which they had partaken with ill results, and that animal was tabooed by them, and became their totem. Tradition  
of the  
origin of  
clans.

In the following list the clans marked with (*a*) were never allowed to present a prince as a candidate for the throne. The King might marry a woman from those clans, and have children by them, but the fact that the mother belonged to one of those clans debarred the child from coming to the throne. In most cases the male children, whom the King had by women of these clans, were killed at birth, and only girls were allowed to live. For this reason members of these clans gave their daughters to other clans with whom they allied themselves, so that when the girls were presented to the King, it might be as members of the clan which they had joined, and when they bore children, these were owned by the clan which they Totems  
and clans.

<sup>1</sup> Muganda is the singular form of the tribal name ; Baganda is the plural.

had joined, and were therefore eligible for the throne. The clans marked (*b*) joined other clans, either to better their position, since they were themselves despised, or to be able, through the other clans, to give their daughters in marriage to the King, and to have children who might be eligible for the throne. Though these clans became associated with the more honourable clans, and had the right to use their totem-names, they were never regarded by them as blood-relations, and they might intermarry with the clan whose totems they had adopted.

#### LIST OF THE CLANS WITH THEIR TOTEMS.

1. The Leopard clan (Ngo) had the Genet (Kasimba) for its second totem.

2. (*a*) The Lion (Mpologoma) clan had the Eagle (Mpungu) for its second totem.

3. The Colobus Monkey (Ngeye) clan had a small monkey (Munyungu) for its second totem.

4. The Otter (Ngonge) clan had the Genet (Kasimba) for its second totem.

5. The Grasshopper (Nsenene) clan had for its second totem a kind of locust (Nabangogo), which lives and feeds upon the young shoots of the plantain.

6. The Civet Cat (Fumbe) clan had the Frog (Kikerekere) for its second totem.

7. The Elephant (Njovu) clan had the Hippopotamus (Nvubu) for its second totem.

8. The Lung-fish (Mamba) clan; second totem a small fish (Mugnya).

9. The Lung-fish (Mamba) clan; second totem a fish (Katumba); most people, however, affirm that the second totem was the Frog (Kikerekere).

10. The Mushroom (Butiko) clan; second totem the Snail (Nsonko).

11. The Manis or Pangolia (Lugave) clan; second totem the Mushroom (Butiko).

12. The Sheep (Ndiga) clan; second totem the Lion (Mpologoma).

13. (a) The Buffalo (Mbogo) clan ; second totem a New Cooking-Pot (Ntamu).

14. The Small Grey Monkey (Nkima) clan ; second totem the Entrails of Animals (Byenda).

15. (a) The Oribi Antelope (Mpewo) clan ; second totem the Grey Rat (Kayozi).

16. (b) The Katinvuma clan, *Katinvuma* being a small seed of a shrub, originally used for beads ; second totem all kinds of Beads.

17. (a) The Bird (Nyonyi) clan ; second totem another bird (Kunguvu).

18. (a) The Edible Rat (Musu) clan ; second clan another rat (Muyoza).

19. (a) The Yam (Kobe) clan ; second totem another kind of yam (Kama).

20. (a) The Bean (Mpindi) clan ; second totem a wild bean (Kindira).

21. (a and b) The Bushbuck (Ngabi) clan ; second totem a kind of grass (Jerengese).

22. (b) The Dog (Mbwa) clan ; second totem the Iron Bell, used to fasten on the dog when hunting.

23. (a and b) The Jackal (Kibe) clan ; second totem the Puff Adder (Mpiri).

24. (a) The Cephalopus, a small antelope (Ntalaganya) clan ; second totem the Tree Fungus (Malere).

25. (a) The Roebuck (Njaza) clan ; second totem an antelope (Njugulu).

26. (a) The Hippopotamus (Nvubu) clan ; second totem the Tortoise (Nfudu).

27. The Genet (Kasimba) clan ; second totem a locust (Janzi).

28. The Heart (Mutima) clan ; second totem the Lungs (Maugwe).

29. The Tailless Cow (Nte teriko mukiro) clan ; second totem the Crested Crane (Ngali).

30. (a) The Spotted Cow (Ente ya Lubombwe) clan ; second totem unknown.

31. (a) The Hornbill (Nganga) clan ; second totem unknown.

32. (*a* and *b*) The Rain Water (Mazi) clan ; second totem unknown.

33. (*a* and *b*) The Crow (Namungona) clan ; second totem Hearts of Animals.

34. (*a*) The Grass (Kitete) clan ; second totem unknown.

35. (*a*) The Crested Crane (Ngali) clan ; second totem unknown.

36. (*a*) The Red Ant (Kinyomo) clan ; second totem unknown.

The following clans have joined themselves to others :—

The Katinvuma clan has joined the Mushroom clan.

The Bushbuck clan has joined the Monkey (Nkima) clan.

The Dog clan has joined the Civet Cat clan.

The Jackal clan has joined the Otter clan.

The Rainwater clan has joined the Lion clan.

The Crow clan has joined the Otter clan.

Some of these have become incorporated in the clans which they have joined, and have lost their identity.

The  
Leopard  
Clan.

*The Leopard Clan.*—No member of the Leopard Clan was permitted to eat meat which had been torn, or even scratched, by a wild beast ; should one of their cows have been torn by a wild beast, it had to be sold, and was not allowed to remain with the herd. The clan was a royal one, and had many branches, though one only was regarded as having members eligible for the throne ; to this branch belonged the reigning sovereign. The King's brothers were all eligible for the throne if the reigning monarch's sons were too young to succeed him ; as soon as a son became old enough to govern, he became heir to the throne, and the King's brothers were then called "Peasant princes," and the heirs in the direct line were called "Princes of the royal drums." The oldest family of "Peasant princes" trace their descent back to a prince named Keya, who was said to be one of King Kintu's sons. In former times the kings used to send periodically to the estates of these "Peasant princes," and capture and put to death many of the men, lest the clan should become too numerous and be a source of danger to the throne. The clan has always been exempt from enforced work for the King, their only official duty being



the care of the temple on the Magonga hill, where King Kintu first lived, and from whence he suddenly disappeared. They claim to possess the original plantain, which was brought into the country when Kintu first came ; it is a sacred plant.

There chief estates were :

In the Busuju district, Magonga ;

In the Bweya district, Bukesa ;

In the Kyagwe district, Bukoba ;

On the Island Buwaya of Lake Victoria Nyanza, Buvi.

*The Lion Clan.*—The Lion Clan give the following <sup>The Lion</sup> reason for the choice of their totems: Kintu, soon after <sup>Clan.</sup> he had ascended the throne, went out to hunt a lion and an eagle, taking with him among his retainers some of his sons. After killing the lion, he left a chief named *Sabaganda* to flay it, and to dry the skin. This occupied nine days, after which *Sabaganda* took the skin and presented it to Kintu, who, placing it on the ground and standing upon it in the presence of a large crowd, announced to his children that the lion was to be a sacred animal in the future, and that they must not harm it. In like manner, when he had killed an eagle, he had the skin dressed and added it to the lion's skin for a rug, and told his sons that the eagle was to be considered a sacred bird, and to become their totem. From that time onward, these two skins, together with the leopard's skin, have formed the royal rug (*kiyu*), upon which the King sits or stands for State ceremonies ; and the animals and birds in question have been looked upon as sacred to royalty. Indeed, formerly no one was allowed to possess any of these skins ; they were a royal monopoly, and were sent to the King.

The Lion clan had the care of the small drum *Nalubare*, which was kept and used in the shrine of Kintu on the Magonga hill in the Busuju district. It was made by a certain chief *Mukulu Kasimba*, who gave it to Kintu ; and it was said to have been the origin of the *mujaguzo* drums.

On Nsanganzira hill there was an important shrine to Mukasa, where each king, on his way to Nankere for the life-prolongation-ceremonies, went and exchanged his clothes for new ones. The discarded clothes were kept in the shrine,

and so, too, were the anklets which the King took off. He would do without ornaments until the ceremonies were completed, after which he would be given new ones of a special kind.

No person from this clan was eligible for the throne ; they might, however, give the women of the clan to the King in marriage, but these were not allowed to rear sons. If a boy was born to any one of them, he was strangled at birth, but their daughters were allowed to live.

Luwada, who is said to have been a son of the god Musisi, was a deity of the clan ; he had a medium and a priest. The former was chosen by the god without regard to clan, while the priest was chosen by the members of the clan from their own number.

The clan did no work for the King in the royal enclosure, because they were related to him. Their chief estates were :—

In the Kyadondo District :

Luwada, Kasalirwe, Namataba, and Gungu.

In the Bulemezi District :

Busega, Bubengwa, Lizebwe, Kisula,  
Kasaga, Kagogo, Lubengwa, Kalwe, and Bukima.

In the Busiro District : Nsangazira.

In the Mawokota District : Magoma.

In the Gomba District : Gomba.

In the Kyagwe District : Bugabe and Nkabuge.

The following names were given to boys in this clan :— Kiseke, Mululu, Selwada, Kasalirwe, Segamwenge, Kisozi, Nsege, Semwubi, Kimu, Kalunda, Ntale, Sebunga, and Luwaga.

Girls in this clan were named :— Nantale, Nakisozi, Nalwada, Nakibule, Nakalemba, Nabuguzi, Senyiwa, Zawade, and Ndagira.

The  
Coloous  
Monkey  
Clan.

*The Colobus Monkey Clan.*—The Colobus Monkey Clan claims to be one of the oldest in the country ; Kintu is said to have found them settled there when he came ; they supplied him, too, with his first wife Nambi, who, according to tradition, was a member of that clan. The ancestor from whom they trace their descent was Kyesimba

Kasuju. The clan supplied the King with his chief butler, *Dumba*; the man, *Kalinda*, who had charge of the King's drinking water, and who was one of those put to death when the King died, also belonged to this clan. They further supplied the potter, *Sedagala*, who made the royal cooking-pots. The first *Sedagala* was said to have been one of the men chosen by King Cwa to go to Bunyoro with Prince Kalimera, when he was banished from Uganda; this man rescued the child of Kalimera when it was thrown into a clay-pit to die; but as he had no wife and could not get anyone to nurse the child, he gave it to *Mugema*, whose wife nursed it; so *Mugema* obtained the honour of being called the "Father of the King." Each new King, when crowned sent the son of *Kasuju*, who was the head of the clan and held the office of *Kyesimba Kasuju*, to the god Mukasa with a large present, to announce his accession to the throne.

Boys were named:—Kasule, Kokanda, Mpona, and Kabude.

Girls were named:—Nanfuka, Namuga, Nanungi, and Nambi.

*The Otter Clan.*—The Otter clan say that their fore-<sup>The Otter  
Clan.</sup>father was Mwanga Kisole; he was *Katikiro* (prime minister) to Kintu, and was said to have been killed by that King during one of his fits of anger. Their chief duties about the King were to make barkcloths, and they supplied him with one of his wives, whose duty it was to make the royal bed. This latter office was hereditary in the clan, and when a King died the wife had to go to his temple, and to remain there for life; at her death another member of the clan took her place in the dead King's temple. The new King took another woman from the clan to be his wife and bedmaker. The clan also supplied the King with an attendant who had charge of the royal tobacco.

When the father of the clan, Mawanga-Kisole, died, his ghost took a medium; he was deified, and a temple was built for him on Nsoke hill. The priest belonged to the clan; the deity looked after the well-being of the clan, multiplied their cattle, and made their women fruitful; after childbirth mothers brought offerings of beer and cattle and firewood to the temple.

The god Mukasa had a temple on Kyange hill, and the god Wamala had a temple on Nsoke hill ; each of these had priests from the Otter Clan.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Busuju district, Bengela.

In the Mawokota district, Nsoke, Kyanja, Nsangwe, Buganga, Kyange, Funvu, Busungu, Kisiwa, Lukwage, and Katule.

In the Gomba district, Kasaka and Madu.

In the Budu district, Birenge, Maguluka, and Bujaju.

In the Kyagwe district, Buwikwe and Bukabi.

On the Islands of Lake Victoria, Buovu, Bufumbira, and Kagamba.

Boys were named :—Lutaya, Mwanga, Senke, Senkungu, Mutumba, Kivumbi, Muka, Kimbea, Muganga, Kalibu, and Maite.

Girls were named :—Nakiwala, Mpalikanya, Nakirija, Lunguse, Mpalikiraba, Bekyalya, Kabatanya, Najemba, and Ziribagwa.

The Grass-  
hopper  
Clan.

*The Grasshopper Clan.*—The Grasshopper Clan was originally a cattle-keeping clan, and lived in Busongola, which formed part of Bunyoro. Their forefather was Kirobozi, who had two sons Zuyonga Mugalagala and Kalibala Nsisi ; they came to Uganda in consequence of a quarrel in their clan, leaving a portion of it in Bunyoro.

The grasshopper *Nsenene* is eaten by the Baganda, and is considered a great delicacy. At certain times of the year it is found in large numbers, and is caught for food. Before anyone may eat the first meal of the season, a man of the Grasshopper Clan must jump over his wife, or have sexual connection with her ; otherwise some member of the family would (it was thought) fall ill. The ceremony took place in order that other clans might eat freely of the grasshopper, and also to increase the number of the insects. Any woman of the Grasshopper Clan might catch and cook grasshoppers for her husband, though she might not eat any of them herself.

The clan had a fetich *Kyalikitaluzi*, which was kept in a small shrine with a fence round it. The guardian, *Kajubi*,

was the chief of the Bujabi estate. An old Munyoro woman was in charge of the shrine; the fetich was supposed to protect the clan from plague.

The clan supplied the King with one wife, *Nakimera*, in memory of the wife who gave birth to Kimera, one of the early Kings. The chief men who decorated the umbilical cords of the kings, were of this clan. If any of the King's wives were unfortunate with their children, so that the latter died at birth or in infancy, when these women again had children they were sent to the head-man of this clan to be looked after, until their children were weaned.

Their chief estates were:—

In the Gomba district, Kisozi, which was one of the branch *Siga* divisions, and Nolyowe, which was a branch subdivision *enda*.

In the Busiro district, Maya, a chief estate, and Senge, a small one.

In the Butambala district, Bujubi, Lugo, Kalamba, Kayemba, Bukandaganyi, and Kifamba.

In the Busuju district, Nsisi, where the Father of the clan resided, and Maundwe.

In the Mawokota district, Ziungwe, Magya, and Namugogo.

In the Kyadondo district, Lugo.

In the Budu district, Mukoni.

In the Bwekula district, Kawanga.

Boys were named:—Masembe, Kalanzi, Kalibala, Busonga, Mwebe, Mujabi, Kabali, Serabe, Kajubi, Batoma, and Mpagi.

Girls were named:—Wanyana, Nabagesera, Nandaula, Ndwezibwa, Namasange, Sasikimba, Nakyonge, and Nambasa.

*The Civet-cat Clan.*—The Civet-cat Clan were said to have been in possession of the country long before Kintu came, and were indeed the most important of the clans which were there prior to his arrival. They trace their origin to Ntege, who they say was king of Uganda. Kintu deposed this ruler, and gave him several estates with permission to retain the title of King (Kabaka). When Kintu died, his son Cwa took Naku, daughter of Ntege, to wife, and from that time onwards each King has taken a wife from this clan, who has been called

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*Naku*. Walusimbi, the son of Ntege, was a favourite with King Cwa, and became one of his advisers. At his estate Baka some of the important ceremonies for the prolongation of life were usually held, when the King was on his way back from *Nankere's* estate. On the principal estate of the clan there was formerly an important temple of *Naku*, to which the King went during the *Nankere* ceremonies.<sup>1</sup>

This clan also supplied the man who administered the poison test, if any person appealed to it from the King's decision.

On the Baka hill there was the temple of Baka, one of the oldest gods in the country. Baka might choose his medium from any clan, but his priest was always a member of the Civet-cat Clan. On the same estate there was a temple to the god Wanga, a deity from the Island Sese. The following story gives the reason why this god was worshipped by the Baganda. In the reign of Juko the sun had failed to give light for seven days; thereupon Juko sent *Walusimbi* to Sese, to bring the god Wanga to help him in his distress. Wanga came and set to work, and raised the sun and the moon to their places in the heavens, so that the sun again gave light.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Busiro district, Baka, Lunyo, Dambwe, Busuju, Kiteke, Bigo, Buwa, Nambenge, Busaeri, Bukebera, Nkumba, Bwerenga, Nambunya, Gulumba, Nsazi, and Kimege.

In the Mawokota district, Luwanga, Mpambire, Mbule, and Buwangu.

In the Bulemezi district, Bulamba, Timba, Kanalira, Kadota, Gaga, Buyege, Mulyolyo, Seta, Sabagala, and Nabitembe.

In the Singo district, Nama.

In the Kyagwe district, Mugamba, Kikuta, and Kole.

In the Busiro district, Bukizu.

In the Kyadondo district, Kirinyumbu.

In the Butambala district, Dogi.

Boys were named :—Wulusimbi, Makubuya, Nguluma, Nakinsigo, Mulyamamba, Kasole, Setimba, Kalwana, Lubwama, Kibuzi, and Lunyo.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 210.

Girls were named:—Nalumansi, Nabwavu, Nakakungu, Namalwa, Nabawanire, Nakakenyi, Ngubi, Nabalwana, Naku, Nakulembi, and Nakisozi.

*The Elephant Clan.*—The Elephant Clan claim to be descended from Sesanga, who came to Uganda with Kintu as his herdsman, and settled at Sesanga in Busuju. Sesanga's son was the first wealthy man of the clan; he obtained many estates; and it is through him that the clan trace their descent. For many years one of their number continued to be chief herdsman to the King. On the accession of a new sovereign, this man would drive some cows into the royal enclosure, the King would come out to inspect them, and would thereupon be initiated into the arts of herding. The chief herdsman then presented the King with a flute which was said to have belonged to King Kimera, and to have been used by him whilst herding. After the new King had played upon the flute (Takiwereza), he was handed a milk-pot, and a calf's skin was thrown over his shoulders, such as the cow-men use when herding. The King then herded the cows for a short time while they grazed, after which he handed back the flute, the milk-pot, and the skin to *Sensalire*, who had the charge of them; and he took them and the cows away again.

The Island Bulungugi, which was one of their estates, had to supply the King's table with a favourite fish (nsonzi), and the clan also supplied the royal household with a particular kind of barkcloth; they also provided the butter used in the embalming-ceremonies. When the King's jawbone had been removed, and had undergone some of the cleansing processes, it was placed in a bowl of liquid butter. When it was taken out of this, *Sensalire* was required to drink the butter, and if it disagreed with him, he was put to death as an impostor who had entered the clan without any real claim upon it; for a true member (they said) would be able to drink the butter without any ill effects. The clan had charge of the drums *Lugumira* and *Kibi*, which were beaten when the King went to hunt. *Namutalira* had charge of the King's musical instrument (Kadinda); he was the chief of the clan. One of the chiefs named *Walenzi* assisted in the decoration of the

umbilical cords. Another member had charge of the King's war-apron, which was a beautifully dressed leopard-skin.

Their chief estates were:—

In the Busuju district, Sesanga.

In the Kyadondo district, Kakemba, Ntambi, Gulu, Nagulumbya, Lubuzi, Semanja, Sempyanga, Seganya, Lukuba, Sewandi, and Gazibwa.

In the Mawokota district, Kikomoko, Kirongo, Nsigalira, Kyangwe, Lutinde, Kainja, Sekatembe, Kiramba, and Bata.

In the Butambala district, Semambe, Kyamutambira, Kabangala, Sezi, Katalunga, Kitundebuli, and Kilwana.

In the Busiro district, Mukale, Sensalira, and Sebukeke.

In the Kyagwe district, Sebanyiga, Mugerere, Senduli, Sebobo, Nabale, Kaimba, Kazuni, Kalemba, Nyugwe, Semukade, Kifundikwa, Kikanzira, and Baiwe.

In the Gomba district, Kibingoma.

In the Bulemezi district, Galabuzi, Sityabula, and Lweru.

In the Sese Island, Mubale.

In the Budu district, Senge and Twalenzi.

Boys were named:—Natambi, Kakembe, Sezi, Bukulu, Njovu, Sesanga, Lwera, and Stakangi.

Girls were named:—Nakango, Naguja, Nakazi, Nasozi, Nakate, Nantesa, Nabale, and Nakiranda.

The Lung-fish Clan.

*The Lung-fish Clan.*—The Lung-fish Clan is divided into two branches, the *Muguya* and the *Kikerekere*, and is the largest of all the clans. The second branch take for their second totem the *Katumba*, a kind of fish, which lives in the swamps; but some people say that the second totem is a frog, and that this is the reason why this section is known as the *Kikerekere*. These two branches intermarry, as though they were not related; they are the only clan who do so. Both branches claim to be descended from one father, and each claims to be the more important; it is impossible to tell which of the two is right. The *Muguya* branch have the clearest records, and it is an account of this branch which is here given.

The *Muguya* branch say that they came from Bumogera to the north of the Lake Victoria Nyanza; that their forefather, Mubiru, lived on the lake shore, and that they have



been connected with canoes and the fishing industry from his time onwards. They came to Uganda because of a dispute with their fellow tribesmen. One of their number, Katenda, the son of Mbiru, once lent an axe to a man who wanted to cut some floats for his fish-traps. As the latter was felling a tree, the axe-head came off and fell into the water, and he looked for it in vain. After a prolonged search he returned to Katenda, told him what had happened, and asked him to come to some arrangement. Katenda, however, was angry, and refused to accept anything but the identical axe. The borrower went away again, renewed his search, and was at length rewarded by fishing the axe-head from the water; he then took it back and handed it to Katenda, and so the matter ended. Some time afterwards Katenda wanted to go fishing, and, as his own canoe was otherwise engaged, he asked the man to whom he had lent the axe, whether he might have the use of his. His request was granted, and Katenda took the canoe. When he had finished his task, he drew the canoe up on the beach, and went home with his fish. Later on the owner of the canoe passed by, and, seeing it on the beach with no one near at hand, he pushed it off, loaded it with stone, and sank it. He then went to Katenda and demanded his canoe, saying that he wished to go fishing. Katenda returned with him to the place where he had left the canoe, and protested that he had drawn it up on the beach, and had left it there. The owner replied that this could not be true, or the canoe would still be there. Katenda made inquiries in all directions, but in vain; no trace of the canoe could be found, and no one could give any information about it. He offered to repay the owner, but the latter refused to accept compensation. Katenda then laid the facts before his father Mbiru, and asked his advice; whereupon Mbiru visited the owner of the canoe, and asked him for permission to replace it, or to make some other reparation, but his offers were also rejected, and the owner, going before the chief accused Katenda of theft, and demanded that the case should be tried. Mbiru and his son were summoned to appear before the chief; they stated their case, but the verdict went against them, and they were fined ten women, ten cows, ten

copper bangles, and ten goats. So Mbiru called his sons and daughters together for consultation, and they all agreed that the fine was excessive, and proposed that they should leave the place, and go to a new country. They packed their goods secretly, left by night in canoes, and paddled steadily for some days, until they came to Uganda. When they landed there they saw a man and asked him to whom the country belonged; they were told that it was Kyagwe, and that Kintu was the king. They were then directed to the capital; they paddled along the coast towards Busiro, landed there, and went up to see the King. Kintu was told that "people wearing skins wished to see him, and that they desired to become his subjects." When they had been shown into his presence, he asked them whence they came, and why they had left their own country. Gabunga, one of Mbiru's sons, answered the King, told him all about themselves, and about their reason for coming, and gave him a full account of the loss of the canoe and of the fine imposed. The clan became the King's canoe-builders and sailors, and Gabunga was made admiral. The sons of Mbiru were: Wampona, Kiyaga, Mulinda, Katenda, Bude, Nakindirira, Sekyola, Nawaaba, Kiima, Sekiwunya, Miro, and Sebauta. His daughters Ndagira, Nakazi, Namutebi, Nakiwala, and Nankya.

Their chief estates were:—

In the Busiro district, Jungo, Sagala, Kasange, Kiima, Busami, Sanda, Kyanjovu Ntoke, Mwagulu, Kiunga, Zinga, Buyega, Namagera, Ziba, Manyage, Nkumba, Bwerenga, Kyulwe, Bugiri, Namulanda, Bwebaja, Bugeme, Nabanze, Lugo, Suke, Serinyabi, Buswa, Bundegera, Lwaka, Kitala, Kamunya, Luby, Luguna, and Kaga.

In the Kyagwe district, Ziba, Nsonya, Koja, Busangazi, Namukuma, Budaga, and Ngogwe.

In the Bulemezi district, Musaja, Nabugwamu, Mbogo, Namyamba, Sambwe, and Namasengere.

In the Mawokota district, Luwunga, Goli, Kanyike, Nsame, Bubezi, Mpondwe, Bugembe, Busemba, Buzinga, Singi, and Kikondo.

On Sese Island, Bugoma, Biringa, Kome, Lukoni, Bugezi, Bunangi, Damba, Nsazi, Baji, and Gomba.

In the Budu district, Sango.

In the Butambala district, Ntolomwe.

Boys were named :—Mbiru, Nsubuga, Kasozi, Bweta, Kizito, Sempagama, Selwanga, Bunjo, Nsiwalana, Kanyike, Semfuma, Kitaka, and Kambagu.

Girls were named :—Namubiru, Nansubuga, Namutebi, Nakatereka, Nakanyike, Nakauka, and Namugaba.

The members of the *Kikerekere* branch of the Lung-fish Clan say that their father *Nankere* (a frog) was so called because he was in the habit of soiling his bed by night, and also because he had so many children that he was likened to a frog. They also claim to be descended from Mbiru, but assert that Masaba on Mt. Elgon was his native place, and that he removed from thence to the Lake Victoria Nyanza. Their chief estates were in Busiro ; their only service for the King was that of providing the substitute for him, when he went through the ceremonies for the prolongation of life. *Nankere* was never allowed to see the King except on this occasion, or to attend any of his receptions. Each new King sent *Nankere* a leopard skin, and in this respect he was treated as though he belonged to the royal blood, as these skins were reserved for royalty.

The *Kikerekere* branch of the Lung-fish Clan.

*The Mushroom Clan.*—The Mushroom Clan took the Snail for their second totem, and for a third totem the small Ivory Disc (*Nsanga*). They say that their forefather was named Manyagalya, and that he came to Uganda with Kintu. Wagaba, the son of Manyagalya, formed the clan, and Kasirye, his son, first forbade his children to eat mushrooms. He told them that these were part of their father, because, after he had buried him, he found mushrooms growing on the grave the following morning. Manyagalya is said by his clan to have introduced the plantain into Uganda, and also the species of fig-tree called *Mutuba* from the bark of which the barkcloth is made. The clan have been barkcloth-makers from Kintu's days. Manyagalya also brought the seeds of the plants from which their bottle-gourds are grown, and presented the King with his first gourd, which was named *Kanvuba*.

The Mushroom Clan.

On their estate Bukerekere in Kyagwe, there was the

temple of Nende, the second god of war. The care of this deity was the most important duty of the clan. The clan had charge of the royal drum *Kawagulu*, which was made on their estate Wagaba. The drum was carried daily to the royal enclosure, and brought back each night. The royal stool, which was used on state occasions, was also made at Wagaba, and the clan took care of it. In addition to having charge of the drum and the stool, they were gatekeepers and gate-makers to the King; they made all the gates and doors for the royal enclosure. The chief of the gatekeepers had free access to all parts of the royal enclosure at all times, to see that his men were doing their duty. When a new king was crowned, and the Elephant Clan, according to custom, drove in twenty cows for the King to herd, the gatekeeper would capture ten of them while they were being taken through the new gateway as his fee for opening the gate for the first time during the new King's reign. In like manner, when the first lot of tribute was brought in, the gatekeeper had the right to seize a third of it; again, when the first chiefs passed in to pay their respects to the King, one of them was captured, who had to redeem himself by sending ten women to the clan.

The clan had charge of the King's gourd, from which Kintu was said to have drunk. This drinking-cup had to be brought at each new moon to the King, who took it into his hand, and then passed it back to the keeper. The clan supplied the Queen, the *Namasole*, the *Katikiro*, and the *Kimbugwe* with gate-keepers. One of the King's wives was taken from the Mushroom Clan, and it was her duty to dig the first sod for the gardens in the King's new enclosure, after he had taken possession of his new court; his other wives were then free to begin cultivating their plots of land.

Their chief estates were:—

In the Mawokota district, Kafuma.

In the Singo district, Busanyo.

In the Busiro district, Wagaba, Nabukalenge, Bale, Kikomagogo, Enkuba, Manzi, Nabukoba, Nkowe, Kabusisi, Tengala, and Kiterede.

In the Kyadondo, Bukerekere.

Boys were named :—Wagaba, Kasirye, Babiri, Kade, Luyogera, Ngandaza, Kamwa, Semagoma, and Selwanga.

Girls were named :—Najuka, Nabagereka, Kabagane, Ntenge, and Npabulimu.

*The Manis Clan.*—The Manis Clan is one of the oldest in the country ; they assert that they were already established in the Busiro district when Kintu came. Their forefather was Mukibe Sekiwunga, to whom Kintu gave the Kapaka hill. The clan had two temples with their priests and mediums : the temple of Wanga on Wasozi hill, and the temple of Wamala on Sekiwunga hill. They were keepers of the royal drums, *Mujaguzo*, and the chief *Ntenga* supplied men to beat various drums.

The  
Manis  
Clan.

The Queen's chief steward was taken from this clan.

The chief *Nakatanza*, who had charge of the King's wife, *Kabeja*, and who was, furthermore, the guardian of the god *Nantaba*, was also a member of this clan. Another chief, *Nantiga*, had charge of the King's wife, *Nanzigu*, who was also a member of the clan. The royal rug, called the *Kiyu*, on which the King stood for state ceremonies, was confided to this clan.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Busiro district, Wasozi, Bundu, Kapeka, Muzinda, and Ganda.

In the Mawokota district, Sekiunga, Kanyike, Nanziri, and Bukwere.

— In the Bulemezi district, Migade, Kangavwe, Butanze, and Mubanda.

In the Singo district, Magala and Tama.

In the Kyagwe district, Bubwa, Ndugu, and Kauka.

In the Busuju district, Mwera.

In the Kyadondo district, Tukolera, Nadungu, Gangu, and Busabala.

Boys were named :—Semakula, Katente, Luika, Kavuma, Damulira, Serinyage, Mukwaba, Ndugwa, Nyanja, Migade, Luima, Sikayanira, Masoma, Joga, Simwogerera, Setimba, Lutamaguzi, Kirinya, Malagala, and Kasi.

Girls were named :—Namakula, Najuma, Nabatanzi, Nakiremba, Namigade, Nakasi, Nakamwa, and Namakibozi.

*The Sheep Clan.*—The Sheep Clan trace their origin to

The Sheep  
Clan.

Mbale, who lived at Mbale, in the Mawokota district. The clan were in Uganda before Kintu came ; they were merged among his followers, and became his subjects. The district, Katambala, was given to the clan by King Katarega, who deposed the first chief, Maganya, and bestowed his office upon the Sheep Clan as their inheritance.

The chief, *Katambala*, had charge of one of the King's principal fetiches, *Mbajwe* ; this fetich had its priest and its medium, and a place where human sacrifices were offered to it. The clan were also guardians of Kibuka's temple, and they supplied his chief priest from their clan.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Mawokota district, Bweya, Buija, and Tabazima.

In the Kyadondo district, Mutungo.

In the Busiro district, Bude, Nakiyenge, Sekakeni, Mfufu, and Kikugi.

In the Kyagwe district, Gombe, and Esi.

On the Island Kome, Busanga.

In the Butambala district, Mbuya.

In the Bulemezi district, Bunyiki.

In the Budu district, Kikungwe.

In the Busuju district, Lweye.

Boys were named :—Besa, Selukuma, Kyobe, Kawesa, Kimbugwe, Kasenge, Kiguli, Lugya, Sekade, Sekabemba, Sekakeni, Semitala, Lyabesubula, Lwanga, Mpima, and Kilunda.

Girls were named :—Nebesa, Nalukuma, Nakyobe, Nakawesa, Nakimbugwe, Nakasenge, Nakiingi, Nalugya, Nakade, Nabembe, Nakakeni, Nalugwa, Nakatude, Namutala, and Najemba.

*The Buffalo Clan.*—The Buffalo Clan say that their forefather was Nabuguyu, who came from Bunyoro in the early days of the Kings. To the Buffalo Clan belonged the honour of being the King's bearers. It was the custom for the Kings, instead of walking, to be carried on the shoulders of men called *bakongozi*. Several of these accompanied the King, and they took turns in carrying him when he went outside the royal enclosure. They put a barkcloth over their shoulders and their head, and the King sat

The  
Buffalo  
Clan.

astride the bearer's neck, with a leg over each shoulder, and with his feet brought under the arms to the small of the back. When a bearer was tired, he shot the King on to the shoulders of a second man, without allowing his feet to touch the ground. They were able to go at a great pace, and covered long distances in a day, when the King was on a journey. They had their special hut in the royal enclosure, named *Musengere*, so that they were always at hand if the King required them. The clan also supplied carriers for the Queen and the King's Mother, because these two royal ladies were much looked up to and were treated with great respect. The clan supplied the King with *Nansigu*, one of his principal wives; she had her own little enclosure outside the royal one, and lived separated from the other wives; the Manis Clan had to supply her with a maid-of-honour. They also had charge of the special barkcloths upon which the King sat when being carried; these they guarded carefully, lest they should be contaminated by the touch of people from other clans. No one was allowed to put his hand upon the shoulder of one of these bearers, even in a friendly way, because it was the seat of the King; should any one thoughtlessly do so, the bearer would at once ask: "Are you a prince?" and would have the man fined for the liberty he had taken.

On the Mugya estate the clan had the care of a temple dedicated to Musoke, the rain god; the chief *Kisera*, a member of the clan, was the priest. This temple was one to which the King sent offerings, and where he obtained advice from the god.

On the Manze estate there was a river which had the ghost of a leopard. This animal had its medium and its priest, the latter being a member of the clan; the temple stood near the river.

Their chief estates were:—

In the Busiro district, Senge, Busamba, Bugabo, Tyabira, Bamba, and Manyaga.

In the Mawokota district, Kagazi, Mbogo, Musa, and Magya.

On the Island Busi, Jali.

In the Kyagwe district, Mpuku, Masoke, Kireme, Lukeke, Bunalekande, and Mawangala.

In the Budu district, Nyende.

In the Bugerere district, Ndeba.

In the Bulemezi district, Tongo.

Boys were named :—Manzi, Mafumiro, Kaira, Sekisambu, Kabugo, Bukyakoye, Lutakoma, Temba, Jamba, Kabunga, and Kinabira.

Girls were named :—Nantume, Nanyanzi, Nabanja, Nalugembe, Namawagi, Bubukiba, and Nankunja.

The  
Monkey  
Clan.

*The Monkey Clan.*—The Monkey Clan trace their origin to Bweya, who came to Uganda with Kintu. When Kalimera, the son of Kintu, was sent to Bunyoro, Bweya's son, Katumba Mulegeya, was sent with him as one of the escort ; and it was during their stay in Bunyoro that Kalimera's son, Kimera, was born, who afterwards became King of Uganda. Katumba was made *Mugema*<sup>1</sup> by Kimera in recognition of the services which he had rendered him during his infancy. The clan from that time have held the chieftainship of *Mugema* as their inheritance, and have played an important part on this account ; the *Mugema* was also given the title, "King's father." The person of the *Mugema* was sacred, and anyone taking hold of him in a familiar manner was liable to be put to death. His duties at the coronation were important ; he placed the barkcloths upon the King, and charged the people to be loyal to him. His most important duty was that of being *Katikiro* to the dead, *i.e.*, he had the care of all the tombs and temples of the Kings. Wherever a King was buried, the hill on which the temple was built for the King's ghost became a part of the *Mugema's* district. The name of his district was taken from the graves of the Kings, for Busiro means "The place of graves." The *Mugema* had to see to it that the bodies of the Kings were properly embalmed, and, when the jawbones were extracted from the bodies, he had to see to their removal, and further to prepare the temple for their reception and for that of the umbilical cord to which it was supposed the ghosts attached themselves. The *Mugema* supplied each wife of the King, when she went for her con-

<sup>1</sup> See p. 215.



finement to *Nabikande*, with a girl, whose duty it was to remain with the woman until her child was born. If any one of the King's wives had fallen into disgrace, and had been sentenced to death by the King, then, if she said that she was with child by the *Mugema* (Tu lya Mugema), it was enough to save her life. All the King's wives used the above expression to notify their condition when they were pregnant. It was customary for a prince, when asked who his father was, to answer "The *Mugema*," and not "The King." The *Mugema* had control of the human slaughter-place, Lube, where anyone who had wronged a princess, or had taken a near relative to wife, was put to death, and where the King sent any of his wives to be killed who had been false to him. Some person living on the Lube estate was usually chosen for the office of *Mugema*.

The chief estates of the clan were :—

In the Budo district, Bira, Gala, Lukweyege, and Baka.

In the Kyadondo district, Kinyoro and Semwata.

In the Mawokota district, Jumba.

In the Kyagwe district, Nandi, Mugogo, Wanzu, and Nalume.

In the Bulemezi district, Nsambwe and Lube.

In the Kasuju district, Sebukyu.

In the Singo district, Bira.

*The Oribi Antelope Clan.*—The Oribi Antelope Clan claim as their forefather, Kaimyebutega, who was Kintu's great friend, and who came to Uganda with him. In the reign of Cwa, the chiefs *Walusimbi*, *Nankere*, and *Nakaswa*, came to him and advised him to make Kaimyebutega judge, with power to try all cases in which the King himself was implicated. King Cwa was pleased with the suggestion, and accordingly made Kaimye chief steward in the royal enclosure, and also special judge, giving him the title of *Kibare*. From that time onwards *Kibare* has been the King's representative ; whenever the King has been absent from the capital for any purpose, *Kibare* has discharged all the King's private business in the royal enclosure, and acted as his special judge. *Kibare* had charge of a crown ornamented with antelope-horns, which was worn by the

The Oribi  
Antelope  
Clan.

King on state occasions. The clan took charge of a royal spear *Nalawangala*, which was presented to each King at his coronation. The clan also assisted in making the royal rug, *Kiyu*.

The fetich, *Nyonyane Kikulu*, which was kept in Singo was in their charge.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Kyadondo district, Kunga, Bulyankole, Kibone, Kiriowa, Bugamba, Nakukuba, Bubale, and Kiwangazi.

In the Kyagwe district, Bubiwo, Mawoto, and Sugu.

On the Island, Busi, Zinga.

In the Busiro district, Nganje and Nagalabi.

In the Budu district, Kanabulamu.

The  
Katin-  
vuma  
Clan.

*The Katinvuma Clan.*—The *katinvuma* were small seeds which were worn as beads before the introduction of glass beads. The tradition of the Katinvuma Clan as to the origin of their totem is as follows. Many years ago some children were playing together. One of them snatched some seeds from another child who was wearing them, and put them into her mouth, and when the owner tried to take them from her she swallowed them. Presently the mothers of the two children came upon the scene, and they soon commenced a dispute about the seeds. The mother of the child who had swallowed the seeds offered to replace them, but her offer was rejected by the other woman, who demanded the return of the identical seeds which the child had swallowed. The quarrel ended in the girl who had swallowed the seeds being handed over to the parents of the girl from whom they had been taken. They killed her, opened the body, and took the seeds from the stomach. From that time onwards, the relations of the murdered child refused to wear beads, and these became the totem of the clan. They trace their descent from Kyadondo, who they say was a son of Kintu, the first King of Uganda. Their official duty was to supply carriers for the deities when they were taken to war, or when they were brought to the King. Representatives from the clan were present whenever a new temple was being built, and some of its members had to take a part in the building of it. When a new house had been built in the royal enclosure, the chief,

*Seguluma*, a member of the clan, brought forth the fetiches and took them into the house to give it their blessing, before either the King, or any of his wives, could use it.

For some months after the coronation, *Seguluma*, with the fetiches of which he was in charge, had to be in constant attendance upon the King. He slept near his door, and in the early morning, when the King came out of his room, *Seguluma* presented him with a bowl of water to wash his hands and face, in order to remove any evil that might have attached itself to him during the night. *Seguluma* also supplied the girl-caretakers of the royal fetiches *Nantaba* and *Semwima*, which were kept in the royal enclosure.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Kyadondo district, Jiti, Sekuku, Katale, Namulange, Tomi, and Kawempe.

In the Bulemezi district, Lukole.

In the Kyagwe district, Kisale.

In the Busiro district, Busunde.

Boys were named :—Jita, Kasirye, and Semusu.

Girls were named : Nakisi, Nalungu, Babaja, and Nakintu.

*The Bird Clan.*—The Bird Clan trace their descent from <sup>The Bird</sup> Njuwe, who, they say, was in Uganda before Kintu came ; <sup>Clan.</sup> he became one of Kintu's chiefs, and ruled over Kyagwe. They had charge of *Buganda*, one of the most powerful and most dreaded of all the fetiches ; it was so much feared that no one dared pass by the place where it was kept ; all people had to make a detour, for, if anyone approached too near the fetich, he was immediately put to death. The clan also had charge of *Lukiko*, one of the King's fetiches, which had to be taken to him each month.

The chief, *Musolozza*, guardian of the sacred fire (gombolola) which burned perpetually at the entrance of the royal enclosure, belonged to this clan. The clan were formerly herdsmen to the King, but they were deprived of that privilege, some member of the clan having offended his royal master. They supplied each King with a wife named *Nanyenge*. They had charge of the royal drum (ntamivu) which was beaten at intervals both by day and night, to let the people know that the King was alive and well. At one time they

supplied the King with his chief cook, but the office ceased to be hereditary many years ago.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Busiro district, Tende, Gungu, and Bunjako.

In the Kyagwe district, Bulumi, Mukono, Buyombo, Sanga, Nakalasa, Muve, Katwe, Simba, Wagala, and Nakanyonyi.

In the Bulemezi district, Busi of Mayanja, and Kalagala.

In the Busuju district, Kafuna.

In the Mawokota district, Serinyabi.

In the Gomba district, Buzimbe.

Boys were named :—Balenzi, Banyombi, Mavumirizi, Kazewe, Kyeyune, Ziwa, Bulege, Sukenge, Semerya, and Semende.

Girls were named :—Nanyenge, Naziwa, and Bakaziwe.

The Rat  
Clan.

*The Rat Clan.*—The Rat Clan say that their forefather was Miigo, who came to Uganda with King Kintu, and was employed by him about the royal enclosure. King Mawanda conferred on them the office of being special guardians to the King, and appointed them to be his private police ; he also made them spies on his generals, to see that they did not exceed their powers. They had charge of the royal fetich *Sukenge* which was one of those kept in the royal enclosure.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Mawokota district, Sama.

In the Kyadondo district, Kanyanya and Njaza.

In the Busiro district, Bonono.

In the Kyagwe district, Kirundu, Natababulirwa, and Sanga.

In the Singo district, Kibanda.

In the Budu district, Kawoko.

On the Sese Islands, Kome.

In the Bulemezi district, Kadunda and Masaba.

In the Gomba district, Mabuye and Lusenke.

Boys were named :—Miigo, Nkalubo, Tamusanga, Sebugwawo, Bulega, Bwami, Senkimba, Lulama, Mulunda, Sebiombya, Bukulu, Mabizi, and Kilembwe.

Girls were named :—Nabankema, Mawemuko, Wabade, Nanjovu, Masegi, Nabuwami, and Nanyalo.

The Yam  
Clan.

*The Yam Clan.*—The Yam Clan say that their forefather was Sedumi, who came to Uganda with Kintu. They give

the following account of the origin of their clan totem. Sedumi went to pay his wife's relatives a visit, and while there he saw some fine yams growing, and longed to have some of them to take back with him, because there was a scarcity of food in his own garden. He determined to steal some of them and carry them back with him; so the night before he was to return home he crept unobserved out of the house, tore up some of the yams, wrapped them in the goat-skin he was wearing round his loins, and put them in the grass by the road-side at a place which he would pass in the morning. On the next morning he was unable to make the early start which he had planned, and, when he finally set out, some of the people accompanied him; he was thus unable to carry away the yams. When he had gone, the people discovered the theft, and, after a search, they came upon the skin with the yams wrapped in it; they recognised it as the skin which Sedumi had worn, and were angry, because he had stolen the food instead of asking for it; they therefore cooked the yams, as well as some plantains, and sent the food wrapped in the goat-skin to Sedumi. When the latter saw the skin, and knew that he was detected, he was so ashamed of what he had done that he went and hanged himself. His sons therefore refused to eat yams, and these became the totem of the clan. The clan had charge of the bow and arrow, with which a new king, when he ended the mourning for his father on succeeding to the throne, shot the man who was his "scapegoat." It was the duty of the clan to make a kind of white barkcloth for the King, and also special anklets which a new King put on when he ceased to mourn for his predecessor. The anklets were made from wood grown on the estates of the clan; they were worn for one day only, and were then kept by one of the King's wives who was a member of the Yam Clan. The clan also had charge of the special hoe which was used to dig the shallow grave under the frame upon which the body of the King was laid for interment. A member of the clan dug the grave. When the deceased King's jawbone was removed they placed it in the ant-hillock, and guarded it until the ants had done their work of removing the flesh. The King's large shield

(kamanya) was in their keeping. They made bedsteads for the kings, and also had charge of the royal flute (*kanga*). They assisted in decorating the umbilical cords of the kings. On their Busiwa estate there was a shrine in which the umbilical cords of the former chiefs *Kayonge* and *Male* were kept; the chief of the estate, *Male*, had charge of the shrine, and he also herded some sacred buffaloes belonging to the King. On the Bugwere estate there was a temple of Wanema, and on the hill Wasozi there was one dedicated to the fetich *Nainda*, with guardians who were members of the clan. On their Nkasi estate, the paddles for the temples of Mukasa were made.

Their chief estates were :—

In the Mawokota district, Magala, Magya, Tekwate, Wasozi, Jalamba, Bongole, Bugwere, Nkasi, Busiwa, Bugaya, and Butenda.

In the Butambala district, Busenya, Kasingombi, and Musindye.

In the Gomba district, Kimbo.

In the Busiro district, Kiwumu, Ngongolo, and Kajolya.

In the Singo district, Mate.

In the Bwekula district, Kabyuma.

In the Kyagwe district, Lubiri.

Boys were named :—*Kayonge*, *Magala*, *Male*, *Nkugoye*, *Nsereke*, *Sekamata*, *Mabarizi*, *Sebakinyanga*, *Muvisi*, *Kitunzi*, and *Nakwejake*.

Girls were named :—*Nakawa*, *Namboza*, *Naabi*, *Nasimbwa*, *Nakalembi*, *Nabira*, *Mpona*, *Nantumbi*, *Namulege*, *Nabikajumbi*, *Nabanoba*, and *Mbatude*.

The Bean  
Clan.

*The Bean Clan.*—The Bean Clan trace their origin to a man named *Wakaibu*, whom they say *Kintu* found in *Busiro*, when he came to *Uganda*. They give the following story in explanation of their totem. Early in the history of *Uganda*, when *Kyagwe* was subject to constant raids from the *Banyoro*, *Nakiza* of the Bean Clan was fleeing from some *Banyoro*, when he was tripped up and fell, having caught his foot in a bean the runner; *Banyoro* came upon him before he could rise and speared him to death. As the blood flowed from the wounds, it formed the river *Nakiza*. From that time onward

the bean has been the clan totem, and no member of the clan eats or cultivates it. One member of the clan is even reported to have died as the result of eating the sacred plant. From early times in the history of Uganda the clan has been reckoned among the barkcloth-makers to the King; they were also royal herdsmen, until a member of the clan offended the King, when they were deposed from the latter office. Nanzige, one of their ancestors, is said to have gone with Kalimera to Bunyoro, and during his visit there to have learned the art of barkcloth making. Their principal duty for the King was to take charge of four of the large canoes, and to provide crews for them. The clan worshipped the spirit of the river Nakiza, and the father of the clan was the priest. There was no temple, but they had two large heaps of sticks and grass, one on either side of the river by the ford; to these heaps the members went, when they wished to make an offering to the spirit, or to seek his assistance. The offerings were usually goats, beer, barkcloth, and fowls. When people crossed the river, they threw a little grass or some sticks on to the heap before crossing, and again a little more on to the second heap after crossing; this was their offering to the spirit for a safe crossing. When the river was in flood, no member of the clan was allowed to attempt to cross it; the priest strictly forbade them to do so on pain of death.

Their chief estates were:—

In the Busiro district, Muyenge.

In the Mawokoto district: Nsumba and Mboga.

In the Kyagwe district, Gunda, Kirenge, Nampeta, Bumange, Buwaga, Bukanga, and Nsita.

Boys were named:—Ntutuma, Keswa, Mboa, Wakibuga, and Nakatana.

Girls were named:—Bulyaba, Naneze, Bukiwa, Nakoba, Kalemba, and Nambira.

*The Bushbuck Clan.*—The Bushbuck Clan claim to be descended from Wanyana, the wife of Wunyi, King of Bunyoro, and mother of Kimera. They say that Wanyana, prior to her marriage with Wunyi, was married to Lukenge, and from this union the clan claim their descent.

The Bush-  
buck  
Clan.

They thus claim to be related to the kings of Uganda. At one time they supplied the King with a butler. No member of the clan was allowed to go into the royal presence. The reason given for this prohibition was that King Kimera had been killed by his grandson while hunting bushbuck; the grandson came up behind the King, and clubbed him to death, because his mother (who was a member of the Bushbuck Clan) had told him that the King had been the cause of his father's death. From that time onwards the kings refused to allow any member of the clan to come into their presence; both members of the clan and their totem animals were taboo to the kings. The clan had a temple on the Nasike hill, in which Yaige was worshipped as a lion god; this deity was said to have been one of their ancestors who at death became a lion; his priest was *Bayanguwe*, and his medium was also a member of this clan. Women of the clan might become the wives of the King, but were never allowed to rear a male child; if one was born it was strangled at birth. For this reason any woman from the Bushbuck Clan, who became the wife of the King, claimed to belong to the Monkey Clan. When people were caught on the roads to be sacrificed to the gods, they were released, as soon as they could prove that they belonged to the Bushbuck Clan. Their chief estates were:—

In the Mawokota district, Buwanda, Njalamba, and Masike.

On the Sese Islands, Mololo.

In the Gomba district, Kisozi.

In the Singo district, Masike.

In the Busuju district, Malangala, Lusundu, and Kigwa.

The Dog  
Clan.

*The Dog Clan.*—The Dog Clan trace their origin to Busunde, who lived on the Kigwa estate in Busuju. On the Lusundu estate they had a temple to the god Musisi; the priest *Mutasengwa* was the chief of the estate. The medium was always a Musoga<sup>1</sup> woman. Kasuju, the chief of the district, had the oversight of the temple, and had to see that it was kept in good order. On the Bulindwa estate they had a royal fetich, *Mulindwa*, which had its priest named *Sebakija*.

<sup>1</sup> That is, a woman of Busoga, the country to the east of Uganda. The people of the country are *Basoga* (plural), *Musoga* (singular).



They had the care of Wanyana's tomb,<sup>1</sup> and from the time of her death they took charge of the tombs of the kings' mothers. The clan had also the office of making the chief drum (mujaguzo), and putting the fetich into it.

After the King had gone through the ceremonies for the prolongation of life, a member of the clan took charge of the King's Mother, removed her from Bukerekere, and took her back to her own home. Their chief estates were :—

In the Gomba district, Bulindwa.

In the Kyagwe district, Kikaka.

In the Busuju district, Kigwa.

In the Busiro district, Guludene, Kisugu, Lusaka, Kaseze, and Zimude.

In the Mawokota district, Nsozi.

In the Singo district, Kyamusisi, Nagambwa, Kitetete, and Bukya.

Boys were named :—Baguludene, Kironde, Mukasa, Mwanga, Lusundu, and Kakenge.

Girls were named :—Nakitende and Nakazi.

*The Jackal Clan.*—The Jackal Clan say that their forefather was Muige, who came from the Island Nyende of the Lake Victoria Nyanza during King Kimera's reign. They had three temples on their estates dedicated to Mukasa; each temple had its separate medium, taken from any clan which the god might choose, but in each case the priest was a member of the Jackal Clan. They had the care of the royal canoe *Namwige*, and manned it; they asserted that their forefather had crossed the lake in it, when he first came to Uganda. Their chief estates were :—

In the Kyagwe district, Wantai, Wambogo, Kigaya, Nagoloma, Masa, Kabire, Namukono, Keketera, Namubiru, Koba, Luwembe, Kisasi, Nantovu, and Buwilwi.

Boys were named :—Sumbya, Kabega, Taka, Mwige, Fuba, Mweya, Bugude, Mpsa, Kalinge, Kyoto, and Lubanga.

Girls were named :—Nambuya, Naluga, Kulingake, Nakimaka, Nakibe, Namuige, and Nakiboya.

*The Hippopotamus Clan.*—The Hippopotamus Clan claim to be sons of Kaita, who was a son of Kintu. The story

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 115, 215, 237.

of the origin of their totems is a strange one. They say that, when Kaita was born, his mother gave birth to a tortoise in place of the afterbirth. This tortoise later on was turned into a hippopotamus, so that the clan are connected with these animals. All their estates, with one exception, bordered on the lake, and their duties were in connection with it. They maintained several large canoes which were at the King's service, each of which had its proper name; they kept the canoes in good repair, and also manned them when they were wanted by the King; and when one of them was worn out, they replaced it. They supplied some of the men to beat the drum (ntamivu). They were the royal shield makers, and as such they supplied both the King and his retainers with these weapons. They also made the bracelets and anklets for the King's wives, when they wanted them. The clan worshipped all the gods of the lake: Mukasa, Musisi, and Wanema. They had the care of Nangera, a son of the god Musisi, whose temple was on the Island Mbazi. When any chief of the clan was promoted, or received any favour from the King, he made an offering to the god Nangera, because the latter was believed to be the special guardian of the clan. Their chief estates were:—

In the Busuju district, Ntonyeze.

In the Kyadondo district, Mengo and Bugole.

In the Kyagwe district, Mbazi and Bugole.

On the Sese Islands, Bugala, Bulemba, Damba, and Kome.

In the Budu district, Bwenda.

The Islands of Zinga and Bukasa.

In the Busiro district, Mutanga.

The Cephalopus  
Clan.

*The Cephalopus Clan.*—The Cephalopus Clan say that their forefather was Bambaga, who attended Kintu, when he first came to Uganda. On their Bugala estate they had a shrine, in which the royal fetich *Lugala* was kept. This fetich was a large gourd, and the chief of the estate, (*Bambaga*), took care of it. On the fifth day after each new moon the fetich *Lugala* was carried in state to the capital and handed to the King, who took and examined it, and then handed it back to the keeper. The gourd was ornamented with a crown, composed of a ring with four

native hoe blades so fixed into it that they stood upright. This crown was one of the fetiches taken to war; one of the priests accompanied the army, carried the fetich, and placed it with the other fetiches in a hut near the General's hut. The gourd itself was never taken on expeditions. In the Gomba district the clan had the care of a sacred drum (nakanguzi), which had a fetich in it. This drum was brought to Court and beaten, when the King wished to announce to the country that a period of mourning was to cease. When the drum sounded, the country knew that the Court had gone out of mourning, and that they must hasten to do the same; they had to shave their heads and to remove all other signs of grief. The drum was sacrosanct; for example, if a slave disliked his master, and escaped to the drum-shrine, he became a servant of the drum, and could not be removed. So, too, if any person had been condemned to death and was able to escape to the shrine, he might remain there in safety, he was the slave of the drum. Should any cow, goat, or sheep stray there, it became the property of the drum, and could not be taken away or killed; it might roam about as it liked, in the future it was a sacred animal. The clan were hunters, and had the care of the King's dog, *Mukosa*. They tied a sacred bell (sirilwamagamba) round the dog's loins when hunting with it; this bell not only located the dog, but also enabled it (so they believed) to discover the game, and drive it into the net. They had to take game to the King occasionally. King Kimera gave the clan the Busibika estate, and King Katerega gave the Nambalugo estate to his favourite wife, *Namagumbi*, who was a member of the clan. For many years the district of Gomba belonged to them; King Katerega made it freehold to them, as a reward for their bravery in the war against the Banyoro who were the original owners of the district. Their chief estates were:—

In the Bulemozi district, Bambaga, Bugala, and Bamba-lubugo.

In the Busiro district, Ensolo and Kakiri.

In the Gomba district, Wanguzi, Kikoko, Namutimba, Kasozi-kaka, Luzira Bunya, Masambira, Kirungu, Namboya, Kibutamu, Mujagongo, Dumu, Kuwanga, and Singo.

In the Singo district, Senda.

Boys were named :—Bambaga, Kazala, Nalumenya, Balamage, Kiribata, Luzira, Gemwenya, Kakube, Sebunya, Kalamazi, Nakayonge, Masiruka, Singo, Wakinenya, Dindi, Kawagama, Kabuzi, Bairanga, Setoke, Luzinyo, Kaizi, Nanjwenge, Konde, Sekonde, Sensamba, Malembe, Senkayi, and Wagula.

Girls were named :—Namugamba, Nakangubi, Nabunya, Mwene, Ndibuzi, Nabaterega, Kiribaka, Nampera, Kifamusiri, and Nakanyiga.

The Reed-  
buck Clan.

*The Reedbuck Clan.*—The Reedbuck Clan have always lived in the Mabira forest in Kyagwe. Their forefather, Lutimba, was there when Kintu settled in Uganda. From their earliest days they have been elephant hunters, and after the country became settled under the monarchy, they became hunters to the King, and paid him tribute in ivory. They had the care of the god of the chase in the part of the country in which they lived. Mpaamaso was the principal god to whom they went for help in the chase ; but they also had Mbiru, Nakalanga (which is another name for Dungu), Nabamba, and Nyenga.

Mpaamaso had his priest, *Mbwawe* ; Nabamba also had his priest, *Kyana* ; Nakalanga's priest was *Wakibe* ; Mbiru's priest was *Kulwazi* ; and Nyenga's priest was *Kyungu*.

Their chief estates were :—

In Kyagwe, Lugala, Ekirungu, Konko, Nsenge, Nyenge, Nsolo, Gulano, Bugabo, and Bugolo.

Immediately after a King's coronation the clan brought him a tusk of ivory, over which he would jump, thus causing, as was supposed, an increase among the elephants. When an elephant was killed, the clan drew out the nerve from the tusk, carried it away to a safe distance, and buried it. They believed that the ghost of the animal was attached to this nerve, and that accordingly evil would befall anyone who unwittingly stepped over it ; for this reason the place was marked where the nerve had been buried. Hunters would place their spears in a temple over night, and make offerings of beer and of a goat to the god of the temple.

Boys were named:—Kitanda, Lutimba, Nanyungu, Kinalwa, Mutwalume, Galibwa, and Bakisula.

Girls were named:—Nakitanda, Nakalyowa, Nakinalwa, and Nakisula.

*The Heart Clan.*—The Heart Clan say that their fore-<sup>The Heart</sup> father was Namugera, who lived and died upon an island of <sup>Clan.</sup> the Victoria Nyanza Lake, near Sese. His sons, Seromba, Lugaje, Lwamula, and Sava, came to Budu and accepted service under King Wunyi,<sup>1</sup> and were given estates in Budu. Mukasa had a small temple on Bale hill, and also one on Lwamyunyenye hill, with priests and mediums. On their Bulonge estate there was a temple to a great snake, *Salamanga*, with a priest and a medium, both of whom belonged to the Heart Clan. The clan were noted for their fine baskets, *buseru*, in which coffee-berries were kept. They paid tribute in baskets to the King and also in fish caught in the river Mujuzi, which was a sacred river. Their estates were:—

In the Budu district, Bale, Bulongo, Kafulumu, Lwagulwe, Guluma, Kyamuimba, Bugonze, Nawanze, Gawumula, Mutuge, Nkuke, Kasaka, Butale, and Lwamunyonyi.

The island Banga.

Boys were named:—Mukasa, Bale, Gwanika, Muzizi, Kisi-rika, Gongo, Selwanga, Kalenzi, Kakete, Luswata, and Kirikibi.

Girls were named:—Namayanja, Nalwanga, Wanyenya, Naziri, Nabirya, Kakazi, and Kakuya.

*The Tailless Cow Clan.*—The Tailless Cow Clan have a <sup>The Tail-</sup> legend about their second totem, the crested crane, though <sup>less Cow</sup> they know nothing about their chief totem. They say that a newly-married girl of the clan was being conducted to her home by companions, who for some reason left her alone in the road for a few moments. She began to eat some small wild fruit which the natives call *Ntuntunu*. While she was thus engaged, her companions returned, saw her eating the fruit, and jeered at her for doing so. Being

<sup>1</sup> Wunyi was King of Bunyoro, a contemporary of King Cwa; it was his wife Wanyana who had an intrigue with Prince Kalimera and became the mother of Kimera, the third king of Uganda.

ashamed and angry, she fled away towards a flock of crested cranes, and was never seen again. Her companions, who saw her go away, said that she was changed into a crane as soon as she reached the flock ; from that time onwards the clan have taken the crested crane as their second totem. They trace their origin from Katongolo, who came from Bunyoro and who worked his way round the north-west of Uganda into Budu, and settled there. When the Baganda took Budu the clan merged into the Uganda clans. They have been smiths from the first, and their knowledge of smelting iron has been handed down from father to son for generations. They smelt their iron from the stone, and work it up as they require it. When Budu was conquered, the clan became smiths to the King, and each year they paid their tribute in hoes. Their chief deity was Wangi, whose temple was built upon the Mulema hill ; on the same estate was the temple to the god Lwekera. Each of these gods had his own medium, but one priest did duty for both temples. When a medium died, the whole clan gathered together to ascertain whom the god wished to appoint in his place. The person selected by the god became at once possessed, he was then placed in the temple, and took up his official duties there. The occasion of appointing a medium was the only time when the whole clan met together for any religious observance ; at other times the members went singly to seek counsel from the gods, and to make offerings for favours received.

Their chief estates were :

In the Budu district, Bija, Mulema, Nkenge, Busene, Nkoni, Kikyasaka, Nabugabe, Bubando, Buseke, Bulande, Kabanda, Bukale, and Kikukube.

In the Gomba district, Kineni.

The Crow  
Clan.

*The Crow Clan.*—The Crow Clan were commonly called *Bandyala* ; their chief estates were in Budu ; they claim to be the sons of Kidibe, who, they say, was a son of Kintu. This man settled in Mawokota, and his brother Mugwe settled in Budu. He had four sons, Lukindu, Kabuzi, Kalina, and Mugwere, and one daughter, Najuma. This clan was one of those which

had not the right to have sons born to any of their women whom the King took to wife. To counteract this disadvantage, they gave their daughters to men of the Otter Clan, who presented them to the kings, passing them off as members of their own families; and in this way the *Bandyala* claim to be related to the royal family. They say that they were called the Crow Clan, because their forefather cultivated land near to a large tree where crows used to build their nests; hence the people called them "those who lived near the crows." This name became attached to them, and later on they took the birds as their totem. Their chief estates were:—

In the Budu district, Kyalusowe, Kasaka, Kalinga, Kisangi, Lwankonyi, Naguluka, Mazinga, Kasingi, Kanyuwa, and Nsese.

The heads of the family (masiga) were: Kabuzi, Makala, Lukoko, Kalinga, Kyojo, and Mugana-asubira.

Boys were named:—Kabuzi, Lukindu, Makala, Kyojo, Najuma, Kanyange, Kagora, Bwonota, Kasinya, Muzula, and Baleka.

*The Genet Clan.*—The Genet Clan trace their descent from Lujja, who lived in Bunyoro, and was an iron worker. Their father *Walukaga* came to Kintu from Bunyoro, to be his smith and to make his weapons. Kintu was very fond of this man, called him his brother, and often worked with him. When a prince was crowned, *Walukaga* brought a bundle of spears; and when *Kasuju* led the prince to the *Katikiro*, to be proclaimed King, *Walukaga* also handed the bundle of spears to the *Katikiro*. Kintu joined the Leopard and Genet Clans together because he wished his two favourites, the *Katikiro* and *Walukaga* to belong to the same clan. The Leopard Clan confirmed the union with the Genet Clan, and in later times whenever the King sent to kill any member of the Leopard Clan, the latter would claim to belong to the Genet Clan. There were three principal branches (masiga) of the clan, *Gobi*, *Katenga*, and *Kiyemba*; the last named lived on the Island Zinga. Their chief estates were:—

The Zinga Island.

In the Katambala district, Bwanga, and Kayemba.

In the Gomba district, Bwanga.

In the Mawokota district, Sango and Serubona.

In the Budu district, Kyango, Bujajo, and Magongo.

The Island Serubona.

The Island Bulyowa.

Boys were named :—Bazira, Bakulumpagi, Mazi, and Musisi.

Girls were named :—Nakawunga, Nakalanga, and Nami-sango.

The Rain-  
water  
Clan.

*The Rainwater Clan.*—The Rainwater Clan was commonly called the *Babobi* clan. Their father Bayi came from Bunyoro ; their office was to draw water and pour out water for the King to wash. They never held any important office or chieftainship, but were servants to royalty and to the medicine-men. All their estates were in Budu ; they were Mutondo, Banda, Kasaka, Kibindu, Kyamusoke, and Manyuwa.

They joined the Lion Clan, because an underchief of that clan went to Budu, asserted that his second totem was rain-water, and claimed kinship with the Rainwater Clan. Later on they became incorporated in the Lion Clan and they have now become extinct as an independent clan.

Boys were named :—Dungu, Lubyai, Kyunya, Nkumbe, Mulindwa, Kayeni, Namudu, Lukoyi, Nakalika, and Nabiriyo.

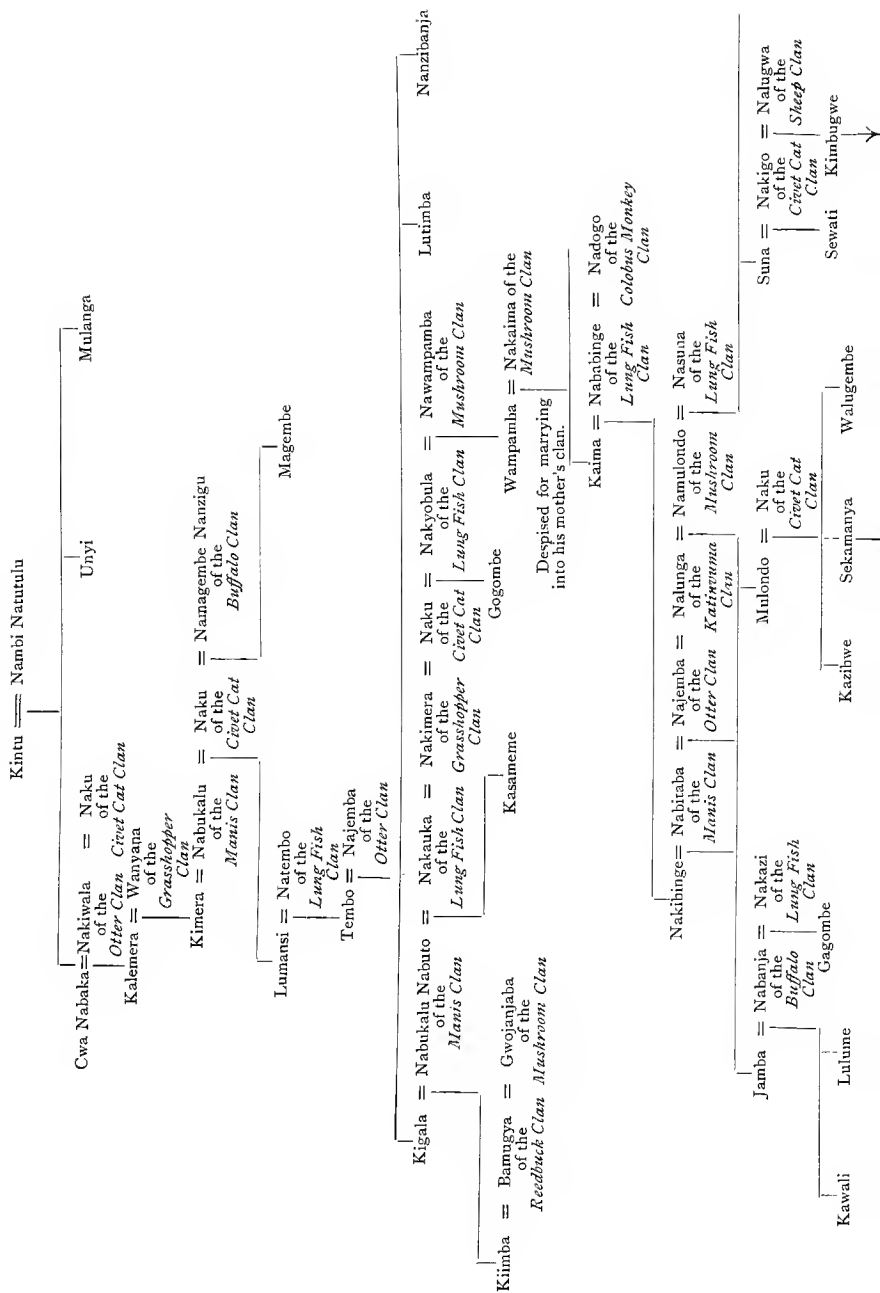


## GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

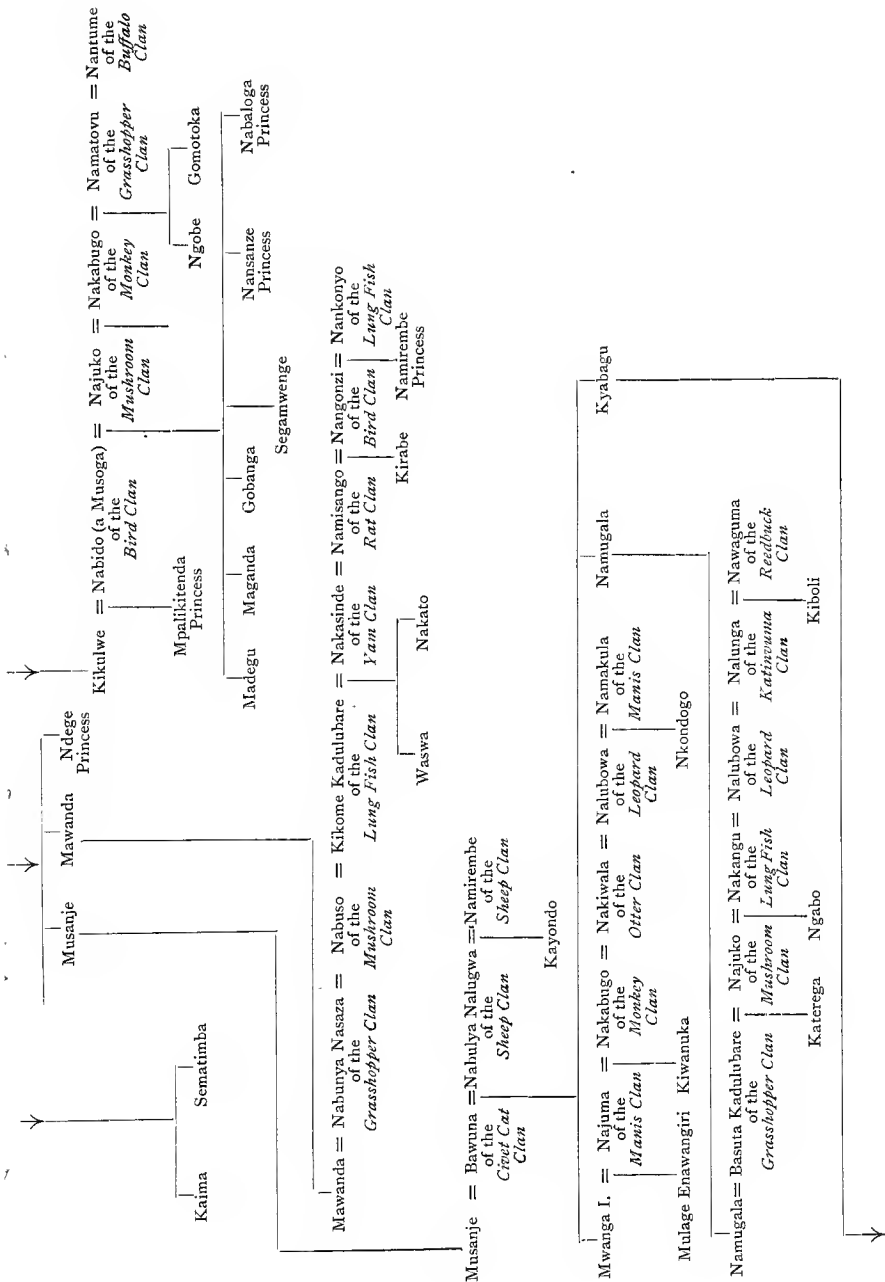
The following three tables of genealogies are given to show the different methods by which the kings and the common people trace their descents. The first table gives the descendants of royalty from the first King Kintu to the present King Daudi Cwa and shows how the clans claim relationship with royalty through the mothers. The other two tables, one of the Oribi Clan and the other of the Grasshopper Clan, show how the mother's clan is disregarded and the clans are careful to retain the names of the male ancestors and claim descent through the male line only.



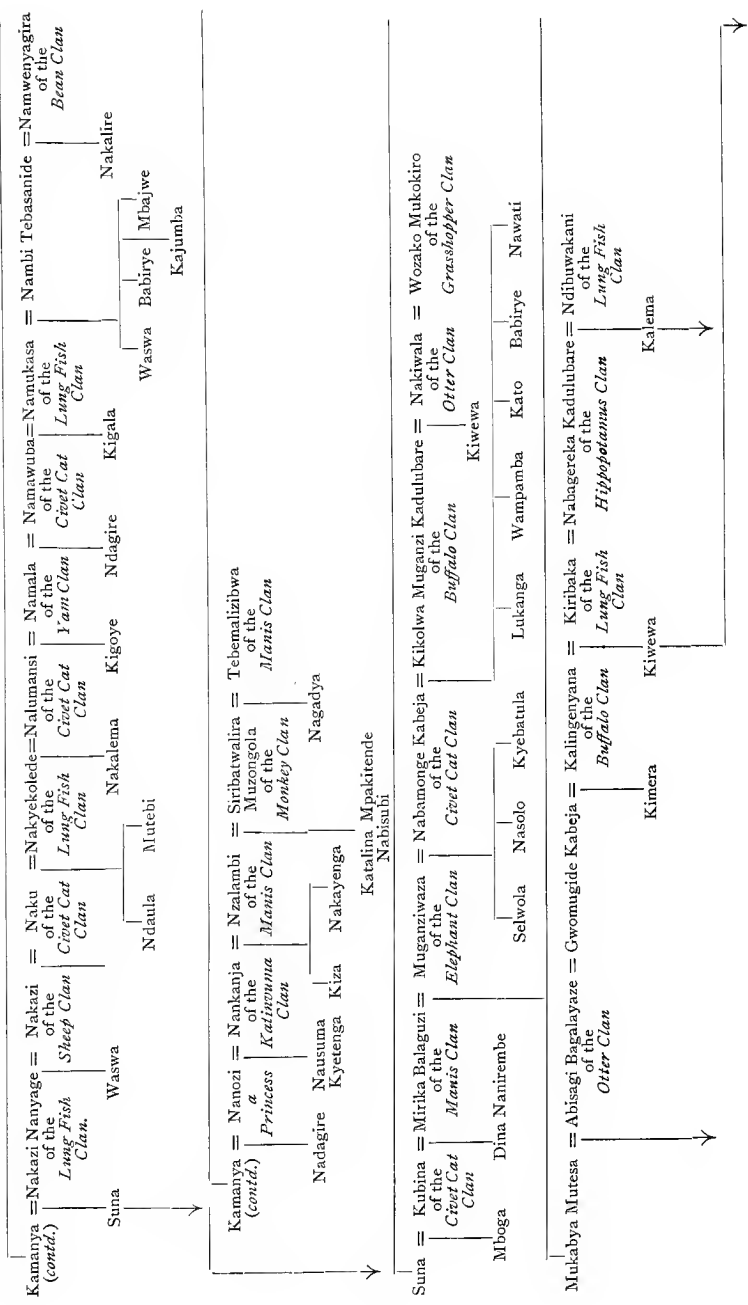
FIG. 25.--THE YOUNG KING OF UGANDA, DAUDI CWA.

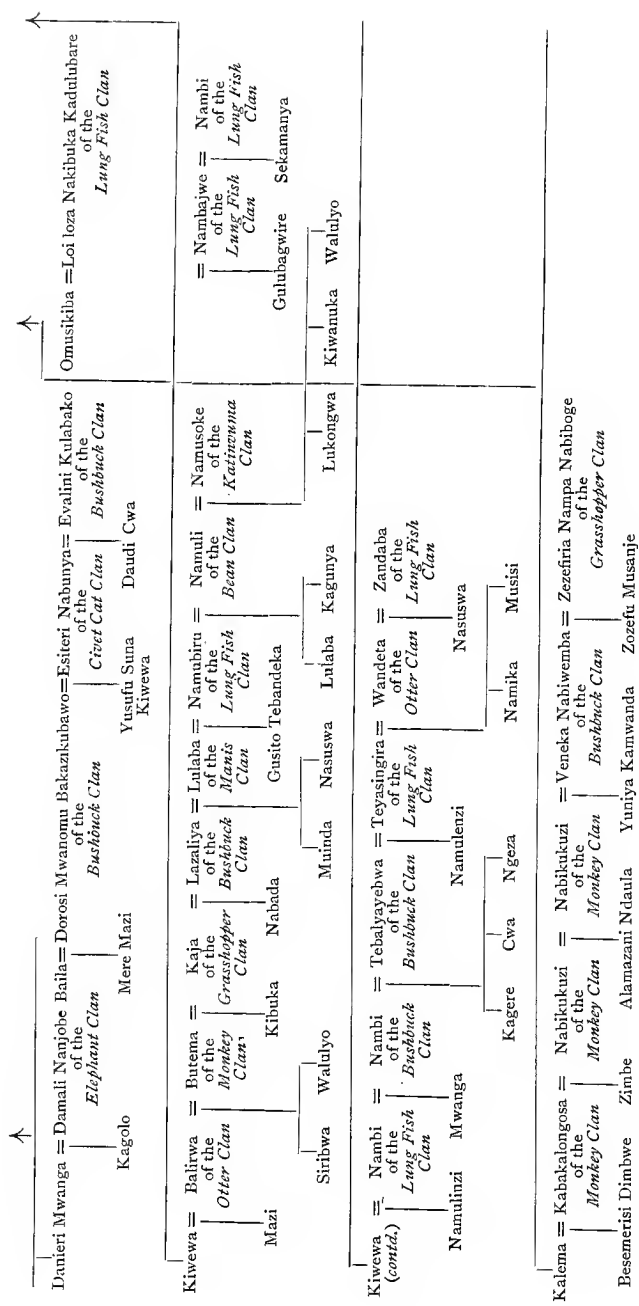








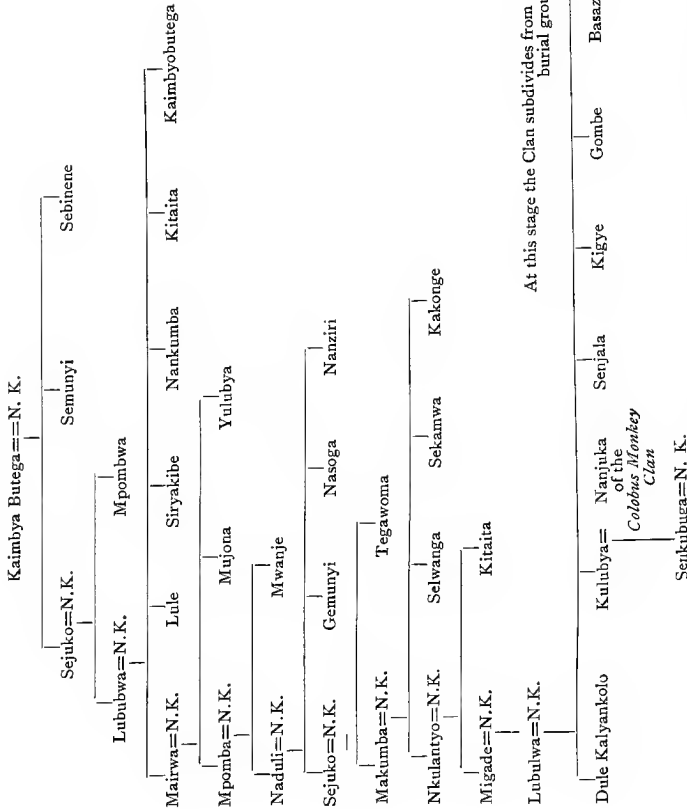






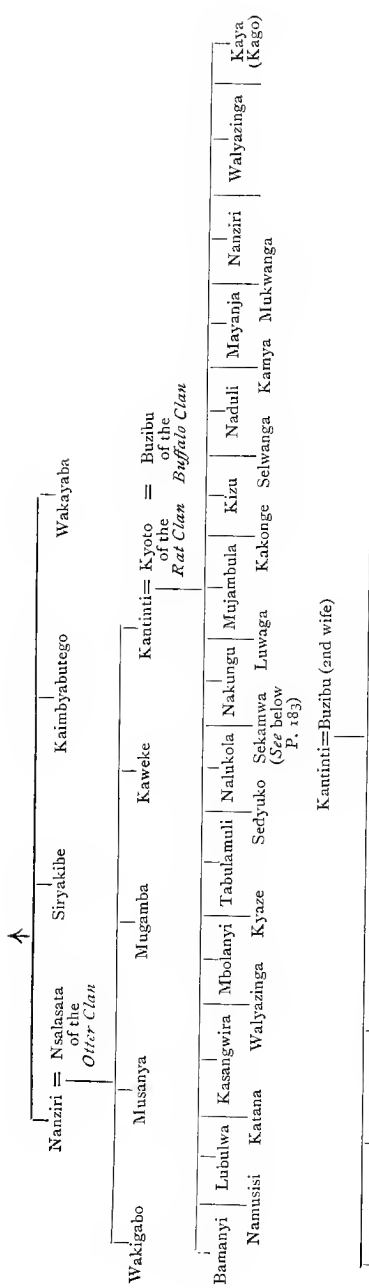
# THE ORIBI CLAN.

N. B.—The letters N. K. = Not known.

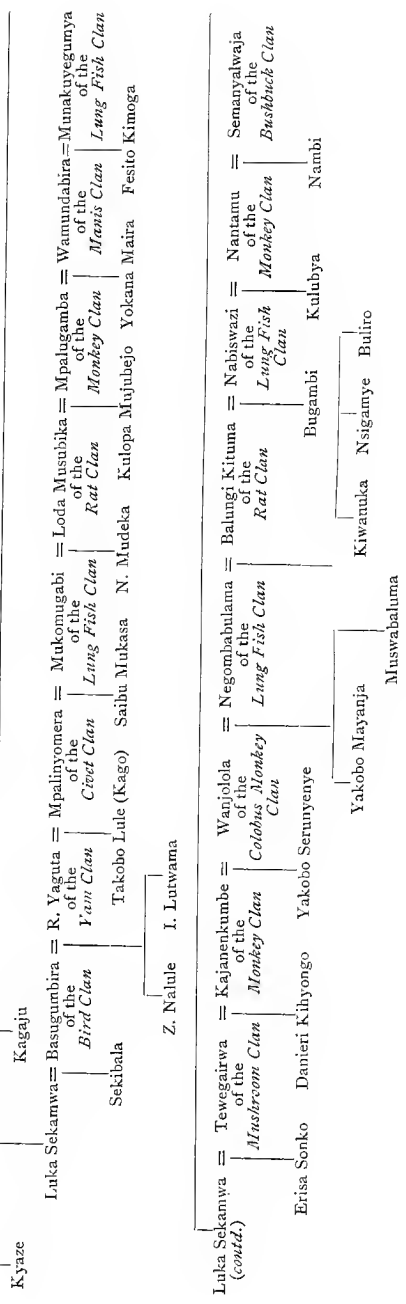


At this stage the Clan subdivides from the parent stem into branches called Siga, each having its own burial ground, but retaining the clan totems.

At this stage we have a further subdivision from the Siga to the Enda. All four sons of Lubulwa claim a common Siga Kulubya, but the sons of each of the four men—Nanziri, Siryakibe, Kaimbyobutego, and Wakayabu belong to their own Enda.



Kantini = Buzibu (2nd wife)



Luka Sekamwa = Mwanango = Mwamiyampigira = Kyaliga = Mutereza = Nakanyoro = Byansiliwaza = Ndiwasa = Namugwe = Wazindekera  
 (contd.) of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the  
*Manis Clan Leopard Clan Otter Clan Monkey Clan Bean Clan Musoga Bushbuck Clan Bezu Clan Monkey Clan*

Tebadukanwa Kibuze Dumola Pama J. Zawede Susana Nesigama Lea Eresi Nakibuka Sala Tegawoma Filipino Mujona  
 Nanyanzi

Luka Sekamwa = Batamwaseze = Mulwoza = Mwagalanyi = Kyenalaba = Mweru = Tutanda = Katono = Mutaiza = Talinjuza  
 (contd.) of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the of the  
*Bushbuck Clan Lwang Fish Clan Bushbuck Clan Bean Clan Otter Clan Bushbuck Clan Cheet Cat Clan Otter Clan*

Paulo Kitengo Wiliamu Tugaguna Silasi Mwanga Nakazinga Nanyanzi Juliya Gwokyalya Eresi Mugaya

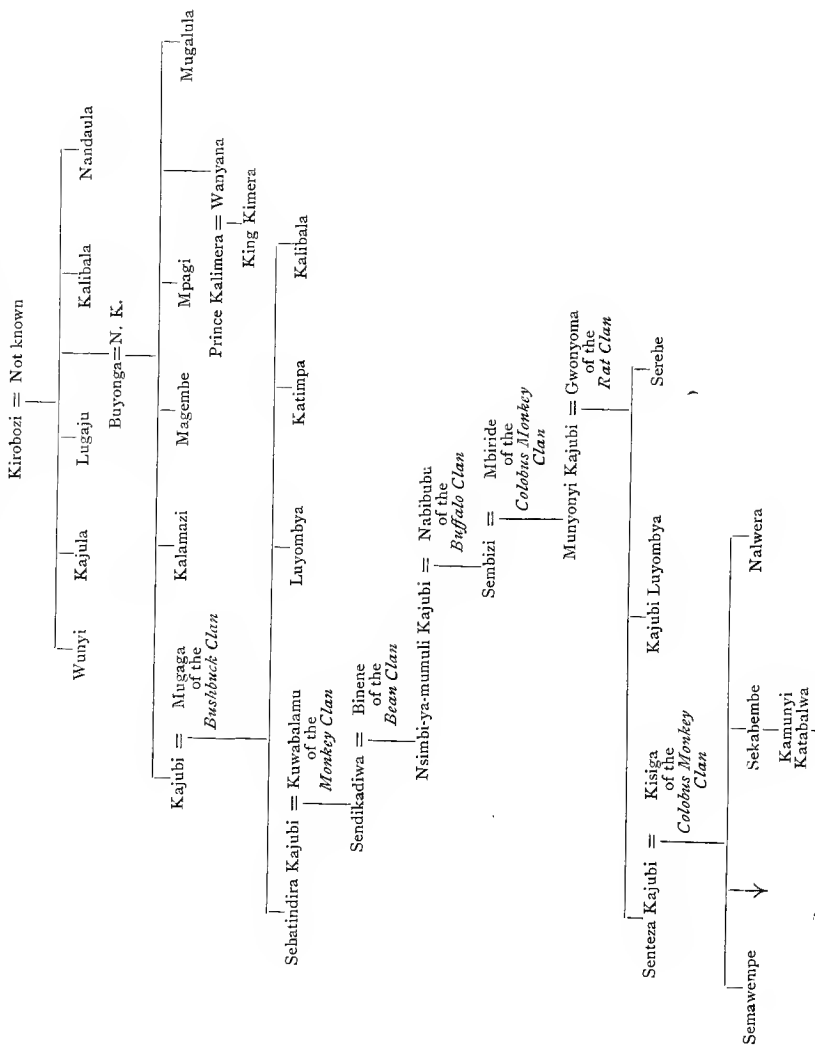
Zakayo Wamala Nsalasata Damulira Kayaga Lunkuse  
 Sekamwa = N.K. (See above P. 182). Further division of the Kantinti branch.

Z. Wamala F. Mujona Yakobo Mayanja Mpomba Erisa Sonko Waswa Saibu Mukasa Yakobo Lule Lutwana Kulopa Musoke Mudeka  
 Tegawoma Yakobo Sebinene Fesito Kimoga Kiwamuka Zakayo Ndaula Bugembe Paulo Kitengo Kulubya Selwango Silasi Muwanga

Tugabune Kikonoyo Nakazinga Nanyonzi Eseri Maliza Nambi Tebadukamwa Kibuze Zawede Eseri Nanyanzi Mbolanyi Bosusa Mulopi  
 Mugaya Kayaga

Yakobo Mawaira Nesigamye Buliro Juliya Lumkusi Nsalasata Veronika Donala Nsiganya  
 Kyokyalya Kigwagwa Tama

# THE GRASSHOPPER CLAN.





## CHAPTER VII

### THE KING

sketch of  
the rise  
of the  
Kings of  
Uganda.

FROM the earliest times in the history of Uganda there has been a King (kabaka) with despotic powers. The first King was Kintu, and with him the early history and development of the country are bound up. Prior to Kintu, there were a few aborigines who dwelt in isolated communities or clans; each clan was governed by its chief, who owned allegiance to no other chief. Kintu came either from the north or the north-east, and began at once to subdue and amalgamate these clans, and to form them into a nation. He appears to have been of a different stock from the aborigines, and also of superior intellect to the people who came with him; the latter held him in great esteem, and looked upon him as belonging to a different race from themselves. From Kintu the royal family trace their descent, and with him the history and traditions of the country commence. The history previous to his reign is lost; the one established fact is that the country was inhabited. From Kintu to the present King there have been thirty-two generations, which in round numbers cover a period of about a thousand years. The royal family differ in appearance from most of the clans; they have straight noses and less protruding lips. It has been stated that the Kings marry Bahima women, in order to have by them children of the Bahima type; but investigation does not confirm this statement, and the customs which are observed show it to have been impossible for a King to marry any woman but a Muganda.<sup>1</sup> Had any King married a foreigner, the children born from such a marriage would have

<sup>1</sup> Muganda is the singular form of the tribal name; the plural is Baganda.

been excluded from the throne. We must therefore take the type to have been derived from the male stock, which was in all probability descended from the Gallas.

The sovereign has always been a male descendant of the royal family; no woman could reign, nor any person not of the royal blood. The heir-apparent was a son or grandson of a King; but grandsons were only accepted when there was no son living who could succeed. Although the succession was through the male line, every prince took his mother's totems; the royal totems (the lion, the leopard, and the eagle)<sup>1</sup> were seldom mentioned, and the clan to which the woman belonged claimed the prince as their child. Though there was a strong feeling against women reigning, custom permitted the Queen and the King's Mother (Namasole) to hold their courts, and conferred on them a certain measure of administrative power. The precautions taken to prevent princesses from bearing children, and the elaborate ceremonies observed in choosing and appointing the Queen (who was not merely a princess, but the sister of the King), seem to point to a time when other customs prevailed, possibly succession through the female line.

A sharp line of separation was drawn between the royal family and commoners, and the blood royal was held to be most sacred. No princess was permitted to marry, or to have children. Formerly the death penalty was strictly enforced on all transgressors of this rule, but latterly the restrictions have been somewhat relaxed. The King, however, might take one or more of his sisters to wife, but he was not expected to have children by any of them. With princes the case was different, and the King encouraged them to marry, by giving them wives as soon as they came to puberty; for it was through his sons that he wished to make sure of the succession to the throne. When the King had sons growing up, his brothers had to surrender to them the principal estates; by way of compensation, they were given less important estates. The brothers who were deprived of their estates were themselves still eligible for the throne; their sons, however, were debarred therefrom. Princes in the direct line

Descent  
through  
the male  
line.

Princesses  
not  
allowed to  
marry.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 128.

of succession were called "Princes of the drums," having been born while their father was King and while he had the royal drums (*mujaguzo*); the others were called "Peasant princes," because their father was not in possession of the throne and the drums. In Uganda the possession of drums has always been a sign of office and authority; there were both the royal drums, and also drums for each chieftainship; each office was known by the rhythm of its drum. When the King came to the throne, he was said to have "eaten Uganda," or "to have eaten the drums"; the latter expression was used of a chief when he came into office.

Guardian-  
ship of  
Princes  
and of  
Princesses.

The chief *Kasuju* was guardian of the heirs-apparent, but the eldest son of the King took the title *Kiwewa*, and was responsible to *Kasuju* for the conduct of his brothers. *Kiwewa* could never reign; he was excluded from the throne by the office which he held. The "Peasant princes" appointed one of their number to a similar office with the title *Kiwewa*, who was responsible to a chief *Sabalangira*, who in his turn was responsible to *Kasuju*. Each prince had land given to him in the different districts, enough to maintain him in comfort. When a prince was old enough to leave his mother, at the age of four or five years, the king would send him to *Kasuju*, and the latter would appoint a man to be his guardian. The King would then send a man as his representative to give the child a plot of land upon which to reside. The messenger took with him a barkcloth tree (*mutuba*), which he planted when the prince was put in possession of the land; such an estate was then called a *Mutuba*, and the tree was the sign that a prince had been placed in possession of the property. No prince was allowed to become the guest of any chief, or to attach himself to his retinue, because it was feared that in such a case the chief might espouse his cause, and try to place this prince upon the throne; and also, because there was the danger that if a prince living with a chief should accidentally be killed or fatally wounded, some innocent person would be put to death, because of the national horror of shedding royal blood. To avoid the danger which was often caused by princes rebelling, King Semakokiro allowed his mother to put all his brothers except three to



death as soon as he had several sons born to him, and thus the succession to the throne was secure. The princes were burnt to death by the chief *Senkole*, after having been given doctored beer to drink. The custom thus established of putting princes to death as soon as a new king had secured the succession, was carried out until Mutesa's reign.

Princesses were also given lands in different parts of the country; one of their number, bearing the title *Nasolo*, took precedence of all her sisters. Both the princes and princesses had chiefs with titles corresponding to those of the chiefs in whose district they held the estates; but in order to distinguish them from the district chiefs, the name of the master was added to that of the office. Thus the chief of Singo was called *Mukwenda*, but the prince's chief in that district would be called the *Mukwenda* of such and such a prince.

No prince was debarred from the line of succession because his mother was not a legal wife of the King, or was of inferior rank; the ceremony of naming and testing the mother's fidelity settled the question whether her son was, or was not, legitimate. The choice of the prince who was to succeed his father as king was a matter for the *Katikiro*, the *Kasuju*, and the *Kimbugwe* to decide. The reigning king generally made his wishes known to the *Katikiro* and the *Kasuju*, and his wishes were adhered to, if possible; but if these chiefs thought that there was another prince who would make a better sovereign, they did not hesitate to appoint the latter.

The *Katikiro*, who had been with the King during his illness and when he expired, sent at once to the *Kasuju*, who had already been warned to hold himself in readiness, and told him to bring the princes to the capital. *Kasuju* collected the princes together, and brought them without delay: appearing before the *Katikiro*, he conferred with him and the *Kimbugwe* as to which of the princes they should appoint to be king. The question was usually amicably settled by these chiefs; they would call a meeting of the other principal chiefs and tell them of their choice; then, if all the chiefs (amasaza) concurred, no danger arose; but if they differed, there would in all probability be civil war. When the princes arrived in the capital, they were drawn up in the open space

Choosing  
the King.

before the royal enclosure; the chiefs came out and stood close by, while thousands of spectators crowded as near as they dared to hear and see what was going on. The *Katikiro* called to the *Kasuju* for a prince to reign; the *Kasuju* brought forward the prince whom they had chosen, leading him by the right hand, and placing it in the *Katikiro's* hand, with the words: "This is the King." Before leading out this prince, the *Kasuju* walked slowly along the line of princes from the end where the *Katikiro* stood to the spot where the chosen prince was standing, looking at each prince as he passed, as though he were doubtful whom he ought to present. *Walukaga*, of the Genet Clan, handed the *Katikiro* a bundle of spears as soon as the prince was presented. The *Katikiro* proclaimed the prince, saying with a loud voice: "So-and-so is King," and adding: "Those who wish to fight let them do so now"; he also offered the spears to anyone desirous of fighting. If there was any chief who was not satisfied with the choice made, he now came forward, carried off the prince whom he wished to have on the throne, and called upon his associates to fight. Sides were immediately taken, and a battle ensued; the hostile parties fought until one or other of the princes had been killed, when the victorious prince was proclaimed King. The chiefs knew beforehand whether there was likely to be any disturbance, and they were ready to appeal to arms; their retainers also were prepared to join them, while the *Katikiro* always appeared on the scene with a strong armed force in order to quell any disturbance that might arise. If there was no dissentient, the *Kasuju* turned to the princes, and said, "You are peasants; fight if you wish, and we will put you to death." The rejected princes were thereupon taken into the *Katikiro's* enclosure under guard, provided with a number of oxen, and given a good meal; meanwhile the newly-elected King was conducted to the body of his father, which he covered with a barkcloth, this being the first duty of the heir. When he came out his mother was brought forward, and her identity was proved by the members of her clan. That established, the King was hurried away to a place at a little distance, into the enclosure of some chief, to await the *Katikiro* and the new Queen;

the *Kasuju*, the *Kangawo*, and the *Mukwenda*, and many retainers accompanied the King as his bodyguard. The *Katikiro*, the *Mugema*, and the *Kimbugwe* appointed one of the brothers of the King's Mother to be the *Sabaganzi*. They then proceeded to choose a princess to be Queen (Lubuga), the ex-Queen assisting them in their choice. It was essential that the princess selected should be a sister of the King, though not by the same mother, and, further, that her own mother should have no sons. After the



FIG. 26.—A HUT TO WHICH THE KING GOES FOR THE CORONATION CEREMONY AND IN WHICH THE FETICHES ARE KEPT.

princess had been chosen, she was carried off on the shoulders of the royal bearers to her Brother. The *Katikiro* remained behind with the other chiefs to appoint a new *Kago*, who might be chosen from any clan. Immediately after the appointment had been made, the *Katikiro* and the new *Kago* joined the King. The King and Queen were carried on the shoulders of the royal bearers to the Budo hill, to be confirmed in the kingdom according to tradition. It is said that, during the reign of King Namugala, the

keeper of the fetich *Budo* sent and told the King that, if he would go to the hill, stand there upon the fetich, and perform certain other ceremonies, such as eating plantains baked in their skins, drinking water from the well on the hill, taking a staff from a tree there, as well as materials for basket making, and seeds from the wild plantain, he would be confirmed in his kingdom, and no prince would succeed if he rose against him in rebellion; the fetich also assured him that he would in this case be wiser and stronger than any-



FIG. 27.—BAGANDA HUT ON THE HILL OF BUDO USED BY THE KING DURING THE CORONATION CEREMONIES.

one in the kingdom. From that time onwards it has been the custom for each King to go to Budo before going into mourning for the deceased King. Prior to that time the newly-chosen Kings went immediately into mourning; and when they had completed it, they were brought before the people and publicly robed in two royal barkcloths. The Kings never took the shortest way to Budo, because they would then have had to cross the river Mayanja, which was said to be possessed by the ghost of a princess. Budo hill

was guarded by the retainers of the King's mother, those of the priest *Semanobe*, and those of a chief, *Mukamba*; the three parties made it impossible for a rival prince to approach the hill and so secure the country. None of the guards was allowed to build a fence round his house, they had to be open to inspection, lest any rebel prince should be secreted. When the King and the *Katikiro* arrived with their train at the foot of the hill, they were challenged by *Semanobe*, who asked: "Why are you coming in such numbers; what do you want?" They replied: "The fire is extinguished, and we have brought a prince who is the new King." *Semanobe* and his party, who were armed with sticks of sugar-cane and shields of plantain-leaf, contested the path; and a sham fight took place, in which *Semanobe* and his party were defeated, and had to retire, while the King and Queen with their train ascended the hill. After visiting the temple *Serutega*, they took up their quarters in the house named Buganda; then, after resting there for a short time, they visited the temple Budo. *Semanobe* next presented the King with a goat, which was killed and baked whole; the plantains were also baked in their skins, in the manner that food for mourners was usually cooked; and water was also drunk from the special spring *Nfunvwi* on the hill. The King and the Queen occupied the same house, because the Queen might not allow her brother out of her sight during these ceremonies. The *Katikiro* and the chiefs with their retinues built their houses around the King's house, to guard him from danger or surprise from any foe.

Very early in the morning of the second day, *Semanobe* went to the *Katikiro*, and told him to bring the King and follow him. The *Katikiro* roused the King and the Queen, and conducted them with *Semanobe*, who was accompanied by *Mukamba*, first to the temple of Budo, where they were handed the jawbone and the umbilical cord of King Lumansi. *Semanobe* then said: "You are the King"; and thereupon conducted him to the top of the hill, where there are two acacia trees, encircled by a reed fence; at a path, branching from the main path over the hill, leading to the enclosure, the King knelt down, and crawled into the enclosure to *Semanobe*,

Ceremony  
of  
"eating,  
Uganda."

O

who walked before and awaited him. The *Katikiro* and one other chief stood on either side of the gateway to guard the enclosure, as the King crawled in to where the priest stood by a mound made of beaten clay: when the King reached the mound he stood up and mounted it. *Semanobe* held a bunch of twigs cut from three kinds of barkcloth-trees, the *Luire*, *Nada*, and *Mukoko* trees; with these he struck the mound, and this was the signal for the King to ascend the mound; when on the mound, the King repeated after the priest: "I



FIG. 28.—SITE ON BUDO HILL, WHERE THE KINGS ARE ENTHRONED.

am the King of Uganda." *Semanobe* then handed him a stout branch of a barkcloth-tree, and this the King planted in a hole near by, which had been previously made; then standing once more upon the mound, he recited the words: "I am the King to live longer than my ancestors, to rule the nations, and to put down rebellion." *Semanobe* next handed the King the regal spear, which was used only on these occasions; he removed the King's mourning girdle, took off his barkcloth, and robed him with two barkcloths knotted

upon each shoulder. The Queen also had her barkcloths removed, and the two royal ones placed upon her; while the barkcloths which had been taken from the royal couple were placed in the Budo temple. The new barkcloths were made at a special place in the Singo district for the King only. At this particular ceremony only a few persons were permitted



FIG. 29.—SITE ON WHICH THE KING STANDS WHEN BEING ENTHRONED.

to be present; the rest remained in the camp until it was over, and then joined the procession. The ceremonies were continued on the other part of the hill. The King and the Queen were carried from the enclosure down the hill to a place where some trees were grown for making spear shafts; one of these trees was cut by the priest, and handed to the

King with the words: "With this overcome your enemies." The procession went forward to another place where a species of creeper was grown for making baskets; the priest took a few pieces of the creeper, and handed them to the King, saying: "May your life be like a basket which, when it falls down, does not break as an earthen vessel does." They passed on to another place where some wild plantains grew; a few seeds were taken from the trees and handed to the King with the words: "May you surpass your subjects in wisdom and understanding." *Semanobe* accompanied the King to the next hill named Sumba, and presented him to the priest *Mainja*, after which he took leave of the royal party, and returned to Budo. The ceremony called "Eating the country" was now complete, and the King was from that time looked upon as the legally appointed Sovereign. From the temple of *Mainja* the party was conducted by the chief *Sebwami* to the place appointed for holding the ceremonies of mourning for the deceased King. Each new king sent the son of the chief *Kasuju* to the god Mukasa with a large present, to announce his accession to the throne. This present took a peculiar form, and consisted of either nine, or ninety, specimens of whatever was offered. During the journey the messenger travelled alone in the royal canoe *Namfuka*, and took his meals alone; he wore two barkcloths, as though he were a prince, and entered the temple wearing a white goat-skin apron, the dress of the priests.

The King mourning for his predecessor.

Each newly-appointed King went into mourning during the time that the late King's body was being embalmed; this took as a rule six months. A temporary residence, called *Lukomera*, was erected for the King near Budo in the Busiro district. A few good houses were built for the King, surrounded by a strong stockade; and on the outer circle the chiefs built houses by the thousand for themselves and their retainers. During the time of mourning there were many state-affairs to occupy the attention of the new Monarch, because many chiefs were expected to retire from office to take charge of the deceased King's temple. The new Queen and the King's Mother had to be inducted into their official estates, and new estates had to be provided for the two ladies



who were retiring from office. These matters took weeks to settle, while other affairs of state needed daily attention. In the house where the King slept a fire was made from the sacred fire kept by *Senkole*; and the signal fire, at the entrance to the King's enclosure, was lighted from the same fire and kept burning, and a new chief *Musolosa* was appointed to guard it.

When the King was told that his Father's body had been placed in the tomb, he ordered the drums to be sounded, to let the people know that the mourning was to end; and the next day a royal hunt took place, the chief *Kalibala* of the Grasshopper Clan bringing a gazelle, and turning it loose for the King to hunt. The King hunted and killed it, and afterwards shaved his head, to remove all traces of mourning; this hunt was said to commemorate the return of king Kimera, who was born in Bunyoro, and returned to Uganda, hunting as he came. When the hunt was over, two men were captured; one of these was strangled, and his body thrown into a river under the papyrus-roots, so that it could never be found again; the life of the other was spared. The men captured for this ceremony were two who were found on one of the public roads carrying their barkcloths tied in a roll and slung on the left shoulder.

The royal drums, called the *Mujaguso*, were brought by the *Mugema* on the evening of the day on which the hunt had taken place, and were beaten; and on the following morning the chiefs and people gathered to see the final ceremonies of the coronation. The stool which King Mulondo had first introduced into the country was brought out, and placed on a barkcloth mat, and over it was spread the royal rug, made of a lion's, a leopard's, and an eagle's skins stitched together. The King and the Queen were carried on the shoulders of the royal bearers to the spot, whereupon the King mounted the stool, assisted by the *Katikiro*; two beautifully dressed barkcloths were then handed to the *Mugema*, who divested the King of his other barkcloths, and robed him with these new ones; two more were brought for the Queen, who stood by the King, and she was also publicly robed. These barkcloths were made by the chiefs *Kakinda* of the Yam Clan, and

End of  
the royal  
mourning.

Corona-  
tion  
customs.

*Semwanga* of the Otter Clan. We have just stated that the *Mugema* invested the King, and this was the case from the time of King Kimera until that of King Mutebi, when the latter King conferred the office of investiture upon the *Kasuju*, who has held it since. The *Mugema* next addressed the King and administered the oath to him, with the words: "You are King; rule over your people well, and always do what is right"; to which the King replied, "I agree to do so." The *Mugema* then said, "Always give just judgment"; the



FIG. 30.—CARRYING THE KING AND HIS BROTHER.

King replied, "I will." The *Mugema* then handed the King two spears and a shield, and the King swore fidelity to the nation, by pointing the shaft-end of the spear at the *Mugema* and saying, "I will never fear to rule Uganda my country." The King also scattered coffee-berries after answering each question put to him, and these were eagerly picked up by the people. The Queen took a similar oath, and scattered coffee-berries while she did so. The *Mugema* then turned to the people and addressed them with the words; "Never leave

your King in difficulties, in the time of war and trouble"; they replied, "We will never desert him, but will always honour him and stand by him." The royal fetiches were brought out and displayed, and the royal drum *Kibonabona* was beaten by the King; this drum had been brought by



FIG. 31.—CARRYING THE QUEEN.

King Kimera from Bunyoro. Afterwards the *Kasiju* came forward, and presented the chief drum of the *Mujaguzo* set to the King, who beat a few strokes upon it. The chief *Kairo*, who was the head of the Buffalo Clan, with two powerful men came forward to carry the King and Queen round the camp, for the people to do obeisance to them. The

ceremony was called "Confirming the King in his kingdom." After these ceremonies were ended, two men were brought forward blindfolded, of whom the King shot one slightly with an arrow, who was thereupon sent to Bunyoro as "scapegoat" with the remains of the sacred fire from the royal hut; the second man was liberated. The latter was called *Kawonarwo*; he was chosen from the body-guard of the late King, and was entrusted with the care of the King's inner court and the guarding of his wives. A chief was first caught to be made *Kawonarwo* but he excused himself, and presented his assistant, who was put into the stocks until the time when the mourning ended, and was then brought before the King, as mentioned above. From the King's presence *Kawonarwo* was conducted, together with a number of captives, to the sacrificial place Seguku; there he was blindfolded, while seven men were clubbed to death, but he was allowed to see the eighth and last man killed. As the men were killed, they were ripped open, and their bowels taken out, and hung round the neck of *Kawonarwo*. These deaths were said to add to the King's vigour, and to make *Kawonarwo* strong and faithful.

Building  
the new  
royal  
enclosure  
and  
capital.

When these rites were ended, the King gave his decision as to where he would have his new court. The workmen were soon busy erecting houses on the site chosen by the King; each District-Chief had the duty of providing, for his Royal Master, some special house which had its particular place inside the enclosure. Each District-Chief had also to build some portion of the high fence which enclosed the royal residence. There was one plan followed, which had been used by the kings for years without variation. The enclosure was oval shaped, a mile in length and half-a-mile wide, and the capital extended five or six miles in front, and two miles on either side. The part which was called the back was reserved for the King's wives, who had large estates there for the cultivation of plantain trees. The King also had his private road to the Lake through these estates, by which he might escape, if in danger from rebellion or sudden war: several canoes were also kept in readiness, in case of emergency, for flight to the Islands of the Lake, where he

could form his plans and restore order. The top of the hill was reserved for the King's own residence; the chiefs built dwellings around the royal enclosure, according to their rank and the part of the country to which they belonged. There was one principal entrance, with a wide gateway and a house to guard it, and eight other small gateways, on various sides of the enclosure, which latter were private for the use of either the King or his wives. Each gate had its guard-houses both inside and outside; the gates were kept fastened, and were only open to those who had a right to pass them. The interior of the enclosure was divided up into large blocks of houses, with wide roads between them, with gates and gatekeepers to guard each block so that even within the enclosure it was impossible for the women to pay visits to one another without permission, or for other visitors to pass in or out without special leave. There was a principal wife in charge of the other wives living within a block who was responsible to the King for their conduct. On the road from the main entrance to the council-chamber were the best houses, and there the strongest guards were stationed. The roads were lined with retainers, who guarded the King and were ready for any emergency. These retainers lived in tents *kyanjo*, made from cow-hides, as less inflammable than grass, in order to diminish the risks of fire to the royal houses, which were entirely constructed of reeds and grass, so that when once a fire broke out, it was a serious question whether any of the buildings could be saved. The chiefs who were acting as guards to the King had to provide their own tents during the month that they were in office. The Sovereign's retainers wore a special dress of antelope-skins slung over the right shoulder, passed under the left arm, and tied round the waist with a plantain-fibre girdle; their wants were supplied from the King's own lands, called the *Batongole*; they were on duty in relays for a month (moon) at a time. All the arrangements for these guards were made by *Mukabya*, the chief of the *Batongole*. As there were no lamps or candles for night work, torches were made from dry reeds; the manufacture of these reed torches became quite an industry, and enabled the King to have the courts lighted up every night.

Barkcloth-trees were planted near the main entrance by the priests of each principal deity, at the time when the King's houses were built, and offerings were placed under each of them for its particular god ; the trees were carefully guarded and tended, because it was believed that as they grew and flourished, so the King's life and power would increase. The open spaces in front of any main entrance were a feature of importance in Uganda ; they were considered a necessary adjunct to the houses of people of rank ; the chiefs followed this plan in their country-residences.

The  
Sacred  
Fire.

At the main entrance to the King's enclosures, on the left side, there was a small hut, and in front of it a fire-place which was merely a hole scraped in the ground, about two feet in diameter and six inches deep. In this pit hot embers of the sacred fire were left by day, and by night the fire burned brightly : at daybreak the fire was carried into the hut, and at sunset it was brought out again : the place was called *Gombololo*. The fire was kept burning at this spot by day and by night, while the King was present in the capital ; if he journeyed it was carried about wherever he went. The fire is said to have been kept from the time of Kintu, who gave it to his chief *Sabata* to guard, with instructions to keep it burning ; and from that time onwards all the fires in the royal enclosures have been lighted from it. *Sabata* was also chief of the body-guard, and had free access to the King's enclosure at all times. In later times the office of guardian of the sacred fire was given to the chief *Senkole*, who was called the "The guardian of the fuse," because wherever he went he carried a burning fuse made from barkcloth. In time of war, if anyone was accused of fear or cowardice, he was condemned to death by burning, and *Senkole* set fire to the pile upon which the coward was burnt. When any prince, or princess, was accused of treason, sedition or other crime, and condemned to death, *Senkole* was sent to kindle the pyre from the sacred fuse. This sacred fire (*Gombololo*) had to be kept burning during the life of the King. On wet nights, when it was threatened with extinction, its guardian had to contrive to shelter it from the rain with the aid of a broken cooking pot ; the guard on duty would have

been put to death if he had suffered the fire to be extinguished.

When the royal enclosure was ready for the King, he took possession of it with his wives, but the Queen had her own residence at a distance of about a mile. It was necessary to have a stream of running water dividing her court from the King's, because it was said that she also was a king, with her own independent establishment, and that two kings could

The  
Queen's  
enclosure.

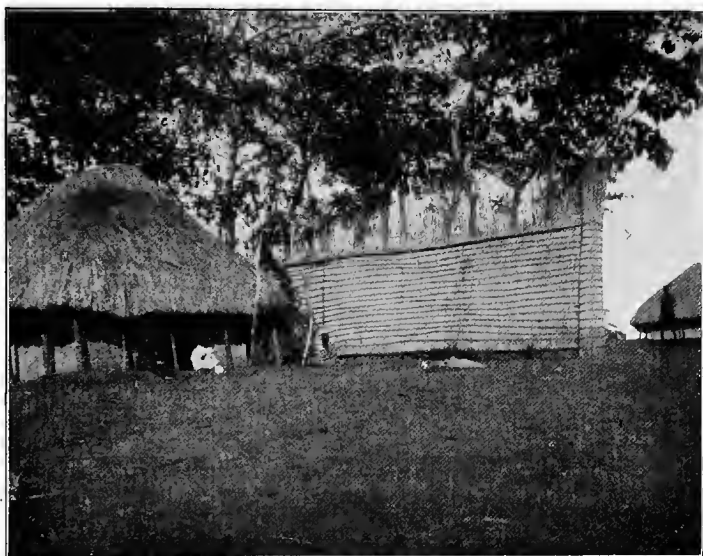


FIG. 32.—THE SACRED FIRE (GOMBOLOLO), BY THE ENTRANCE OF THE ROYAL ENCLOSURE, AND THE HUT IN WHICH IT IS KEPT DURING THE DAY.

not live on the same hill. The King's Mother had her residence some distance from her son's, because she too was called a king, and her residence had to be separated from the King's by a stream of running water. From the King's enclosure to the Queen's, and from the King's to that of the King's Mother's, straight roads ran, lined on either side with houses of important chiefs, so that anyone could, at all hours of the day or the night, go from one enclosure to the other without fear of wild animals,

Kasuju's  
visit to  
the new  
King.

On the morning after the King had entered his enclosure, the *Kasuju* came and had a sham fight with him. Both combatants were armed with a shield and a spear, and each was required to spear the shield of the other; this was done in order to confirm the King in his kingdom, and to show that the princes had settled down quietly and that there was no fear of rebellion. If there was any appearance of a rebellion, the *Kasuju* did not come, and the King knew that trouble might be at hand. Two or three days after the *Kasuju's* visit the *Katikiro* summoned the chiefs, and the King held a levee in his new Court; an attendant announced the chiefs, and the *Katikiro* presented them to the King. Many of them were newly appointed chiefs, who came to thank the King for their appointments; and one and all had to congratulate him upon his entrance into his new residence, and to wish him a long life.

Widows of  
the late  
King.

The widows of the late King were now provided for; the new King took the younger ones, who had no children, to form part of his harem; others went to the late King's temple and remained there as his wives; and some were sent to the tomb of the late King. The *Mugema* then presented the King with a girl to be his wife, and thereupon made a speech, saying that all the people acknowledged the King's right to the throne, and his power to maintain it. After the *Mugema* had made his gift, other chiefs were allowed to present women to the King; until that moment no one was allowed to do so.

The Royal  
spear re-  
turned to  
Budo.

The King sent presents to each of the important deities: female slaves, animals, cowry-shells, and barkcloths. He returned the royal spear, *Kanuna*, to Budo, and sent with it an offering of nine women, nine cows, nine goats, nine loads of cowry-shells, and nine loads of barkcloths, together with one of the widows who was to be the wife of the god Budo; this woman was given the title *Nakato*, the name of Budo's first wife, who, when she gave birth to a child, caused the sacred well *Nansove* to spring forth on Budo hill.

Gate-  
keepers'  
toll.

When the chiefs entered the royal enclosure for the first time, the gatekeepers had the right to detain one of them, who had to redeem himself. In the same way they took toll from



each load of goods which was brought to the King, either as tribute or as a present.

The King filled his enclosure with women to become his wives, and appointed his chief wives as guardians over various blocks of houses. He made a levy on the country for girls who in due course became his wives, and for boys to be pages, and every chief was required to give at least one boy as a page to the King.



FIG. 33.—GROUP OF GATE-KEEPERS.

Since the reign of Kaima, the King has had a relative (Kauzumu) in the royal enclosure, whose duty it has been to fulfil certain ceremonies and taboos for him, and thus to save him inconvenience. This office was created for *Kauzumu* owing to Kaima's affection for him; they were half brothers. Kaima's mother had married a peasant, before his father Wampambe married her; by her first husband she had a son *Kauzumu*; and later on by Wampambe she had a son Kaima, who afterwards became King. Kaima was much attached to his half brother, and asked him to come and live with him in the royal enclosure, and to fulfil certain taboos for him. Some

The  
legend and  
office of  
*Kauzumu*

people state that it was also his duty to take the women, who were to become the King's wives, for one night to his bed ; and that this was a custom of the early kings. When one of the King's wives went away to mourn the death of any relative, it was the *Kausumu* who on her return brought her back to the King, and before presenting her, jumped over her ; thus she was restored to his Majesty free from any restrictions. When one of the King's wives died, the *Kausumu* was the chief mourner in place of the King, and when the clan sent a woman to fill the deceased wife's place, the *Kausumu* jumped over her before he presented her to the King. When presented, she took a goat with her ; the King placed his hand upon her head, and then upon the goat's head, after which the *Kausumu* took the goat, killed it and gave her the liver to eat ; this ended her taboo. The office of *Kausumu* was hereditary in the Bird Clan, which was the clan of the original *Kausumu*. In recent times the men who have held the office have jumped over the wives of the King, but have never taken them to their couch.

The fire-  
wood tax

The chiefs constantly brought presents of food and animals for the royal table ; they also brought a monthly tribute of firewood to *Musolosa*, who had charge of the store of firewood and who supplied the person responsible for cooking and looking after the fires with firewood. The order and precision with which all details were carried out was perfect ; there was seldom any hitch ; each person knew his duty, and realised what would be the penalty for not performing it.

The  
King's  
Cook.

The King's chief cook was called *Kauta* ; he had the general control of the food, and saw to it that animals were supplied daily for the royal table ; under him there was a vast army of cooks, mostly women-servants and slaves, though it was the office of one of the King's wives to superintend the arrangements for her lord's table. The King's Mother sent him a basket of cooked food daily ; had that failed, the King would have been exceedingly indignant. The Queen also sent him food three times a day, and his wife *Kalya* once a day. All retainers and dependants, even to the slaves, had their meals cooked for them by one or other of the King's women, under the instructions of the wife whose duty it was

to attend to this matter. The latter knew how many baskets of vegetable food were needed daily, and she gave orders to the women and the slaves under her to cook the requisite amount, and as much meat as was required. All these baskets of meat and vegetable food were taken to the King and placed in rows before him, both at noon, and again in the evening; one of the pages counted them, and the King usually inspected the food; it was then doled out in the baskets by his orders, according to the quantity required for each department, and taken by the heads of departments to their own quarters; but the more favoured pages were allowed to have their meals in front of the King's house. The King himself had his meals alone, and no one was permitted to see him eat. One of his wives had the duty of waiting on him; she spread the usual table-cloth of prepared banana-leaves, placed the food upon it, cut it up, and tasted it, to show that it had not been tampered with. Having done this, she turned her back while the King had his meal; when he had finished eating, or if he wished for more, he would knock on the leaves with his knuckle, and his wife would turn round to see what he desired. It was said of him: "The lion eats alone." He had two spears at hand, and, if the food was not to his liking, or if it was not brought quickly when he had ordered it, he would call for the offenders and spear them to death. Of such an action it was said: "The lion when eating killed so and so." The wife chosen to dish his food had also to keep a fly-whisk in motion while the King took his meal, to prevent flies from settling on him or on his food. She had to be most careful to observe the rules of etiquette, when in the King's presence during his meals, for, if she coughed, the offence was punishable with death; everyone had to leave the royal presence even to clear his throat, and no person with a cold was permitted to approach the King. When he had finished his meal, any food that was left over was given to his favourite dogs, for no human being was permitted to eat any food left by a sovereign. The King, like all his subjects, had his meals on the floor; leaves from the plantain were spread out and nicely arranged, with specially prepared leaves on the top for the food to be put on; this was

The  
King's  
meals.

divided up into small pieces, and the King took both the meat and the mashed plantains with his fingers. Sponges made from the male plantain stem were supplied with the food, so that he could wash his hands both before and after a meal; beer was placed near at hand, in case he wished to drink, and also water, so that he could rinse his mouth after eating. The custom of washing the hands before eating was most carefully observed by everyone, even by the peasants.

The King's private courtyard and secret police.

The entrance to the King's private enclosure was strictly guarded, and no one could enter his presence without being duly announced. When chiefs wished to see the King, they had to go to the *Katikiro* and tell him their business, whereupon the *Katikiro* conducted them to his Majesty. No chief would dare go to the King with important news, without first imparting it to the *Katikiro*, nor would the King receive him unless he had been summoned to his presence. The *Katikiro* the *Kimbugwe*, and the *Kago* were the only chiefs who were admitted into the inner court without first obtaining the King's formal permission. Other chiefs were admitted by the gatekeepers through the first and second gates, but had to wait in the third courtyard until one of the pages had gone to announce them and to ask whether his Majesty would grant them an interview. Sometimes they were kept waiting for an hour, if the King happened to be engaged; he never hurried, and his subjects had to wait his pleasure. If the page returned with a favourable reply, the chiefs were admitted to a waiting-room in the inner courtyard. In this enclosure they might be kept waiting for hours, sometimes for a whole day, before the audience was granted. As a rule the King did not keep the *Katikiro*, the *Kimbugwe*, or the *Kago* waiting more than a few moments, because he knew that they must have come on important business, and he was anxious to know how things were going on in the country. The King had his secret police, of whom his uncle *Sabaganzi* was one, and his Mother's guardian (*Masimbi*) was another. These two men were permitted to carry their weapons into the King's presence, and to stand while they greeted him, the reason for this concession being that they were nearly

related to him, and also that they were required to be always on guard and ready to protect the King or his Mother. Other secret servants were *Mondo*, *Mulere*, *Nakasese*, and *Wanutale*, whose duty it was to find out what was passing in the country, and to report it to the *Katikiro*, who would take the messenger to the King.

When the King had reigned for two or three months, he went to hunt a leopard. After the animal had been killed, the carcass was brought to the royal enclosure and left in a house for the night. The next morning the King came and tied two cowry-shells on its paws, and poured a little beer into its mouth, and blew over the carcass; the *Kasuju* then took the animal and skinned it, and prepared the skin for the royal rug. The flesh of the leopard was eagerly sought by the people, who boiled it for the sake of obtaining the fat, which was supposed to be of great medicinal value when mixed with certain herbs; this was used for outward application only. The skin was prepared by the chiefs *Kasiri* (who had the care of the throne) and *Kiyukyeru* of the Civet Clan under the directions of the *Kasuju*. When it was ready it was returned to the King, who then had it stitched to a lion's skin; this formed the royal rug, upon which he stood on state occasions. It was upon this rug that the heirs of any chief placed their cowry-shells or beads, when they came to thank the King for confirming them in the office. Both chiefs and peasants, when they entered into the King's presence, knelt to address him, and no one was ever allowed to step on the royal rug or over it; to have done so would have merited the punishment of instant death.

After the leopard hunt the King had either to go himself or to send the *Kago* his representative, to hunt a bushbuck. After the animal had been killed, the *Kago* caught a man and took him before the King by night; the King speared him slightly, and he was then strangled; his body was thrown into a papyrus swamp, so that it might never be discovered. Another ceremony performed about this time to confirm the King in his kingdom was to catch a man, bind him, and bring him before the King; the latter wounded him slightly with a spear, and he was then put to death. These

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men were killed to invigorate the King. Commoners were required to spear an ox, which was killed and eaten, when they became heirs to valuable property.

When the King had reigned for two or three years, two men were brought before him. One of these he speared, the other was spared. The wounded man was killed outside the enclosure by the main entrance; the other man became assistant to the chief of the body-guard, and his first duty after his appointment was to take the body of the man who had been killed, and throw it into the nearest river.

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long  
ng's The next important event in the life of the King was his visit to *Nankere* for the purpose of prolonging his life. *Nankere* was a chief of the Lung-fish Clan who lived to the north of the Busiro district; he was never permitted to see the King, except on the occasion when he performed the ceremony for the prolongation of the King's life. When the time had been fixed for the ceremony, *Nankere* selected one of his own sons or, if he had no son, a near relation, who was then fed and clothed and treated in all respects as a prince, and was taken to live in a special house near the place to which the King had to go for the ceremony. After the youth had been guarded and feasted for a month, the King set out from the capital; on the way he stopped at a temple of Mukasa, where he changed his clothing, leaving that which he was wearing in the temple; he also left behind all his anklets, and did not put on any others until he obtained new ones from *Nankere*. When the King arrived at his destination, *Nankere* met him and handed him a gourd of beer, the King giving *Nankere* a gourd in exchange. The King's Mother was present to see her Son for the last time. *Nankere* addressed them both; first, he told the King's Mother to go and build her house, for she was no longer to hold communication with her Son, since he was now of age; next he turned to the King and said: "You are now of age; go and live longer than your forefathers." *Nankere's* son was now brought in; *Nankere* took him by the hand and presented him to the King, who passed him on to the body-guard; they took him outside, and killed him by beating him with their closed fists. The muscles from the back of the body of the

murdered youth were removed and made into two anklets for the King, and a piece of skin was cut from the body to make into a whip, which was kept in the royal enclosure for special feasts. The body was thrown upon waste land, and guarded against wild beasts, but not buried. When the ceremony was concluded the King returned to a chief *Walusimbi* in Busiro ; on the way thither he stopped at Baka, seated himself under a large tree, and played a game of spinning the stones from the fruit of a wild fruit-tree. This game is usually played by two children, who spread a plantain-leaf on the ground to obtain a smooth surface, and spin their stones at the same time ; the stone which strikes the other and knocks it down, without falling itself, is called the winner. On this particular occasion the King played the game with one of his attendants. After the King had played the game for a time, food was announced ; the King then went to Busuju, had his meal, and then mounted a rock to survey the country from the top. When he descended, he crossed the stream *Nakibibe*, where he was met by a chief *Kidu* of the Mushroom Clan who conducted him to his wife *Naku*. Here the King planted a plantain-tree, and cut some grass, which he handed to his wife *Naku*, who was a member of his party ; and *Naku* told some of her maids to make a basket from it, while they were on the way to the chief *Walusimbi*. A little further on they were met by the chief *Gunju*, from whom they inquired the way to *Walusimbi's* house, and he conducted them thither. When they reached their destination, they approached the house from the back ; *Walusimbi* called out : " Who is passing at the back of my house ? " and the King answered, in a meek voice, " I was doing so. " He had to pay *Walusimbi* nine women, nine cows, nine goats, and nine loads of bark-cloths for the error of passing by the back premises. *Walusimbi*, who had been warned of the King's approach, and was prepared for his coming, had placed a stool outside his fence, and had covered it with a rug made of a lion's and a leopard's skin ; he had also placed a second similar rug on the ground, upon which he stood, while waiting for the King. The King saluted him, and they exchanged drinking cups ; this done, the rest of the party returned to Baka, while the

King again played the spinning-game, this time with *Walusimbi*. In the evening the King was conducted to a house in a garden, named *Kinogo*, where he spent the night; the chiefs *Kasuju*, *Namyago*, and *Gunju* brought a stone each for the fire-place, and a sacred meal of millet was cooked and eaten there. In the morning the King returned to the tree near *Walusimbi's* house, to play the game again; he would call for the fruit stones to play with, and whoever ran to bring them would be caught and speared to death on the spot, with the object of giving the King long life. The King next went again to the rock, mentioned above, seated himself on it, and called for someone to bring fire. The fire was kindled, and the King cast cowry-shells into it, as though they were fuel; two chiefs, the *Mugema* and the *Mubaja*, also threw cowry-shells into the fire, until the chief *Nabuwama* came, and snatched them away, saying: "What do you mean by burning cowry-shells?" The King then moved on to Kibibi. Some boys had been sent on in advance with the cooking-pots which had been used on the previous night for preparing the royal food. As soon as the King saw them, he asked: "What do you mean by carrying pots in front of me and soiling my path with soot from pots?" His attendants at once ran after the boys, dashed the pots to the ground and broke them, and killed as many of the boys as they caught. The King and his train passed on to the princess *Naluwembi*, where the King stopped until the anklets made from the muscles of *Nankere's* murdered son were ready for him to wear; it was the princess *Naluwembi* who had to superintend the making of them. When they were finished, they were put on the King, and the party then proceeded to Kibibi, where the King took his stand upon a hillock, saying: "I want a hut built here, go and cut the grass and bring the materials." The man who first arrived with grass was caught and killed, and his head was placed upon the top of the hut. The King entered the hut when it was ready, and his wife *Naku* cooked him a meal there. The hut was called *Naku's* hut, and was afterwards kept as a fetich shrine during the King's lifetime. During the time that the King was on the road from *Nankere* to Kibibi he constantly sent messages to his Mother whom he had left



behind ; he now sent a farewell-message to her from Kibibi, as he was not expected to meet her again. From Kibibi he returned to his court.

From time to time it was customary for the King to give a feast to his people to commemorate his accession. After he had been engaged in the *Nankere* ceremony, he made a feast on a much larger scale than any previous one. During this feast, *Mutebi*, a priest, went about carrying under his mantle the whip which had been made from the skin of *Nankere's* murdered son ; any person whom he struck with it had to pay either nine or ninety cowry-shells (according to his ability) to the goddess Namulondo, to prevent sickness and death from falling upon him. When a person who had been struck with the whip went to pay the cowry-shells to *Mutebi*, the latter struck him on the shoulder with his hand, and by this means removed a curse which the whip had laid upon him and which deprived him of generative powers. At the end of the feast the keepers of the drums removed all the drums but one, *Busemba*, which they left as though they had forgotten it. Someone in the crowd would notice the apparent oversight, and would bring the drum after the drummers, saying : " You have left one behind " ; this person was caught and killed, and the bones from his upper arm were made into drum-sticks for that particular drum. The custom is said to have its origin in the following story : King Tembo killed Kimera in the forest, and the ghost haunted the King and wished to be avenged on him. To appease the ghost, Tembo made a drum, and directed that the sticks used for beating it should be the bones of a human being, and the story adds that, when the bones had been provided, the ghost of Kimera was quieted. The ceremony of leaving the drum behind, and slaying the man who fetched it, was called " The remembrance of *Busemba*." This particular drum was only brought out once during the reign of a king, and was kept covered from the time it was used until the next king's reign. *Mutebi* occasionally went into the King's presence dressed in a mantle of cow-hide, which covered his body from neck to foot. Under his robe he concealed at such times the arm-bones of the man who had been killed for *Busemba*. As he stepped

Feast in  
commem-  
oration  
of the  
King's  
Accession.

before the King, he quickly produced the bones, and shook them before the King, then quickly hid them again. He repeated this action, and then walked slowly away, and restored the bones to their proper place. They were decorated with cowry-shells and small bells, which sounded as he shook them.

A list of the Kings.

The  
Kings of  
Uganda--  
King  
Kintu.

1. Kintu is said to have been the first King of Uganda ; many legends gather round him, for he was supposed to be descended from the gods. He married a woman named Nambi, of the Colobus Monkey Clan. Tradition says that he lived alone for some time, and that this woman was then given him by the god Gulu out of compassion. Further, tradition runs that, when he was an old man, he went into the forest and disappeared. As it was unlawful to say that the King was dead, the chiefs said that he had disappeared. The burial took place secretly, a pit was dug behind the enclosure of the house, and the body of Kintu wrapped in a cow-hide was placed in it, and left. No earth was thrown into the pit, but thorns were put round it and over the body, as a protection against wild animals, and the medicine-man visited the grave from time to time, until he was able to work the jawbone away. He then took the bone, and after cleansing and decorating it, he put it in the temple which was built on the Magongo hill in Singo. Rain gradually filled in the grave by washing in the sides, and no further notice was taken of it, except that all persons were prevented from walking near it. Only members of the Lion Clan might approach the place. In the garden Nono, where the temple stands, no animal or fowl may be killed ; if they wish to kill an animal, the people take it away to Daja, the next garden on the same hill, kill it there, and bring the meat back to cook it. No one except the priest if he died in office, or the owner of the hill, might be buried at Daja ; and, if any man committed adultery there, he left the place for a year, fearing that otherwise he would die, because of the anger of the ghosts of Kintu and his son.

King Cwa. 2. Cwa, Kintu's son, succeeded him. He also is reported to have been lost, when quite an old man, in the plains of Davula to the north-west of the country.

3. Kimera, the grandson of Cwa and son of Kalimera, <sup>King</sup> succeeded his grandfather. His mother was a wife of Wunyi, <sup>Kimera.</sup> King of Bunyoro, who committed adultery with prince Kalimera, when the latter was on a visit to Bunyoro. The legend runs that, when Kalimera saw he was in trouble, he pretended to have been recalled by his father, and fled from the anger of Wunyi, but on reaching the border of Uganda he died. In the meantime Wanyana, the wife of Wunyi, was discovered to be with child, but was saved from the King's wrath through the stratagem of a medicine-man Mulegeya. This man claimed to have been sent by a god to tell Wunyi that, if he should hear of the misconduct of one of his wives, he should not kill her, but should banish her from the enclosure; and when the child was born, he should order it to be thrown into a clay pit. Accordingly when Wanyana's condition was discovered, she was sent out of the royal enclosure, and when she gave birth to her child, it was taken and put into a clay pit. The child was, however, rescued by *Sedagala*, the potter, who took it away, but, as he was unable to nurse it, he handed it over to *Mugema*, whose wife nursed it and brought it up. For this reason *Mugema* received the honour of being called the King's Father, and held the hereditary chieftainship of '*Mugema*,' or '*Katikiro* of the dead.' Kimera was invited to come to Uganda, as soon as the Baganda heard of his existence, and was crowned King. The country, however, had an interregnum of some years from the death of Cwa to the crowning of Kimera, during which time it was governed by a Prime Minister. When Kimera came to Uganda his Mother accompanied him, but she did not enter the capital at once, because she was wearied. A hut was therefore built for her, and she was left to rest in the country. The hut was called *Lusaka*, and this became the official name of the site where the King's Mother resided. After Kimera had reigned for some years, he heard of the wealth of the Basoga; he therefore sent an expedition under his son Lumansi to plunder and rob them. On the way to Busoga Lumansi fell ill and died, leaving a young son named Tembo. When Tembo grew up, his mother represented to him that his father had been killed by Kimera, his grandfather, and she worked upon

his feelings to such an extent that the youth sought an opportunity to kill Kimera. For months he watched, but could not find the opportunity, until one day when the King was out hunting bushbuck, and was separated from his guard, Tembo came up behind him, struck him on the back of the head with a heavy club, and killed him. He gave out that it was an accident, that he had aimed at the animal, but had missed it and struck the King. Kimera's body was interred at Kanzizo Emulume, and the temple for the jawbone was built on the hill of Lunyo.

King  
Tembo.

4. Tembo, the grandson of Kimera, was next crowned King. Some time after he had ascended the throne, he sent two of his children, a son and a daughter, to be servants to one of the gods. The son Kigala soon became so enamoured of his sister Nakibanja that he married her, and she gave birth to twins; at the place where she first felt the birth-pains, the river Lumansi sprang forth, and at the place where she subsequently gave birth to the twins, there sprang forth the two rivers, Mayanja and its twin-spring Mayanja the Less. Later on Tembo became insane, and it was found impossible to cure him, until someone suggested taking him to the chief *Nankere*. Here he derived benefit from a human sacrifice, and from the anklets made out of the sinews of a man of the Lung-fish Clan; this was said to be the origin of the prolongation-of-life ceremonies. When Tembo died, he was buried at Katikamu; and the temple where his jawbone was preserved was erected in Busiro.

King  
Kigala.

5. Kigala, the son of Tembo, was next crowned King. After he had reigned for some time, his brother Lutimba raised a rebellion which took long to quell. The sons of Kigala at last succeeded in routing Lutimba; the latter fled into a garden where Kigala had placed a fetich, and this killed him. Kigala reigned until he reached an advanced age, when he abdicated in favour of his son Kiimba.

King  
Kiimba

6. Kiimba, the son of Kigala, only reigned for a short time. He fell ill and died, and his temple was built on Sentema hill.

Thereupon Kigala, the father of Kiimba, left his retirement and again occupied the throne until at length he died in

extreme old age. When he was unable to understand what was being said to him, his wives are said to have played all kinds of tricks on him, and to have robbed him on every side. He was buried at Manja, and his temple was built at Damba. His medium, when possessed, acted the part of an old man and allowed his saliva to run down his chin and beard.

7. Kaima, the grandson of Kigala, then came to the throne, since the people refused to have his father Wampamba to reign over them, because he had married a woman of his mother's clan. Kaima went in person to war in Budo, where his army was defeated, and on the way back he himself died. He was buried on the hill of Kibone, and his temple was built on the hill of Kongoje. King  
Kaima.

8. Nakibinge, the son of Kaima, was chosen to succeed his father, but, while he was still carrying out the mourning ceremonies for his father, Juma Kyabainza demanded of him the throne, saying that their fathers had agreed to the arrangement that Juma should be King, and that Nakibinge should inherit a small estate from Juma's father. Nakibinge accordingly had to postpone the mourning ceremonies, and to fight for his throne. In the first battle he was routed and had to flee to Bulungugi Island, but he soon rallied his forces and drove Juma into Bunyoro. One of his medicine-men then came to him and advised him to go to Magongo and consult his forefather Kintu about the war with his cousin Juma. Kintu directed Nakibinge to send for Kibuka, who was on the Islands of the Lake, and to procure his help against the Banyoro. He acted on this advice and sent for Kibuka, who came and fought against the Banyoro, but both Kibuka and Nakibinge were killed in battle. Some years later the body of the King was recovered, through a peasant finding a spear which was recognised as that of the late King; the man was about to be killed for being in possession of it, but he explained how he came by it, and took the people to the place where he had found it. There they discovered the body of the King in a pit; so they removed it and built a temple for it on the hill of Kongoje. King  
Naki-  
binge.

9. The next King was Mulondo. When Nakibinge was killed, his children were still too young to reign; one of them King  
Mulondo.

Mulondo, was, however, chosen to be King and was guarded by his subjects, while the *Katikiro* acted as regent, until the boy was old enough to take over the government. A stool was made by the people for the King, because he was so small, and could not be seen in the court when sitting on the usual rug; this stool was the first of which we have any record in the country. When Mulondo died, he was buried on Gombe hill, and his temple was built on Mitwebiri. He was the first King whose body was properly embalmed and placed in a house and left there.

King  
Jemba.

10. On the death of Mulondo, his brother Jemba was crowned. It was he who first ordered that the King's wives who had children by him should at death be buried in the King's private estate in Busiro. When he died, he was buried on Gombe hill, and his temple was built on the hill of Mubango.

King  
Suna I.

11. On the death of Jemba, his brother Suna became King, who lived to a great age. He was buried on Gombe hill, and his temple was built on the hill of Jimbo.

King  
Seka-  
manya.

12. On the death of Suna, Sekamanya, the son of Mulondo, became King. He was much attached to his mother, and would not allow her to retire from his court according to custom. His reign was uneventful; he was buried at Gombe, and his temple was built on Kongoje hill.

King  
Kim-  
bugwe.

13. On the death of Sekamanya, his cousin Kimbugwe ascended the throne. Some months later Prince Katerega, the son of Sekamanya, having had twins born to him, went to conduct the birth-ceremonies in the presence of Kimbugwe; he took with him, however, another wife, and not the mother of the twins, because the latter was lame and unable to walk. Kimbugwe questioned him about his wife, and asked why the real mother of the twins had not been brought. This annoyed Katerega so much, that he would not complete the ceremonies, but threw the objects used in the ceremonies away into a swamp, consulted a medicine-man, secured some fetiches from him, and made war on his cousin. During the battle which ensued Kimbugwe came out of the enclosure, to see how the fight was proceeding, and as he did so, an insect lighted on him, which was said to have been sent by the fetich of Katerega. The King fell down and died; and when his people

heard that he was dead, they fled, leaving Katerega in possession of the field. The body of Kimbugwe was not buried, but was left in the house outside which he died, and no temple was built for him.

14. Katerega the son of Sekamanya, succeeded Kimbugwe as King. When he died, he was buried at Gombe, and his temple was built on Mitwebiri hill. King  
Katerega.

15. Mutebi, the son of Katerega, succeeded his father. During his reign two of his principal chiefs, *Mukwenda* and *Kajubi*, rebelled and were driven out of office and killed. *Kasuju* succeeded to *Kajubi's* office. Mutebi lived to a great age; he was buried at Gombe, and his temple was built on Kingoja hill. King  
Mutebi.

16. Juko, Mutebi's brother, succeeded him. It was Juko who angered a medicine-man, because the latter had given one of the little princes an amulet and the King rebuked him for doing so. The medicine-man avenged himself by commanding the sun to fall, whereupon darkness reigned, until one of the King's wives suggested to him that he should send for the god Wanga who lived on Sese Island. The god came, and restored the sun to its place, and it gave light again. It was during this reign that Kayemba, the King's brother, took a woman to wife contrary to the advice of the priests, with the result that a child was born of the union without arms or legs. This was said to be the incarnation of Kaumpule, the plague god. The priests advised Kayemba to build the god a temple in the Bulemezi district, and this he did. The King was warned not to look towards the temple, when he went out of his house, upon pain of death. For some years he observed the restrictions, but one day he neglected it, and in consequence died. He was buried at Gombe, and his temple was built on Bujuko hill. King  
Juko.

17. Kayemba became King on the death of his brother Juko. He reigned for a number of years, but no events of importance marked his reign. He was buried at Gombe, and his temple was built at Lunyo. King  
Kayemba.

18. Tebandeka, the son of Mutebi, was next crowned King. During the first part of his reign the children born to him died in infancy. He therefore consulted a priest, who told him King  
Teban-  
deka.

that this was due to the neglect of the "Twin" (Mulongo) of his father. Accordingly Tebandeka had it decorated and taken back to the temple. The evil was thus removed from his children, so that those born subsequently grew up strong and healthy. When the priests saw the result, they demanded large sums in payment for their services, which so annoyed the King, that he sent and ordered all the temples of the gods to be robbed and burned down. He then fled into the forest, and remained there in hiding. When at length his subjects found him and brought him back to his capital, he was discovered to be possessed by the spirit of the god Mukasa, and to be able to give oracles. A test was made by the people to see whether he was possessed by the god or by some ghost; and when it was proved that he was possessed by Mukasa, the people built a new enclosure for him, where he lived and died. He was buried at Gombe, and his temple was built on Bundeke.

King  
Ndaula.

19. Ndaula, the son of Juko, reigned next in order. He stipulated on ascending the throne that he should not be made the medium of Mukasa; accordingly the people appointed Juma, one of Tebandeka's sons, to be priest, and gave him his father's fetiches; from that time onwards one of Juma's descendants has always been priest, instead of the reigning king. Whenever a new king came to the throne, a new prince was made priest, who was given charge of the fetiches, and succeeded to the estates of Juma, while the former priest retired into private life. Ndaula on his accession was suffering from an inflammation of the eyes which none of the medicine-men could cure. At length one of them said that he would cure the King, on condition that the latter followed out his instructions; he was to use no other medicine but his own for a few days, and then to go and hide in the forest; and the man who made his whereabouts known was to be killed. The King agreed to the conditions, and after using the medicine for a few days, went away suddenly and secretly, so that his chiefs could not discover whither he had gone. At length a hunter, Siroganga, saw him, and told the *Kati-kivo* that he had done so; but he would not mention the place until he was examined by torture; he then took the



people to the spot where the King was. The King was angry with Siroganga for betraying his hiding-place, and killed him, but in doing so he really fulfilled the conditions of the medicine-man, and was restored to health. Ndaula lived to a great age, and at death was buried at Merera ; his temple was built on Musaba hill.

20. Kagulu, the son of Ndaula, succeeded his father in the <sup>King</sup> kingdom. <sup>Kagulu.</sup> When he had reigned for a short time, he sent and killed Musanje Goloba, his half-brother, because the latter had so injured his brother Luyenje, when wrestling, that he died. Musanje left four sons named Mwanga, Namugala, Kyabagu, and Kayondo. The King further killed the *Mugema* Sentongo, which was against all precedent, because the *Mugema's* person was held to be sacred, and even to depose him was thought to be a serious offence. Another instance of Kagulu's cruelty was that he made some spiked ring-chains, which he called mats, and when people came to him to have their cases tried, or to visit him, he ordered them to kneel upon the spiked rings ; then if they did not go down on their faces, or if their greeting in any way displeased him, he had them speared to death. For this reason people refused to visit him, and all the chiefs rebelled. One of the princesses, Ndege Nasolo, fled from her brother, taking with her the sons of Musanje. Her first intention was to go to Bunyoro, to save the princes from the King's cruelty, but on the way a chief, *Marwuba*, made blood-brotherhood with the princes Mwanga, Namugala, Kyabagu, and Kayondo, and promised to protect them ; he collected an army, and after propitiating the gods attacked the capital. Kagulu fled, because the people refused to fight for him ; he was unable to raise even a small army. After wandering about for some time, he was caught in the Kyagwe district by the princess Ndege, who had him drowned in the Lake Victoria Nyanza.

21. Kikulwe, the son of Ndaula and half-brother to Kagulu, <sup>King</sup> was the next king. <sup>Kikulwe.</sup> When he was established in his kingdom, he ordered the people to catch as many members of the Elephant Clan as possible, because, in accordance with princess Ndege's orders, they had killed Kagulu. Thereupon many of its members disowned their clan, and joined other clans, in order to escape

the King's anger. Years afterwards Kikulwe discovered that the people were devoted to prince Mawanda, his brother; he feared that they would raise a rebellion and drive him from the throne, so he determined to put Mawanda to death. To this end he caused a pit to be dug in one of the houses in the royal enclosure, spiked it at the bottom, and covered it with small sticks and grass. He then sent for Mawanda to come and see him. One of the King's gatekeepers advised Mawanda of the pit, and told him he would mark it by putting his stick over it; so when prince Mawanda entered the house he walked round the pit, and seated himself on the other side. The King became afraid of one who had such insight as to avoid his trap, and he fled when he found that his plot was discovered. Prince Mawanda armed himself, collected his retainers, raised an army, and fought Kikulwe, who was routed and fled, while Mawanda was crowned in his stead. When Kikulwe died, he was buried in Busiro, and his temple was built on Katiti hill.

King  
Mawanda

22. Mawanda, who was also a son of Ndaula, reigned after his brother Kikulwe. He went about his kingdom, visiting most districts, and he also went to war in person against Busoga, of which he subdued a great part. It was he who gave the Rat Clan the right to enter freely the royal enclosure, because one of their number saved his mother, when Ndaula had ordered her to be put to death, because she coughed while serving his food. Nkalubo, the man who was sent to execute the order, saved the woman, because he saw that she was with child, and he had one of his own women put to death instead. When the child was born, and when it proved to be a son, Ndaula was informed, and he was so pleased that he gave the Rat Clan the office of *Sebugwarwo* as their inheritance; he also made blood-brotherhood with Nkalubo, and asked him to bring his sons to be the King's special body-guard, and he made this a permanent office for them. Tradition says that Mawanda and the Queen were sent for by the ghost of Kintu, the first king of Uganda, to go to his temple on Magongo hill in Singo, and were about to have an interview with him, when a chief named *Namutwe*, of Kyagwe, came up, contrary to orders, and Kintu seeing him fled away and was

not seen again. The chief *Namutwe* was killed by the Queen, because he had followed them contrary to their wishes and express orders, and had thus prevented them from having the interview with Kintu. From that time forward the chief *Namutwe* has worn small bells on his legs or garment, so that he can be heard when he enters a room. Later on in his reign some person came to Mawanda with a lying message to the effect that one of the old kings had risen from the dead, and was coming to fight him. The King, who had previously issued orders that no war drum was to be sounded, sent the chief of Bulemezi to collect an army to fight against the prince who had risen. When *Kangwao*, the chief of Bulemezi, was collecting his army, another chief, *Sengoba*, reproved him for beating the drum, attacked him when he refused to desist, and wounded him and several other chiefs. All these men died from the effects of their wounds, and all, when dying, made a threat that, if a king sent any messenger to their country residence again, their ghosts would haunt and kill that king. For this reason the chief's residence in Bulemezi has never been visited by a king's messenger since that time; the messenger stops at a river, and sends for the chief to come to him to receive the King's message. For the same reason, whenever the King sends to rob the neighbouring places, the people are safe, if they can escape and remove their possessions across the river to the chief's residence. Towards the close of Mawanda's reign, the princes Namugala, Mwanga, Kyangu, and Kayondo rebelled against him, when he ordered them to do some work. They had a fetich named *Budo*, made by a medicine-man, residing on the Sese Island, who told them that the prince who stood upon the fetich would become king, and that no one could resist or repel him. They therefore rebelled against Mawanda, drove him from his throne, and one of their partisans killed him.

23. Mwanga, the son of Prince Musanje, was then made King, but he reigned for a few days only, because he was generally disliked. He was persuaded to kill a child of his father-in-law, who in revenge for the murder killed the King, and fled and hid himself. Mwanga was buried in Busiro, and his temple was built on Kavumba hill.

King  
Mwanga.

King  
Namu-  
gala.

24. Namugala was the next King chosen, but his reign was short. His brother Kyabagu was angry with him for not putting to death the chief who had killed King Mawanda ; Namugala, however, refused to do so, because he had made blood-brotherhood with this chief. He therefore abdicated in favour of his brother Kyabagu.

King  
Kyabagu.

25. Kyabagu was the brother of Namugala and son of Musanje. He put the chief *Mutamanyangamba* to death for killing his uncle, King Mawanda. The result was that the ghost of the chief haunted him and caused him endless trouble, until he had it caught by the medicine-men. These men complained later on, because the King made a feast on his restoration to health, and invited the common people, as well as themselves. Kyabagu, therefore, ordered the priests and the medicine-men to be killed, and destroyed some of the temples. This provoked the anger of the god Mukasa, and he sent a plague of rats which bit and killed numbers of the King's wives. The King was forced to make restitution to the gods, and to rebuild their temples, before the plague was stopped. Kyabagu went to war in Busoga some years afterwards, and decided to remain there ; he wished to have earth taken from Uganda into Busoga, in order to join the kingdoms. The *Mugema*, when he sent for the earth, was not allowed by the people to take it from Uganda ; so Kyabagu was angry with him and expelled him from his office, because he had not carried out his instructions. After this Kyabagu's herdsmen left their cattle to wander and eat up the crops in the garden of prince Sekafuwa, the King's son. The prince became angry, and warned the herdsmen three times to keep watch over the animals ; no notice was taken of the warning, so when one particular animal came into the garden again, the prince caught and killed it, and sent a portion of the meat to his Mother. When the King heard what his son had done, he was enraged ; he killed Sekafuwa's mother, threw her body down in the road, and then summoned the princes to come and see him. While they were on their way to the King, Sekafuwa, who was in front, saw the dead body lying, and when he came up to it, he recognised it as that of his mother. Full of indignation he returned home, collected

an army, fought against his father, and killed him. Kyabagu's remains were taken to Busiro and buried there, and his temple was built on Gombe hill.

26. After the death of Kyabagu his son Junju was made <sup>King</sup> king. Soon after he had been elected, one of the princes <sup>Junju.</sup> rebelled, and would have killed the King, had not his brother Semakokiro come to his rescue and killed the rebel. Junju conquered the whole of Budu and added it to Uganda. He was eventually killed by his brother Semakokiro, in revenge for the death of one of his wives, who was pregnant at the time of her death ; she had refused the King's overtures of marriage, so he put her to death. Semakokiro then left the country in anger, lived for a time in a forest where he raised an army, and when he was strong enough, he attacked his brother and killed him. Junju was buried on Merera hill, and his temple was built on Luwanga hill.

27. Semakokiro, the brother of Junju, and the son of <sup>King</sup> Kyabagu, succeeded Junju. He reigned many years, and <sup>Sema-</sup> moved his capital many times. He was the first King to <sup>kokiro.</sup> introduce cotton-goods into the country, but during his reign their use was restricted to princes, and even chiefs were prohibited from wearing them. He was a wealthy King, and had many huntsmen who brought in much ivory, with which he traded to the south of the Lake, buying in exchange cotton-goods and cowry-shells. His father Kyabagu had been the first person to introduce plates, cups and saucers, and glass into Uganda. Semakokiro lived to an advanced age. He weathered several rebellions, in which his son Kakungulu especially troubled him. The King heard through his chief *Kinyoro* of a medicine-man on the Islands of the Lake, who was exceedingly clever and could make very powerful fetiches ; he sent for him to come to the capital, on purpose to make him a fetich which would prevent Kakungulu from fighting against him. The medicine-man fearing the King refused to come, until *Kinyoro*, to reassure him, made blood-brotherhood with him, when he consented. When he had made the fetich, King Semakokiro told *Kinyoro* secretly to drown the medicine-man, lest he should make for Kakungulu a more powerful fetich ; but *Kinyoro* refused to

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carry out the instructions, because he had made blood-brotherhood with the medicine-man. The King then threatened *Kinyoro* that, unless he carried out his order, he must never return to court. So *Kinyoro* drowned the medicine-man, but soon afterwards the ghost tormented the murderer ; his legs swelled, and he died. The King too died within a short time from the same disease. Semakokiro was the first king who adopted the practice of burning the princes who were rivals for the throne. When he died, he was buried on Merera hill, and his temple was built on Kisimbiri hill.

King  
Kamanya.

28. Kamanya, the son of Semakokiro, became King after a severe battle with his brother Mutebi, whom a number of chiefs wished to place on the throne. His reign was marked by constant rebellions and disturbances. He killed his own sons from fear, and eventually (it was said) he was worried to death by the ghost of one of his sons. Another tradition says that he provoked the anger of Mukasa by having some canoes dragged over land to the river Nile, thus taking the god of the Lake on to the dry land. It is related that, when Kamanya wished to kill his brother Mutebi, who had fought against him, his own son Nakibinge cried and asked : " Why do you want to kill your brother ? what harm has he done ? " When this boy grew up, his father became afraid of him, and for this reason he ordered him to be put to death. The blame for dragging the canoes overland was put upon the chief *Sewankambo*, and the people wished to kill him, to make atonement to the god Mukasa. *Sewankambo* was accused of having bewitched the King and caused his illness, but he protested, and laid the blame upon the chiefs who had persuaded the King to kill his son. Nevertheless he was made the scapegoat, and was put to death. Kamanya had many chiefs and commoners put to death in order to try to turn the wrath of the god from himself, but all in vain. He died, and was buried on Merera hill, and his temple was built on Kasengeja hill.

King Suna  
Kalema.

29. Suna Kalema, the son of Kamanya, reigned after his father. It was during his reign that the Arabs were admitted into Uganda to trade ; they introduced firearms and gunpowder in exchange for ivory and slaves. The chief feature

of Suna's reign was the steady strengthening of his borders ; he also added fresh territories to Uganda. Suna made the neglect of certain sanitary conditions in the capital an offence punishable by death. When he had put a number of persons to death for breach of the rules in question, a certain medium named Kigemuzi began to speak disrespectfully of the King, saying that he did so by order of the gods. Kigemuzi was taken bound to the capital, and, contrary to custom, he was taken bound before the King, who asked him to give the oracle ; he refused to do so while bound, because (he said) it was contrary to custom to bind a medicine-man or a medium. The King in anger said : " Stitch up his mouth, if he refuses to speak " ; to this the medium replied : " Your mouth will be stitched up." This enraged the people who were present, and one of them struck Kigemuzi, who answered : " You too will be struck." The King then ordered the man to be removed, and that night the royal house was struck by lightning, and the King was scorched on his face and on one side of his body. Suna at once sent for the medium Kigemuzi, released him, and asked him why there had been this storm. The medium answered : " Because the god of thunder is angry at what you have done to me." The King then presented the man with women and cattle to make atonement for binding him, and the King's mother settled him on a large tract of land, in order to propitiate the gods, and to save her son from further harm. Suna died, and was buried in Busiro, and his temple was built on Wamaka hill.

30. Upon the death of Suna, the people choose his son Mutesa Mukabya to be King. He was the greatest of all the Kings of Uganda, not only in mind, but also in his progressive policy, for he was ambitious as well as able. Mutesa formed a regular standing army, and made a new chieftainship for the general or commander-in-chief, whom he called *Mujasi* ; he gave him the rank of one of the principal District-Chiefs. The troops were settled in every district, and had estates given to them in lieu of pay. In each district there was a chief in command of the troops who was given a similar title to that of the District-Chief. In Mutesa's reign the people were permitted to wear calico and all kinds of cotton

goods, which up to that time had been restricted to royalty and favourite chiefs. Mutesa would send a messenger to a chief with a piece of calico about six inches square, and this was the sign that the chief might begin to wear calico; in return the latter would pay large sums in cattle to the King



FIG. 34.—MUTESA'S QUEEN DĀMALI AND WOMEN.

for the privilege; and from that time onwards he would dress in calico instead of barkcloth. Guns were also brought into the country in numbers during this reign, and spears began to fall into disuse amongst wealthy people. The King's canoes went over the Lake to the Island Karagwe and to the mainland in the south, and brought over trade-goods, which were



exchanged for ivory and slaves. The King ceased to send people to death at the slaughter-places, and sent thousands of slaves to the Coast instead. Many people began to read the Koran, and some of them became nominal Mohammedans. It was also during Mutesa's reign that Speke paid his first visit to Uganda (in 1861), and later on Stanley (in 1875) also reached the country, and through his representations the Christian Missions were sent. Mutesa was the greatest and wisest of all the kings in his methods of carrying on war; he reduced the surrounding tribes to order, so that his rule extended over the whole of Busoga, over Koki, and over the Kiziba country to the south. He changed the status of the gods, and reduced the power of the priests from its unique position, and though he never entirely broke away from heathen customs, his faith in them was very limited. When he was ill, he gave instructions that his body was to be buried, and not embalmed, and that no one was to be killed to accompany his ghost into the other world. His jawbone was not removed, and no temple was built for him, but a large house was erected as his tomb.

31. On the death of Mutesa Mukabya, his son Mwanga was crowned. He was a man of a weak nature, sensual, and lacking in character. Soon after his accession the Mohammedan population (*i.e.* the natives who had adopted Islam), backed by the Arabs and Swahilis, tried to set up a Mohammedan kingdom, because they saw that the slave trade was doomed if the country became Christian. Meanwhile the King had begun his attacks upon the men of his own party, who were called "readers," and acting on instructions from the priests put many of them to death. The whole population therefore rose against Mwanga, and he was deposed, and fled to Kiziba. King Mwanga.

32. Kiwewa, a son of Mutesa, was then proclaimed King. He reigned for a few days only. The Arabs and native Mohammedans wished him to become a full member of their faith, but he refused to be circumcised; he was captured by them, and put into the stocks; and was eventually burnt to death in his house by the Mohammedan party. King Kiwewa.

33. The Mohammedans thereupon proclaimed Kalema, a son of Mutesa, King. They set traps to capture the Christians King Kalema

in order to kill them, and so strengthen their own power. This caused another division, and all the Christians fled into Ankole to the west, and also to the south of the Lake. Here they rallied and sought out Mwanga, who promised not to persecute anyone for his religious views. In the meantime the Mohammedans had captured and burnt many princesses to death, lest the Christians should take one of them, and proclaim her Queen according to European custom. When Mwanga's party was sufficiently strong, they crossed the lake, gathered their forces, and succeeded in driving Kalema from the country towards the north-west, where soon afterwards he contracted small-pox and died. Mwanga was reinstated, and he reigned once more until he rebelled against the British rule in 1897. He was then deposed by the British and exiled as a political prisoner to Seychelles, where he died.

34. Daudi Cwa, the son of Mwanga, an infant, was chosen king in 1898, and placed under Regents, subject to the British Protection. He is still (1911) King of Uganda.

## LIST OF THE KINGS.

1. Kintu=Nambi Nantululu of the Colobus-Monkey Clan (*Ngeye*)  
 2. Cwa Nabaka=Nakiwala of the Otter Clan.  
 Prince Kalimera=Wanyana of the Grasshopper Clan.  
 3. Kimera=Naku of the Civet-Cat Clan.  
 Prince Lumansi=Natembo of the Lungfish Clan.  
 4. Tembo=Najemba of the Otter Clan.  
 5. Kigala=Nabukala Nabuto of the Manis Clan=Nawampamba of the Mushroom Clan  
 6. Kiimba. Prince Wampamba=Nakaima of the Mushroom Clan.  
 7. Kaima=Nababingi of the Lungfish Clan.  
 8. Nakibinge = Namulondo of the = Najembo of the = Nasuna of the Lungfish Clan.  
 Mus'room Clan. Otter Clan.  
 9. Mulondo=Naku of the 10. Jemha. 11. Suna=Nalugwa of the Sheep Clan.  
 Civet-Cat Clan.  
 12. Sekamanya=Nabusu Nabagereka of the Mushroom Clan. 13. Kimbugwe.  
 14. Katerega=Namutebi of the Lungfish Clan.  
 15. Mutebi=Nabukalu Nabuto of the Manis Clan. 16. Juko=Nandaula of the Grasshopper Clan. 17. Kayemba Kaye.  
 18. Tebandeka.  
 19. Ndaula=Nagya of the 20. Kakilumwa Kairide of 21. Nakide Luiga of the Leopard Clan.  
 Elephant Clan. the Leopard Clan.  
 20. Kagulu. 21. Kikulwe.  
 22. Mawanda. P. Musanja=Nabulya Kalugwa of the Sheep Clan.  
 23. Mwanga. 24. Namugala. 25. Kyabagu=Nanteza of the Elephant Clan.  
 26. Junju. 27. Semakokiro=Ndwadewazibwa of the Grasshopper Clan.  
 28. Kamanya=Nakazi Kanyange of the Lungfish Clan.  
 29. Suna=Muganzilwaza of the Elephant Clan.  
 30. Mukabya Mutesa = Abisagi Bagalayaza of the Otter Clan. = Kiriba of the Lungfish Clan. = Ndiwbakani of the Sheep Clan  
 31. Danieri Mwanga=Evalini Kulabako of the Bushbuck Clan. 32. Kiwewa. 33. Kalema.  
 34. Daudi Cwa.

## CHAPTER VIII

### GOVERNMENT

Baganda  
objection  
to women  
rulers.

THE Baganda have a deeply rooted objection to women rulers. Though they accept the rights of the Queen (Lubuga), and of the King's Mother (Namasole) in their own districts, yet there has never been a Queen who sat on the throne; and when a prince was too young to govern the country, it was the Prime Minister who was appointed Regent. The people would not, however, suffer anyone to reign who was not of the blood royal; their Kings had to be princes whose parentage was well known, and whose fathers were at least the sons of a monarch. Princesses were forbidden to marry, and were prohibited from having children; accordingly the line of succession was secured through the males, and again, only those whose father had been King were eligible for the throne, except when the King had no son, or when the son was too young to rule. In some instances the succession was carried on through a brother of the King, in cases when the King's sons were too young to rule, or when, for some reason, a prince was rejected. Yet in such cases the sons of the first brother ultimately succeeded to the throne, and not the sons of the second brother who had stepped in as king during their minority.

The  
King's  
powers.

The King was a despot; under ordinary circumstances he took one or more of his chiefs into his confidence, and asked their advice, but if this was contrary to his wishes, he disregarded it, and followed his own desires. The details of government were carried on by a mixed body of chiefs, with the King at their head; they met from time to time at the

King's pleasure. The King sounded a drum in the evening, or in the early morning; the chiefs then assembled, with the *Katikiro* at their head, and went into the royal enclosure to the courthouse called *Blange*.

There were twelve important chieftainships called *Bakungu* or *Abamasaza*; two chiefs, the *Katikiro* and the *Kimbugwe* who held higher rank than the District-Chiefs, had no districts, but, like the King, had estates in each district, and certain privileges to be mentioned later. The country was divided into ten large districts (amasaza), each ruled over by a chief; these were divided from one another by rivers or swamps, while others had valleys, or gardens, which marked their boundaries. There never appears to have been any difficulty arising between chiefs of districts about boundary demarcations, not even during the early days of Mutesa, when the people were said to have numbered some three millions.

The principal  
Chiefs.

The principal chiefs were:—

1. The *Katikiro*, who was Prime Minister and Chief Justice;
2. The *Kimbugwe*, who had charge of the King's umbilical cord;
3. The *Kago*, who held the office of *Sabadu* to the King, and governed the Kyadondo district;
4. The *Mukwenda*, who held the office of *Sabagabo* to the King, and governed the district of Singo;
5. The *Sekibobo*, who held the office of *Sabawali* to the King, and governed the Kyagwe district;
6. The *Kangawo*, who held the office of *Mwogozi* to the King, and governed the Bulemezi district;
7. The *Mugema*, called the King's father (Nakazade), who was the "*Katikiro* of the Dead," and governed the Busiro district;
8. The *Kaima*, who governed the Mawokota district;
9. The *Kitunzi*, who governed the Gomba district;
10. The *Pokino*, who governed the Budu district;
11. The *Kasuju*, who governed the Busuju district;
12. The *Katambala*, who governed the Butambala district.

The latter ten chiefs administered the country, and rendered accounts for its management to the *Katikiro*, and through

him to the King and the chiefs assembled in council with him ; the assembly was called the *Lukiko*.

Tributary  
countries.

Besides the chiefs of these ten districts, there were other kings and chiefs subsidiary to Uganda. In the north was Busoga, which was a mine of wealth, yielding slaves, cattle, and ivory. The *Sekibobo*, chief of Kyagwe, was also Governor of Busoga, and it was he who arranged for the Basoga<sup>1</sup> to come and visit the King. The Basoga never entered Uganda without bringing large numbers of goats and cows as presents, and they often brought slaves too. The King frequently demanded cattle and women of them, and thus obtained much wealth. Whenever a principal chief in Busoga died, there was much quarrelling as to who should be his successor ; and these disputes brought wealth to Uganda, whither each aspirant came to have his claims investigated.

Koki, to the south-west of Budu, was another tributary country, and was taxed each year in iron hoes and cowry-shells. Koki has had, from time immemorial, its own king and governing body (*Lukiko*) ; but being unable to withstand the raids of the Baganda, it became a tributary state.

To the west there was the pastoral country Ankole, which though it was never subjugated, yet sent from time to time large herds of cattle, in order to keep the peace with the kings of Uganda.

To the south of Budu, the Kiziba country paid its yearly tax of cowry-shells and trade-goods, which came into that country from the south. Both the Kiziba country and Koki were ruled by the *Pokino*, who was the chief of Budu.

The  
*Katikiro*.

Foremost of the chiefs was the *Katikiro*, who combined two distinct offices, that of Prime Minister and that of Chief Justice, and in some instances held also the office of a District-Chief when the office became vacant, the King having the right to appoint to it any person whom he thought suitable. It was not often that a king deposed his *Katikiro* ; he had, however, the power to do so, and in a few extreme cases this power has been exercised. The *Katikiro* built his enclosure near the main entrance to the royal enclosure, and in common with the *Kimbugwe*, he had the right of entrance to the inner

<sup>1</sup> Busoga is the country, Basoga the people of the country.

courts, in order to visit the King and to confer with him privately on State affairs. The *Katikiro* was seldom kept waiting for an audience because the King knew that he would have some important matter to communicate. None of the chiefs, except the *Kimbugwe*, were allowed to have an interview with the King, without first informing the *Katikiro* of their desire. All matters of State were first taken to the *Katikiro*: and all cases, which were beyond the power of the chiefs to decide, were brought to him. He either settled them, or in cases when there was a difference of opinion after he had given his decision, he referred them to the King. The *Katikiro's* enclosure was a very large one, and it had to be maintained in state, because of the office which he held; he had to keep open house for everyone who visited him, and who wished to stay for a meal. He was never expected to buy meat from the ordinary market, but, like the King, he kept his own butcher, and killed all the meat for his own table. Inside his enclosure he had courts very much like those of the King, and waiting-rooms, and gatekeepers, so that it was impossible for anyone to enter his inner courts without being announced. Certain people were admitted to these courts by the gatekeepers, who had received orders to open the gates to them; such were either friends, or important chiefs. Other visitors had to wait in the outer courts until they had been announced; thereupon they received from the *Katikiro* the required permission to enter. The *Katikiro* tried cases in his court and carried the decision to the King, who might either accept the verdict without any further hearing, or might direct the same case to be tried before his own court.

There were estates in each district which belonged to the *Katikiro*, upon which no State tax was levied; the *Katikiro* collected his own yearly taxes, at the time when those of the State were collected.

The office of *Kimbugwe* stood next in importance in the country. The *Kimbugwe* had the care of the King's umbilical cord, called the "Twin," and also the oversight over the royal fetiches. In his enclosure, which was adjacent to that of the King, there was a temple built for the "Twin," which was supposed to have the ghost of the afterbirth attached to it, and

The office  
of *Kim-  
bugwe*.

of which the *Kimbugwe* was the guardian and priest. He was responsible for the upkeep of this temple with its outbuildings. Once a month he carried the "Twin" into the royal presence, and placed it before the King, who took it out of its wrappings of barkcloth, and after inspecting it returned it to *Kimbugwe*, who wrapped it up and restored it to the temple. This was done at each new moon; after the "Twin" had been taken to the King, it had to be exposed in the doorway of the temple for the moon to shine upon it, and it was also anointed with butter. The *Kimbugwe*, in virtue of his office, was a favourite with the King, and was admitted to his presence at all times; he also assisted with his advice in State-councils. He had his estates scattered over the country, some in each district, like the *Katikiro*. When the King died, the *Kimbugwe* went out of office, because it still remained his duty to guard the "Twin" of the deceased King; and a new *Kimbugwe* had accordingly to be appointed for the "Twin" of the new King. The ex-*Kimbugwe* was given smaller estates from the number of those set apart for the temple of the deceased King. Both the *Katikiro* and the *Kimbugwe* were called "Kings" by the peasants, because they themselves paid no tribute, but when the tribute was collected, they sent their representatives with the King's messengers, to see that the District-Chiefs returned the correct sums of tribute paid by the people of their district. Both these chiefs were exempt from contributing labourers to keep up the royal buildings; the *Katikiro* had to keep up the buildings of the King's wife *Nanzigu*, who lived outside the royal enclosure; and the *Kimbugwe* had to keep up the temple of the "Twin." Their retainers did no work for the chief of the district in which the estate lay, though a few of their number were sent for State-work upon the roads, or to rebuild the temples, when these fell into decay.

In addition to these two statesmen there were the Queen and the King's Mother, whose offices were superior to those of the chiefs. These ladies ranked below the King, yet their powers over their own people and estates were absolute, and both took the title of *Kabaka* like the King.

The Queen had her estates in each district, and she

The  
Queen.



appointed chiefs, with titles similar to those given by the King to the District-Chiefs. She held her own court apart from that of her brother the King, though she consulted him in difficult cases, where other men beside her own people were concerned. She had powers of life and death, and did not hesitate to put a person to death if there was the slightest reason for doing so.

The King's Mother (Namasole) also had estates in each district, and held her own court; she was a woman who, in virtue of being the King's Mother, was raised to power and given great honour in the land. Like the Queen, she was carried on men's shoulders when travelling; indeed, it was not etiquette for her to walk for any distance when once she was raised to the office of *Namasole*. She was not permitted to marry again, though it was well known that she had paramours. In early times, any favourite of the King from any clan might be appointed as guardian to the King's Mother (Namasole); but this was subsequently changed, owing to one of the Kings' Mothers having taken the guardian to be her husband; after this a man from her own clan, whom she regarded as her brother, was always chosen as guardian. Custom did not permit her to have any children after she had been raised to office; but, as there were many medicine-men who knew how to prevent such accidents, the King's Mother did not hesitate to follow her inclinations, even at the risk of incurring her son's anger. If the King heard that any man was becoming too familiar with his Mother, he ordered him to be executed. When the King's Mother had the title *Namasole* conferred on her, she removed to a hill away from her son; this hill was named Lusaka after the name given to the hill upon which Wanyana, King Kimera's mother, had rested when she came from Bunyoro to Uganda. When the King's Mother died, she was buried on the hill on which she had lived, and a member of the Dog Clan became guardian of her tomb.

The  
King's  
Mother.

The chiefs were required to spend a large portion of their time in the capital, and they had to ask the King's permission to absent themselves from the Council (Lukiko) if their presence was required in their own district. When a chief

A chief's  
Representative.

went away from the capital, he left there his representative, who assumed his title, and managed his State affairs; this representative (Musigire) might either be another chief or he might be a trusted servant of long standing. The chiefs (Bamasaza) had large tracts of country under their control, but they were responsible to the King and to the Council (Lukiko) for the exercise of this control. All the land belonged to the King, and he alone could dispose of it to any chief or private person. The lands known as *Butaka*, which were the freehold estates of the clans for burial purposes, were alone exempt from this rule, and over these the King exercised no control beyond seeing that they contributed the labour due from them to the State, and paid their taxes. When a person died on one of these estates, his successor, who was chosen by the clan, had to obtain the King's sanction before he could take possession of the land. The District-Chiefs (Basaza) were appointed by the King, though he generally left the *Katikiro* and the District-Chiefs to nominate some person to a vacant post; if their choice pleased him, he confirmed it; if not, they had to select someone else. If the King wished to depose any person from a chieftainship, he could do so summarily; usually, however, he would trump up some charge against the man, imprison him, and then depose him, instructing the Council (Lukiko) meanwhile to nominate someone else. When a chief was deposed, he was not allowed to remove any property, but might only take his wives and cattle. But if he was deposed because he had been accused of some misdemeanour, the King also captured his wives and cattle, provided that he could find them. The wives and family would at once flee to places of safety when they knew that the chief had been deposed; and they would take away as much of his property as they could remove without being caught. When a chief was promoted to a new office, he was required to give up all his possessions except the moveable goods; nor did he receive any compensation, either for buildings or for any improvements which he might have made. This system deterred men from planting trees of slow growth, such as coffee-trees, upon official estates, because they would not reap any benefit from them

such trees they planted only upon the freehold estates of the clan. A chief was required to keep his official estates in good order, or he would be fined and deposed, but the benefit



FIG. 35.—A ROAD AND BRIDGE THROUGH A SWAMP.

of any improvements he might make, or of the houses he might build, was reaped by his successor.

Each District-Chief had to maintain in good order a road, Roads and their up-keep. some four yards wide, reaching from the Capital to his country seat ; in some instances, as in the case of Budu, this

road was nearly a hundred miles long. A chief's country-seat was more like a small town than a village, for there he was supreme, living in great state, and having a large enclosure in which there were often hundreds of women and slaves. In front of his main entrance a wide space was cleared, varying in size according to his rank, but often two hundred yards square; this was kept free from weeds or grass. In the provinces the District-Chief was the principal magistrate, and he had his sub-chiefs to assist him in trying cases in their districts. The sub-chiefs were independent of the chief in



FIG. 36.—MAKING A BRIDGE AND ROAD IN A SWAMP.

managing their own portion of land; they ordered their men to work upon roads, to bridge swamps, or to build for them; but they had to consult their District-Chief about matters concerning the State and State work. The sub-chiefs were also appointed by the King and by the Council (Lukiko) to their office, and they could not be deposed except by the King's consent. Each sub-chief had to keep in good repair the road from the District-Chief's residence to his own residence; thus it was possible to reach all parts of the country with comparative ease. The rivers, owing to the growth in them of papyrus and grass, often formed large swamps, some-

times several miles wide, and it became necessary to make paths of raised earth through them, with bridges thrown over the actual streams. If the streams were too wide for the people to bridge, they had to make a long detour till they could find a place sufficiently narrow to bridge. Sometimes no such place could be found, and then the only thing done was to break down the papyrus stems over their own roots, and so form a precarious bridge. To cross a stream upon this kind of bridge was not always safe for travellers; frequently people lost their footing, and were drowned. In all the larger streams there were currents of water under the roots of the papyrus; so that if a person made a false step, and went down, he was caught by the current, and was almost certain to lose his life, because the roots prevented him from rising to the surface. Such accidents were attributed to the Spirit of the River, and no one attempted to assist a person who had gone under, because it was thought that the Spirit needed him, and would wreak vengeance upon the would-be rescuer.

In each district there was a supreme court, at the District-Chief's residence or near it; to this court cases were referred from the sub-chiefs, when the parties tried were dissatisfied with the decision. Every chief, even a petty chief, with only a dozen followers, was able to hold a court and to try cases among his own people. The people could, however, take their cases from one court to another, until eventually they came before the *Katikiro* or the King. District Courts.

In the capital the chiefs looked to the *Katikiro* for orders about work, which would consist either in keeping up their own buildings, or in clearing roads. The *Katikiro* would tell the King when it became necessary to have the roads cleared, and a man would be appointed as overseer of this work. This office was always eagerly desired by the chiefs because there was profit to be made from it. The man appointed could sublet it if he was a chief, and yet keep the emoluments from the office for himself. Every person called to do any State-work had to pay the overseer a sum of cowry-shells; during King Suna's reign the amount demanded was ten cowry-shells, in later times this was augmented to one Roads in the Capital.

hundred. If the workman had not the sum to hand, he was required to give something else, such as a barkcloth, or an equivalent in food or beer. Until this had been paid, no workman was allowed to begin his work, but unless he made a start within a given time, he was fined. If he was



FIG. 37.—A ROAD IN THE CAPITAL.

unable to obtain the amount by barter, or to borrow it, and still delayed making a start, his wife, or some other member of his family, would be taken as hostage, until he should bring the necessary sum; the woman or child thus taken would be required to work for the chief during the

time of detention. This same custom held good with all State-labour. After the task had been begun, the workers had to bring food and beer from time to time for the overseer. Naturally, therefore, the office of overseer for road-making, or for building, was one which the people liked to obtain, and for the conferring of which they thanked the King and the *Katikiro* profusely. The roads in the capital were kept in order by those whose enclosures adjoined them ; and as there was little traffic beyond that of foot passengers, and these wore no shoes, there was little to be done after the roads were once made, except to guard them against the guttering from the rains and the growth of weeds and grass. The principal roads were about twenty yards wide, others were narrower, while the small branch-roads were not more than three yards wide. The *Katikiro* would send orders into every part of the country, telling the people to come and repair the roads. Each house had to pay twenty-five cowry-shells to the man whom the *Katikiro* sent to bring in the workmen ; the King took two-thirds of these shells, and the *Katikiro* one-third, but the latter had to divide his amount again, giving one-third to the chiefs who supplied the labourers, and one-third to the overseer, and keeping one-third for himself. Any person who passed along a road, while it was being repaired, might be seized by the workmen, and forced to work for a time, before he was permitted to continue his way.

The sanitary arrangements of the country were most primitive. Each chief had a cesspool in his enclosure ; these pits were two or three feet in diameter, and six or eight feet deep ; they were covered with strong timbers, a mound of earth was raised on them, and a round hole eight inches in diameter was left open in the top. The Baganda were most particular that no one should see them when they went to these places, and no one would tell where a person was when he had gone there. Each cesspool was surrounded by a reed fence, and those of chiefs were also roofed over. Peasants had no sanitary arrangements at all ; they simply turned aside on waste land, or went into the garden, and afterwards covered the place over ; they had strong objections against using a common cesspool ; nor did they like to go to

Sanitary  
arrange-  
ments.

the same place twice, giving as their reason for this the fear of being seen by an enemy.

Tax-collecting. When the time to collect the taxes was drawing near, the King, the *Katikiro*, and the *Kimbugwe* fixed the exact date, and it was then announced in the Council (Lukiko) that the taxes would be collected on such-and-such a date. The King appointed the special tax-collector for each district; to these district-collectors, the *Katikiro*, the *Kimbugwe*, the Queen, and the King's Mother each added their own representatives, and the District-Chief also added a representative. These six men who were appointed to a district went to each part of it; the principal sub-chiefs were first visited by them in person, but they chose and sent other messengers to each of the less important chiefs. The King's tax-collector and his associates returned to the District-Chief's enclosure, where they were entertained while the work was being carried out by their men. The first thing to be done was to count the houses in each sub-district, and to ascertain the number of the inhabitants; the tax-collector would then settle with each chief what amount he was expected to send to the King. One cowry-shell was brought by the collector's assistants to represent each house, and after these had been counted, the assistants went back to collect the tax. The amount usually demanded was a fixed number of cattle from each sub-chief, and a fixed number of barkcloths and one hundred cowry-shells from each peasant; of the smaller chiefs each paid a number of goats and also a few hoes. It frequently took two months, or more, to collect the taxes, because the barkcloths and hoes had to be made, and the cattle had to be collected. When this was accomplished, each servant took his amount on the appointed day to the District-Chief; the cowry-shells and barkcloths were counted and tied up in bundles, while the cattle were sent on ahead to travel slowly to the capital. The King's tax-collector took the whole amount to the *Katikiro*, who had to examine it, and to hear the details as to the number of houses and people in each sub-district, and as to how many barkcloths and cowry-shells had been collected from them. If the amount was correct the *Katikiro* took the whole to the



King; if it was wrong, the tax-collector was required to return to the district and to gather what was missing, according to instructions which he received from the *Katikiro*. The chief of a district received a portion of the taxes for himself and for his sub-chiefs; the King took half for himself, while the *Katikiro*, the *Kimbugwe*, the Queen, and the King's Mother also had their portions. Each sub-chief was given a small portion of the amount which came from his own district; the King, the Queen, the King's



FIG. 38.—CARRYING LOADS OF COWRY-SHELLS FOR THE KING'S TAX.

Mother, the *Katikiro*, and the *Kimbugwe* kept the whole of what came from their own estates, in addition to the portion which they received of the taxes from the entire country. The tributary States paid their tribute through the chiefs under whom they were placed, making their payments in cattle, slaves, ivory, cowry-shells, salt, hoes, etc.

From time to time the King would send out special messengers to collect boys and girls for the royal enclosure; and each chief would have to supply a number according to the population of his district. The messengers made a

Taxation  
in boys  
and girls.

census of the population in a particular district; they obtained their information chiefly by getting one person to tell about another; and finally they settled with the District-Chief, who was to contribute a child, and who was to be spared. The boys and girls were then taken to the King; he retained as many as he wanted, and sent the others to his Mother, to the Queen, and to the *Katikiro*, and the *Kimbugwe*.

uilding  
the  
yal en-  
osure.

A similar method was adopted to obtain labour for building in the royal enclosure. Each District-Chief had certain buildings in the enclosure allotted to him, which he was required to keep in repair. When a house required to be re-built, the King appointed an overseer, and the latter went to the District-Chief concerned, and settled with him how many men would be required for the work; the overseer then collected the men from the sub-chiefs according to the arrangements with the District-Chief, commenced the building, and fined those who did not work or who did their work badly.

chiefs and  
b-  
iefs.

Under each chief there were a number of sub-chiefs, who were under his authority and worked for him, and from whom he also obtained men for State-labour. On his private estates a chief liked to place members of his own clan, especially of his own section of the clan; he also gave, when it was possible, sub-chieftainships to members of his clan. In his enclosure he had numbers of women from his clan, in addition to the women whom he received as presents to be his wives or his slaves; these free women also helped to provide food for him and his retainers. Women often formed the principal item of a man's wealth; they were not so conspicuous as cattle, and did not excite the envy of his District-Chief, or of the King, as was the case when a man became possessed of large herds of cattle.

freemen.

Men who went to live on the private lands of a chief were called his freemen (*basenze*); they worked or fought for him in return for the land which they tenanted. Peasants did not care to live long in the capital, because food was scarce and because the danger of being seized and put to death was great; they only went there when they were obliged to do so

to perform some work, and they returned to the country as soon as they were free to do so. Chiefs had to live for months at a time in the capital in order to attend the Council (Lukiko); if they failed to do so, they were accused of disloyalty, and were deposed and possibly robbed of all their possessions.



FIG. 39.—NATIVE HOUSE WITH PINNACLE.

A District-Chief never interfered between a sub-chief and any of his men; he held him responsible for the deeds of his own men, just as the King held the District-Chief responsible for the whole of his district.

The district of Kyadondo was formerly much larger than it is now; at one time it comprised the whole of Bulemezi. The *Kago*, the chief of Kyadondo, took precedence in Council

The  
Kyadondo  
district.

(Lukiko) of all the other District-Chiefs, owing to the special duties which he performed for the King. The *Kago*, as *Sabadu*, had to fulfil the taboos for the King, such as death- and birth-ceremonies, and those after the coronation—ceremonies which the King could not perform in person, because some of them required the person who performed them to be secluded for months. The *Kago* superintended the servants in the royal enclosure, which necessitated his constant presence in the capital. For many years, too, the capitals of the Kings have been established in the *Kago's* district, which has added to his importance, since it has subjected all the chiefs to him in certain matters, their town-residences being in his district. The office of *Kago* lasted during a King's lifetime, and ended with his death, because this particular chief had to go to the temple of a deceased King to be his *Kago* there; and a new *Kago* had accordingly to be appointed with the new King.

The second chief in Kyadondo, under the *Kago*, was the *Munyuuka*, who took the title of *Sekyoyo*. In each district it was the custom to build the residence of the principal chief on the border nearest to the capital; the second chief resided a little further away, towards the middle part of the district, while the others were placed at such distances from the principal chief as would enable them to supervise every part of the district.

The chiefs of Kyadondo under the *Kago* were :—

- |  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. <i>Sekyoyo</i> , who was the <i>Munyuuka</i> .  | 2. <i>Sabakaki</i> .     |
|  | to the <i>Kago</i> .     |
| 3. <i>Senkole</i> , who was the <i>Sabadu</i> .    | 4. <i>Mukubankwata</i> . |
| 5. <i>Kakembo</i> .                                | 6. <i>Wakikungu</i> .    |
| 7. <i>Kinyolo</i> .                                | 8. <i>Sebata</i> .       |
| 9. <i>Omutete</i> .                                | 10. <i>Nambogo</i> .     |
| 11. <i>Sengobo</i> , who was the <i>Gubagaba</i> . | 12. <i>Mpingi</i> .      |

*Sekyoyo* governed nearly half the Kyadondo district, and he was responsible to the King and Council (Lukiko) for the behaviour of the sub-chiefs in his part of the district. In all matters of State when there was work to be done, or a tax to be collected, he had to obey his District-Chief, the *Kago*, and to help him find the labour, and the like.

*Sabakaki* was the chief set over the pages and boys in the royal enclosure; he was responsible for their conduct to the *Kago*, his District-Chief, and through the *Kago* to the King. In State matters he too stood immediately under the *Kago*, and was not responsible to the *Mumyuka*.

*Senkole* was the chief who had charge of the sacred fuse for the sacred fire; he was one of the King's special servants as caretaker of the fire. In State affairs it was his duty to supply labour and to collect taxes at the bidding of the *Kago*.

Each of the other chiefs mentioned had to obey the orders of the *Kago* in matters of State, though the *Kago* could not compel him to do any private work for himself, such as building his houses, or erecting his fences, or collecting his private taxes. The *Kago* had no power to depose these chiefs, nor when one died or was deposed, could he appoint another person to fill the office; the *Katikiro* and the chiefs suggested to the King the person most suitable for any vacant office, and the decision rested with the King.

When any office fell vacant, even if it was one of the superior chieftainships, it was not essential that a successor from the same clan should be appointed. In cases when a chief fell in battle, or when he was a favourite of the King, it was the custom to appoint his son, or at least someone from the same branch of his clan, as his successor. It was, however, within the King's power to appoint any member of the clan, or indeed a person from another clan altogether. Still, in his own district a chief had great power, and no sub-chief would think of slighting his superior in any way; and every case on appeal was expected to pass through the chief's court before it went to the *Katikiro*, or to the King.

Singo was one of the largest districts in the country, but was always somewhat sparsely populated, owing to the close proximity of the Banyoro, and the raids which they made upon Singo. In recent times a large portion has been taken from it to form a new district, which is called Bwekula.

The Singo district.

The principal chief of Singo was the *Mukwenda*, who was shield-bearer to the King. He had to observe a taboo each full moon, namely, to abstain from food from noon of the day

of the full moon until the following morning, and also to live apart from his wives during that time. "It is full moon; the *Mukwenda* may not eat," was a saying among the people. The *Mukwenda's* country seat was called *Mityana*; it was situated on the shore of the small lake *Wamala*.<sup>1</sup>

The leading chiefs under the *Mukwenda* were:—

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. <i>Omuterega</i> or <i>Mwemba</i> , who         | 2. <i>Kajongolo</i> , who was |
| was the <i>Munyuka</i> .                           | the <i>Sabadu</i> .           |
| 3. <i>Sekiwala</i> , who was the <i>Sabagabo</i> . |                               |

The *Mukwenda's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were:—

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Omuterega</i> . | 2. <i>Omujuuna</i> . |
| 3. <i>Mujumbula</i> . | 4. <i>Lusundo</i> .  |

*Mwemba's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Mulere</i> .    | 2. <i>Kidimbo</i> . |
| 3. <i>Luimbazi</i> .  | 4. <i>Omukuta</i> . |
| 5. <i>Segirinya</i> . |                     |

*Luimbazi's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>Omuwagusa</i> .  | 2. <i>Omuwalula</i> . |
| 3. <i>Omukwakula</i> . |                       |

*Omuwagusa's* sub-chief was:—

*Omunakulya*.

It was the duty of the chief *Kajongolo* to take the fire (*kasiki*) from the temporary house in which each new King lived, while mourning in *Busiro*, and to carry it to *Bunyoro*.<sup>2</sup>

*Kajongolo's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>Kagolo</i> .   | 2. <i>Omujuumbula</i> . |
| 3. <i>Omuganda</i> . |                         |

*Kagolo's* sub-chief was:—

*Omunyenya*.

*Sekiwala's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                     |                    |
|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>Omunaku</i> . | 2. <i>Natigo</i> . |
| 3. <i>Omutesa</i> . | 4. <i>Kaira</i> .  |
| 5. <i>Kawula</i> .  |                    |

Kyagwe  
district.

The *Kyagwe* district was regarded as the richest, most fertile, and most prosperous in the kingdom. It not only had

<sup>1</sup> In olden times the islands of the lake were densely peopled, and there was an important temple to the god *Wamala* on the shore of the lake, whither the King periodically sent human sacrifices. The lake was traversed by dug-out canoes, and the people on the islands lived chiefly by fishing.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 109, 209.

the best gardens, but also good fishing-grounds, good hunting in the large forests, and also outlets for the food supplies in the numerous markets along the Lake shore, which were frequented by the people from the Islands and from Busoga.<sup>1</sup> The chief, the *Sekibobo*, had the oversight of Busoga; and whenever the Basoga came into Uganda, the people of the district benefited by their visits. Most of the chiefs of the district had their huntsmen, who captured elephants, and paid their masters in ivory for the privilege of being allowed to hunt on their estates. Again, the Banyoro and the Bakedi, when not actively hostile, were ready to barter goods along their frontiers, and thus added to the wealth of the district. The *Sekibobo's* country seat was at Mukono.

The *Sekibobo's* principal chiefs were :—

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>Nanutwe</i> , the <i>Mumyuka</i> .        | 2. <i>Nanfumbambi</i> , the <i>Sabadu</i> . |
| 3. <i>Katenda</i> , the <i>Sabagabo</i> .       | 4. <i>Mulondo</i> , the <i>Sabawali</i> .   |
| 5. <i>Omunyuwa</i> , the <i>Mutuba Mukulu</i> . | 6. <i>Mutoro</i> , the <i>Mutuba Muto</i> . |

The *Sekibobo's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were :—

- |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>Omwanga</i> .   | 2. <i>Omutola</i> .   |
| 3. <i>Omunywa</i> .   | 4. <i>Kikulu</i> .    |
| 5. <i>Mugogo</i> .    | 6. <i>Kajugujwe</i> . |
| 7. <i>Omutomera</i> . |                       |

*Nanutwe's* sub-chiefs were :—

- |                            |                             |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Omutakabya</i> .     | 2. <i>Omusanjufu</i> .      |
| 3. <i>Omuwanula</i> .      | 4. <i>Bude</i> .            |
| 5. <i>Mubanda</i> .        | 6. <i>Mondo</i> .           |
| 7. <i>Mande Ekabembe</i> . | 8. <i>Mbazira Ebulimu</i> . |

*Nanfumbambi's* sub-chiefs were :—

- |                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Nakirindisa</i> . | 2. <i>Mukakanya</i> .      |
| 3. <i>Naluma</i> .      | 4. <i>Kigi Ebrwanika</i> . |
| 5. <i>Kamyuka</i> .     |                            |

*Mulondo's* sub-chiefs were :—

- |                             |                      |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Omutakubankwata</i> . | 2. <i>Omutyowa</i> . |
| 3. <i>Ngango</i> .          |                      |

The Bulemezi district was at one time part of the Bulemezi Kyadondo district; King Mawanda divided it off from <sup>district.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Busoga is the name of the country; Basoga is the name of the people.

Kyadondo, and made it a separate district of the first rank, because its chief, *Mwogozi*, was a wealthy man, and had built one of the largest houses in the royal enclosure, which he called *Muzibu*. The task of building the King's large houses was only imposed upon District-Chiefs; and as *Mwogozi* had been promoted to do this work, the King also made his district independent, and promoted him to the rank of being one of the principal chiefs, and changed his title to that of *Kangawo*. The district is very fertile and has some of the best pasturage in the country. Cattle thrive upon the grass, and the brackish water found there seems to be good for them. Until King Kamanya's reign a large portion of the district belonged to Bunyoro, the part known as Luwero being the latest portion to be subjugated. The *Kangawo's* principal chiefs were:—

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Nsege</i> , the <i>Mumyuka</i> .   | 2. <i>Kisibika</i> , the <i>Sabadu</i> .                         |
| 3. <i>Masiki</i> , the <i>Sabawali</i> . | 4. <i>Namaguzi</i> or <i>Nankyama</i> ,<br>the <i>Sabagabo</i> . |

The *Kangawo's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were:—

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Mukuna</i> .    | 2. <i>Omutambuzi</i> . |
| 3. <i>Nakatanza</i> . | 4. <i>Kibale</i> .     |
| 5. <i>Mbaja</i> .     | 6. <i>Lubobi</i> .     |
| 7. <i>Namuguzi</i> .  | 8. <i>Mututumuzi</i> . |
| 9. <i>Magato</i> .    | 10. <i>Nabugwamu</i> . |

*Nsege's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Omuwambya</i> . | 2. <i>Omukangula</i> . |
| 3. <i>Omunyenya</i> . |                        |

*Kisibika's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Omulema</i> . | 2. <i>Omubanda</i> . |
| 3. <i>Kasamba</i> . | 4. <i>Omusonyi</i> . |

*Kisibika's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were:—

- |                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. <i>Kikoja</i> .  | 2. <i>Omukasa</i> . |
| 3. <i>Omusuna</i> . |                     |

*Nankyama's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Omujebejo</i> . | 2. <i>Omumera</i> .    |
| 3. <i>Omutabula</i> . | 4. <i>Omusambula</i> . |

Busiro  
district.

Busiro, which means the district of the graves, contains all the temples of the kings; it is important for this reason, though it is a small district in comparison with most of the



others. The chief, the *Mugema*, was one of the few hereditary chiefs in the country. He held the office in virtue of one of his forefathers having nursed and brought back to Uganda King Kimera, who, during his infancy, was in great danger of being killed in Bunyoro; Uganda was also at the time in danger of being left without an heir to the throne. Thereupon not only had the *Mugema* the chieftainship conferred upon him, but it was made hereditary in his clan. The *Mugema* by custom lived on a site separated from the King's hill by a stream of water. His chief office was that of *Katikiro* to the dead, an important part of his duty being the supervision of the temples in his district and of the estates attached to them. In early times the honour of greeting the King standing was conferred upon the *Mugema*. He was not allowed to eat any food which had been cooked in the royal enclosure, because he was "Father of the King." The King sent him living animals when he wished to give him a present; the *Mugema* might, however, have meals with the King's Mother, and with her sister, *Nabikande*, if he wished to do so.

The *Mugema's* principal chiefs were:—

1. *Senkezi*, the *Mumyuka*.
2. *Kabwege*, the *Sabagabo*.
3. *Makamba*, the *Sabadu*.

The *Mugema's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were:—

1. *Senkezi*.
2. *Owekasubi*.
3. *Wagumbulizi*.
4. *Gunju*.
5. *Walusimbi*.
6. *Sebasalire*, the chief herdsman.

*Senkezi's* sub-chiefs were:—

1. *Omutawonga*.
2. *Omukulu*.
3. *Sempala*.

*Kabwege's* sub-chiefs were:—

1. *Kasuja*.
2. *Nankere*.
3. *Mwotansubi*.

*Makamba's* sub-chiefs were:—

1. *Gabunga*.
2. *Wampona*.
3. *Semandu*.
4. *Mugulu*.
5. *Nalungulu*.
6. *Omukebezi*.
7. *Munawa*.
8. *Sebugwao*.
9. *Mutawanvu*.

*Gabunga* was the Admiral of the Canoes ; he controlled all the traffic on the Lake, and was an important person on the Islands. He had many chiefs on the Islands, who owned his authority, and hundreds of canoes. *Gabunga* had in some respects quite as important an office as a District-Chief ; his sub-chiefs were numbered by the score, and the more important among them had estates on the mainland, which would enable them to visit the capital, when necessary, without being dependent upon friends for hospitality. While the main group of Islands, called the Sese Islands, belonged to Uganda, the natives of Buvuma, the large island in the northern part of the Lake bordering on Busoga, not only resisted the attacks of the Baganda, but often made counter attacks upon their canoes, and at times even made raids into their country. This island was not subdued until the British came into Uganda. Again, in the southern part of the Lake there were many independent Islands, and *Gabunga* was often called upon to furnish the means of transport for troops on their way to attack them. He also provided canoes for people who wished to visit the more remote parts of the mainland, which could be reached more easily by water than by making a long over-land journey.

Mawo-  
kota  
district.

Mawokota was a small district, bounded on each side by other districts. The chief took the title of the *Kaima* ; his principal chiefs were :—

1. *Mugoloba*, the *Mumyuka*.
2. *Kawungu*, the *Sabadu*.
3. *Namwama*, the *Sabarwali*.
4. *Ndugwa*, the *Sabagabo*.

The *Kaima's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were :—

1. *Magunda*.
2. *Jumba*.
3. *Luwoma*.

*Mugoloba's* sub-chiefs were :—

1. *Semfuma*.
2. *Semwanga*.
3. *Kalinda*.
4. *Katega*.

*Kawungu's* sub-chiefs were :—

1. *Kakinda*.
2. *Mubikula*.
3. *Kabazi*.
4. *Magambo*.
5. *Kirunda*.
6. *Kabogosa*.
7. *Nsamba*.

*Namwama's* sub-chiefs were :—

- |                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>Magimbi.</i>  | 2. <i>Omuquera.</i>  |
| 3. <i>Namukoka.</i> | 4. <i>Nawandugu.</i> |
| 5. <i>Setuba.</i>   | 6. <i>Katono.</i>    |
| 7. <i>Musembwa.</i> | 8. <i>Nsimbi.</i>    |
| 9. <i>Kisero.</i>   | 10. <i>Kikomeko.</i> |
| 11. <i>Nampagi.</i> | 12. <i>Kyemwa.</i>   |

*Ndugwa's* sub-chiefs were :—

- |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>Mwandaza.</i> | 2. <i>Munugi.</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------|

The Gomba district, situated to the north-west of Singo, <sup>Gomba district.</sup> was until recently part of Bunyoro.<sup>1</sup> It has never been thickly populated since it was taken from the Banyoro, because the original inhabitants left for Bunyoro, and the Baganda peasants did not care to settle there, preferring to remain where their forefathers were buried. Gomba contains excellent pasture lands, but the Baganda were afraid to leave their cattle there, lest they should be raided by the Banyoro, and consequently only a few could be induced to send them to such an exposed district. The District-Chief, the *Kitunzi*, had only one principal chief, *Malanti*.

The *Kitunzi's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were :—

- |                    |                   |
|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>Mwaziza.</i> | 2. <i>Musisi.</i> |
| 3. <i>Ndaliki.</i> |                   |

*Malanti's* sub-chiefs were :—

- |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1. <i>Mutabuza.</i> | 2. <i>Lubobi.</i> |
|---------------------|-------------------|

Budu was a large and important district, and also one of the wealthiest. It was governed by the Banyoro, until King Junju conquered them, and took it. Many of the inhabitants remained there, and became the subjects of the Baganda. On this account we find many clans and totems differing from those of the Baganda ; they are the survivals of the Banyoro régime. In two or three cases the clans, while still retaining their peculiarities, have been accepted by the Baganda as clans with which they can intermarry ; most of the clans have, however, been incorporated into the older Baganda clans. The *Pokino*, the District-Chief of Budu, was the overlord of the small kingdom, Koki, and of the Kiziba country. These

<sup>1</sup> Bunyoro is the name of the country ; Banyoro is the name of the people.

tributary countries added considerably to the wealth of his district; and not only so, but formerly all traders coming from the coast worked their way into Uganda round the Lake, through Budu, and so enriched the people of Budu.

The *Pokino's* principal chiefs were:—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Katabalwa</i> , the <i>Mumyuka</i> . | 2. <i>Kagolo</i> , the <i>Sabadu</i> .    |
| 3. <i>Kajerero</i> , the <i>Sabagabo</i> . | 4. <i>Bugala</i> , the <i>Sabarwali</i> . |

The *Pokino's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were:—

- |                      |                    |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. <i>Owesanje</i> . | 2. <i>Mukude</i> . |
| 3. <i>Kasumba</i> .  | 4. <i>Kabuzi</i> . |

*Katabalwa's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                      |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. <i>Omubinge</i> . | 2. <i>Owekasenya</i> .    |
| 3. <i>Kiganda</i> .  | 4. <i>Owekabulasoke</i> . |
| 5. <i>Muntu</i> .    | 6. <i>Owekarwoko</i> .    |
| 7. <i>Kaikuzi</i> .  | 8. <i>Mawogola</i> .      |

*Kagolo's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>Omutalya</i> .   | 2. <i>Namutula</i> .  |
| 3. <i>Mweseze</i> .    | 4. <i>Omunywa</i> .   |
| 5. <i>Owelwakoni</i> . | 6. <i>Kikyasuka</i> . |

*Kajerero's* sub-chiefs were:—

- |                           |                       |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. <i>Muwanguzi</i> .     | 2. <i>Omuyombya</i> . |
| 3. <i>Komagobulungi</i> . |                       |

Busuju  
district.

The Busuju district, which lies to the west of Busiro, though small, had an important chief in the *Kasuju*, who had the care of all the princes and princesses, and also assisted in appointing each new king. The *Kasuju's* principal chiefs were:—

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1. <i>Kajubi</i> .    | 2. <i>Kafuna</i> .     |
| 3. <i>Mutasigwa</i> . | 4. <i>Mwanje</i> .     |
| 5. <i>Kalibala</i> .  | 6. <i>Omulalu</i> .    |
| 7. <i>Omukuta</i> .   | 8. <i>Omutengeza</i> . |

As the princes held property and lived in different parts of the country, and as the *Kasuju* had to manage their estates and to act as judge in their private affairs, he was brought into contact with most of the chiefs; and this naturally increased the importance of his office.

Butam-  
bala  
district.

Butambala is a very small district to the west of Singo, and the chieftainship is hereditary in the Sheep clan. The District-Chief, the *Katambala*, had two principal chiefs:—

1. *Njovu*, the *Mumyuka*.                      2. *Katente*, the *Sabadu*.

The *Katambala's* sub-chiefs on his private estates were :—

1. *Omulema*.                                      2. *Omutwalira*.  
 3. *Kasenke*.                                      4. *Omutimba*.  
 5. *Godya Mukyala we Kayenje*.

In each district the District-Chief (*owesaza*) had from two to six sub-chiefs, who were responsible to him for the oversight of large portions of the district. The most important sub-chief in each case bore the title *Mumyuka*; he was of superior rank to the other sub-chiefs in the district, but under ordinary circumstances had no power over them, though in certain administrative matters he controlled them, and when visiting the King he took precedence among them. The third order of chief in a district was called *Sabadu*; he looked to the District-Chief for orders, and acted through him in matters of State. In the Council (*Lukiko*) the *Sabadu* ranked after the *Mumyuka*,<sup>1</sup> and took his seat behind him. The fourth order of chiefs took the title *Sabagabo*, and the fifth the title *Sabarwali*; these men were influential men in the country regions, and they governed large areas of land, and had numerous small chiefs under their control; but when they came to the Council (*Lukiko*), they took their seats in less honourable places than the higher-grade chiefs. In many instances, however, a chief of lower rank might win respect through his personal powers and ability, and such a man might be consulted in State matters before his superior chiefs. The sixth order, *Mutuba Mukulu*, and the seventh, *Mutuba Muto*, were sub-chieftainships given in very populous districts. With the assistance of these chiefs, who were also magistrates, the chief of a district could keep a hold over his people, and could ascertain all that was happening among them. Each chief had his special house, where people met to discuss affairs, and to have any cases tried.

The King's private servants, such as policemen, guards, gate-keepers, the men who built the smaller houses and inner fences of the royal enclosure, and those who assisted to supply the royal table, were called *Batongole*. They were

<sup>1</sup> See p. 248.

given estates in different districts, and were responsible immediately to the King himself; they were also exempt from all State-labour except that of helping to repair roads and bridges. Their chief officer was given a title corresponding to the name of the reigning King; for example, during King Suna's reign he was called *Omusuna*. When on duty in the royal enclosure they wore distinctive neck-ornaments of copper, brass, iron, or cane. When taxes were being collected from any particular district, the chief officer over the private servants (Batongole) sent his representative to collect the taxes from the King's private servants (Batongole), and then delivered them to the District-Chief.

In a matter of public concern, such as the levying of taxes or the demanding of labour for road-making, or for the building of one of the chief houses in the royal enclosure, or of a temple, it was the custom that the chief of the district should first be consulted as to the supply of labour, or the amount of taxes. Under such circumstances the District-Chief summoned his private chiefs and sub-chiefs; and with them agreed as to the amount which each sub-chief should supply.

The  
Court-  
house  
(Lukiko)  
and Audi-  
ences.

The King's reception-hall was the highest court in the land. It was there that the King met his chiefs and discussed State-business with them, and it was there too that all appeal cases were heard. In the Council (Lukiko) anyone might speak; indeed several people would often be talking at the same time. These gatherings were held almost daily, they were summoned sometimes by the *Katikiro*, and sometimes by the King. Drums were sounded, and then a messenger from the King went to and fro between the assembling chiefs and the King, and told the latter the names of the chiefs who had arrived. The King sent polite messages to the waiting chiefs, and they returned compliments and asked for an audience. When the King was ready, he entered the audience-chamber, called *Blange*, by a private door, and took his seat on the *daïs*, which was covered with a barkcloth and the royal rug. Frequently some of his favourite wives and also some of his sisters accompanied him, though none sat upon the rug, or even

trod upon it; they turned it up as they walked to their places behind the King, and sat with the rug resting upon their knees. The chiefs sat according to their rank; the *Katikiro* and the *Kimbugwe* sat on either side in front of the King, with the royal rug resting upon their knees; and the chiefs sat in rows, leaving a space in front of the King into which anyone who was to be tried came and knelt down. When the King entered, everyone greeted him with the special salutation *Gusinze*, which means "May you overcome," and all bowed down their faces to the ground. No one was permitted to cough, or sneeze, or blow his nose in the court; had they done so, they would have been seized by the guards, who stood armed with ropes, ready to bind anyone if the King gave the word. To sneeze, or to blow the nose was a sign of having a cold in the head; and as the Kings were supposed to be specially susceptible to colds which might end fatally, they were much afraid of infection. The most weighty matters of State were mixed up with the most trivial conversation, which latter was intended to amuse the court, and to keep those present from being dull. Beer was placed in a neighbouring house, and the King allowed any who wished to go and drink it, when they were tired. Life and death were treated as of little moment; the King might cause any one of his chiefs to be bound, detained, or put to death at his pleasure. A chief would enter the court apparently high in favour, and then some trifling circumstance might alter everything; he would be seized, bound, and dragged away by the police with cuffs and blows, and with every mark of indignity, to be put into the stocks until the King's final decision was known. Unless he could obtain his release through the intercession of his friends, his life would soon end at one of the sacrificial places.

The King often brought a spurious charge against a chief who was becoming rich, and fined him heavily, or sent him to prison, intimating to him that he must pay a handsome sum if he wished to be freed; failing that, he would be cast into the stocks, where he would be so much ill used, that he would be glad to pay any fine to escape the torture and the danger of being put to death.

The  
*Katikiro's*  
Court.

The majority of appeals ended in the *Katikiro's* court, which ranked next after the King's court; it stood facing the King's entrance. This court-house appears to have been a survival of an old custom, according to which the King sat under one of the sacred trees at the entrance of his enclosure, and tried all cases brought to him. The *Katikiro* tried the more important cases in person, but deputed an assistant to try others; the assistant had to



FIG. 40.—THE KATIKIRO'S ENCLOSURE, WITH OLD COURT-HOUSE IN WHICH APPEALS WERE HEARD.

report the result of his examination, and the *Katikiro* then gave the decision. In each court a fee of twenty cowry-shells was paid by the plaintiff when stating his case, and a further fee of a goat and a barkcloth, before the accused was summoned to appear in court; the accused also paid a goat and a barkcloth before the case was tried; these sums were called the *bitebi*. When sentence was given, the judge fined the offender two goats and one barkcloth, which were given



to the plaintiff in addition to the whole amount which he claimed from the defendant. When an appeal was made from one court to another, ending in the *Katikiro's*, the plaintiff paid the fee of twenty cowry-shells, a goat, and a barkcloth to each of the lower courts, but to the *Katikiro's* court he paid ten goats and five barkcloths. If it was a case of cattle-lifting which was to be tried, the *Katikiro* fined the offender a number of animals, in addition to ordering him to restore the full number which he had stolen. The *Katikiro* was given one-fourth of the fine, besides his original fee, and the party against whom the sentence was given had to refund all the court fees. Corruption was rife in these courts. If a man thought that he was losing his case, he would endeavour to bribe the judge; if he proposed to give him a slave, he would place his hand flat upon the top of his head as if rubbing it, when no one but the judge was looking; this signified that he would give the latter a man to carry his loads. If he proposed to give him a woman or a girl, he would double up his fist and place it to his breast, to represent a woman's breast; if he proposed to give him a cow, he would place his fist to the side of his head, to represent a horn; if it was a load of barkcloths, he would tug at his own cloth. These signs were made secretly; if the judge accepted the bribe, he pronounced sentence in the man's favour.

Though death was usually the punishment inflicted for Adultery. adultery, an offender's life would sometimes be spared, and he be fined two women, if he were able to pay them; the culprit was, however, maimed; he lost a limb, or had an eye gouged out, and showed by his maimed condition that he had been guilty of a crime. A slave taken in adultery with one of his master's wives was invariably put to death. Women were compelled by torture to name their seducers; if the accused man denied the charge, the woman was asked to describe some personal peculiarity of his, or some mark on his body which could be identified; then if the man was found to have the peculiarity, he was either fined or put to death. In order to arrive at the truth, a man who denied a charge made against him was sometimes stretched out with his arms

and feet tied to stakes driven firmly into the ground, a piece of barkcloth was then fastened about his private parts, and set smouldering. As soon as the fire reached his body, the pain became too great to bear, and the man would own himself guilty, in order to be released from torture. He would then be either killed or fined. An adulterer was called a murderer (*musi*), because he was looked upon as a man who deliberately set about to compass the death of the woman's husband ; either directly, for he would go armed to visit the woman, and if he was disturbed, he would not hesitate to strike ; or indirectly, by offending the fetiches. Men knew that, if they were caught in the act of adultery, the penalty would be death, unless they were related to the person wronged, in which case the latter might be willing to accept a fine, and might content himself with mutilating the culprit. The worst consequence to the injured husband was the anger of his fetiches and gods, whose custodian was his wife. By her action the wife had involved her husband in their displeasure ; he was thus left exposed to the malice of any enemy, and his danger was increased in the time of war, because the gods had withdrawn their protection from him. Adultery was also regarded as a danger to children ; it was thought that women who were guilty of it during pregnancy caused the child to die, either prior to birth, or at the time of birth. Sometimes the guilty woman would herself die in childbed ; or, if she was safely delivered, she would have a tendency to devour her child, and would have to be guarded, lest she should kill it. It was also supposed that a man who had sexual intercourse with any woman not his wife, during the time that any one of his wives was nursing a child, would cause the child to fall ill, and that unless he confessed his guilt, and obtained from the medicine-man the necessary remedies to cancel the evil results, the child would die. Sexual intercourse with a member of the same clan (*kive*), or with a woman of the mother's clan, was punished by the death of both parties, because they were considered to have brought the god's displeasure on the whole clan. If one peasant wronged another peasant by committing adultery with his wife, the offender was fined ten women, ten cows, ten goats

and ten loads of barkcloths ; part of this fine he would pay, and the rest he would leave unpaid for (possibly) several years, until he could bring some charge against the man in whose debt he stood ; then when the case was tried, he would excuse the defendant from paying the fine, on condition that he forgave him his own debt. If a young man wronged an unmarried girl and she became pregnant, he had to take her to his father's house to live, until she had given birth to the child ; afterwards he was required to pay her father the full dowry if he wished to marry her. If he declined to marry her, he was fined ; and if he refused to pay the fine, the girl and her child were taken away from him by the members of her clan ; if he paid the fine, but declined to marry the girl, she returned to her home after nursing and weaning the child, and the latter was brought up by one of the man's relatives. A girl who had gone astray was not allowed to have meals with her parents until the man who had wronged her had brought them a gift of beer and a portion of the fine imposed ; this was supposed to appease the anger of the gods. In order to extort larger compensation for a wronged daughter, a father would sometimes assert that his daughter had been designed to become one of the King's wives ; the youth knew then that he would be put to death if the father went to Court and told the King what had happened, and so he was willing to pay whatever was demanded of him. If a husband suspected his wife of committing adultery, he was allowed to tie her up and torture her, until she confessed her guilt. This was done in the following manner : the woman was stripped and made to lie down ; her legs and arms were stretched out and tied to the posts of the house ; she was flogged, and then left in this position for the whole night, or until she made confession. The husband would not be punished by law, even if he killed his wife under such circumstances ; her relations might have the case tried, but if it was proved that she was in the wrong, no one would condemn the husband. If the husband was proved to have unjustly tortured or killed his wife, her relations would be satisfied with fining him. If a peasant found that his chief was making love to his wife, he would pack up his goods and

leave the district by night lest he should be put to death on her account ; should his wife refuse to go with him, he would leave her behind.

Theft.

If a woman was caught stealing food from another woman's garden, she was fined, and her husband, or her master, had to pay the fine. If a man was caught stealing food, he was killed on the spot ; the food which he had stolen was tied round his neck, and his body was thrown into the road. House-breakers were killed on the spot, if caught ; and the relatives would disown the offender, and would refuse to bury his body.

Imprisonment.

There were no prisons ; when the King or a chief ordered a man to be confined, he was put into the stocks. These were heavy logs with a hole cut through, large enough for the foot to be inserted ; a peg was run through each side of the log, at right angles to the hole, which diminished the size of the hole, and made it impossible for the person confined to take his foot out again. A rope of plantain fibre was tied to the log, which enabled the prisoner to lift it as he walked ; otherwise it would have been impossible for him to move. The constant rubbing of the wood upon the foot and ankle soon made a dreadful sore, and crippled the person ; and as the pegs were examined twice a day, and the prisoner was under guard, there was little chance of his cutting them and escaping. The prisoner seldom had more than one foot in the stocks at a time. He had to provide his own food while he was confined, and he was entirely at the mercy of the guard, who could make his life a burden. The guards often pinioned a man in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to lie down or to sit with any comfort ; they were also employed by the authorities to extract evidence ; so they would torture their prisoner until he was anxious to tell anything that he knew, and would gladly pay any price for a little ease and comfort. The men who guarded prisoners dedicated to the sacrificial places were sometimes lenient with their charges ; they would allow a man to go away by night on parole, to visit his friends, and would indulge him in various ways if he made it worth their while. Prisoners who were released by the guard to visit

their relatives rarely abused the confidence thus reposed in them; they had given their word to return, and they kept it; their purpose, in obtaining leave of absence, was to visit influential relatives, or friends, who might intercede for them with the King. A more rigorous mode of punishing prisoners was to put both arms into the stocks, as well as one leg. The log used for the arms was about two

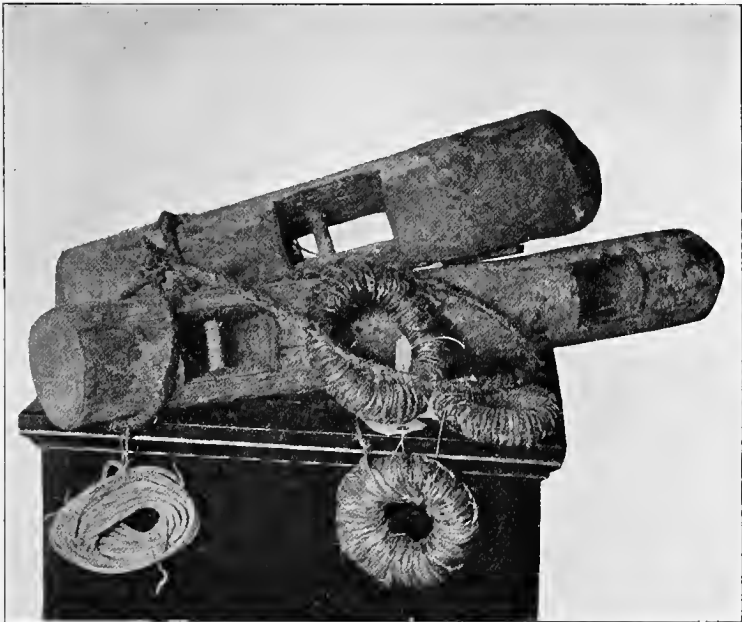


FIG. 41.—STOCKS FOR ARMS AND LEGS, WITH PLANTAIN-FIBRE PADS WORN TO PROTECT THE ARMS AND LEGS FROM THE SHARP EDGES OF THE WOOD, AND COIL OF ROPE FOR BINDING PRISONERS.

feet six inches long, and four inches in diameter; holes were driven through it at both ends for the hands to be passed through, and pegs were inserted to prevent the hands from being withdrawn. The weight of the log was heavy, and there was the further discomfort that the hands were rigidly kept twenty inches apart from each other; it was difficult for the prisoner to eat, because, if he wished to lift the food to his mouth, he could only do so by raising the log with

both hands extended. Two or three nights spent in this condition generally proved fatal ; the log weighed so heavily upon the chest. In later years the Arabs introduced the forked stick for the neck ; this did not, however, meet with general approval, and was used only for a limited period.

The powers of Messengers.

When the King, or the *Katikiro*, sent messengers to order the people to come and do State-work, and the people did not obey at once, the messenger might seize their property. In such a case the chief might appeal to the King, who would try the case ; and if it was found that the messenger had been too arbitrary, the King would restore the property, though it was not often that a messenger put himself so hopelessly in the wrong as to incur the disapproval of his actions. To quarrel with, or to strike one of the King's messengers was a serious offence ; the guilty party was fined heavily, even if the messenger had been in the wrong.

The Queen's and the King's Mother's Courts.

Both the Queen and the King's Mother tried cases among their own servants. But persons against whom any serious charges were brought in these courts would not infrequently induce a relative, who was a wife of the King, to intercede for them, so that the King might transfer their case to his own court, where a more lenient sentence would be pronounced than they would otherwise have received.

Treason.

When a person was convicted of either treason or rebellion, the King sent him to one of the sacrificial places, because he considered himself to be under an obligation to the gods for the discovery of the plot.

Homicide and murder.

If a man accidentally killed another, the case was tried, and the man was fined. For example, it might happen that a man would be cutting reeds or grass near to a road, and another man who was passing by and who heard the noise, would imagine that it was some wild animal, and would spear the workman, so that he died ; or again, it might happen that in a quarrel over beer, one man would strike another so severely that after a few days' illness he would die. Such cases were settled by a fine, and were not punishable by death. It had to be proved that there was no malice attaching to them. The offender was detained until the case was tried, and the fine settled by the clans concerned : the fine

for homicide was generally twenty cows, twenty goats, twenty barkcloths, and twenty women. The clan to which the offender belonged sent him to beg from his friends and from all the members of his clan, till he could raise enough to pay about a quarter of the fine. During the time that the homicide was collecting the money to pay the fine, all the members of the deceased man's clan held aloof from him; but as soon as he paid a portion of it, they assembled together, and invited him to a meal, after which he was free to move about among them as before. The remainder of the fine was not paid for years, and perhaps never paid; it was held over until some member of the other clan committed an offence, and then one debt was made to clear off the other. During the meal at which the clans were reconciled, a pot of beer was brought in, and the head of the murdered man's clan would pour out a cup saying, "There is no one here who has killed another"; he then gave each person present a cup of beer to drink. Murderers, as well as thieves, were discovered by the medicine-man through the ordeal. Suspected persons, if accused before a chief, would be brought before a council, and would be compelled there to submit to the poison ordeal,<sup>1</sup> if they wished to prove their innocence; if they died under the ordeal, it would be concluded that they had been guilty, and that consequently the drug had taken effect; if, on the other hand, they suffered no ill-effects, it would be concluded that they were innocent, and the person who accused them would have to pay a fine for false accusation. Those who did not die from the effects of the drug, but who, owing to illness caused by the ordeal, were held to be guilty, were fined and in most cases put to death.

Petty theft and disobedience on the part of a child were often punished by burning the child's hand or cutting off his ear. The punishment of children was usually far in excess of the fault; and little mercy was shown when the child was a slave or an orphan. Adults often had their hands cut off for theft. Petty theft.

The moral ideas of the people were very crude; it was not wrong-doing, but detection that they feared. So long as Moral ideas.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 341.

the perpetrator of any deed escaped detection he was not troubled by his conscience, and never sought to make restitution for his wrong-doing. Men were restrained from committing a crime through fear of the power of the gods, and of the powers which had been supernaturally granted to the medicine-men to detect the perpetrators of crime. The Baganda were most hospitable in supplying both food and shelter to a stranger; and a guest was treated with the utmost respect. To visitors and strangers they were kind and generous and a guest's property was quite safe in the house of his host. Though there was no veneration for the truth as an abstract idea, the violation of it, if it caused inconvenience to a superior, was sure to meet with punishment. In other cases lying would be laughed at; sometimes it would even be thought clever and amusing.

Blood-  
brother-  
hood.

The oath of blood-brotherhood was binding;<sup>1</sup> it was considered a solemn compact, and the violation of it was dreaded. Other oaths, such as the common oath "By my Mother," were lightly made, and lightly set aside. It was worth while telling the truth to those in authority, unless a man had time to escape before his lie could be discovered, since the penalty for lying was mutilation.

Land-  
tenure.

The system of land-tenure was the feudal system; men held the land from chiefs, on condition of doing work for them, especially building work, and rendering military service. The men rarely cultivated the land, they made barkcloths, laid out roads, and built bridges and houses for the chiefs and for the King, while the women cultivated the fields. No sale of land was possible, for all the land belonged to the King alone; and while the clans possessed their freehold burial grounds they were not allowed to sell these to any outsider; nor was it possible for a stranger to be buried anywhere in the country without special permission from the King, a permission which could only be obtained after the payment of a large sum of money.

King's  
control  
over  
money.

The King alone levied taxes, some portion of which he gave to the District-Chiefs. The chiefs, however, made money for themselves by the game and ivory which they were able to

<sup>1</sup> See p. 19.



secure. After the country had been opened up by the Arabs there was a great demand for ivory as well as for cattle ; but until that time ivory had only been used for making ornaments and for the discs which the King's men fashioned for use as currency. Other people were not prohibited from making these discs, but it was not easy for them to procure ivory, since they were forbidden to kill elephants, or to have ivory in their possession without special permission from the King, and, moreover, only a limited number of men had the skill and ability to carve the discs.

The Royal Family alone were regarded as superior to, and as separate from, other classes in virtue of their birth. With this single exception, any member of a clan could rise to the highest position in the land, if he succeeded in making himself conversant with State affairs, and was brave in warfare and shrewd in council. As a rule either the sons of the chiefs of clans, or those who had been brought up as pages, became chiefs and took the lead among the people, partly owing to their birth and surroundings, but partly also owing to the superior training which as pages they had received. Class distinctions were chiefly determined by a man's abilities and by the bravery and skill which he displayed when in the service of the King or in that of some leading chief.

Class distinction.

Neither the King nor the chiefs ever laid up riches for their successors, nor did they amass wealth for its own sake. A chief who showed signs of being wealthy would have excited the King's envy, and would have been robbed by him on some trifling pretext. Everyone lived for the day, and took no thought for the morrow. Children were responsible for the support and care of their parents and elders when these reached old age. The members of a clan expected assistance from any clansman who was promoted to office, so that a chief had crowds of poor relations ready to relieve him of his surplus stock of wealth.

Wealth never hoarded.

Every chief had to keep in good order the fences and houses on his estate, both in the capital and also in the country, and the King fined them if they did not build according to his instructions. Sometimes a chief found that he could not secure the necessary labourers to build the King's

Chiefs fined for neglecting their buildings.

houses which were ordered to be built in the royal enclosure ; he would then ask the King to excuse him, and would offer to pay a fine in default. If the King refused to accept the terms, and the chief failed to do the work, he was deposed, and his chieftainship was given to someone else.

Inherit-  
ance.

The clan had the control of inheritance. Though a man might leave directions concerning his goods, yet, once he ceased to breathe, his power over the property ended, and his wishes were liable to be disregarded unless the clan agreed to them. The heir was chosen by the clan, the members of the branch to which the deceased belonged having the chief voice. The widows who had given birth to children were, as a rule, left to take charge of the grave of their husband, though they might re-marry, if they prevailed upon the members of their clan to refund the original marriage-sum. The young widows were the property of the heir, except such as were sent to the King or given to other members of the clan as their part of the inheritance. There was no fixed rule as to the number of women or cattle to be given to the King ; this varied according to the wishes of the clan ; the clan usually took a tenth part of the property for itself. The son and the grandson of a deceased person, who had been chosen by the members of the clan to perform the burial rites, had the right to receive one widow each ; and the sister's son of a dead man inherited a woman, in return for performing the ceremonies which ended the mourning.<sup>1</sup> The remainder of the property belonged to the heir, who also adopted the deceased person's children and called them his own, making no distinction between them and his own children. The only descendants who could inherit property were the sons and the grandsons, as mentioned above ; wives never inherited any property.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 119, 120, 121.

## CHAPTER IX

### RELIGION

THE Baganda have always been a religious nation, most zealous in their observance of the rites and ceremonies connected with their religion. Their objects of veneration and worship were fourfold ; Gods (Balubare), Fetiches (Mayembe), Amulets (Nsiriba), and Ghosts (Mizimu). The gods may be divided into two classes : the national gods, whose priests appeared with the objects of veneration before the King from time to time, and the maintenance of whose worship depended upon the State ; and the private gods which were connected with some particular clan, and were little known to the nation at large and of little influence in the country. The principal gods appear to have been at one time human beings, noted for their skill and bravery, who were afterwards deified by the people and invested with supernatural powers. There were, however, also animal- and reptile-gods in addition to the deified human beings ; and, moreover, certain trees and stones were regarded with veneration, and believed to possess occult power.

The second class of religious objects were Fetiches which, though they were made by men, were firmly believed to possess supernatural powers for averting evil and bringing good to their fortunate owner. In many cases they were believed to have ghosts attached to them, and also to be able to hear and answer supplications in the most practical manner. Some of them had their temples with mediums and priests, and were taken periodically to the King. These fetiches were the nearest approach to idols, and may possibly have been

idols in their earliest form ; apart from these fetiches idols were unknown to the Baganda.



FIG. 42 —SACRED ROCK.

Amulets. The third class of religious objects were the Amulets. These were also manufactured objects, but they received neither offerings nor supplications ; they were not held in the same veneration as the fetiches ; still they were

supposed to possess healing virtues, and various kinds of diseases were thought to be warded off by them. Each amulet was thought to possess one virtue only; thus it might protect its owner against snake-bites or against various kinds of disease; or, again, it might possess healing properties the benefit of which was to be obtained either by outward application or by internal administration. A common definition of fetiches and amulets, given by the people, was that the amulet was made of wood, and the fetich was composite. This may be taken to be true as a general rule, though there were exceptions to it. The amulets were made from several kinds of wood and from roots, and sometimes from herbs known to the medicine-men for their healing properties.

The last, and possibly the most venerated, class of religious <sup>Ghosts,</sup> objects were the ghosts of departed relatives. The power of ghosts for good or evil was incalculable. In dealing with the different classes of religious objects, details will be given of the principal objects in each class, and not of all the objects, which would have entailed needless repetition; notice, however, will be taken of differences within any class where they exist.

The worship of the national gods was under the immediate control of the King; their first and principal duty was the protection of the King and the State. Although the King consulted them, sent presents to propitiate them, and followed their instructions, he would, if one of them vexed him, send and loot his temple and estate. He alone in the country dared commit such an act of sacrilege; any other person violating the gods' property would have met with certain death at the hands of the guardians of the temples. The national gods had temples appointed for them by the King on hill-tops, and estates on the hill-sides often extending down into the valleys. The head-man of the clan was appointed to the charge of the temple estates; he was generally called the *Mutaka* (i.e. the man who governed a freehold burial estate), because the estate which had been dedicated to the god was an old estate of the clan, and this man was the chief of the freehold burial land of the clan. In many cases the same man was chief priest (*kabona*) in the

T

temple, and was responsible for the safety and good conduct of the slaves and the cattle of the god. In some temples there were as many as four priests. The duty of the chief priest was to receive all persons who came to seek an interview with the god; he took their offering from them, and announced them to the god, stating what they had brought and why they had come. When the god granted the inquirers an interview, the priest interpreted to them the oracle; this was given through the medium,<sup>1</sup> because it was often conveyed in language understood by him alone. The priest also had to see that the grass used as a carpet in the temple was maintained in perfect order, and that the fire was kept burning; and he had also to attend to the general comfort of the gods in temples into which women were not admitted. The grass and the firewood were fetched by the slaves; but the grass, which was of a scented kind, had to be dried and then cut in uniform lengths and laid so that each blade was in order and line. The priesthood continued within the clan, but the son of a priest did not of necessity succeed his father; it was the clan which appointed the successor, the King having the final decision and either confirming or rejecting the appointment. The persons of both priests and mediums were sacred; death was the penalty for an offence committed against one of them. They had a house near the temple, in which their sacred vestments were kept, and where they robed. They were not allowed to walk abroad in their ceremonial robes, but might only walk in them to the temple and back again to the house. When a priest robed, the people stood at a respectful distance, for they were afraid to come near him or to touch him; when he entered the temple, they set up a shrill cry of pleasure. The vessels of the priests in the temple were also sacred, and might not be touched, but in some temples the priests were wont to pour beer from their cups into those of the people, who might then drink it without fear.

Mediums. A Medium (Mandwa) had only one duty to perform, that of being the mouthpiece of the god whom he represented. It was always the god who chose his representative; in some cases women might be chosen as mediums, in others

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 275.

only men. In each case the choice was indicated in some such manner as the following: the person was suddenly possessed by the god, and began to utter secrets or to predict future events which, apart from the divine influence, it would have been impossible for him to do. The bystanders thus knew that a god had selected the man to be his medium, and he was at once taken to the temple. Possession was called "being married to the god" (kuwasa), at the time when a person first became possessed; whilst subsequent possessions were called "being seized by the head" (kukwata ku mutwe). The gods never appointed more than one medium for a temple, with the exception of Kibuka and Nende, the gods of war, who were obliged to have several mediums, because at times they had to send a medium to accompany a punitive expedition, while another medium remained in the temple. Mukasa also had many mediums, because he had temples in various parts of the country, but he had only one medium in each temple. When a medium wished to become possessed in order to give the oracle, he would smoke a sacred pipe, using in most instances the ordinary tobacco of the country. Sometimes a cup of beer was also given him before the pipe was handed to him to smoke. He sat in the temple, near the fire, and after smoking the pipe, remained perfectly silent, gazing steadily into the fire or upon the ground, until the spirit came upon him. During the time that a medium was under the influence of the god he was in a frenzied state, and his utterances were often unintelligible to anyone except the priest, who was the interpreter. A priest often had to tell the medium afterwards what he had been talking about. As soon as the spirit of the god had left the medium, he became prostrated, and was allowed to sleep off the effects. When a woman was chosen to be the medium, she was separated from men, and had to observe the laws of chastity for the rest of her life; she was looked upon as the wife of the god.

In most of the temples there were a number of young girls dedicated to the god. Their special duties were to keep guard over the fire in the temple, which had to be kept burning by day and by night; to see that nothing which was

Vestal  
Virgins.

taboo was brought into the temple ; to provide an ample supply of firewood and water ; to keep the grass floor-covering replenished ; and especially to guard the sacred pipe and tobacco which were used by the medium before giving the oracle. The persons of these girls were sacred, and men had to be careful not to be unduly familiar with them, nor to attempt to take any liberties with them. These girls were brought to the temples when they were weaned ; they were the offering of parents who had prayed to the god for children, promising to devote them to his service if he granted their request. When such a girl was born, she was dedicated to the god ; and as soon as she was old enough to be separated from her mother she was brought into the temple-enclosure to live. She remained in office until she reached the age of puberty, when the god decided whom she was to marry. She was then removed from the temple, because no woman might enter a temple or have anything to do for the gods during her periods of menstruation ; consequently the office of temple virgin was restricted to girls of immature years. The female mediums could not perform the temple duties nor act for the gods during their menses.

Temples.

The temples, like the King's house, were conical, with thatched roofs. In some cases there was a court round the temple, which was kept sacred ; in the sanctuaries of the more important gods only the priests and mediums entered the court ; in other sanctuaries the temple attendants had their houses in the courts ; and in one or two cases women slaves, who were dedicated to the god, lived in them. The enclosure of a temple was called a fort (*kigwa*). The temples which had no courtyard were approached by the people, who were even allowed to enter them, and to tell the priest their needs inside. Most of the national gods possessed smaller temples in different parts of the country, where even the poorest peasant might seek advice and help, while the more important temples were available for the King and the leading chiefs only. The King was informed by a special messenger sent by the priest, when a temple needed to be rebuilt. The messenger went to the *Kago*, who was the King's representative towards the gods and the priests, and



told him what he wanted ; the *Kago* took him before the King, where he re-stated his request. After listening to the request, the King would send for some reeds which were grown for the purpose, and he would give three or four to the man whom he appointed to be foreman over the work. The reeds were the insignia of office, and they empowered the foreman to assemble the people to build the temple ; they were afterwards used to commence the building of the roof.



FIG. 43.—A TEMPLE.

When he was carrying the reeds from the King to the site of the temple, the messenger decorated them with a creeper. The gods were supposed to foretell events (*kulagula*) as well as to give advice about wars, and to heal the sick.

Medicine-men (*Basawo*), though not definitely connected with the temples and the gods, were yet regarded as belonging to the religious class in the country ; they formed a most powerful body, and were greatly feared. The priests and the mediums had but little power in comparison with the medicine-men. Each clan had its medicine-men, who

Medicine-  
men.

through their skill and cunning, gained an insight into character, and also into certain arts, which they used to the best advantage. They diagnosed illness, prescribed for the sick, and understood how to deal with sickness caused by ghosts; they were surgeons, and saved the lives of men who had been wounded in battle or whose limbs had been amputated by their masters for some offence, and who would have died from loss of blood had not those men come to their aid.



FIG. 44.—MEDICINE-MAN CARRYING HIS MEDICINES.

Their skill in exorcising ghosts from haunted houses, or from people who were possessed by them, was fully acknowledged by all. They also made fetiches and amulets for sale to all the people, and as the demand for such things never ceased, they were constantly engaged in this work. They were essential to all classes alike, and were feared by all; even priests and mediums paid them the greatest respect. They compounded drugs, made the objects which worked magic

(kulogo) on people, and sold them to those who wanted them either for personal use, or to bewitch others.

Fetiches (mayembe) were a miscellaneous assortment of <sup>Fetiches.</sup> objects of all sizes and shapes. They were the nearest approach to idols, and indeed they correspond to a large extent to the idols of other tribes of Africa. Some of them were entire horns of antelopes or of buffaloes, while others were only the tips of horns of small antelopes, not more than two inches long. In each case the hollow of the horn was filled by the medicine-men with herbs, clay, and other substances, and the open end was stopped and decorated, sometimes with a wooden plug, studded with pieces of brass or iron. Sometimes a small round hole was made in the fetich, a little more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, and half an inch deep; often this hole was in the plug at the end. The horns were thought to have become vehicles of the god by whose name they were called, and whose powers they were supposed to convey to those who owned them. The small hole made in them was the place into which drugs or medicines were poured, either for internal or external application, as directed by the medicine-man; the drugs were supposed to convey the powers of the god by being poured into the fetich, in addition to having their own healing properties. Under ordinary circumstances the mere possession of the fetich was enough to ward off evil from the house and to ensure blessing; hence they were kept in numbers in a special place in each house, and had drink placed daily before them by the owner's wife. Other fetiches were made of wood, or of clay mixed with other substances in a manner known to the medicine-men only. These latter fetiches were moulded into different shapes, and each kind was known to the people by its shape and size; some of them were kidney-shaped, others were crescents, while others were large discs with a hole in the centre.

The warrior had his fetich, and the huntsman had his also, each with special powers. Even the thief was armed with his fetich, to enable him to enter undetected the house which he wished to rob; this fetich was round with a hole through it. By blowing through the hole in the fetich, the

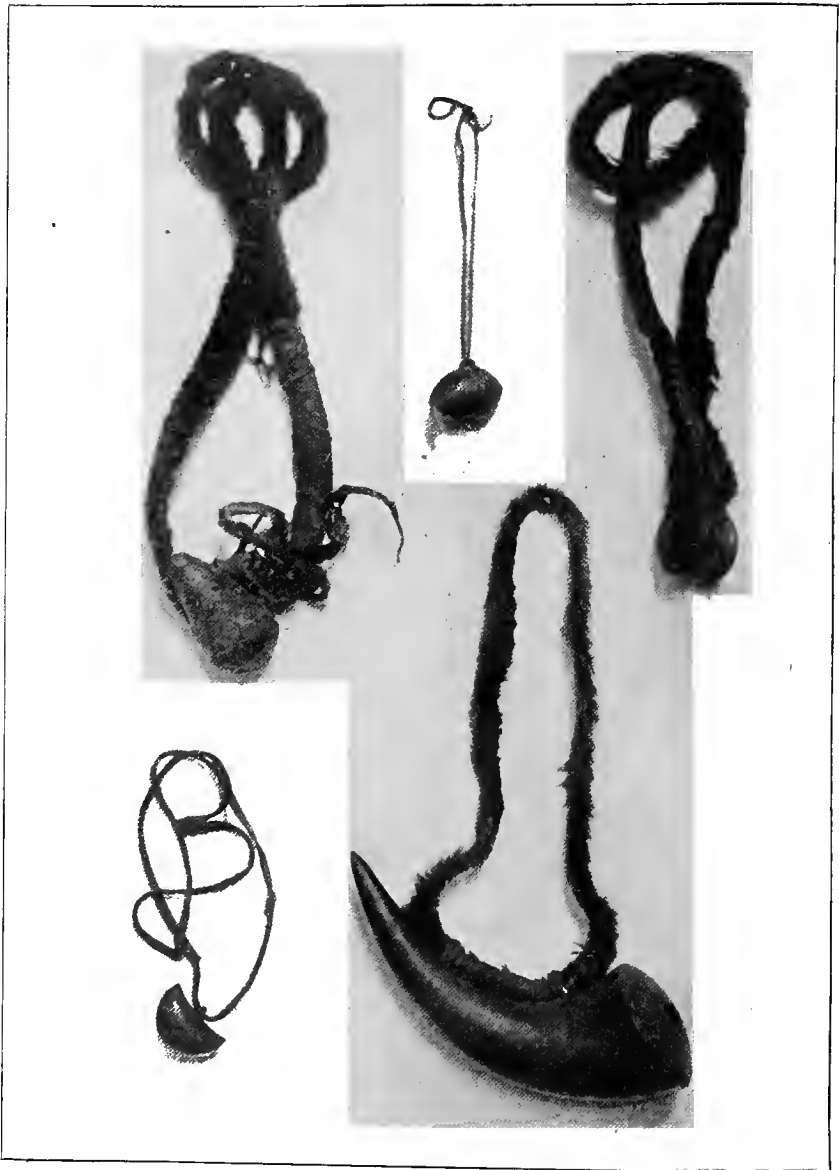


FIG. 45.—FETICHES.

thief thought that he would be able to enter the house without waking the inmates, or that, should they be disturbed, he would only need to sit or to stand upon the fetich, and he would become invisible to the inmates. Other fetiches were devised especially for the use of a wife, in order to keep her husband safe upon his journeys, or to protect him in battle, or to give him success in the chase.

The belief in ghosts, both malevolent and benevolent, was <sup>Ghosts.</sup> firmly held by all classes, from the highest to the lowest. Existence in another form was a reality to them, and all looked forward to living and moving in the next state. The



FIG. 46.—FETICHES.

horrors of mutilation were increased by their ideas of the after-world; for not only would the maimed person be inconvenienced and made to suffer in this life, but in the next world his ghost would in like manner be maimed. Hence the idea of amputation was so dreaded by men, that a person preferred to die with a limb rather than to live without it, and so lose his chance of possessing full powers in the ghost-world. The loss of an eye was not only the sign which marked an adulterer in this life, but the loss would hold good in a future state and mark the man there; the thief who had been caught and deprived of his hand was for ever

maimed, and his ghost bore the stigma of a thief; so, too, mutilation in war-time was thought to constitute a blemish in the after-world. The loss of a limb was, moreover, a disgrace, not only to the man himself, but also to his clan, and the members naturally did their utmost to avoid the infamy.

Ghosts were believed to dwell in the vicinity of their old haunts; they were thought to have their pleasure grounds, and also to feel certain wants much as the living; they had their likes and dislikes, they were moved by kindness and made angry by neglect. Hence it behoved the living, and especially the relations upon whom the care and welfare of the ghosts depended, to be ever watchful for their interests; otherwise the ghosts would retaliate and cause illness and death in the clan. A favourite place of the ghosts was among the trees and plantains in the gardens, where they made sport, especially at noon when the sun shone brightly; on this account children were warned against going out to play in the gardens during the heat of the day, and even adults did not enter them at this time, unless they were obliged to do so. When the wind blew softly and murmured in the leaves of the trees, the ghosts were said to be talking to one another, and when a whirlwind occurred and carried up the dust and the leaves the ghosts were said to be at play. Ghosts hung about the graves in which their bodies lay buried; nothing would induce them to go far away from the spot except the removal of the body or of some particular portion of it. The special portion of the body to which a ghost clung was the lower jawbone (*Iwanga*); when once this was taken away the ghost would follow it to the ends of the earth, and would be quite satisfied to remain with the jawbone if it were honoured. This supposed knowledge of the way to control a ghost has been acted upon for many years; there are jawbones of men, who lived nearly a thousand years ago, preserved to this day by members of the clan to which they belonged; and they are regarded as a most precious heirloom. The possession of the jawbone of a member of the clan would (it was thought) bring good fortune. Naturally the jawbones of kings were preserved with the utmost care, and were handed down from generation to generation, with numerous traditions.

The temples (malalo) of the kings, commonly called their tombs, contain no more than the jawbone and the umbilical cord (mulongo) of some particular king. Their bodies were buried in other places, each in a mausoleum called *masiro*. The ghost of each king had its own temple, for it was thought that several ghosts would not agree to share the same temple. The ghosts of kings were placed on an equality with the gods, and received the same honour and worship; they foretold events concerning the State, and advised the living king, warning him when war was likely to break out. The King made periodical visits to the temple, first of one, and then of another, of his predecessors. At such times the jawbone and the umbilical cord were placed on the throne in the temple, and the King sat behind them; they were handed to him, and he examined them and returned them to the custodian.<sup>1</sup> The hill on which the temple of a king was built took the name of the place in which he was living at the time when he was elected king. The site for a temple was generally selected by a king during his life, but sometimes the new King chose another site, and gave the order to build the temple on it. Several of the late king's widows were sent to take charge of the temple: they, as well as the medium, had their houses inside the temple-enclosure, and some of them slept inside the temple itself, in order to guard it.<sup>2</sup> When the medium was under the influence of the ghost he spoke in the same tone, and used the same expressions as those which the late king had been accustomed to use. The late king's principal wife (Kadulubare), and a few other special widows, held offices in the temple, and these offices were never allowed to cease or die out when the women died or married; the clans to which they belonged had to supply fresh women in their place as wives of the deceased king. A young woman placed in a king's temple might marry, if the clan to which she belonged agreed to the engagement, and supplied another woman to take the office vacated.

The chief guardian of a temple was the Queen-dowager (Nalinya), who, during the king's lifetime, was called *Lubuga*; after the king's death she moved her residence to be near

Contents  
of the  
burial  
places and  
temples of  
the kings.

The office  
of the  
*Nalinya*.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 204.

the temple. This office was perpetuated, and when one princess died, another was appointed to succeed her. The ghosts of the kings were supposed to hold receptions; at such times the people went in crowds to hear the medium, and to see the decorated relics of their former lord. A drum was beaten in the early morning, summoning the people to the temple; numbers of them would bring presents of food, as though the king were alive. In the temple the decorated jawbone wrapped in barkcloths was set on its throne, together with the umbilical cord; and each person, as he entered, bowed to the ground and greeted the jawbone which was called "the King" in solemn tones. Drums were beaten and music was played during the time that the reception lasted, while women sang songs and clapped their hands to the time of the songs. Sometimes the deceased king gave a message to the crowd through the medium, and this was a great event.

Victims  
caught  
and sacri-  
ficed to  
the dead  
king.

It was an exceptionally great day when the reigning King went to visit the temple of his predecessor; thousands of people assembled to witness the sight and to hear the oracle. When the King had left the temple, and was being conducted back, he invariably gave an order to catch everyone who had not passed a certain place which he mentioned; the order was given suddenly, and the body-guard promptly carried it out, capturing and binding all whom they could lay hands on, if they had not passed the spot indicated by the King. The captives were taken back to the temple and slain within its precincts, in order that their ghosts might minister to the late king's ghost.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a king's ghost demanded the slaughter of men by asking for slaves; this was, however, a rare event; as a rule a ghost was content with a fire, and with a present of cattle, clothing, and beer. The fences of the enclosures to these temples were made of reeds plaited in a special design, which was not allowed to be used elsewhere. The jawbone and the umbilical cord were kept in a cell dug in the second chamber of the temple, where they were safe from fire or from theft. The custodians of the temple took turns each month to be on guard by day and by night, and

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 112, 283.



it was their first duty to rescue the relics if they should be in danger. The entrance to the temple-enclosure was a house built with a passage through the centre of it; a strong guard, which was relieved monthly, watched this passage, and lived in the house. The women who kept the grass floor-covering of the temple in order would not allow any one except a person of rank to walk up the centre of it; other persons wishing to do obeisance to the relics, had to go up along the side of the building, and to stand at a respectful distance

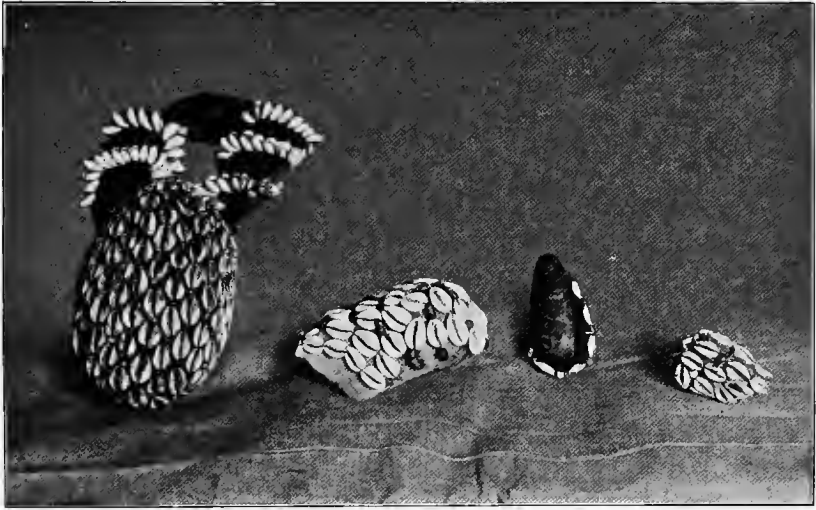


FIG. 47.—RELICS OF THE WAR GOD KIBUKA—FROM LEFT TO RIGHT—  
UMBILICAL CORD, JAWBONE, MALE ORGAN.

from the relics. The temple of every king from the time of Kintu to that of Mutesa is known, and has its relics sometimes decorated in a very primitive manner, but elsewhere redecorated with beads, which have been introduced into the country in recent years.

Ghosts of common people were honoured in a smaller measure. It was believed that all ghosts had first to go to Tanda, a place where they gave an account of themselves and of their doings in the flesh, and that, after paying their respects to Walumbe, the god of death, they were free

Ghosts of  
common  
people.

to go back to their respective burial grounds. As a rule the shrines of ghosts were built near the graves, though sometimes a noted chief had his jawbone removed by his clan, and placed in some special shrine of the clan. In the small shrines the relatives placed offerings of beer or clothing. The majority of ghosts were beneficent, and assisted the members of the clan to which they belonged ; only the ghosts of a man's sisters were thought to be troublesome, their malice venting itself more especially on his children. The medicine-man, by consulting the oracle, could tell people which ghost was causing them trouble, and could show them how to appease it. It was thought that ghosts were frequently annoyed by their graves being neglected and becoming overgrown with weeds. Sometimes a goat, or even a cow, had to be given to appease a ghost for this neglect ; the animals thus given were kept alive. No animal dedicated to a ghost might be killed or sold, it was allowed to roam about at will in the vicinity of the shrine. Poor people offered a fowl to a troublesome ghost, or if they could not give as much as that, they offered a few feathers and a shred or two of barkcloth, tying them to the roof of the shrine. When offerings of beer were made to a ghost, the beer was poured on the ground near the door of the shrine or at the head of the grave. Sometimes the aid of a ghost was sought against another ghost which was supposed to be troubling a family ; under such circumstances a man would take an offering of beer, which he would place before the shrine, and would repeat a formula, invoking the aid of the ghost, and ending with the words :—" And let him that overcomes drink " ; whereupon he would pour out the beer on the ground, and think that he had thus secured the assistance of the ghost. When a house was haunted by a ghost, and illness was caused in the family, a medicine-man would be fetched to capture the ghost. He would come, furnished with an empty vessel and a covering for it, also with a bag containing the fetiches by the aid of which he intended to induce the ghost to enter the vessel. Such a ghost was thought to have taken up its abode in the highest point of the house, and, accordingly, it had to be brought down ; the

medicine-man would work in the dark, he would make the ghost call out from the top of the house, and again from the vessel, when he had secured it, for the satisfaction and edification of the members of the house. When captured he would carry the ghost off to some waste land, on which he would throw the pot containing it, leaving it to be burned by the next grass fire ; or he would carry it off to a stream, throw it in and drown it ; in either case the ghost would be annihilated.

When everything went smoothly, and a family was in good health, a man did not trouble to make prayers or offerings to the objects of his religion, though he might send a thank-offering for some unexpected good fortune, which he attributed to the influence of gods. But, as a rule, men resorted to gods and fetiches only in times of danger or sickness. Ghosts were thought to suffer from cold and thirst, but not from hunger. Each well-provided shrine had its fireplace, and its supply of firewood ; barkcloths were also offered, and the walls were draped with other barkcloths to keep out the cold ; beer was poured out on the ground for the ghost at the entrance of the shrine, and a pot of beer was placed inside for its use. Some ghosts claimed tracts of country and forests, and any person going into these places was liable to be "struck by the ghost" for trespassing or for cutting fireword. A person who had been "struck by a ghost" fell ill, but a medicine-man would be able to tell the cause of the illness, and to supply the remedy. Another cause of annoyance to ghosts was the neglect to appoint the heir or heiress ; this was especially the case with the ghost of a man's sister. If the man neglected to appoint some girl to be heiress at the time of his sister's death, her ghost would cause his children to fall ill, and would sometimes even kill them, unless he speedily removed the occasion for the illness. Ghosts were sometimes annoyed by a person killing a goat or a fowl which had been devoted to them, and they continued to cause him trouble until the animals had been replaced.

Both men and women were liable to become possessed by ghosts. The form which possession took was generally a wasting sickness, or a mild form of insanity ; in such cases a medicine-man would be called in to exorcise the ghost by

Offerings were not usually made by people when in health and prosperity.

Methods of exorcising ghosts.

incantations, and by making the sick person inhale the smoke from certain drugs, which were burned by the bedside, and which soon dislodged the ghost. Fits were regarded as the outcome of ghostly possession; the sufferer, during a fit, was left alone, and any person who had been with him ran to a safe distance, lest any of the afflicted person's saliva should fall upon him, and he should be infected. If the patient was a married woman, her husband returned her to her relations, and they supplied him with another wife; but if she was a wife whom he had inherited, he kept her at a distance, lest she should infect him.

Offerings  
made to  
ghosts to  
ensure  
prosperity.

Though ghosts were frequently thought to cause trouble, they were also supposed to render help to the members of the clan to which they belonged, if they were treated well. A chief, or a wealthy person, would occasionally make a feast for the ghost of a relative, killing some animal at the shrine, and then partaking of the meal with the relatives and friends whom he had invited. The blood of the sacrifice was at the same time made to flow by the door of the shrine, and beer was poured out there during the meal. Sometimes slaves were dedicated as servants to a ghost; if a girl was offered in this manner she was allowed to marry when she grew up, provided her clan found a substitute for her, otherwise she remained a slave. In return for such attentions a ghost would cause the King to show favour to the man, or would increase his wealth and the number of children, so that to be favoured by a ghost and by the gods was a sure road to fortune.

Ghosts of  
animals  
and  
reptiles.

Sometimes lions, leopards, and crocodiles became ghosts after their death and were then worshipped; but they were confined to certain localities. Sheep were not killed in the same way as goats by the cutting of the throat; a sheep was led to an open space by one man while another stood behind it, and when it was not looking, he struck it on the head with the handle of an axe and stunned it; he then quickly cut its throat. Once an axe had been used for this purpose, it was kept inside the doorway of the house, and called "The plague of the sheep." The reason given for this mode of killing a sheep was, that if the sheep saw the person who killed it, a curse would rest upon him, and the sheep's ghost would cause him to fall

ill and to die. When a sheep died in a house, a woman would not tell her husband that it was dead, but would say: "I am unable to untie such a sheep"; the husband would then understand that it was dead. If a woman said: "The sheep is dead," its ghost would cause her to fall ill, and would possibly kill her. The ghosts of buffaloes were also feared; whenever the huntsmen killed one, they made a shrine for the head of the animal outside the garden; nor did they eat the flesh of the head in the house, but cooked it in the open where the shrine was built, and there poured out beer to it; otherwise (so they thought) the ghost of the animal would injure them in their next hunting expedition. It was customary to strangle a child which was born feet first, and to bury it at cross-roads; and every woman who passed the place threw some grass upon the grave, to prevent the ghost of the infant from entering into her and being reborn. When a person died of consumption, the body was buried at some distance from the houses, lest the ghost should attack the inmates with the disease. Any light-coloured people were buried at cross-roads, and every woman who passed the place threw grass upon the grave, to prevent the ghost from catching her and being reborn. A suicide's body was burnt on waste land by the roadside, or at cross-roads, in order to destroy the ghost. If the suicide had not been a person of any consequence and his relatives did not claim his body, it was burnt to dust; if, however, he had been a person of some position, and his relatives claimed the body, it was first charred by fire before it was handed over to them. If the deed had been committed in a house, the house was also burnt; and if he had hanged himself on a tree, the tree was torn up by its roots and burnt with the body. In this way the ghost was thought to be destroyed, so that it could not tempt any other person to commit suicide. Everyone passing the spot where the body of a suicide had been burned took the precaution to throw some grass, or a few sticks, on the place, so as to prevent the ghost from catching him, in case it had not been destroyed. A person accused of witchcraft was first made to submit to the ordeal by drinking poison, and if he was proved guilty, he was burnt to death on waste land; and people passing

the spot would throw grass upon the site to prevent the ghost from catching them. When a person wrought magic (Mwabutwe) by night he obtained human flesh, boiled it, mixed herbs with the water, and went to the garden of the person whom he wished to kill ; there he sprinkled the mixture over the crops, and this (it was thought) would cause death to all who partook of the food ; if such a person was caught making magic, he was tried by the poison ordeal and put to death, and his body was burnt on waste land. Everyone passing by threw grass or sticks on the spot, to prevent the ghost from attaching itself to them and influencing them to work similar magic.

The god  
Mukasa.

Mukasa held the highest rank among the gods of Uganda. He was a benign god ; he never asked for the life of any human being, but animals were sacrificed to him at the yearly festivals, and also at other times when the King, or a leading chief, wished to consult him. He had nothing to do with war, but sought to heal the bodies and minds of men. He was the god of plenty ; he gave the people an increase of food, cattle, and children. From the legends still current it seems to be almost certain that he was a human being who, because of his benevolence, came to be regarded as a god. His chief temple was on the island Bubembe in Lake Victoria Nyanza, though there were smaller temples built to him in all parts of the country, because of the universal honour in which he was held. In these temples the sacred emblem of Mukasa was a paddle, which had come from some particular place, and had received the blessing of the priest of that place. The chief temple on Bubembe had no paddle ; nor can it now be ascertained with any certainty what there was in this temple ; but some say that it was a large meteoric stone which was turned first to the east, and then to the west, according to the phases of the moon. Each temple had its priest, its medium, and a number of other followers and retainers belonging to the god. To the smaller temples ordinary people could resort, to obtain the god's assistance. On Bubembe, however, matters were different ; here dwelt the chief priest, with whom other priests were associated ; to this temple only the King, one or two of the leading chiefs, and

the immediate followers of the god who lived on the island, could resort. The legends about Mukasa are of great interest; they show how the human element has been lost in the divine, how the natural has been effaced by the supernatural, until, in the minds of the common people, only the supernatural remains. Mukasa, we are told, was the son of Wanema, whom the people on the island call Mairwa; his mother's name was Nambubi, of the Lungfish Clan; his younger brother, Kibuka, became the famous war god. Wanema was also a god, though of little note in comparison with his sons Mukasa and Kibuka. Before his birth, Mukasa's mother, Nambubi, is said to have refused to touch any food except a special kind of ripe plantains, known as *gonja*; cooked food she would not eat. When the boy was born she gave him the name Selwanga. When he had been weaned, he refused to eat ordinary food, but ate the heart and liver of animals and drank their blood. While still a child, he disappeared from home, leaving no trace behind him as to his whereabouts, but subsequently he was found on the island Bubembe, sitting under a large tree near the lake. Some people saw him as they passed the place, and told the elders of the village, who went to see him and to find out who he was; they concluded that he had come from Bukasa, and called him a *Mukasa* (that is a person from the island of Bukasa), and this name attached itself to him from that time. One of the men who went to see him, named Semagumba, told his companions that he could not leave the boy on the shore all night, so he carried him up to a garden and placed him upon a rock, until they could decide where he was to go. The people were afraid to take him into their houses, because they said that he must be superhuman to have thus come to their island; so it was decided that a hut should be built for him near to the rock on which he was seated, and that Semagumba should take care of him. They were at a loss what to give him to eat because he refused all sorts of things which they brought to him; at length they happened to kill an ox, and he at once asked for the blood, the liver, and heart, though he refused any of the meat which they offered him. This confirmed the people in their opinion

that he was a god, and they consulted him about any illness, and sought his advice when they were in trouble. Semagumba became chief priest, while Gugu and Sebadide, who had been his assistants, also became priests; the names of these men became the official names of later priests. For many years (according to the statements of some people for fourteen generations) Mukasa continued to live in the hut which they had built for him, and the priests cared for him. He married three wives, whose names were Nalwanga, daughter of Kibonge, of the Bird Clan; Najembe, the daughter of Musumba, of the Monkey Clan; and Naku, whose clan is uncertain. There are differences of opinion as to the end of the god; some say that he died and was buried on the island, in the forest near the temple, while others affirm that he disappeared as suddenly as he had come.

Temples  
of  
Mukasa.

A temple was a conical reed hut. It was rebuilt when necessary, but this rebuilding could not be undertaken without the special consent of the King, who would send an overseer to assemble men for the work. In the case of Mukasa's temple, the building was done sufficiently well to last for several years, because the ground was rocky, and the posts were let into holes dug in the rock, which preserved them from white ants and from damp. The King would send nine oxen, and the chief a similar number, when a temple was built. Nine was the sacred number for all gifts and offerings to the gods. The cattle were intended, not only to supply the sacrifice to the god, but also to furnish hides which could be cut into thongs for binding the timbers together, and which could serve as curtains for the doors and gates; the blood of the victims was for the god, and the meat was for his children. The King's overseer would go to *Gabunga*, the chief of the canoes, who would conduct him into the presence of the god. The chief *Gabunga* first went with the foreman builder to the god Musisi, and after receiving permission to go on, he proceeded to Bubembe. The priest of Mukasa had received notice of the coming of the messengers, and was in readiness to meet them, and to accept the present from the King. He sent messages to the people on the island, ordering them to bring their gifts, and to prepare to build the temple.



After the men had been summoned, they were given four days to purify themselves, during which time they separated themselves from their wives. On the morning of the fourth day the chief priest went to the shore of the lake and cut a tree for the temple-building. This was the signal for work. The women gathered under the principal wife of the chief priest, and began to clear twelve roads, radiating from the temple, and leading to different points of the lake. While the women were thus engaged, a chief named *Sekayonga* came with his men, and built a hut named "The guard," also a second hut named "Sleep," and eighteen smaller ones; the large hut, Sleep, was for the god to reside in, during the building of the new temple, the other huts were for the priests and the guard to live in. These huts were completed in one day; at the close of it the chief priest had all the cattle driven into the open space before the temple, to see whether they were all accepted by the god; any cow that lowed, or that dropped her dung during the time fixed for testing was discarded, for she was thought to have been rejected by the god; and she had to be replaced by another. The priest then examined the temple slaves in order to ascertain who among them had been the cause of the animal being rejected; rejection was believed to be due to someone having broken the taboo of chastity. If the person charged with such an offence was of high rank, he was deposed and fined; if he belonged to the lower orders, he was only fined. As soon as the animals had been examined, a gutter was laid to carry the blood into the lake; this was made of the outer layers of plantain-stems which were joined together, end overlapping end. The course followed for laying the gutter was the supposed path by which *Mukasa* had come to the island. At the upper end, where the animals were killed, a hide was spread out to form a receptacle for catching the blood and draining it into the gutter. When all was ready, the priests came forward fully robed, each carrying his insignia of office. *Semagumba* carried a large bowl for the blood, *Gugu* a sacred knife for killing the animals. *Sebadide* a stone upon which the knife was sharpened, *Semukade* a sacred spear, and *Sendowoza* the drum *Betobanga*. *Semagumba* selected one of the animals,

which was taken into the sacred enclosure and tied to the hut just built. The peasants and the lower order of priests then seized the remaining animals one by one, threw them, and held them down while *Gugu* killed them; *Semagumba* caught a little of the blood from each, and poured it into a large wicker water-proof receptacle which stood near, while the rest of the blood flowed down the channel into the lake. Watchers at the lake announced in a loud voice when the blood first reached the water; they called: "He has drunk it," and their cry was taken up on all hands. Afterwards the priests went into the enclosure, and killed the animal which had been tied to the temporary temple; the meat of this animal was the portion of the priests alone, not even one of the lower order of priests was allowed to touch it. The meat of the other animals was divided among the lower order of priests and workmen, but no woman was allowed to eat any of it. *Semagumba* placed the vessel containing the blood in the temple for the god. He alone entered the temple, while the other priests remained standing in the enclosure; when the chief priest entered he knelt down, and asked the god to accept the blood, and to grant an increase of children, cattle, and food. When the prayer was ended, the priest backed out of the temple, leaving the vessel of blood inside. Early the next morning the principal chiefs from the different islands came to erect the new temple. The chiefs were *Namuwimba*, *Kaganda*, *Semugala*, *Sewaya*, *Katanda*, and *Sendaga*. Each of them had some special work to do in the temple; the whole task had to be completed within the day, so they had to make an early start and to work hard in order to finish the building by sunset. The three main poles were cut by the priests, each pole of some particular kind of wood that was noted for its durability. *Semagumba* cut a *Lusambya* tree, *Gugu* a *Kawomerezi* tree, and *Sebadide* a *Musali* tree. The peasants cut the rest of the timber that was necessary and brought the other materials for the work. The chief *Namuwimba* started the actual work with his own hands; he also brought the roof-ring, which was given great honour and stood in the same relation to the building as a foundation stone does to a stone

house. He took his stand on the site of the temple, with the ring on his head ; the reeds sent by the King were then brought in, and were used as a beginning of the reed-work of the roof. The reeds were tied in their position with thongs from the hides of cows which had been killed on the previous evening. When the work had proceeded for some time, the chief *Namuwimba* called out : " The house is too heavy for me ; I pray you relieve me " ; the workmen replied : " You must pay to be released " ; he then consented to pay a cow, and the structure was lifted from his head and placed upon prepared stakes. As the diameter of the building increased, fresh workmen were able to take part in the work ; and early in the afternoon the main structure was completed, and the thatcher began his duties. The temple had a peculiar pinnacle ; layers of reeds were bound together, and when the bundle was made up, it was bound to the top of the roof ; this was the work of the chief *Kitanda*, who mounted the roof and made the pinnacle with the assistance of one or two men. When he had completed it, he put the iron blade of a hoe made for the purpose on each side of the pinnacle, and between the two hoe blades he placed two horns from one of the animals which had been killed on the previous evening. The floor consisted of the beaten earth, hides were hung over the doorway, and all was finished before dark. At dusk the priests came to the workmen and said : " We want the temple for Mukasa." The workmen then left the enclosure at once, and went into their huts, and no one was to be seen on the roads ; silence reigned everywhere, when the chief priest restored the god to his temple. On the two days following the priests saw no one, but remained in seclusion and had their meals in silence. On the third day *Semagumba* returned home to his wife and stayed there for two days ; he then visited *Gugu* and told him to return to his wife ; two days later he informed *Sebadide* that he might go home, and lastly, after another interval of two days, he called all the people who had taken part in the work and who had been waiting in seclusion, and told them also to go to their homes. Before *Semagumba* went home, he entered the temple to see that all was right ; and when he

dismissed the people, he told them that Mukasa was pleased with them. The enclosure was fenced with a growing fence of a variety of the strychnine plant.

The  
priests'  
office and  
dress.

The office of priest was confined to those clans from which each priest had in the first instance been taken. It did not necessarily follow that a priest's son would inherit his father's office; he might do so if his clan appointed him, but they had the right to reject him and to appoint some other member of the clan if they had any reason for so doing. No priest, so long as he lived, made known what his duties were, nor spoke of what was in the temple. When the chief priest died, *Gugu* and *Sebadide* told the successor what was in the temple, and instructed him in his duties; and when one of the other priests died, the surviving priests instructed his successor and initiated him into his office. When officiating, these three priests wore the same kind of dress, which consisted of two well-dressed barkcloths, one knotted over each shoulder; in addition to this they tied nine white goat-skins round their waist. They shaved their hair, each of the three adopting a distinct pattern. *Semagumba* left a patch of hair on the right side at the back of the head which was allowed to grow long, and had beads of different colours plaited into it. *Gugu* allowed his hair to grow long all over the top of his head, and wore it plaited with beads and cowry-shells. *Sebadide* had a small patch of uncut hair like *Semagumba's*, only it was rather smaller, and he wore no ornaments in it. There were two sacred drums in connection with the temple, which were named *Betobanga* and *Namikono*; *Betobanga* was the larger, and had human bones for drum-sticks. Whenever the priest *Gugu* died, the old sticks were thrown away and new sticks were procured. This was done in the following manner. A chief named *Sekadu* was sent from the island Busire with a canoe to the mainland, to a place named Sango, between the islands Zinga and Busi. On his arrival there, the canoe was beached and a bunch of ripe plantains was placed on the prow, as though the canoe-men were about to ship them; the men then went off to the gardens, leaving one of their number in hiding to watch the canoe. If a man came and took some of the fruit, he was

caught, bound, and placed in the canoe ; if a woman came and attempted to take the fruit, she was driven away by the man in hiding. After capturing their prisoner, the men were obliged to row to the island Kibi without stopping ; here they might spend the night, and on the following day they rowed to a small island Kaziri, where the captive was landed and put to death by having his throat cut. The body was left lying on the ground with a guard to protect it against crocodiles or birds, until the flesh decayed. When the shin-bones were quite clean and bleached, the guard took them to Bubembe, and handed them to the priest *Semagumba*, who beat the drum two or three blows with them and then handed them to *Sendowosa*, the man in charge of the drum. The drum (Betobanga) was beaten for the annual festival, on which occasion the rhythm had to be kept up at intervals by day and by night until the end of the festival ; the drum also announced the appearance of the new moon, warned the people of the monthly cessation from work, and made known when any special festival was to be held, as for instance, when the King sent to consult the god.

The medium (mandwa) was a woman ; she was said to have been found in the first instance on the island Nfunve, after the disappearance of Mukasa from Bubembe. She was taken to the priest *Semagumba*, who had a hut built for her on one side of the open space in front of the temple-enclosure. In former times Mukasa was said to have spoken directly to *Semagumba*, and to have communicated to him what he wished to tell the people. The medium never entered the temple, nor might she walk about in the sight of men ; she was attended by women-slaves belonging to the temple, and when she was requested to obtain an oracle, she did so in the second room of the hut, and not in public. Once the god had chosen his medium, she retained the office until her death ; she was not allowed to marry, nor to hold any conversation with any man except *Semagumba*, who was always present when she was possessed by the god. When she was about to seek an interview with the god, or to become possessed, she dressed like one of the priests with two bark-cloths knotted over each shoulder, and eighteen small white

The  
medi  
Muka

goat-skins round her waist. She first smoked a pipe of tobacco until the god came upon her ; she then commenced speaking in a shrill voice, and announced what was to be done. She sat over a sacred fire when giving the oracle, perspired very freely, and foamed at the mouth. After the oracle had been delivered, and the god had left her, she was very fatigued and lay prostrate for some time. While giving the oracle, she held a stick in her hand with which she struck the ground to emphasise her words. She might have as many slave-girls as she wished from those attached to the temple.

le  
s. The principal ceremony was the annual festival, when the King sent his presents to the god, to secure a blessing on the crops and on the people for the year. The offering consisted of nine men, nine women, nine white cows, nine white goats, nine white fowls, nine loads of barkcloths, and nine loads of cowry-shells. The King's representative had to go to *Gabunga*, the chief of the canoes, who accompanied him to the island. On the journey thither these two men ate apart from the rest of the company, and had to travel in a canoe apart from the rest of the party. As soon as they reached Bubembe, they found a man awaiting them, who took them to the road which it was intended that they should follow to reach the temple, while he himself went by a shorter road and arrived there first. The priest awaited the arrival of the representative in the open space before the temple, and appointed for him and his retainers a house in which they were to remain during the ceremonies. He then went to inform the god of the arrival of the King's party. In speaking to the god about the King, the priest called him : "Your son-in-law," and the god in like manner said : "Tell my son-in-law so and so." The festival lasted at least twenty days, during which time the men had to observe the rule of chastity and to live apart from the women. When the festival was at an end, the priest sent the King a message from the god, and gave his representative a present of a cow. The present was sent through *Gugu* to the chief *Gabunga*, who handed it to the representative. At this festival crowds of people gathered together, because, when the ceremonies ended, the priest gave

the blessing to them, their wives, children, cattle, and crops. It was from Mukasa that the great blessing of twins came ; he was said to show his esteem for certain women in this manner. With the appearance of each new moon there was a week's rest ; there were no special gatherings, but the drum was sounded daily, and the people did the minimum of work ; even the cutting of firewood was forbidden. Each new King, when he ascended the throne, sent to Mukasa for his blessing, and after each successful punitive expedition a thank-offering was sent. If any sickness appeared in the royal enclosure, or if any plague began to rage in the country, a messenger was despatched to Mukasa to find out the cause. If the King himself fell ill, Mukasa and all the gods had to exert themselves to restore him to health. Sometimes the King invited the gods to come and visit him in the capital ; this was an immense undertaking for both the King and the gods, because special houses had to be built for them and their followers. Sometimes a place outside the capital was appointed as the meeting place, and this would be the cause of even more elaborate preparations, since the King needed to have houses built for himself and for all his retainers, in addition to those required for the gods. The display of wealth by each party of priests and their followers was great at such times, each striving to surpass the others. The King had an audience-chamber, where he met the representatives of each god, and held communion with the deity. At such times the King's umbilical cord was present, and the medium of the god took it and held it when she was about to give the oracle on behalf of the god. The companies remained for four or five days in the capital, and then returned to their homes. Once in each year Mukasa would send to the King offerings of the fruits of the lake, in the form of fish of every kind. The medium would select messengers and send them to each chief on the islands, with a direction to them to bring fish to an appointed place at a set time. When this was done, and the fish had been brought, the god appointed the persons who were to take the gift to the King. When the party arrived at Court, the King would take his seat at the door of one of his houses with the attendant chiefs sitting

behind him and on either side of him, so that the procession could march past. The men marched past the King and round the courtyard several times, singing songs and working their arms as though they were paddling a canoe, while they carried the offering on their heads. At a given signal from their leader they placed their loads of fish before the King, and all knelt in lines, thanking him for accepting the gift. The leader then came forward and delivered his message from the god, after which the men again knelt and sang their songs. Sometimes the King entertained the party for several days, and during their visit they came daily to sing and dance before him. They were then sent back with suitable presents to the priests and to the god. Mukasa, as god of the lake, controlled the storms, and gave the increase of fish; he also gave good passages to people travelling by water. The boatmen sought his blessing before they set out on a voyage, and called to him when in danger from a storm. They made their offerings and supplications, however, through the priests of inferior temples and not at the chief temple. Sometimes childless women made vows to give Mukasa a child if he would grant their request and cause them to become mothers. If the prayer was fulfilled, then the parents took the child as soon as it was weaned and presented it to the priests; it was called by the name of the god, and grew up among the slaves on the estate. All slaves presented to the god were looked upon as his children, and could not be taken from the temple estates without sanction of the god obtained through his medium. Some of the women slaves were given in marriage to the priests, and no priest was allowed to marry without the god's permission. Other temple slaves were sent to various places on the estates, according to the directions given by the medium, on each occasion when a new batch of slaves arrived at the temple. Sometimes slaves were allowed to marry fellow-slaves, in which case their children in turn became slaves of the god. When a priest was allowed to marry a slave, and she had children by him, her children were free to marry into any clan outside the temple area at will. The duties of the slaves were to keep the estates in order, to supply the numerous



inferior priests with food, and, when the temple had to be rebuilt, to assist in the work. Cattle belonging to the god were as a rule kept for the sacrifices, though the god was liberal, and made frequent presents to his priests of animals, either to be kept for milking or to be killed for food. The King alone could give orders to the gods, and in fits of anger he has been known to plunder their rich estates and to carry off their cattle. However, he was usually afraid to take such a step, and more often made additions to the wealth of the god.

Nalwanga, Mukasa's chief wife, had her temple situated on one side of the open space in front of Mukasa's temple. Her medium was named *Siriwao*, and her rites were performed by Mukasa's priests. Her chief function was to assist childless women to become mothers; her influence, however, was not very great, and she was but little known on the mainland. Nalwanga was said to have been a pythoness, and to have come from the island Banga. There does not appear to have been any offspring from her marriage with Mukasa, and nothing is known of the other wives of Mukasa, who are merely names.

Kibuka (it is said) was a brother of Mukasa, and son of Wanema; he lived on the Island Sese. During the reign of Nakibinge, the Banyoro, who had always been the enemies of the Baganda, were at war with them, and King Nakibinge after several indecisive battles resolved to send to Sese, and to seek the aid of the god Mukasa. The island at that time was little known, and the journey thither was looked upon as a serious undertaking. The messengers selected were two chiefs named *Katituba* and *Katata*. They sought out Mukasa, laid before him the King's request, and were delighted to find that Mukasa consented to send his brother Kyobe, who was also called Kibuka, to assist King Nakibinge. Before sending him off Mukasa told his brother to be careful in his dealings with the enemies, and never to let them know where he took up his position in the battle. He further warned him not to have any dealings with the Banyoro women. The messengers returned with Kibuka to the great delight of King Nakibinge, who now felt confident of victory. Nakibinge decided to go in person to the war, and after making arrangements with

The  
goddess  
Nal-  
wanga.

The war  
god  
Kibuka.

Kibuka, he took up his position as general of the army. Kibuka flew up into a cloud and hovered over the enemy; during the battle he shot down arrows and spears upon them, while the Baganda army pressed them in front. The battle ended that day in favour of the Baganda, and the Banyoro withdrew to a safe distance, to consider what they should do. It so happened that the Baganda had taken some women prisoners; one of these took Kibuka's fancy, and he had her sent to his hut. At night she escaped, after having discovered who Kibuka was, and where he posted himself during the battle. She carried the information to her people, who at once decided that they would attack the Baganda again on the morrow, keeping a sharp outlook for Kibuka and his cloud. When the battle was at its height, Kibuka came sailing over the enemy in his cloud, and began to hurl down his weapons upon the Banyoro; some of their archers, however, sent a volley of arrows into the cloud, by which Kibuka was mortally wounded. He fled away in his cloud to Mbale in Mawokota, and alighted upon a large tree, where he died. Some say that, when Kibuka was wounded, he dropped his shield; the Banyoro took it, but many of them fell ill of a particular disorder, and this was attributed to their having retained the shield; accordingly they sent it back to Uganda, and it was placed with the other relics in Kibuka's temple. In the battle King Nakibinge and many Baganda were killed. After Nakibinge's death there was no king for some time, because his children were all small; so a regent was appointed to administer the country. On the morning following the battle the chief *Nakatandigira* saw Kibuka's body in the tree, so he went and asked his friend *Kalyembula* to come with him, and they also took the chief *Kituma* with them to help them to remove the body. *Nakatandigira* arranged to climb the tree and to pass the body down to the others, who were holding a barkcloth to receive it; the body, however, fell down, just as *Nakatandigira* was climbing into the tree. The three men then took the body and assisted by two others, *Buvi* and *Kazimba*, they buried it in a garden near by. The people selected the chief *Kalyembula* to go and tell Mukasa what had been the issue of the battle, and that his brother was dead. Mukasa was

very angry at the tidings ; he arrested the messenger, and sent him back under a guard to Uganda. *Kalyembula* remained a prisoner for many years, because the King, being young, was unable to try the case ; during his imprisonment he did not cut his hair, but left it long like a mourner's. The people gave him the name of *Luwoma* (it is beautiful) because of his long hair. During his term of imprisonment *Kalyembula* became famous for his skill in deciding cases and settling disputes, and was a great favourite with the people. When Prince Mulondo came of age and ascended the throne, he pardoned him. Mulondo also ended the dispute with Mukasa by giving him a prince and several princesses as slaves for Kibuka's temple. He also had a large temple built, in which were placed the relics, the jawbone, the umbilical cord, the shield, the bell, the spear, and a number of other things which belonged to Kibuka.

*Najambubu* became Kibuka's principal medium, and Nakanga his second medium. There were forty mediums in all, some of whom accompanied the army in war ; in times of peace only one medium was employed. There were three priests appointed : *Luwoma*, *Kituma*, and *Nakatandigira*, who were always present in the temple, except when there was a punitive expedition, in which case one of them accompanied the general.

Kibuka's temple was a conical hut of the usual type surrounded on three sides by a thick forest sacred to the god ; on the fourth side there was a large open space. On the lower slopes of the hill and in the valleys for some distance round there were gardens of the priests and of the retainers of the god. The King and the powerful chiefs were constantly offering him men- and women-slaves, as well as cattle, so that Kibuka was very rich. When a new temple was built, each district contributed workmen. The building took from fourteen to sixteen months to complete, because the men, after working for two days, rested for two. During the time that the temple was being built, the chief *Kanyolo* was not permitted to shave his head or to cut his nails ; his hair grew long, and he had the appearance of a mourner. No one was permitted to pass along the roads near the temple during the

The god  
Kibuka's  
priests and  
mediums.

The god  
Kibuka's  
temple.

time that the building was in progress ; if anyone attempted to do so, he was caught, made prisoner and kept in confinement until the god entered the new temple, when he was executed. The man whose duty it was to do the thatching was a chief named *Namumenya*, and he also brought special timber for the door-step. When the temple was quite ready for use, the priest *Kasima* (who was one of the lesser priests) brought the sacred fire for it, which was said to be



FIG. 48.—FENCE ENCLOSING KING'S TEMPLE.

obtained from a rock near by. *Kasima* went to the rock and struck it with a tuft of grass, whereupon fire came out of it, and ignited the grass ; this fire he took into the temple, where it was kept burning during the reigning King's life-time. When the King died, the fire was extinguished ; and when a new King ascended the throne, fresh fire was obtained from the rock. *Kasima* slept in the temple alone the first night ; on the next morning the priest *Kituma* brought the god *Kibuka* from his temporary quarters, and set him down in front of the door of the temple ; the people who had been

building were then permitted to see him. This was the only occasion when the people were allowed to look upon the god; and even then there was nothing to see, but a huge conical-shaped object draped in barkcloth. About noon *Kituma* carried the god to his place in the middle of the temple, and placed him on a dais upon which was spread a lion's skin and a leopard's skin. In front of the dais there was a row of spears taken in war, which had been presented to Kibuka by various kings. There was one spear which had nine blades; there was also Kibuka's shield named *Lugyamirembe*, a paddle which he was said to have used when crossing from the island to Uganda, a fly-brush, the pipe which the medium smoked, when he was about to become possessed by the god, the umbilical cord, named *Semutega*, a copper axe, a knife, and a harp named *Tanalabankondwe*. In front of the temple thirty drums were beaten during the time that the god was being carried from the temporary temple to his new residence. The special drum for regular use was named *Tatata*, which was beaten by *Luwoma* when Kibuka took possession of the medium *Kainja*, and instructed him to catch and kill people. In the evening Kibuka possessed one of the mediums, and ordered a number of prisoners to be put to death. These men were, as a rule, sent by the King for the ceremony that day; one of them was given permission to plead the cause of the party, and afterwards he, with the others, was executed by the temple officer *Nabubi*. The people who had been taken prisoners on the roads near the temple, during the time that it was being built, were also killed, unless they could be redeemed by their relatives. Kibuka's principal duties were to foretell when war would take place, and to send his representative to the war, who took with him some emblem of power from the god. When with the general on an expedition, the priest and the medium had a hut built near to that in which the general took up his quarters, in order to be near him and to give oracles concerning the enemy. Whenever the King wished to consult Kibuka, he sent a present of slaves and cattle. The messenger on arriving at the temple-court, was met by an assistant priest *Katata*, who received the gift, and went into the temple to announce the messenger to *Luwoma*, *Kituma*,

and *Nakatandagira* ; they then asked him to come into the temple, and arranged with Kibuka for the interview. Meanwhile the messenger was accommodated with a house near by, until the time appointed for the interview. On such occasions all the priests were present in the temple. Prisoners sent to Kibuka by the King were given an opportunity to state their case before the god, though they never seem to have been acquitted. After visiting the temple, they were taken

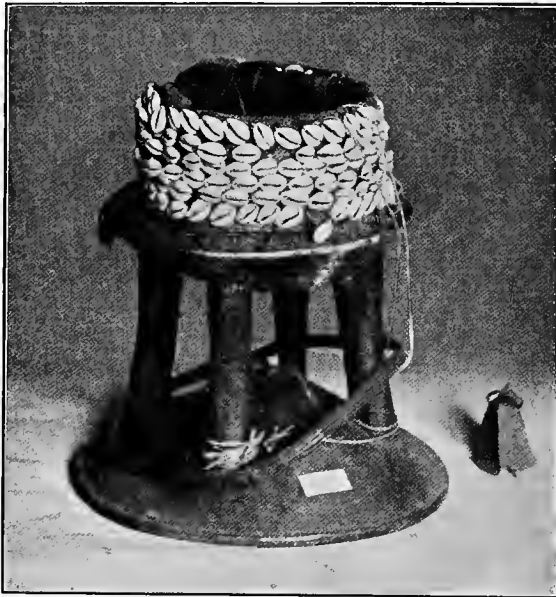


FIG. 49.—STOOL ON WHICH THE WAR-GOD KIBUKA WAS PLACED.

away by the head of the police named *Sabata* to a tree near by, bearing the name *Segibugo*, upon which their outer clothes were hung ; they were then given a special kind of doctored beer, which was supposed to prevent their ghosts from coming to injure the King. After they had drunk the beer, they were led to the sacrificial place, where they were either speared or clubbed to death ; their bodies were left where they fell. No prisoner put to death at any of the sacrificial places was ever claimed by the clan for burial, but his body was left for the

wild beasts and birds. Sometimes, when Kibuka was particularly enraged with a prisoner, the latter was put to death at once in the temple ; the medium, while still possessed by the god, snatched up a spear and ran it through the man, as he knelt pleading his cause.

There was always a prince who was given the official title *Namwa* in the temple, whose duty it was to tend the fire and to cut the firewood with the copper axe. Two princesses lived in the temple-court, whose places were filled by other princesses when they died. The title of the principal princess was *Nagalamede*, and of the other, *Namirembe* ; a third woman of honour, though not a princess, was *Nakitabaja* of the Sheep Clan. These women had houses inside the temple enclosure, and great honour was paid to them, not only by those who were resident at the temple, but also by all who came to seek the aid of the god. Sometimes the god gave to some of the slaves wives from the women who were brought to him ; and when these had children, the babies were brought to him ; sometimes he gave them back to their parents, in which case they became free people ; at other times he retained them as his slaves. Those who were freed were allowed to leave the temple-estates ; a boy might become the servant of a chief, and a girl might become the wife of some man living outside the temple estates. Every third child of a woman who was the wife of a priest, or of an officer of the temple, had to be given to Kibuka ; the child was called the *ndobolo* (meaning a tax upon children). There was a temple servant named *Muzinga*, whose duty it was to bring water for the god daily from a sacred well, *Nakaliga*. He wore a zebra-skin mantle, and had two long gourds in which to carry the water ; the water he mixed with white earth, and poured it into two vessels in the temple, one of wood, the other of pottery. There was a special herdsman for the cattle, named *Sejagu*, who had strict instructions concerning a sacred bull, *Kibukabuka*, and a sheep, *Nawolovu*, which were favourite animals of the god, and were carefully guarded. A man, *Tonandaba*, had charge of two gourds containing seeds, which were rattled to the rhythm of the drums and harp on special occasions. Two policemen,

The Prince  
and the  
Princesses  
of the  
temple.

*Nasumbi* and *Kide*, assisted *Sabata* whenever an execution took place; each of these had numerous followers who were ever ready to carry out his instructions.<sup>1</sup>

The war-gods Nende and Kirabira. The second war-god, Nende, and his brother Kirabira had their temple at Bukerere in the Kyagwe district. They were said to be the sons of Mukasa, and were brought to Kyagwe when Kibuka was killed. Nende gave advice concerning wars, and sent his representatives on punitive expeditions, though he was never so highly esteemed as was Kibuka. His brother Kirabira was seldom consulted, but his name was merely coupled with that of Nende. The temple was surrounded by a strong stockade, with one entrance-gate, which was guarded both by day and by night, so that only the inmates might enter. Nende had six wives who were princesses, and these never left the enclosure, after they had once been dedicated to the god. They had seats in the temple, on either side of the dais upon which the god was supposed to sit. Once in twenty-five years the god was brought out to be shown to the people, who flocked together from all parts of the country to the festival. During the festival those who attended were required to abstain from beer, because neither the priests nor the medium were allowed to drink it; they ate coffee-berries instead, the medium eating them on each occasion before he became possessed by the deity. The festival lasted for nine days, during which time the laws of chastity were observed by all present. The priests belonged to the Mushroom Clan, and took the titles *Wangu* and *Kajujugwe*. The four principal princesses dedicated to the god took the titles *Nabweteme*, *Dadungu*, *Nagadya*, and *Nakilwade*. The medium, after he had once come to be possessed by the god, never left the temple-courts. Both the medium and the priests wore the usual dress of barkcloths and a white goat-skin apron, when they officiated in the temple.

<sup>1</sup> Now that the remains of the god Kibuka have been obtained, and sent to the Museum of Ethnology at Cambridge, we know that the conical bundle contained a stool, with a hollow, basin-like top, in which was a bag containing a human jawbone and the male organ. The jawbone and other relics were undoubtedly those of a human being. The decorated umbilical cord, a shield, and a short, double-edged sword were fortunately obtained with the jawbone. They are all now in the Museum at Cambridge.



Kaumpuli, the god of plague, had his temple in Bulemezi on the Bunyoro and Bulondoganyi frontiers. The story concerning his birth is told as follows: His father, Prince Kayemba, brother of King Juko, fell in love with a woman named Naku, of the Civet-cat Clan, and wished to marry her, but the gods objected and warned King Juko not to allow his brother to take this woman to wife. But Kayemba disregarded the warning and married Naku, and she became the mother of a child without arms and legs. Kayemba was afraid of this monster, and sent the mother and child away by canoe to Busoga.<sup>1</sup> The Busoga priests warned the chiefs not to receive Naku, and she was sent back to Uganda accordingly; she was driven away from each place to which she went, on account of the child, until at length she was allowed to settle at Bugoya. The child had a nurse, Nabuzana, who was fond of him, and who tended him to the time of his death. After his death he was declared by the gods to be the god of plague, a temple was built in his honour, and the remains of Kaumpuli were placed therein. The temple resembled other temples of the country in shape, and was named *Nabibubalo*; the King ordered it to be built and maintained by State-labour; and on its completion the customary ceremonies and offerings took place. The god (it was said) resided in a deep hole in the temple, which was securely covered, in order to prevent him from escaping and harming the country. The hole could only be covered efficiently by wild-cat-skins, and hundreds of these little animals were needed each year to cover it. Plantain-stems were first laid over the hole, and then the skins were placed upon them and weighted by stones round the edges. It was believed that but for this covering the god would come out in a puff of smoke, and that, when he once escaped, he would destroy the country. King Juko was forbidden to look towards Bulemezi, because it was believed that he would die if he did so. For years it was the duty of one of his wives to hold a barkcloth before him to prevent his eyes from wandering towards Bulemezi, when he went out. One day this wife was ill, the King looked towards the hill on which the temple stood, and a few days later he died. Kaumpuli's

The god  
of plague,  
Kaumpuli.

<sup>1</sup> Busoga is the country; Musoga, pl. Basoga, the people.

priest was given the title *Kanalira*; his duties were to wait upon the medium *Nageza*, and, when necessary, send his subordinates to cleanse the gardens or houses where plague had broken out. He also distributed small iron and brass shields, to be worn as amulets, to prevent people from catching the plague. When a garden or house was plague-stricken, the people resorted to the god, made offerings of beer and of a barkcloth, and asked for priests to bring medicine to drive away the disease. The priests treated the sick and nursed them; any cattle, women, or children which belonged to a person who died of the plague were confiscated and sent to the god. If the relations wished to redeem the women and children they could do so, but the rest of the property belonged under all circumstances to the god. When the priests had treated the people and they had recovered, the priests next purified the place by transferring the disease to a plantain tree, and removing it from the garden to some waste land at a short distance. They first made a number of small shields and spears from plantain fibre and reeds, which they placed at intervals along the path leading from the garden to the main road. A young plantain tree, about to bear fruit, was then cut down, the stem was put in the path leading to one of the plague-stricken huts, and it was speared, with not less than twenty reed spears, which were left sticking in it, while some of the plantain-fibre shields were also fastened to it. This tree was carried down the path to the waste land, deposited there, and called the scapegoat (*Kyonzire*). The priests raised an arch, which they covered with barkcloth, over the path where it branched from the main road, and this, they said, would effectually prevent the plague from returning by the path. They stuck a spear into the roof of every house in which a person had died, and thus notified that all the property therein belonged to the god. The women and children who were taken to the temple were not allowed to mourn, nor to show any sign of sorrow for their dead until they had been redeemed. After the priests had purified a house and garden, and had buried the dead, they allowed the inhabitants to return. The cleansing ceremony they termed *kukokola*. Sometimes self-appointed

men went to purify a garden, pretending that they had been sent by the god, but he vented his anger upon them and killed them, thus making it quite evident that he had not sent them. When the people returned to their homes after they had been purified, they brewed a special pot of beer and took it, with a barkcloth and a fowl, to the temple as their thank-offering.



FIG. 50.—DRUM OF THE GOD OF THE CHASE  
(with the sacred objects taken from inside it).

Dungu was a Bunyoro<sup>1</sup> god, whose chief temple was in Dungu,  
a forest on the border of Bulemezi and Bunyoro. His second the god  
temple was at Busenya, in Budu. His medium was named of the  
*Lusoke* of Kikoma, who was a Munyoro. The priest was chase  
given the title *Lwekika*. Hunters consulted him before going

<sup>1</sup> Bunyoro is the country ; Munyoro, pl. Banyoro, the people.

out to hunt, offering a pot of beer at his shrine, and asking where they should find game; they also procured amulets to protect themselves against the attacks of wild animals, pieces of cord and the like for their nets, which were supposed to entangle the animals, and herbs to rub on their weapons so as to make their blow fatal. After a hunt, if they met with success, they took back part of any animal captured as an offering to the god, and also a bundle of firewood with which to cook the meat. Dungu had a special drum in which was a large fetich composed of portions of every kind of animal and bird hunted; all kinds of medicines used in making hunters' charms for the chase; miniature weapons; and pieces of cord and other materials employed in the making of traps. This fetich was set upright inside the drum and fixed in its position by a mixture of the dung of wild animals and the blood of animals sacrificed to the god. When the medium wished to become possessed, he smoked a pipe, and the drum was beaten, until the god came upon him. Dungu had his servant named Kalisa, who was also a god; it was his duty to herd wild animals.

The god  
Katonda.

Katonda, the Creator, had a small temple in the Kyagwe district on the Banda hill, but he received little honour or attention. His medium was known by the name of *Kifomusana*; he gave his oracles by night, and no fire or light was allowed in the temple. Katonda was spoken of as "the father of the gods," because he had created all things, but not much was known about him. Offerings of cattle were occasionally made to him; some of these were killed, but the majority were decorated with a bell round the neck, and allowed to roam about during the day, while at night they were brought to one of the huts. The King sometimes sent a special animal as an offering, and this was never killed.

The  
earth-god  
Kitaka.

Kitaka, the earth-god, had his temple in Busiro, and his medium was *Nalyaki*. He was frequently consulted by the King when the latter contemplated putting people to death who had been condemned by the other gods; the King at such times would send to Kitaka and ask him to destroy the ghosts of the condemned people. The medium, under the influence of the god, undertook to destroy their bodies and

spirits, so that they could not return to harm the King. Kitaka was consulted by women when they wished to secure good results from a newly-made garden; offerings and requests were also made to him in order that the land might yield abundant crops.

Mirimu is said to have been a son of Mukasa; his temple was on Ndeje hill in Bulemezi. His medium was a woman, and he had priestesses instead of priests. When any oracle was to be given, the priestesses gathered thorny shrubs, of a kind known as *Nkangwe*, and placed them in the doorway of the temple; the medium then stood upon them, became possessed, and gave the god's message. The thorns never harmed her, nor did they pierce her feet, though she stood with bare feet upon them. Mirimu was the god who enabled the people to take their enemies' weapons in battle. When officiating, the medium and the priestesses wore the usual dress belonging to temples. The god  
Mirimu.

Wanga is believed to be one of the oldest of the gods; tradition makes him the father of Musisi, who was the father of Mukasa. He lived on one of the Sese Islands, but was brought over to Uganda by King Juko. The legend concerning him is to the following effect: The sun fell from its place in the heavens, and there was total darkness for some days. In his distress the King sent to Wanga, and asked him to come to his help. The god consented, came to Uganda, and restored the sun to its place. In return for his services the King gave him an estate in Busiro, where he remained, and where his temple was afterwards built. His medium and his priests were in all respects like those of Mukasa. Wanga was consulted in reference to sickness and disease, and he also foretold in what manner common evils might be averted. The god  
Wanga.

Musisi, the father of Mukasa, was held to be responsible for earthquakes. He had his temple upon one of the Sese Islands, but was believed to dwell in the centre of the earth, and to cause earthquakes when he moved about. At such times those who had fetiches near patted them, and asked the god to keep quiet; pregnant women patted their stomachs to keep the god from taking either their own life or that of their The god  
Musisi.

child ; others raised a shrill cry to remind the god of their existence and to induce him to remain quiet. He was not a god who was much consulted by the people, but he was supplied with presents lest he should be angry and disturb the earth by his movements.

The god  
Wamala.

Wamala is said to have been a son of Musisi, and to have lived with his father and with his brother, Wanema, on one of the Sese Islands. It is related that once he had a difference with his brother Wanema, which ended in a wrestling-match. When they had struggled together for some time, and neither could gain any advantage, Wamala's dog came behind Wanema, and bit him in the leg ; this gave Wamala the advantage, and he threw his brother. Wanema, greatly enraged, took a handful of ashes from the fire, and threw them into Wamala's eyes, thus blinding him for a time. In anger, Wamala packed up his goods, and left the island, saying that he would go and look for a new home where his brother could not molest him. He carried a skin of water with him, and wandered off towards Singo. On the journey he sat down on a hill to rest, placing the water-skin by his side ; by some mishap the water escaped and trickled down the hill. A spring burst forth from the hill where the water flowed, became a river which ran down into the valley, and formed the lake known as Lake Wamala. Wamala settled there, and in the course of time a temple was built in his honour, and he became one of the principal gods of the country. The temple was like the others in shape ; the building was carried out by the State, and the King sent offerings to the god, whenever a new temple was erected. The medium was a woman, who gave the oracle by night ; the priests and the suppliant entered the temple late at night, and seated themselves by the fire, and the medium, after drinking a little beer, became possessed and gave the message of the god. The suppliant had to take an offering of sheep, for goats were not accepted in this temple, and he remained in the temple until the morning. Only the King's messenger was allowed to see the medium, or to enter the principal temple : there were other, less important temples to which ordinary people resorted. During the time that the temple was being rebuilt, the overseer of the work was not

allowed to cut his hair or nails. Human sacrifices were made to Wamala ; the victims were clubbed to death on the lake shore, and afterwards speared, and thrown into the lake. The water is said to have become quite crimson with the blood of the victims by the time that the sacrifices were ended.

Nagawonyi, the goddess of hunger, was thought to be able to end drought or famine by means of her influence with the gods Musoke and Gulu, who commanded the elements. Her temple was on the hill Mubande, in Bulemezi, and her priests belonged to the Bird Clan. When there was a long period of drought, and the crops failed, the people took offerings to her temple, and also samples of the withered fruits, to show her how needy they were. The messengers were women ; they begged Nagawonyi to have pity on her dying children, and to intercede with Musoke and Gulu on their behalf. The medium, when possessed, gave the oracle as to when the people might expect rain to fall. When the rain was very heavy and the lightning severe, the people made fires which gave forth volumes of smoke, to keep the clouds from falling ; and they beat drums, to let the god Gulu know where they were, that he might not hurt them with lightning.

Of Walumbe, the god of death, an interesting story is told,<sup>1</sup> which accounts for his coming to the earth. Walumbe is said to have been the brother-in-law of Kintu, the first king, and to have lived with his father Gulu in the sky. The temple of Walumbe was built at Ntanda, in Singo, where there was a deep ravine, in which the god was believed to live ; the temple was on a ridge near this ravine. A medium and a priest were attached to the temple, the latter was taken from the Colobus-monkey Clan. The King alone made offerings to this god, and he only did so at the bidding of the other gods, in order to prevent Death from sending to kill the people wholesale. Each King, when crowned, sent an offering to Walumbe, to appease him. The souls of the dead had to go to Ntanda, to give an account of their deeds ; when they had done this they were free to return to their own clans, so as to be near the graves in which their bodies were laid. When a person

<sup>1</sup> See p. 465.

had died, and the cause of death could not be ascertained, it was customary to say that Walumbe had taken him.

The god  
Nkulu.

The god Nkulu was more especially connected with the Leopard Clan. He does not appear to have had any medium, though he had priests and temples. Each new temple of the god Nkulu that was required was built by the Leopard Clan, but only after they had obtained the King's permission. During the time of building the workmen rested, and held a feast every ninth day. In front of the temple in Bwende there were numbers of white stones, which were sacred to the god, and were called his messengers. The chief office of the god was to assist women to have children, and all classes of people went to him to obtain amulets, called *nzalo*, which were worn by women round their waists, in order that they might have the power of fecundity. When a woman gave birth to a child, and this was thought to be due to the intervention of the god, the husband had to take him an offering of a goat; if this was not done, the god became angry and would send one of the sacred stones to the King, to warn him that the people were not paying their dues. The stone would be found in the King's bed, and would disappear in the same mysterious manner in which it had come, as soon as the dues were paid. Sometimes people gave the god slaves as well as goats, when they had been given children.

The god  
Mbale.

The god Mbale had his temple at Mbale in Budu; he also had a cave, in which were numbers of bats. The priest and medium was *Namata* of the Heart Clan. The caretaker of the estate was *Maagali*, who was also a priest. This god was resorted to by women desiring children. When a woman came to consult the god and ask for children, the priest, after receiving the offerings, took the woman into the cave, where he called upon the god, and told him the object of the visit. The answer came through the sacred bats; if one of them let its excretions fall upon any woman, she was a favoured person, and was sure to have a child. The temple was built by the State, at the King's order; the workmen were required to complete their work in eighteen days. They worked from the commencement to the ninth day, when they had a break and a rest; they then worked for a second period of nine



days, in which they completed the building. When it was ready for the god, it was decorated with palm leaves, bark-cloth, and creepers, and the priest had to sleep in it for two days. The sacred objects were a spear and a paddle, which were carried with great pomp into the new temple.

From very early times the god Gulu was acknowledged as an important deity; he had neither priest nor temple until recent times, when a man of the Grasshopper Clan became possessed by him, and a temple was built. The priest, who was also the medium, was named "He who eats like an elephant" (Kin-ryanganjovu). It was he who warned the King when war was imminent, and in some instances he foretold national sickness. When dressed officially the priest wore, in addition to the white-goatskin apron, a head-dress of jackal-skin decorated with a border of red seeds. When he went into the King's presence, he first pointed a stick at the King, after the manner of a general taking the oath before going to war, and the King, in like manner, pointed a stick at the medium, who then gave the message from the god. The god  
Gulu.

All large trees were thought to be the abode of spirits, which were friendly disposed, unless a person interfered with the tree. No one ventured to cut down a large tree, without first consulting one of the gods. An offering was made to the tree-spirit, and only after the spirit had been propitiated did the man venture to fell the tree. If, on the other hand, he neglected the offering, the spirit would (it was believed) cause illness in his family. Tree  
spirits.

The god Namulere was the servant of the other gods; his priest carried about a bundle of wild animal skins wherever he went. He would sometimes beat his head with a stick to show his powers of endurance. If the King or any chief wished to fell a tree, and the workmen were afraid of it, and said that it resisted their blows or turned the edge of their axe-blades, the medium of Namulere would be sent for. On arriving he would butt the tree with his head and drive away the spirit, after which the tree could be cut down. The temple of Namulere was in the Kyagwe district. The god  
Namulere.

Nabuzana was the nurse of the god Kaumpuli; her temple was on Luwunga hill on the Bunyoro frontier. She was the The  
goddess  
Nabuzana.

patroness of women, who looked to her more particularly when they were in danger from childbirth. Her priestesses went through the country to perform the office of midwives.

The  
goddess  
Nagadya.

Nagadya was the mother of Kibuka ; her temple was near Entebe in the Busiro district, and was known by the name *Nkumba*. This goddess was resorted to when there was a scarcity of food, and she was expected to intercede with the gods for the necessary rain which would make the earth fruitful.

River  
spirits.

The principal rivers were thought to have spirits, which were credited with powers for good or for evil. Most of the rivers were thought to have originated from a human being. Thus, for example, the river Mayanja was said to have taken its rise from the spot where a princess gave birth to a child, and to have been caused by the birth-flood. The river was afterwards worshipped under the form of a leopard, which some people account for by saying that a leopard was drowned in it. The ghost of this leopard afterwards took possession of a man, who, when under its influence, gave his oracle in gruff tones and made noises like a leopard.

The river Sezibwa is said to have had a similar origin to that of the river Mayanja. A young woman, when on a journey, was looking for her lost lover who had wronged and then deserted her. On the spot where her child was born the river sprang forth. The spirit of the river was named Muige ; he had a priest, but no temple. On each side of the river, however, there was a heap of grass and sticks, and every person who crossed the river threw a few sticks or a handful of grass upon the heap as an offering to the spirit, and, after crossing safely, he threw more on the heap on the other side. From time to time offerings were made at these heaps ; the worshipper would bring beer, or an animal, or a fowl, would tie them to the heap, and leave them there after offering a prayer to the spirit. The priest took the beer, but reserved the animal or the fowl for the river spirit.

The river Wajale was possessed by a spirit named Naka-womba, and the river Katonga by the spirit of a Munyoro ; each of these rivers was worshipped under the form of a lion, the medium roaring like a lion when possessed.

Before crossing any river, a traveller would take a few coffee-berries, and, after asking the spirit to give him a safe crossing, he would throw the coffee-berries into the water. No river of any width and depth had a bridge, and often they were dangerous to cross, since the crossing had to be made by jumping from tuft to tuft on the papyrus roots ; if a false leap was made, the person might possibly go under ; moreover the current in some places was very strong under the papyrus, so that no one except a strong swimmer could reach the surface, everyone else was in danger of being carried under the roots of the floating papyrus and of being drowned. If a man was carried away by the current, his friends did not try to save him, for they feared that the river-spirit would take them also, if they helped the drowning man. They thought that the man's guardian spirit had left him to the mercy of the river-spirit, and in this way they accounted for his death.

Certain hills were supposed to be possessed by the ghosts of wild animals ; the people approached them with fear, and were careful to appease the spirit when they had to work on one of the hills, or when their path lay over one of them. The sacred hills which were thought to have guardian spirits were :—

Walusi, Kiima, and Sempa in Bulemezi, which had a lion spirit.

Boa, Naube, Luunga, and Kyangabi in Bulemezi, which had a leopard spirit.

Walaga in Kyagwe had a lion spirit.

Buku in Kyagwe had a leopard spirit.

Each of these hills was sacred, and neither the King nor any messenger from him might venture upon them. On this account, whenever the King sent to rob or plunder people, they would escape to the nearest of these hills, and wait there until the King withdrew his party ; both they and their goods would be safe as soon as they reached the sacred hill. At Gaga on the Boa hill there was a temple in charge of a priestess *Kalambika*, and also a female medium *Bakima*. No King was permitted to visit Boa, but all were compelled to stop short at the foot of the hill. It is related that King Mawanda wished to build his capital on the hill, but, after

crossing the stream, he suddenly became blind, and remained so during his stay there, though, when he left the hill, he immediately recovered his sight. From that time onwards the hill has been regarded as sacred. On the hill there was a sacred forest, into which no one except the priest was permitted to enter. A broad path ran round the hill, and was kept in good repair by the chief of the district. If the chief allowed it to become overgrown with grass and weeds, and a grass fire caught any of the trees or the grass in the forest, the medium (it was said) would fall ill with burning sores. The chief would, under such circumstances, be fined for neglecting the road and allowing the fire to enter the forest. When a new chief was appointed to the district, he visited the grave of *Matumpagwa* (who is said to have been the first important chief in the district). On arriving at the grave, the chief spread a barkcloth over it, and mourned for the dead chief for several days; thereupon he killed a goat, and caused its blood to run into a drum, which was covered with the goat's skin and beaten. The chief gave to his principal wife two cows in token of his promotion to the chief's office; he also visited a number of places believed to be the abodes of ghosts, and propitiated them; at Muruli he offered a hoe to the ghost. At Mpumude he was given a woman to wife, and from there he returned to Boa, where he sat on a certain stone, while his wives were brought and introduced to him as though he did not know them. He was then given a pipe by the priestess *Kalambika*, which he smoked; afterwards he made a tour through the district, passing the grave of *Matumpagwa*.

The  
Python  
god.

The python god, Selwanga, had his temple in Budu, by the river Mujuzi, on the shore of the lake Victoria Nyanza. The temple was in a belt of forest called Bulongo; it was of the common conical shape, built by the members of the Heart Clan, who had charge of it, and who supplied the priests and the medium. Inside the hut a place was prepared for the huge snake to lie; there was a log of wood, and a short distance from it stood a stool; over these a barkcloth was spread, so that the monster might lie with its head resting upon the stool. A round hole was cut through the side of the hut near the place where the log and stool were placed, so that

the python might go in and out at pleasure. On the opposite side of the hut there was a bedstead, occupied by the medium. A woman bearing the title *Nasimba* also lived in the temple ; it was her duty to feed the python daily with fresh milk. The medium brought the milk in a wooden bowl, and the woman held the bowl while the snake drank the milk. The python went in and out of the temple to the river, and was supplied with fowls and goats to eat. These animals were tied to stakes ; the python then came and devoured them, and afterwards returned to rest in the temple. The python was supposed to have power over the river and its fish ; consequently before a fishing expedition was undertaken, the priest would call upon the people for offerings for the god. On the return of the expedition, the priest would gather the people together and make a feast ; the people supplied the cooked plantains and beer, while the priests gave the fish. The python was regarded as the giver of children ; young couples living in the district invariably came to secure the blessing of the god upon their union, while sterile women would go long distances in order to obtain his blessing and aid. Suppliants brought offerings of beer and goats, and expected to be favourably received. The appearance of the new moon was celebrated by a ceremony extending over seven days ; for this the people made their preparations beforehand, because no work was done during the festival. A drum was sounded as soon as the moon was seen, and the people gathered together to make their requests and to take part in the ceremonies. Those who wished to make any request brought special offerings, while the rest brought beer and food as they pleased. The priesthood of this deity was confined to members of the Heart Clan ; the chief of the estate upon which the temple stood was always the priest. His dress was the usual priestly dress, that is, it consisted of two barkcloths, one knotted over each shoulder, and two white goat-skins as a skirt ; round his chest he tied a leopard-skin decorated with beads and with seed of the wild banana, and in his hand he carried two fly-whisks made from the tails of buffalo. The priest first received the offerings for the god and heard the people's requests ; then, going into the temple to the medium, he gave the latter a cup

Y

of beer and some of the milk from the python's bowl mixed with white clay. After the medium had drunk the beer and milk, the spirit of the python came upon him, and he went down on his face and wriggled about like a snake, uttering peculiar noises and using words which the people could not understand. The priest stood near the medium and interpreted what was said. During the time that the medium was possessed the people stood round, and the temple-drum was beaten. When the oracle ended, the medium fell down exhausted, and would lie inanimate for a long time like a person in a deep sleep. The priest who acted as interpreter was named *Lukukirizi*; he announced the names of those whose requests had been granted, and also instructed them as to what they were to do in order to obtain the desired children. The oracle was given each day during the feast, and the people feasted and danced by day and by night. After the ceremonies were ended they went home and waited for the fulfilment of the promises which they had received. When a child was born, the parents were required to offer a goat and a pot of beer to Selwanga, or if they were very poor, a fowl was accepted in the place of a goat. The neglect of this thank-offering would certainly be followed by disaster in one form or another. Occasionally the priest went to the island of Sese to ask cows from the god Mukasa, because, according to tradition, Nalwanga, the python's sister, was the wife of Mukasa. The cows were not killed, but they were intended to supply the python with milk; they were brought over by canoe, each animal decorated with creepers round its neck. The King sent each year to obtain the python's blessing on his wives, so that they might have children; on such occasions he sent presents of cows by the *Pokino*, the chief of Budu. Once a year the god sent the King his blessing, and a present of fish caught in the river.

Forest  
gods.

Ntamaso and Nabambe were the chief gods of the forests; hunters visited them, and people wishing to cut timber first consulted them, to know if they might cut the trees. The gods made the hunters bold, quickened their powers of eyesight and hearing, and protected them against the attacks of wild animals. No person who wished to visit these gods

could do so if he met a woman when he was on the road to the temple ; accordingly a man would make a detour to avoid women, or if he chanced to encounter one, he would go back and fetch an additional pot of beer and a barkcloth as an offering for the god, before he would venture to make his request at the temple. There were two other forest gods, Mubiru and Kasunsuli ; guinea-fowls were sacred to these gods, and their priests might not eat them ; if they found a guinea-fowl dead, they had to take it to the temple, and present it to the god with the words : " Your lady is dead." Sometimes the god told them that they might eat it, but unless he did so, they buried the bird. These birds were at times caught accidentally in traps set by the priests for other birds, and in such cases they had to be presented to the gods.

We turn from the many gods to the fetiches, which were Fetiches. a mixed set of objects of all shapes and patterns. Every home had its supply of them, and no person would have thought himself or his family safe if he had not had a number of them about him. It is impossible to give an adequate idea of the number of these objects, so many and so varied were they ; but a few of the most important have been selected in order to give the reader some notion of the uses to which they were put.

Fetiches (Mayembe) were worn round the neck, arms, and loins for special purposes ; for instance, a man, when visiting the King, would wear a fetich as a safeguard against incurring the King's anger ; when on a journey to the capital, he would wear another kind of fetich as a safeguard against falling into any trap set to catch people for human sacrifices. A peasant, when visiting his chief for any purpose, would wear a fetich as a protection from the chief's anger ; others would wear fetiches to protect them from wild animals, snakes, diseases, and so forth. Women wore them round their waists for fecundity. Those not in use were kept in a particular place in the hut which was reserved for them, and they had frequent offerings of beer made to them. When a man went to war, he carried some with him, to protect him from various dangers, to assist him in battle, and to intimidate the

enemy. The fetiches left behind were propitiated daily by his chief wife; offerings of beer were poured out on the floor before them, and prayers to protect the absent husband were addressed to them. If a woman neglected to do this, and her husband fell or was wounded in battle, she was charged with being the cause of his death, and was further accused as an adulteress. In battle a man wore one fetich hung round his neck by a strap which passed under his left arm, and one or two in his shield. The King sent six special fetiches to war with the general; they were named *Kawoto*, *Kizito*, *Sebitengere*, *Kanyamira*, *Kizinga* and *Kimpumpu*. Each of these was under the care of its medium, who was able to declare an oracle, or to give advice during the expedition. The royal fetiches were long antelope horns, with iron spikes at the tips, the hollows of the horns being filled with ingredients known to the maker only. They were stuck into the ground in a row in front of the general's hut, and the chiefs accompanying the expedition took their oath before them, before going into battle. No one dared pass these fetiches to approach the general, on pain of death, unless the general summoned a man into his presence; should he do so the man became a marked person, and was held in honour by the whole army during the expedition. When a man returned from war, he thanked his fetiches for his safe return, and for all the care that they had taken of him.

The King had his favourite and honoured fetiches, one of them being *Nyanya*, whose guardian was *Kikapwe*; each king confided this fetich to the care of the first daughter who was born to him after his coronation, and the latter was also named after the fetich. The fetich *Lukenge* had a guardian chosen from the Rat Clan. When the King was angry with any person, and sentenced him to death he was said to be under the influence of *Lukenge*. The fetich *Kizinga* was sent with the army in order that they might take much spoil in women and cattle. The fetich *Mbagirangese* the King handed to any person of position, whom he was about to put to death, or to any one of his wives against whom he had some cause of complaint, and whom he meant to kill. This fetich gave the King power over the ghost of the person executed and prevented it



from coming back to haunt him. The fetich *Sekabemba* was one which the King gave secretly to a man with the title *Bisobya*, who went about the country robbing the rich chiefs, part of the spoil being given to the King.

When a man's wife, or one of his children, was ill, he would sometimes take the fetich *Nambaga* outside his hut by night, and, holding it in one hand, would smoke upon it furiously, until the fetich possessed him, and gave him information as to the cause of the illness, and the treatment which he ought to adopt. Only the most skilled medicine-man could make fetiches; herbs had to be carefully selected, and other materials were needed, such as the hearts of lions, leopards, crocodiles, elephants, buffaloes, and other animals, which (it was supposed) would make the owner brave and strong. These materials were pounded together and stuffed into the horns, or they were mixed with clay, made into fetiches, and dedicated by the medicine-man to different gods. They thus became identified with a supernatural being, and in consequence they were possessed by the gods, and were powerful and effective. The secret of making these fetiches was confined to a small number of medicine-men who never divulged it to others, unless they themselves were to reap some benefit by the communication. The people believed that these objects had supernatural powers, they paid large sums of money for them, and treated them with the utmost respect and reverence.

When a King was crowned he sent to his paternal grandmother's clan for a new fetich, *Nantaba*. <sup>The fetich *Nantaba*.</sup> The grandmother's relatives prepared a gourd for the ceremony, and also selected a tree of a special sort (*Iusambya*) for the fetich. When all was ready, four men, the *Kago*, *Nakatanza*, *Sekitimba*, and *Mukusu* were sent to the place with a present of cowry-shells and a white goat from the King. The relatives of the King's grandmother met them on their arrival, and prepared a substantial meal for them, after which they were conducted to the tree which was to be the centre of the ceremony; there they made the offering of the goat and the cowry-shells to the tree-spirit. The goat was let loose, and became sacred to the tree-spirit, while the cowry-shells were divided among the people. Barkcloths were spread round the tree to catch the chips as it was cut down;

as soon as it was felled, the King's grandmother hurried forward with the gourd, and stooping down at the stump, held the gourd on it, with its mouth towards the quarter from which the wind came, so that it blew into it, making a mournful sound; she then placed some of the leaves of the tree in the neck of the gourd, and quickly covered it, while all the people shouted for joy that the wind had been captured. The gourd was stitched in a piece of goat skin, and decorated with cowry-shells and beads, and called *Nantaba*. A stout stick was cut from the tree-trunk, and the chips which had been collected were tied up in the barkcloths, which were in turn tied to the stump of the tree. None of the wood of the tree might be used for any purpose; the branches were heaped together and left to rot on the ground. The stick was carved into a stout walking stick, wrapped in barkcloth, and given to the *Kago*; the gourd was handed to *Nakatanza*, who wrapped a barkcloth round it and bound it to his person; he then walked slowly like a pregnant woman near the time of her delivery, and rested constantly; indeed, he was not allowed to walk more than two miles a day and was cared for like a delicate woman. The four men returned to the King, the *Kago* carrying the stick, and *Nakatanza* carrying the gourd, while the other two men acted as guards and companions. On their return journey they were not allowed to look on blood, and any meat which they ate was dried in the sun before it was cooked. When they arrived at the palace, a temple was built for the gourd, and one of the King's wives, *Kabeja*, was appointed caretaker of it. *Nakatanza* supplied this woman with a maid, whose title was *Nabagade*, and the fetich *Nantaba* became virtually her charge. Another shrine was built for the stick, and the sticks of all former kings were brought into it, the new stick being stuck into the ground in an upright position, while the others were laid down beside it. The stick was named *Semwima*, and it had also a woman-guardian.

When *Kabeja* wished to have the fetich *Nantaba* carried out into the courtyard which encircled the temple, to enjoy the sunshine, she sent for *Nakatanza* to come and carry it. A special meal was cooked on such occasions, and numbers of the King's wives were invited to see *Nantaba*, who was con-

sidered to be a goddess endowed with powers of fecundity. *Nakatanza* walked slowly, so as not to shake the fetich when carrying it; he then placed it on a barkcloth in the middle of an open space, and the women sat round and ate their meal in its presence; later in the day it was carried back to the temple by *Nakatanza*. Whenever the wind blew strongly, drums were beaten in the enclosure of the temple, to draw off the attention of the imprisoned wind-spirit, and prevent it from escaping. Offerings of beer were made, and requests for children were addressed to the spirit. During the King's life-time the fetich was honoured at Court, but when he died it was discarded, and the new King sent for a new fetich. The stump of the tree from which the stick had been cut was guarded by one of the King's relatives during his life-time, but after his death it was no longer held in any special honour.

*Mbajwe* was the King's chief fetich, and had its temple, its priest, and a female medium through whom it was supposed to give oracles. This fetich was made of rope in imitation of a serpent, with the head formed of clay and fashioned like a serpent's head. The chief *Katambala* was its guardian, and it was his duty to place it in position in its temple, where it had a stool on which the head rested like that of a snake in repose. The man who carried the fetich belonged to the Kativuma Clan, and the stool-bearer to the Yam Clan. The priest and the female medium were from the Leopard Clan; there were also two men attached, who beat the drums on special occasions, and who belonged to the Bushbuck Clan. Another man had charge of the coffee-berries which were supposed to be the food of the fetich. *Mbajwe* had a wife, who was a woman belonging to the Grasshopper Clan, and who had the care of the leopard skin rug upon which the fetich reclined. Only one man, a member of the Bird Clan, was allowed to thatch the temple; he resided in the temple-enclosure. In the temple there were two smaller fetiches, a drum named *Kisaja*, which was never beaten, and a fetich in the form of a knife handle, named *Namazi*; these, together with a bag belonging to *Mbajwe*, were placed before the fetich. Other objects belonging to the fetich were an axe

The fetich  
*Mbajwe*.

(Badukalulu); a drum (Talileka); and a basket containing a kind of small millet called *bulo*, which was given with the coffee-berries as food to the fetich. When the King sent prisoners to *Mbajwe* for trial, as was his custom, the fetich was placed with its head pointing to the person whom the King had appointed to be the spokesman for the party. The medium stood by the stool, and as the prisoner made his statements, and tried to clear himself and his party, the medium who was possessed by the fetich replied: "It is so," after each statement. No prisoner was ever known to succeed in clearing himself or his party; nor did he live to go away from the place, he died as he knelt. The remaining prisoners were taken to the sacrificial place attached to the temple, where they were killed; and the body of the man who died in the temple was carried out, and thrown among the other corpses. The death of the spokesman in the temple was said to have been caused by fright, "Because he knew that the fetich wanted his blood." The medium, when possessed, addressed the King as *Matubwa*, and the chief guardian as *Nyabwe*. The fetich *Namazi* was sent from the temple on war-expeditions as the representative of *Mbajwe*, and was carried by a man of the Dog Clan.

*fetich* *Nambaga* was the chief fetich of the common people.  
*ibaga.* It was a horn, usually a buffalo-horn, into which the medicine-men put different ingredients. The open end of the horn, after being filled, was corked with a wooden plug. The plug was frequently decorated with iron, brass, and copper studs driven into it; in the centre of it was a small hole about three-eighths of an inch in diameter, and lined with iron to the depth of half an inch. Into this hole further drugs were poured, if the owner was ordered by the medicine-man to use them either for himself, or for any member of his family. The ingredients in the fetich were thought to add potency to the drugs poured into the hole, and so they insured a sick person's speedy recovery.

*fetich* The fetich *Luboa* was extensively used by hunters and  
*boa.* warriors. Hunters believed that the fetich cast a spell over wild animals, and especially over the buffalo, so that they could be approached and speared without the hunter being

exposed to an attack from them. Warriors, too, believed that in battle the fetich, waved before an enemy, would have the effect of making him powerless to strike, while it nerved the owner, and made his aim sure and effective. When the poison ordeal was resorted to, the fetich was thought to give its owner power to complete the test, while it sapped the courage of his antagonist. The owner occasionally made a feast to the fetich, consisting of a fowl and beer. The tongue of the fowl was slit while it was still alive, and the blood was dropped upon the fetich; the bird was afterwards killed, cooked, and eaten by the owner and his friends in the presence of the fetich. The sling for carrying the fetich was made out of a strip of skin taken from a black goat or from a gazelle.

The fetich *Zinga* was used by thieves; it was round, with a hole in the centre. It varied in diameter from three to six inches, the hole in the centre also varied from one to two inches in width. In all cases the thickness was about two inches. It was generally made of clay mixed with other ingredients, and the whole thing was stitched up in a leather case. The thief took his fetich by night, and sat upon it near the house which he meant to enter; by sitting on it he was thought to become invisible to the people whom he meant to rob. He then went up to the house, and standing near to the door, he blew through the hole in the fetich; this was expected to make the people sleep soundly, so that the thief could enter the house, and take what goods he pleased without being either seen or heard.

Amulets (Nsiriba) may be distinguished from fetiches (Mayembe), in that the former seldom possessed supernatural powers, but were used chiefly for medicinal purposes. They were carried or worn on the person to be ready for use; some of them were in fact turned into ornaments, and carried about long after they had ceased to be required for their original purpose. The medicine-men were the vendors of amulets; the majority were composed either of wood or of herbs, made into compact shapes by the medicine-men, so that they could be carried about on the person. Some of them were for outward application only; others were to be

taken internally; they were rubbed on a stone or scraped with a knife, and the powder thus obtained was mixed with water or beer, if for internal use, and with butter, if for

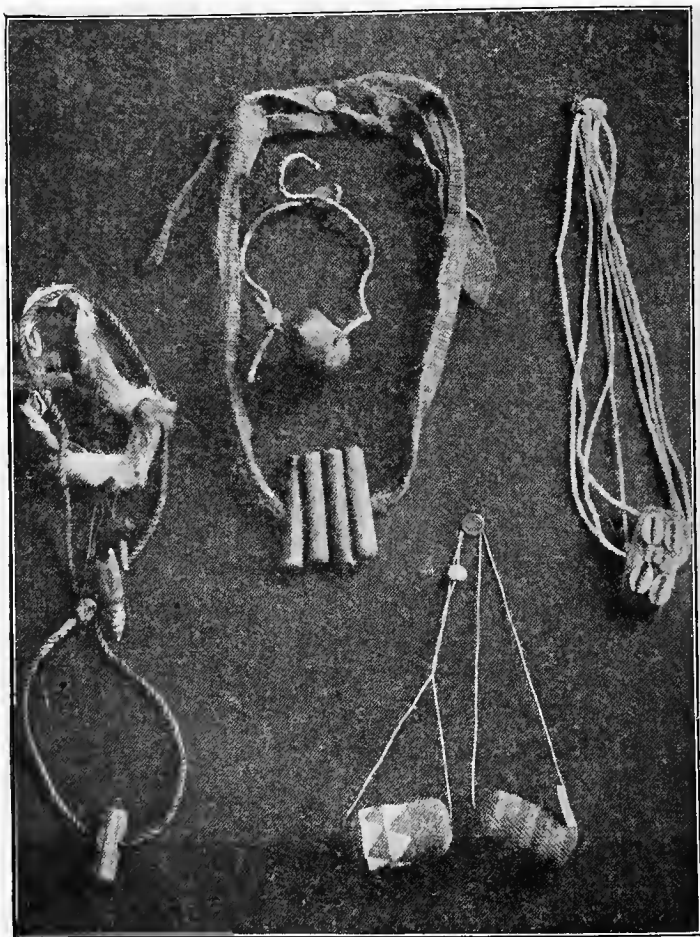


FIG. 51.—AMULETS.

outward application. They had a wide range as remedies; indeed, almost every ailment known to the medicine-men was treated with some kind of amulet. The expectant mother had her amulet, and the person suffering from

inflammation of the eyes had his. These amulets were valued so highly by the people that, when the disease was healed, the medicine was not cast aside, but decorated and worn as an ornament, and was thus ready, should there be any return of the old symptoms. As charms they were used chiefly for the prevention of disease; their medicinal properties had brought them into notoriety, and they were afterwards regarded as possessing powers to avert the evil which they had originally been meant to cure. One amulet partook of the nature of a fetich, it was called *Luzalo*, and was designed to insure fecundity. It consisted of a piece of wood, often sewn into a small cat-skin bag, at times decorated with cowry-shells, and worn tied round the waist, so that the amulet rested in front of the wearer. Other amulets having the same purpose were small packets of powdered herbs, which were worn by the woman round her waist; some of the powder would be mixed with water, and drunk from time to time. These packets of herbs were not called *nsiriba*, like other amulets, but *lukisa*.

From the earliest times there were special places (Matambiro) <sup>Sacrificial places.</sup> where human sacrifices were offered at the command of the gods. Each of these places had its peculiar usages as regards the mode of putting the victims to death. Certain gods controlled these places, and informed the King on what occasions victims were to be sacrificed, and at which place they were to be executed. There were thirteen sacrificial places, each of which had its custodian, while some of them had also temples with priests and retainers attached to them. At each place the custodian kept a large pot, usually with a number of mouths, which was brought out full of medicated beer when victims were sent for sacrifice; each victim had to drink some of the beer, whether he wished it or not, because it was considered that his doing so gave the King control of his ghost, and prevented it from coming back to haunt him or his people. The method of supplying these places with victims was twofold. In many cases the victims were men (or sometimes women) who had offended in some way, and had been put into the stocks. In other cases they were innocent people who had been caught, by the order of the

gods, at different points on the main roads leading to the capital ; these latter were frequently captured in order to make up the number of persons required by the gods for the sacrifices. When they had been arrested they were handed over to the royal police to be guarded ; the King then sent either to the god Kibuka, or to the god Nende, to say that the number (kiwendo) of victims was complete ; and one of the prisoners was usually sent to the temple to plead the cause of the whole number, and to hear what was to be done with them. The oracle, delivered through the medium, gave the number of victims allotted to each place, whereupon the King directed the executioners to conduct the victims to the various places. The office of executioner was eagerly sought after by the King's numerous sycophants, for on the way to the sacrificial places, they managed to make a rich harvest from the victims, by promising either to spare their lives for a few days, or to despatch them without putting them to undue pain and torture. The chief of the police was given the title *Sebata*, and saw to it that the executioners did their work and carried out the details of their instructions. The party conducting these prisoners was one to be avoided ; no sooner did they leave the royal presence, than they began to loot and plunder wherever they went. If they caught anyone, he would be added to the number of their victims, unless he promised them a reward for being set free ; women would be enslaved, and property plundered on all sides. People fled at their approach, carrying with them any property that they could, and sought shelter far away from the road which the party was taking. Sometimes victims were captured at the express command of the god, who secretly warned the King that, unless he captured some particular person in addition to a given number of other people, there would be a rebellion among his subjects ; the King would then lose no time in taking prisoner the man mentioned and the number of others required. For this purpose certain roads would be guarded by the advice of the god, and people bearing some particular mark indicated by the god, such as a cast in the eye, or some peculiarity of dress, would be caught by the police. When the number of persons was secured, the King would announce the fact to the



god, and would receive instructions as to how they were to be despatched. The full number (kiwendo) was from two to five hundred persons. The relatives of a condemned person frequently tried to influence the King to release him ; if the prisoner was a favourite, and the friends made a suitable offering of some good-looking girls, or a large number of cattle, their gift would be accepted, and the prisoner released. Sometimes, however, the King took the present, but refused to release the prisoner. Occasionally the man in charge of



FIG. 52.—PLACE OF HUMAN SACRIFICE WITH BONES LYING ABOUT.

the prisoners, knowing that some of them were favourites with the King, and that they might be demanded by him at the last moment, reserved them until most of the other victims had been killed ; and then, if no message came, they too were put to death. If the risks were not too great, the man in charge of the prisoners, would accept a bribe and give the relatives one of the prisoners ; the latter had to be secreted for months, lest the King should discover him. When the King relented and wished to spare a prisoner's life, he sent a runner to the executioner to ask if the prisoner were still alive, and, if so, to order his release. Such a freed person was

called "One who escapes" (Kawonawo); he might be taken into the number of the King's slaves for secret service, or he might be placed in charge of one of the sacrificial places. Such a person would give the King a present consisting of a number of girls on the day when he was released, and on the following morning he would take the King a fowl, and, after presenting it, would thank him for his clemency. People of all ranks fell victims to these places, even one of the greatest chiefs might be accused of sedition and placed under arrest, and then in a moment his fortunes were changed. As soon as the King frowned on him, his fate was sealed, the police relentlessly bound him, placed him under arrest, and wormed out of him every secret he possessed, by making his life a burden during his imprisonment. When a chief was condemned to be put to death at one of the sacrificial places, he was permitted to see his wife. She would come to him, carrying her water-pot, and he would give her his final message, and take leave of her; thereupon she would dash her water-pot to the ground, and break it in front of him, in token that it would not be wanted in the future, and that he would no longer require her services. One of his inferior wives was allowed to accompany him to the place of execution, to see his end. The condemned chief was bound like a common criminal, nevertheless he would go to death without a murmur. At most of the sacrificial places there was a sacred tree, upon which the clothing of certain victims was hung. The clothing was said to be placed there for their ghosts, because the ghosts of those who suffered death at the hands of the executioner were not provided for by the relatives. The prisoners who had their clothing taken from them at the sacred tree were the first to be killed. Each prisoner was given beer to drink before he was executed; if he refused the drink, it was poured over his head, and this was thought to have the same effect upon the ghost, as though he had drunk it.

The sacrificial place Seguku.

The sacrificial place Nakinzire, on the Seguku hill in Busiro, had a temple and a medium, who was the son of a princess, and ought therefore to have been put to death at birth according to the restrictions placed upon princesses.

The reason for this choice of a medium is said to have been the fact that a prince, Kungubu, took his sister to wife, and had a son by her; the child was born at the place Nakinzire, and the river Mayanja took its rise there owing to the birth. The medium was thought to be possessed by a leopard; he growled and rolled his eyes about like an angry beast when under the influence of the leopard ghost. Near the temple stood the sacred tree,



FIG. 53.—SACRED POTS, FROM WHICH MEDICATED BEER WAS GIVEN TO VICTIMS ABOUT TO BE PUT TO DEATH.

where the prisoners were given the doctored beer to drink, and where the clothing of some of them was taken and hung up. The victims were either clubbed or speared to death at this sacrificial place. If they were tortured, their flesh was cut off with splinters of reeds, which were sharp and cut like razors. The flesh was pinched up and cut off over the body, and the victim was afterwards killed. The executions sometimes extended over a week, because the executioners became weary and went off to drink beer

and to talk over what they had done. The bodies were not removed from the place where they fell; the wild animals or birds fed upon them; no relative dared bury one who had been given to the gods.

The sacrificial place Kitinda.

The sacrificial place Kitinda was on the Island Damba, and was dedicated to crocodiles. There was a temple and a medium, who, when possessed, worked his head about, opening his mouth and snapping it, as a crocodile moves its head from side to side and snaps its mouth to shut it. The medium gave oracles against people who were thought to be at the point of raising sedition, and he warded off evils from the King. The victims were taken to the Island Damba, and after they had been given medicated beer to drink, they were marched down to the beach, and their legs and arms were broken, to prevent them from moving from the spot where they were placed. They were left in a row, and the crocodiles came and carried them off into the water, and ended their miseries. The crocodiles in that part of the lake were sacred, and might not be molested in any way; hence they became numerous, and were a source of danger to the people in the neighbourhood, who made offerings to them, hoping thereby to escape being caught when they crossed by the ferries.

The sacrificial place Benga.

The sacrificial place Benga in Bunyoro was the place to which princes were taken in former times. It sometimes happened that one of the gods gave the King warning that some of the princes were contemplating a rising. The King would send at once, and order a large number of princes to be captured and placed under guard. Before he put them to death, he sent to the god to ask if it would be safe to execute them; in other words, he wanted the god's assurance that the succession to the throne would be secure, before he executed the princes. The princes had either to be burned or to be starved to death. Their blood was never shed. A large army was sent with the prisoners, to keep them from escaping, and also to prevent anyone from rescuing them. If the princes were to be burnt, the chief *Senkole* was sent with them, carrying the sacred fire with which to light the wood. *Senkole* took

the chief *Segulu* with him to collect the wood and arrange the heaps, but he himself lighted the fire, and the princes were cast bound into it. If the princes were to be starved to death, the army had to build a strong high-fenced enclosure; the prisoners were placed inside it, and the opening was closed on the outer side; a deep moat was then dug round the enclosure, while a guard was set to keep the captives from escaping, or from being fed or rescued. The guard had to remain there until all the princes were dead.

The sacrificial place Namugongo in Kyagwe had also its regulations as to the mode of execution to be adopted. Attached to the place there was a temple and a medium, *Benga*, who had charge of the sacred beer-pot and administered the beer. The captives were burnt to death. The chief *Senkole* carried with him the sacred fire, and *Segulu* collected the fire-wood. After the prisoners had been given doctored beer to drink, they were bound each with his head on his knees, and his feet and hands secured to his neck, and were then thrown into the fire. Princes were sometimes taken to this place for execution instead of being taken to *Benga*.

The sacrificial place Namugongo.

At Mutukulu in Singo the captives were taken to the shore of the lake Wamala, and after they had been given doctored beer to drink, they were bound hand and foot, speared, and thrown into the water. The water was said to have become like blood after these sacrifices.

The sacrificial place Mutukulu.

Kubamitwe was the place to which the King sent any of his wives who had been proved to be unfaithful. Friends of the King were also sent there, or any of his pages who had offended him. It was understood that prisoners who were sent there, even though instructions might have been given to kill them at once, were to be guarded and kept for a few days, in case the King should change his mind, and desire to release them. If no message came from the King, they were put to death after four days.

The sacrificial place Kubamitwe.

Ekulu Tuyana, on Kyebando Hill in Busiro, was the sacrificial place to which people were sent who had either wilfully, or through some oversight, committed incest. When

The sacrificial place Ekulu.

any person was thought to be guilty of this crime, he was tried by his clan, and, if found guilty, was handed over to the chief justice; he was again tried by the district chief, after which he and his partner in guilt were taken to Tuyana and either clubbed or speared to death. Most people also who committed adultery were executed there.

Other sacrificial places which had no special regulations attaching to them were:—

Nalulangade.

Wakitembe in Kinawa.

Kasangalabi in Katambala. Jokero in Basanyi Buinja.

Kafumita in Kyagwe.

Mpima-embera in Busega.

Those who have taken part in these executions bear witness how seldom a victim, whether man or woman, raised his voice to protest or appeal against the treatment meted out to him. The victims went to death (so they thought) to save their country and race from some calamity, and they laid down their lives without a murmur or a struggle.

Divination.  
The  
"leather  
throwers."

Medicine-men, in addition to supplying drugs and medicines, were expected to practise divination in reference to sickness and other matters. It was to these men that the nation turned in times of trouble for advice; they gave information as to journeys to be taken, as to the cause of sickness, and as to the reasons for many another form of trouble. They obtained the information by consulting various tests, and by securing, as they thought, supernatural aid. The foremost among the medicine-men were those who were known as the "Leather throwers" (Bakuba engato), who threw pieces of leather in the manner in which dice are thrown; they belonged to the god Mwanga, and each was provided with nine pieces of leather, six inches long and three and a half inches wide. Each piece of leather was decorated with cowry-shells, and the principal piece had also a few bells upon it. The pieces of leather were usually made from buffalo-hide, though cow-hide was occasionally used, when the other hide could not be obtained. The pieces of leather were thrown upon a mat made of cow-hide, two feet long and a foot wide. The decision was given by the position in which the pieces of leather fell upon the mat. When a person came to consult the medicine-man, the latter would bring out his mat, the

suppliant would kneel at one end of it, and the medicine-man take his place at the other end ; he would have a bag containing the pieces of leather, and a stick with a hook, with which to rake them back, after he had thrown them. The medicine-man had to describe the symptoms of a sick person, if it was a case of illness concerning which the inquirer came to consult him ; the latter merely said that his wife or his child was ill, and the medicine-man began to put to him a set of questions, asking whether she had such and such pains, and the like, until he ascertained what the symptoms actually were. He then proceeded to throw the pieces of leather in order to be able to tell the cause of the sickness, and to prescribe the remedy to be used. When about to throw the pieces of leather, the medicine-man took them in one hand, and arranged them all evenly ; he then addressed a prayer to the god : “ Oh Mwanga, my master, give the right decision in this matter ” ; afterwards he blew upon the pieces, and threw them. If they fell so that two lay side by side, but with a third lying over them it was a bad sign, and the patient would soon die. If, however, they fell evenly in pairs, it was a good sign. Again, if the question to be decided was whether a proposed journey should be undertaken, and the pieces fell in a long straight line, all was well ; whereas if they fell together, or one fell across the others, the journey was to be avoided. When a medicine-man had cured a sick person, he was paid a goat as his fee ; previously, when he threw the pieces of leather, his fee had been a pot of beer and a fowl ; a wealthy person, however, would pay a goat as the fee for throwing the pieces of leather, and a cow later on, when the sick person was restored to health.

Another set of medicine-men used the water-test. They threw powdered herbs into a pot of water, and after rocking the pot from side to side, they watched to see how the floating dust had arranged itself. If it broke up into an uneven number of floating portions, this was a good omen ; whereas, if it broke up into an even number, it was a bad sign. Sometimes nine pieces of stick were thrown into the pot of water, and the omen was given by the position which they took after they had fallen into the pot. If they formed

The water-test.

groups of even numbers, it was a bad sign, but if they formed groups of uneven numbers, it was a good sign. If the sticks formed two groups, they were thought to represent an open grave, and to indicate that the sick person would soon be buried. If the inquiry was made as to whether a man should take a particular journey or not, and the sticks thrown into the water remained in a cluster, or if one stick crossed the ends of the others, this was a sign that he ought not to go; if, on the other hand, the sticks lay side by side, and one of them stood out well in front of the others, this foretold a prosperous journey.

The fowl  
and other  
tests.

Other medicine-men tested sickness or other matters by experiments on fowls. If a man wished to obtain some favour from the King or from a chief, the medicine-man whom he consulted took a fowl, plucked the feathers from its throat, examined it to see where the arteries lay on each side of the head, then made a slight incision large enough to allow the blood to throb out, and counted the number of times that it spurting before the bleeding stopped; an even number was a bad sign, an uneven number a good one. If consulted for sickness, the medicine-man killed the fowl and cut it open from the underside of the beak down its neck to the tail. He laid it open and examined the entrails to see how the fat lay between them; if it lay evenly without any break, this was a good omen, but if there was a break in it, it was a bad omen, and the person would die. Having gained this information, the medicine-man went on to examine the markings and specks upon the entrails; even numbers were a bad sign, and odd numbers a good sign. Another test to discover whether any sickness would prove fatal or not was to throw down nine coffee-berries and to watch how they fell. According to the way in which they arranged themselves in even or odd numbers of groups, the answer was unfavourable or favourable. A test often used to discover whether a person was seeking to kill another, and to find whether he would be successful or not, was to take six seeds of the castor oil plant and place them in two heaps a few inches apart. Each group of three was arranged with two seeds below and one on the top of them, and a shallow pit was scooped out between the two groups. One group was marked



to represent the man intending mischief, and the other to represent the person upon whom the wrong was to be done. After asking the gods to give a right decision, the medicine-man would cover the two heaps with a piece of barkcloth, and leave them until the morning. He would go early to see what had happened; if the top seed of the aggressor had shot off towards his victim, and the top seed of the victim had fled, this was a bad sign, and implied that the aggressor would succeed in his machinations. If, however, the order was reversed, and the supposed aggressor had fled before his victim, the evil designed would fail. Should an inquirer desire to know by this test the fate of a sick person, the medicine-man would arrange the seeds in the manner just mentioned; if then the seed shot off into the pit, this foretold the sick person's death, whereas, if it escaped the pit, he would recover.

The principal ordeal used was the poison (Madudu) test. This was resorted to by anyone who was not satisfied with the decision given by the King, or in cases when it was impossible to decide which of two disputants was in the right. The priest *Magunda*, who was attached to Kibuka's temple, administered the poison test. He gave to each person a cup of the drug obtained by boiling the fruit of the datura plant, and made both sit down for a time until he considered that the drug had taken effect, he himself sitting a little distance away from them; he then called to them to get up, step over a plantain stem, and come to him. If one of them was able to do this, and could reach the priest, kneel, and thank him for settling the case, it was decided in his favour. If both failed to reach the priest, they were regarded as equally guilty, but if both of them were able to walk to the priest, they were regarded as innocent. The drug had the same effect as intoxication, but its after-effects were frequently fatal; if one or both suitors died from the after-effects, it was looked upon as the sentence of the god. A long period of illness frequently followed the use of the drug, even when a man subsequently recovered. Another less popular test was to use a heated piece of iron or the blade of a hoe; this was termed Mukasa's test. Each disputant brought a bunch of grass, and the

Ordeals.  
The  
poison  
ordeal.

priest passed it over the hot iron ; if the iron burnt one bunch of grass and not the other, the man whose bunch was burnt was considered guilty. Sometimes the priest would make the disputants sit down, and would pass the hot iron down each man's leg, from the knee to the foot ; then the man who was burnt was considered guilty.

The  
"scape-  
goat."  
Transfer-  
ring  
sickness.

The gods sometimes warned the King that the Banyoro were working magic against him and his people in order to cause some disease to fall upon the country. The King would thereupon be advised to take immediate steps to save his country from pestilence. To avert such a catastrophe, the King would send a "scapegoat" (Kyonzire) to the Bunyoro frontier. The offering would consist either of a man and a boy, or of a woman and her child, chosen because of some mark or defect which the gods had noted, and by which the victims were to be selected. With the human beings there would be sent a cow, a goat, a fowl, and a dog ; a strong escort would accompany the victims into the country which the god had mentioned, and there their limbs would be broken, and they would be left to die a lingering death, having been so crippled that they could not crawl back into Uganda. The disease or plague was thought to have been transferred to the victims, and to have returned to the country whence it came. After a punitive expedition the gods sometimes advised the King to send back a "scapegoat," because some evil had attached itself to the army. One of the women slaves, a cow, a goat, a fowl, and a dog, would be selected from the captives, and would be sent back to the borders of the country from which they had come, and there maimed and left to die. The army would then be pronounced clean, and would be allowed to return to the capital. In each case a bunch of herbs would be rubbed over the people and the cattle, and would then be tied to the victims, who would thus carry back the evil with them. In some cases of sickness the illness would be transferred from the person to an animal. In the case of the King, or of a chief, the god would give the oracle, and would order some particular kind of cow to be used. The medicine-man would take the animal, pass some herbs over the sick man, tie these

to the animal, and then drive it away to some waste land, where he would kill it, taking the meat as his perquisite. The sick man would be expected to recover. Sometimes a medicine-man directed a sick man to provide an animal, promising that he would come and transfer the sickness to the animal. The medicine-man would then select a plantain-tree near the house, kill the animal by it, and anoint the sick man with its blood, on his forehead, on each side of his chest, and on his legs above the knees. The plantain-tree selected had to be one that was about to bear fruit, and the medicine-man would split the stem from near the top to near the bottom, leaving a few inches not split both at the top and at the bottom ; the split stem would be held open so that the sick man could step through it, and in doing so he would leave his clothing at the plantain-tree, and would run into the house without looking back. When he entered the house, new clothes would be given him to wear. The plantain, the clothing, and meat would be carried away by the medicine-man, who would deposit the plantain-tree on waste land, but would take the meat and clothing for himself. Sometimes the medicine-man would kill the animal near the hut, lay a stout stick across the threshold, and narrow the doorway by partially filling it with branches of trees ; he would then put some of the blood on either side of the narrow entrance, and some on the stick across the threshold, and would also anoint with it the sick man, who would be taken outside for the purpose. The patient would then re-enter the house, letting his clothing fall off, as he passed through the doorway. The medicine-man would carry away the branches, the stick, the clothing, and the meat. The branches and the stick he would cast upon waste land, but the meat and the clothing he would keep for himself. When a sick person was too poor to afford a goat, or even a fowl, as his "scapegoat," the medicine-man would take some grass or herbs, tie them into a bundle, and after passing them over the patient, carry them off, and throw them away on waste land. The medicine-man would be given a small fee, when the patient recovered. In other cases the sickness would be transferred to another human being ;

the medicine-man would make a model of a patient in clay, and would give it to one of the latter's relatives, who would take it and rub it over the patient, and at nightfall would either bury it in the road, or hide it in the grass by the road-side. The first person who then stepped over it or passed by it would catch the disease. Other people had a plantain-flower tied up so as to resemble the figure of a person; this would be rubbed over the patient, and then buried in the road. The person who took such figures into the road with the disease attached to them, had to avoid being caught, because the penalty would have been death; no mercy would have been shown to a person seeking the death of another.

Magic  
practised  
against  
enemies.

If a man wished to kill another, he would take a fowl, dig a hole in the path leading to the man's house, kill the fowl there, let the blood run into the hole, cut off the fowl's head and bury it with the blood; he would then ask the gods to bless his medicine, and make it work death to his enemy. The enemy, unconscious of the trap, would walk over it, and in a few days' time he would fall ill and die. Sometimes the branch of a tree would be taken and, after some incantations, it would be placed near the house of the person who was to be killed; as it withered and died, it would (it was thought) cause his death. A stick, or a plantain, or a fetich, over which incantations had been said, might be pushed into the thatch of a house, and would thereupon cause death to the inmates. Women often fell ill, and in some instances died, because an enemy had contrived to obtain some of the weeds which they had handled when digging, or some of the earth which they had rubbed from their hoe, or a piece of string which they had used to tie the blade of their hoe to the handle, or again a shred of their barkcloth which they had thrown down. These fragments would then be used to work magic upon, and the spell would either cause the woman to fall sick, or in some cases would kill her. A blade of grass which a man put into his mouth, and then threw aside, or a little spittle could also be used to work a spell upon him. So too the hair, when cut, or the nail-parings, if they fell into the hands of an enemy, were enough to compass the man's death. Such objects when

obtained by an enemy would be taken to a medicine-man, who would give the necessary advice as to what medicines were to be put upon them or how they were to be destroyed to cause the death of the person from whom they had been obtained. For this reason cut or loose hairs and nail-parings were concealed in the garden of a female relative, and spittle was carefully covered over so as to leave no trace of it behind.

## CHAPTER X

### WARFARE

Causes for  
war and  
civil wars.

THE Baganda must be regarded as a brave, warlike people; they have always been aggressive, and have ever been on the alert to engage in war with one or other of the surrounding nations. The slightest provocation has been used as a pretext for sending an expedition against the offending nation. Thus they have gradually increased their territory, and added new districts to their kingdom. The hope of spoil made every man anxious to be sent on a punitive expedition. The Banyoro were the strongest and bravest adjoining nation with whom the Baganda had to contend; for long they appear to have been stronger and more numerous than the Baganda themselves, and able to resist their incursions. In more recent years, however, the Baganda seem gradually, but steadily, to have driven back their former foe, and to have occupied lands which the latter held originally; until when the British came upon the scene, the two nations were fairly evenly matched, and were the dominant powers in the Lake region.

A war with the Banyoro was a yearly event; first one people, and then the other, made a raid into the country of their rival, to be followed by a strenuous battle, which frequently ended in favour of the Baganda. Civil wars also broke out from time to time in Uganda between rival princes who laid claim to the throne. These latter wars were by far the most disastrous that could happen to the country; and during the few weeks that they lasted, untold damage was done, and a great loss of life took place. A prince

who was determined to rebel, had to set about his undertaking in the most secret manner ; it often took months to organise the scheme, before the prince could secure the support of the chiefs, without whom it would be impossible to declare war. It was a question of men rather than of means, for each warrior provided and carried his own weapons, and obtained his food by robbery and plunder, as he went along. Once a prince was sure of the support of the chiefs, other matters could easily be managed ; but to secure this support without the King's knowledge needed the most careful manipulation, because there were spies in every chief's household who would readily have carried such news as that of conspiracy to his Majesty. When the support of armed followers was secured, a prince sounded his war-drum, and soon many flocked to him, with the twofold hope of obtaining opportunities for plunder, and of being on the winning side where their services would meet with recognition. Wars of this nature were fortunately rare, and were not of long duration. If the King was victorious in a rebellion, he returned to his capital, and things went on as before, except in regard to the rebel chiefs, who were either deposed from their offices, or put to death. The rebel peasants, soon came to seek terms of peace and to surrender themselves to the King ; they were expected to wear barkcloths tied under their arms, as though they were women, and each man carried a plantain-leaf-shield and the midrib of the plantain-leaf as a spear. The *Katikiro* introduced them to the King, who after hearing their confession, pardoned them ; whereupon they all went down on the ground, rubbed first one cheek and then the other in the dust, thanked the King profusely for his pardon, and swore to be his faithful servants henceforth. If, on the other hand, the King was killed in a rebellion, the successful prince assumed the throne, and went through all the accession ceremonies. He mourned for his fallen brother, as though his death were the greatest calamity which the country could have sustained ; and he pardoned the chiefs and the people who had supported the late King. The person who struck down a King or a rival Prince, provided it happened in a civil war, was belauded on all hands as a great hero ; and he

would be loaded with honours and gifts at the time. The new King, however, when he was established on the throne, would seek out the person and put him to death, as one who had shed royal blood. He was therefore obliged either to escape into some other country soon after committing the deed, or to face death at the hands of the new King. It was with the object of preventing civil war that the King's Mother, as soon as her Son had two or three children born to him, and the succession to the throne was thus secure, had all the King's brothers put to death.<sup>1</sup>

Preparations made for war, appointing a general.

A messenger sent from the War-god to the King advocating a punitive expedition was often the first step in preparation for war. Chiefs were then sent by the King with presents to the gods, to ask their advice as to the conduct of the war and the choice of a leader. The gods would name the person who was to be chosen as general, and would send their blessing, and also some fetich by the hands of representatives who were to accompany the army; these representatives had charge of the special emblems from the temples, by which to divine, when necessary. The King called the *Katikiro* and the *Kimbugwe*, in order to consult with them as to the number of chiefs that should be sent, and the number of warriors necessary for the expedition. In other instances the gods sanctioned an expedition, when they were consulted, though sometimes they deferred their sanction for a week or two, especially if there had been certain features in the clouds at sunset, such as straight streaks pointing across the sky and forming a barrier (so it was supposed) in the way which the army would be taking. Everything was kept secret, until the King called the chiefs for a general discussion, and consulted them as to details; the next step was to announce the name of the leader of the expedition. A chief known for his fearlessness, and one who had shown ability in the past as leader, was chosen. This man, when announced, came forward to thank the King for the honour done to him, because the post of general was much coveted, even though it carried with it serious responsibilities. The whole court would also join in thanking the King. After the general had thanked the King for his

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 188, 226.



appointment with the usual prostrations and reiterations, an attendant handed the King two spears and a shield, and these he presented to the general as his sign of office. The general took the oath of loyalty (*kuwera*), walked down the court, and then rushed at the King, brandishing a spear which he held with the blade turned away from the King; when within a few paces from his Majesty, he went down on his knees, saying: "I am a man; I will either kill every enemy I meet, or die in the attempt; I will not return empty-handed." The spears, being royal spears, were made of brass or copper, and were a solemn trust to the general. When he had received them, he left the royal presence, and the war-drum sounded in the enclosure as he walked away, followed by crowds of men who wished to join his expedition.

As the general passed out of the main entrance by the sacred fire, he stooped, took some of the ashes from it, and smeared them on his chest and forehead. It was on this occasion only that a commoner was permitted to take any of the dust from the sacred fire; the ashes were intended to give him a fierce appearance, and were thought to increase his strength and bravery. As the war-drum beat in the royal enclosure, the chiefs took up the rhythm in their own enclosures, and the sound was carried on in an ever-widening circle, until within a very short time all the war-drums in the country were sounding, and the whole country was up in arms. The general, after leaving the royal presence, repeated the oath of allegiance before the chief *Kibare*, because *Kibare* was the King's representative and steward. Peasants thronged the roads, running to their several chiefs and shouting the special war-cry of each chief, while women and children fled from the warriors to places of safety. Each chief sat in his reception-house, near to the entrance of his enclosure, to receive from his followers the oath of allegiance to himself, and to tell them what was expected of them; he, in turn, went to his superior chief and took the oath of allegiance to him. The general, after he had taken leave of the King, went home, where he was joined by his private retainers, who took the oath of allegiance to him. The King sent a war-drum and the royal fetiches to the general, and

A general permitted to take ashes from the sacred fire.

also as many representatives from the gods as wished to accompany the expedition. The general was not allowed to sleep in the capital, because he was also called a king, and there could not be two kings in the one capital. Before he left the capital, he presented to the King either his son, or one of his near relatives whom he wished to nominate as his heir, in the event of being himself killed, and in doing so he said: "If I fall in battle, this is the heir whom I wish to nominate as my successor." He also had his spears and



FIG. 54.—ARMED BAGANDA.

weapons made ready, and decided which of his wives, and which of his servants, were to accompany him to the war, and who was to be his steward and representative during his absence. He sent to the local deity, that he might have his weapons blessed, and then he travelled slowly towards some appointed place where the army was to assemble.

Dress of  
warriors.

In the early history of Uganda a warrior's dress consisted of a finely-dressed skin, with the hair shaved off from it; it was worn hanging from the shoulders, with a girdle round the waist, and a cat-skin apron. The general was distinguished by a leopard-skin apron, which he wore as the King's

representative, and by a helmet. He had full powers of life and death in the army, and an appeal from his decision would be granted to an important chief only. On the other hand, the King held the general responsible for the army, and showed him no mercy if the expedition failed. In later years, after calico had been introduced into the country, the general wore breeches, with a flowing garment tied round his neck and shoulders, and with the cat-skin apron. He also wore a helmet-shaped head-dress, made from plantain-fibre, worked and plaited with black and white strips, which resembled basket work, with a tuft topped with red feathers from parrots' tails. His breast was painted in various designs with red, white, and grey clays, to make him look fierce. He was armed with two or three light spears for throwing, and a heavy spear for hand-to-hand fighting; he carried a shield on the left arm, with the fetiches inside it, and other fetiches were slung on his left shoulder. A warrior's weapons were always kept in good condition, ready for use in any emergency, but still the man was glad, if before going on a war expedition, he had a day or two in which he might re-sharpen them, and might also visit the clan god, and ask his blessing upon the journey.

The general settled beforehand with each chief what road the latter should take, so that the warriors might not all pass by one road and so impoverish the country; for since the warriors had to be provided with food by the people through whose district they went, it became necessary to spread the forces over a wide area, and not to ruin any particular district by letting all travel the same way. The chiefs provided their own food for the march beyond the frontier, and had it carried with the army; the common troops found food as best they could, by plundering the gardens of the enemy. It was customary for warriors to help themselves to anything that they found on the route, even in their own country; and owners had to hurry away their fowls, goats, and sheep into hiding, or to run the risk of losing them. Each chief, even the most unimportant, made arrangements for his private business to be carried on during his absence, and appointed his steward to act for him as his representative. A peasant

Warriors travelling to the Uganda frontier.

committed his wife and children to the care of some friend or relative who was not going to the war. Warriors insisted on setting out in the early morning ; each would be accompanied for a short distance by his wife, who would carry his shield and spears ; the man would wear his war-apparel and be bedecked with his war-paint. When they had walked together for about a mile, the wife would kneel down by the roadside to bid her husband farewell ; she would hand him his weapons, and they would exchange necklaces, and take leave of each other, the wife committing her husband to the care of the gods. She would stand and watch her husband out of sight, and then pluck some grass from the roadside on the spot where they had taken leave of each other ; this she would carry back with her to her house, and put it under the grass with which the house was carpeted, near the main post, and there it would be kept until her husband returned. The necklace would be placed with the fetiches, and each day she would offer a little beer to them and pray, saying : " My husband is at war ; take care of him." The warrior's friend, who had the care of his wife, would tell her from time to time what offerings she should bring, that he might take them to the priest, and obtain the latter's intercession on behalf of the warrior. If a wife was negligent in these duties, or if she allowed any other man to make love to her, and was unfaithful, it was believed that her husband would fall, or would at least be wounded in battle, because the gods resented her behaviour, and withdrew their favour and protection from him. The husband would fasten his necklace inside his shield with his fetich, and it was expected to be a protection to him, and also to nerve his arm in battle. Should the wife be a woman who never menstruated, the husband, when taking leave of her, would scratch her with his spear, sufficiently to draw blood, and this would ensure his safe return. From the time that the warrior left his wife, he observed the rule of chastity until after the first battle was fought, or at least until the army had taken some spoil ; negligence in this respect would be fraught with grave disaster to his home and his children, or his wife would die, and the expedition would also be a failure. Though warriors were armed with spears and

shields, peasants who joined them as bearers or as followers had only clubs or heavy sticks; these men were the looters, who robbed the dead and the wounded of their clothing and plundered the houses in conquered districts.

When the sub-chiefs had gathered together under their District-Chief, they set out jointly and travelled rapidly to the appointed meeting-place; each of the more important chiefs took one or two of his wives with him to do his cooking and to look after him in case he were wounded or sick. Chiefs

The army taking the oath of allegiance.



FIG. 55.—BUILDING TEMPORARY HUT.

kept apart from their wives until after the first spoil had been taken, and the general had gone through the ceremony of confirming the expedition. While the chiefs were collecting their forces, the general formed his camp on the frontier of the enemy's country, and this camp soon became like a town in appearance, for the men built substantial huts for the general and his wives, and also for the representatives of the gods and for the fetiches; these huts were run up in two or three hours. Even the poorest follower was expected to build his hut for the night, and only men on sentinel duty were allowed to sit in the open by the fires. When the chiefs arrived at the

A A

general's camp, the fetiches, which the King had sent with the army, were brought forth and stuck into the ground in front of the general's hut; the fetiches were shod with long iron spikes to be stuck into the ground, and no one dared pass them on pain of death without special permission from the general. As the chiefs with their followers arrived in the camp, the general sat outside his hut behind the fetiches to receive them, and each chief took the oath of allegiance to



FIG. 56.—TEMPORARY HUT READY FOR USE.

him; the general then told them where they were to be stationed in the camp, and in what order they were to march during the expedition. Each chief had his hut built in size and good workmanship according to his rank, and the retainers built their own huts in places where they could best protect their chief, in case of need. If the general found his army inadequate, he sent a special runner to the King to ask for reinforcements.

At one time the kings took command of the army in person, but as the dangers to which they were exposed in battle were

great, and as their presence was needed in the capital, the practice was abandoned. For the same reason it was found inconvenient to permit the *Katikiro* to go to war, except in the most exceptional circumstances; he had to guard the capital and to protect the country at large and the King in particular. A substitute was appointed to accompany the army in the place of any chief who could not go to war himself; the substitute took the title of his master, and was known in the army by that title; he commanded his master's troops, and received the honour due to him. The master was, however, held responsible for his substitute's conduct; he was praised for his successes, and blamed for his failures. The army was warned not to plunder or rob in their own country, though they were allowed to take food from the gardens as they marched to the front, and to seize any fowls which they could catch. Any chief who had been ordered to the front and did not go was liable to be deposed from office and to have his property confiscated. The chief *Senkole*, the guardian of the sacred fire, accompanied the army with a fuse of sacred fire, wherewith to burn any coward whom the general might condemn. The army was expected to collect in four days after the war-drum had sounded, so that within ten days it was on the frontier, awaiting the order to march. The general held a consultation, first with the gods and then with the leading chiefs, to arrange the order of the battle. Spies and scouts were sent over the country, who reported any movements among the people, and noted more particularly where the cattle and the women had been posted.

Kings at one time commanded the army in person.

Substitutes for chiefs.

A cleansing ceremony, ordered by the priests, and consisting of a sham fight, took place on the eve of the first battle; the stem of a plantain tree was placed in the road leading to the general's hut, and the warriors, armed with midribs from the plantain-leaves for spears, rushed one after the other out of the ranks and speared it. During this sham fight the warriors made a rush towards the enemy's country, brandishing their sham spears and shouting words of defiance. At the close of the sham fight each person jumped over the stem of the plantain tree, and then returned to his quarters. By the time that the warriors had all been sworn in, and the

Sham fight as a purificatory rite.

cleansing ceremony had been performed, the general had received tidings as to where the enemy was situated, and was in a position to decide where he would begin his attack. Often a leading chief was sent with a strong force to attack some unprotected part of the country, while the main army was directed against the full force of the enemy; such a movement was carried out with great rapidity, and generally under cover of night, so that the enemy was taken by surprise. The general decided which of the chiefs should lead the attack, and which were to be kept in reserve for emergencies. He himself issued his commands from some elevated position where he could see the whole of the battle, and whence he could send help to any part of the field where he saw that it was needed. There was little order in the method of attack; the leader went with his men to meet the foe, but some warrior would hurry in advance and fight single-handed with one of the enemy, or men would rush out of the ranks, hurl their spears at the foe, and then flee back to the main body for protection. Many of the peasants who joined such an expedition had only one spear, and would engage in hand-to-hand attacks. The camp followers and looters with their sticks and clubs followed up any success which the army had gained, and while the warriors were following the retreating enemy, they were busy looking for the women and the cattle, and looting the houses. Each chief had his own drum and his own armour-bearer with him, the latter carrying additional weapons in case of need; the chief could at once recall his men from an attack by the beat of his drum if he thought it desirable. It was, however, expected that no chief would advance to an attack or withdraw his men until the general had scudded his drum to advance or retreat. It would have been death for a chief to have done so on his own responsibility. As the warriors rushed upon the enemy, they called out: "For the King"; and when they were close upon the enemy they showed their fetiches, calling out "*Kope*" (the name of one of the war-fetiches).

Ceremony  
to ensure  
success in  
war.

After the first attack, if the army had succeeded in taking spoil of cattle, the general ordered an animal to be killed. Some of its meat was first cooked and brought to him,



and after he had eaten a little of it he divided the rest amongst the chiefs; afterwards he jumped over his wife in order to secure a successful termination of the war, and each chief, after he had eaten his meal, was free either to jump over his wife, or to take her to his couch.<sup>1</sup> Until this ceremony had been performed, no person in the army might have intercourse with women, for such conduct would have caused disaster to the expedition. If no four-footed animal could be found, the general had a fowl killed for the above-mentioned ceremony; in either case the blood of the victim was smeared over the fetiches. After the conclusion of the ceremony, the war was carried on daily, and the enemy was driven further and further back into his own country. The scouts kept the general informed as to the whereabouts of the women and the cattle, and these became the objective of attack. Each warrior who killed an enemy took his weapons from him, and wore a grass-crown, by way of intimating the fact. Men who had thus distinguished themselves were brought before the general for special notice; oftentimes they were further rewarded with gifts of women or cattle, or by being promoted to a chieftainship. When the war was over, some of the captured weapons were placed in the temples of the war-gods. The priests were daily busy consulting the gods and giving oracles, by which the general was able to judge what was best to be done, and where he ought to make an attack. The King was also kept informed of all that was taking place at the seat of war, and runners were constantly being despatched to him with news. If the army met with a reverse, it was a serious matter for the general, and unless he was able to retrieve the misfortune it would go hard with him on his return to the capital. The chief whose forces had been repulsed sent word to the general, and the latter sent off reinforcements with all possible speed. It was not often the case that the army failed entirely in any expedition, for they generally brought back some spoil, even though they might have lost a number of men. If a leading chief fell in battle, the general had to give the King a detailed account of his death, because it was considered impossible for

<sup>1</sup> In every case when jumping over a wife or stepping over her legs is mentioned, it is regarded by the Baganda as equivalent to, or instead of, having sexual connection with her.

such a mishap to have taken place unless there had been some carelessness or cowardice on the part of another chief. The wounded crawled away and hid in some place, till they could make their way back to their own people; but if they were too badly wounded to do that, they would lie and wait until the enemy departed, when they made their presence known to those who had gone out to search for them.

Ending  
the rites of  
the birth  
of twins.

It was during these expeditions that the fathers of twins completed their taboo; they were required to kill someone, and to tie the hair and nail-parings, which they preserved from their purificatory ceremonies, to the corpse; often, too, they crammed the ball of hair into the mouth of the dead man. Now to have the ball of hair of another person attached to oneself was regarded as a greater disaster than mutilation, and it caused dismay to the members of the clan to which the deceased belonged.

Surgery in  
warfare.

Native warriors were able to escape and to survive with wounds which would have been fatal to Europeans; the native had such a strong nervous system, that he never died from shock. The surgeons are said to have been able to restore the protruding bowels of men who had spear-wounds in the stomach. They first washed the bowels, and then gently forced them back into position, next they cut a gourd, and fitted a piece of it over the bowels inside the flesh, and then they bound up the wound, and it soon healed; sometimes they had to enlarge the wound before they could force the bowels back, and after these were brought into position they inserted a piece of gourd to protect them, and stitched it up in the wound. The man would be warned not to run, or to exert himself overmuch in the future; but apart from this he was to all appearance quite well and strong. For broken arms or legs the surgeons fitted sticks along the broken bone, after removing the flesh from it, and bringing the parts into position; the splint was fitted along the bone and left there, and the flesh was brought back to cover it. The wood used for this purpose was from the strychnine plant (mpanya).

If a priest was in danger of being captured with his fetiches during an expedition, he would hide them or cast them away

before he was taken, would await his chance to escape from his captors, make his way back to the place where he had hidden the fetiches, and carry them back to the temple. It was regarded as a dreadful calamity if fetiches were taken by the enemy.

When the general thought that he had as much spoil as was possible to obtain, he beat his drums, recalled his forces, waited for the various parties that had been sent out to loot, and began his march back. It was not customary to mutilate the dead, though with the purpose of intimidating the enemy the people sometimes cut away the private parts of corpses, and placed them by their side in the roads ; this was done to warn the enemy that they must not expect any quarter. When all was ready for the return march a special messenger, noted for his fleetness of foot and power of endurance, was despatched to the King. This man was expected to run forty miles without a rest and, if necessary, to continue his journey on the next day at the same rate of speed. On arriving at the capital he gave the King an account of the expedition, told him the number of captives and of cattle taken, and also what had been the losses on their own side. As soon as he crossed the frontier, the general had to await the messenger bringing the King's sanction for the army to return to Uganda. When this sanction had been obtained, the army was allowed to march onwards, and another messenger was then despatched to the King with a cow for every hundred cows captured, one slave for every hundred slaves taken, and a number of spears according to the number of the enemy who had been killed. These were sent to the capital as the first-fruits of victory ; at the same time the messenger gave the King a detailed report of the dead and wounded on their own side. As a rule the dead were left undisturbed after each battle so that their relatives might come under cover of night and carry them away. If an expedition had been a failure, the general, on reaching Uganda, would hurry off to the King to give an account of the cause of failure, and to clear himself if possible from the inevitable disgrace which attached itself to defeat.

After the army had reached Uganda, and was safe from

The return  
of the  
army.

Arrival of  
the army  
in the  
capital.

any attack on the part of the enemy, the general sent another message to the King giving a further detailed account of the expedition, and stating how each person had conducted himself. In this report deeds of bravery were recorded, and cowardice was exposed. The messenger presented himself to the *Katikiro*, who took the report to the King; after giving it himself, he introduced the messenger, who again recounted all that he had seen and heard. The King, having heard the report, held a conference with the *Katikiro* and the *Kimbugwe*. Representatives from the King, from the Queen, from the King's Mother, from the *Katikiro*, and from the *Kimbugwe*, each bearing the title of his master, were then sent to meet the army; when they reached the general, the representatives divided the captives and spoil. Every chief who had distinguished himself was given a share of the spoil, after the representatives of the King and of the other royal personages in the capital had taken the share for their masters, which amounted to about one-half. Every warrior who had shown exceptional bravery was rewarded with a present, either of women or of cattle. The peasants managed to hide things for themselves, which they accounted for neither to the general nor to their over-chiefs.

Reception  
of a  
victorious  
army.

After the spoil had been divided, the general gave the order to the chiefs to disband their men and let them go home. The important chiefs accompanied the general to the capital to report to the King, before they were allowed to visit their homes; but if there had been a reverse, they too went to their country residences for some ten days, before visiting the King. The people lined the roads to welcome the army back; women ran to meet their husbands with gourds of water, took from them their weapons, and were proud to carry them themselves, as they marched along the crowded roads. Warriors dashed at imaginary foes, drums were beaten, fifes were played, and songs of victory were sung, as the leaders wended their way to the space in front of the royal enclosure. When the King was ready to receive the army, he came out of the royal enclosure, and took his seat near the sacred fire before the palace gate; the general and the warriors then appeared before him in their war-dress and

paint, and after saluting him, they knelt before him, and told him about the expedition. The general recounted the details of the expedition, stating carefully what had happened each day, which chiefs had been sent into this or that part of the enemy's country, what they had done, and how much they had secured. Every peasant who had killed one of the enemy was mentioned by name, and conversely anyone who had acted in a cowardly way, or had not yielded the general implicit obedience, was accused. A large pot of beer was brought forward, and the chiefs came up singly according to their rank; behind the beer-pot stood a man with a ladle, and behind him again stood the police with their ropes, ready to secure and bind any condemned person. As each man came forward in answer to his name the ladle was handed to him, and he was commanded to take with it some of the beer; he would thereupon turn to his companions with the question: "May I drink?" If he had acquitted himself bravely in the war, they would call out, "Drink"; all was then well, his testing was at an end, he was greeted with cheers and shouts of welcome, and was allowed to drink. But a man who had been guilty of cowardice, when he asked "May I drink?" received the answer "No," and was then seized and bound by the police. He was, however, given an opportunity to plead, and if the charge was then proved against him, he was made prisoner. Sometimes a chief came forward in doubt of the reception he would receive, and was so nervous that he found it difficult to hold the ladle. All leaders were tried and were either praised or condemned by the court sitting with the King; when they had passed the ordeal, each chief came forward in turn to greet the King before he rose to retire. The chiefs then accompanied the *Katikiro*, who had a special meal ready for them. The men who were made prisoners, but whose lives were to be spared, were also taken to the *Katikiro's* house, where they were stripped of their war-garments and dressed in barkcloths, which were fastened round them as though they were women; they were required to wait upon the others at the meal; they had to hand the water and to pour it over the hands of the guests like slaves. After the meal was over, the prisoners'

garments were padded to look like women with child, they were laid upon bedsteads, and carried about the capital for the crowds to ridicule. They were afterwards deposed from office, their property was confiscated, and their wives and children taken from them to be slaves. The King frequently pardoned these men after a time, restored to them some of their wives, and allowed them to settle upon land which had gone out of cultivation; friends and relations helped them, peasants rallied round them, and soon they regained something of their lost position. Those who were condemned to death were burnt as a warning to others; their property also was confiscated, and their wives and children, if they could be found, were sold into slavery. The relatives, however, were allowed to redeem the women and children, if they wished to do so. Sometimes when an expedition had been successful, and many people had been killed, the chiefs were not permitted to come to the capital for some time, but went straight to their country residences for a month at least; there they underwent certain cleansing ceremonies, and visited the local gods to return thanks for their safe return and to make offerings.

A  
warrior's  
return  
home.

When a warrior returned home, his principal wife went out to meet him, relieved him of his weapons, and gave him a gourd of water; some of this water he drank before entering his house. If his wife had been unfaithful during his absence at the war, the water was supposed to cause him to fall ill, and so the wife's unfaithfulness was discovered. Accordingly, if the husband fell ill, the wife was promptly put into the stocks and tried; if she then confessed her guilt, and named the man with whom she had done wrong, the latter was heavily fined, or was even put to death. A peasant who had killed an enemy in the war, and returned wearing the grass crown, was received with great honour. After he had spent a day or two at his own home, he visited his parents, and presented his father with the spear which he had taken from the dead man; the father put the spear away and kept it safely, and when his son had killed ten men, and he had received the ten spears, he gave him a cow, a goat, a fowl, and a spear-shaft in honour of the event.

The son returned home taking the cow, the goat, and the fowl with him; the goat and the fowl he killed, calling his friends to the feast, and the spear-shaft he solemnly burnt in their presence, in token of having killed ten men in battle.

The men who were sent to bring the spoil from the army were not permitted to bring it to the capital until the King had made offerings to the gods, and had heard from them that it would be safe to do so. In some cases the priests ordered cleansing ceremonies; a slave and a goat had to be sent back to the frontier after the rest of the people had been purified by the medicine-men; these "scapegoats" were taken to the frontier of the enemy's country, and maimed there, so that they could not return to Uganda. The general sent nine slaves, nine cows, and nine goats to the war-god Kibuka as his thanksgiving for a safe expedition, and the King sent offerings of cattle and slaves to each war-god. If any warrior had a principal wife whom he did not like, but by whom he had had children, he was not allowed to neglect her and visit his favourite wives until he had called upon her and performed a ceremony over her. He took a reed, stuck one end of it into the ground by the side of his prostrate wife, bent it over her, and stuck the other end into the ground on the opposite side of her; he then took some of the grass she had plucked from the roadside when she accompanied him on his way to the war, tied this to the reed, and jumped over her; he was thus free to join any of his other wives. If he neglected this ceremony, it was thought that one or other of his children would die. During the time that a punitive expedition was away, no one who was left behind was allowed to kill a sheep, but only goats or cows might be killed. The penalty for killing a sheep was confiscation of the man's property; the reason given for this custom is that those left behind were looked upon as women, and that accordingly the meat of the sheep was taboo to them. No man was allowed to enter the house of a woman whose husband was absent, if the wife was sitting in the doorway; nor might a wife touch any man's clothing, for, if she did so, it would bring misfortune on her husband's weapons, and might even cost him his life.

Purificatory rites performed to cleanse the spoil.

The gods were thought to be very particular about women observing the taboos during their husbands' absence, and having nothing to do with men. A man's principal wife was responsible to him for the conduct of his other wives ; he tested her chastity on his return home, by the water test described above, and if she was found faithful, her word was accepted for the conduct of the others. When a warrior returned home from an expedition, and found that everything was well and in order, he cooked a feast for his wives and friends, to which the local priests also were invited ; the priests had to eat apart from the other guests, and the plantains for the priests were baked in their skins. When the feast was ended, the chief wife was free to cleanse her house, and to throw away the grass which she had plucked from the roadside and had preserved until her husband's return.



## CHAPTER XI

### INDUSTRIES

ONE of the remarkable characteristics of the Muganda is his power of imitation, especially in all kinds of mechanism. Give a man time to examine an object, and he will apprehend the mode of its construction, and will go and produce one so much like it that it is often well-nigh impossible to tell which is the original. Chairs, tables, shoes, etc., have each in their turn been closely copied. This power of reproduction extends to house-building in all its details ; thus there are numbers of houses made of sun-dried bricks, with iron roofs, which the natives themselves have built and completed without any supervision from Europeans. This trait of imitation is noticeable even in small children, who may be seen making toy guns, after the pattern of those used by their fathers. These toy guns are often so well made that, when the triggers are pulled, they make a sharp report. Bicycles have been cleverly imitated by boys, with wheels and spokes made of reeds. This power of imitation is the more striking because the Baganda are not remarkable for originality ; once, however, an idea has been presented to them, they are quick to seize it, and with but few tools and the common materials around them to turn out the most cunningly devised article. This characteristic is in all probability the solution to the problem as to why the Baganda, as a race, are so superior to all Bantu tribes surrounding them ; they have adopted all the good and useful things with which they have been brought in contact when visiting or raiding their neighbours, and have thus come to be superior to them. Side by side with this

ability and superiority there runs a sad defect in the nation ; they seldom, if ever, complete any piece of work which they have undertaken. A house will have some small portion left unfinished, a fence will remain with a small gap in it, and similarly in all their more important undertakings they leave something undone, which to the eye of the European mars the effect of a good, and possibly a beautiful, piece of work.

Building  
the  
capital.

Baganda houses are far superior to those of surrounding nations, and even the most humble peasant's hut has a neatness and finish which is lacking in the structures of other peoples. Owing, however, to the perishable nature of the materials used in building, no house is expected to last for more than four years. The difficulty of keeping the houses in the royal enclosure, and the residences of the chiefs, in good repair was enormous, and it is somewhat difficult for a European to realise the amount of labour expended upon them. In the royal enclosure the houses of the King and his chief wives, that is to say the important houses, numbered four hundred and fifty, and besides these there were hundreds of smaller houses and cooking huts. The building and repairing of so many houses kept an army of men employed the whole year round. Sometimes a fire swept away a hundred of these houses in a few hours, and destroyed the work of months. Two hundred men would be at work for at least two months, building one of the large houses. In the royal enclosure there were always several houses being built at the same time, as well as repairs being made to others, so that there was a stream of workmen entering the enclosure daily ; no fewer than a thousand men were engaged there on building alone. There were not less than three thousand people living in the royal enclosure. Important chiefs also had, living in their enclosure, numbers of wives, and followers who could be numbered by the hundred, often making up the large total of a thousand people.

Selecting a  
site for the  
capital.

The site for the capital had to be selected with a view to accommodating these large numbers of people ; a second consideration, when selecting it, was to find a situation where roads from the various districts converged. The King liked the capital to command all the roads from every part of the kingdom ; he



FIG. 57.—BUILDING A CHIEF'S FENCE.

also needed a private exit to the lake, which would enable him to escape unobserved to an island should any danger threaten him. The royal enclosure was encircled by a tall reed-fence ten or twelve feet high made of elephant-grass, and supported by stout posts at intervals. The posts were cut from different varieties of wild fig-trees, and were so planted that they soon took root and grew ; to these posts reeds were tied horizontally with the strong bark of a tree. To the frame-work thus made

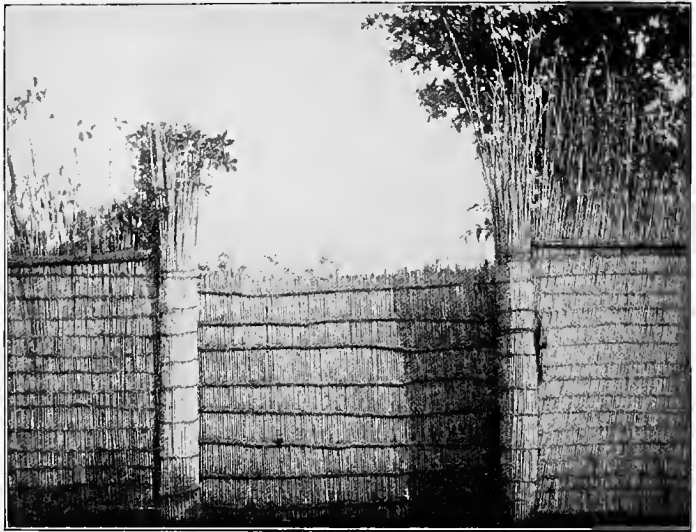


FIG. 58.—GATE TO ROYAL ENCLOSURE.

other reeds were stitched perpendicularly, both inside and outside of the fence, and so there was formed a wall of wicker-work of uniform thickness, having a smooth surface when finished ; the wall was further strengthened by stout ropes of reeds at the top and the bottom, which bound the outer and inner walls together. The appearance of the wall was striking, and the fence formed a barrier against wild animals and against any ordinary foe, since the people were only armed with spears. There were many miles of fencing to be done, because in addition to the main outer fence many inside fences had to be built, and as a fence did not last for more than four

years the work on these alone was enormous. The whole country took part in building the outer fence of the royal enclosure ; it was divided up into lengths, and each District-Chief was required to supply labourers, and to accomplish the work quickly, when once it was decided how much of it he had to do. The gateway for the main entrance was ten or twelve feet wide, with stout posts, eighteen inches or two feet in diameter, made of layers of reeds round a stout wooden post, the gate itself being made to slide. On the inside of the gateway there was on the right side a frame into which the gate slid or was lifted, and this prevented people from entering except on the left side. When closed the gate slid behind a post ; it was tied with thongs of cow hide, and presented a smooth surface on the outer side. At intervals in the main fence there were gates for the special use either of the King or of his wives. At each gate two sets of guards were stationed, one on the inside and the other on the outside ; those stationed inside had charge of the gate, while those stationed outside kept any intruder from trying to force his way in. The fences inside the main enclosure were formed into streets, and had gates and guards every few yards, which divided one group of buildings from another ; these groups of buildings were formed into smaller enclosures. The women living in one enclosure might visit those of another enclosure by permission only. Each of these inner enclosures had at most two exits.

In the building of a round house, the work was begun from the top, and not from the bottom, as in the case of brick houses ; there was no foundation to be laid, but instead of this there was a central ring, called *Nkata*, which was of equal importance with the foundation in a brick house. The *Kangawo* had the task of building the house for the King's wife *Kadulubare*, but he was unable to make the three special rings for the house himself ; he had to obtain them from the man whose duty it was to make them for the King. The rings were made from the fronds of palm leaves, beaten with a wooden mallet upon a log, until they became nothing but shreds ; they were then bleached in the sun, and tied into rings of the required size and thickness ; the smallest ring was ten inches in diameter and four inches thick. After the

Building  
houses.

B B

ring had been formed it was decorated with shredded stems of papyrus, bleached and dyed red and black, with some shreds left the natural colour. These shreds were twisted into cords, and bound round the ring so that they formed patterns. Of these rings that which was in the centre was the most important in a house; it was named *Enkata*. The second, which was larger, was called *Katumyo*, and the third, which was larger still, was called *Bugwe*. The three rings were attached to the ceiling of a house between the three tallest



FIG. 59.—CENTRAL RING FOR HOUSE.

pillars; it was from the centre ring at the apex of the house that the roof was built. These rings were of great importance to the builder, and were the test of a good house. The men who made the rings for the royal houses had certain privileges, such as being exempt from taxation; they were also allowed to pass the King's wives upon the roads, whereas an ordinary workman was beaten if he did not turn and run away from them; and they were not allowed to be captured and taken to the sacrificial places. During the time that they were making the rings, they had to keep apart from their

wives, and no person might come near them when they were at work ; at the end of each day they had to put away their work so that it should not be touched by anyone else. The red dye for the cords for the rings was obtained from a red deposit in the streams where there was iron in the clay ; this deposit was mixed with wood ashes and water, and the papyrus shreds were boiled in it. The black dye was obtained from a herb *Mzugizi*, which was boiled with the fibre and so dyed black. The price paid for these rings was as follows : a slave girl for *Enkata*, a woman for *Katumyo*, and a cow for *Bugwe*. When building the house for the *Kadulubare*, the *Kangawo* had to stand upon the site and the ring *Enkata* was placed upon his head ; the work of making the roof was begun while the ring rested upon him. In the case of other houses no special ceremony was observed ; the ring was placed upon three stakes driven firmly into the ground, and the first part of the roof was made while it rested there. The material used for making the roof consisted of reeds, which were stitched to the rings with black strips of bark. The reeds were, however, stitched to the three centre-rings in such a manner that the stitching did not show, and that the decorative work was not hidden. Rings stitched on the outer side of the roof really held the reeds in position, those on the inside were for ornament rather than for service. It should be mentioned here that while only three decorated rings were used in building a house, other rings were made as they were required by the workmen who built the house. In the case of the *Kadulubare's* house, as soon as the first ring had been secured to the reeds, it was lifted from the chief's head and placed upon poles, which were to form the permanent pillars of the house. The central pillars of a good house were about fifteen or twenty feet long ; they were set in a triangle, with a ring resting upon them, leaving the decorated rings exposed to view. As a rule, the pillars of a house were erected before the roof was made, and the latter was built so as to rest upon them. The pillars were cut in such lengths that the roof slanted down rapidly from the three long pillars in the centre to the short pillars at the extreme outer circle of the house. The pillars were placed six feet apart from each other, and set

in rows, so that at whatever angle a man stood to look at them they all appeared to be in line, and yet they were so arranged that they were in circles. They were planted two feet in the ground, and the earth was then rammed in around them so as to make them secure. When the pillars had been erected, the workmen made a scaffolding, a little lower than the tops of the pillars, and on this they reclined while stitching the roof which was over them. The whole roof of the house was a basket-work of reeds, and inside it formed a smooth straw-coloured surface. This reedwork-roof was carried down to the ground on all sides, except in the doorways. The grass for thatching was a special broad-bladed variety which grew in every part of the country. The workmen were expected to bring their building materials with them daily, they were given no extra time to obtain the materials, and accordingly they had to employ their wives or their sons to cut the reeds from the swamps, to wash and scour them with sand in such a manner that each reed became beautifully clean, and also to select the reeds of uniform thickness. The work which was considered the best was done with thin reeds; in building for the King, or for any chief, the thin-tapering ends and the thick ends were alike cut off and cast aside, and the middle part alone was used. The men had also to bring grass with them as the work progressed; this was thrown upon the finished work to protect it from being spoiled by weather. Some men were set apart to cut the reeds to certain lengths, and to see that they were of uniform thickness; others had to cut to a certain width the bark, which was used for stitching, so that it might be uniform throughout the building. Though the ordinary peasant was expected to do the stitching of the reeds, for the thatching of the roof professional thatchers were employed who belonged to the Ngeye Clan. Every time that these men thatched one of the large houses in the royal enclosure, the King gave them two copper knives and a copper staff made like a thatching-stick. In some of the royal houses the restrictions demanded that the King should commence cutting the thatch over the doorway; after cutting a little, he handed the knife to the principal thatcher, that the latter



might complete the work. The thatch was never secured to the house in any way. The thatcher began at the bottom where the roof came down to the ground; the first rows of thatch, tied in small bundles, were laid round the hut with the stems of the thatch downwards and the blades upwards, but all the rest was laid with the blades downwards. The only tool which the thatcher used was a staff some four feet long, with which he beat down the thatch and combed it into order as he went on, adding layer upon layer, to the top of the conical house. Each bundle of thatch was bent in the middle



FIG. 60.—THATCHING A HUT.

before it was passed to the thatcher, so that the blades were broken and became more pliable for working. The layers were put on until the thatch was quite a foot thick, which made the house perfectly weather-proof. On the top of a good house there was built a pinnacle, made of reeds cut to different lengths, so as to form a sloping edge from the centre. The pinnacle was some three feet in diameter and two feet high; the reeds were stepped, the inner circles being the longer. During the time that the thatching was being done, one or two men, more expert in reed-stitching than

their companions, were employed in making the doorway; over the doorway a hood was built to form a porch, and this was built at a different angle from the roof, with only sufficient slope to ensure the rain running off it. The hood was seven or eight feet high where it joined the roof, and it descended with a gentle slope until it was some five feet high; the outer edge of the hood was extended so as to form a segment of a circle corresponding with the bottom circle of the house. Under the porch, walls were built on either side of the doorway, extending inwards to the first pillars. The walls by the door were always built most carefully with small reeds, little thicker than a lead pencil, stitched to the frame with very fine stitching, and with the lines of the threads kept perfectly straight. The rings of the porch-roof were crescent-shaped; the outer ring was made very thick, in the case of a good house fully ten inches in diameter, and wrapped round with coloured cords made from papyrus-fibre. Over the door on the lintel the same kind of binding of coloured cord was used to make a neat finish to the fine reed-work on the sides.

Floor-  
making.

Floor-making was also a special occupation; the earthen floor was first dug up and levelled; next good earth was carried in, trodden down and stamped, then beaten with short sticks, and rubbed and beaten from time to time with young shoots of plantain-trees, so that the sap from the stems moistened the earth, and enabled the men to obtain a perfectly hard and smooth surface. On the outside of the house, all round it, a ridge of earth was made, twelve inches high, and ten inches thick at the base, tapering to a thin edge at the top. These ridges were beaten by men who stood on one foot and stamped with the other, until the earth was beaten well against the thatch where it came to the ground, and formed a hard substance to carry off the water from the roof and prevent it from running into the house. The workmen made a polished surface to the beaten earth with their iron hoes, used as trowels, and at the doorway they made a ridge, which tapered from both sides upwards, so that it was like a high rim to a saucer, and kept any water from running into the house during rain-storms. As soon as the earth of the floor dried and cracked, the men beat it again, until the cracks were all filled

up, and finally they smeared the whole with a mixture of clay and cowdung, which made an excellent floor. The thatch over the doorway was neatly cut back by the thatcher; it was the custom to cut the under part long, and the upper part shorter, the exact opposite to the English method. The floor-beaters for the King received each a hoe when the work was finished; but if they had also to level the courtyard in which a house stood, the King gave them a goat in addition to the hoe; this they killed and ate on the spot before anyone went to live in the house. When chiefs wanted these men to work for them, they paid them heavily, the price being sometimes as high as a cow for the making of one floor.

The door was made of reeds by another set of workmen, Door-making. who were the King's door-makers. The door-maker measured the height and breadth of the doorway with a reed, and then carried the measurements to his own house, where he made the door. He used three and sometimes four strong sticks which he placed one near the top of the door, another near the bottom, and one between them; to these he stitched reeds of the necessary length, and when he had completed one side with one layer of reeds, he turned the door over and stitched a second layer to the opposite side. When doors were made for the King, the stitching had to be done with cane, but for ordinary houses bark was used. The reeds were trimmed off at the ends when the door was finished, so that it might be the right length; these doors were always made larger than the opening, so that, when they were put up, the opening was well covered both at the top and on either side. A log of wood with a groove in it was let into the floor for the door to slide in, and the latter was supported by three posts, one on either side of the doorway, and a third for the door to rest against when it was open. The door was drawn over the opening by night, and tied to one of the posts, so as to prevent anyone outside from opening it; during the day it slid to one side, and rested against the third post.

A wall across the middle divided the house into two equal Rooms in a house. portions, one of which was the sitting room, and the other the sleeping room; this wall did not extend quite to the side-walls of the house, but was left so that the members of the house-

hold might pass at either end of it from one room to the other. There was a fire-place in each room ; this was a square, formed by logs of wood let into the floor, so as to keep the ashes together and to prevent the fire from spreading. Most houses were draped with barkcloths, which hung from the ceiling to the floor, and made recesses along the sides in which things could be stored and kept out of sight ; they also served to cover the retreat to the inner room. Only in large houses was there a second door leading outside at the back, small



FIG. 61.—NATIVE HOUSE.

houses had one door only. No house was provided with a chimney ; the smoke from the fires had to find its way out through the doorway or the roof. The floor was carpeted with a sweet-smelling grass, like lemon grass, which was carefully laid so that the blades were in perfect line and order. A large house measured thirty feet at the base ; this would give a sitting room twelve feet square, and a bedroom of similar size, and would leave the sides clear, to be used as store-rooms.

Peasants'  
houses.

The houses of peasants were built on the same pattern as those of the chiefs, the only difference being in the dimensions

and in the central rings, which latter were not so elaborately made; nevertheless, some peasants built very good houses, and took great pains over their work. In the country districts people dug holes in the floor at one side to serve as urinals, in case they should be required by night, for they were afraid to go out of doors then because of wild beasts. It is a curious fact that a man would never use the same place for such purposes as his wife, each would have their own pit, one on either side of the house. These pits were filled with gravel, so that they were not noticeable or offensive; the water, too, would sink down, and thus the surface, at any rate, was kept clean. In the capital chiefs, and often peasants too, used vessels made from plantain-leaves tied together at the ends; these vessels were thrown away in the plantain-grove each morning.

In many houses the bedsteads were fixtures, consisting Beds. of posts let into the floor with forked tops; the side-pieces were laid in the forks, and the head- and foot-pieces were laid across them, and were then lashed in position. On the frame thus formed, they laced cow-hide thongs, or else sewed a cowhide. Prior to King Suna's reign, when this kind of bedstead was introduced, the people made a daïs of beaten earth, covered it with grass, and spread barkcloths over it. Many people slept in their day garments; others were more particular and had special garments for the night. The King and well-to-do people had movable bedsteads, the frame consisting of stout pieces of wood let into short legs with very badly fitting mortises; and this frame was laced over with cowhide thongs. Temporary huts, used on journeys, or in time of war, were made of stout green sticks, stuck into the ground in a circle, and bent inwards to form a hoop; the upper ends of the sticks were tied together with strips of their own bark; these sticks formed the frame-work of the hut; grass was laid on it for thatch as in the case of a regular house. Such huts were quickly built; where the materials were at hand, the time needed was only two hours, or even less.

A formal ceremony preceded the entrance into every new Ceremony performed at entering a new house. house: the owner made a feast to which he invited his friends; the priest came with his fetiches; and the pillars were de-

corated with flowers and creepers before the fetiches were brought in. Plantains were cooked in their skins, and placed by the main pillars as an offering to the god, and beer was poured out on the floor by the place where the fetiches were to be kept. The fire-place of the kitchen was then consecrated to the god, and medicine was sprinkled over it, to make the cooking successful. The wife had her fetich *Namere* inserted in the fireplace, to make the food which she cooked good and agreeable to her husband. The King and the chiefs, in addition to the above observances, held a feast for the workmen who had taken part in the building ; and a further ceremony observed by them was that, on entering the house, the owner jumped over the wife who was to live in it. When the King entered a new enclosure, he had trees, representing the various gods, planted in the open space before the principal gate, and beer poured out at the root of each tree ; this drink-offering was repeated whenever he wished to conciliate the particular god whom the tree represented. The most important part of a house, after the three ceiling-rings, were the walls on either side of the doorway ; a large amount of labour was bestowed on the reed-work, and on the roof of the porch. The master always sat inside the door, on the side on which the door opened ; this was his special seat, and it would have been considered an encroachment had any other person sat there.

Iron  
working.

The art of working iron in a rudimentary way was understood in very early times, though the exact date when iron was introduced seems to have been forgotten. The common hoe would appear to have been the first implement used, and the spear the first weapon. Some people think that these articles came in the first instance from Bunyoro, and there is some ground for the assumption ; first, because ironstone is not abundant in Uganda, in fact it is only found in very small quantities, whereas in Bunyoro and to the west of Uganda it is plentiful ; secondly, because the first smiths were chiefly Banyoro. The Baganda have a tradition that Prince Kimera sent the first weapons and hoes into Uganda when he was in Bunyoro, and prior to that time they used as hoes the ribs of cows attached to sticks, and for spears they had pointed sticks. The narrative concerning Kimera

runs as follows : When he had fled from Wunyi's court in Bunyoro because of his undue familiarity with Wunyi's wife, he attached himself to a smith, and remained with him for some time, learning his work ; after a time, when he had mastered the art of smithing, he sent hoes and weapons to Uganda. There can, however, be no doubt that iron-workers were to be found in the south-west of Uganda long before the time of Kimera and even before Kintu's reign, and that it was from these parts that the skilled workmen came. Koki with its surrounding country supplied the metal ; and workmen came thence into Uganda, and taught the apt Baganda the art of iron-working. The pointed digging-sticks still survive, and are used by women for digging up the tubers of the sweet potato ; no woman ever takes her hoe to dig up the first potatoes, but she uses instead a pointed stick a foot long and half an inch thick.

The Bushbuck Clan were the first iron-workers, and they found their ironstone on the borders of Koki and western Budu. The stone was found on the surface, and as there was usually sufficient for their needs on the surface, they seldom dug more than three or four feet for it. Two kinds of ironstone were used, one hard and the other soft ; the hard kind was called the "male," and the soft the "female" stone. When men wanted to smelt iron, they collected enough stone of each kind to make the amount of iron which they required. The fuel used for smelting was charcoal made from two kinds of wood, and prepared on the spot. A pit was dug two to four feet deep and three feet in diameter, and filled with dry papyrus stems, if such were obtainable, or failing them, with dry, strong, coarse grass. Round the top of the pit the earth was moistened and beaten hard with sticks to make it hold together ; on this hard surface a rim of clay was made, four inches deep and about a foot wide. Some of the small ant-hillocks, which abound in that part of the country, were gathered and cut into shape to form slabs, each slab fully four inches thick ; with these a wall was built round the top of the pit. Spaces were left in the lower part of the wall for the nozzles of the bellows used for the furnace. The first layer of stones was laid on the fuel, the larger stones being

broken into small pieces ; these alternate layers of stone and charcoal were repeated, until the furnace was filled up. The walls of the furnace were four feet high ; the top row of slabs was built so that it narrowed the hole, leaving only a small aperture at the top of the furnace. All the joints were smeared over with clay, and the walls were similarly smeared on the outside ; the nozzles of the bellows were then inserted



FIG. 62.—SMITH'S BELLOWS.

into the four openings left for them round the furnace. The bellows were of the ordinary kind which was used by the smiths throughout the country ; they consisted of two pots, sometimes made of wood, but more frequently of unbaked clay, with a hole in the side, to which a nozzle was attached, a foot in length ; the pots measured eight inches in diameter. A goat-skin with a stick attached to it was tied over the mouth of each pot, and a man stood between the two pots



and raised the sticks up and down, so as to draw the air in by the nozzle, and by the downward movement to force it out again into the pipe at the end of the nozzle by which it was carried into the furnace. With a little practice the man who worked the bellows became quite expert in keeping up a continuous blast. After the preparations had been made, the chief smith lighted the fire at the bottom of the furnace through one of the blast-holes, and the blast was started all round ; it had then to be kept going until the whole of the stone was melted. The fire was lighted at one o'clock in the afternoon and was kept burning until eight or nine o'clock at night. As the charcoal was consumed they added more through the top of the furnace, and kept the blast going without cessation. Branches of trees were brought to break down the upper part of the furnace after the ore was melted, and the pit was covered over with green branches and grass to extinguish the fire and to cool the metal, which was left until the following morning. The next day the smelted iron was dug from the pit, small fires were made, and the metal was heated and cut up into pieces small enough to be used for the purpose of making hoes or spears. If the smiths required more iron, they had to make a new furnace and to repeat the process described. The ordinary fire for a smith was made in a shallow pit in the earth, the nozzle of the blast-pipe being at the bottom of the pit, and the bellows being so placed that their two nozzles entered the blast-pipe and gave a continuous blast. The anvil was a large stone, and the hammers were large pieces of iron which were rounded and thicker at the end used to strike the metal than at the end held in the hand. Green-wood split or tied round the metal was used to hold the iron while working it. The prong of a spear blade was first made and driven into a piece of wood to enable the smith to work the blade. During the time of smelting the workmen remained away from their wives and had no intercourse with them, they were not allowed to eat with anyone, nor to come into contact with anyone beyond those with whom they were working. Their food was brought to them by their wives or children during this time, and was placed near their temporary huts. When the son of a smith

began to imitate his father's work, the latter gave him a piece of metal to work on; after the son had fashioned this into something like an implement, it was given to his mother, who stored it up, and the father jumped over her "to confirm the boy in his work." When the smelting was finished, the iron was bought by the villagers or by other smiths who were not able to smelt, but were willing to pay a good price for the rough metal. Rough iron was worked and reworked and finally made into hoes, knives, spears, needles, fish-hooks, bells, and axes. These were the implements which smiths were expected to be able to make for the public. The King had

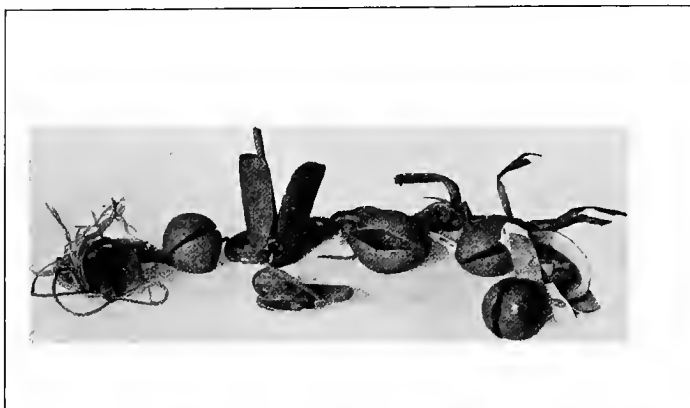


FIG. 63.—BAGANDA DOG AND COW BELLS.

his own smiths, who made the implements required for the royal household, and each important chief had his own smiths upon his estate. These smiths worked for the poorer people, and sold their wares in the market-places, in addition to what they did for their masters. Smiths used small grass huts as smithies, high enough for a man to stand upright in the middle of them; these smithies were only closed in on the two sides on which the prevailing winds blew. The smith always sat or squatted to do his work; he had an assistant to blow the bellows and keep his fire going. These smiths also learned to work copper and brass wire, and to make the armlets and bracelets so common among the

Baganda people ; some of them also learned to decorate knives and spears rudely for the King and the chiefs. They punched holes through the blades and riveted either copper or brass into the holes ; they engraved rough patterns on some of the knives ; or they ground one part bright, leaving the other parts dull. All the knives, axes, and bill-hooks were made on common patterns. Copper and brass were imported, and were worked up again by the smiths into wire bracelets or the heavier kinds of bracelets ; the latter were made by flattening out the metal to a sheet, and then bending it over to form a tube, with the joint on the outside. Bells were made to be tied on dogs when hunting ; another pattern was made for the necks of cows, and a third pattern for children's legs. The art of tempering metal was quite unknown to the smiths. Grinding was done on a rough stone or on a rock, but boards, on which fine grit or powdered stone was sprinkled, were used for the purpose of sharpening small knives and razors. The people were expert barbers owing to the custom of shaving the head and every part of the body, whenever taboo demanded their purification.

The Lake Victoria Nyanza (or as the Baganda call it, the *Nyanza*, that is the sea) has, since the reign of Kintu, been of the utmost importance to the nation, firstly as a water-way for their own use, and secondly as a barrier against the nations on the east and south sides of the lake. It is also invaluable as a source of moisture for the land, though the people have never understood its value in this respect. There is no doubt that the frequent rain, which falls almost weekly in Uganda, while other countries are parched with drought in the dry season, is due to the moisture collected from this vast expanse of water ; and the prevailing winds cause the showers to fall upon Uganda and seldom in other places. From tradition we learn that the principal canoe-builders came to King Kintu from the north of the lake, that the Lung-fish Clan from that time onwards have been the chief canoe-men, and that one of their number has held the office of admiral (Gabunga). Many of the islands, with their numerous population, became subjects of the kings of Uganda, and were reckoned as part of the nation, though there has always been

Canoe-  
building.

a marked line of separation between the Baganda and the Basese, as the people of the islands are called. No one has studied the marked differences between these peoples, so far as I am aware; and it is impossible to do so now, owing to the barrier raised by the terrible disease, sleeping sickness, which has been so prevalent on the islands and along the shores of the lake. Prior to the outbreak of this scourge, the islands were thickly populated, and they formed a source of revenue to the King, both by the fish which they supplied, and



FIG. 64.—BAGANDA CANOE.

by the yearly tribute which they paid. As canoes were the principal means used for carrying on commerce with the nations to the south of the Nyanza, and also for connecting the main road from the east coast with the capital of Uganda, the Basese were of great importance to the country; and it was through their means that the Baganda influence had become so extended at the time when Arab traders first discovered the lake. The number of canoes kept on the shores of the mainland, together with those on the islands, was very great, and a fleet of a hundred strong could easily be collected in two or three days. Each chief on the islands

had to maintain a number of canoes ready for state-service, and he was liable to punishment if they were not kept in serviceable condition. Most of the men on the lake shore, as well as those on the islands, were skilled in the art of canoe-building, so that they were able on a journey to repair their canoes, if one of them met with an accident or leaked badly. There were, however, special men in each district responsible for the condition of all the large canoes, and these men made canoe-building a speciality. The trees usually selected were of the kind which the Baganda call



FIG. 65.—BAGANDA "DUG-OUT" CANOES.

*mivule*, a wood not unlike mahogany in appearance, which hardens in the water and becomes then unworkable, but which before being placed in water is fairly soft and easily cut. On the lake there were two kinds of canoes used, the common "dug-out," and the canoe more especially known as the "Uganda canoe," which was a well constructed vessel. The "dug-out" served as a ferry-boat to cross the arms of the lake, where they ran far inland and the people desired a short route to the other side; they were also used in some parts by the fishermen for fishing in shallow water, and again they were used on some of the rivers, and were the only

C C

canoes that plied upon the smaller lake Wamala in the Singo district.

Building  
a "dug-  
out"  
canoe.

When a man wished to cut a tree, either for building a "dug-out," or for making boards for the better kind of canoe, he asked the medicine-man near at hand to consult the oracle and to tell him whether he might venture to fell the tree. There was no question of timber-rights, or of ownership over the forest, for all timber was public property ; but most people held the belief that the trees were possessed by spirits, and that the spirits needed to be propitiated by an offering of a goat or of a fowl, with some beer and possibly a few cowry-shells. The cowry-shells were tied round the trunk of the tree, the beer was poured out at the roots of it, and the animal, if it was killed, was killed in such a manner that the blood ran to the roots ; the meat was then cooked and eaten by the man who made the offering, seated near the tree. In some instances the goat was kept alive, and allowed to roam about at will in the garden in which the tree grew. Timber was never left to season ; it was used immediately after it was cut. If the canoe required was a "dug-out," the workmen cut a log of the necessary length, and commenced to fashion it on the outside and at the ends ; the upper part was next adzed flat, and the tree was hollowed out. With the few tools which they possessed, the hollowing process was a difficult task ; accordingly the men often used fire to burn and char the wood, so as to save themselves trouble in cutting it. Some of the "dug-out" canoes were twenty feet long and four feet wide, and were flat inside at the bottom, so that cattle could stand in them, to be ferried over the arms of the lake or over the rivers. There were no seats in them, but holes were cut through the upper part of the sides to which the animals were tied, to prevent them from jumping out.

Building  
a large  
canoe.

In the construction of a large canoe the first step was to fashion the keel ; a tree from fifty to sixty feet long was required for this purpose. The keel extended four or five feet beyond the canoe to be used as a ram in warfare ; it was rounded on the under side, and was wider and thicker in the middle than at either end. In the middle it was about a foot wide and ten inches deep, it was slightly hollowed on the upper

side, and the edges were bevelled for the whole length, to permit the side timbers to sit neatly without protruding. The ram was rounded, and it tapered to a point; the upper side was slightly flattened, to support a raised prow, which stood up at right-angles to the keel, and which was, under ordinary circumstances, crowned with a tuft of parrot-tail feathers between a pair of antelope horns. When the keel was finished, boards for the sides were made, and special timbers to form stretchers which were the seats. One tree was required for the

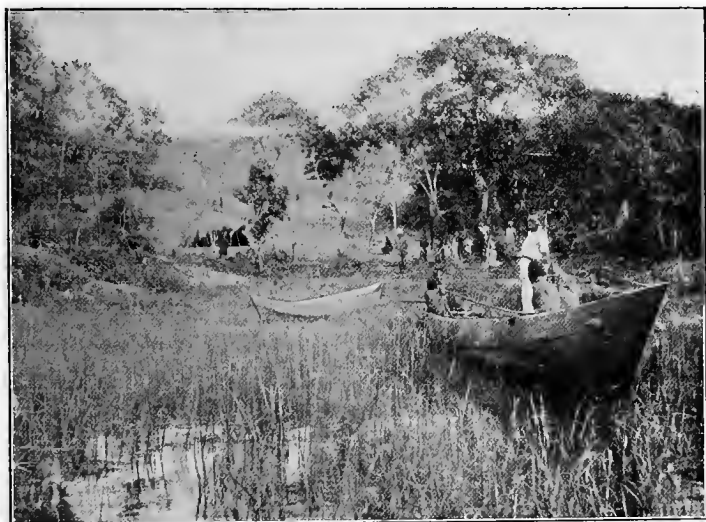


FIG. 66.—BAGANDA CANOES ON LAKE SHORE.

keel, and two or more for the side-boards; only three boards could be got from a good-sized tree. The method of cutting the boards was to adze the upper side of the felled tree, so as to obtain a fairly flat surface, and to chip out grooves some three inches wide, on either side of the piece which they wished to have as a board; it was thus necessary to cut a tree two feet in diameter, in order to obtain three good boards, an inch thick when finished. The waste of wood was very great, and the labour involved was enormous. The men, however, stuck to their task, and day after day they cut the wood away, till

C C 2

gradually they worked their grooves to the centre of the tree ; the latter was then turned over, and the workmen began to work the other side and worked down to the grooves they had already cut. After the boards had been cut out roughly, they had to undergo considerable trimming and smoothing with small adzes, which were the only tools employed in preparing the boards for use. While they were making the canoe, the workmen had to refrain from all sexual intercourse, but after the boards had been cut, and carried to the lake, and placed in the water, they were allowed to return to their normal life. While the boards and the keel were standing in the water, the canoe builders went to find the creeper which was used for stitching the boards together. No nail, nor iron of any sort, was used in building canoes ; but the sides were stitched on to the keel with creepers, and the boards were made to fit on one another edge to edge and stitched together ; holes were bored through the boards half an inch apart, with a heated iron like a bradawl, and corresponding holes were made in the keel where the boards were fitted on it. The creeper was moistened, so that it was pliable, and did not break when pulled through the holes. The boards at the bows had bevelled ends, so that where they met they formed a sharp angle ; they were stitched together in position. Along the sides, under the stitches, and covering the joints of the boards, narrow strips of wood were put, both inside and outside the canoe ; these strips were rounded on the outside, and the stitches were carried through the boards over them. If the boards were too short to extend the whole length of the canoe, they were spliced and stitched together. When the stitching was finished, the men wound round each stitch a fine wire-like creeper, to protect it against being rubbed or broken, when the canoe was in use. After the first row of boards had been attached to the keel, stretchers were inserted, about two feet apart, which kept the sides from collapsing and strengthened the canoe. The stretchers consisted of pieces of wood four inches thick by three inches deep and as long as the canoe was wide ; a groove was cut round each piece near the end, to fit upon the side board of the canoe. At the bows and the stern pieces of wood with grooves in them were made



to fit on to the ends of the boards to protect them, and also to make the craft water-tight. No attempt was ever made to build decks, or to apply masts or sails to the canoes; the bottom had a layer of sticks, which were cut a certain length and were lashed together to form a floor, and to allow any water which leaked into the canoe to run to the centre, where a paddler sat who baled it out with a shallow wooden dish. The stitchings and seams of the canoe were caulked with tow made from tree fibre and rammed down with a knife. The paddles were carved out of a light wood, the blade being heart-shaped, and the handle coming out of the base of the blade; the blade was ten inches long and five inches wide, the handle two feet six inches long. There were no rowlocks of any kind. The boatmen merely spooned the water, and so pulled the canoe along, until at the end of the stroke they gave a sharp jerk with the paddle. A man in the stern sat and guided the canoe by paddling first on one side and then on the other, or by holding the paddle in the water at a certain angle to the canoe, and thus turning it as he wished. The various parts of the canoe were named as follows:—

The keel was termed the *Mugongo*, that is, the back.

The sides, *Mabasi*, or *Mabega*.

The top sides, or strips, *Mpero*.

The stitching, which joined the boards together, *Kivula*.

The ram, or protruding keel, *Lulimi*.

The extreme point of the bows, *Kiyenda*.

The stitching in the bows and the stern, *Mufumo*.

The pointed horns which ran through the bows, *Igani*.

The inside bottom of the canoe at the bows, *Ibanga*.

The first stretcher, or seat, *Mulambi*.

The part from the centre of the canoe to the bows, *Mutwe* (the head).

The centre, where the man sat to bale the water, *Kiwu*.

The part from the centre to the stern, *Bulumba*.

The end seat where the steersman sat, *Kumba*.

The number of paddlers varied from twenty-four to thirty, according to the size of the canoe. In the bows the last stretcher but one was carried through the sides of the canoe some eighteen inches on each side, and pointed at the ends <sup>Paddlers and freight carried by a canoe.</sup>

like a horn ; these ends were used for drawing the canoe up to the land. On a well-finished canoe there was a cord running from the bows of the canoe to the extended bow on the raised end of the ram ; this cord was decorated with a fringe of shredded papyrus, which waved about as the canoe was in motion. The outside of the canoe was painted with a kind of red clay, which was found in the surface-soil in places where there was iron formation. When mixed with oil, or with beer, the clay became hard like paint ; it did not wash off, and it also stopped any small flaws in the joints of the boards, and thus helped to make the canoe watertight. A good canoe drew very little water, and carried twelve or fourteen loads of eighty pounds' weight each, in addition to its full crew. When the lake was rough, the paddlers did not keep the canoe with its head to the waves, but ran in the trough of the sea, because they said that otherwise the keel would break owing to its great length. A storm was indeed a risky and unpleasant experience, because canoes were often swamped by the waves breaking over them, and continuous baling-out became necessary. The sailors made for the shore, whenever they saw a storm coming ; for they were afraid that otherwise they might lose their canoe, as well as risk their lives.

Ceremony  
of  
launching  
a canoe.

When a canoe was ready for launching, the owner brought a goat, or if he could not afford a goat, a fowl ; a hut was built as a shrine for the spirit of the canoe, and the animal was killed over the canoe, so that some of the blood ran into it ; beer was added to the blood, and the rest of the blood and beer was poured out by the side of the shrine, while a barkcloth was laid inside for the spirit's use. The builders ate the meat of the animal and drank beer near the shrine, and afterwards they tested the canoe to see if it balanced, and if it rode the waves well. If the canoe was to be used for fishing, the fisherman killed one of the first fish caught, and let the blood run into the canoe, to consecrate it for the work. A little cooked food, together with some uncooked plantains, was often placed in a new canoe, when it was about to be launched. When the trial trip was over, the canoe was taken to another spot ; it was not

beached where it had been launched. Before taking a journey, the paddlers went to one of Mukasa's shrines to seek his blessing. No compass was used to guide the crew, but they made their way by keeping the land in sight; they never attempted to cross the wider parts of the lake, but skirted the shores, or passed from island to island. They travelled from four to five miles an hour, and maintained the pace for ten or twelve hours at a time when necessary. The sailors carried food and a lighted barkcloth fuse, and an old cooking-pot in which to make their fire, when they were going a long journey. When paddling, the men stripped off all clothing, except a band of barkcloth which passed between their legs and was fastened to a string waist-band. Women sometimes took their places in a canoe as paddlers, when there was a shortage of men, and they kept pace with the men in paddling. In times of war canoes were employed for the transport of troops. Canoes, when not in use, were hidden away among the papyrus along the shores of the lake; and sometimes they were sunk by being filled with water, and having a few large stones placed in them. Floats with strong cords were attached to these sunken canoes, so that the latter could be raised again by being dragged into shallow water.

Sometimes rafts were made of palm leaf-stems lashed Rafts. together, the second layer being placed the reverse way to the first, and lashed to the lower layer. Such rafts were used for fishing, and for laying the nets or traps close to the land.

Fishing was an important industry, which employed Fishing. hundreds of people who dwelt along the shores of the lake, as well as the inhabitants of the thickly populated islands. Fish, both from the lake and from the rivers, formed one of the principal articles of diet among the poorer people, while among the wealthy a week seldom passed without fish appearing on their tables. The poorer classes had to buy their fish dried from the markets, or from men who hawked it about the country, but the King and the chiefs had their own private fishermen, whose duty it was to supply them with fresh fish, in return for the land which they held. When the islands were brought into subjection, they were allotted to different chiefs whose districts did not touch the lake; hence

almost every important chief held either land on one of the islands, or land which bordered upon the lake. The principal chiefs on the islands had land allotted to them near the capital, so as to enable them to visit the King and their over-chiefs without inconvenience. The people who lived along the shores of the lake, and the inhabitants of the islands, were fisher-folk; and the sale of their fish brought them good profits. Traps, or lines attached to floats, for deep-water



FIG. 67.—FISH TRAPS.

fishing, formed the most popular and the most profitable method of fishing; these needed only an occasional visit to take out the spoil, and to see that the traps were in good repair.

The drag-net.

The drag-net (*kilagala*) was commonly used along the shores and on the islands; it was a net a hundred feet long, made of stems of papyrus grass tied together; along the top of the net there were fastened small basket-traps with wooden floats, the baskets being so fixed that when the net was let down they were under water. On the lower edge of the net plantain-leaves were tied, and at intervals weights were

attached to it to keep it in position, and to prevent it from rising to the surface of the water. When making a net, the maker had to refrain from eating salt and meat ; he was also required to take his meals alone, and was forbidden to live with his wife ; these restrictions he observed until the first catch of fish had been taken. Before proceeding to let down a new net, the fisherman made an offering of beer to Mukasa ; in return the priest gave him some herbs to smoke over the net, some pieces of wood to act as floats, and sometimes even a paddle for his canoe ; these objects were intended to make the fishing successful. The net was paid out from a canoe as it was slowly paddled along ; two men paddled, and one stood and paid out the net, one end of which was fastened to a tree or a stake on the shore, while net was fastened to net, according to the space which was to be enclosed. The canoe took a circular course from its starting-point to another point along the shore where the other end of the net was secured. The owner then smoked some of the herbs which he had received from the priest, puffing the smoke over the water and the net. The net was left in the water for several hours, after which the men hauled it in by pulling at both ends at the same time. The net did not reach the bottom when it was in deep water, but after it had been brought into the shallow part it did so. When it had been drawn quite close to the land, the men entered the water, emptied the little basket-traps into the canoe, and also captured any fish which they might see in the shallow water. The net was drawn to the beach and was spread out to dry in the sun, while the men sorted the fish ; the catch was not, however, divided up until the owner had cooked and eaten some of it, and had jumped over his wife. Some of the first catch of fish was sent to the god Mukasa as an offering for the success he had given. If a fisherman neglected to comply with any of the ceremonies described, it was expected that his canoe would drag, and his net prove useless.

During the time that the fish-traps were being set and fishing of any kind was being carried on, neither the fisherman nor his wife and children were allowed to eat salt or meat ; nor were they permitted to bathe, or even wash their hands or feet,

Ceremonies observed during the fishing season.

except in the lake; the fisherman lived apart from his wife as long as his net or his traps were in the water, and he took his meals alone. If any members of the family broke the taboo they had to confess it, and were not allowed to partake of the fish caught. If a man, however, wished to live with his wife during the fishing-season, he first drew his nets out of the water, before he went home. No butter or fat of any kind for smearing their bodies might be used by the fisherfolk during the fishing season. If a net needed repairing, the owner separated himself from everyone else, sought out a secluded spot, where he could lay down the net and repair it, without coming into contact with other people (for the net might not be touched by anyone else), and lived alone for three days after the net was mended. Sometimes, after making a new net, a man lived apart from his family and friends for eight days, taking his meals alone, until he had caught the first lot of fish with the net, and had jumped over his wife. During the actual fishing time, the fisherman, when in the canoe, was not allowed to relieve nature, without first splashing some water out of the canoe on either side. No one was allowed to say that he was going to fish; nor were children allowed to say that they had eaten fish; if they said so, the parents were fined two gourds of beer and a bunch of sweet plantains. If one of the men, when drawing in the net, failed to do his share of work, he was fined a bunch of sweet plantains. A special pot was kept in every fishing-canoe, in which the herbs, given by the priest of Mukasa, were placed; they were smoked over the net, or were thrown into the lake, to cause the fish to enter the nets. If the pot was removed the owner of the canoe became very angry with the person who had moved it, and ordered him to replace it at once. After it had been replaced, the owner said to the spirit of the canoe: "Sir, I am sorry, I do not know how the mistake was made." He also made an offering to the spirit, to avert any harm which might possibly arise from the offence. The owner of a canoe, after a good haul of fish, would make an offering to the spirit at the pot.

The fish-  
ing line  
*Mugonja*

The *Mugonja* was a line used in shallow water; it was twenty feet long, and had large hooks fastened upon it, hang-

ing from shorter lines and baited with fish. No rod was used, but the line was let down into the water, and stout floats attached to it kept it from sinking ; it floated near the surface, and the short lines from it hung down at intervals. The fisherman bought the cord for making his lines from a rope-maker ; it was made of fibre from the aloe, or from other fibrous plants which grew along the shores of the lake or on the islands. The main line was made to the length required ; short lines of finer cord, two feet in length, were spliced to it every few feet, and the iron hooks made by the smith were attached to these short lines ; the hooks had no barbs, but they were simply bent and sharpened, and had an eye to fasten them to the line. While the line was being made, the maker observed the separation-customs, and also refrained from eating meat or salt and from washing ; when the line was completed, he rolled it up, and put a few coffee-berries or some boiled potatoes into the roll, which he thought made it strong and durable ; he also collected any bits of string which he might have cut and dropped, when making the line ; these were done up in the roll, so that when he went to fish, and paid out the line, they fell into the water. Before laying his line the owner would go to Mukasa's temple, and present the god with an offering of beer, obtaining in return the god's blessing through the priest ; the priest also gave him a piece of iron, or a piece of wood to attach to the line ; for bait he used small fish, and he paid out the line from a canoe in deep water. The first fish taken were treated ceremonially : some the fisherman took to the god Mukasa ; the remainder his wife cooked, and he and she both partook of them, and he afterwards jumped over her. The fish caught afterwards were distributed between the chief, the fisherman, and his friends. When a fisherman's wife was pregnant, he presented her with a basket of small fish, which she might either eat herself, or give to her friends. When a fisherman was unsuccessful in his fishing, he inquired the cause of the priest. The priest asked him whether he had met anyone on the road, as he went to fish, and what had been said, as this might possibly be the cause of his failure ; he might possibly have told a lie, and so have incurred the displeasure of Mukasa ; but whatever wrong he had done he

was to go to the injured person to confess his fault, and afterwards to take an offering to the god and obtain his pardon. The spot where the *Mugonja* lines were laid, was marked either by floats or by objects on the shore in line with them. When a fisherman had set his traps or lines, he was free to return home and rest, or to take his rod and line, and go to some place where he wished to fish for the small fish which were used as bait; there were no taboos on the rod and line.

Fish traps,  
*Buligo*.

The *Buligo* were traps, which were built along the shore, so that the fish might swim into them at the breeding season, or in places where rivers overflowed their banks during the rains, and where fish were found upon the flooded lands. The traps were made by driving stout stakes into the ground at intervals, and building up reed-walls from the bottom, high enough to prevent the fish from jumping over them; the walls were secured to the stakes, and entrances were left with narrow winding passages leading well into the enclosures; inside the outer enclosure there were again other smaller enclosed spaces with similar winding passages leading into them. The traps thus consisted of a number of fenced enclosures, one inside the other, easy to enter, but difficult to leave. The outer enclosure was often a quarter of a mile long. During the time that the traps were being made or repaired, the fishermen observed the taboos mentioned above, that is, they kept apart from their wives, abstained from salt and meat, and so forth. They made their offering to Mukasa, when the trap was ready for use, and obtained "medicine" from him to secure success.

Fish  
basket-  
traps,  
*Mwezi wa  
Magala*

The *Mwezi wa Magala* were large cone-shaped basket-traps, with a large spherical bowl, but having a neck into which fitted a mouth-piece shaped like a funnel, the narrow part being inside the bowl; the fish entered the small opening which admitted them to the middle of the basket-trap, and they were unable to find their way out again. Two or more of these traps, weighted with stones, were attached to a long line, and the end of the line had a good float, which marked the place where the traps were, and also kept the latter from sinking too deep. These traps were used in deep water, and were let down from canoes; the fishermen visited them daily to examine them. If a fisherman, when going to or from the



traps, struck his foot against a stone, or any other object, he took this object, and placed it in his trap, or on his line, so as to cause the fish to be entrapped. So, too, if any seeds or other objects adhered to his clothing, he placed them in his trap, to cause the fish likewise to stick fast and to be caught. Some fish-traps were dedicated to Mukasa, and were marked by different kinds of cords ; all the fish caught in them were set aside for the temple. In every knot on the long lines some kind of food was inserted, with the purpose of making it strong and preventing it from coming undone. In some of the lines knots of large size were tied, because the fisherman's wife had accidentally stepped over the line, while her husband was at work upon it, and he had consequently to make some offering, in order to undo the mischief ; the offering was tied into the knot.

The small traps *Kigoja* were also basket-traps, but were used in shallow water, to catch the small fish (nkeje) which were about the size of a sardine. These traps were tied together in pairs by a cord three or four feet long ; the baskets were weighted, and each of them had a cord attached to a float, to mark the place where it was. The baskets were similar to the large basket-traps which have been described ; they were baited with small flies which are common on the lake shore. It was necessary to visit the traps frequently, because the small fish abound at certain seasons of the year and the traps would soon be filled. The small fish were much esteemed ; the fishermen smoked them over wood-fires made with a special kind of wood, which gave them a flavour which the people liked. If a knot in a line came undone during the fishing, and the fish were lost, the person who had tied the knot was fined a bunch of plantains. None of the first three catches of fish from these traps ever went outside the fishing community.

The *Mulobi* was a line, with a number of small hooks attached to it at short distances. The hooks were baited with insects, and the fisherman let the line down from his canoe, and sat, while the canoe drifted about near the shore or among the reeds. The fish caught were usually of the small kind.

Small fish  
basket-  
traps,  
*Kigoja*.

Fish-line,  
*Mulobi*.

Larger  
fish  
basket-  
trap,  
*Ntumba*.

The *Ntumba* was a large kind of basket-trap placed along the shore, among the reeds where the fish came to breed. The ordinary taboos were followed in making and laying it. While a fisherman was making his nets or traps, he was not allowed to pass out of the house, if his wife was sitting in the doorway, nor was he allowed to step over her legs or feet. It was a common practice for the Baganda, when travelling by canoe, to rob traps as they passed them ; but the fishermen did not play such tricks upon one another ; they feared the curses and imprecations of their robbed companions, and also the wrath of the god.

River  
fishermen.

The men who fished in the rivers were a totally different class from those who spent their lives on the lake. The river fishermen used the basket-traps, which they fastened in the running streams, or in places where the streams had overflowed the banks and had spread over large tracts of country. The men, when making or mending their traps, observed similar taboos to those described above, that is, they lived apart from their wives, ate no meat or salt, and avoided washing themselves. The river fish were usually dried and smoked, and they were sold in the more distant parts of the country.

Spearing  
fish.

The fishermen had a custom of spearing a species of mud-fish, which was very fat and formed a favourite dish. The men would walk about among the reeds along the shallows of the rivers, with spears made for the purpose, and would hook up the large mud-fish.

Fishermen  
on the  
rivers and  
at the Ri-  
pon Falls.

Each river had its particular deity, who had to be propitiated, and to whom a portion of the spoil had to be offered. The fishermen, when engaged in fishing, discarded all their clothing, except a narrow strip of barkcloth which passed between the legs, and was fastened to a string waist-band ; this gave them greater freedom for their work, and enabled them also to wade about in the water without difficulty. They dried their fish on frames of green wood, under which they kindled fires ; and they turned the fish, until it was quite dry. Fish were never salted nor cured in any other way than by smoking them.

Another class of fishermen were those at the Ripon Falls ;

they were a limited number who lived in huts at the Falls, on the Uganda side of the water. They watched for any fish which was carried over the Falls, and was dashed against the rocks in the whirlpool, and they fished it out, while it was stunned; they also had spears attached to very long poles, with which they speared some kinds of fish, especially a species of trout which worked its way up the Falls into the lake. One man stood on the bank by the back-water, speared the fish, and held it, while his companion, armed with a short cord to which a hook was attached, went down the pole, hooked the fish on to the line, and then climbed back. It was a dangerous undertaking because of the force of the water; for, had the man lost his hold of the pole, the water would have washed him away, and in all probability he would have been dashed against the rocks and killed.

Potters were a distinct class of workmen, who lived with their families in communities apart from other people. The King had his own potters, whose duty it was to furnish the store in the royal enclosure, where numbers of pots were kept, and doled out by the store-keeper, whenever they were wanted. Many of the chiefs also had their own potters; they needed so many pots that it was cheaper to assign lands to a potter and to take the taxes in pots, than to buy them from the markets. In each case, whether they worked for the King or for the chief, the potters received land, and paid their taxes in pots, instead of having to find the animals or the cowry-shells, with which the ordinary peasant paid his rent. The King's potters were called *Bajona*, and their work *kujona*. The potter found his clay in swamps, and carried it home, where it was kept in pits, to protect it from the fierce rays of the sun and from drying winds. When the clay was wanted for use, the potter took as much as he wished from the pit, and puddled it, mixing with it as much powdered stone as he thought necessary, to prevent the clay from cracking while the pot was drying. No potter's wheel was used, nor indeed any tool, beyond a short pointed stick and a piece of gourd which acted as a smoothing trowel, its curved sides being of value especially for the inside of the

pot. A piece of broken pot, resting on a pad, was used by the potter as a base, when he was fashioning his pot; this enabled him to turn about his pot freely, as he rounded the sides. He rolled out a piece of clay into a long snake-like roll, several inches long and about three-quarters of an inch thick; this roll he coiled round and round in the broken pot which he used as his stand, and then he smoothed it with his gourd-trowel, and so he formed the bottom of the new pot. In like manner he went on building up the sides with coils of clay, smoothing the inside with one hand, while he



FIG. 68.—SAMPLES OF BAGANDA POTTERY.

supported the outside with the other hand; next he took out with a short pointed stick all traces of the coil-joints on the outside. He worked on, enlarging the round part of the pot, until he passed the bulge, when he narrowed it in again; the pot was then turned round and round so as to be made smooth, and was patted gently into shape. The rim upon the neck was also fashioned by one of the rolls of clay being coiled round the top, smoothed on the inside, and worked into shape with the pointed stick, until the lip was in accordance with the potter's taste. The only method of decorating pottery was to rub over it short lengths of grass plaited with

sharp corners, some plaits being thicker than others, according to the size of the pot to be decorated. The plait was rolled over and over with the hand held flat, so that the corners of the plait made an impression in the soft clay. Cooking-pots were of all pots the easiest to make, because in their case not so much care was needed to make the circle true, and in shape they were simply like the lower half of other pots, such as water-pots. Standard sizes were used in making pots; the very large cooking-pots were often three feet in diameter; the next size was two feet, and there was also a smaller size, used for cooking small quantities of food. Cooking-pots were never glazed, nor was much trouble expended on them; they were intended for use in the kitchen, and not for ornament. Upon water-pots more care was expended; the neck and the mouth-piece had to be fashioned with considerable care; nevertheless but little time was spent in finishing the outer sides, since the pots were not glazed. The small pots, called *kibya*, which were used as drinking-pots, or as receptacles for vegetables or for gravy, were better finished. These pots were of the same shape as cooking-pots, but were made thinner and were better finished, and the decoration on the sides was done with great care; they were also glazed. The milk-pots were the most decorative vessels, and the most difficult to make; the narrow necks cost the potter much time and trouble.

After the pots had been fashioned they were placed in the shade to dry, lest the fierce rays of the sun should crack them. When they were fairly dry, those which were to be polished were brought out, and rubbed with a smooth stone, until they obtained an even, smooth surface. Several days were needed during the dry weather before the pots became perfectly dry and ready for baking; and in the rainy season they had to be kept for two or three weeks, before they were sufficiently dry for the fire. A man could make two or three water-pots, or six cooking-pots, with ease in one day. Large quantities of dry grass and reeds, sometimes also papyrus stems, and a good supply of wood were used for the baking of pots. A thick layer of grass, with wood upon it, was laid on the ground where the baking was to take place, and the pots were placed

Drying and  
baking  
pots.

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on this ; sometimes a potter would bake twenty pots at a time. The grass and the wood were heaped up over the pots, the fire was lighted, and the pots were baked, till they were red hot. Potters waited for the new moon to appear before baking their pots ; when it was some four days old, they prepared their fires and baked the vessels. No potter would bake pots when the moon was past the full, for he believed that they would be a failure, and would be sure to crack or break in the burning, if he did so, and that his labour accordingly would go for nothing. The pots were left to cool during the night ; early the next morning the potter drew them out and examined them ; those that were imperfect he put on one side for home use, but the good he kept for his master or for sale. Water-pots and cooking-pots were ready for use as soon as they had been baked, but the small pots and milk-pots had still to be glazed.

Polishing  
and  
glazing  
pottery.

For the process of glazing the potter made a fire, either of dry plantain leaves or of grass, which did not blaze readily, but made a great quantity of pungent smoke ; the pots were then held on a stick over the fire and smoked, until they had a fine black glaze. They became quite hot, and the juicy smoke penetrated into the pores of the clay, and became perfectly hard, so that it could not be washed off. The vessels were left to cool, and were then rubbed with a piece of bark-cloth, which gave them a fine black polish. Sometimes the potter would desire to add to his decorations either red or white markings, or both. If white was desired, he procured a large snail-shell, and ground it on a rough stone to powder ; the powder thus obtained he mixed with a little water, and painted it on the indentation lines which he had made on the pot before it was baked. If he wished to have red markings, he used the red clay which was ordinarily employed for the painting of canoes, and rubbed that into the indentations. During the time that pots were drying, no woman was permitted to touch them ; men only were allowed to carry them in and out of the house for drying purposes. The women were, however, sent to gather grass and firewood for baking them. Cooking-pots were sold in the market-places for cowry-shells, or exchanged for salt or for meat. Water-pots, when in use, were put out into the sun

from time to time, to dry and harden them, and sometimes grass was burned inside them to cleanse them. In making pipe-heads, especially those for use in the temples, the potter made many designs, and took great pains with the work, but those made for peasants were made with as little labour as possible.

The national clothing was barkcloth; the tree from which the bark was obtained was extensively cultivated and was, with the exception of the plantain tree, the most valuable of all trees. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how the people learned the art of making barkcloth, and at what period the industry became the common property of the people. King Kintu is said to have brought the tree, as well as people skilled in making barkcloth, with him, but this does not agree with a tradition that the people learned the art from the Banyoro some years later. The difficulty in the way of accepting the latter tradition is that the barkcloth tree does not grow freely in Bunyoro, and that the people there do not know much about the making of the cloth, and depend upon the Baganda for it. Others again say that the art was known before Kintu's time. Be this as it may, the Baganda have attained greater skill in the art of making barkcloth, and have a larger variety of barkcloth trees which are used for growing the bark, than any of the surrounding nations. King Semakokiro first forced his people to go about clothed; prior to his reign the people wore no clothes but small skins; the men wore them over the shoulders, and the women round the waist. Semakokiro also ordered the peasants to plant the barkcloth trees in their gardens, and fined them if they neglected to do so. At one time there were special kinds of trees from which the royal barkcloths were made; there were also men whose sole duty it was to keep the Court supplied with barkcloths; but the art of barkcloth-making was common property, and the humblest peasant had his trees, so that nothing but idleness prevented him from being well-dressed. There were many kinds of trees belonging to the one family. The names of the chief kinds were:—

1. *Namweruka, Ntojo, Sakakube, Mpoembuzi, Nanda, Nakawewo, Lwolula, Kyetesa, Butana, Nalunyonge, Nalima, Bunyonyi, Nakitembe*—which grew in the Gomba district.

D D 2

2. *Ntawebwa, Nainja, Nakajwalanga, Lujama, Kyoya, Sekusu, Kaliba, Nsalala, Nasegeya, Nkazebuka*—grown in the Mawokota district.

3. *Ndwagi, Nakibira, Lwerwunzika, Kiriba, Nkuti, Nsuka, Nyunga, Sekyeru*—which grew in the Busiro district.

4. *Nkangabalu, Kiwenvuma, Nantabi, Namasirye, Bakula*—which grew in the Kyagwe district.

5. *Senkizimbyeko, Kalegeya, Ntawaula, Nalugoyo, Kyana, Kiriba, Nakawambo, Kisejere*—which grew in the Bulemezi district.

6. *Kampindi, Namukago, Nantu, Ntagi, Ntayungwa, Ntakiriri, Nkedi, Ndausa, Ngwamuleva, Kambula, Nalongo, Nzoba, Ntawatula, Sekizimu, Sango, Nakiriba, Lwadungu, Kasunda, Nserere*—which grew in the Budu district.

7. *Njeba, Lunywataba, Nsinja*—which grew in the Singo district.

Cultivation  
of the  
barkcloth  
tree.

The trees would grow easily ; in fact a stick stuck in moist ground seldom failed to grow. If left, the trees grew to an enormous size, being often as much as forty feet high ; they needed, however, a sheltered place, because the roots did not strike down deeply, and hence gales of wind might uproot them. The fruit was not used by the people, though birds and some kinds of bats fed upon it. The tree was propagated by taking branches six feet long, and merely planting them a few inches deep into the ground, round the plantain-groves ; in two years the trees were grown up, and in the third year they were ready to yield the first bark. It was a man's work to plant and cultivate the barkcloth tree, and to make the barkcloth, and no woman cared to live with a man who did not provide her with a garden, and himself with some barkcloth trees with which to supply the family needs. The wife fed her husband, and the husband clothed his wife and supplied her with her hoe for gardening. The barkcloths were not only used to wear, but also as bed-clothes and for draping the house walls. The tree-trunks, when ready for use, were eight or ten feet high to the place where the branches forked out, and they were six inches in diameter. An incision was made round the tree-trunk near the ground and another near to where the branches forked out, also a longitudinal incision from the top to



the bottom, the cuts being deep enough to go through the bark to the wood of the tree. The bark was then taken off by working a knife blade under it and peeling it off. After the bark had been removed, a careful man would smear the tree-trunk with cow-dung, and wrap it round with plantain-leaves to keep it from being injured, but others would leave it to heal of itself. In a short time a second bark formed, and this was of better quality than the first, while the third and fourth were the best barks which the tree yielded ; a tree did not suffer by



FIG. 69.—BARKCLOTH-MAKING.

its bark being removed ; on the contrary, it would yield between thirty and forty barks.

The bark, after removal, was scraped on the outer side, and left until the morning, when it was again scraped both inside and outside, and taken to a hut, where it was beaten. Every peasant had his hut for barkcloth-making ; this was little more than a shelter from the sun or the rain ; in the floor a log, six feet long, was sunk, of which the upper side was adzed to make a fairly smooth surface, about four inches wide, and extending the whole length of the log. If the man could secure the assistance of a friend, the two would work together on the one barkcloth. The mallets used were shaped like those of a stonemason, but had grooves running round them ; every man had sets of mallets with different widths between the grooves : the first had coarse grooves, the second finer, and the third very

fine grooves. A piece of bark was beaten on the smooth surface of the log until it was of the thickness of strong brown paper, and measured seven or eight feet wide by twelve feet long. Barkcloths that were intended for use on beds were left much thicker than those intended for wear. Different trees yielded different textures and qualities and also different colours. The common barkcloth, when beaten and dried, was a light brown, but the better sorts, when exposed to the sun for drying, became a rich terracotta. Peasants commonly wore the light brown barkcloths, but they had darker cloths of finer quality for use when paying visits. The men were experts at filling in places where there were flaws in the bark; they cut out the bad pieces, and fitted in other pieces, and stitched them so neatly with plantain fibre that they did not show. The best barkcloth trees did not grow freely in any district except Budu, and in that district the best trees were grown at Sango. For the King a species of tree was grown, which gave a white barkcloth; this was used at the coronation, but seldom at other times. The King and the chiefs had barkcloths piled upon their beds, until they were two or three feet high, and quite springy. Some few barkcloths were painted in black patterns, but the majority were left of the colour which they had assumed when they were drying in the sun.

Shield-  
making.

The canoe-builders were the general workers in wood, and did any carpentering that was required; they were in fact the only men who understood anything about wood-work. They made the shields and, in later years, the stools and bedsteads, when these had been introduced into the country. A whitish wood (kiririkiti) was used for shields; when it is first cut, this wood is soft and easily worked, but after exposure to the atmosphere it becomes hard. Shields were made in three pieces; they were all of one pattern, oval-shaped with pointed ends. They consisted of a centre-strip, with a boss in the middle of it, and the handle at the back, and two side pieces, each fitted with straight edges and dowel pegs, to fasten it to the centre-strip. The wood was an inch thick in the centre, and tapered down to half an inch at the sides. When the three pieces had been fitted and pegged together, they were stitched

with a strong creeper to keep them from separating, and they were then decorated with dyed strips of cane, of a red, white, and a straw colour. The edges of the shield were bound with black goat-skin, sometimes with the skin of a long-haired goat, which added to the picturesque appearance of the shield. The handle was of wood, and was decorated with cane-strips in the same manner as the face of the shield.

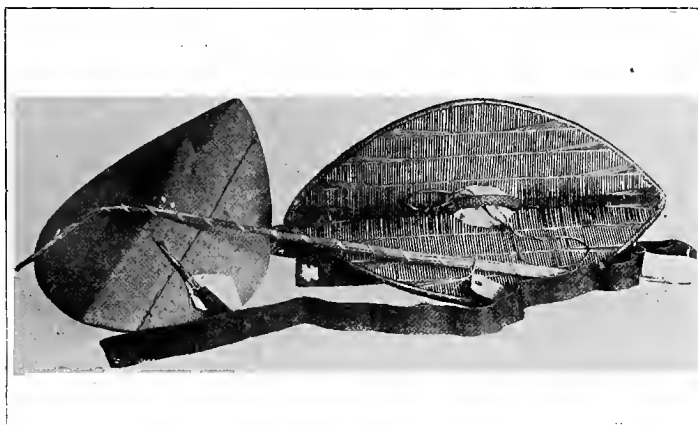


FIG. 70.—BAGANDA SHIELDS, SHOWING ONE IN PROCESS OF MAKING.

Drum-making.  
 Drum-making, another branch of wood-work, required also a knowledge of leather working, in order that the hides might be prepared for the tops of the drums. Two kinds of drums were used ; one for ordinary purposes and one for dances or as a musical instrument. The latter was a long drum, having one end covered with skin and the other left open ; the skin used was frequently that of a water-lizard. The drum was three or four feet long, and seven to ten inches in diameter. A suitable tree was felled, and the portion cut for the drum was hollowed with a gouge, which had a long handle, to enable the workman to reach through the drum. The top or head of the drum was larger than the lower part ; it was four or five inches long ; and the remaining part of the drum gradually tapered to the bottom, where there was a flange to finish it off. The skin was stretched over the top, after being

first wetted and pegged, so that it became taut as it dried ; it was pegged down with wooden pegs which were cut off even with the skin, when it had dried. Drums used for dancing were engraved with geometrical designs near the top and bottom, they were oiled with vegetable oil, and the skin was kept well greased with butter. In finishing off any wood-work, the leaf of a particular species of tree (Iwawo) was used as sand-paper ; as the upper surface of the leaf was covered with short, strong spikes, it made an excellent substitute for sand-paper. The other kind of drum was also hollowed out from logs of wood, and the bottom end tapered. These drums varied in size, from the small drum, used at the birth of twins, which was ten inches high and five inches in diameter, to a drum five feet high and four feet in diameter. When the log had been hollowed out, and was ready for the skin, it was smeared over with cow-dung to keep it from cracking. No pegs were used in fastening the skin on this kind of drum, but it was stretched and laced to a second skin which covered the bottom ; the laces consisted of twisted thongs of hide, and they were laced so closely that they enclosed the sides and protected the wood. Almost all drums had a fetich inside. Only a few men knew how to make the fetiches. The skins were kept soft and elastic by being rubbed with butter.

Bedsteads  
and stools

Neither bedsteads nor stools were much in use until the early days of Mutesa ; before his reign the dafs, with a layer of grass, served for the bed, and stools were rarely met with. Women were not allowed to sit on any raised seat, such as a stool, during Mutesa's reign ; any woman doing so would have incurred the displeasure of her husband, and might possibly have been put to death. A man was never permitted to sit on a woman's bedstead, and if a woman had been found sitting on a bedstead with a man, the man would have been sentenced and fined as guilty of adultery.

Leather  
workers.

The art of working leather has been known for many generations, because hides and skins were formerly the principal articles of clothing, and the people learned to dress them, so that they became as flexible as kid. At that time skins were not only required for clothing, but also to sit upon. When

barkcloth had to some extent displaced skins as clothing, they were still required for mats, mats made from palm-leaf-fronds having been unknown until the Arabs introduced the art of making them in the middle of King Suna's reign. In the early days of the country skins were scarcely ever dressed beyond being dried in the sun, stamped on, and rubbed with the hands, to make them soft enough to use as loin-cloths; antelope- and goat-skins were chiefly used. Later on, the people learned to dress skins, and the art gradually became more and more advanced. When a man wished to dress a skin, he chose a clear place, free from weeds or grass, and pegged out the hide there, leaving a space under it, so that the air might circulate, and that the skin might be protected from insects, which would have eaten holes into it, if it had been on the ground. It was taken in by night, lest wild animals should carry it off. In two days' time it was fairly dry. A cow's hide was scraped in thick places with a knife, and if it was to be used for clothing, it was moistened with water, and worked by stamping on it, and afterwards by rubbing it, butter being smeared on it while it was being worked; the labour was continued until the hide was soft enough to be rolled into a ball. If it was too thick, it was stretched out on a frame, eight inches above the ground, and was scraped with a sharp knife to the desired thinness; during the scraping process the skin was kept in the sun to bleach. The skins worn by gatekeepers were worked until they were as soft as calico. Lion- and leopard-skins were also dressed in the way described, and were used by the King as rugs, or cut into thongs for the sandals of royalty. Goat-skins were also dressed as described above; the hair was shaved off, and the skins were bleached, until they became quite white. For this purpose a needle was run through a piece of wood, so that the point stood out, and the skin was scratched with it, until it became rough all over and bleached. Goat-skins thus prepared were stitched together, until the requisite size was obtained, and the robe was worn by chiefs before the introduction of linen- and cotton-goods. Where there was a bad place in a hide, the worker cut it out, matched the skin, and stitched in a new piece, doing it so neatly that the patch could not be noticed.

Sandal-  
making.

Sandals were also an institution of long standing; they were introduced by King Kimbugwe, and gradually became part of the dress of wealthy people. Buffalo-hides were eagerly sought after for making sandals, though good cowhides had to serve many persons who were unable to obtain buffalo-hides. The hide was only slightly dressed; it was pressed into the required shape with the hands. The sandal was turned up around the foot; a flap was cut on either side, to which a neat band of otter-skin was attached, forming the strap over the instep; and a loop was made inside the sandal, into which the great toe was inserted. Patterns, chiefly in lines, were cut inside the sandals, and dyed red, white, and black. The King and the leading chiefs had their leather-workers, to supply them with shoes, with robes for their gatekeepers, and with rugs. The King also employed a number of leather-workers to supply the Court with the skins which were needed for the guards' tents, in addition to the workers who made the royal wearing apparel. No gatekeeper in the royal enclosure, when on duty, ever discarded his antelope-skin, which was his mantle of office; and the men employed by the *Katikiro* and the *Kimbugwe* also wore these skins, when they were on duty as gatekeepers.

Basketry.

There has always been a demand for baskets, and basket-making is possibly the oldest industry of the country. Three kinds of baskets were made: the common kind, in which food was carried from the kitchen to be placed before the master of the house; a fancy kind, used as a receptacle for coffee-berries or for baked plantains; and a third kind, used for carrying the fish from the traps and nets. By far the most important kind of basket was that used for carrying food, which was called *kibo*; it was almost invariably made by women from the fruit-stem of the plantain. The fruit-stem was beaten, until it shredded; the shreds were then dried and bleached, and next tied into long cords half an inch thick; these were bound together with the fibre of the plantain-stem, or sometimes with a cane-like creeper split up into narrow strips. The work was begun in the centre at the base, and the cords were coiled round and round, until the desired size was attained; each coil was stitched to the neighbouring coil by cane or fibre, an iron awl being used

to make the holes for the cane. The sides were worked upwards from the flat bottom, and they increased in size till the top was reached; the end of the coil was tapered, and was stitched down to the coil below it, so that it should not be undone nor become untidy. These baskets varied in depth from three inches to twelve inches, and in diameter from six inches to eighteen inches. They were made in pairs, so that one acted as a cover to the other. The fancy baskets were chiefly made in Budu by the Heart Clan, from a cane-like

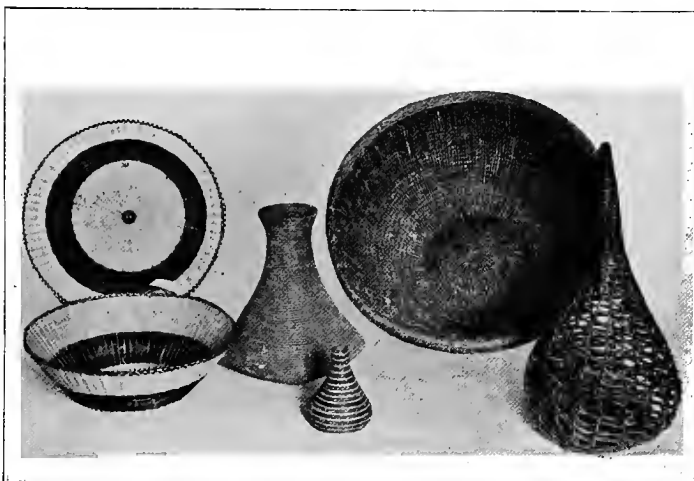


FIG. 71.—BAGANDA BASKETS.

material which they obtained from a shrub that grows there freely. Many of these baskets were made of open work, the materials being dyed black and red; they were seldom made larger than six inches in diameter and five inches in depth. They were fragile baskets, only intended for display, and used for presenting coffee-berries to a guest. Other baskets were made of flexible materials shaped like bottles or bags, these also being dyed red, black, or straw-colour. For many years the only colours for which the natives had words were red, white, and black. Fishermen made baskets of different shapes and sizes, to be used as traps, and for carrying

their fish. They were made from cane, or from stout reed-like grass gathered on the lake shore. Some baskets of this kind have in recent times been used as receptacles for things offered to the gods; in others fowls with chickens have been kept by night, lest cats or other animals should catch them. The original purpose of this kind of basket was, however, to serve the fisherman as a trap or a fish-basket.

Ivory  
workers.

Before the arrival of Arab traders the value of ivory was not fully appreciated, though the people had already found a use for it. Though the trade in ivory within the country was small, it was enough to encourage the King to keep hunters, and to exchange the ivory for women or for cattle; there was also an important traffic in ivory ornaments, which kept a number of men employed. Ivory bracelets (magemu) were worn by women and children. The favourite kind of bracelet was three inches deep; it had at one end a thick edge like a lip, which was worn uppermost on the wrist, while it tapered down to a fine edge at the other end. This bracelet had a joint in it and four holes, two at the top, and two at the bottom, so that it could be tied together, when on the wrist. The ivory-worker (Moga) contrived to make a saw of thin iron, with a handle at each end of the blade, with which he could cut off pieces from the tusk for the bracelets which he wanted to make. He first soaked the ivory in water, until it was soft enough to cut, then with a short adze he fashioned the bracelet, and next he cut away the inside, until the ivory was of the right thickness. The finishing was done with a knife, and the bracelet was polished with a leaf of the same sort which was used in the place of sand-paper for wood-work. Another kind of bracelet was merely a thin ring of ivory, only an eighth of an inch thick and half an inch wide. Small ivory discs were used as currency before the introduction of cowry-shells; the ivory-workers made them for the King, though the latter had not the monopoly of making them; any skilled workman who could obtain the ivory was allowed to make discs without let or hindrance. The King, however, retained the most skilled ivory-workers in his service, and they dared not make bracelets or other ornaments without permission. The fact that most of the ivory belonged to the



King also placed a restriction upon the making of discs by other people.

A Muganda was never at a loss to obtain a piece of twine or rope, when he was near a plantain garden, for he could always make string from the fibre of the plantain-stem, or twist it into rope. All native parcels were wrapped in plantain leaves, and tied with plantain fibre. If cord was wanted, a Muganda plaited some of the fibre, and made his cord to the thickness required. Good string was made from the strands of the aloe; this, however, took time to make, as the leaves had to be beaten, shredded, soaked, and combed; it was, moreover, a tedious task, which made the fingers tender; hence good aloe-string was only made for hunting- or fishing-nets, and for decorations in houses. The aloe fibre was slowly twisted, sometimes by rubbing it with the palm of the hand on the bare upper leg; the worker tied the end of the cord to some tree or stake and twisted the fibre into cord as he moved from the tree to which it was tied. When specially strong rope was needed, as for example in fishing, it was made by twisting the strands into string, and then plaiting the string into rope. Other cord, especially that used for stitching the reeds in the roofs of houses, was made from the fibrous bark of a shrub, known to the people as *binsambwe*.

Rope- and  
twine-  
making.

The oldest kind of mats were those known as *bivempe*, which the people on the islands made for their floors and beds. They were made from long thin reeds growing in shallow water, dried and cut to length, and laced together by string made from papyrus stems; they were merely reeds tied side by side, and laid on the floors as mats. When Arab and Swahili traders appeared, they began to make mats for themselves from the plaited fronds of the wild palm-leaves, and the Baganda soon learned the art of neat mat-making. The young leaves were dried and bleached, split to the required width, and then plaited into long strips two or three inches wide; these strips were again stitched together to form the mat. The mats were usually eight feet long by four feet wide. Sometimes the materials were dyed, and patterns were worked in the mats.

Mat-  
making.

When cotton goods were brought into the country, it

Soap-  
making.

became necessary to have soap for washing them. The Arabs introduced the art of boiling down the fat of animals, burning the peelings of plantains, and mixing the fine ashes with the boiling fat. This fat was allowed to cool, and was then made into balls of the size of cricket balls; it was commonly used for washing cotton goods. The soap obtained was of a dirty dark brown colour. In later years it was also used for washing the human body, especially the head, though as a rule only water was used for that purpose.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE KEEPING OF COWS AND OTHER DOMESTIC ANIMALS

UGANDA is a country favourable to the rearing of cattle, and the pasturage in many parts is good; the districts preferred by herdsmen are those with long rolling plains and pools of brackish water; the grass on these plains is short and, though coarse, it is such as the cattle like and thrive upon. Originally the poorer people herded and managed their own cattle (they now place them with those of some friendly chief), and only the King and the chiefs had special men of the Bahima tribe to act as their herdsmen. The King numbered his cows by the thousand, and the chiefs also had large numbers of cattle; peasants might possess one or two cows, but they would soon have excited the cupidity of the chiefs, and would have been robbed by them if they had possessed many. The King's chief herdsman had control of all his herds, which were divided up and sent into different parts of the country, so that they might be secure against the raids of neighbouring tribes, and that contagion might be checked, in the event of any disease breaking out in a herd. There were three or four breeds of cattle reared: the sturdy short-horned breed, commonly known as the "Nganda cattle," which were black, or black and white; the "Nsoga cattle," with longer horns than the Nganda, which also were black, or black and white; the red, or red and white, hornless cattle; and finally the "Nsagala," or long-horned cattle which were red, or red and white, and had horns of immense size. The "Nsoga" breed were the only cows with any pretence to a hump, and they had only small humps.

The breeds of cattle and the kinds of pasturage.

Cows were  
fed entirely  
upon  
grass.

The animals were not given any food when they were brought in from pasture at nightfall, though occasionally some peasant might save a few peelings from the plantains for his one animal; cows fed as best they could during the day, and fasted from sunset until the next morning, when they were again taken to the pastures. When the weather was hot, and the flies were troublesome, the herdsmen often took the animals to graze by night, if there was a moon; at such times several men would join together to guard the cows against wild animals. Peasants sent their



FIG. 72. —BAGANDA CATTLE.

boys to herd any cows they possessed, but girls and women were forbidden by custom to do this work, and no woman was allowed to milk cows. Many herdsmen became experts in the knowledge of medicinal herbs, and could treat the animals during sickness. Before the country was thrown open there were seldom any scourges of plague among the cattle, there was no exchange of cattle with other nations, and cattle-raids were confined to limited areas, which circumstances also limited the spread of disease. Cows

belonging to the King and to chiefs were kept in an open kraal by night, with a strong rough fence, composed chiefly of thorny shrubs, to protect them against the attacks of wild animals. Poor people took their cows into their houses by night, and made special places of beaten earth for them to lie upon, with a gutter to carry any water off. Inside the kraal the herdsmen had their huts, and a fire was kept burning during the night. The cow-droppings were swept out each morning, and some were placed to dry in the sun, to be used as fuel for the



FIG. 73.—CATTLE KRAAL.

evening fire. The heap of dust from the fire was seldom removed, it increased day by day; and the cows were milked by the fire each morning and evening. The herdsmen followed Bahima customs, and fulfilled all milk taboos in the place of their masters. The Bahima were inclined to regard their masters as their inferiors, though their livelihood depended upon them; this behaviour was said to be due to the manner of life and diet of the Baganda, which contrasted so strongly with the simple life and milk diet of the herdsmen.

The boys who herded the animals for peasants observed the cow-restrictions in the place of their parents. When a cow

E E

Boys the  
herdsmen  
of  
peasants.

calved, no member of the family was allowed to drink the milk for the first four days, but it was left for the calf; nor was the owner's wife allowed to cultivate the garden during that time. When the cow that had calved was milked again for the first time, the herdboy was given the milk and carried it to some place in the pasture, where according to custom he showed the cow and calf to his fellow-herdsmen. Then he slowly boiled the milk until it became a cake, when he and his comrades partook of the milk cake together. If the calf was unhealthy, and his fellow-herdsmen considered that the boy was to blame, they rated him soundly and even flogged him. A calf was kept in the house in the day-time, and received no nourishment from early morning until its dam returned in the evening; it was accustomed to go for twelve hours without food, until it could pick up a little grass. When it was old enough, it was turned out of the house, and roamed about in the vicinity during the day, while the cows were taken further afield. When men travelled with a cow and calf, it was customary to smear the cow's teats with dung, which prevented the calf from sucking. The floor of the room in which a calf was kept was strewn with grass litter, which was carried out daily to dry in the sun.

Restric-  
tions  
placed  
upon peo-  
ple who  
drank  
milk.

No person was allowed to eat beans or sugar-cane, or to drink beer, or to smoke Indian hemp, and at the same time to drink milk; the person who drank milk fasted for several hours before he might eat or drink the tabooed foods, and he might not drink milk for a similar period after partaking of such food. The first butter churned from the milk of a cow after its calf was born, was used to smear on fetiches, and not to smear upon the body, nor was it used in cooking. No one was ever permitted to boil milk, except in the case mentioned above after a calf was born; it was thought that boiling it would cause the cow's milk to cease. Milk was drunk curdled or clotted; no grown-up person cared to drink it fresh; it was, however, given fresh to young children and infants. All milk vessels, after they had been washed with water, were smoked over a fire made of cow-dung into which a variety of sweet-smelling grass was put. This gave the smoke a particular odour, which clung to the vessels and was conveyed to the

milk, and without this flavour of smoke milk was considered unpalatable. Boys sometimes boiled milk on the sly, and even cooked meat in it, but this practice was considered to be fraught with serious danger to the cows.

Most milk-vessels were made of pottery, a few only being made of wood; the people objected to tin or iron vessels, because the use of them would be harmful to the cows. No menstruous woman was allowed to come into contact with any milk-vessel, nor to drink milk until she was well again. Young calves were never separated from the cow, nor were they fed artificially. The idea held by



FIG. 74.—BAGANDA MILK-POTS.

all herdsmen was that a cow would not give its milk without its calf, and that it had the power to withhold the milk; various devices were therefore resorted to, with the intention of deceiving the cow, if its calf died. The skin from the calf was produced and held for the dam to smell, while another man milked it; this practice was kept up for months, until the animal was nearing her time to calve again, when the men ceased to milk her. Cows often became attached to the smell of a skin, and would follow a person carrying it for miles, and low for it, when they wanted to be milked. The herdsmen knew a medicine, which they could insert into the uterus of a cow that had lost its calf, with the effect of making her give more

milk for a time; but if the operation was repeated, it caused sterility. The amount of milk a cow gave was small, not more than two pints in the morning and two again in the evening; the rest was left for the calf. The herdsman dressed himself in a skin, or sometimes in a dirty barkcloth, when he went to milk; he loosed the calf and first allowed it to suck for a few minutes, then a boy who assisted the herdsman took it away, and held it beside the dam, while the man milked as much as he deemed wise, after which the calf was free to return and finish its meal. Cows were milked near a fire, because the smoke kept the flies from biting them, and also because the warmth soothed them. Most herdsmen milked into a gourd or wooden bowl which had been fumigated; the vessel was held between the knees; the man squatted, and used both hands when milking.

*Churning.* A little milk was put aside daily into a large bottle-gourd, and when it had accumulated to three or four quarts, the wife of the owner of the cow if he was a peasant (or, in the case of a chief who had a herdsman, the herdsman's wife) churned it. When they churned, a grass-pad or a barkcloth was put under the gourd, the neck of which was corked with a plug of grass, and the gourd was rocked backwards and forwards until the butter came. After churning, the butter-milk was poured off into a vessel, and the butter was afterwards shaken out of the gourd on to a plantain leaf or into a wooden bowl. The butter was slightly washed, and then used for cooking or for smearing on the body; sometimes scented herbs were mixed with it, to give it a pleasant flavour for anointing purposes. When a cow died, the herdsmen either found a foster-mother for the calf, or tried to make it drink alone; but the care and attention necessary to rear a calf artificially were too great a tax on the herdsmen, and the calf invariably died. Cattle were not killed for food except by chiefs, and they chose either a male animal or a cow past bearing or a barren one. Peasants who had to part with a cow for any reason either sold it or else killed it in the market, and then sold the meat there. When an animal died from sickness the herdsmen did not hesitate to eat the meat, and they left nothing but the skin and the bones which were too big and hard to crunch. Herds-



men often bled the animals when they wanted to have a feast ; this was done by opening one of the arteries in the neck, and drawing off as much blood as they thought the animal could spare without being seriously weakened. The animal was secured ; a rope was tied tightly round its neck, to cause the artery to swell ; the artery was then lacerated, and the blood was caught in a vessel and cooked with a mixture of butter and fat. The only decoration which the Baganda

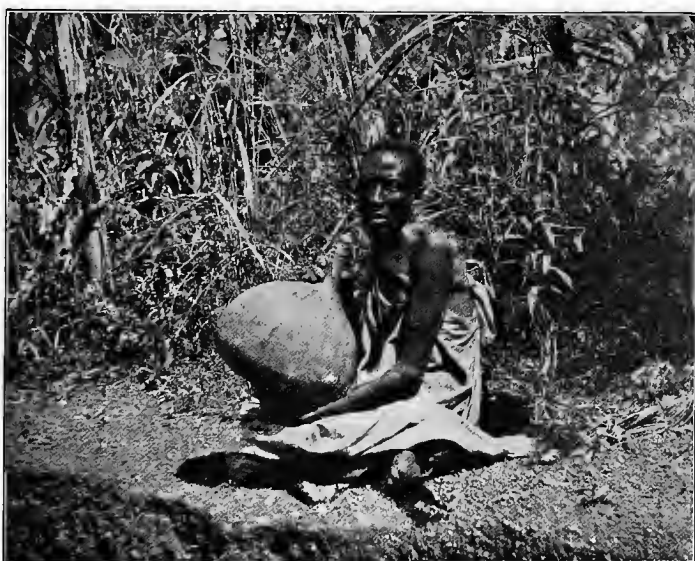


FIG. 75.—HERDSMAN CHURNING.

placed upon their cows was a bell tied round the neck of a favourite animal. A large sheep was frequently herded with cows, for it was thought that the sheep gave health to the herd, and also kept them from being struck by lightning. When a cow had twin calves, a bell and a necklet made of a creeper were tied round its neck. Herdsmen were proverbial thieves, and they made a great profit by the numerous animals which they stole from their masters ; they would exchange calves, taking the cow-calf for themselves, and putting a bull-calf in its place ; and they would often

produce a cow-hide to prove that a cow or a calf was dead, when really they had stolen it and taken it away to some distant part of the country

Goats and  
sheep.

Goats were herded in large flocks ; almost every peasant had one or two animals which he kept for any urgent need, especially for paying fines. Chiefs frequently sent goats to their peasants to keep for them, and they gave the latter every third kid that was born, in lieu of pay. Goats were kept in the houses by night, and were tethered by the foot to



FIG. 76.—GOATS RESTING AT MID-DAY IN GOAT-SHED.

pegs in the ground where the roof sloped down low. The floor of the hut where the goats were kept was beaten hard and was made to slope slightly, so that any water might drain into a gutter, and run out of the house. Every morning, as soon as the dew had evaporated from the grass, the goats were turned out ; they were herded by the children. Experience had taught the people that it was not wise to take the goats out when the grass was wet ; it caused them to suffer from skin-disease, so that the hair of their legs fell off, and it made them lame. There were no taboos connected with goats ; they were the animals which the people pre-

ferred to kill and eat in preference to sheep. Goats were brought home at noon, and tied under small sheds for two hours during the heat of the day; often leaves and branches of trees, which were known to be good for the animals, were given them to eat during the time that they rested. Kids were not herded with their mothers until they were two months old; they were kept in the houses, and allowed to run to meet the flocks, when these returned from the pastures. The milk of goats was never used by the people. Sheep were not in great demand, doubtless owing to the taboo upon the mutton and the fear of the ghosts of the animals. Women were not permitted to eat mutton at all, and men were afraid to kill a sheep, lest it should see them in the act, and the ghost of the animal should haunt them.<sup>1</sup> Lambs ran at once with their dams to the pasture; they were considered to be much stronger than kids. If a sheep, a goat, or a dog ran up the roof of a house, the people left the house at once, saying that it was unlucky to live in it.

Most peasants kept fowls, for they were required for ceremonial use, as in the case of a newly-married woman.<sup>2</sup> Men might eat both fowls and eggs, though women were not supposed to eat either. No care was taken either in the breeding or in the feeding of fowls; they had to find their own food, and as but little grain was grown, they did not thrive, but were poor birds. Women often planted a stake in the house, three or four feet long, with three branches forking out at the top, and plantain-fibre was tied round the forking branches to form a nest where the hen could lay its eggs and hatch them. When the chickens were hatched, the hen was allowed to go and look for food for its brood. By night the fowl and the chickens were placed in a large basket to prevent rats or other animals from carrying off the chickens. Sometimes a fowl followed so closely after a woman who was digging, that it was struck by the hoe and killed; if then the woman did not tell her husband of the accident, but threw the fowl away into the grass to escape a scolding, it was commonly believed that the fowl's ghost would haunt her and cause her to fall ill; whereas if she braved her husband's

<sup>1</sup> See, pp. 288, 289.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 91.

anger, and took the dead bird to him, she would escape the persecution of the ghost. The occasions when fowls were required for ceremonial purposes were the following. When a husband returned from war, his wife cooked a fowl for him. Every time that any of the husband's male relatives visited him, his wife cooked a fowl for them. When a woman's son returned from his first war, she cooked a fowl for him. When twins were born, a fowl was killed and eaten, to celebrate the event. When mourning was ended, a fowl was killed and eaten by the male relatives. When a chief returned from war, his retainers paid him congratulatory visits and presented him with a goat and a fowl. When blood-brotherhood was made, a fowl was killed and eaten at the sacred meal which followed the ceremony. When clans which had been enemies were reconciled to each other, a fowl was eaten at the sacred meal held to ratify the event. When a son-in-law accidentally touched his mother-in-law, he gave her a present of a fowl.

Dogs, their  
breeding,  
training,  
and use.

Dogs were kept and valued, especially by hunters, who gave them rough treatment in their training, and kept them so short of food that they were little more than skin and bone. Before being taken to hunt, a dog was given some medicine to drink, which was expected to give it keen scent; another kind of medicine was rubbed over its eyes to cause it to see, and over its nose to quicken its sense of smell; a fetich was then tied round its neck, and it was shut up for a day. It was fed on the entrails of the particular kind of animal which it was expected to hunt on the following day, and some of the medicine used for smearing on the eyes was mixed with the gravy made from the meat of the animal. When a dog caught its first prey, the owner ate the meat himself, and then jumped over his wife. A woman was not allowed to step over a dog's fetiches, for it was thought that this would break their charm; the dog was provided with fetiches, to prevent snakes from biting it while it was hunting, and to enable it to catch animals. If a dog became confirmed in the habit of catching fowls, and the owner had tried in vain to break it of the habit, he would take a handful of ashes, tie them into a parcel, and fasten the parcel to the dog's neck, saying, "Go, here are your barkcloths, I don't want to kill you"; the dog

would then run away, and never return. When a bitch littered, the owner would destroy one of the puppies, because he believed that the others would not thrive unless he did so. Before puppies were born the dog was fed on white ants, and this was believed to make the puppies grow strong. When the puppies were born, it was thought that they would never see, unless some friend of the owner came in and mentioned the name of a person who had died recently ; but when he had done so, the puppies would immediately open their eyes. When a man's brother-in-law visited him and brought his dog with him, the host's wife cooked special food for the dog ; otherwise the brother-in-law would say that they had not given him a warm welcome ; nor might the dog be struck by any member of the family during the visit, for such treatment would have been looked upon as equivalent to striking the brother-in-law. If a man's dog died in the house, his wife dared not touch it, because she feared its ghost ; she would call her husband to take it away. Dogs were fed after they had been out hunting, and the wife cooked special food for them ; if the hunt had been successful, they were given the entrails of the animals which had been killed, and other scraps of meat. Native dogs could not bark, they only made a yelping howl.

Cats were little known ; only black and white cats were Cats. domesticated ; other kinds were killed, because they were considered wild, and caught fowls.

## CHAPTER XIII

### AGRICULTURE AND FOOD

The  
garden  
the wife's  
domain.

IN Uganda the garden and its cultivation have always been the woman's department. Princesses and peasant women alike looked upon cultivation as their special work; the garden with its produce was essentially the wife's domain, and she would under no circumstances allow her husband to do any digging or sowing in it. No woman would remain with a man who did not give her a garden and a hoe to dig it with; if these were denied her, she would seek an early opportunity to escape from her husband and return to her relations to complain of her treatment, and to obtain justice or a divorce. When a man married he sought a plot of land for his wife in order that she might settle to work and provide food for the household. A chief had an abundance of land which he could give to his wife, and she might have the choice of different plots. A peasant, however, had to obtain a plot of land from the King or from some chief; he would in such a case be called a free man (*musengeze*), in opposition to a slave (*mudu*). While the man occupied the land of his chief, he might bring as much of it under cultivation as he liked; the only restrictions were that he had certain special tasks to do for his chief, to give him a certain amount of food and beer in return for the land, and also to pay the King's taxes every year. The peasant's first duty was to build a house on the land; if, however, it was land that had already been under cultivation, he might possibly find a house there, and might use it while his wife was getting the garden into order and he was building a new house. If, on the other hand, a peasant preferred to break up new land, he

would first go to the family god and would ask whether the place he had chosen was suitable, and if it was he would obtain the god's blessing upon it. The god usually sent a tree or two branches of a barkcloth tree, which the bearer planted near the site chosen for his house; one tree was for the god Mukasa, and the other for Kaumpuli, the god of plague. Two shrines were built for these gods, and beer was offered in them; then, after making offerings to the gods, the man was free to proceed with the building of the house, and his wife with the cultivation of the garden. When the trees were planted, the peasant procured a fowl, and kept it so that it might be heard crowing; it was called "the voice of the living," and was dedicated to the god Mukasa. He further took beer; he and his wife drank some of it on the site chosen for the house, and the rest they poured out at the roots of the trees as a libation to the gods; next they decorated the tree-stems with a certain creeper. The husband offered this prayer: "Give me this land and let it be fruitful, and let me build my house here and have children." A temporary hut was built, in which the man and his wife lived, while he collected materials and built the permanent house.

In initial clearing of the land it was customary for the husband to take part; he cut down the tall grass and shrubs, and so left the ground ready for his wife to begin her digging. The grass and the trees she heaped up and burned, reserving only so much as she needed for firewood. A hoe was the only implement used in cultivation; the blade was heart-shaped with a prong at the base, by which it was fastened to the handle. The hoe-handle was never more than two feet long, so that a woman had to stoop when using it. A woman, when digging, turned her face to the undug land and used her hoe, cutting the ground and dragging it back around her feet as she advanced; the ground was dug a foot deep in order to weed out the grass-roots; these were thrown to one side, collected into heaps, and burnt. The first crop planted on such newly-broken land consisted of sweet potatoes, which were propagated by runners obtained from a neighbour's garden. These runners were six inches long, they would be stuck into the

Initial cul-  
tivation.

ground two joints deep, and would grow without further trouble. The potato beds were divided into squares of twenty yards, called *misiri*. As a woman dug a plot, she planted it; after the potatoes had been planted, she sowed maize or beans between the rows of potatoes, because these grew more quickly, and were soon ready for use. When the first fruits were ripe, the husband offered them to his god, and asked his further blessing on future crops.

Tradition as to how plantain-trees were obtained.

King Kintu is said to have brought the first plantain-tree to the country, and the original root is said to be still growing on Magonga hill near Kintu's temple. Kintu's tree, which was named *Manyagalya*, was sacred, and a number of boys and girls were assembled each month to eat a sacred meal cooked from its fruit. The fruit was cut and cooked as each new moon appeared, and only boys and girls who had not arrived at the age of puberty were permitted to partake of it. At the same time a goat and some other food were cooked, placed in seven baskets, and taken by a man and a woman into the sacred forest, called Kintu's forest, and there left for him; in the evening the same man and the same woman went again and fetched away the empty baskets, and it was commonly believed that Kintu and his son had come and taken the food. After the appearance of the new moon there was a rest of seven days called *bwerende* on the temple estate, when no work was done; even the firewood for cooking was gathered before the moon appeared. From the plantain-tree on Magonga hill the other trees in the country are supposed to have grown.

Customs concerning first fruits.

When the beans (*mpindi*) were ready, a woman would call her eldest son to eat some of the first which she cooked; if she neglected to do this, she would (it was thought) incur the displeasure of the gods and fall ill. Her husband jumped over her after the meal, and the beans thereafter might be eaten by all. In the case of the sweet potato, which is a tuberous plant and continues growing after some of the tubers have been removed, a woman would begin to dig the first tubers, as soon as they were big enough to use, and long before the main crop was ready. Every year, when the first potatoes were dug, a woman took a basket of them, to show them to her husband, before she cooked them; neglect of this duty was thought to cause



a failure of the crop. In digging potatoes a pointed stick was used to uproot the larger tubers ; the smaller tubers were left to grow. When a plot had been examined, and the larger tubers dug, the others were left for a week or two, and then all were dug as they were wanted, and the ground was next used for plantain-trees.

Young plantain-trees were obtained from friends, who would allow a woman to cut away side shoots from their own trees. By preference young trees, four feet high, were sought ; the leaves were cut back, and the trees were planted so as to lean as if falling, and intervals of six feet were left between the trees. No one seems to know why the plantain-trees are planted leaning and not upright, though the custom is universally followed. The plantain forms the staple food of the Baganda, and is the only kind of food which they think worth growing. Yet they grow other foods, sweet-potatoes, beans, etc. There are said to be fully two hundred varieties of plantains ; they vary as much as the English potato does. To the eye of an inexperienced person there appears to be but little difference, yet a native can detect it at a glance. During the time that a man and his wife were getting their garden into order, the husband would obtain food from relatives and friends, who readily assisted him until his first crop was ready, which was about three months from the time of planting it. Sweet potatoes were looked upon as the food of peasants or servants, and for use in times of drought when plantains were scarce ; no chief would consent to have them served to him under ordinary circumstances.

Plantains may be divided into three classes : those used for the table (toke), those used for making beer (mbide), and those used as a sweet (gonja). The first class contained the greatest variety, and women were particular in selecting the plants for a new garden. A woman, when making a garden, first planted the trees round her house, and in twelve months' time she might expect to have some of them bearing fruit ready to cut. In a garden where the trees flourished a bunch of plantains would weigh as much as a hundred pounds. The cultivation of plantains was quite an art, and women became experts in it, and knew how to secure

How  
plantain-  
trees are  
planted.

Cultiva-  
tion of  
plantain-  
trees.

successive crops to perfection. The plantain-tree bears no seeds, or, if it does, they are useless ; the propagation is by the side-shoots, with the exception of one or two kinds. When once a tree took root, it soon made side-shoots, and by the time that the fruit was ripe, the second shoot was well developed. The side-shoots were cut back, when they came too freely, and the plant was left with only two, or at most three. When the fruit was formed, a woman would cut the flower-stem from the bunch of fruit on the kind of plantain used for cooking (called the female kind), but she would leave it on the kind used for making beer (called the male kind). Once a woman had made a good plantain-garden, the food of the family was assured, and she had little trouble to supply its needs. She devoted her attention chiefly to the cultivation of the plantain ; she would use new land for sweet potatoes and other vegetables, but would look upon the plantains as her mainstay. Should a garden yield poor crops, a woman would obtain a fetich from the medicine-man, which she would put into a pot with tobacco ; she would then smoke the tobacco and blow the smoke over the crops ; the fetich was thought to give power to the tobacco, so that the evil was remedied. If locusts settled on a garden, the woman lighted fires in it, and smoked them away, shouting and beating a drum at the same time.

Routine followed in cultivating a plantain grove.

A woman had her routine of work according to the season of the year ; during the dry season she gave her time to breaking up new land, and left the plantain-trees to themselves, merely cutting the fruit as it ripened ; when the rains commenced, she hoed down the weeds, scraped or loosened the earth round the trees, and cut off the withered leaves, for which purpose she used a knife with the blade pushed through the end of a long stick, so that she could reach the upper part of the tree. The cut leaves she spread on the ground as a carpet between the trees and round their roots, and she also cut off the outer layers of fibre from the tree-stems and spread them on the ground. The leaves and fibre prevented the ground from becoming too dry, and in the course of time turned into manure. After the fruit was taken, a tree was cut down close to the roots ; the stem was then cut into short lengths

and placed about the roots to serve as manure to the young shoots, or it was pulled to pieces and spread on the ground. The core of the stem was used to make sponges with which the hands were washed before and after meals; it was cut into lengths of a few inches, and beaten with a small wooden mallet on a stone until it became a thin, round, cake-like sponge, a quarter of an inch thick and eight inches in diameter; it was full of sap, and formed an excellent sponge for removing grease from the hands. Men used sponges made from the "male trees," and women sponges made from the "female trees." Some of the leaves which a woman cut from the trees she took home, to be used for wrapping up the food which was to be cooked, or to serve as the tablecloth upon which the food was served. Women began their work in the garden in the morning at daybreak (6 a.m.), and continued to work until about nine o'clock, when they rested and smoked their first pipe; they then set to work for a second time, and at ten o'clock they cut and carried off the food, which was to be used for the day, and also leaves to be used for wrapping up the food for cooking it. A woman with a good garden could supply three or four men with food.

The best kinds of plantains grown in various districts were: Varieties of plantains.  
*Namwezi*, *Nfuka*, *Lwewunzika*, *Naserugiri*, *Kyewogolwa*, *Nakabululu*, *Sitakange*, and *Nakababaliza*, which flourished in the Busiro district; *Kafunze*, *Sibalukokola*, and *Kasabe*, which grew in the Singo district; *Nakinyika*, *Muvube*, *Kakono*, *Ndizabaulu*, *Mukubyakonde*, *Nabefulungu*, and *Nabusu*, which grew in the Budu district; *Nakawangazi*, and *Kibuzi*, which grew in the Gomba district; *Mbwazirume*, *Mwanakufe*, *Nakitembe*, *Ndyabalangira*, *Namogo*, *Mbide-Kabule*, and *Mbide-Nfuka*, which grew in the Kyagwe district; *Nalububi*, *Nabununike*, and *Musibampima*, which grew in the Bulemezi district; *Sedumi*, *Namulondo*, *Nakyatengo*, *Balingula*, *Nakibuiye*, *Nabukoye*, *Kyesusa*, and *Nakakongo*, which grew in the Kyadondo district. The sweet kind known as *gonja* had also a number of varieties; so, too, had the kind used for making beer (*mbide*), and many other kinds used for vegetables were common to each district. The kind used for making

beer was allowed to ripen, before it was cut ; while the kind used for cooking was cut green, as soon as it was fully grown ; if the fruit was cut too young, the food had a bad flavour and turned black in the cooking, but if it was cut over-ripe, it had a sweet flavour, which was disagreeable ; care had therefore to be taken to cut it at the right moment.

Cere-  
monies  
observed  
to stop  
storms.

When lightning struck a garden and killed some of the trees, the women threw a knife and some grass out at the door, to let the god Kiwanuka know that they were there, that he need not cut any more fruit-trees, and that they would cut them as they required them. When the storm was over, they took three reeds, stuck them into the ground a little distance apart from each other, bent them down, and tied the top ends together, to form a frame, as though they intended to build a hut ; on this frame the grass which they had thrown from the house during the storm was tied ; this was an offering to the god to induce him not to destroy the plantain-trees. When a gale of wind blew, and was breaking the plantain-trees, the woman took a knife and a hoe, and beat the knife on the hoe-blade, to stop the wind from blowing and damaging her trees. When the people wished to stop the rain from falling too heavily, they took the flower of a plantain-tree and placed it on the house roof, and then a certain weed, together with some thatch from the roof, was thrown in front of the door, as a sign that there had been enough rain, and that they wished to go on with their work. Sometimes the women took a plantain-leaf which had been prepared and set apart to be used in cooking, tied the ends together to form a bag, and hung it on a tree, as a token that the rain had been tied up and must now cease. With the exception of the grain-crops such as maize, beans, peas, millet, used for making beer, and semsem for oil, there was no sowing- or harvest-time ; the plantain-trees yielded fruit all the year round. If, however, dry weather continued for more than two months, a scarcity of food would arise, and the people would begin to be in want, because they had made no provision for drought or for a season without the regular food supply.

Growing  
maize.

Maize was never grown in any quantity ; it was only eaten while still young, either between meals, or as a relish after the

meal ; no one called the two or three cobs which he ate a meal. Nor were sweet plantains (gonja) used to supply the place of a meal ; they were eaten much as Europeans eat a cake, merely as a delicacy ; nevertheless the sweet plantains were grown in large quantities, and when green were often baked to be served to a chief between the usual meals. Beans were grown, as has been mentioned, among the potatoes, and peas were sown round the borders of the potato-plots ; marrows were often grown under the plantain-trees, and yams of different kinds were grown as the garden began to assume signs of completion. Several kinds of beans were grown which were never eaten when young and tender, but only when fully ripe ; these were soaked in water and husked. No woman thought her garden complete, unless a piece of waste land adjoined it, a portion of which she could bring into cultivation in the future, when she wished part of her garden to lie fallow.

After land had been used for two years for potatoes, semsem was sown, not because there was a wish to have a rotation of crops, but because land upon which potatoes had been grown for two years was free from weeds, and semsem was not strong enough to resist the weeds, and would have needed too much care to keep it free from weeds if it had been sown upon newly-broken land. Semsem was sown in rows ; while the grain was ripening, a child was employed to keep off the birds, and when it was ripe, it was pulled up by the roots and tied into bundles ; the roots were then cut off and thrown away. The grain stems were tied to hurdle-like frames to dry, and when they were quite dry the grain was beaten out of the pods, upon a prepared threshing floor, with a short stick. The stems were held in one hand, and the seed was beaten out with the other hand ; the stems were then collected and thrown into the road, or tied to a tree by the road-side ; this was supposed to ensure a good harvest in the ensuing year. The grain was eaten as a relish with cooked plantain, whenever it was impossible to obtain meat ; it was pounded and baked and made into a cake. Sometimes the grain was fried and eaten as a sweet. A ground-nut (pea-nut) was also grown in small

Cultiva-  
tion of  
semsem.

F F

quantities and used as a relish ; this was fried with salt, and eaten after meals. Spinach, made from the leaves of different kinds of marrows and various kinds of weeds, was used extensively ; the preparing and serving of such spinach was looked upon as a test of a good wife. Several kinds of marrows were grown, and also a small green tomato called *njagi* with a bitter flavour.

Sugar-cane and tobacco grown in small quantities.

Sugar-cane was grown in small quantities, and eaten by people, when travelling, to quench their thirst, or by children for its sweetness ; the cane was chewed, and the dry pulp was thrown away. Millet was grown in small quantities for brewing, but was never used as food. A garden would be incomplete without its tobacco-plot ; the plant received no special care ; it frequently grew near the house on a dust heap. The leaves were picked, slightly dressed by drying in the sun, stamped upon, and again exposed to the sun on a mat ; they were next rubbed, and were then ready for smoking without further preparation.

Cultivation of coffee-trees.

Coffee-trees were grown in the region of the lake and on some of the islands. The berries were boiled in the husk, dried in the sun, baked a little to make them crisp, and then eaten dry. A few berries were commonly offered to a person making a call, and chiefs carried a small bag, with about a dozen berries in it, to eat when walking. No other use was made of coffee-berries, but it was a mark of respect to offer them to a visitor. The last, but not the least important, product of a garden was the barkcloth tree, which supplied the family with clothing and helped to pay the rent of the land. The husband planted the trees generally along the borders of the plots. There were many varieties of the tree, but all were known to the men by sight. They were propagated by cutting off straight branches, six or eight feet long and three inches in diameter ; these were merely placed in the ground, ten inches deep, and seldom failed to grow. The barkcloth trees were the husband's property ; it was he who planted and watched over them, and when the proper time came made the barkcloths. In a good garden a peasant would have two hundred trees growing, which enabled him to meet any demands made upon him, either for fines or for taxes.

Barkcloth trees.

Cooking naturally follows upon the wife's duties in the Cook garden, and it may now be appropriately considered. In the royal enclosure, and also in a chief's enclosure, there were large houses set apart as kitchens in which women-slaves lived, and where they assisted with the cooking; and almost every peasant had a small hut or shed, where his wife could cook outside the house. The utensils required to fit up a native kitchen were not many; a large open pot, from two feet to three feet six inches in diameter, which formed the principal cooking-vessel, two or three water-pots, and two or three small pots for cooking small quantities of food, were all that was necessary. They were all earthen pots, and were supplied for a sum of two or three shillings, though many chiefs had their own potters, who kept them supplied with pots as part of their rent. The large cooking-pot was the only pot really necessary, and a woman could manage to serve up twelve kinds of food from this one pot. The fireplace consisted of three stones or three small mounds of earth made by a kind of ant, upon which the pot rested; these mounds were preferred to stones because they were not so liable to damage the pot. Wood was the fuel used. Inside the pot a woman placed a layer of plantain-fibre, which was the shredded rib of the leaves, together with a small quantity of water. On the top of the fibre she laid a few plantain leaves, to prevent the food from coming in contact with the water, or from being burned should the water dry up; and upon these leaves she placed the food. The plantains were peeled and wrapped in leaves, which were prepared by cutting the midrib out of the back, and holding the leaf over a grass-fire; the fire had the effect of making the leaf soft like oil-silk, so that it could be tied round the food without tearing. Meat and vegetables of different kinds were all put into the one pot, wrapped in plantain-leaves in separate parcels, and the whole covered with layers of leaves, until the pot was steam-tight; a small fire was lighted, and the food was steamed for two or three hours. A child was left to watch the fire, or if the woman had no child to do this for her she had herself to remain near to keep the fire burning, and to see that the pot did not run dry.

Preparation of food for cooking.

A plantain was quickly peeled by experienced women ; four slashes down the fruit were sufficient ; it was then dropped on to the leaf, which was put ready to receive it. Potatoes were only scraped, and the bad places cut out, but a careful woman would wash the potatoes before she scraped them. Great care was taken in preparing the leaves used as spinach ; the stems which were likely to make the dish stringy and unpleasant were removed, and so too were any leaves which were too old. Sometimes vegetables were cooked with semsem in a separate pot with a little salt added ; this preparation was used as a sauce for the plantain diet, when there was no meat. A favourite dish was made by cooking potatoes and beans together and mashing them.

How food was served.

When the plantain-food was cooked, it was pressed together between the hands, while still in the leaves, and held by means of other leaves, to prevent the cook from being scalded. The whole mass thus mashed was placed in a basket upon neatly arranged leaves, which were intended to be used as a table-cloth ; some hot leaves from the pot enveloped the food, and the whole was again covered with other leaves ; food thus prepared could be kept hot for several hours. No Muganda cared to eat cold food ; it was customary to serve food very hot. The meat and other vegetables were also put into the one basket with the mashed plantain, and carried to the master's house. A chief's wife usually attended to serve the food ; but if a chief was alone, he invited his wife to have her meal with him ; if, however, the chief had visitors, his wife might, or might not, come to serve the food ; it was according as he wished. The person who undertook the office of serving washed her hands before touching the leaves, which were spread on the floor ; the basket with the food was then turned over on to the leaves, and opened out. The meat was placed before the master, and he gave portions to whom he wished ; if there was a large joint, the server would cut it up, and hand portions to those present.

Washing the hands before a meal.

Before eating, every person washed his hands, either with water, or with one of the sponges which were supplied with the food. No one was expected to drink, until the meal was over. As a rule no drink was provided, and it was only where a



chief was particular that water was passed round, to wash out the mouth. The food was eaten with the fingers ; the person serving, however, used either a large wooden knife with which to cut the mashed plantain, or a leaf with which to break pieces off, which she passed to each person present ; the guests were not expected to help themselves. In serving the food was not touched with the hands, though afterwards each person had to break off small pieces from the portion given to him, roll them into balls like marbles, and put them into his mouth with his fingers. If there was a sauce or gravy, balls of food were made, and the thumb was stuck into them, converting them into miniature cups, which were then dipped into a common vessel. It was quite an art to make the balls without being scalded, and it required some care not to spill the gravy when conveying the food to the mouth. If a chief's wife served, she cut each piece of meat for her husband, rubbed it with salt, and placed it ready for him to eat ; he handed pieces to his favourite boys or guests from his own portion, and sometimes put a little aside for his favourite wife because she, if present, did not eat with the guests. No one approaching people at a meal might salute them ; the master would always invite such a person, whether known or unknown, to join them at the meal, and the newcomer would, as a matter of course, join the party ; he would be given water or a sponge with which to wash his hands, and after the meal he would salute the chief and the other people. To salute people, or to look on, while they were taking a meal, was considered the height of bad manners ; and a person who inadvertently called out from a distance would apologise as soon as he found that the people were at a meal. After he had joined a party, he might engage in any general subjects of conversation. Peasants and slaves were often served with whole potatoes ; if, however, potatoes were served to a chief, the women were careful to mash them and to make them look appetising. Sometimes a wife made her husband an omelette, though eggs were seldom eaten by men, and never by women ; nor did women eat fowls or mutton. When the meal was over, the remains of it were rolled up in the leaves which had been used as a table-cloth, and were thrown away. No food was kept or put

aside for another meal ; anything that remained was thrown away.

It was customary for women to eat apart from their husbands.

The women had their meals apart from the men, except that a man who had only one wife would invite her to take her meal with him. The chiefs and the upper classes had three meals of plantains every day ; peasants, however, often had their first meal at noon, and the second in the evening, and managed with some makeshift between meals, if they were hungry. If a chief was hungry, he had either a baked plantain (*gonja*) or a maize cob served to him, but as a rule he waited until the proper meal was ready. In some families the women cooked food overnight, and left it on the fire until the morning, when it was served as soon as the master was ready for it. Every host liked to see his guest eat heartily, the more the guest ate, the better pleased was the host ; when a guest had eaten as much as he wished, it was polite for him to thank his host for the excellent meal, and to belch loudly, to show that he had eaten enough and enjoyed it. Sometimes sweet plantains, eggs, or even potatoes, were served to a chief after the proper meal was over, to be eaten as sweets. Where no sponges were served for washing the hands a wooden bowl was handed round, and one of the maids or a boy poured water over the hands of the guests, as they washed them over the bowl. When food was sent to anyone at a distance, as was customary in the case of a gatekeeper or of any other person who was unable to join the party, it was wrapped in a plantain-leaf, and was not touched with the hands. Bones from the meat were eagerly sought by the boys, who scraped them clean and extracted the marrow. It was not considered in keeping with his position for a leading chief to buy meat in the market ; he had to kill his own animals in his enclosure ; and such men as the *Katikiro* and the *Kimbugwe* had to kill meat daily, because they were never without visitors, and required a large supply of food to meet the demand of their tables.

Salt and how it was obtained.

Salt was a great luxury, as it had to be brought from the salt-lakes of Bunyoro or Toro, or from the east of Lake Victoria Nyanza by canoe. It was both coarse and expensive. Salt was also sold in packets, or by the spoonful, in the

market, and was treasured and liked even more than sugarcane. A poor kind of salt was obtained by burning certain grasses from swamps, washing the ashes, and condensing the water. During times of drought or famine the people often dug the roots of the plantain-trees and used them for food; they also dried plantains, when food was plentiful, cut them into slices, and either pounded them into flour for porridge, or boiled the dried chips. The flour and the dried plantain chips were commonly bartered to the people along the shores of the lake, who gave fish in exchange for them; they were also taken as food by an army engaged upon a long expedition. Men, when journeying, or when engaged in a punitive expedition, had to cook their own food; when they had no cooking-pots with them, they baked the plantains in the embers, or ate uncooked plantains (*menvu*) which at other times they despised.

Every important chief owned some land bordering on the lake, or upon an island, and his retainers supplied him with fish. One of the commonest dishes used among the poor was the sprat, which was dried, and sold on reed-strings, forty or fifty fishes for a few cowry-shells; it was thus within the reach of nearly everyone. It was difficult for peasants to obtain fresh fish or meat, except from the chase, and sometimes they had to go several months without any meat at all. Women are said to have had at times such a craving for meat, that they were driven to bite the ears of their own children. A kind of grasshopper (*nсенene*) was also caught, fried, and eaten freely, whenever it made its appearance. Women and children set out to catch the insect; they ran strips of cane, about a foot long, through the grasshoppers, and cooked them upon the cane. The insects were considered a great delicacy, and were eaten by all ranks alike; when fried, the flavour was not unlike that of whitebait. White flying ants were also caught, when about to swarm, and were eaten by all the people. When the creatures were about to fly, the people made their preparations; the hillock, from which the ants were expected to swarm, was covered, so that there was one small exit only; in this a shallow hole was dug, which was lined with a plantain leaf; as the insects came out, they fell into the hole, were

Fish,  
grass-  
hoppers,  
and ants  
were used  
for food.

scooped out, and put into pots and cooked. Children often caught and ate the ants alive, as they came out of their holes, they did not even pick off the creatures' wings, but let them fall from the sides of their mouths. The ants, when dried, were made up into packets, and kept for future use to be eaten as a relish with the plantain-food, or they were sold in the markets. Ant-hillocks were claimed and guarded by tenants, upon whose land they were, as carefully as any other part of their property. The queen-ant was considered a delicacy, and when dug from the hillock was frequently taken to the chief of the district, together with a small piece of the nest in which she resided. On the islands and shores of the lake a kind of gnat, called *sami*, was caught and made into cakes. The gnat often crossed the water in a thick cloud, when it was caught and fried by the fishermen. Milk was used by the wealthier classes as a luxury. The cows were kept at a distance, and the herdsmen brought the milk daily to their masters in large pots. It was not drunk fresh, but was allowed to stand and clot. Cows were valued for their meat, or for purposes of barter, more than for their milk.

Beer and  
brewing.

The national drink was beer made from ripe plantains. The fruit of the so-called male plantain was used for brewing, and was never cooked or eaten. The demand for this fruit (*mbide*) was so great, that the supply was often inadequate, and the fruit had to be ripened artificially. The bunches were cut when the fruit was fully grown and about to ripen; they were then divided into sections, and hung in the kitchens or the cooking-sheds, where the heat from the fire soon ripened them. When they were ripe, the skins were removed, and the pulp was thrown into large wooden troughs, not unlike a bath in size and shape. The pulp was then squeezed between the heads of papyrus stems, a little water was added, and the whole of the juice was strained into large pots and left to stand during the night. The next morning some millet was baked, ground into coarse flour, and added to the juice; the mixture was left to stand another day until it fermented. On the third day it was strained into gourd-bottles, and was now ready for use. This plantain-beer was not very intoxicating, though men were frequently the worse

for it after a day's debauch. It was drunk through tubes made from small branches of a tree with a pith; the pith was forced out, and the outer part of the tube was beautifully decorated with a coat of coloured cane-plaiting; these tubes were put into gourd-bottles, from which the people delighted to suck their beer. The men were more addicted to drunkenness than the women, but the women were the chief smokers, and the men seldom took to smoking a pipe until they were quite old; smoking was considered to be a feminine custom. In recent years the smoking of Indian hemp was introduced among the



FIG. 77.—BEER GOURD-BOTTLES, WOODEN MILK-POT, AND MEAT DISH.

men, but it gained little hold. Unfermented wine made from plantains was drunk freely by the young; the women made it in small quantities from the ripe fruit, using a sweet-smelling grass through which they squeezed the pulp, a little water was added, the juice was then strained, and was ready to drink. If left for more than two days, the wine turned to vinegar and became undrinkable; but on the second day it was sparkling, and had a sharpness resembling champagne. It was commonly used in sickness, and especially in fever, to quench the thirst.

The King had his own brewers, who resided near the royal enclosure. Every day peasants might be seen carrying large

gourds of beer upon their heads, each gourd containing some three gallons. The gourds for the King or for chiefs were decorated with a frill of plantain-leaves round the neck; this denoted that they were not for sale nor for the market. Both food and beer were carried from the country-estates into the capital, because it would have been impossible to supply the population in the capital with food in any other way; cattle were also driven in daily for the same purpose. It was from among these people who carried in food and beer, that the King sent from time to time to capture victims for the sacrificial places, when the gods demanded some offering.

Clothes  
and orna-  
ments.

The clothing of the people was universally the picturesque barkcloth. A man wore a barkcloth knotted over the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and hanging down like a Roman toga; when at work, he tied a band round the waist, to keep the barkcloth together, and allow him the full use of his arms. The servants about the royal enclosure and the gatekeepers wore finely-dressed skins; so too did all the gatekeepers of leading chiefs. During the reign of King Suna, the chiefs, and even the King, wore skins; the chiefs wore cow- and antelope-skins, and the King leopard-skins; sometimes the skins had the hair shaved off, and were bleached, until they were beautifully white. The women wore barkcloths wrapped round their bodies, passing under the arms, and tied with a girdle of a different-coloured barkcloth. These cloths were of a rich terracotta tint and contrasted beautifully with the soft dark skin of the shoulders and arms, which were left exposed. Big girls often wore barkcloth only round the loins; they arranged their cloths neatly, and bound them with girdles in a becoming style. Both men and women were cleanly in person, and kept their skin beautifully clean and soft. They bathed daily, and the men often took a bath both morning and evening. Their teeth were also cared for, and brushed with a kind of fibrous stick.

Scarifica-  
tions  
were not  
usual.

The people disliked scarifications and other markings upon their bodies, and only a few women from the Kyagwe district on the lake made markings upon their stomachs, in imitation (it is said) of the Bavuma women. The Baganda were most particular not to disfigure themselves. The women had pendant

breasts, and girls tried to attain them in that respect as early as possible, looking upon pendant breasts as a mark of beauty and maturity. The women wore as many ornaments as they could secure, both of brass and copper, and also large ivory bracelets, though they seldom wore anklets. Women wore necklets upon special occasions, such as marriage feasts; one kind of necklet called *mugogo* was commonly worn at such times, it was about an inch thick, made from the flowering stem of the plantain, shredded, bleached, and decorated with small red, white, and blue beads. Women were also fond of wearing one or two small bracelets, made from fine wire twisted into a string, an eighth of an inch thick.

It was customary for big girls to go naked within their masters' enclosures; even big girls of fourteen or sixteen might be found in the temple-enclosures and in distant parts of the country either nude or wearing only a waist-ring. Many women, when alone with their husbands in their homes in the evening, discarded their clothing. It was a greater disgrace for a man to be seen naked than for a woman, and even small boys wore a goat-skin, which was at first slung round the shoulders, and later, as they grew up, was fastened round the waist. Little girls never wore anything more than a waist ring, which was made from the plantain stem, bound either with goat-skin or lizard-skin, and an inch thick. No one seems to know why this ring was worn by girls, nor why it was the only clothing for a young girl. Short breeches for men were introduced during the early part of Mutesa's reign; they were copied from some Egyptian troops who made their appearance in the country. When calico came to be commonly used, knickerbockers became universal for men and boys. Both men and women shaved their heads periodically, and every one was obliged to shave every part of his or her body after mourning for the dead. Boys had their heads shaved by their female relatives until they married, when the wife took this duty upon herself. While their husbands were absent at war or on a journey, women let their hair grow long; otherwise except during times of mourning neither men nor women allowed their hair to grow long; during mourning it was customary to leave both the hair and the nails to grow

Nudity.

Cutting  
hair and  
nails.

long, until the period of mourning ended. No person might cut his nails on his hands and his feet on the same day ; had he done so, it would have been said that he wished to kill his parents. Royalty had their nails cut to a V-shaped point, but no commoner was permitted to imitate them in this respect ; anyone who had done so would have been liable to punishment, and might even have been put to death. The nail-parings of the King were preserved, sometimes also those of a chief, and were buried with him when he died, though no reason is given to account for the custom.

Most young children wore bracelets and necklets made from the skin of the water-lizard, and the children of a chief often had their necklets decorated with small brass bells without hammers and with two pendants in front. No one knows why water-lizard-skin was adopted for decorative purposes, but it was so used universally. Young children learning to walk had small bells upon their feet, and the bells were thought to help them to learn how to walk. When the child could walk, the bells were discarded and put away, until they were wanted for another child.



## CHAPTER XIV

### HUNTING

THE King and a few of the principal chiefs, who were attendant upon him, made the hunting of small game a pastime, and followed the chase for the love of sport. With the people at large, however, hunting was either a profession or a means of obtaining animal food. Elephant-hunters were men whose fathers had followed the chase, and who, from childhood, had been trained to notice every peculiarity of elephants, and were familiar with their haunts and habits. Different methods of hunting elephants were practised in different parts of the country. In Kyagwe the method followed was more humane and better adapted to the physical features of the country than the methods followed elsewhere. If the animals were in a forest, the hunters took up their stations in the trees, and speared the animals as they passed under them. They spent the day previous to a hunt in making their preparations; their weapons were spears with leaf-shaped blades six inches long, and an iron shank a foot long; these blades were let into wooden shafts five feet long and from two to three inches in diameter; the spears accordingly were very heavy, quite as much as a strong man could throw. After the spears had been sharpened, they were taken to the temple of the god of the chase, usually to Dungu, where they were left all night before the seat of the god, who was propitiated with a present of a pot of beer and a goat. On the following morning, the hunters completed their arrangements, had a meal, and then betook themselves to the neighbourhood of the herd, where they

The King  
alone  
hunted  
for the  
love of  
sport.  
Elephant  
hunting.

climbed into the trees which they had selected, concealed themselves, and waited for the elephants. Each man had two or three spears with him, in case he needed them, and also a skin of some animal, which he waved to attract the attention of a wounded elephant, when he wanted it to approach him. When the elephants approached the place where the hunters were in hiding, one with large tusks was selected, and as it passed under the tree the hunter threw his spear with all his force, endeavouring to strike the elephant between the shoulders and to drive home the spear to the haft, so as to disable the animal at one stroke. If his blow was successful, the animal would sink down, and he would despatch it; should the animal, however, be able to move on, he would call to one of his companions for help, and the latter would let down his skin, wave it about and shout to attract the infuriated beast, which would rush at what appeared to be the cause of its pain; when it was near, the man would let the skin drop, and while the elephant stopped to kneel upon the skin and crush it, he would spear and possibly kill it. Sometimes an animal received four such spear-wounds before it fell. The herd of elephants generally fled at the first alarm, though, as a rule, the men secured two, and sometimes as many as four, animals from one herd. The hunters had to work together when an elephant was wounded, because first one man, and then another, had to attract and spear it.

Another method of hunting elephants, and one used on the open plains, or where there was only scrub, was for three or four men carrying throwing-spears to approach the animals as they were feeding. The men crawled along the ground, and they were such adepts at stalking that they would creep into the herd without being perceived; they were not detected by the scent, because their smell was not unlike that of the animals. They would next deliberately pick out one of the animals and spear it in the head. As soon as the man had speared an elephant, he had to escape as best he could; his companions would help him by rushing forward and spearing the animal again, and so diverting its attention from the man who had first attacked it. In this way, by taking turns to spear and to divert the attention of an animal, they would soon bring it down. This kind

of hunting required courage and a strong nerve, and only men who could be trusted to stand by their companions when an infuriated animal charged would be enlisted. Sometimes a hunter would be killed, though this was seldom the case.

In the Bulemezi district men sometimes hunted elephants <sup>Elephant traps.</sup> from trees, but more frequently they set traps consisting of weighted spears hung from trees, which the animals would release, when passing under the tree, by striking their feet against a cord. The hunters would follow up the wounded animal, and as it grew faint and became isolated from the herd, they would surround and despatch it. Another kind of trap employed in elephant-hunting was a foot-trap; a deep hole was dug, a little larger than an elephant's foot; at the bottom of the hole a stout stake, sharpened at the top and notched a few inches down so as to break easily, was placed; the hole was then covered over, and when the animal trod on the covering, its foot sank in, and was spiked. As the animal tried to rub off the spike, it pierced further in, the stake broke off where it was notched, and the spike was left in the wound; the lamed animal soon became isolated from the herd, and fell a prey to the men who were watching for it. Quite a number of staked pits were made in the path, so that some animal from the herd was sure to fall into one of them. When an elephant was killed, the nerve was taken from the tusk and buried, and the place of burial was marked, because the hunters said that the ghost of the animal attached itself to the nerve; if any hunter stepped over the nerve, they thought that the ghost would cause him to be killed by an elephant in the next hunt in which he took part. The King's hunters took a large portion of the ivory which they captured to him, and in return were rewarded with cattle and women. The chief of a district levied a tax upon all ivory captured in his district. The Baganda did not eat the flesh of the elephant themselves, but sold it to the surrounding tribes, who ate it.

Elephant-hunters also hunted buffalo. The buffalo was <sup>Buffalo hunting.</sup> hunted for its meat, and also for its hide, which was of considerable value, being used for making sandals. The animals were stalked: the hunter crept up close to the herd, and when he saw a good buffalo speared it, and then lay down flat to avoid

its charge ; another man then made a dash, speared the animal again, and turned its attention away from the first man ; in this manner three or four hunters would soon despatch the buffalo. Sometimes dogs were taken to hunt buffalo ; they assisted in keeping the animals at bay while the hunters speared them. The meat of a buffalo was divided among the party : one leg was given to the man who first speared it, the second leg to the owner of the land, a shoulder to the man who assisted and struck the second blow ; the remainder was cut into portions according to the number present. The head of the animal was cooked in the field, and eaten by all the hunters ; it might not be taken into a garden or a house, because the ghost of the animal was believed to be attached to it. The horns were sold to medicine-men, who made fetiches of them.

Buffalo  
traps.

In some places a foot-trap was used for catching buffalo ; this consisted of a ring made from strong creepers, through the sides of which thorns were pushed from the outside towards the centre, leaving a small space in the centre ; the ring was fastened by a strong cord to a stake, and laid over a shallow hole on the path along which the animals went to water. When a buffalo stepped upon the ring, its foot slipped through, the thorns ran into the upper part of the foot or into the fetlock, and the beast was held prisoner ; the owner of the trap soon came and speared it. Any attempt the buffalo made to escape only forced the strong spikes further into its flesh, and the rope attached to the trap was strong enough to hold the strongest animal. Pits with stout stakes at the bottom were also used for trapping buffalo ; and sometimes, though not often, huge pits were dug, large enough to entrap elephants.

Hunting  
small  
game.

Peasants hunted small game in their spare time, to supply their families with meat. There was a leader of the party, usually a man who understood hunting, and who kept a number of dogs for the purpose. The game was driven into nets provided by the chief hunter. The leader made his plans with his companions on the day previous to the hunt, and obtained the blessing of the god. Early the following morning he blew his horn and called the men together ; the

sound of the horn warned off women from the path, because it was believed that if a huntsman met a woman when he was setting out, the hunt would be a failure, and the animals would escape. The men hunted in open glades of the forest, using nets four feet wide and twenty feet long. The nets were fixed to stout stakes, to keep them upright, and as many nets as were necessary to enclose the land to be hunted over were joined together. Fetiches and medicines obtained from priests were put on the nets at intervals, to keep the animals from escaping. Men stood hidden along the net, ready to club or spear the creatures which ran into it. The dogs used were a small kind of lurcher, yellowish-brown, trained to some extent to hunt and capture game; the leading dog had a bell attached to its loins, so that the men might know where the dogs were. Numbers of men acted as beaters, and followed up the dogs, driving the animals into the net, while the men on guard despatched them. The nets were strengthened where they crossed the paths which the animals were likely to take. Nets were made of strong twine prepared from shredded aloe leaves, and worked into meshes by the hunter himself; medicine was obtained from the temples, when the nets were being made, and it was obtained again every time that a hunt took place. The men who acted as beaters shouted and made a noise, and the dogs yelped as soon as they scented an animal.

The meat of the game killed was divided by the leader, who took for himself either a leg or the back, according as he wished, because he had provided the dogs and the net. The owner of the land received a shoulder, the man who speared the animal was given another shoulder, and the rest of the meat was divided among the beaters. The dogs were given the entrails and other scraps. If a dog pulled down an animal, its owner had the right to take a shoulder, in addition to the other portion which he claimed. The hunter saw to it that his dogs were fed and kept in training, because so much depended upon them, when hunting in long grass. Antelopes and wild pigs were at once speared and killed; but the large rats (*musu*) were taken alive, and were often presented to the chief of the district. The hunters had long sticks with knobs

Dividing  
the  
game.

studded with wooden spikes, which they pressed down upon the rats, to hold and capture them. These rats were of the size of a small terrier, with short hair. Their flesh was much prized; they were baked whole without removing the entrails. A hole was dug, a fire was made in it, and when it was sufficiently hot, the rat was placed inside, covered with hot ashes, and baked; after cooking the meat was cut off from the bones for the chief, and the boys picked the bones. The bones of animals captured were frequently presented to the god of the chase. The back was the portion which the hunters usually offered to the god, when they had made a good bag.

A huntsman's return home.

A huntsman's wife cooked for his dogs, and had the food ready, so that her husband could give it to them as soon as he returned; he fed them before he took his own meal. If a hunter found a man in his house when he returned from the chase, he speared him slightly, just enough to draw blood; if he found a woman there, he beat her and said, "Go and accuse me"; if he neglected these precautions, it was thought that his next hunting expedition would be a failure. After three hunting expeditions it became imperative to make an offering of some of the meat to the god of the chase.

Pits and spring-traps.

Pits were commonly used for trapping pigs and small antelopes; they were dug four feet long, three feet wide, and from five to six feet deep, with stakes at the bottom, so that the animals should fall upon them and become impaled; they were so skilfully covered that even men had to be careful not to fall into them. Some hunters used spring-traps, which were made by placing a stout noose of rope in the path and attaching it to a sapling which was bent down and tied so delicately that, when an animal passed its head into the noose, it released the sapling; the latter then sprang back to its original height, and hanged the animal. The traps were examined daily so that no animal was left in one of them for more than a few hours; had it been left there longer, it would have been devoured by carnivorous beasts or birds of prey.

Lion and leopard hunting.

Lions and leopards were hunted by order of the King or of chiefs, whenever they became troublesome and carried off either people or cattle. These beasts were hunted in a different way from other wild animals. The King or the chief of the

district concerned beat the war-drum to collect the people, and they would go forth usually a thousand strong, if it was a lion that was to be hunted. Some men went out to track the animal to its lair, and to bring a report to the chief as to its whereabouts. Each chief took his own men, to each of whom he assigned his post; the place where the animal was thought to be hiding was surrounded; and the men beat down the grass and shrubs, shouting and singing to the beat of drums, as they advanced. Most of them were armed with stout clubs, only a few were allowed to have spears. They advanced until they came to the place where the animal was concealed. When the lion found that it was surrounded it made a desperate fight to get away, rushing first to one side and then to the other, but the showers of blows from the clubs made it turn and try to find some other exit. Sometimes it would make a bound to leap over the heads of the hunters, who had to be quick and sure with their blows, and kill it if they were not to be badly mauled. An animal seldom escaped, though it was usual for some person to be seriously injured by it in its efforts to escape. All lion- and leopard-skins were the property of the King. If the beast was a large one, and if it had done a great amount of damage, it was carried to the King for him to see before it was skinned.

In hunting the hippopotamus men used the spear or the harpoon, though sometimes they set traps. The Baganda did not eat the flesh of the hippopotamus, and therefore they did not often hunt it. In cases where a hippopotamus became troublesome and destroyed gardens, a spear-trap was set for it on a path which it frequented, and it was killed. On some of the islands of the lake men went out in canoes and harpooned the hippopotamus; here, however, the people used the flesh for food. Long lines with floats attached to the harpoons were used, so that when the animal sank, the men could track it and secure it. The hippopotamus was feared by canoe-men, because it sometimes attacked and destroyed their canoes, and men at times lost their lives in such accidents.

Hippo-  
potamus  
hunting.

## CHAPTER XV

### MARKETS AND CURRENCY.

Bartering  
and the  
market-  
chief

The Baganda nation has an inbred love for trading and bartering, which seems to have increased owing to their custom of paying for their brides, and the difficulty in finding the amount demanded by the bride's clan. Not only in the capital, but also throughout the country districts, there were market-places under the supervision of the authorities, with regular market-fees for the wares which were offered for sale. Moreover, people in the capital, who tried to evade the market-dues by selling their goods privately outside the market-place were liable to heavy fines and to the confiscation of the goods which they tried to sell. The market-places in and around the capital were under the supervision of a special chief appointed by the King, who collected the dues ; these amounted to ten per cent. of the value of each article sold or bought.

Goods  
offered for  
sale in  
markets.

The goods offered for sale in the markets in the capital were cows, goats, sheep, butcher's meat, that is, beef, and goat-and sheep-mutton, fowls, fish, eggs, salt, sweet potatoes, peas, beans of different kinds, plantains (the vegetable kind), sweet plantains (gonja), sugar-cane, coffee-berries, tobacco, pottery of all kinds, knives, axes, hoes, rope, baskets, and native beer. The people sat under sheds, exposed their wares for sale, and made them up into the amounts needed. Most persons buying salt, coffee-berries, or tobacco, only wanted small quantities, and these had to be made up into packets, which were sold for two or three cowry-shells. The vendors had a supply of plantain-fibre, which served for paper ; in this they wrapped



their wares, and they tied them with fibre-string. Meat was sold by the joint, according to its appearance, and not by weight ; the price was regulated by the demand ; if there was a brisk trade, the seller cut smaller joints, whereas, if there were but few purchasers, he gave larger joints. There were fixed prices for cattle, fowls, eggs, and barkcloths ; also for cotton-goods, which were sold by the cubit, measured from the tip of the second finger to the elbow joint ; the purchaser, however, would bring a friend with a long arm to measure



FIG. 78.—CARRYING IVORY.

the goods. Beer was sold by the gourd, and coffee-berries, when sold in large quantities, by the basket (kibo) ; eggs were not counted, but were sold by the basket, the purchaser running the risk of some of them being bad. The market-place was always noisy ; many people were drawn thither by the hope of doing a little sharp business, others by the hope of getting some beer to drink at another person's expense, others again by the love of a crowd. During the early hours of the day, from eight to twelve o'clock, the scene was a busy and interesting one ; crowds gathered together, examining the wares,

gossiping, and haggling about prices. Animals were killed on one side of the market-place, where a pit was dug for the blood; around this place scavengers, in the shape of boys, dogs, and birds, hovered, hoping to get something. Boys never lost an opportunity of getting a scrap of the entrails of any animal, which they usually cooked on the spot, without being excessively particular as to its cleanliness. Every night the market-place had to be swept up by the vendors and it was easier for them to get a boy to do the work for a piece of meat, a few coffee-berries, or a bit of salt, than to do



FIG. 79.--BEER IN GOURD-BOTTLES BEING SOLD IN THE MARKET.

the work themselves, or to pay proper wages for it to be done; boys therefore assembled in force at about five o'clock for this purpose. The refuse was burned, after being swept to one side in heaps; in this way the market-place became fairly clean and tidy for the next day's sales. Unsold meat was carried away by the owner, who might offer it for sale again on the next day. As a rule, there was but little left over, and care was taken not to overstock the market with dead meat, which soon became unfit for food. The fat was eagerly bought up by women engaged in soap-making; it com-

manded a high price, and was often asked for in advance; in fact some women had contracts to take as much as the chief who superintended the market could supply. Beer was measured by the gourd, called a *kita*, or, if it was wanted in a smaller quantity, it was sold by the cup (*endeku*). When it



FIG. 80.—MEAT STALL IN MARKET.

was being brewed, it was measured by the large bath (*lyato*) in which it was brewed; this bath was six feet long, two feet wide, and eighteen inches deep. Cooking-pots were priced according to their size; a large pot was sold for two hundred cowry-shells, small ones for twenty or thirty cowry-shells. A milk-pot cost sixty or even a hundred cowry-shells, a tobacco-pipe

from five to ten cowry-shells, and a water-pot from forty to fifty cowry-shells.

Country  
market-  
places.

The country market-places belonged to the chief upon whose land they stood ; no private person was able to open a market without permission from the King and the District-Chief. When a new market was to be opened, the King sent a man whose duty it was to plant a barkcloth tree, to kill the first animal near the newly-planted tree, and to eat a meal on the spot ; the remaining meat was then sold, and the market declared to be open. Every person who brought an animal to be sold for meat killed it himself, then after the market-keeper had inspected it, he sold the meat for as much as he could, and paid the ten per cent. on his earnings to the market-keeper at night. When firewood was brought for sale, the market-keeper took one stick of it, and charged ten per cent. on the sale in addition. Along the frontier of Bunyoro there were market-places, where the two nations, the Baganda and the Banyoro, met and sold goods peculiar to their own countries ; the Banyoro brought chiefly hoes and salt, and the Baganda barkcloths and plantains. Ivory and slaves were not often taken into the market-place for sale, but were sold by private arrangement. There were many markets held along the shores of the lake, where the people from the islands brought fish and pots for sale or exchanged them for barkcloths and plantains.

Currency.

From an early date there has been a currency in Uganda, in addition to the bartering of goods which was customary among the people. The standard of the currency was set by the value of the cow. Ivory and slaves were indeed of more value than cows, but they were reckoned as worth a certain number of cows each. The following table shows the value of currency during Suna's reign :—

A cow was sold for two thousand five hundred cowry-shells.

A male slave was sold for one cow ; a female slave for four or five cows,

Five goats were exchanged for a cow.

A goat was sold for five hundred cowry-shells.

A fowl was sold for twenty-five cowry-shells.

A large cock was sold for fifty cowry-shells.

An ivory-tusk weighing sixty-two pounds was sold for one thousand cowry-shells.

Before the introduction of cowry-shells, a blue bead (nsinda) was used ; this was very rough and badly made, but it was considered to be of great value ; one bead was of equal value with one hundred cowry-shells. Still earlier, before the introduction of the bead, a small ivory disc was used, known as *sanga* ; one of these discs was valued at one hundred cowry-



FIG. 81.—COWRY-SHELLS, IVORY DISCS, AND EARLY KINDS OF BEADS.

shells. When the cowry-shell was first introduced, which was probably in the reign of King Semakokiro, two cowry-shells would purchase a woman.

With the introduction of the rupee cowry-shells dropped in value, until they came to be reckoned at one thousand for a rupee. Cowry-shells were also used from the] first for decorative purposes.

## CHAPTER XVI

### WELLS

Restric-  
tions on  
wells.

IN a country where at times good water became scarce, it was only natural that certain wells, which were almost entirely springs, should be protected by restrictions. The well from which the King's drinking-water was drawn, was set apart for his sole use, and only a limited number of his wives were permitted to draw water from it. In other parts of the country, certain wells have been famous for many generations; they are thought to have been protected by the special intervention of water-spirits; they were passed down from family to family, or from chief to chief, were venerated and kept sacred. In some places a new chief, on his appointment to the charge of the district, offered a human sacrifice; oftentimes he had to take for this purpose his own child, whom he offered to the water-spirit at the well, as a means of securing prosperity. In other places an animal was offered, and the people assembled to eat a sacred meal and to drink beer by the well; after the meal, the chief placed a new hoe in a shrine which had been built for the water-spirit by the well. Every year the chief of the district beat his drum to call the people together to clear the paths leading to the well, and also to clean out the well; they would cut the tall grass back from it, fearing that otherwise the water would become bad and would cause sickness and death among them. In other instances when the clearing was neglected the water dried up, and the spirit refused to allow it to flow again until the well had been cleansed and the grass cut from its banks. The shrine by the well was renewed yearly

Sacrifices  
to wells.

by the chief, who killed a cow or a goat under it, on which occasion a sacred meal was cooked and eaten there; beer was also poured out by the shrine as soon as the work of renovation was finished. After the ceremonies the chief went home, and jumped over his wife. No woman was allowed to visit a well when she was menstruating; if she did so, it was feared that the water would dry up, and that she herself would fall sick and die, unless she confessed her fault and the medicine-man made atonement for her. To draw water with dirty hands would, it was thought, cause the water to dry up, and a person who presumed to do so would surely incur the spirit's displeasure. Women invariably washed their hands before going to the well, or they stopped some distance from it and asked a friend to bring them water to wash their hands, before they went to draw water.

## CHAPTER XVII

### FOLKLORE

Origin of  
Baganda  
folklore.

THE origin of folklore and its use in Uganda seem to have been twofold ; first, there were many things which were beyond the understanding of the people, and they wished in some way to account for them ; with this object in view they seem to have made a history which would explain the origin of their race, their kings, and their gods. As they were recounted, these stories were added to in a variety of ways, and thus there were different versions of what must have been the same story in the first instance ; many of these legends have for years been handed down to successive generations as true accounts, and have passed from the legendary stage into history and are believed by the people to be a trustworthy account of the origin of man and beast. Secondly, there was a need to impress on men the moral truth that wickedness and cruelty would in the long run meet with their due reward. This need gave rise to pithy stories and proverbs which have gone on increasing in number until the language is rich in proverbs and folk tales. In the following pages a few of the most important legends and a selection of proverbs with their uses are given.

#### *The Legend of Kintu.*

When Kintu first came to Uganda he found there was no food at all in the country ; he brought with him one cow and had only the food which the animal supplied him with. In the course of time a woman named Nambi came with her brother to the earth and saw Kintu ; the woman fell in love with him, and wishing to be married to him pointedly told him so. She, however, had to return with her brother to her people and father,



Gulu, who was King of Heaven. Nambi's relations objected to the marriage because they said that the man did not know of any food except that which the cow yielded, and they despised him. Gulu their father, however, said they had better test Kintu before he consented to the marriage, and he accordingly sent and robbed Kintu of his cow. For a time Kintu was at a loss what to eat, but managed to find different kinds of herbs and leaves which he cooked and ate. Nambi happened to see the cow and recognised it, and complaining that her brothers wished to kill the man she loved, she went to the earth and told Kintu where his cow was, and invited him to return with her to take it away. Kintu consented to go, and when he reached Heaven he was greatly surprised to see how many people there were with houses, cows, goats, sheep, and fowls running about. When Nambi's brothers saw Kintu sitting with their sister at her house, they went and told their father, who ordered them to build a house for Kintu and said they were to give him a further testing to see whether he was worthy of their sister. An enormous meal was cooked, enough food for a hundred people, and brought to Kintu, who was told that unless he ate it all he would be killed as an impostor; failure to eat it, they said, would be proof that he was not the great Kintu. He was then shut up in a house and left. After he had eaten and drunk as much as he wished, he was at a loss to know what to do with the rest of the food; fortunately he discovered a deep hole in the floor of the house, so he turned all the food and beer into it and covered it over so that no one could detect the place. He then called the people outside to come and take away the baskets. The sons of Gulu came in, but would not believe he had eaten all the food, they therefore searched the house, but failed to find it. They went to their father and told him that Kintu had eaten all the food. He was incredulous, and said he must be further tested; a copper axe was sent by Gulu, who said: "Go and cut me firewood from the rock, because I do not use ordinary firewood." When Kintu went with the axe he said to himself: "What am I to do? if I strike the rock, the axe will only turn its edge or rebound." However, after he had examined the rock he found there were cracks in it, so he broke off pieces

and returned with them to Gulu, who was surprised to get them ; still he said Kintu must be further tried before they gave their consent to the marriage. Kintu was next sent to fetch water and told he must bring dew only, because Gulu did not drink water from wells. Kintu took the water-pot and went off to a field where he put the pot down and began to ponder what he was to do to collect the dew. He was sorely puzzled, but upon returning to the pot he found it full of water, so he carried it back to Gulu. Gulu was most surprised and said, "This man is a wonderful being ; he shall have his cow back and marry my daughter." Kintu was told he was to pick his cow from the herd and take it ; this was a more difficult task than the others, because there were so many cows like his own he feared he would mistake it and take the wrong one. While he was thus perplexed a large bee came and said : "Take the one upon whose horns I shall alight ; it is yours." The next morning he went to the appointed place and stood and watched the bee which was resting on a tree near him ; a large herd of cows was brought before him, and he pretended to look for his cow, but in reality he watched the bee, which did not move. After a time Kintu said, "My cow is not there." A second herd was brought, and again he said, "My cow is not there." A third much larger herd was brought, and the bee flew at once and rested upon a cow which was a very large one, and Kintu said, "That is my cow." The bee then flew to another cow, and Kintu said, "That is one of the calves from my cow," and so on to a second and third which he claimed as the calves that had been born during the cow's stay with Gulu. Gulu was delighted with Kintu and said : "You are truly Kintu, take your cows ; no one can deceive or rob you, you are too clever for that." He called Nambi and said to Kintu, "Take my daughter who loves you, marry her and go back to your home." Gulu further said : "You must hurry away and go back before Death (Walumbe) comes, because he will want to go with you and you must not take him ; he will only cause you trouble and unhappiness." Nambi agreed to what her father said and went to pack up her things. Kintu and Nambi then took leave of Gulu, who said : "Be sure if you have forgotten anything not to come back, because Death

will want to go with you and you must go without him." They started off home, taking with them, besides Nambi's things and the cows, a goat, a sheep, a fowl, and a plantain-tree. On the way Nambi remembered that she had forgotten the grain for the fowl, and said to Kintu, "I must go back for the grain for the fowl, or it will die." Kintu tried to dissuade her, but in vain; she said: "I will hurry back and get it without anyone seeing me." He said: "Your brother Death will be on the watch and see you." She would not listen to her husband, but went back and said to her father, "I have forgotten the grain for the fowl, and I am come to take it from the doorway where I put it." He replied: "Did I not tell you that you were not to return if you forgot anything, because your brother Death would see you, and want to go with you? Now he will accompany you." She tried to steal away without Death, but he followed her: when she rejoined Kintu, he was angry at seeing Death, and said: "Why have you brought your brother with you? who can live with him?" Nambi was sorry, so Kintu said: "Let us go on and see what will happen." When they reached the earth Nambi planted her garden, and the plantains grew rapidly, and she soon had a large plantain-grove at Manyagalya. They lived happily for some time and had a number of children, until one day Death asked Kintu to send one of his children to be his cook; Kintu replied, "If Gulu comes and asks me for one of my children, what am I to say to him? shall I tell him that I have given her to be your cook?" Death was silent and went away, but he again asked for a child to be his cook, and again Kintu refused to send one of his daughters, so Death said, "I will kill them." Kintu, who did not know what he meant, asked, "What is it you will do?" In a short time, however, one of the children fell ill and died, and from that time they began to die at intervals. Kintu returned to Gulu and told him about the deaths of the children, and accused Death of being the cause. Gulu replied, "Did I not tell you when you were going away to go at once with your wife and not to return if you had forgotten anything, but you allowed Nambi to return for the grain? Now you have Death living with you: had you obeyed me you would have been free from

him and not lost any of your children." After some further entreaty, Gulu sent Kaikuzi, the brother of Death, to assist Nambi, and to prevent Death from killing the children. Kaikuzi went to the earth with Kintu and was met by Nambi, who told him her pitiful story; he said he would call Death and try to dissuade him from killing the children. When Death came to greet his brother they had quite a warm and affectionate meeting, and Kaikuzi told him he had come to take him back, because their father wanted him. Death said, "Let us take our sister too," but Kaikuzi said he was not sent to take her, because she was married and had to stay with her husband. Death refused to go without his sister, and Kaikuzi was angry with him and ordered him to do as he was told. Death, however, escaped from Kaikuzi's grip and fled away into the earth. For a long time there was enmity between the two brothers; Kaikuzi tried in every possible way to catch his brother Death, who always escaped. At last Kaikuzi told the people to remain in their houses for several days and not let any of the animals out, and he would have a final hunt for Death. He further told them that if they saw Death they must not call out nor raise the usual cry (ndulu) of fear. The instructions were followed for two or three days, and Kaikuzi got his brother to come out of the earth and was about to capture him, when some children took their goats to the pasture and saw Death and called out. Kaikuzi rushed to the spot and asked why they called, and was told they had seen Death; he was angry, because Death had again gone into the earth; so he went to Kintu and told him he was tired of hunting Death and wanted to return home; he also complained that the children had frightened Death into the earth again. Kintu thanked Kaikuzi for his help and said he feared nothing more could be done, and hoped Death would not kill all the people. From that time Death has lived upon the earth and killed people whenever he could, and then escaped into the earth at Tanda in Singo.

*The Story of Mpobe*

There was once a hunter named Mpobe, who was an expert in hunting the edible rat (musu). One day as he was sitting in his house, he saw a friend, Omuzizi, come running towards him, who said, "Come and let us hunt the rat." Mpobe agreed to go and took his hunting net and his dogs, and they went off together to the place where the game was known to abound. Omuzizi told Mpobe to stop at a certain place while he went on to fix the net to catch the animals; when he had fixed it he called to Mpobe to let the dogs loose; the latter then fastened the bells to one dog and turned them loose. The dogs soon started a fine rat and went after it, but it turned and ran to one side where there was no one standing and no net to stop it. Mpobe said, "Never mind, the dogs will catch it," and he followed them, leaving his companions by the net. Omuzizi waited until sunset for Mpobe and then took the net and went home. The rat ran on and the dogs after it, and Mpobe after the dogs, until it entered a large hole, and the dogs dashed in after it; when Mpobe reached the hole he could hear the bells and followed the sound of them. They went on until the rat came to a number of people: it rushed past them with the dogs close after it. When Mpobe came up, he was surprised to see the people, a large garden, and many houses. He asked the people if they had seen his dogs; they replied that they had, and pointed out the way they had gone. So he followed, though he was afraid, and at length he came upon his dogs with the rat standing near an important looking person. Mpobe fell down before him and greeted him, and Death (for it was he) asked him where he came from. Mpobe answered that he came "from above" where he had been hunting, and told him how he had followed his dogs into the hole and on until he reached that spot. Death then asked him what he had seen since he entered his country. Mpobe said he had not had time to look about him, because he was so busy following the dogs. Death then told him to return to his home, and warned him not to tell anyone where he had been, nor to mention what he

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had seen; he said, "You must not tell your father, mother, wife, nor any of your brothers"; Mpobe promised to obey, and said he would not speak about the place. Death threatened him that if ever he did so he would kill him. Mpobe then returned home with his rat; his wife congratulated him upon his return, and went to cook his food. After the meal she asked her husband, "Have you been in the field all the time since you went away?" He replied, "Yes, I went to hunt the rat and stayed all night hunting it." His father came later on, and asked him where he had been hunting all the time. Mpobe replied, "I was in the field hunting all the time." After some days Mpobe's mother came to see him, and found him alone and asked him, "Were you really in the field all those days? What did you eat and drink?" Her son replied, "As I have said I was there, I am not going to tell you anything further, you can go and ask others and listen to what they say." She answered, "Mpobe, tell me just a little, please do." Mpobe answered, "I will tell you just a little, but do not tell anyone else." His mother promised she would not, so Mpobe told her how he followed his dogs, how he entered into the hole, and came to the land of the dead, where he saw numbers of people. He told her how fearful he was, how he asked the people to tell him the way the dogs had gone, how he had come upon Death and found his dogs and the rat, how he had been sent back with the rat, and how he thanked Death. He further told how Death had asked his name and warned him not to tell anyone his experiences on pain of death. His mother left him after hearing the story and returned home. In the evening when it was dark Mpobe heard someone calling him, "Mpobe! Mpobe!" and he replied, "I am here. What do you want?" Death said, "What did I tell you?" Mpobe said, "You told me not to tell what I had seen at your place, and, Sir, I have only told my Mother a little." Death said, "I will leave you time to settle up your affairs, you must die when you have expended your property." Mpobe was silent, he had nothing to answer. Death therefore repeated his words, so Mpobe answered, "Let me sell all I have, and live upon the proceeds before I die." He sold first his child and bought a cow with the money and killed it, and ate it

very slowly ; a year passed, and indeed many years before he had come to an end of all his property. Death called to him and asked if he had not consumed everything. Mpobe said he had not ; he tried to hide away in the forest where Death would not find him, but Death said, "Mpobe ! why are you hiding in the forest ? Do not think I cannot see you." He tried all kinds of different places wherein to hide, but Death always discovered him. At last he returned to his house and said, "Let me remain here and let Death come to me, because it is useless to try to hide from him." Death came and asked, "Mpobe, have you finished your wealth ?" He replied, "I have finished it all," so Death took him. Hence comes the saying, "To be worried into telling a secret killed Mpobe." If he had not told his Mother, Death would not have killed him.

### *The Leopard and the Hare*

Once upon a time there was a Leopard and a Hare. Mr. Leopard had cheated Mr. Hare of his goat. When Mr. Leopard could not find means to repay Mr. Hare, he asked him to go with him to visit some relations on the islands, where he might obtain a goat to refund him the debt. Mr. Leopard said to Mr. Hare, "Make up four parcels of food, because the part of the lake we have to cross is dangerous and unless you throw some food into it you cannot cross it safely. I will also take four parcels of food and throw them into the lake." Mr. Leopard, however, instead of tying up food, tied up four stones as parcels and took his food in a bag. When they had paddled some distance by canoe, Mr. Leopard said to Mr. Hare, "Throw over your food here"; so Mr. Hare threw his parcels into the lake. When they reached the island, and were walking up from the shore, Mr. Leopard said, "In the bag of a great person there never fails to be something to eat," and he took out some food and began to eat, but did not give his friend any. Mr. Hare perceived Mr. Leopard meant to starve him to death to escape paying his debt. When they had gone a little further, Mr. Leopard said, "When we are given beer to drink in the place to which we are going, you go and bring a beer-tube for us to

drink it with." Mr. Hare promised to do so. When they arrived at the garden, they were given some beer, and Mr. Hare went to bring a beer-tube, but when he came back he found Mr. Leopard had drunk the beer. In like manner when they were about to have a meal, Mr. Leopard said to Mr. Hare, "Go and bring a plantain stem for us to wash our hands with." Mr. Hare went, but by the time he came back with it, Mr. Leopard had eaten all the food without washing his hands. Mr. Hare was very angry, but said nothing. In the evening after dark Mr. Leopard slipped out quietly, unobserved, and went and stole a goat from the neighbours and killed and ate it; he took some of the blood and smeared it over the head and eyebrows of Mr. Hare as he was asleep. Early the next morning the people missed their goat and accused the visitors of having stolen it, because they traced the foot-marks to the house. Mr. Leopard came out, saying, "I know nothing about it, perhaps my companion does." When Mr. Hare came out, the blood was on his head, and he was accused, tried, condemned, and killed. Mr. Leopard professed the greatest indignation before the people, saying, "I will not go about with a thief; take him and kill him." When he returned home, Mr. Leopard made a long story and professed to be sorry for his companion who had thus been caught and killed. The brother of Mr. Hare did not believe the story, so he went to one of the gods (Lubare) and asked his advice, and was told how Mr. Leopard had brought about the death of Mr. Hare. The brother therefore went to Mr. Leopard and said, "You must pay me that debt now that my brother is dead." Mr. Leopard agreed to do so, and also expressed his sorrow for the death of the brother. Mr. Leopard said, "Let us go to the islands where my people live; they may help me to pay the debt." The Hare's brother agreed, and Mr. Leopard told him he must take four parcels of food to propitiate the lake spirit. Mr. Hare's brother had been warned of the trick, and so put stones into the parcels as the Leopard had done; he also put two very white cowry-shells into his bag and some food, and went off to meet Mr. Leopard at the lake. When they reached the place where Mr. Leopard said the rite had to be performed, they dropped their parcels into the lake, and then paddled on to the island. When they



arrived and were walking up from the lake, Mr. Leopard said, "In the bag of a great person there is never wanting food." The Hare's brother said "No," and put his hand into his bag and brought out some food, which when the Leopard saw he was very angry and said, "Eat mine also ; I don't like impertinent people." When they reached the border of the garden, Mr. Leopard said, "When we come to these people and they ask us to have beer, you must run and bring a beer-tube." Mr. Hare's brother thought for a moment what he could do to be even with Mr. Leopard, so he said, "I feel unwell, wait while I turn aside into the grass." He had, however, gone to cut a beer-tube, which he hid away in his clothing. When they reached the garden Mr. Leopard said, "When we are asked to have food you bring a plantain stem to wash our hands." Mr. Hare's brother said he would, but he must turn aside again, and while he was away he got the plantain stem and hid that also in his clothing. When they were given beer, Mr. Leopard said, "Bring a tube for us to drink the beer," so Mr. Hare's brother ran away to get it, and came back at once with it, saying, "Do you see how quickly I run? Here is the tube." When they were given food Mr. Leopard said, "Bring a plantain stem for us to wash our hands." Mr. Hare's brother ran off and came back almost at once, saying, "See how fast I run ; here it is." After sunset when they went to rest, Mr. Hare's brother took his two cowry-shells and fixed them on his eyes and went to bed. Presently Mr. Leopard slipped out quietly and stole a goat from their neighbours, which he killed and ate ; then he brought some of the blood to put on Mr. Hare's brother, but seeing the white shells shining he thought it was the open eyes and said, "Are you not asleep?" This waked Mr. Hare's brother and he replied, "No, I am not very well." Mr. Leopard went away for a time and then tried again, but again he found Mr. Hare's brother apparently awake, and stole back to his bed. By this time it was daylight and the people had missed their goat and followed the foot prints to the house in which the guests were. There they called out, saying, "The visitors have stolen our goat." Mr. Hare's brother ran out and said, "I am no thief ; examine me and see." When Mr. Leopard came out they saw the blood on his mouth and nails ; so he was tried and condemned to death.

Mr. Hare's brother said, "I will not go with a thief; let him be killed." Mr. Leopard was taken and killed, and Mr. Hare's brother was thus avenged of his brother's death.

### *The Cat and the Fowl*

At one time the fowls used to be lords of the wild cats, and made them their servants and employed them to supply them with food. Whenever a cat caught flying ants, the fowls demanded four-fifths of all they caught; this tax was paid in large packets of ants, which the cats had to tie up and bring before the fowls to let them see what spoil they had taken. The cats did not like this arrangement, and once or twice they wished to rebel, but were cowed by the fowls threatening to burn them with their combs. One day the cats' fire had gone out, and a mother cat sent one of the younger members of the family to the fowls to beg for fire. When the young cat arrived, he found the Cock very drunk and fast asleep, and the others away from home; he tried to wake him, but failed to do so; he therefore went back and told his mother. The mother said: "Go back again with some dry grass and put it to his comb and bring the fire"; so he went back and applied the grass to the comb, but there was no fire. The young cat returned to his mother and told her the grass would not take fire; the mother was angry and said, "You have not really tried, come along with me and do it again." When they went again, the cock was still asleep. They approached him very slowly, and touched the comb with the grass, and then blew on it to see if it was on fire, but there was never a spark; they felt if the comb was hot, putting their hands gently on it, though they were dreadfully afraid of being burnt. To their great surprise they found that the comb was quite cold, even though it was red; after feeling it they finally waked the fowl and told him they were not going to serve him any longer, they were tired of his rule. The fowl was angry and began to make a great noise, and tried to terrify the cats with threats, but they said, "We don't fear you; we have tested your comb while you were asleep and

know that it has no fire in it, and now we will kill you if you say anything more." The fowl saw that his empty boasting had been discovered, and from that time fowls have had to escape cats because of the enmity between them; for this reason fowls took refuge with man to be safe from cats.

### *The Lion and the Crocodile*

A lion and a crocodile once had a quarrel as to which was the stronger, and each maintained that he was the stronger; the one said, "I can kill the hippopotamus in the water," and the other said, "I can kill the buffalo on the dry land"; thus they were always disagreeing as to which was really the stronger. One day the lion stalked a buffalo by the lake, and just as he sprang upon it and was dragging it down, the crocodile slipped out from his hiding-place, caught hold of the buffalo by the leg, and dragging both the buffalo and the lion into the water drowned and ate them. The crocodile was then doubly sure of his strength, and when he next saw the lion's son he began to boast of his prowess, and say how much stronger he was than the lion; he also related how he killed the father of this young animal. The young lion was very angry, and waited his opportunity for revenge. One day the lion stalked a buffalo at a little distance from the lake; as soon as he sprang upon it the crocodile ran up, caught hold of the buffalo's leg and pulled, to drag them both into the water; the lion also tugged in the opposite direction, and soon the crocodile was overcome and killed; the lion was thus even with the crocodile, and avenged his father's death. From that time the lion and the crocodile have been said to be of equal strength, the one on dry land and the other in water.

### *The Dog and the Leopard*

It once happened that a leopard and a dog were very great friends; the leopard was, however, the owner of the house in which they lived; the dog was treated more as a servant than a friend by the leopard and his wife. When

the rainy season came on, the leopard said to the dog : " Let us go and see our ant-hillocks, whether the ants are about to swarm, because the year is ended." The dog agreed, and they went to examine the hillocks and found them showing signs of swarming ; they therefore made their preparations and soon caught a large quantity of ants, which they took home and the leopard's wife cooked, and they had a sumptuous meal. Those which were over they fried, and dried in the sun. The leopard afterwards said, " I will take four bundles of these ants we have dried in the sun to my wife's relations " ; the dog agreed, and they settled the day upon which they should go. Early in the morning of the appointed day the leopard dressed in his best clothes and took his harp, because he was an expert player, and said to the dog, " You carry the ants." The dog made the bundles into a load, put them on his head, and started off after the leopard. On the way they met some people they knew and greeted them ; their friends asked them where they were going, and the leopard replied, " I am going to see my wife's relations." They asked him to play a tune on his harp, which he did, and sang : " I have a load of white ants like that which the dog carries ; I have a load of white ants like that which the dog carries." Their friends thanked the leopard for the tune and song, and took leave of him, and went on their way, and the leopard and the dog went on their way. After a time the dog said, " Sir, I feel unwell ; I must run aside into the grass." The leopard said, " All right, go," and waited in the road for him. While in the grass the dog ate all the ants and filled the packets with dry grass, and returned after tying them up as before ; they then went on their way. After a time the dog said to the leopard, " Sir, lend me the harp that I may play and sing as we walk." The leopard did so, and the dog played and sang, " A load of rubbish for my wife's relations ; a load of rubbish for my wife's relations." The leopard thanked the dog for his song, and said, " You played very well," to which the dog replied, " Thank you, sir." When they reached their destination, the leopard greeted his wife's relations and asked how they were ; they also asked how the leopard and his wife and relations were, but they took no notice of the dog. The

leopard's relatives then brought out their pipes and gave the leopard one to smoke, but they ignored the dog ; after a time the dog walked away, and as soon as he got out of sight he ran away as fast as he could. After a while the leopard said he had brought them some ants to eat, and began to untie the parcels, but to his utter surprise and annoyance he found nothing but dry grass ; he was very angry and ashamed, and called for the dog, but the dog had gone. When the leopard discovered how the dog had played him a trick and escaped, he went to the deity and consulted him as to how he should act. The deity answered, "When you beat the drums for twin dances the dog will come." Some time later the leopard's wife gave birth to twins, and the leopard's friends and relations came together and beat the drums for the twins, and danced ; the sheep also came to the dance. As they danced they sang : "Who will show me the dog ? Who will show me the dog ?" Others took up the refrain and waved their tails, saying, "There is no dog here, there is no dog here." Late in the evening the sheep went home and told the dog about the dance, and what a wonderful entertainment it was. The dog replied : "I am sorry I was not there to see it all." The sheep said : "In the morning I will put you into my tail and take you." The next morning the sheep put the dog into his tail, and they went to the dance ; when the drums beat they all sang : "Show me the dog. Who will show me the dog ?" Others answered, "Here there is no dog, here there is no dog." In the evening, when the drums were sounding loudly, the sheep became excited and danced and sang, and waved his tail so violently that the dog slipped out and fell to the ground ; he immediately ran away, and again escaped. The leopard was very angry and caught the sheep and killed him. The dog ran off to Mr. Man and lived with him. Now, whenever a leopard meets a dog, he kills it if he can. From that time, too, there has been enmity between the leopard and the dog, and also between the sheep and the leopard because the sheep shielded the dog.

*The Lioness and the Cow*

There were once a lioness and a cow living near to each other, though not in the same house ; the lioness gave birth to a female lion, and the cow gave birth to a bull-calf. When the two children grew up the cow's child was a mischievous child, while the lioness's child was gentle and meek. After a time the cow and the lioness dug a well, and got it into splendid order ; the lion said to the cow : " We have an excellent well, but you can't imagine how full of mischief your son is, so please warn him lest he come and spoil our well, and cause us to quarrel and end our friendship." The cow readily agreed to do so. Soon after this the lioness went away to buy food, and asked the cow to look after her child while she was away. The cow consented to do so, and the two children played together near the house for some time. Presently they went further away and came to the well ; the calf first knocked some dirt into it, and after further play he pushed the baby lioness into the well and she was drowned. The calf ran home to his mother and said his companion had fallen into the well and was drowned. The cow said : "The lioness will surely kill me for this ; let us run away " ; so they packed hastily, and ran away to the bushbuck and hid with him. The bushbuck made them welcome and promised to butt the lioness and drive her away should she come. When the lioness came back from purchasing her food she found the house empty, and went on to the cow's house, but that was also empty. So she hunted about and called, but got no reply. After a prolonged search she came upon the body of her child in the well, and wept bitterly and bemoaned her loss. She then hunted the cow and at length came to the bushbuck, calling, "Whose, whose ? " To this the bushbuck answered, "Yours, yours." The bushbuck said to the cow, "Run away, you will cause me my death ; run away to the antelope." The cow did so, and hid there for a time ; but when the lioness came to the antelope and asked for the cow, the antelope said, "Run away, you are bringing me into trouble and will cause my death." The cow fled to the elephant and hid with him, but when the

lioness came and discovered her and roared, the elephant said, "Run away from here, you are bringing me into trouble and will be the cause of my death," so again she had to flee. It thus came about that the cow had constantly to run away from the lioness, and was always in fear. One day as she was fleeing away, she met a Wakasanke bird who asked her why she was always running away in this manner ; the cow answered : " Because my child killed the lioness's child and she wants to kill me, and I am looking for a place where I may be safe from her wrath." The Wakasanke replied : " Stay with me, I will frighten the lioness and drive her away." The cow gladly agreed, and stayed. Wakasanke made his preparations to receive the lioness. He first brought a flower of the plantain, which is shaped like the heart of an animal and of a reddish-brown colour, this he put ready ; he then milked some milk into a pot and put that near ; he next drew a pot of blood from the cow and put that also ready ; when all his preparations were made he waited. After a time the lioness came and cried, " Whose, whose ?" Wakasanke answered, " Mine, mine," and took the pot of blood and dashed it on the lioness's breast and said, " I have killed you, is not this your blood ?" He struck the lioness with the flower, shouting, " Is not that your heart ? I have killed you." He then took the pot of milk and dashed it with all his force upon the lioness's head, saying, " Let me crush in your head and brains and finish you off." In this way he so terrified the lioness that she thought it was her blood, and she rushed away leaving the cow in peace. Thus Wakasanke proved too skilful for the lioness, and ever since the Wakasanke birds have lived about cows, and every herdsman when he goes to milk his cow, first milks a little on the ground to commemorate the action of the Wakasanke bird. From that time whenever a lion meets a cow it tries to kill it.

*Sesota, the Large Snake*

Once upon a time there was a python named Kalungu ; he was a very large python, and very fierce, and killed all the people in that part of the country : no one was able to destroy

him. It came to pass that the King called all his people to a reception, and when they came they told him the news about the big serpent. The King asked why they did not send people to kill it, and they said they had sent many men, but it had killed them all. One man rose up and said, "I will kill it, my lord." The King asked how he would do it. He said "My lord, give me a water-pot, some beads, some copper and some ivory bracelets, and a boy to carry them, and I will kill it." The King ordered the things to be given to the man and ordered a boy to carry them for him. The man, the boy, and a servant set out; the servant blew a horn and sang: "The great snake, the great snake, it has killed my father and my mother, it is there at Kalungu, and I am come to make war, to fight for revenge and satisfaction." When they arrived at Kalungu there was no one about, because the python had killed everyone. They went into an empty house and the man ordered the boy to put the pot in the doorway, while the other man went on blowing the horn and singing: "The large snake, the large snake, it killed my father, it killed my mother, and I am come for the satisfaction of my race." The snake answered thus: "Ah, I am here my friend; ah, I am here to finish off the people." When the man heard it singing he said to the boy, "Sit on one side of the doorway and I will sit on the other side." The snake came singing up to the doorway, and when it arrived the man bowed down and said: "My lord, the King has sent me to greet you." The python asked, "How is he?" The man said, "He is very well, he has sent you a present which is in the water-pot, it is for you to wear to make you look pretty." The python was pleased to hear this, and the man continued, "Look, sir, into the pot and take the present." The python put its head into the pot to take the bracelets and then entered in entirely, and the man covered the pot at once, and called the boy to pick it up and carry it back to the capital to the King. When they arrived at Court the man was announced to the King by the gate-keeper, who said: "The man who went to kill the python has come, and brought it with him in the water-pot." The King sent for the man, who gave him a full account of the method by which he caught the snake. The King then gave orders to have a large quantity of firewood collected, and they burned the python in



the pot ; afterwards the King called the man, and said : " I will give you the garden of Kalungu which the python spoiled." He made him the chief of it, and gave him a number of women and cattle, and he became a noted chief. When the man died the garden became his son's property and a family estate.

*Kiwobe and his Sheep*

Once upon a time there was a man named Kiwobe who had a sheep, and an only son named Kakange. One day Kiwobe went out to visit a friend, and the sheep said to the boy Kakange : " Kiwobe said when you saw the sun shining you were to take me out to the pasture ; what are you doing ? Are you waiting until it is evening to take me out ? " When the man returned home, his son told him what the sheep had said. Kiwobe said, " My child, why do you tell lies ? Can a sheep talk like a man ? " The boy said : " If you think I am telling you lies, pretend you are going away, and after going a little distance, turn back and hide near the door and listen, and you will hear it speak." Kiwobe did as the boy had suggested ; he hid near the house, and after a short time the sheep called to the boy and asked : " What did Kiwobe tell you ? " The boy replied : " He said, ' When you see the sun shining untie the sheep, and take it out to the pasture.' " The sheep said, " Well, what do you see now ? " When Kiwobe heard it, he went and told his companions, saying he was at a loss what to do because his sheep spoke like a man. His companions advised him to cut a palm-pole, bring it, and drop it upon the sheep and kill it. Kiwobe brought the pole as they suggested, and dropped it by the sheep ; the sheep, however, sprang aside and escaped, and said to Kiwobe, " Do you want to kill me ? I will not blame you this time, because you are tired." When Kiwobe saw he had failed to kill the sheep he left the place secretly, and went to live elsewhere leaving the sheep tied in the house ; he had also forgotten to take with him his axe-handle. The sheep took the axe-handle and followed the man along the road and found him at a dance. It said to the people dancing, " What kind of a

dance is this?" and at once began to dance and sing: "This is coming, yes, but not arrived; this is coming, yes, but not arrived." As it was dancing it saw its master Kiwobe, and went to him and said, "My brother, why did you leave me in the house? you also left your axe-handle which I have brought." All the people at the dance were greatly surprised to hear the sheep speak, but Kiwobe fled away and the sheep ran after him, and they both arrived together at the house. Kiwobe then agreed with his wife that she should kill the sheep when he went away for a walk. The sheep, however, overheard the man tell his wife to kill it, and when Kiwobe had gone it caught the woman and killed her. It then cut her up and cooked her, and took her clothes and put them on. When Kiwobe returned he asked his wife if she had killed the sheep, and it replied, "Yes; and I am cooking it now." Kiwobe said, "Dish up the food," and the sheep did so, and the man sat down to eat his meal. When Kiwobe was eating his son came up and said to him, "Sir, that which brings your food is the sheep, it has killed your wife and cooked her." When Kiwobe heard this he rose up, and got his spear to kill the sheep, but it fled away and escaped during the night. This is the reason why women never eat mutton.

#### *Sifirwakange and Kasokambirye*

It happened once upon a time that a man Sifirwakange (I will not lose mine), who lived in Singo and who had two cows, had two visitors come to him to ask him to assist them and lend them some money, because they were in debt; he lent them the amount they required, and they went off saying to one another, "He will never find us again." As the men did not return, Sifirwakange set out and hunted all Uganda to discover them, and at last he found them. They were surprised and said: "We thought that by coming here you would never find us again, and we said we would never refund the money. However, here it is, take it." When they had refunded the money and Sifirwakange had gone, they told Kasokambirye (Since I ate them) of Kyagwe about the

money. They said, "That man will never lose his money." Kasokambirye said, "Let me go and borrow from him, and return home and see if he can find me." He therefore set out and went to Singo to Sifirwakange, and greeted him. Sifirwakange called his wife and told her to cook a meal for the stranger. Kasokambirye said, "My friend, I do not know you, but when I heard of your kindness I determined to find you, and have come because I am in debt and it is pressing heavily upon me; I beg you will give me a cow, and I will repay you later on when I can obtain one." Sifirwakange said "I cannot refuse to lend it to you, therefore take the cow and pay your debt." Kasokambirye thanked him and set off home to his wife; when he arrived he told her he had borrowed the cow from Sifirwakange, and added, "He does not know where our house is." He therefore proposed to kill and eat the cow. At the end of five months Sifirwakange said to his wife: "I want to go to Kasokambirye and ask him to repay his debt." His wife asked him: "Do you know where he lives?" He replied: "Even though I do not know I will find him." Sifirwakange set out, and went to Kyagwe and found Kasokambirye sitting in the shade of his doorway; when he saw Sifirwakange he slipped away into a bundle of firewood. Sifirwakange pretended he had not seen Kasokambirye, and asked the man's wife, "Where is your husband?" She said, "He went away a long time ago and I do not know where he has gone." Sifirwakange said, "Let me take this bundle of fire-wood and go and make a fire, because I have no firewood." As he took it up Kasokambirye came out. Sifirwakange said, "My friend, is this the way you behave when you are sought for debt? you turn into a bundle of firewood." Kasokambirye said, "I live in firewood." Sifirwakange said, "I have come for my cow." Kasokambirye said, "Do not be angry about it, I will restore it in two days." Sifirwakange returned to the place where he was staying, and waited two days and then returned. When he was nearing the house he saw Kasokambirye eating his food. When the latter saw Sifirwakange coming, he entered into the plantain food; Sifirwakange drew near and asked Kasokambirye's wife where her husband was, she replied "He has gone

to look for your cow." Sifirwakange said, "He told me to come to-day and promised to give it to me, and you say he has gone away." The woman replied, "Come again in the morning and see him." Sifirwakange agreed to do so, but said, "Give me some food." The woman offered him some, which he refused and said, "I want that basket of food which is near you." The woman had no excuse for refusing it, and he took it away. As he was about to eat it Kasokambirye called out, "Don't eat me," to which Sifirwakange answered, "Your wife told me you had gone away, and here you have hidden in the food." Kasokambirye laughed and said, "There is no deceiving you; remain here and my wife will bring the cow." The woman was sent and brought the cow and gave it to Sifirwakange, who also laughed and said, "You thought you were going to be too sharp for me and escape by your magical skill." Kasokambirye told his wife to cook a meal which they ate together and Sifirwakange returned home. When he arrived he said to his wife, "I have come with my cow," to which she answered, "I congratulate you upon your return, and also in bringing back the cow, which I did not expect you would find."

### *The Hare and the Elephant*

Once upon a time the hare gave a dance and the elephant came to it, and the two danced together, but the hare danced better than the elephant. The hare said to the elephant, "Your movements are too slow, owing to your great size; if you would only let me cut off some of the flesh from your hips you might dance better." The elephant caught at the suggestion and added: "You come and cut off the flesh as you think best, so that I may be a good dancer." Mr. Hare took a sharp knife and cut off a large quantity of flesh from Mr. Elephant and left him. This made Mr. Elephant very ill, and he called in Mr. Bushbuck to help him. He said, "Go to Mr. Hare and ask him to send back my flesh, because I shall die without it." Mr. Bushbuck went to Mr. Hare and asked him for Mr. Elephant's flesh. Mr. Hare asked him, "You who

are sent for the flesh, will you not first have a meal?" Mr. Bushbuck said he would, so Mr. Hare gave him some of the meat from Mr. Elephant to eat. Mr. Bushbuck said, "This is very good meat, where did you get it?" Mr. Hare said, "It comes from the hill, from a place frequented by this kind of animal." Mr. Bushbuck said, "Let us go and hunt them." Mr. Hare consented, and they went to the place. Mr. Hare said, "You stop and catch them here, and I will go further on. When you hear a little rumbling noise keep your head in, but when it is loud push your head out." Mr. Bushbuck did so; when there was a small noise he kept his head well in, but when it became loud he looked out, and was struck by the rolling stone, which killed him. Mr. Hare then came along, saying, "My friend, where are you? Why do you hide away?" When he reached the place he saw that Mr. Bushbuck was dead, so he lifted up the body, took it home, cooked and ate it. Mr. Hare did this every day with the messengers who were sent to him by Mr. Elephant. After a time Mr. Elephant sent Mr. Leopard, and Mr. Hare made the same proposals and gave the same advice he had given Mr. Bushbuck; but Mr. Leopard was too shrewd to be caught easily, and when he heard the noise of the rolling stone he kept his head well in, and it rolled past him. He then pretended to be dead, and Mr. Hare came round and said, "My friend, what has killed you?" So he examined the body, and thinking the leopard was dead he took it up and carried it home. When he had made his preparations for cutting it up and was about to begin, Mr. Leopard jumped up, and said, "This is what you do daily, is it, you kill the foolish?" Mr. Hare fled as fast as he could and Mr. Leopard chased him, but could not catch him. Mr. Hare crossed a river and then turned back immediately and recrossed it, and met Mr. Leopard, who was running to the river; the latter did not recognise Mr. Hare, because he was so wet, and asked him, "Did you meet Mr. Hare on the other side?" He replied, "No, we have been hunting the King's leopards from early morning and have caught ten, and you have escaped." When Mr. Leopard heard this he ran back to Mr. Elephant, but only to find him dead.

*Ndyakubi and Ndalakubi*

Once a man named Ndyakubi made blood-brotherhood with another man named Ndalakubi. Ndalakubi said to Ndyakubi, "Come and see me when you can." Ndyakubi agreed to do so, and after a time he went. Ndalakubi told his wife to cook a special meal for the visitor, which she did, and took the food to him, but it was not enough; he said he was still hungry when he had eaten what they supplied. Ndalakubi told his wife to cook a larger quantity of food, so she cooked as much as five men would eat and brought it to Ndyakubi, who ate it and still complained that he had not had enough. Ndalakubi told his wife to go to their friends and ask if they could help them, because all their food was finished. She went and brought back the food, cooked as much as would suffice a hundred men, and still Ndyakubi said he was not satisfied. Ndalakubi said, "I am sorry, but all my food is done." Ndyakubi said, "Very well, brother, I must go hungry, and die by the roadside from starvation." Some time after this Ndalakubi went to see how Ndyakubi was. When he arrived Ndyakubi sent his wife to cook for the visitor, and she brought the food to Ndalakubi, who ate a little. Later on he asked where he was to sleep. Ndyakubi said, "I will let you have my bedstead." "But," said Ndalakubi, "there is no room for me to stretch myself." Ndyakubi took out a post from the house to make room for Ndalakubi. They then retired to rest, but Ndalakubi called out: "My friend, my feet are still outside," so Ndyakubi sent his wife to his friends and asked for reeds, and made an extension to the house, and they lay down again. Again Ndalakubi called, "My friend, my feet are still outside; the wild animals will eat me." Ndyakubi said, "What am I to do? All the reeds are done and I have no timber to build with." Ndalakubi said, "When you came to visit me I had an immense amount of food cooked for you and you ate it all and still complained, and afterwards said: 'Let me go away and die in the road,' when I failed to satisfy you; what I say now is, Let the wild beasts come and eat me." Ndyakubi said, "No, my friend, curl yourself up and draw your

legs inside and do not stretch yourself your full length, and when I come to your house I will eat a little and be satisfied. I am sorry for what I did." Ndalakubi said, "You did not say so before when I told you I was sorry the food ran short, you simply complained and grumbled. Now let me draw up my legs, and when you visit me again, eat properly and do not complain."

*Why the Bats hang Head downwards and only Fly  
by Night*

In the beginning of the world the King called the people together to receive their chieftainships. He sent out messengers to call them, and among others he sent the dove to call the moon, and the bat to call the sun. Each messenger was given a certain time to go and return, so that they might all arrive together. The dove went and called the moon and brought her, and the King said, "I will give you the office the sun should have had, namely, that of shining by night to rule it, and when you first shine people will beat their drums and blow their trumpets; they will also bring out their fetiches for you to see them, and the fetiches of twins. These are the honours I give you." After giving the moon her office and honours the King waited for the bat to bring the sun, but as he did not come he sent the dove to look for her and bring her. The dove went and returned with the sun; then the King said, "Because you have delayed so long I have given to the moon the office I meant to have given to you. Now I will give you the office of showing people the way to walk about." It was on this account that the sun hated the bat, because he loitered on the way when sent to call him, and outran the appointed time given by the King. The sun said to the bat, "Never look upon me again, neither you nor your children, because when you do I will kill you." On this account the bat always rests with his head downwards and looks at the ground and never flies during the daytime.

*Wokubira Omulalu mu Kyama*

A very long time ago there was a King who called Walukaga, the chief of his smiths, and gave him a great quantity of iron and said: "I want you to make a real man for me, one who can walk and talk, and who has blood in his body, and who has brains." Walukaga took the iron and went home, but he was at a loss what to do, and no one could advise him how to set about making the real man. He went about among his friends telling them what the King had said, and asked what he had better do. No one was able to give him any advice; they all knew that the King would not accept anything short of an honest trial, and would punish the man for not carrying out his commands. On the way home one day Walukaga met a former friend who had gone mad, and who lived alone on some waste land. Walukaga did not know he was mad until he met him. When they approached each other, Walukaga greeted his old friend, and the madman asked him where he had come from. Walukaga reasoned for a moment and then said to himself: "Why should I not tell him my story? Even though he is mad, he used to be my friend." So he answered: "I have come from some friends where I have been trying to get advice." The madman asked what advice he wanted, and Walukaga told him all the King had said, and the work he had given him to do, and how he had given him the iron, and then added: "What am I to do?" The madman answered: "If the King has told you to do this work go to him and say, that if he really wishes to have a nice man forged he is to order all the people to shave their heads and burn the hair until they have made up a thousand loads of charcoal, and he is to get one hundred large pots of water from the tears of the people with which to slake the fire and keep it from burning too fiercely." Walukaga returned to the King and said to him: "My Lord, if you wish me to make this man quickly and well, order the people to shave their heads and burn the hair, and make a thousand loads of charcoal out of it for me to work the iron into the man. Further, make



them collect a hundred pots full of tears to act as water for the work, because the charcoal from wood and the ordinary water from wells are of no use for forging a man." The King agreed to the request and gave the order to all the people to shave their heads and burn the hair into charcoal, and to collect all the tears. When they had all shaved their heads and burnt their hair, there was not nearly one load of charcoal, and when they had collected all the tears there were not two pots full of water. When the King saw the results of his endeavours he sent for the smith Walukaga, and said to him: "Don't trouble to make the man, because I am unable to get the charcoal or the tears for the water." Walukaga knelt down and thanked the King; he then added, "My Lord, it was because I knew you would be unable to get the hair for charcoal and the tears for the water that I asked for them; you had asked me to do an impossible thing." All the people present laughed and said: "Walukaga speaks the truth."

## PROVERBS

*Bya kuno tasenguka, agoba abaja.*

A grumbler does not leave his master, he only stops others from coming to serve him.

*Kyakula ndaba, enyanja eta muvubi.*

The man who grows up by the sea is drowned at last.

*Oguli omwa muno tegugoba ngo.*

The stick which is at your friend's house will not drive away the leopard.

(A stick at a distance is of no use in an emergency.)

*Akunonya amewola takunonya masasula.*

A borrower only seeks you in order that he may borrow, and not to repay you.

*Lubare mbera ngotadeko nembiro.*

The god (*Lubare*) helps you when you put forth your running powers.

*Atamanya naku akuziyoza mulyango.*

He who has not suffered does not know how to pity.

*Akuise enkeya, omuise egulo.*

He who passes you in the morning, you will pass him in the evening.

*Banange bangi nga tonagwa wabi.*

You have many friends as long as you are prosperous (not fallen into disgrace).

*Namakabirye aja enjala.*

He who has two places where he seeks his food is likely to die from hunger (because at each home the wife will expect him to go to the other for his food and so will not cook for him).

*Atamanya mperwo ye magombe.*

He who does not know the cold of the other world.

The grave and the next world are thought to be very cold, and in consequence the people place numbers of barkcloths for the ghost in the grave, and cover it again, when the earth is filled in, with thatch or plantain leaves to keep off the cold. In like manner, a person who does not understand the amount of work some task entails will send too few workmen to do it, or when he does not understand the value of a thing will send too small a sum to purchase it, like the man who only puts a little thatch on the grave.

*Emwanyi gyewasiga tebemu mulawa.*

The coffee-berry you plant has no outward sign of decay. Outside it looks sound, but inside it may be rotten. So a person may seem to be a true friend, but has no real regard for you.

*Endegi ziba nyingi negyomba.*

Many bells on the legs make a loud sound. Many people make short work of a task.

*Balubuliza mabazi, nga buli ku mudo lugaya.*

The thin cow goes on eating the grass while they are asking for the axe to kill it. That is, a sick cow goes on eating even when preparations are being made to kill it, quite regardless of the danger of death. A careless man who does not heed a warning is like such a cow.

*Kanselewo egoye, omuwabuta yalisalirawo Bubiwo.*

Let me cut the difficult knot, as the wizard did at Bubiwo.

There was a chief whose son was said to have been killed by witchcraft. A man was caught and accused; he, however,

denied the deed and was put to the poison ordeal. Everyone was so sure he was the culprit that a fire was made ready to burn him after the trial. When the poison was brought to him he refused to drink it and said: "Let me settle the point," which he did by jumping into the lake and was drowned.

*Enyumba kisaka.*

The *kisaka* house. The *kisaka* is a thicket in the forest which, like an ordinary house, conceals what is in it, and the passer-by does not know that an animal hides in it until he has passed and the animal has sprung upon him. Some people look all right outwardly, but are waiting their opportunity to catch the unwary.

*Onjagala lususuto lwebagala mulekwa mulumbe.*

You appear and pretend to like me, as the orphan child is loved while still mourning for its father.

People come to pity the child and speak sympathetically to it while there is hope of getting some of the things left by the deceased, but when they have got all they can, they forget the child.

*Najukiranga nenseka, ngasigwe bakigambye.*

When I remember it I laugh, because it is not I who am concerned.

We can laugh at some calamity which happens to another, but if it were our own, it would be no laughing matter.

*Gwekitaliride nyina, uti kabukya.*

When it is not your mother who is in danger of being eaten by the wild animal, the matter can wait until the morrow. When it is some evil happening to someone not related to us we can leave the matter until to-morrow, and not be in a hurry.

*Sebuko bunafa.*

When relationship is not dead.

When a man loves his wife, and they are happy together, he also loves to see her relations, and is glad to welcome them as visitors; he entertains them, giving them his best. When there is no love between husband and wife, the husband does not want to see his wife's relations, nor to have the expense of entertaining them.

*Lumbe musolo.*

Death is like a wild animal.

Whenever death finds a person it kills him.

*Tuli bange tanuna mulirye.*

We are many, and he does not derive the strength from his fetich.

It is the custom for the warrior to put his fetich to his lips before going into battle, and draw in a long breath from it so as to drink in its strength and be nerved and secure against the foe. In a large army a warrior is apt to neglect this precaution and trust to the numerical strength of force, so that he is killed in the battle.

*Kirimulala, Omusigire teyegulira ngabo.*

When there is peace in the country the bailiff does not buy a shield.

The bailiff trusts to the continuance of peace, and taking no precautions against war, is caught unprepared.

*Kizezengere, kita wamputu.*

The insect *kizezengere* kills the person who neglects the warning.

The insect makes a noise by night if there is any person or any animal about, so that when a person hears it he knows there is danger and can take another path; he thus escapes the trap or the wild animal, whereas if he neglects the warning and goes on, he will, in all probability, be caught and killed.

*Nsambu yewala.*

The maize garden is at a distance.

Maize is a food easily cooked in an emergency, for an unexpected visitor, and therefore the garden in which it is grown should be near at hand. If it is at a distance, and the visitor has to wait until the hostess fetches the food and cooks it, its value is lost; it is as if a person said: "I would like to help you, but my goods are elsewhere; I cannot do so now."

*Agya amangi yagamanya kyegedira.*

He who has many fetiches knows the use of the taboos of each.

The owner knows that certain fetiches must not be touched after he has eaten certain foods, and each must be used for

some particular purpose. In like manner, the person who has to do with many people soon learns to discern their peculiarities and knows to whom to apply and whom to avoid in any emergency.

*Agya erya na mere teyekanya bagenyi.*

He who obtains his food through the medium of the fetiches he possesses must not be angry because he has many visitors to help him eat it. Through his skill in obtaining the right fetiches he has secured a plentiful supply of food, and so numbers of people visit him because of the good food and the abundance of it.

*Tabalamule.*

He does not separate them.

The man who, seeing people at strife, urges them on to fight that he may enjoy the fun, is no peacemaker.

*Omulungi ye mwanyina abagni.*

The beautiful woman is the sister of many.

That is a good-looking woman has many admirers, who claim to be related to her in order to be able to visit her and make love to her.

*Abantu magoma gavuga aliwo.*

The drum beats for the office, and not for the person who holds it. People are attracted by honour and office more than by the person who holds it.

*Abonabona nomulwade.*

He who suffers with the sick person.

The person who takes trouble, nurses, and toils for the sufferer, is not always the person who succeeds him.

*Eka tefa etusa mugenyi.*

No one dies in the house when the stranger arrives.

When a man is beating his wife and a stranger arrives, he is able to stop him before he kills her. Or when a man is very ill and the medicine-man arrives, he helps the sick person and averts inevitable death.

*Omubi tavawo.*

The despised person is ever present.

*Kitunda kya muwogo.*

A branch of the casava tree.

Branches of this tree when thrown aside readily take root, and grow and yield fruit ; in the same way a despised person often brings glory to the nation.

*Meme Katale.*

The heart is a market-place.

A person goes in and looks round the market for what he wants to buy ; so each heart chooses the things it likes best.

*Okukula ke dabuto nga tungulu.*

The fruit of the *tungulu* becomes red when ripe, and is like the flower it first produced. A comparison between childhood and second childhood.

*Kagwa ensonyi nga mwana aba nyina.*

Covered with shame like a child who has stolen from its mother.

*Owakujujuba takwasa mutego.*

He who takes by force is not able to trap.

Gentleness and not force arrives at truth.

*Kabaka nyanja.*

The King is the lake.

The lake does not differentiate ; it drowns the fisherman who is always about it, and the occasional traveller. So the King makes no difference in those he taxes ; all have to pay.

*Okusekera mukikonde nga asikide omugaga.*

To laugh in the hand like the person who has become heir to a wealthy person.

The heir of a wealthy person when he goes to take possession of the property has to put on a grave air as though he were sorry for the dead, and must cover his mouth with his hand if he feels inclined to smile. So a person expressing sympathy with another's calamity, when in reality he is glad at what has happened, is like the person laughing behind his hand.

*Amagezi gakuwedeko okubongota nga toneyaltra.*

Sense has left you like a person who nods in sleep, before he has spread his mat to sleep upon.

A person who begins some expensive work and has not reckoned whether he has the means to finish it, is like a person going to sleep before he has made his bed.

*Banange Banjagala nga tanagwa wabi.*

I had numbers of friends before calamity befell me.

*Ekibi tekibula musombi.*

Risk is never absent from those who seek wealth.

*Busa bwa mbogo.*

A pellet of buffalo dung.

Dry on the surface, wet and filthy underneath.

An insincere friend makes a fair outside appearance, but at heart wishes you evil.

*Omusu muzade.*

The rat with young.

An old person who has sons can always avoid punishment for undone work, because he can get one or other of his sons to do it for him ; so the rat with young, when the dogs attack it, escapes while they stop to catch the young ones.

*Ekyalo ekitalimu busikwasikwa.*

A garden without young trees.

Such a garden will soon come to an end, because the other trees will grow up, yield fruit and die. Children are the true wealth of a country.

*Nanyini kabya tayasa abumbirira.*

The owner of the pot does not kill the potter.

A person only destroys what he can replace.

*Amazi amatono.*

A little water.

Where the cattle are short of water the herdsmen allow the cows with calves to drink first because they are most valuable. So a man with a few possessions chooses to whom he will give them and does not allow everyone to take as he likes.

*Bakuba emyali.*

They break unbaked pots.

As an owner can break unbaked pots provided he has the the potter to make fresh ones for him, so an extravagant person can waste his substance provided he has wealth.

*Olusala ekyai.*

He who cuts the plantain fibre.

The man who cuts the plantain fibre from the tree trunk scatters the small ants that have built there. So when a wealthy person dies his dependants are scattered.





## ANTHROPOMETRIC TABLES

The following measurements have been taken according to the directions given in "Notes and Queries" published by the Royal Anthropological Institute. The object has been to keep the measurements of the members of each clan separate from the rest, and further to distinguish the measurements of males and females in the same clan. The reason for adopting this procedure was that every clan appears to differ from every other either in build or in face, so that after a time, when these peculiarities have been mentally noted, it becomes possible to distinguish at sight members of certain clans. It will be interesting if the measurements bear out these apparent distinctions between the clans, because the line of descent has for generations been traced through the males, and women from clans which differ in appearance have, in conformity with the custom of exogamy, been constantly introduced into each of the clans. For example, the members of the Oribi Clan have married women from the Lungfish Clan, yet the members of the Oribi Clan have much finer Roman features, and are much lighter in build than the members of the Lungfish Clan. It would thus appear that the particular features of the clan have been transmitted through the males and retained in the clan. In like manner Royalty retain the Muhima features, though the males have married women from clans differing from the Muhima type. The evidence produced may be insufficient to prove these conclusions, but it will be well to bear the idea in mind for future investigation.

LEOPARD (NGO) CLAN.

B = B, light. B<sup>1</sup> = B, dark. 3<sup>d</sup> = 3, light. 3<sup>d</sup> = 3, dark. The plate used for comparison is Plate 3 in "Notes and Queries on Anthropology, 1892."

	MEN.													WOMEN.																	
	Mwanje.	Mukasa.	Kazani.	Misindi.	Wayonyonyi.	Simbaye.	Waswa.	Gwambade.	Matabi.	Musafabi.	Balmukubo.	Semagoma.	Namirimba.	Mulekawa.	Nsanja.	Lwiga.	Sabudu.	Muwanka.	Muweka.	Bahika.	Zeusl.	Twalirana.	Lwiga.	Aliwonya.	Tustinzomu.	Tulinombezi.	Nanziri.	Namirembe.	Kayaga.	Nakutu.	
Head Length	16.9	19.8	18.5	16.4	20.1	19.0	19.5	19.3	19.6	20.0	19.5	19.4	20.5	18.9	19.0	19.8	18.6	18.5	18.6	18.7	17.9	20.1	18.1	18.4	17.8	18.1	18.9	18.4	17.0	18.1	
" " Breadth	13.5	15.5	14.4	14.4	15.0	14.4	14.3	13.5	13.6	15.5	14.1	15.0	14.2	14.4	13.9	14.0	14.0	13.5	14.1	13.5	14.0	13.8	13.5	13.8	13.5	13.4	13.9	14.3	13.1	13.1	
Facial " "	13.0	14.4	13.5	13.0	14.5	13.1	13.6	13.6	13.2	13.5	14.1	13.7	14.0	13.5	13.8	12.7	13.7	13.0	13.1	13.0	13.1	13.0	14.1	13.6	12.4	12.3	13.1	12.5	11.4	12.5	
Orbital " "	—	—	11.7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.4	4.7	5.2	4.6	4.4	5.5	4.7	4.9	5.3	5.1	5.2	5.4	5.2	5.1		
Nose Length	5.3	5.6	5.1	5.1	6.0	5.1	4.5	5.4	4.5	4.9	5.9	5.4	6.2	5.3	5.4	5.7	4.7	5.2	4.6	4.4	5.5	4.7	4.9	5.3	4.7	4.9	5.3	5.4	5.2	5.1	
" " Breadth	4.6	5.0	4.7	4.1	5.5	4.7	4.5	4.8	4.1	4.7	5.2	4.6	4.4	4.0	4.5	5.0	4.0	4.1	4.0	3.8	5.0	4.0	4.0	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.4	4.2	4.3	4.1	
Projection to Nasion	10.0	11.5	8.1	11.2	10.5	12.0	10.0	10.1	10.4	12.0	14.9	9.0	8.3	13.3	10.3	9.6	8.1	8.4	8.7	9.7	10.1	7.8	9.3	10.7	9.6	10.2	9.2	9.0	10.4	10.4	
Mouth	14.0	17.0	13.1	18.3	17.7	17.4	15.9	16.5	17.1	18.0	16.2	17.0	13.3	17.3	15.9	16.9	12.2	12.5	13.3	15.3	16.3	13.3	13.5	17.4	17.1	16.3	15.4	16.4	16.1	16.1	
" " Ear	13.1	13.4	12.0	12.5	13.0	13.7	12.1	13.9	14.5	13.3	13.4	12.7	12.0	14.7	12.9	14.0	12.3	11.7	12.7	12.3	13.2	12.9	11.4	12.5	12.2	12.8	11.8	11.8	13.0	13.0	
" " Chin	22.0	22.3	20.6	22.0	23.0	23.5	21.5	21.5	22.4	23.0	22.8	21.6	21.5	22.6	20.6	20.6	19.1	17.9	19.2	19.7	22.3	19.2	19.2	19.2	20.2	20.2	20.4	20.2	19.0	21.4	21.4
Length of Foot	25.4	26.0	24.0	23.7	24.1	27.2	24.3	24.4	25.5	24.5	25.6	25.3	27.4	25.2	22.4	24.8	23.3	22.5	22.9	20.9	26.9	23.9	23.8	23.8	23.8	23.2	23.7	23.0	23.8	22.3	22.3
Sitting Height	87.1	90.1	84.0	83.3	81.0	89.1	86.0	81.0	82.1	79.3	86.7	84.9	74.1	87.5	78.1	84.0	81.1	78.2	80.1	81.2	85.6	80.0	80.6	78.0	83.5	81.4	80.7	80.7	80.7	70.7	70.7
Standing " "	131.2	130.6	122.1	125.6	117.7	131.7	123.7	120.6	124.0	128.9	123.4	110.8	123.1	122.4	114.0	122.8	118.6	118.6	118.1	114.0	123.9	123.1	117.7	114.6	117.0	123.1	114.6	117.0	123.1	118.7	118.7
Kneeling " "	176.7	177.9	165.2	168.7	158.7	179.0	164.5	165.6	170.2	167.4	171.0	165.6	157.5	163.1	152.3	146.6	157.7	151.4	157.7	153.8	167.2	165.2	159.2	154.1	157.9	169.8	153.6	160.4	157.7	157.7	157.7
Span of Arms	184.0	186.7	172.7	170.6	164.1	189.3	167.7	179.3	180.7	179.6	174.8	168.2	165.4	166.9	161.3	160.9	158.0	166.0	168.5	134.1	143.7	144.9	139.3	133.3	137.1	148.5	133.2	145.3	134.0	134.0	134.0
Cubit " "	—	49.0	—	45.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	43.4	40.3	43.2	44.2	43.8	44.3	47.6	46.2	46.6	46.4	45.6	50.1	43.1	46.8	45.7	
Length of Leg	106.1	105.0	99.1	101.5	96.8	109.5	96.1	102.5	104.7	101.5	100.3	100.4	95.4	95.7	92.2	102.1	99.3	99.4	96.0	95.1	101.0	99.2	99.5	91.9	96.1	105.2	92.1	97.7	97.7	97.7	97.7
Span " " Hand	18.2	17.5	15.5	17.0	16.0	10.3	15.8	16.2	16.3	16.8	17.1	16.5	16.2	17.1	16.2	18.0	16.7	16.0	15.6	15.0	17.0	16.3	17.3	16.9	16.0	17.1	16.0	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.7
Span " " Outer Orbit	22.1	20.3	19.7	21.6	20.0	23.0	19.9	19.6	21.8	21.8	23.2	21.7	20.0	21.5	21.3	21.6	19.3	18.6	20.8	18.6	22.1	20.6	20.2	21.2	20.9	21.9	19.0	19.6	19.6	19.6	19.6
Outer Orbit " "	13.0	13.0	13.0	11.5	13.0	14.0	12.1	13.0	13.6	12.2	13.0	13.5	13.5	13.5	12.2	12.5	12.7	12.0	11.7	11.8	14.1	12.0	11.6	11.2	11.2	12.2	12.2	11.5	11.7	11.7	11.7
Colour of Eye	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
" " Skin	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3



GRASSHOPPER (NSENENE) CLAN.

MALES.

FEMALES.

	Ibutamtu Dannitra.	Stf Kagwa.	Batambungwe.	Paulo Basunde.	Mako Kironmbi.	Timoteo Miyata.	Kanya.	Nkago.	Lutwana.	Katibalo.	Matovu.	Kabali.	Seruwanga.	Kironde.	Nakayonga.	Abokunutam.	Nabowa.	Nazaluluzi.	Nablosi.	Nabayogo.	Nakauka.	Namisango.	Bweyagamba.	Tebajukira.	Mugandanswa.	Kika.	Nandanta.	Nampa.	Nankumbi.	Kagwa.	
Head Length	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	
" Breadth	143	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	140	
Facial	134	135	142	134	132	138	131	137	125	134	132	144	145	139	144	126	127	119	143	135	129	117	133	132	135	132	132	133	133	132	
Orbital..	109	114	118	120	114	114	112	113	112	110	111	107	115	112	113	104	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	109	108	
Nose Length	51	51	54	52	49	53	49	56	55	50	47	53	54	53	57	50	46	49	48	41	56	54	57	46	54	55	54	50	53	56	
" Breadth	44	51	43	51	49	40	46	42	47	48	44	41	48	46	46	38	41	40	39	47	43	46	42	39	41	41	38	36	45	39	
Projection to Nasion	85	86	74	92	93	96	93	89	107	88	88	100	97	89	87	103	92	91	97	89	92	101	88	82	86	105	88	105	94	96	
" Ear	133	123	120	135	127	124	129	140	137	133	123	131	126	132	118	143	158	148	141	138	153	148	145	143	146	168	154	128	140	130	
" Chin	204	210	203	220	204	199	206	194	227	183	195	203	213	221	203	190	202	204	194	202	204	205	214	207	218	212	193	212	123	142	114
Length of Foot	247	260	248	260	249	242	258	235	260	257	233	237	260	258	240	218	226	238	231	245	231	233	253	234	223	228	251	238	252	247	
Sitting Height	85	86	86	86	83	80	84	78	83	86	80	86	86	86	81	80	79	80	75	81	75	80	83	82	77	84	80	78	85	81	
Kneeling	119	133	125	126	122	122	119	118	129	126	118	123	126	126	127	117	115	119	116	117	115	117	123	113	118	120	110	120	115	151	
Standing	161	150	174	168	162	165	157	160	175	162	161	168	170	172	171	156	154	161	157	162	154	155	166	153	154	159	174	160	160	161	
Chin	173	184	181	167	169	174	150	164	195	168	171	162	182	187	178	163	160	165	162	168	168	153	160	144	139	143	139	143	135	166	
Span of Arms	47	51	50	40	46	42	43	45	46	43	48	44	49	51	47	44	45	44	45	46	47	46	42	43	47	45	48	46	48	47	
Cubit	91	108	108	97	95	96	95	95	105	98	99	90	101	104	104	93	93	96	94	100	93	93	94	92	93	92	107	96	108	95	
Length of Leg	175	170	180	170	164	160	150	153	161	166	169	162	164	174	166	158	158	158	157	170	148	151	165	165	174	165	167	174	180	166	
" Hand	192	235	210	222	206	198	197	193	223	203	181	185	202	218	218	188	209	197	195	230	205	196	205	211	202	198	193	220	219	200	
Span	108	125	124	120	125	126	117	128	133	129	119	110	124	121	121	115	120	118	115	125	115	113	109	119	118	120	121	134	117	111	
Outer Orbit	Bd	B	B	B	B	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	B	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	
Colour of Eye	Bd	B	B	B	B	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	B	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	
" Skin	1d	3	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	3d	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	





LUNG FISH (MAMBA BAKEREKERE) CLAN.

MEN.

WOMEN.

	Makabuga.	Wampambo.	Setumba.	Kitonsa.	Gomya.	Mukasa.	Gyasoka.	Nsubuga.	Mukasa.	Kiwanuka.	Kyobe.	Kikade.	Muwanga.	Musoke.	Waswa.	Natembo.	Nambi.	Nakazi.	Nakabuka.	Natembo.	Kayungo.	Nabitaka.	Namutebi.	Nansubuga.	Nansubuga.	Nasuna.	Namutebi.	Nasuna.	Namukasa.	
Head Length	10.0	10.6	10.9	10.8	10.7	10.2	10.2	18.6	19.8	18.8	18.6	18.9	10.9	20.4	19.4	18.1	18.6	19.0	18.2	19.1	18.9	18.0	18.6	18.9	19.1	18.5	18.6	18.1	19.2	
" Breadth	14.6	14.5	13.9	13.9	14.6	15.0	14.4	14.3	13.6	13.8	14.5	14.2	14.1	14.5	14.4	13.9	14.0	13.7	13.9	14.1	14.4	13.6	13.7	13.8	13.7	13.4	13.4	13.4	14.0	
Facial	14.6	13.6	14.1	14.6	14.4	13.5	12.9	14.2	14.3	13.3	13.0	13.3	13.6	14.6	13.6	12.6	13.8	13.2	12.5	13.7	12.7	12.6	13.3	13.0	12.5	12.5	12.4	13.0	13.1	
Dorbital ...	12.4	11.1	11.2	11.6	11.3	10.9	10.9	11.5	11.5	11.2	10.9	11.0	10.8	11.2	11.2	10.6	10.8	10.9	10.5	11.8	10.6	10.6	11.1	10.8	10.8	10.7	11.0	10.7	11.0	
Nose Length	5.3	5.4	4.8	4.7	5.1	5.3	5.5	5.2	4.6	5.3	5.0	5.0	5.6	5.8	4.9	4.7	4.8	4.3	5.0	5.1	5.5	5.5	4.8	4.9	5.0	4.6	4.8	4.6	5.0	
" Breadth	4.5	5.2	4.4	4.6	4.4	5.0	4.3	4.7	4.5	4.4	3.8	3.9	5.0	4.1	4.8	3.8	4.1	4.1	3.8	4.8	4.6	3.5	4.6	4.3	4.2	4.0	3.8	4.0	4.1	
Projection to Nasion	9.0	10.3	8.8	9.5	10.4	10.6	10.0	9.7	10.2	8.9	10.0	10.5	10.4	9.9	9.5	9.8	11.0	9.7	8.3	9.2	9.1	9.5	8.6	9.3	9.7	8.1	8.8	8.7	10.7	
" Mouth	14.3	16.7	14.5	14.7	14.5	16.7	15.4	14.0	16.1	15.4	16.4	17.0	16.5	14.8	15.7	13.8	16.3	16.0	13.5	14.8	15.5	15.2	14.3	14.7	16.6	12.8	14.3	13.1	17.1	
" Ear	12.8	13.9	12.9	13.9	12.8	12.8	12.5	13.0	11.9	13.3	12.2	13.1	13.4	13.2	12.7	12.7	13.2	12.3	13.3	11.9	12.9	12.4	12.2	12.7	12.4	11.2	11.8	12.1	13.6	
" Chin	20.8	22.4	21.4	20.1	20.9	21.0	20.1	21.5	21.7	23.1	20.9	21.7	22.7	20.6	19.7	21.6	20.9	18.1	20.9	20.5	18.9	20.0	19.5	18.6	19.1	17.6	20.4	21.6	21.1	
Length of Foot	25.2	25.1	26.1	23.1	23.6	21.8	26.6	26.8	25.7	26.1	24.7	26.1	24.9	24.8	24.6	22.6	22.9	24.7	21.4	24.1	23.3	23.6	22.3	23.8	21.8	23.8	23.0	21.0	21.1	
Sitting Height	85.8	87.0	86.8	80.4	82.2	80.6	81.0	81.5	85.0	86.1	85.0	82.4	87.9	85.0	83.7	80.9	77.5	70.4	75.0	76.5	80.4	70.6	74.5	75.5	72.2	82.4	77.5	78.8	76.6	
Kneeing "	123.0	120.1	128.9	118.1	121.3	117.6	122.9	120.1	129.1	126.4	126.9	125.3	133.9	125.8	121.5	114.2	113.7	118.4	113.1	117.2	117.3	120.5	108.3	112.2	108.8	114.3	115.2	115.8	112.3	119.9
Standing "	165.8	161.6	177.5	161.9	163.9	165.7	165.0	164.5	170.9	169.4	170.5	171.1	170.9	172.0	163.7	155.7	152.1	163.9	154.2	159.3	157.4	160.5	146.5	150.9	145.5	154.3	154.4	155.7	147.6	161.7
Chin "	144.7	146.7	158.5	145.6	143.6	139.2	143.8	141.9	155.0	146.3	144.0	149.0	150.4	143.1	135.9	139.9	139.9	141.1	126.9	129.5	125.4	135.2	134.3	134.3	136.7	160.2	160.3	152.1	165.9	
Span of Arms	172.8	173.5	189.3	174.3	176.6	169.6	173.1	185.6	186.0	187.3	174.2	185.5	183.9	176.4	170.0	159.2	163.8	177.8	158.0	176.7	169.8	167.7	156.7	163.9	151.2	161.8	163.7	166.2	152.1	165.9
Cubit	47.5	47.8	51.4	48.0	49.0	45.5	47.8	50.0	51.7	51.6	47.8	51.7	50.7	47.6	46.9	45.5	44.8	50.6	44.4	49.4	45.4	46.6	45.9	47.1	42.8	44.7	44.8	44.2	41.6	
Length of Leg	94.1	97.6	108.9	99.7	100.5	94.5	101.2	100.0	108.4	102.4	103.1	104.6	100.5	107.5	94.3	91.9	91.2	105.6	88.9	98.9	93.9	97.6	87.9	92.4	88.9	95.6	92.1	90.5	87.1	90.9
Span "	20.8	21.1	22.4	19.7	20.6	19.1	21.4	21.1	21.5	22.7	21.1	23.5	24.1	24.9	20.4	19.8	23.9	21.4	22.8	20.4	21.2	19.4	21.9	19.4	19.3	20.6	19.6	18.5	17.5	
Length of Hand	16.5	17.6	18.6	16.3	17.7	16.5	16.7	18.4	17.9	18.4	16.9	18.8	17.7	16.6	15.5	17.2	15.7	17.6	16.0	17.2	15.9	16.1	14.7	16.5	15.0	16.2	16.1	15.9	14.9	17.3
Outer Orbit	14.2	12.1	12.2	13.6	12.5	12.9	12.4	13.7	12.9	13.1	12.1	12.3	12.4	12.9	12.7	11.0	11.0	11.5	11.3	12.3	12.2	11.4	11.8	12.0	11.8	11.8	11.3	11.3	11.6	12.2
Colour of Eye	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd
" Skin	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3





GREY MONKEY (NKIMA) CLAN.

MEN.

WOMEN.

	Wahabyeki.	Musoke.	Mukasa.	Musisi.	Kabugo.	Musoke.	Segaba.	Mabisiko.	Sali.	Mukasa.	Mayala.	Kironde.	Lwanga.	Kagiri Misungila	Kiviri.	Nalubega.	Simanyibwa.	Namudu.	Nampera.	Namudu.	Namudu.	Namusoke.	Namudu.	Nampa.	Nasale.	Nakabugo.	Namuli.	Ntongo.	
Head Length ...	861	161	202	197	609	203	184	195	187	192	189	189	205	199	191	193	180	184	179	185	185	187	187	188	192	193	193	180	187
" Breadth ...	139	147	143	140	142	144	144	150	144	152	135	143	138	145	140	143	138	135	135	130	136	132	138	140	143	135	130	136	132
Facial ...	130	140	135	130	138	143	130	140	140	143	130	125	138	144	134	135	138	132	132	127	127	125	131	131	132	127	125	131	127
Orbital ...	111	113	110	107	108	115	109	113	115	119	111	105	119	120	112	117	116	113	109	109	102	108	111	112	110	111	112	110	111
Nose Length ...	51	61	55	50	51	61	55	52	54	51	42	51	52	52	47	47	50	51	49	49	49	54	58	49	48	51	47	51	47
" Breadth ...	44	43	46	46	41	49	40	44	44	42	41	42	41	42	40	38	36	39	36	40	34	40	39	41	41	47	39	41	39
Projection to Nasion ...	101	105	115	111	100	114	105	105	101	98	104	98	130	88	111	102	107	93	92	94	91	109	98	101	111	99	98	85	91
" Mouth ...	161	185	176	170	141	178	169	167	150	169	167	192	169	181	165	150	153	151	143	145	178	150	156	161	177	157	150	146	151
" Ear ...	131	139	134	133	137	139	128	132	137	129	124	141	134	133	137	134	132	127	123	127	111	120	119	128	142	121	118	121	121
" Chin ...	208	240	228	218	220	221	221	221	221	205	203	222	238	216	230	189	202	198	198	189	209	227	200	207	227	107	188	193	188
Length of Foot ...	338	255	275	245	253	261	247	244	237	237	202	258	238	234	204	218	202	232	217	229	206	233	234	234	222	221	221	221	220
Sitting Height ...	83	86	79	85	83	82	81	86	81	82	78	82	84	82	83	78	74	82	80	82	77	78	82	85	80	78	79	79	79
Kneeling ...	124	125	122	126	123	128	128	131	121	122	118	121	123	121	118	111	108	120	118	115	119	115	117	116	111	117	111	114	114
Standing ...	169	170	166	172	168	176	176	175	163	163	159	166	162	158	148	147	147	162	154	157	150	152	151	158	156	150	151	151	153
Chin ...	148	147	144	146	147	154	154	141	143	140	145	146	145	143	136	130	128	142	134	137	129	136	134	138	138	136	133	138	134
Span of Arms ...	176	177	182	173	173	189	188	186	168	180	167	177	179	169	169	154	157	172	160	168	149	162	155	156	163	159	157	154	161
" Cubit ...	47	48	45	49	47	51	51	50	47	48	50	48	46	45	42	43	43	47	48	43	47	47	38	47	43	43	41	45	
Length of Leg ...	104	101	100	103	96	108	109	107	95	97	93	103	100	94	90	85	86	99	93	89	87	89	89	89	94	88	90	92	
" Hand ...	164	169	178	182	167	164	167	166	164	168	161	173	168	167	163	153	154	167	164	171	143	163	153	162	167	161	151	147	160
Span Orbit ...	19	21	20	21	21	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	21	21	20	20	20	20	18	20	18	20	20	20	20	20	20	20	
Colour of Eye ...	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	
" Skin ...	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	1	3	1	3	1	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	



KATINVUMA CLAN.

	MEN.										WOMEN.																	
	Nashirwa.	Sendebwa.	Semuso.	Mukyendwa.	Sekaja.	Kasirwa.	Kasirya.	Lukungo.	Nyulu.	Kisozzi.	Kamuhali.	Lule.	Sempa.	Sempa.	Kisule.	Nalonga.	Najuko.	Nakasuyo.	Nalwolya.	Nambi.	Ziribagumu.	Nakowa.	Nakasi.	Nalwoga.	Nalule.	Nankanda.	Nakasi.	
Head Length	19.9	19.4	19.3	19.2	19.9	20.2	19.9	20.1	18.7	19.0	18.6	19.1	19.6	18.9	18.3	19.3	18.4	18.4	19.5	20.0	18.5	18.4	18.3	18.0	18.5	17.5	18	
" Breadth	15.1	14.4	14.1	14.0	15.1	14.4	14.7	14.7	14.8	14.8	14.1	14.6	14.3	14.7	14.8	14.8	13.6	13.5	13.6	13.3	13.3	13.2	14.1	13.3	13.4	13.0	13.5	
Facial	13.8	13.5	13.7	13.9	13.9	14.3	14.4	13.7	13.2	14.0	13.5	15.2	14.0	13.5	13.7	14.0	12.8	13.4	12.7	13.3	13.5	12.5	12.6	13.4	13.0	13.1	12.5	
Biobital	11.4	11.5	10.9	11.1	11.6	11.7	11.8	11.3	11.4	11.7	11.9	12.3	11.3	10.0	11.1	11.3	10.8	11.3	11.0	11.5	11.3	10.7	10.4	11.8	11.5	11.3	10.5	
Nose Length	5.4	4.8	4.4	4.9	5.5	5.6	4.8	4.6	4.9	4.9	4.7	5.5	4.9	5.2	5.1	4.7	4.7	5.1	4.3	4.7	4.8	5.1	5.1	5.2	5.0	4.9		
" Breadth	4.4	4.6	3.9	4.4	4.6	4.7	4.8	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.5	4.7	4.9	4.3	3.9	3.6	4.7	3.9	4.1	4.3	4.0	4.8	4.4	4.3	3.9		
Projection to Nasion	9.3	11.5	9.8	9.7	11.2	9.3	10.8	11.0	10.6	10.4	10.9	10.8	10.6	11.5	10.8	9.2	8.1	9.3	10.8	10.3	11.0	10.7	10.3	9.6	10.3	11.5	10.5	
" Mouth	15.3	15.2	15.1	15.7	16.4	16.6	16.8	15.6	16.1	16.2	16.1	17.4	17.9	16.8	15.9	14.3	14.7	14.2	16.8	16.0	17.4	16.9	15.5	15.0	15.2	15.7	14.9	
" Ear	12.8	13.0	12.9	13.3	13.8	13.6	15.2	13.4	13.0	14.6	13.3	13.8	14.0	12.6	13.3	12.1	11.5	12.7	12.7	13.3	13.1	13.2	12.4	12.0	12.6	12.8	12.0	
" Chin	22.5	19.7	20.9	21.7	23.3	23.7	22.3	21.6	22.9	22.0	22.0	21.9	22.3	22.1	22.1	20.4	20.1	19.3	20.9	22.8	22.6	21.3	21.6	21.8	20.7	21.2	20.1	
Length of Foot	25.7	24.6	23.9	24.4	26.5	25.2	25.1	22.5	24.3	23.6	24.2	24.5	25.9	22.8	22.4	22.3	22.9	21.9	23.0	23.4	23.2	19.5	25.5	24.0	21.3	24.1	22.6	
Sitting Height	88.2	85.1	86.5	84.6	87.4	87.4	81.7	82.5	80.9	82.7	83.5	85.5	83.0	80.1	80.1	78.1	77.5	79.6	78.3	80.7	79.7	80.3	83.3	79.4	81.9	80.6	78.7	
Standing	128.1	124.2	124.9	127.0	123.4	124.7	121.0	119.5	121.0	118.4	119.1	122.3	119.9	123.6	122.4	117.5	110.9	113.9	112.7	117.9	117.5	115.8	113.6	120.1	116.5	121.1	115.6	117.3
Kneeling	173.3	167.6	170.7	171.1	164.4	170.1	164.2	158.0	165.7	159.9	161.7	162.9	163.0	166.5	164.1	161.1	148.6	152.6	151.1	157.7	157.5	155.6	154.2	164.3	157.1	161.9	156.8	157.5
Chin Height	140.6	146.6	148.7	150.9	144.2	147.5	142.2	136.1	143.0	138.3	140.7	143.2	143.7	148.5	143.9	140.5	129.7	131.5	131.6	138.4	137.9	136.3	133.3	143.3	133.7	143.0	137.7	
Span of Arms	186.2	179.2	174.3	180.2	179.5	181.1	171.3	164.5	172.3	167.8	176.9	178.8	173.5	186.4	173.0	170.4	152.5	164.5	160.5	171.0	166.8	162.9	164	171.1	166.4	165.1	164.3	
Cubit	50.1	48.2	49.0	50.4	50.1	49.3	48.6	43.4	47.6	46.6	48.5	48.1	48.2	50.4	49.9	49.1	48.4	44.8	45.7	46.8	45.6	44.8	43.3	48.6	46.1	40.6	44.9	
Length of Leg	103.8	104.2	106.0	102.9	96.8	98.4	100.5	86.8	97.2	93.6	96.7	96.6	97.2	103.5	97.3	101.8	88.9	89.7	90.9	95.3	94.8	93.8	93.9	99.5	92.9	95.4	97.2	
" Hand	18.2	16.9	17.1	17.7	18.4	16.8	17.1	16.1	17.0	17.6	17.4	17.4	18.1	18.4	16.9	16.6	15.1	16.1	16.3	17.0	16.4	15.0	17.0	16.4	14.7	15.7		
Span	20.5	19.4	19.9	21.3	23.9	21.8	21.1	20.8	21.2	20.1	20.8	20.1	20.8	22.2	20.1	19.3	19.2	19.5	20.6	20.1	20.3	18.3	21.0	20.1	20.1	20.3		
Outer Orbit	12.5	12.5	12.3	12.5	13.1	13.0	13.3	12.2	11.4	13.1	12.6	13.6	12.4	11.7	12.9	12.0	11.4	11.9	11.7	12.8	12.5	12.8	13.0	13.0	12.1	12.9		
Colour of Eye	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd		
Colour of Skin	3d	3d	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3		

BIRD (NYONYI) CLAN.

WOMEN.

Nantrembe	187	180	193	182	183	187	185	191	190	190	109	107	119	106	Kayoga.	81	7
Nanjoga.	129	127	130	137	135	123	126	134	140	125	128	124	123	119	Namizanga.	135	126
Nalwanga.	102	102	110	116	113	108	113	116	125	106	108	107	119	106	Nambi.	192	185
Kigongo.	46	51	52	52	46	44	48	49	52	51	44	46	50	47	Nampwavo.	38	37
Kizwa.	38	38	44	38	42	38	38	40	42	40	39	38	40	38	Ntongo.	40	38
Nawuhiradobozzi.	97	85	104	100	112	101	102	118	119	119	111	106	108	122	Nampa.	108	99
Kajugwe.	155	134	148	160	168	164	155	134	148	168	153	165	175	185	Nawayo.	171	158
Makanga.	142	142	140	129	128	118	142	134	147	128	139	147	126	125	Nantrembe.	171	158
Kyenne.	220	222	216	228	220	220	220	218	188	205	224	218	208	200	Nanjoga.	208	200
Mukasa.	234	222	224	225	225	234	222	224	222	224	224	218	208	200	Nalwanga.	224	206
Musoke.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Kigongo.	77	75
Kyamvade.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Kizwa.	117	114
Kizwa.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Nawuhiradobozzi.	117	114
Kirigubawanyl.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Kajugwe.	117	114
Lule.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Makanga.	117	114
Lule.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Kyenne.	117	114
Kanya.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Mukasa.	117	114
Kyasanku.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Musoke.	117	114
Musoke.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Kyamvade.	117	114
Byakusula.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Kizwa.	117	114
Kituka.	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	101	Kirigubawanyl.	117	114

MEN.

Head Length	192	190	197	190	197	192	204	203	191	194	191	193	187	180	193	187	185
" Breadth	142	147	138	140	144	144	142	150	137	150	135	137	137	134	141	140	138
Facial	136	139	139	131	137	144	133	139	140	129	127	129	129	127	130	137	135
Biorbital	109	115	114	114	119	121	109	109	108	115	112	102	102	110	116	113	108
" Nose Length	58	54	48	54	45	57	49	50	53	52	54	46	46	51	52	46	44
" Breadth	46	47	42	44	43	46	42	45	41	37	43	44	44	38	42	38	38
Projection to Nasion	109	109	105	84	104	111	113	105	108	99	108	102	97	85	104	100	102
" Mouth	155	175	158	152	164	171	182	164	161	169	177	183	170	168	164	155	134
" Ear	131	137	135	123	120	138	141	133	131	127	134	127	128	118	142	114	125
" Chin	205	226	222	200	212	228	223	224	210	213	238	229	216	228	220	205	205
Length of Foot	252	261	264	249	251	261	252	238	252	241	262	246	244	251	225	234	222
Sitting Height	837	830	875	841	885	871	803	860	842	845	866	882	845	855	815	818	821
Kneeling	1225	1240	1271	1200	1271	1264	1232	1257	1257	1263	1278	1244	1220	1234	1201	1193	1186
Standing	1660	1668	1702	1606	1707	1732	1693	1653	1696	1598	1776	1732	1717	1680	1675	1603	1573
Chin	145	148	147	143	149	151	147	144	146	139	150	147	147	147	139	140	138
Span of Arms	178	180	183	163	186	179	183	172	172	167	180	180	184	179	164	162	166
Cubit	48	50	50	44	50	48	50	49	50	49	50	49	50	49	46	48	46
Length of Leg	103	97	97	94	105	101	103	95	97	94	102	102	102	100	97	96	92
" Hand	173	177	177	161	176	174	179	164	180	162	176	154	165	168	166	162	170
Span	208	229	232	215	202	213	227	206	192	218	202	215	218	216	216	188	181
Outer Orbit	123	127	120	136	141	118	136	133	134	126	124	123	130	113	110	122	117
Colour of Eye	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd
" Skin	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

CANE RAT (MUSU) CLAN.

	MEN.											WOMEN.																				
	Bunkleko.	Mukasa.	Kirimba.	Lumala.	Mabizi.	Kiriba.	Najwala.	Kulazi.	Tansanga.	Musoke.	Nankanga.	Nazama.	Sempa.	Wayononye.	Bunkedeiko.	Nanjovu.	Nanjovu.	Nabwami.	Nabankuma.	Nabazibwe.	Nabuna.	Kiwemuko.	Kulyemvu.	Nasuna.	Ahibwade.	Nakima.	Nakazibwe.	Nabwami.	Nakimu.	Kanya.		
Head Length	20.1	20.1	20.1	19.5	19.4	19.7	19.4	19.4	20.3	19.3	20.1	19.9	18.7	19.3	19.5	18.9	17.9	19.4	18.7	18.7	17.5	20.1	19.0	18.7	18.4	18.8	18.5	17.9	10.5	8.81		
Breadth	15.0	14.6	14.3	14.0	13.8	13.5	13.9	13.9	14.2	14.9	15.0	14.1	13.6	13.8	14.8	13.9	14.9	13.5	13.8	13.7	13.1	14.5	13.7	12.6	13.8	13.3	14.8	14.2	13.5	13.7		
Facial	13.5	13.6	13.0	13.5	13.0	13.3	13.6	13.2	14.2	14.8	14.4	13.6	12.8	13.5	13.9	12.9	14.3	12.5	12.3	12.7	12.9	12.9	12.7	12.9	12.9	12.8	12.4	13.4	13.5	11.8		
Borbital	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Nose Length	5.7	5.2	5.1	5.8	4.7	5.7	5.1	5.2	5.8	5.8	5.7	5.6	5.2	4.5	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.0	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.2	4.4	4.1	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.2	3.5	4.9		
Projection to Nasion	4.8	4.8	4.1	4.6	4.2	5.0	4.2	4.4	4.7	4.7	5.0	4.5	4.1	4.1	4.8	3.8	3.9	4.2	3.7	3.8	4.4	4.1	4.1	4.1	4.3	4.0	4.2	4.0	3.5	4.2		
" Mouth	9.7	9.6	11.0	9.9	10.0	10.1	9.2	9.3	11.4	10.3	9.4	7.8	9.3	9.7	9.8	10.6	10.5	10.0	8.6	8.5	9.1	8.0	8.6	9.7	9.8	9.7	11.0	9.2	10.0	8.5	8.5	
" Ear	14.4	16.2	15.2	15.1	14.0	15.7	13.7	10.1	18.2	15.2	16.4	14.0	15.4	14.5	14.4	16.4	16.7	16.0	14.7	15.5	14.9	13.6	14.5	16.1	15.7	16.2	17.3	15.3	15.2	13.8	13.8	
" Chin	21.0	21.9	22.0	21.8	18.9	21.0	20.1	20.5	23.8	20.8	21.4	19.3	18.4	20.1	20.4	22.2	22.7	21.8	12.1	13.6	12.3	13.7	12.4	11.9	12.8	12.1	12.8	13.2	14.3	11.7	11.7	
Length of Foot	27.6	27.9	28.5	24.9	24.2	25.4	26.7	23.8	25.0	24.5	26.6	25.0	22.6	24.9	24.2	22.9	22.7	23.1	22.3	23.4	22.5	20.5	18.8	20.3	18.7	20.2	21.1	19.8	22.6	18.7	22.1	
Sitting Height	84.7	82.6	83.0	77.9	79.3	82.0	84.9	81.4	83.4	77.8	80.2	80.1	78.3	82.6	77.5	80.2	80.1	78.3	82.6	77.5	73.7	78.7	78.8	84.3	78.7	79.1	77.4	83.4	85.6	80.6	83.6	
Kneeling	133.0	128.9	131.7	121.9	116.4	125.8	122.0	126.2	129.7	118.4	125.8	113.4	118.1	127.1	114.7	116.9	118.1	118.3	119.7	113.8	109.8	109.9	114.4	118.6	117.4	113.7	112.4	120.9	119.8	113.3	113.3	
Standing	157.1	150.2	147.0	137.2	140.6	140.5	149.6	146.9	173.8	163.3	171.1	154.1	160.8	169.2	154.1	154.8	158.5	158.4	150.4	147.8	154.9	152.4	158.4	156.2	154.4	150.7	162.7	162.8	152.8	149.4	153.6	153.6
Span of Arms	189.6	186.1	174.0	168.1	171.0	179.3	184.0	173.3	188.9	170.5	182.8	160.8	163.0	177.5	158.1	163.3	158.6	167.2	159.4	157.2	162.1	163.7	161.8	162.1	160.5	152.1	168.9	173.3	157.9	141.6	140.9	133.6
Cubit	52.3	50.1	46.3	45.0	46.3	49.9	51.0	45.7	49.4	46.9	50.6	47.3	44.8	48.8	45.1	44.6	41.7	45.5	43.7	42.7	46.8	41.8	43.8	44.7	43.8	45.6	42.3	46.8	48.2	43.4	43.4	
Length of Leg	106.1	106.9	97.2	95.9	98.6	98.3	107.6	98.0	105.5	97.5	102.3	90.5	97.5	105.1	90.3	93.4	97.8	98.6	93.3	89.8	89.8	93.1	91.9	90.9	91.8	89.9	92.2	98.5	102.3	93.8	93.8	
" Hand	18.5	17.6	16.5	16.3	17.5	19.4	18.8	15.9	17.5	17.0	18.3	17.2	15.5	17.0	15.0	17.3	14.2	16.8	16.0	15.3	16.5	15.2	16.3	15.1	14.3	17.1	15.0	17.2	16.6	15.5	15.5	
Span Orbit	21.7	21.4	19.5	19.3	19.0	20.1	21.2	19.8	21.5	22.1	22.6	21.4	20.3	20.1	18.7	19.2	19.2	20.2	18.5	20.1	20.0	10.2	10.4	17.9	18.2	20.8	19.2	19.8	19.7	19.6	19.6	
Outer Orbit	12.6	12.5	13.4	12.6	12.1	13.8	11.2	11.9	11.6	12.5	13.3	12.3	11.6	13.0	12.2	10.7	10.2	11.0	11.0	12.5	11.9	11.7	12.9	12.3	11.7	11.3	12.6	12.5	10.8	10.8	10.8	
Colour of Eye	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	
Skin	3d	3d	3	3	3	3d	3d	1d	3d	1	3	1	3d	3d	1	1	3d	3d	1	3d	3	3	3d	3d	1	3d	3	1	1	1	1	





GENET (KASIMBA) CLAN.

MEN.

WOMEN.

	Musoke.	Ludigo.	Kiza.	Kiwanuka.	Mzazinga.	Mukasa.	Mazi.	Kywola.	Nabe.	Musajahideki.	Lule.	Musajahideki.	Lule.	Musenyu.	Sajabi.	Nakangu.	Nakangu.	Nakangu.	Twalibangi.	Namirembi.	Namusi.	Namirembe.	Kanya.	Zawese.	Namibi.	Namisingo.	Kayaga.	Nambi.	Nambi.		
Head Length	19.8	19.5	20.7	19.0	19.6	19.9	19.7	19.5	19.1	19.4	18.5	20.3	19.9	18.9	19.9	18.0	18.6	18.3	18.6	19.1	18.2	18.9	18.7	18.5	18.7	19.1	18.9	18.0	18.4		
" Breadth	13.8	14.2	14.0	14.3	13.7	13.9	14.7	14.0	14.1	14.7	15.4	13.9	14.0	14.2	12.6	12.7	13.7	13.5	13.6	12.8	13.5	13.6	12.8	18.7	18.5	18.7	19.1	18.9	18.0	18.4	
Facial	13.7	13.3	13.6	13.2	13.0	12.8	13.5	13.3	13.5	14.1	14.3	14.0	13.2	12.9	13.6	12.7	12.9	12.7	13.2	12.5	13.1	12.3	12.9	12.6	12.0	13.0	13.3	13.4	13.2	12.5	
Biobital	11.8	11.0	10.9	10.4	10.8	10.5	10.6	11.2	11.0	11.9	11.8	11.7	10.7	10.9	11.5	10.5	11.0	10.7	11.3	10.6	11.7	10.4	10.9	10.8	10.3	10.6	11.2	11.6	10.6	11.2	
Nose Length	5.5	5.3	5.1	4.9	5.7	5.6	5.1	5.2	5.0	4.8	5.0	4.8	5.4	5.7	4.9	4.9	5.1	5.7	4.8	5.2	5.2	4.7	4.9	5.1	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.9	4.2	4.7	
Breadth	4.0	4.1	4.1	3.9	3.8	4.8	5.0	4.7	4.4	4.6	4.5	4.7	4.6	3.9	4.6	4.1	3.7	4.4	4.2	3.8	4.1	3.8	3.9	3.7	4.2	3.8	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.9	
Projection to Nasion	9.9	9.8	10.7	10.1	9.9	8.9	9.2	10.2	9.3	9.7	9.4	10.4	10.7	10.2	9.7	9.7	8.1	9.4	9.7	9.5	8.9	9.8	10.0	9.8	9.9	10.5	10.9	10.4	9.7	10.2	
" Mouth	15.5	15.7	16.0	17.2	16.8	14.2	15.8	16.8	16.2	14.8	16.8	16.4	16.2	16.4	16.4	14.0	16.1	15.5	15.4	17.2	14.7	15.5	16.6	15.4	15.1	17.6	17.1	15.1	14.3	15.7	
" Ear	21.3	21.8	19.1	20.6	21.0	21.5	20.6	21.9	22.7	20.1	21.7	20.9	22.1	22.0	21.2	19.0	20.4	19.8	20.2	20.4	19.1	20.7	20.2	19.6	20.5	20.2	22.4	21.1	20.7	20.7	
" Chin	86.8	74.2	84.2	24.4	25.1	23.9	20.6	23.4	23.7	25.3	20.3	25.9	24.1	23.0	22.2	22.9	20.4	24.1	33.3	22.0	23.0	22.7	24.3	22.3	22.8	23.8	23.1	24.9	23.1	22.1	
Length of Foot	12.7	13.5	12.2	11.7	12.1	11.9	11.8	11.8	11.7	12.5	12.8	12.7	12.5	12.7	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.5	12.7	13.5	12.5	12.1	12.2	12.0	11.8	13.1	13.7	12.9	11.5	11.8	
Sitting Height	150.5	147.4	145.9	133.8	143.3	142.1	142.4	135.9	137.5	139.5	150.2	139.1	143.6	136.9	141.0	136.3	137.3	137.3	140.4	142.2	139.4	138.1	137.3	140.4	127.8	127.5	134.3	129.1	143.4	135.0	141.7
Kneeling	173.9	156.8	164.7	151.9	165.1	161.2	162.7	156.9	159.2	159.6	172.8	172.5	163.7	163.7	161.0	171.6	167.3	169.2	172.2	163.3	151.9	164.1	172.9	157.9	156.9	164.5	166.7	174.6	163.7	154.7	149.6
Chin	180.5	173.7	176.9	172.1	175.5	176.1	181.7	168.3	166.5	173.3	181.9	178.3	167.7	165.1	171.6	167.3	167.3	169.2	172.2	163.3	151.9	164.1	172.9	157.9	156.9	164.5	166.7	174.6	163.7	154.7	149.6
Span of Arms	59.3	60.9	66.7	47.2	48.8	48.0	51.0	45.4	44.6	49.1	49.1	46.4	44.5	46.9	46.1	46.5	47.9	46.5	47.9	44.9	45.7	45.0	46.4	43.3	41.6	45.0	44.8	47.9	45.9	44.1	
Cubit	106.9	97.1	99.2	94.5	101.6	96.6	102.3	90.9	95.9	95.8	101.1	103.4	98.6	94.2	98.3	95.7	93.9	92.6	97.0	91.8	97.0	93.0	96.5	86.1	87.9	94.0	91.2	99.5	93.4	90.9	
Length of Leg	17.3	16.9	17.2	16.4	16.9	16.8	17.0	16.1	14.7	16.8	18.0	17.7	18.3	16.9	16.3	17.2	16.0	16.6	16.6	15.8	15.7	16.0	16.3	14.6	14.9	16.0	16.3	16.7	16.9	16.4	
" Hand	22.1	21.0	21.7	20.1	20.2	19.1	22.0	20.9	20.1	20.0	23.2	20.4	21.0	20.7	19.7	22.9	21.6	21.1	19.7	19.6	19.0	19.8	21.5	19.2	18.7	18.4	20.9	20.7	19.6	19.9	
Outer Orbit	12.3	11.5	12.3	11.3	12.2	12.1	12.0	12.5	11.8	13.1	12.7	13.0	11.9	11.2	13.0	11.7	11.5	11.9	11.9	11.3	12.1	11.2	12.7	12.0	11.9	12.3	11.9	10.9	11.2	10.9	11.2
Colour of Eye	Bu	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	
" Skin	3	1	1	3	1	1	3	1	1	3d	1	3	1	1	3d	3	1	1	3	3d	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	



HEARTS (MITIMA) CLAN.

MEN.

WOMEN.

	Galukanda.	Kilantira.	Kaliro.	Lwanga.	Balagade.	Kisimbira.	Kinya.	Gwayambade.	Musa.	Kabandagala.	Mukasasa.	Kilyo.	Kyanjo.	Kida.	Kyebando.	Kibulako.	Naguta.	Bangsibanano.	Nabyoga.	Nalule.	Nalutogo.	Nakaza.	Nakibuka.	Naku.	Mwau.	Alibakritza.	Nonyire.	Nambi.	Namusoke.	Namukasa.
Head Length	19.9	19.9	20.2	20.0	19.5	19.9	19.4	19.9	18.0	19.4	19.9	19.4	19.9	18.0	19.4	18.0	17.7	18.9	19.7	17.8	18.3	18.2	18.9	19.7	17.8	18.3	18.2	18.9	19.0	18.0
" Breadth	14.7	14.1	14.8	15.0	14.5	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3	14.3
Facial	13.7	13.8	13.6	13.8	14.7	13.7	13.5	13.6	14.5	13.0	13.3	13.8	14.4	13.0	13.8	13.9	13.2	13.4	12.9	13.6	13.0	13.7	13.6	13.5	13.6	13.5	13.8	14.0	14.3	13.0
Orbital	11.3	11.2	11.5	11.9	12.0	11.2	11.4	12.2	11.0	11.0	10.9	12.2	11.4	11.1	11.3	11.3	11.2	11.4	11.1	11.3	12.5	13.0	12.4	12.7	12.7	12.5	12.7	13.3	13.3	13.3
Nose Length	5.6	5.6	5.4	5.5	5.6	5.3	5.0	5.8	5.7	5.6	4.7	5.4	5.3	4.8	5.3	5.2	5.1	5.2	5.1	5.0	5.0	4.8	4.7	5.5	4.5	4.7	5.0	4.9	5.0	
" Breadth	4.8	4.5	4.4	4.1	4.4	4.0	4.1	4.7	4.5	4.3	4.2	4.2	4.0	4.4	4.7	4.2	4.0	4.0	3.9	4.1	4.3	3.9	4.2	4.1	4.3	3.7	4.0	4.0	4.0	
Projection to Nasion	11.4	10.6	10.8	10.4	9.3	9.7	9.7	9.7	9.6	8.5	7.1	9.2	8.6	8.3	8.6	8.8	8.6	8.6	8.8	9.3	10.4	9.9	9.5	10.5	10.6	9.7	11.1	9.8	9.9	10.0
" " Mouth	17.3	16.2	15.4	18.0	16.3	16.2	15.6	15.7	18.2	15.2	14.9	16.7	15.6	15.3	15.7	16.4	16.8	16.8	15.1	17.2	14.8	14.7	15.4	17.8	14.7	14.8	17.2	15.9	16.5	16.0
" " Ear	12.6	13.1	13.4	13.6	13.2	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	13.0	13.4	13.3	11.5	13.6	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8	12.8
Length of Foot	22.3	21.7	20.9	22.0	20.5	20.6	21.3	21.1	23.4	21.3	19.9	20.0	20.5	19.7	20.2	21.3	20.5	18.8	19.8	22.1	20.9	18.8	20.5	20.9	19.6	19.4	21.5	19.8	21.5	20.3
Sitting Height	82.7	85.2	84.9	91.9	84.2	87.4	79.9	84.3	85.8	81.4	82.2	85.6	83.9	81.6	85.0	78.9	80.8	78.9	77.1	82.3	82.7	83.2	82.3	84.8	82.2	81.1	83.3	82.1	84.2	84.2
Kneeling	123.2	123.6	128.1	133.5	133.2	127.9	125.8	116.8	125.8	119.8	120.7	125.8	121.1	117.3	119.1	118.4	118.6	115.4	108.5	118.8	113.9	117.7	113.7	123.2	120.4	111.5	116.4	112.8	115.8	119.9
Standing	107.0	104.2	154.4	161.8	159.3	150.2	149.8	140.1	149.5	140.1	139.3	159.9	169.8	168.7	157.9	156.3	162.2	153.8	148.5	158.2	151.1	159.8	153.7	166.2	150.7	149.1	157.8	150.2	156.0	161.0
Span of Arms	175.4	171.9	183.2	201.5	191.4	173.4	179.4	172.3	179.3	171.3	165.7	177.7	182.4	168.7	169.6	158.2	174.7	163.2	157.7	165.8	157.4	165.3	163.4	177.8	159.4	153.2	170.7	162.8	170.3	165.7
Cubit	48.7	47.8	50.5	55.4	51.0	51.0	48.8	48.1	50.1	46.7	45.7	48.7	51.0	46.9	45.6	44.0	47.5	45.7	44.4	46.3	42.6	45.6	45.5	49.8	45.5	43.0	47.1	44.7	44.5	
Length of Leg	97.2	96.4	107.8	109.6	107.9	100.7	101.4	97.8	104.5	98.7	96.9	101.7	102.3	95.2	93.9	92.9	99.7	92.5	87.6	95.9	89.4	95.9	94.3	99.8	94.2	89.6	92.5	90.8	95.3	93.5
" Hand	69.8	77.0	20.4	18.1	18.4	18.2	17.3	18.3	15.3	16.8	17.5	16.3	17.6	15.3	15.3	15.3	16.5	16.1	17.8	15.2	16.5	17.4	17.4	17.4	16.1	16.3	16.6	15.8	17.5	15.8
Span	21.8	20.9	19.9	23.2	21.4	20.8	21.0	20.0	22.1	19.0	19.8	21.8	19.8	19.9	21.8	20.1	20.1	18.3	21.1	19.8	20.4	19.1	21.4	21.1	21.1	18.8	21.0	18.7	21.6	21.3
Outer Orbit	11.2	13.0	12.5	13.4	13.2	12.5	12.6	13.3	13.4	12.2	11.8	12.5	13.8	13.0	12.7	13.2	12.7	12.1	12.2	13.5	11.4	12.3	11.5	11.8	12.1	12.3	12.2	12.5	12.7	12.6
Colour of Eye	B1	B1	Bd	Bd	Bd	B1	B1	Bd	Bd	B1	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd	Bd
" " Skin	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3

CROW (NAMUNGONA) CLAN.

WOMEN.

MEN.

	Luemberebe.	Muske.	Kigonzo.	Wamala.	Kiwanuka.	Kiwanuka.	Bulonde.	Kwebinga.	Nakikabi.	Semiganda.	Kityo.	Braganye.	Kajakuzimba.	Mwanga.	Bajwala.	Najuma.	Nakumbha.	Kabulide.	Nabitabo.	Mwayu.	Zakulaga.	Mamsoke.	Balileta.	Nakimu.	Tumebhigo.	Kanyange.	Nabusoga.	Nganda.	Katagya.	Nanzhi.		
Head Length	18.6	19.3	18.9	19.4	18.4	19.0	20.2	19.0	20.2	19.1	19.5	19.5	19.5	19.6	19.2	18.9	19.5	19.3	19.4	18.7	17.8	19.7	18.0	19.5	18.6	18.9	17.9	10.0	18.4	17.8		
" " Breadth	14.3	13.8	13.9	15.0	14.2	14.5	14.2	14.6	14.3	14.0	14.1	13.9	15.0	15.0	14.7	14.6	13.7	13.0	13.6	13.2	12.8	14.1	13.7	14.4	13.4	13.5	12.7	10.0	13.4	13.5		
Facial "	13.7	13.4	13.2	13.8	13.6	13.4	13.5	13.4	13.3	12.6	13.0	13.5	12.6	13.7	13.7	13.0	13.8	12.9	13.2	12.9	12.7	13.4	12.8	13.4	12.0	12.6	11.0	13.0	12.7	12.2		
Biobital "	10.4	11.1	10.9	11.4	10.7	10.6	10.6	12.0	11.2	10.7	11.8	10.5	11.1	11.8	11.1	11.8	11.1	10.8	11.1	10.6	10.3	11.4	11.2	11.1	11.1	10.6	9.9	11.3	10.5	10.5		
Nose Length	5.2	5.5	4.8	4.8	5.0	4.9	5.2	5.6	5.4	5.1	5.0	5.6	4.9	4.5	5.3	5.2	4.8	4.7	4.4	4.9	4.6	5.2	5.4	4.8	4.6	5.5	4.6	4.9	5.0	4.9		
" " Breadth	4.7	4.2	4.6	4.1	4.1	4.3	4.6	4.6	4.1	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.4	4.6	4.2	3.7	3.8	4.2	3.8	4.2	4.0	4.6	3.8	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.3	3.9	4.4	3.4	3.9	
Projection to Nasion	9.5	10.7	8.2	9.8	9.6	8.4	9.9	10.5	9.7	10.2	11.2	10.8	10.7	9.0	8.4	8.6	9.1	9.2	11.8	8.4	8.8	10.8	11.8	9.2	10.2	9.0	8.9	10.3	9.9	9.7	9.7	
Mouth	15.5	15.9	14.1	16.4	16.0	15.7	16.4	18.7	15.4	16.6	16.4	16.8	17.0	14.3	15.8	15.4	16.8	15.8	16.2	13.7	14.7	16.6	16.6	14.4	12.8	14.4	14.7	17.0	16.2	13.6	13.6	
" " Ear	11.9	13.1	12.7	13.6	13.9	12.8	13.8	14.1	13.2	12.9	12.7	13.6	13.5	12.5	13.3	13.2	11.7	13.5	12.6	12.3	11.8	13.8	12.8	13.2	13.3	11.5	12.5	14.1	12.0	12.2	12.2	
" " Chin	21.7	21.0	17.9	19.8	21.8	19.6	22.1	21.9	22.2	22.3	22.5	21.4	22.2	20.3	22.9	21.2	20.8	21.2	19.2	18.7	20.4	20.3	20.8	22.1	19.0	19.8	18.3	21.4	21.7	19.8	19.8	
Length of Foot	25.9	26.0	23.8	23.7	25.6	24.2	24.8	27.3	24.3	25.2	25.9	26.2	24.9	23.6	24.1	22.9	22.3	21.2	23.6	21.5	21.2	22.8	23.0	24.8	21.6	22.6	21.5	22.9	23.3	20.7	20.7	
Sitting Height	88.5	79.8	84.6	83.8	83.7	83.7	85.5	89.0	86.3	86.5	90.1	88.5	83.8	84.7	87.9	85.3	84.5	80.1	81.8	82.7	78.1	87.2	84.6	85.4	76.0	83.6	78.4	83.3	81.3	76.6	76.6	
Kneeling "	127.4	122.2	121.2	122.1	120.4	122.5	118.8	130.3	124.0	125.7	127.7	125.6	119.7	124.7	124.1	122.4	118.2	112.2	118.6	118.1	112.4	119.4	122.9	115.6	110.1	120.2	114.1	120.3	158.3	108.8	108.8	
Standing "	172.0	164.0	163.3	164.6	165.1	165.3	163.3	176.3	168.1	175.7	173.8	170.3	164.6	163.8	165.4	161.2	160.4	151.3	158.6	157.8	151.7	157.8	164.4	151.7	146.8	158.7	153.1	150.6	158.3	147.2	147.2	
Chin	18.7	14.9	14.0	14.3	14.7	14.1	16.2	14.2	15.2	14.5	14.9	14.8	14.4	13.9	14.5	13.9	13.9	13.9	12.8	13.7	13.2	13.6	14.2	13.4	12.5	14.1	13.8	13.4	13.2	13.8	13.7	13.7
Span of Arms	188.8	171.8	167.2	169.4	170.4	168.0	177.1	185.5	170.9	188.1	174.1	180.5	167.8	170.5	171.7	165.8	171.8	154.8	170.0	166.4	167.5	158.8	167.6	155.4	136.9	167.9	153.5	166.7	164.5	157.1	157.1	
Cubit	51.6	47.4	45.8	46.1	47.6	47.4	49.7	51.5	50.5	48.6	49.6	50.2	46.1	46.1	46.1	44.5	46.2	42.0	46.2	46.6	46.0	44.7	46.5	46.8	38.8	40.6	43.2	45.8	46.0	42.1	42.1	
Length of Hand	104.8	99.5	95.3	99.8	100.0	96.7	94.4	108.1	97.5	97.0	103.5	100.2	94.8	94.8	96.3	92.4	95.9	89.6	97.0	96.2	90.0	95.2	100.8	86.8	88.8	94.3	92.9	95.9	96.1	91.1	91.1	
" " Leg	17.1	15.0	16.3	15.6	16.6	15.8	17.4	17.1	17.8	17.2	17.7	17.7	16.8	16.2	16.8	16.1	17.1	15.3	15.5	16.7	15.5	15.2	15.6	15.3	15.4	16.8	15.8	15.7	15.5	14.4	14.4	
Span	23.1	20.6	19.9	18.4	21.8	20.8	19.4	23.4	22.1	21.9	21.2	21.9	18.9	20.5	20.0	19.5	23.3	19.3	20.2	21.5	21.7	19.3	21.8	20.9	20.1	20.7	18.9	19.9	20.8	18.1	18.1	
Outer Orbit	11.1	12.3	12.0	12.6	12.3	12.0	11.3	13.0	12.7	12.3	11.5	12.9	11.3	13.3	13.5	13.5	11.5	12.0	12.0	11.9	10.9	12.6	13.2	12.0	13.3	11.7	11.4	12.4	11.6	11.4	11.4	
Colour of Eye	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	B <sup>1</sup>	
" " Skin	3 <sup>0</sup>	3 <sup>0</sup>	I	3 <sup>d</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>d</sup>	1 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>d</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>d</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	3 <sup>1</sup>	

I. UNG FISH (MAMBA MUGUYA) CLAN.

15 MEN.

15 WOMEN.

	Kyakwambala.	Mubanga.	Nsubuga.	Mukuye.	Kirembe.	Samba.	Mude.	Ndwalana.	Baziye.	Mukasa.	Kaiwanite.	Nunuka.	Kitekuma.	Mukutu.	Sekanalaya.	Kayaga.	Nakibuka.	Namutebi.	Kakusa.	Nakama.	Nambi.	Memeteyebuza.	Namulwana.	Nanbuga.	Nambi Kabiriko.	Bulya.	Namirembe.	Nakazi.	Nakalem.
Head Length	19.3	19.3	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9	19.9
" Breadth	14.3	14.3	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1	14.1
Facial	13.3	13.3	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6	13.6
Borbital	11.0	11.4	10.9	10.6	11.3	11.8	10.8	11.0	11.5	11.5	11.1	11.6	11.5	11.1	11.6	11.1	10.8	11.7	12.4	12.4	13.2	12.5	13.8	13.5	12.3	12.8	13.2	12.9	13.2
Nose Length	5.0	5.1	5.3	4.7	5.8	5.7	5.2	4.6	5.0	5.1	5.3	5.3	5.4	4.7	5.0	4.0	4.0	4.1	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	5.0	5.3	4.7	4.4	5.8	5.6	4.9
" Breadth	4.8	4.3	5.1	4.4	4.4	4.5	4.6	4.4	4.2	4.5	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.4	3.9	4.3	4.2	4.1	3.6	4.3	4.2	4.6	3.8	4.1	4.1	4.4	4.4	4.4
Projection to Nasion	10.3	10.4	9.8	10.3	10.0	9.2	9.1	9.3	9.1	8.4	10.1	10.0	10.0	10.0	10.0	9.8	10.0	10.6	11.1	9.9	9.6	8.3	11.8	10.0	8.8	10.5	11.7	11.4	9.0
" " Mouth	13.6	16.1	15.5	15.3	15.3	16.0	15.5	15.4	14.1	15.1	15.8	15.2	15.5	16.4	15.5	15.5	14.2	15.8	16.4	14.2	15.0	13.4	15.4	16.0	13.8	15.5	17.4	18.3	16.6
" " Ear	12.4	13.1	13.9	12.7	13.4	12.4	12.1	13.5	13.4	12.7	13.8	13.7	13.0	12.6	13.2	12.7	11.9	13.2	13.4	11.9	12.4	12.4	13.7	13.3	13.7	11.8	12.6	12.7	13.8
Length of Foot	20.7	21.4	20.9	20.3	21.3	20.3	20.2	20.7	20.3	20.6	21.5	21.4	23.2	21.5	20.8	20.6	18.8	20.4	20.5	20.0	18.8	18.2	20.3	21.2	19.6	21.5	22.4	21.7	21.5
Sitting Height	84.8	85.6	85.8	86.9	79.9	81.7	85.2	84.7	78.9	80.8	87.6	84.6	82.4	85.5	82.4	84.4	79.6	82.6	79.3	80.5	83.2	73.5	80.5	81.3	83.3	80.3	80.0	79.0	86.8
Kneeling	119	124	120	120	124	123	123	123	122	118	127	121	127	115	127	123	115	127	117	110	117	110	124	117	110	117	110	117	110
Stranding	160	167	166	167	168	167	167	166	166	166	171	163	170	166	174	164	153	158	155	154	159	147	167	158	152	159	156	163	151
Chin	139	147	148	147	145	146	149	145	139	149	142	148	149	134	149	144	133	138	133	133	138	129	146	138	132	136	142	136	129
Span of Arms	168	175	175	176	176	176	176	176	176	176	179	179	186	169	178	165	158	166	165	161	170	161	175	166	157	167	166	176	156
Cubit	46.1	45.4	47.0	45.5	49.5	48.1	47.3	46.1	48.8	44.2	50.9	47.4	48.7	50.2	45.4	43.1	44.9	41.6	44.8	47.9	43.6	47.9	46.5	43.1	44.2	46.2	48.0	43.8	42.4
Length of Leg	96.4	100.3	102.0	100.5	103.7	102.4	97.7	103.0	101.9	98.1	103.0	100.6	101.1	91.3	107.1	97.6	92.2	97.9	93.1	94.3	96.9	90.3	103.4	96.7	90.9	95.5	89.6	95.3	88.0
" " Hand	16.2	16.6	16.1	16.0	18.0	16.5	16.5	16.3	16.3	16.3	17.9	17.1	17.6	17.5	18.1	16.6	16.1	15.8	16.0	15.3	16.3	14.7	17.2	16.3	15.6	15.8	16.3	16.0	15.0
Span	21.7	21.5	21.2	20.1	23.1	20.8	21.5	20.5	20.4	20.3	21.3	20.7	21.8	20.8	21.2	20.7	19.5	19.3	19.3	19.4	19.9	19.2	20.6	19.1	14.6	17.0	19.7	20.0	19.0
Outer Orbit	12.0	12.1	11.2	11.1	12.0	12.7	13.2	13.1	13.3	13.6	12.1	11.9	12.8	11.8	12.7	11.6	11.2	11.3	11.0	10.6	12.4	11.7	13.0	12.3	11.2	12.2	12.7	12.9	12.3
Colour of Eye	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad	Ad
" " Skin	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d	3d

LEOPARD (NGO) CLAN.

ORIBI (MPEWO) CLAN.

HEART (MUTIMA) CLAN.

	17 MALES.			15 FEMALES.			General Average.	17 MALES.			15 FEMALES.			General Average.
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.		Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	
Head Length ...	21.0	18.5	19.53	20.1	17.8	18.96	19.06	20.4	18.8	19.71	19.4	17.8	18.44	19.08
" Breadth ...	15.5	13.5	14.36	14.3	13.1	13.74	14.05	15.2	13.9	14.49	14.4	13.0	13.77	14.18
Facial ...	14.5	13.0	13.67	14.1	12.3	13.00	13.33	14.4	12.9	13.6	13.7	12.4	13.01	13.31
Biorbital ...	—	—	11.85	11.4	10.9	11.17	11.51	12.1	10.4	11.23	11.9	10.4	11.08	11.16
Nose Length ...	6.2	4.5	5.26	5.7	4.4	5.09	5.17	5.9	4.7	5.34	5.5	4.6	5.04	5.19
" Breadth ...	5.5	4.0	4.64	5.0	3.7	4.22	4.43	5.1	3.6	4.43	4.4	3.7	4.02	4.22
Projection to Nasion ...	14.9	8.1	10.66	10.7	7.8	9.34	10.00	11.4	8.4	9.64	11.2	8.3	9.60	9.67
" " Mouth ...	18.3	11.3	16.24	17.4	12.2	15.19	15.71	18.8	15.2	16.5	18.6	12.8	15.83	16.17
" " Ear ...	14.7	12.0	13.2	14.0	11.4	12.51	12.85	13.7	12.3	13.15	13.6	11.0	12.29	12.72
" " Chin ...	23.5	20.6	22.15	22.3	17.9	20.02	21.08	22.7	19.0	21.34	21.4	19.5	20.29	20.78
Length of Foot ...	27.2	22.7	25.0	26.0	20.9	23.67	24.34	28.1	24.2	25.80	24.2	20.8	22.88	24.39
Sitting Height ...	90.1	74.1	83.78	85.6	78.1	81.91	82.38	83.1	81.1	85.56	85.4	79.8	81.02	83.29
Kneeling ...	13.7	11.68	12.478	12.4	11.6	11.816	12.17	13.0	11.8	12.59	12.21	10.9	11.6	12.12
Standing ...	179.0	157.5	168.68	169.8	151.4	159.11	163.89	186.7	159.6	170.12	163.9	149.9	156.56	163.34
Height to Chin ...	156.4	135.7	146.64	148.5	132.2	131.9	139.27	166.3	135.7	148.34	143.1	125.1	135.81	142.08
Span of Arms ...	196.4	163.4	175.4	179.6	154.9	166.37	170.86	188.1	167.2	177.87	168.4	154.7	163.37	170.62
Cubit ...	54.5	44.1	48.06	50.1	43.1	45.72	46.89	54.1	45.3	48.73	47.2	42.7	45.4	47.07
Length of Leg ...	111.4	93.4	101.43	105.2	91.9	97.66	99.25	114.1	94.7	102.21	100.4	82.6	94.13	98.57
" " Hand ...	19.3	15.5	16.90	18.0	15.0	16.51	16.75	19.1	12.2	17.21	17.4	14.8	16.12	16.67
Outer Orbit ...	14.0	11.5	12.93	14.1	11.2	12.13	12.53	13.7	11.1	12.28	12.3	11.0	11.71	12.00
Span of Hand ...	23.2	19.5	21.29	21.9	18.0	20.31	20.8	23.2	19.2	21.04	21.1	17.4	19.81	20.43
	19.9	18.72	19.17	19.9	17.7	18.44	19.08	20.3	18.9	19.17	19.9	17.7	18.44	19.08
	14.12	13.97	14.18	15.0	14.0	14.56	14.18	15.0	14.0	14.56	14.7	12.9	13.77	14.18
	13.3	12.82	13.31	14.7	13.0	13.78	13.78	14.7	13.0	13.78	13.8	11.1	12.82	13.31
	11.22	10.99	11.14	12.2	10.9	11.44	11.16	12.2	10.9	11.44	11.6	10.2	10.99	11.14
	5.12	4.9	5.19	5.8	4.7	5.34	5.19	5.8	4.7	5.34	5.5	4.4	4.9	5.12
	4.26	4.08	4.43	5.0	4.0	4.43	4.22	5.0	4.0	4.43	4.4	3.6	4.08	4.26
	16.76	16.01	16.71	17.6	16.0	16.99	16.71	17.6	16.0	16.99	17.8	16.3	16.93	16.76
	12.8c	12.56	12.72	14.1	11.5	13.03	12.72	14.1	11.5	13.03	13.9	11.3	12.56	12.8c
	20.7	20.39	20.78	23.4	19.7	21.00	20.78	23.4	19.7	21.00	22.1	18.8	20.39	20.78
	24.32	23.21	25.43	26.8	23.2	25.43	26.8	23.2	23.2	25.43	25.9	21.1	23.21	24.32
	80.00	76.7	84.54	86.6	76.4	84.54	86.6	76.7	76.4	84.54	86.6	76.7	80.00	80.00
	116.26	108.5	123.62	123.2	108.5	133.5	123.2	108.5	108.5	123.62	123.2	108.5	116.26	116.26
	155.93	143.8	163.34	162.9	143.8	163.34	162.9	143.8	143.8	163.34	162.9	143.8	155.93	155.93
	140.6	133.97	142.08	146.0	133.9	142.08	146.0	133.9	133.9	142.08	144.4	125.9	133.97	140.6
	170.4	164.33	176.61	177.8	164.33	180.62	176.61	177.8	164.33	180.62	177.8	164.33	170.4	170.4
	47.1	45.33	47.07	55.4	45.6	48.8	47.07	55.4	45.6	48.8	47.5	42.6	45.33	47.1
	96.0	93.39	100.56	100.9	87.6	100.56	100.9	87.6	87.6	100.56	98.8	87.6	93.39	96.0
	16.8	16.43	17.32	18.4	15.3	17.32	16.67	18.4	15.3	17.32	18.4	15.3	16.43	16.8
	12.5	12.34	12.76	13.8	11.2	12.76	13.8	11.2	11.2	12.76	13.5	11.4	12.34	12.5
	20.4	18.3	20.79	23.2	19.0	20.79	23.2	19.0	19.0	20.79	21.6	18.3	20.4	20.4

ANTHROPOMETRIC TABLES.

GRASSHOPPER (NSENENE) CLAN.

LUNG FISH (MAMBA MUGUYA) CLAN.

CANE RAT (MUSU) CLAN.

	15 MALES.				15 FEMALES.				15 MALES.				15 FEMALES.				16 MALES.				16 FEMALES.						
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.			
Head Length ...	24.1	18.5	19.69	19.36	19.02	18.3	19.55	19.13	19.6	17.8	18.71	19.13	18.7	17.8	18.71	19.13	18.7	17.8	18.71	20.3	18.7	19.13	19.13	18.7	17.8	18.71	19.13
" Breadth ...	15.1	13.6	14.36	14.1	13.83	12.2	14.33	13.93	14.9	12.2	13.6	14.33	13.93	14.2	13.0	13.53	15.0	13.6	14.36	15.0	13.6	14.36	15.0	13.6	14.36	15.0	13.6
Facial " ...	14.5	12.5	13.62	13.34	13.05	11.7	13.42	13.18	14.0	12.5	13.42	13.18	14.0	12.5	13.42	13.18	14.0	12.5	13.42	14.0	12.5	13.42	14.0	12.5	13.42	14.0	12.5
Orbital " ...	12.6	10.7	11.29	11.09	10.88	10.4	11.23	11.01	11.8	10.6	11.23	11.01	11.8	10.6	11.23	11.01	11.8	10.6	11.23	11.8	10.6	11.23	11.8	10.6	11.23	11.8	10.6
Nose Length ...	5.7	4.7	5.19	5.09	5.09	4.7	5.18	5.0	5.8	4.6	5.18	5.0	5.8	4.6	5.18	5.0	5.8	4.6	5.18	5.8	4.6	5.18	5.8	4.6	5.18	5.8	4.6
" Breadth ...	5.1	4.1	4.61	4.36	4.1	3.6	4.56	4.2	5.1	4.2	4.56	4.2	5.1	4.2	4.56	4.2	5.1	4.2	4.56	5.1	4.2	4.56	5.1	4.2	4.56	5.1	4.2
Projection to Nasion ...	10.7	7.4	9.09	9.26	9.42	8.5	9.73	9.18	10.8	8.4	9.73	9.18	10.8	8.4	9.73	9.18	10.8	8.4	9.73	11.7	8.3	10.23	11.7	8.3	10.23	11.7	8.3
" " " " Mouth ...	17.4	13.6	15.25	14.55	14.00	12.8	14.5	15.60	16.4	14.1	15.60	15.25	16.4	14.1	15.60	15.25	16.4	14.1	15.60	18.2	14.1	15.60	18.2	14.1	15.60	18.2	14.1
" " " " Ear ...	14.0	11.8	12.37	12.49	12.49	11.4	12.49	12.68	13.9	12.1	12.68	12.49	13.9	12.1	12.68	12.49	13.9	12.1	12.68	14.3	11.8	12.68	14.3	11.8	12.68	14.3	11.8
" " " " Chin ...	22.7	18.8	20.6	20.46	20.31	19.1	20.31	20.46	23.2	20.2	20.46	20.31	23.2	20.2	20.46	20.31	23.2	20.2	20.46	26.2	20.2	20.46	26.2	20.2	20.46	26.2	20.2
Length of Foot ...	26.00	23.3	24.83	24.22	23.61	21.8	23.61	24.22	26.2	23.7	24.22	24.22	26.2	23.7	24.22	24.22	26.2	23.7	24.22	28.2	23.8	24.22	28.2	23.8	24.22	28.2	23.8
Sitting Height ...	89.6	78.1	83.94	82.43	80.91	75.1	80.91	82.43	90.2	78.9	80.91	82.43	90.2	78.9	80.91	82.43	90.2	78.9	80.91	97.4	76.7	80.91	97.4	76.7	80.91	97.4	76.7
Kneeling " ...	133.6	117.9	124.0	121.27	118.54	113.8	118.54	121.27	127.9	115.8	118.54	121.27	127.9	115.8	118.54	121.27	127.9	115.8	118.54	136.6	113.4	118.54	136.6	113.4	118.54	136.6	113.4
Standing " ...	180.1	157.6	174.5	163.48	159.51	154.5	159.51	163.48	174.4	156.6	159.51	163.48	174.4	156.6	159.51	163.48	174.4	156.6	159.51	187.5	154.1	159.51	187.5	154.1	159.51	187.5	154.1
Height to Chin ...	159.8	136.9	147.61	142.49	137.97	132.3	137.97	142.49	149.6	134.6	137.97	142.49	149.6	134.6	137.97	142.49	149.6	134.6	137.97	167.5	144.8	137.97	167.5	144.8	137.97	167.5	144.8
Span of Arms ...	195.1	159.9	174.87	170.23	165.59	156.4	165.59	170.23	186.1	168.1	165.59	170.23	186.1	168.1	165.59	170.23	186.1	168.1	165.59	197.7	172.1	165.59	197.7	172.1	165.59	197.7	172.1
Cubit ...	52.1	43.5	47.95	46.92	45.80	42.3	45.80	46.92	50.2	44.2	45.80	46.92	50.2	44.2	45.80	46.92	50.2	44.2	45.80	57.2	44.8	45.80	57.2	44.8	45.80	57.2	44.8
Length of Leg ...	108.1	91.3	99.15	97.77	95.99	92.3	95.99	97.77	107.1	91.1	95.99	97.77	107.1	91.1	95.99	97.77	107.1	91.1	95.99	113.4	88.0	95.99	113.4	88.0	95.99	113.4	88.0
" " " " Hand ...	18.1	15.6	16.6	16.44	16.27	14.8	16.27	16.44	18.1	16.2	16.6	16.44	18.1	16.2	16.6	16.44	18.1	16.2	16.6	19.7	14.6	16.6	19.7	14.6	16.6	19.7	14.6
Outer Orbit ...	13.3	10.8	12.2	12.01	11.81	10.8	11.81	12.01	13.3	11.1	12.2	12.01	13.3	11.1	12.2	12.01	13.3	11.1	12.2	15.8	11.2	12.2	15.8	11.2	12.2	15.8	11.2
Span of Hand ...	23.5	18.1	20.59	20.57	20.55	18.8	20.55	20.57	23.1	20.1	21.06	20.62	23.1	20.1	21.06	20.62	23.1	20.1	21.06	26.7	14.6	21.06	26.7	14.6	21.06	26.7	14.6
General Average.	19.1	18.7	19.13	19.13	18.71	17.8	18.71	19.13	20.3	18.7	19.13	19.13	18.7	17.8	18.71	19.13	20.3	18.7	19.13	20.6	18.7	19.13	20.6	18.7	19.13	20.6	18.7

YAM (KOBE)  
CLAN.

BIRD (NVONYI)  
CLAN.

BUFFALO (MBOGO) TAILLESS COW  
CLAN.  
(ENTE YAKIKUGU)  
CLAN.

	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.		Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	
Head Length	20.5	18.4	19.49	19.5	17.4	18.73	19.06	20.4	18.2	19.47	19.3	17.7	18.61	19.04
" " Breadth	15.1	13.5	14.36	14.2	12.8	13.99	14.18	15.0	13.0	14.11	14.3	12.6	13.55	13.83
Facial	14.6	12.6	13.73	13.0	12.2	12.95	13.34	14.4	12.7	13.54	14.0	11.9	12.9	13.22
Biorbital	12.1	10.5	11.39	12.8	10.2	11.11	11.25	13.2	10.8	11.47	12.0	10.2	11.05	11.26
Nose Length	5.8	4.6	5.19	5.8	4.7	5.1	5.15	5.8	4.5	5.29	5.2	4.4	4.85	5.07
" " Breadth	5.3	3.7	4.46	4.3	3.2	4.0	4.23	4.8	3.7	4.35	4.4	3.7	3.93	4.14
Projection to Nasion	12.8	9.1	10.48	11.2	9.1	10.04	10.26	11.7	8.4	10.53	12.2	8.5	10.69	10.61
Month	19.2	15.5	16.81	17.3	14.3	15.65	16.23	18.2	15.2	16.8	18.5	13.4	16.33	16.21
" " "	14.5	12.7	13.4	14.1	12.0	12.84	13.12	14.1	11.8	13.09	14.7	11.9	12.91	13.00
" " Chin	25.5	20.1	21.99	24.0	19.2	21.04	21.52	23.8	20.5	21.93	23.4	18.8	20.99	21.46
Length of Foot	26.4	23.3	24.65	26.5	20.5	23.45	24.05	26.4	23.8	25.13	28.4	20.6	22.61	23.89
Sitting Height	85.9	80.3	83.77	82.9	74.6	79.87	80.5	88.5	80.3	85.93	84.4	74.8	79.88	82.46
Kneeling	131.6	116.2	123.1	122.4	108.6	116.37	119.74	130.5	116.5	124.42	124.1	107.9	115.72	120.07
Standing	128.0	157.9	166.12	164.3	145.2	156.36	161.24	177.6	159.3	168.77	165.4	144.3	154.92	161.85
Chin	137.7	126.3	145.77	144.5	127.8	136.99	141.38	153.7	138.8	147.6	143.3	123.3	134.73	141.17
Span of Arms	194.8	166.9	173.39	173.5	149.7	163.55	161.97	186.3	176.9	178.0	185.5	145.1	162.57	170.39
Cubit	53.0	44.8	48.43	47.8	40.6	45.97	46.75	50.8	44.4	49.68	50.0	41.1	45.42	47.25
Length	168.7	93.3	100.43	97.9	85.5	92.55	96.49	104.5	94.7	99.97	99.8	82.8	92.29	96.73
" " Leg	17.9	15.8	16.63	17.0	14.9	15.99	16.31	18.6	15.4	17.99	18.6	14.6	16.17	16.63
" " Hand	13.2	11.2	12.51	13.3	10.8	11.83	12.17	14.1	11.8	12.78	13.2	11.0	12.02	12.40
Outer Orbit	23.1	19.4	21.05	22.6	17.6	19.99	20.52	23.2	19.2	21.25	21.5	18.1	19.62	20.44
Span of Hand	23.8	18.3	21.36	21.5	16.3	19.62	20.44	23.1	19.3	21.36	21.5	16.3	19.62	20.44
Average.	20.5	18.3	19.64	20.7	18.4	19.04	19.04	20.7	18.4	19.04	20.7	18.4	19.04	19.04
Maximum.	20.5	18.3	19.64	20.7	18.4	19.04	19.04	20.7	18.4	19.04	20.7	18.4	19.04	19.04
Minimum.	15.0	12.8	14.29	15.5	13.2	14.29	14.29	15.5	13.2	14.29	15.5	13.2	14.29	14.29
Average.	15.0	12.8	14.29	15.5	13.2	14.29	14.29	15.5	13.2	14.29	15.5	13.2	14.29	14.29
Maximum.	14.2	13.2	13.65	14.2	13.2	13.65	13.65	14.2	13.2	13.65	14.2	13.2	13.65	13.65
Minimum.	11.8	11.0	11.48	11.8	11.0	11.48	11.48	11.8	11.0	11.48	11.8	11.0	11.48	11.48
Average.	6.0	4.5	5.25	6.0	4.5	5.25	5.25	6.0	4.5	5.25	6.0	4.5	5.25	5.25
Maximum.	5.7	3.9	4.30	5.7	3.9	4.30	4.30	5.7	3.9	4.30	5.7	3.9	4.30	4.30
Minimum.	10.53	12.2	10.79	10.53	12.2	10.79	10.79	10.53	12.2	10.79	10.53	12.2	10.79	10.79
Average.	10.53	12.2	10.79	10.53	12.2	10.79	10.79	10.53	12.2	10.79	10.53	12.2	10.79	10.79
Maximum.	14.5	11.3	13.3	14.5	11.3	13.3	13.3	14.5	11.3	13.3	14.5	11.3	13.3	13.3
Minimum.	21.85	22.9	22.27	21.85	22.9	22.27	22.27	21.85	22.9	22.27	21.85	22.9	22.27	22.27
Average.	25.49	26.5	24.52	25.49	26.5	24.52	24.52	25.49	26.5	24.52	25.49	26.5	24.52	24.52
Maximum.	86.58	92.5	79.4	86.58	92.5	79.4	79.4	86.58	92.5	79.4	86.58	92.5	79.4	79.4
Average.	126.73	136.1	117.9	126.73	136.1	117.9	117.9	126.73	136.1	117.9	126.73	136.1	117.9	117.9
Minimum.	171.21	184.5	159.3	171.21	184.5	159.3	159.3	171.21	184.5	159.3	171.21	184.5	159.3	159.3
Average.	150.67	159.5	138.8	150.67	159.5	138.8	138.8	150.67	159.5	138.8	150.67	159.5	138.8	138.8
Maximum.	182.73	184.3	164.8	182.73	184.3	164.8	164.8	182.73	184.3	164.8	182.73	184.3	164.8	164.8
Average.	49.92	52.8	44.7	49.92	52.8	44.7	44.7	49.92	52.8	44.7	49.92	52.8	44.7	44.7
Minimum.	101.43	110.6	90.5	101.43	110.6	90.5	90.5	101.43	110.6	90.5	101.43	110.6	90.5	90.5
Average.	17.27	19.4	15.7	17.27	19.4	15.7	15.7	17.27	19.4	15.7	17.27	19.4	15.7	15.7
Maximum.	13.08	13.5	12.7	13.08	13.5	12.7	12.7	13.08	13.5	12.7	13.08	13.5	12.7	12.7
Average.	21.36	23.8	18.3	21.36	23.8	18.3	18.3	21.36	23.8	18.3	21.36	23.8	18.3	18.3
Minimum.	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3	16.3
Average.	21.36	23.8	18.3	21.36	23.8	18.3	18.3	21.36	23.8	18.3	21.36	23.8	18.3	18.3

LUNG FISH (MAMBA BAKEREKERE) CLAN. BUSHBUCK (NGABI) CLAN. CROW (NAMUNGONA) CLAN.

	I MEN.			15 WOMEN.			15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	
Head Length	20.4	18.6	19.37	19.00	20.3	18.6	19.56	18.96	19.11	20.6	18.4	19.43	19.7	17.8	18.75	19.09	19.09		
" Breadth	15.0	13.6	14.29	14.94	15.0	13.5	14.26	13.7	13.98	15.0	13.8	14.34	14.4	12.7	13.59	13.97	13.97		
Orbital	14.6	12.0	13.8	13.35	15.1	12.7	13.78	13.78	13.39	14.4	12.6	13.42	13.8	11.9	12.9	13.16	13.16		
" " "	12.4	10.8	11.27	11.04	11.8	10.5	11.21	11.5	10.87	11.04	10.5	11.07	11.5	9.9	10.27	10.67	10.67		
Snout Length	5.8	4.6	5.21	5.06	6.2	4.6	5.29	5.5	5.05	5.6	4.5	5.13	5.5	4.4	4.9	5.02	5.02		
" Breadth	5.2	3.8	4.5	4.32	4.8	3.9	4.37	4.8	4.19	4.7	4.1	4.35	4.4	3.4	4.01	4.18	4.18		
Projection to Nasion	10.6	8.8	9.84	9.59	11.5	9.3	10.35	11.1	9.87	11.2	8.2	10.85	11.8	8.4	9.79	9.82	9.82		
" " "	17.0	14.0	15.51	15.08	17.4	14.2	15.67	16.4	15.53	15.6	18.6	14.1	16.08	17.0	15.27	15.68	15.68		
" " "	13.9	11.9	12.92	12.72	13.7	12.2	13.04	13.8	12.77	12.91	11.9	13.17	14.1	11.5	12.7	12.94	12.94		
" " "	26.8	23.1	25.21	25.06	27.9	23.3	25.24	25.1	23.6	24.42	27.3	23.6	25.03	24.3	20.7	22.36	23.7		
Length of Foot	128.0	117.6	127.39	119.08	130.8	117.5	122.56	124.57	117.05	119.31	118.8	123.82	122.9	108.6	116.73	120.28	120.28		
" " "	177.5	158.7	167.56	160.94	178.2	160.7	167.18	168.3	145.8	156.74	161.06	176.5	163.1	164.4	146.8	153.92	161.72		
Span of Arms	158.5	130.2	146.71	140.39	158.2	130.3	146.15	146.9	136.75	141.45	152.3	139.7	145.07	142.6	125.9	135.52	140.3		
" " "	189.3	169.6	179.74	170.99	186.4	168.3	178.13	175.3	148.5	164.71	171.45	188.6	167.7	173.45	162.98	169.22	169.22		
Span of Leg	51.7	44.9	48.87	49.13	52.0	46.2	49.1	48.0	41.0	43.33	47.22	51.6	45.8	42.0	44.93	46.61	46.61		
" " "	108.9	94.4	101.65	97.26	110.5	96.6	101.62	101.7	88.5	94.04	96.13	108.1	94.4	86.8	93.35	96.43	96.43		
Span of Hand	18.8	15.5	17.34	16.75	18.1	16.6	17.08	18.3	14.0	16.39	16.74	17.8	15.6	17.1	15.99	16.32	16.32		
Outer Orbit	14.2	12.1	12.8	12.31	14.0	11.6	12.38	13.3	11.0	12.06	12.22	13.7	11.1	12.37	13.3	12.25	12.25		
Span of Hand	24.9	19.1	21.62	20.90	22.8	18.8	20.92	21.9	18.0	19.75	20.34	23.4	18.4	18.9	20.4	20.05	20.05		

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GENET (KASIMBA) CLAN.

KATINVUMA CLAN.

	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.		Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	
Head Length	207	185	1958	191	180	1851	1908	202	183	193	200	175	1863	1897
" Breadth	154	137	142	140	126	1341	1381	151	140	1452	148	132	1357	1405
Facial	143	128	1347	134	120	1276	1312	152	132	1389	140	121	1294	1342
Biorbital	119	104	1111	103	100	1089	110	109	109	114	118	104	111	1125
Nose Length	57	48	52	57	42	492	506	55	44	490	57	43	497	498
" Breadth	50	38	444	44	37	397	421	49	39	446	48	36	406	426
Projection to Nasion	107	89	975	100	81	882	979	119	93	1061	116	81	1008	1035
" " Ear	180	142	1622	176	140	1509	1596	179	151	1621	176	142	1569	1595
" " Chin	143	123	1327	137	115	1289	1289	152	126	1351	133	115	1259	1305
Length of oot	227	191	2125	224	191	2041	2083	237	197	220	228	193	2006	2148
Sitting Height	266	222	2457	249	220	2323	239	265	225	244	255	205	2339	2352
Kneeling	86	76	8149	848	765	8657	8103	882	784	8397	833	744	7944	8169
Standing	1279	1107	12014	1217	1089	11776	1181	1184	1227	1201	1201	1067	1155	1191
Chin	159	138	16267	1637	1457	15549	15908	1733	1580	16577	1643	1452	1556	16064
Span of Arms	1862	1651	17532	1746	1516	16436	16984	1862	1645	17573	1714	1511	16347	16966
Cubit	510	445	47669	479	416	4547	46158	504	434	4832	493	422	4535	4684
Length of Leg	1069	909	9843	995	861	9343	9503	1066	868	9881	1018	875	9389	9635
" " Hand	183	147	16885	172	146	1631	1653	184	168	1803	170	146	1597	1695
Outer Orbit	139	112	12225	127	109	1197	1198	136	114	1261	130	112	123	1246
Span of Hand	232	191	20888	229	184	2047	2053	239	194	2093	210	180	1983	2028



MONKEY (NKIMA) CLAN.

SHEEP (ENDIGA) CLAN.

	15 MEN.				15 WOMEN.				15 MEN.				15 WOMEN.			
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	General Average.
	Length of Head	20.58	18.4	10.45	10.3	17.9	13.6	13.08	10.3	20.0	18.5	10.62	10.1	17.5	14.1	11.81
Breadth "	15.2	13.5	14.31	14.3	13.0	13.65	13.08	13.0	15.7	13.4	14.51	14.2	12.9	13.73	14.12	14.12
Facial Breadth "	14.4	12.5	13.6	13.5	12.5	12.70	13.28	13.28	14.4	12.6	13.68	13.5	12.2	12.86	13.27	13.27
Orbital ...	12.0	10.5	11.25	11.7	10.2	11.09	11.17	11.17	12.0	10.3	11.29	12.0	10.3	11.1	11.21	11.21
Nose Length	6.1	4.8	5.3	5.8	4.3	5.02	5.16	5.16	5.8	4.6	5.06	5.6	4.0	5.04	5.05	5.05
" Breadth	4.9	4.0	4.34	4.4	3.4	3.92	4.13	4.13	4.9	4.1	4.43	4.2	3.0	3.91	4.17	4.17
" Projection to Nasion	13.0	8.8	12.64	11.1	8.5	9.87	11.26	11.9	8.9	10.59	11.6	11.6	8.6	9.85	10.22	10.22
" Mouth	18.5	14.1	16.94	17.8	14.3	15.57	16.26	17.6	13.7	16.03	17.2	14.3	15.61	15.82	15.82	15.82
" Ear	14.1	12.4	13.36	14.2	11.1	12.64	13.0	14.8	12.7	13.34	13.3	11.8	12.68	13.01	13.01	13.01
" Chin	24.0	20.3	22.04	23.7	18.8	20.12	21.08	23.3	20.2	21.65	22.1	18.6	20.37	21.01	21.01	21.01
Length of Foot	27.5	23.4	24.91	23.4	20.4	22.17	23.54	26.4	23.4	24.53	24.7	19.3	22.43	23.48	23.48	23.48
Sitting Height	88.3	78.1	83.74	83.3	74.7	78.8	81.70	87.6	78.0	82.45	86.9	76.8	80.86	81.66	81.66	81.66
Kneeling "	136.1	118.1	123.97	120.5	108.7	114.69	119.33	128.1	126.8	116.6	122.1	126.8	109.0	114.69	118.4	118.4
Standing "	176.5	158.1	167.9	162.1	147.3	154.25	161.08	171.0	159.9	165.55	171.8	147.7	154.67	160.11	160.11	160.11
Span of Arms	157.0	136.6	146.87	142.4	128.1	135.07	140.97	152.9	139.5	144.79	152.9	126.0	135.64	140.22	140.22	140.22
Chin	189.4	164.9	176.96	172.7	149.1	159.93	168.45	187.7	166.7	176.53	182.6	150.2	162.10	169.36	169.36	169.36
Span of Arms	51.7	45.7	48.76	48.4	38.7	41.09	46.43	52.6	45.6	48.65	50.3	42.0	45.31	46.98	46.98	46.98
Cubit	109.7	80.4	100.33	99.4	85.1	91.68	96.01	108.8	93.5	99.31	102.6	85.7	91.41	95.30	95.30	95.30
Length of Leg	18.3	16.1	16.91	17.4	14.3	15.84	16.38	18.2	15.2	16.8	16.8	16.8	14.2	15.63	16.22	16.22
" Hand	13.7	12.0	12.52	13.1	10.7	12.12	12.32	13.5	11.1	12.65	13.6	11.4	12.23	12.44	12.44	12.44
Outer Orbit	22.3	19.2	20.77	21.6	18.3	19.93	20.35	22.6	18.7	20.79	21.6	16.6	19.69	20.24	20.24	20.24
Span of Hand	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

AVERAGE OF CLANS—FEMALES.

	Genet.	Katinyuma.	Grey Monkey	Lung Fish Mamba Mugaye.	Lung Fish Bakerekere.	Bushbuck.	Crow.	Grasshopper.	Cane Rat.	Leopard.	Oribi.	Heart.	Yam.	Bird.	Sheep.	Mixed Clans.	General Average 242 Women.
Head Length	18.57	18.63	18.16	18.71	18.63	18.95	18.75	19.02	18.7	18.56	18.44	18.72	18.73	18.91	18.49	18.74	18.81
" Breadth	13.41	13.57	13.65	13.53	13.79	13.7	13.59	13.83	13.76	13.74	13.77	13.97	13.99	13.55	13.73	13.58	13.68
Facial	12.76	12.94	12.96	12.94	12.79	12.99	12.96	12.9	12.86	13.00	13.01	12.82	12.95	12.86	12.93	12.92	12.93
Biorbital	10.89	11.1	11.09	11.01	10.8	10.87	10.27	10.88	11.46	11.17	11.08	10.99	11.11	11.05	11.1	11.01	10.99
Nose Length	4.92	4.97	5.02	4.82	4.9	5.05	4.9	5.09	5.07	5.09	5.04	4.9	5.1	4.85	5.04	5.11	4.99
" Breadth	3.97	4.06	3.92	4.05	4.13	4.9	4.97	4.42	4.35	4.34	4.34	4.08	4.0	3.93	3.91	3.98	4.04
Projection to Nasion	9.82	10.08	9.87	10.23	9.34	9.87	9.79	10.42	9.35	9.34	9.66	9.82	10.04	10.69	9.85	10.01	9.83
" "	15.69	15.69	15.57	15.66	14.65	15.53	15.27	14.55	15.34	15.19	15.33	15.83	15.65	16.33	15.61	15.94	15.52
" Ear	12.1	12.59	12.64	12.18	12.47	12.77	12.7	12.49	12.63	12.51	12.29	12.56	12.84	12.91	12.68	13.15	12.62
" Chin	20.41	20.66	20.12	20.38	19.76	20.14	20.18	20.31	20.22	20.02	20.21	20.39	21.04	20.69	20.37	20.41	20.37
Length of Foot	23.23	22.59	22.17	22.43	22.65	23.6	22.36	23.61	22.63	23.67	22.88	23.21	23.51	22.62	22.37	22.37	22.87
Sitting Height	86.57	79.41	79.8	80.11	77.9	86.55	81.93	86.91	79.86	81.01	81.02	80.00	79.87	79.88	80.86	79.15	80.18
Kneeling	15.37	15.5	15.46	16.65	15.47	17.95	16.73	18.54	16.13	18.16	16.51	16.26	16.37	15.72	14.69	15.65	16.17
Standing	15.49	15.6	15.25	16.51	15.4	15.74	15.92	15.91	15.42	15.91	15.86	15.93	15.47	15.47	15.67	15.31	15.04
Chin	13.72	13.67	13.62	13.5	13.46	13.65	13.52	13.79	13.48	13.19	13.51	13.57	13.96	13.73	13.64	13.52	13.49
Span of Arms	164.36	163.47	159.93	164.82	163.53	164.71	162.98	165.59	161.82	166.37	164.33	164.33	163.55	162.57	162.16	161.31	163.47
Cubit	45.47	45.35	44.09	44.89	45.36	45.33	44.93	45.89	44.36	45.72	45.4	45.53	45.07	45.42	45.31	44.85	45.19
Length of Leg	93.43	93.89	91.68	100.71	93.36	94.8	93.35	95.99	93.64	97.66	94.73	93.39	92.55	92.29	91.41	94.05	94.1
" Hand	16.21	15.87	15.84	15.88	16.15	16.39	15.79	16.27	15.9	16.51	16.12	16.43	15.99	16.17	15.63	16.01	16.07
Span	20.17	19.63	19.93	18.96	20.17	19.75	20.4	20.55	19.31	20.31	19.81	20.16	19.98	19.62	19.69	19.57	19.88
Outer Orbit	11.7	12.3	12.12	11.83	11.61	12.66	12.13	11.81	11.74	12.13	11.71	12.34	11.83	12.02	12.23	11.97	11.97

LEOPARD (NGO) CLAN.

HEART (KASIMBA) CLAN.

LUNGFISH (MAMBA MUGUYA) CLAN.

	17 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.	17 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.		Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	
Cranial Index	77.84	68.57	73.52	77.72	69.65	74.03	73.79	76.72	70.79	75.95	77.4	66.49	73.02	74.51
Nasal	100.00	70.97	88.23	90.9	79.63	83.9	85.68	91.66	73.31	82.06	97.73	74.55	83.26	83.12
Facial	183.11	104.76	118.97	136.84	107.37	120.3	120.3	134.65	101.56	121.84	146.06	105.04	121.28	121.57
Orbito Nasal Index	108.03	103.6	109.11	114.55	102.63	108.59	108.85	117.69	100.00	111.54	117.39	100.3	112.28	111.83

ORIBI (MPEWO) CLAN.

CANE RAT (MUSU) CLAN.

LUNGFISH (MAMBA BAKEKERE) CLAN

	16 MEN.			16 WOMEN.			General Average.	16 MEN.			16 WOMEN.			General Average.
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.		Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	
Cranial Index	80.32	70.35	73.51	78.88	70.1	74.67	74.32	77.83	69.95	73.22	83.34	67.38	73.58	73.77
Nasal	97.87	64.28	82.86	89.13	69.09	79.76	81.3	96.15	79.14	85.42	93.04	70.91	80.28	82.92
Facial	132.90	103.70	116.24	145.55	108.4	123.67	110.80	140.95	110.57	124.18	144.9	103.28	118.31	121.30
Orbito Nasal Index	120.17	101.83	109.35	117.31	100.00	105.68	107.53	115.95	100.00	109.78	120.56	100.00	102.44	106.05

GRASSHOPPER (NSENENE) CLAN.

BUSHBUCK (NGABI) CLAN.

CROW (NAMUNGONA) CLAN.

	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.		Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	
Cranial Index	78.53	62.65	72.08	79.51	61.61	72.71	72.83	77.20	70.00	79.9	76.92	70.26	73.45	73.15
Nasal	100.00	70.37	80.55	80.82	70.37	80.55	80.82	100.00	75.44	82.8	100.00	69.09	82.97	82.78
Facial	128.15	105.37	118.42	136.82	106.45	119.83	119.1	154.02	108.54	125.94	140.45	114.54	126.48	125.73
Orbito Nasal Index	118.75	100.00	108.06	121.21	100.00	108.55	108.67	111.02	107.54	110.44	118.02	101.81	110.95	110.68

GENET (KASIMBA) CLAN.

KATINVUMA CLAN.

MONKEY (NKIMA) CLAN.

	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.		Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	
Cranial Index	79.46	67.63	72.52	74.86	70.89	72.21	72.38	80.33	72.36	75.23	80.0	66.5	72.84	74.06
Nasal	98.04	66.66	85.38	97.62	80.69	87.55	83.2	100.00	81.48	89.38	95.35	81.60	85.5	92.0
Facial	144.68	100.74	117.13	134.02	104.88	120.61	118.84	164.93	106.16	122.83	134.00	106.4	118.94	116.26
Orbito Nasal Index	118.8	102.75	110.26	116.51	100.00	107.43	108.91	116.21	100.00	110.61	125.0	105.31	110.81	110.75



YAM (KOBÉ) CLAN.

BIKD (NYONYI) CLAN.

SHEEP (ENDIGA) CLAN.

	15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.			15 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.					
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.			
	Cranial Index	78.61	69.97	73.68	76.44	68.45	74.69	74.39	78.19	67.11	72.47	76.92	68.75	72.81	72.64	78.35	69.07	73.95	79.77	69.35	74.35
Nasal	97.96	68.93	85.94	85.11	66.66	78.43	82.14	95.55	67.86	82.23	91.3	73.68	81.03	81.66	100.00	70.69	82.58	91.3	66.97	77.31	82.57
Facial	134.61	107.35	119.29	132.20	108.53	117.73	118.47	141.66	104.8	118.77	156.97	106.61	125.24	121.84	160.23	106.35	123.08	158.75	101.56	122.24	112.68
Orbito Nasal Index	116.81	100.84	110.97	110.83	100.91	106.46	108.47	117.43	103.28	111.42	115.09	100.00	108.77	110.12	117.27	103.48	112.03	122.52	100.84	110.18	111.61

BUFFALO TAILLESS COW  
(MBOGO) CLAN. (ENTE KIKUGU) CLAN.

MIXED CLANS.

	15 MALES.			15 FEMALES.			27 MEN.			15 WOMEN.			General Average.		
	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Average.
	Cranial Index	76.63	64.7	71.41	74.32	65.64	72.66	71.64	73.88	74.17	69.63	72.46	73.19	66.67	77.88
Nasal	97.96	68.25	83.33	97.78	73.58	83.62	68.42	86.17	93.48	66.67	77.88	82.11	66.67	77.88	82.11
Facial	142.27	106.3	121.99	129.41	100.00	118.9	101.53	118.44	146.51	108.69	124.32	121.92	108.69	124.32	121.92
Orbito Nasal Index	123.68	106.2	113.93	115.38	103.42	110.82	109.82	114.18	144.54	100.89	108.72	111.47	100.89	108.72	111.47

MAXIMUM AND MINIMUM OF CLANS.

		288 MEN.		242 WOMEN.			
		Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.		
Head Length	...	20'01	19'17	Grasshopper	...	Oribi	18'44
Breadth	...	14'56	14'11	Yam	...	Genet	13'41
Facial	...	13'89	13'42	Grasshopper	...	"	12'76
Biorbital	...	11'85	11'07	Cane Rat	...	Crow	10'27
Nose Length	...	5'4	4'99	Yam	...	L. Fish } Muguya }	4'82
Breadth	...	4'64	4'34	Leopard	...	Sheep	3'91
Height from Vertex to Nasion	...	10'79	9'09	Bird	...	Leopard } L. Fish } Bakerere }	9'34
"	Mouth	17'07	14'98	Heart } Oribi }	...	Leopard	15'19
"	Ear	13'51	12'79	Yam	...	L. Fish } Muguya }	12'18
"	Chin	22'27	20'6	Grasshopper	...	L. Fish } Bakerere }	19'79
Length of Foot	...	25'89	24'44	Leopard	...	Grey Monkey }	22'17
Sitting Height	...	86'58	81'49	Crow	...	L. Fish } Bakerere }	77'9
Kneeling	...	126'73	120'14	Grasshopper	...	Sheep } Grey Monkey }	114'69
Standing	...	171'21	162'67	"	...	"	154'25
Chin	...	150'67	142'0	Leopard	...	Leopard	131'9
Span of Arms	...	182'73	173'73	"	...	Grey Monkey }	159'93
Cubit	...	49'92	47'6	Grasshopper	...	"	44'09
Length of Leg	...	103'21	98'43	L. Fish } Muguya }	...	Sheep	91'41
"	Hand	17'37	16'12	Leopard	...	"	15'63
Span	...	21'62	20'59	Grasshopper	...	Lung Fish } Muguya }	18'96
Outer Orbit	...	13'08	12'2	Katinvuma	...	Lung Fish } Muguya } Bakerere }	11'61

## EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE PLANS OF THE ROYAL ENCLOSURE AND THE CAPITAL

THE accompanying plans represent the Royal Enclosure (Lubiri) and the Capital (Kibuga) as they were known during the reign of King Suna and in the early years of King Mutesa's reign. The plans have been drawn by the *Katikiro*, Sir Apolo Kagwa, who was aided by the most intelligent of the old men who knew the place, and who had lived either in the Royal Enclosure or in the Capital during King Suna's life-time. In the Plan of the Capital the enclosures of the principal Chiefs have been noted by a sketch of a native house. Adjoining each District-chief's residence the sites of the Sub-chiefs of the district are marked. The custom followed when laying out the Capital was to give sites to the Chiefs of each district in such localities that they should be on the side of the Capital nearest their own districts; they would thus avoid passing through the districts or by the residences of other important Chiefs on their way to their country houses. When choosing a locality for a new Capital the King would try to find a place for the Royal Enclosure that would be a key to the districts by commanding the roads leading to them. The rivers are clearly marked, showing where they rise and the course they take. No attempt has been made to draw the plans to scale, they are sent forth as they were received from the *Katikiro*. For many generations the same plan of laying out the Capital and the Royal Enclosure has been followed.

### Plan of the Capital.

1. The *Lubiri*. The Royal Enclosure (see Plan 2).
2. *Mbuga*. The open space before the Royal Enclosure, in which stood the temples to the principal Gods, the sacred fire (Gombololo), and the Court house in which the *Katikiro* held his court to try cases of appeal.
3. Enclosure in which were two or three temples to the principal gods.
4. The residence of the Queen (*Lubuga*).
5. Enclosure of *Kabeja*, one of the King's wives who lived outside the Royal Enclosure.

7. The *Kimbugwe's* residence with the temple of the Royal Fetiches and the Umbilical cord.
  8. Enclosure of *Nanzigu*, one of the King's wives.
  9. Residence of the *Kago*, the District-chief of Kyadondo.
  10. Residence of *Mukwenda*, the District-chief of Singo.
  11. Residence of *Se kibobo*, the District-chief of Kyagwe.
  12. Residence of *Kangawo*, the District-chief of Bulemezi.
  13. Residence of *Mugema*, the *Katikiro* of the dead, and District-chief of Busiro.
  14. Residence of *Kaima*, the District-chief of Mawokota.
  15. Residence of *Kitunzi*, the District-chief of Gomba.
  16. Residence of *Pokino*, the District-chief of Budu.
  17. Residence of *Kasuju*, the District-chief of Busuju, and also guardian of the Princes.
  18. Residence of *Katambala*, the District-chief of Butambala.
  19. The residence of *Nabikande*, the King's aunt, who was midwife to all the King's wives.
  20. The residence of the *Mombowa*, the Chief of the Police.
  21. King Suna's temple.
  22. Shrine and burial-place of King Mutesa's mother.
- Plan 2.—The Royal Enclosure.

1. *Gombolola*. The hut in which the sacred fire was kept during the day and in which the guards sheltered.
2. Gatekeepers' house.
3. House in which the Royal chair (Namulondo) was kept, and in which the men who guarded it lived.
4. House of *Kadulubare*, the King's chief wife.
5. House of *Nasaza*, the second wife of the King.
6. House of *Luiga*, one of the King's wives.
7. House of *Kikoma*, one of the King's wives.
8. The house where the King did smithing. The house was under the care of *Kikoma*.
9. House of *Nakalu*, one of the King's wives.
10. House of *Baita*, one of the King's wives.
11. House of *Sabadu*, one of the King's wives.
12. The house where the King made barkcloth.
- 13, 14, and 15. Waiting-rooms for visitors wishing to see the King.
16. House of one of the King's wives, used as a mosque in Mutesa's reign.
17. Waiting-room for the *Katikiro* and *Kimbugwe* when they visited the King.
18. House of *Kadulubare*, in which she entertained Princes and Princesses when they visited her.
20. House for sheep and goats belonging to the King.
- 21, 22, and 23. Royal store-houses with accommodation for the guards who guarded them.



24. The Royal kitchen.
25. Waiting-room for the King's wives who wished to see him.
26. Gate-keepers' house.
- 27, and 28. Houses of *Katikamu*, one of the King's wives.
29. House inhabited by Basoga women who had been given to the King to wife.
- 30, and 31. Court houses in which the King tried causes of appeal.
32. House in which the King's bath water was kept.
33. Court-house.
34. House in which the Royal drums were kept.
35. Waiting-room for chiefs wishing to see the King.
36. House to which Princes and Princesses were brought from *Nabikande* to see the King before they were sent to *Kasuju*, the chief who had charge of the Princes.
37. House of *Munyuwu*, one of the King's wives.
38. A general waiting room.
39. Ivory Court. A house in which the King sat with his feet resting upon a tusk of ivory while he heard cases and discussed matters of state, and in which he also met his favourite chiefs privately by night.
40. Women's court-house, in which the King met his principal wives and heard any cases of misconduct among his wives.
- 41 and 43. Waiting-room in which the King's wives resided when expecting to be called to the King's couch.
42. House of *Kabeja*, one of the King's important wives.
- 44, 45, 47, and 48. The King's private houses.
- 46 and 50. Where the King received Princes and Princesses.
49. House of *Mukolera*, one of the King's wives.

These fifty houses were the most important in the Royal Enclosure. There were many houses for the slaves of the King's wives and also for their maids. No men were permitted to visit these houses without special permission from the King, who gave the visitor a person to conduct him to the woman relative he wished to visit.



# INDEX



# INDEX

## A

- Ablutions, 18
- Abode of the god of plague, 309
- Admiral of the canoes, 254, 383
- Adoption not followed, 81
- Adultery, 261
  - cause of infant sickness, 102
- After-birth buried in the house, 57
  - hung upon the leaves of a plantain-tree, 56
  - of twins, 70
- Albinos, 7
- Aloe fibre used for rope making, 413
- Amulets, 272, 329
- Anarchy at the King's death, 104
- Animal skins used as mats, 409
  - ghosts worshipped, 318
- Anklets made from human sinews, 210
- Ankole, the pastoral country, 234
- Announcing the birth of twins, 65, 66
- Ant hillocks, 440
- Ants eaten, 439
- Antelope skins as robes of office, 410
- Anthropometric tables, 493-522
- Appeals made from one court to another, 261
- Appointing the *Kāgo*, 191
  - the King's uncle to office, 191
- Approaches to Uganda, 1
- Arab and Swahili traders, 413
  - influence in Uganda, 229
  - slave masters, 2
  - traders, 412
- Arabs admitted to Uganda, 226
  - introduce soap, 414
- Army, 359
  - followers, 353
  - returning home, 359
  - standing, with General, 2
- Artificial food given to infants, 59
- Ashes taken from sacred fire, 349

## B

- Baganda lacking in originality, 365
- Baking pottery, 401
- Balls, knives, hoes, spears, etc., 382
- Banyoro feared by the Baganda, 3
- Barkcloths, 442
  - for bedclothes, 406
  - introduced into Uganda, 403
  - making, 403
  - trees, 434
  - trees planted at the entrance of the royal enclosure, 202
  - used as bedclothes, 404
- Basee, the inhabitants of the Islands, 384
- Basket fish traps, 398, 412
  - making, 410
- Bath enclosures, 18
- Bathing children, 59
- Bats used as mediums by a god, 316
- Beads worn to strengthen a child's neck, 58
- Beans and yams, 433
- Beating a bark into a cloth, 405
- Bedsteads, 377, 408
- Beer, 440
  - drinking, 24
  - poned at the head of a grave, 123
  - sold in markets, 442, 452
- Belief in re-birth of ghosts, 289
- Bellows used by smiths, 380
- Bells on children's feet, 444
- Benevolent ghosts, 286
- Benefits of the totemic system, 135
- Birth ceremonies of twins, 66
  - customs followed by unmarried women, 263
  - customs of Royalty, 52
  - name kept secret, 125
  - of Royalty, 51
  - of twins, 64

- Blades of hoes placed on the temple  
of Mukasa, 295
- Bleeding a patient, 99  
cows, 421
- Blind bards, 35
- Blistering a patient, 100
- Blood brother-hood, 268  
brothers, 19  
cooked and eaten, 421  
from offerings drained into the lake,  
293  
offered to Mukasa, 293  
rubbed on fetiches, 329
- Bodies of human beings offered in  
sacrifice never buried, 307
- Bodily defects carried into the after-  
world, 281
- Bones used for hoe blades, 378
- Boy herdsmen, 417
- Boys as goat herds, 75  
as pages, 76  
clothing, 75  
killed during the ceremony to prolong  
the King's life, 212
- Bracelets and necklets, 444  
of ivory, 412
- Breeds of cattle, 415
- Brewing beer, 441
- Bribery, 261
- Bridal party, 90
- Bridegroom's friends carry off the bride,  
90
- Bride kept secluded, 91  
veiled to go to her husband, 89
- Bride's final duties to her parents, 89  
relative called *mperekezi*, 90  
relative sent home, 91
- Bridge making, 240
- Bridges made over wide rivers, 241
- British rule in Uganda, 220
- Bubonic plague, 102
- Budo, the fetich, brought to Uganda,  
223
- Budu district, 255
- Buffaloes' heads never taken into a  
house, 289
- Buffalo hunting, 447  
traps, 448
- Builders exempt from taxation, 370
- Building canoes, 386  
in the royal enclosure, 246  
the new capital, 200
- Bulemezi district, 251
- Burial grounds, 136  
of a chief, 119  
of a princess, 116  
of a suicide, 21  
of a twin, 124  
of strangers, 268  
of the King, 106
- Burial of the King's Mother, 115  
of the King's wives, 115  
of the Queen, 114  
of the War god, 302  
place of King Kintu, 214  
places and temples of Kings, 283
- Burning irons, 100
- Busiro district, 252
- Busoga a tributary country, 234  
conquered by Kyabagu, 224  
musical bands, 31
- Busuju district, 256
- Butambala district, 256
- Butter and its uses, 420
- Buvuma Island, 254

## C

- Calendar, the, 37
- Calves always reared by cows, 419
- Camp formed by an army, 353
- Canoe building, 383  
hidden among reeds, 391  
in a storm, 390  
men singing before the King, 300  
on the shores of the Lake, 384
- Captives given an opportunity to plead  
for their lives, 306
- Capturing a victim to supply bones for  
drum sticks, 297  
ghosts, 278  
the ghost of a twin, 124
- Caravan system, 1
- Carrying children, 59  
the dead to the grave, 115
- Catching ants, 440
- Cattle belonging to the god, 301  
offered to Mukasa, 292  
rearing, 415  
stolen by herdsmen, 421  
tested before being offered to Mukasa,  
293
- Causes of death, 98  
causes of sickness, 101
- Ceremonies in which fowls were re-  
quired, 424  
performed by a hunter on his return  
home, 450  
observed during fishing season, 393  
observed during smelting operations,  
381  
observed to obtain women, 46  
observed when building canoes, 388  
observed when making nets, 393  
to confirm the King in his king-  
dom, 195  
to stop storms, 432
- Ceremony at entering new houses, 377  
for ending mourning, 120

- Ceremony observed when a cow calved, 418  
 observed when changing service, 18  
 of capturing the wind spirit, 326  
 of "eating Uganda," 193  
 of jumping over a wife, 17, 53, 55, 57, 63, 144, 206, 357, 363, 378, 459  
 of opening a market, 456  
 of stealing plantains at the birth of twins, 67  
 performed before eating grasshoppers, 144  
 performed before felling trees, 386  
 performed by a grandson at the grave, 119  
 performed by the chief of Bulemezi, 320  
 performed by the eldest son of a dead man, 117  
 performed by the King over a dead leopard, 209  
 performed to make the King healthy, 196  
 performed to stop plague, 310  
 to aid child-bearing, 64  
 to cleanse an army, 355  
 to cleanse wells, 458  
 to ensure success in battle, 356  
 to make known a chief's conduct after war, 361  
 to make plantain trees grow, 430  
 to make puppies see, 425  
 to make the King wise, 196  
 to prolong the King's life, 210
- Charcoal used by smiths, 379  
 Charitable disposition of the people, 12  
 Chastity enjoined on army, 352  
 enjoined on female mediums, 275  
 enjoined on house builders, 370  
 practised by an army, 353
- Chickens kept in baskets, 423  
 Chief appointed to build Mukasa's temple, 294  
 officer of the King's servants, 258  
 standing for a house to be begun to be built on his head, 371  
 wife responsible for the care of the fetiches, 83
- Chiefs and their offices, 233  
 compelled to live in the capital, 247  
 country residence, 240  
 deposed and degraded, 259  
 executed, 334  
 executed at the King's funeral, 106  
 feasted after warfare, 361  
 in council, 234, 259  
 in Kyadondo district, 248  
 interviews with the King, 208  
 killed in battle, 357
- Chiefs might not leave the capital without permission, 237  
 obliged to keep up their official houses, 269  
 of Budu district, 256  
 of Bulemezi district, 252  
 of Busuju district, 256  
 of clans, 134  
 of clans in charge of temples, 273  
 of Katambala district, 257  
 of Kyagwe district, 251  
 of Mawokota district, 254  
 of the Busiro district, 252  
 of the Gomba district, 255  
 of the Singo district, 250  
 might nominate a chief to some office, 238  
 partook of meals with their male friends, 17  
 punished for not going to war, 355  
 represented in council, 238  
 required to keep official estates in order, 239  
 respects paid to, 13  
 sent to remove the dead King's jawbone, 109  
 successor, 249  
 swearing allegiance to a general, 354  
 wealth of, 13  
 were magistrates, 240  
 were not a distinct hereditary class, 13  
 when addressing princesses bowed low, 8  
 who appointed a new King, 189
- Child not allowed to sit for three months after its birth, 58  
 nursed for three years, 55  
 tax placed upon wives of Kibuka's servants, 307  
 Child's early training, 59  
 hair not cut until after the naming ceremony, 59
- Childless women, 46  
 Children born feet first killed, 126, 289  
 cutting their teeth, 59  
 given the name of a deceased relative, 64  
 killed at birth, 54  
 of peasants, 15  
 of slave women admitted into clans, 81  
 of slave women sometimes inherited property, 14  
 presented to Mukasa, 300  
 taught to count, 41  
 taught to regard the head of the clan as their father, 63  
 responsible for the care of their elders, 267

- Children trained by members of their father's clan, 61
- Children's habits, 9
- lives endangered by their parents' sins, 262
- love for their parents, 61
- Choice of the King's wives, 84
- Choosing a King and Queen, 104
- a new King, 189
- a site for a garden, 427
- the Queen, 81, 191
- Christian Missions in Uganda, 229
- Churning, 420
- Civil war, 346
- Clan assistance in case of debt, 12
- burial-grounds, 238
- burial-grounds desecrated, 2
- chiefs and their appointments, 136
- identified with their predecessors, 136
- chooses a man's heir, 12
- members warned of a man's illness, 100
- Clans, Antelope, 139, 157
- Bean, 56, 139, 162
- Bird, 139, 159
- Buffalo, 139, 154
- Bushbuck, 139, 163
- Cephalopus, 139, 166
- Civet Cat, 138, 145
- Colobus Monkey, 138, 142
- Crested Crane, 140
- Crow, 140, 170
- Dog, 139, 164
- Edible Rat, 139, 160
- Elephant, 138, 147
- Genet, 56, 139, 171
- Grass, 140
- Grasshopper, 57, 138, 144
- Heart, 139, 169
- Hippopotamus, 139, 165
- Hornbill, 139
- Jackall, 139, 165
- Katinvuma, 139, 158
- Leopard, 138, 140
- Lion, 138, 141
- Lung Fish, 138, 148
- Manis, 138, 153
- Mushroom, 138, 151
- Otter, 138, 143
- Rain Water, 140, 172
- Red ant, 140
- Reedbuck, 139, 168
- Sheep, 138, 153
- Small Grey Monkey, 139, 156
- Spotted Cow, 139
- Tailless Cow, 139, 169
- Yam, 139, 160
- Clans and their totems, 133
- Clans restricted from giving wives to the King, 137
- which joined other clans, 138, 140
- with their totems, 138, 139, 140.
- Class distinctions, 12, 269
- Classes of plantain trees, 429
- Clay used for making pots, 399
- Cleanliness of markets, 454
- Cleansing milk vessels, 418
- water pots, 403
- Climate, moderate temperature, 5
- Clothes of the King kept in a shrine, 141
- Clothing, 442
- hung on trees, 334
- Coffee-berries, 434
- given to guests, 8
- Coffee-trees, 434
- were indigenous, 5
- Collecting the marriage dowry, 88
- Colouring of skin varied, 7
- Compensation for improvements on estates not given, 238
- Composition of fetiches, 279
- Conception by falling plantain flower, 48
- by ghosts, 46
- Condemned persons redeemed by relatives, 333
- Condition of medium when possessed, 275
- Confirming a child's legitimacy, 62, 63
- the king in his kingdom, 200
- Cooking, 435
- pots, 401
- semsem, 433
- Compensation for buildings never given, 14
- Copper and brass workers, 382
- Coronation customs, 197
- Corruption in courts, 261
- Cotton goods universally worn, 227
- introduced into Uganda, 225
- Council chamber, 258
- Counting, 40
- Courteous manners, 6
- Court fees, 260
- Cowardice in battle exposed, 360
- Cowardly chiefs condemned to death, 362
- deposed from office, 361
- Cow-dung used for fuel, 417
- Cow-ribs used for hoe blades, 378
- Cowry-shell money, 457
- Cowry-shells given to the king by an heir kept to decorate the king's jawbone, 124
- Cows fed solely upon grass, 416
- kept in houses, 417



- Cows valued for their meat, 440  
 with humps, 415
- Crown worn by a warrior in battle, 357
- Cultivation of barkcloth tree, 404  
 beans, yams, and semsem, 433
- Cupping horns, 99
- Currency, 456
- Custodians in a temple, 284
- Custom followed by chiefs and common people to obtain wives, 87  
 in poison ordeal, 341  
 when rebuilding Kibuka's temple, 303  
 observed by a bride when entering her husband's house, 90  
 to see that a bride was free from disease, 89  
 when a girl brought the first fruits from her garden, 80  
 when a twin returned from his first war, 81
- of burning rivals to the throne, 226  
 buying the king's wives, 51  
 heir taking a relative to wife, 83  
 "taking the butter," 91  
 treating children of unmarried women, 263  
 reconciliation between clans after homicide committed, 267  
 to ensure the birth of a healthy child, 56  
 followed by the king to obtain wives, 86  
 for state labour, 243  
 observed at maturity, 80  
 in embalming the king's body, 105
- Cutting the hair and nails of the king's wives, 24  
 the nails, 444
- D
- Dancing, 24  
 during the twin birth ceremonies, 71, 72
- Days, division of, 38  
 of the month remembered by knots tied on a string, 42
- Dead, worship of the, 113, 117, 119, 120, 123, 126, 288
- Death attributed to magic, 98  
 of a chief, 116  
 myth of origin of, 466  
 a princess, 116  
 a twin, 124  
 the king kept secret, 103  
 the king's Mother, 114
- Death of the king's wives, 115  
 the queen, 113  
 the war god, 302  
 the punishment for sexual intercourse with a member of the clan, 262  
 to be avoided, 462
- Deceased person's bedstead burned, 123
- Decorating knives and spears, 383  
 pottery, 401  
 shields, 407
- Definition of fetiches and amulets, 273
- Deposed chiefs deprived of their property, 238
- Descent through the male line, 82  
 reckoned on the father's side, 128
- Designs carved on drums, 408
- Digging the grave, 117  
 sticks, 379, 427
- Discs of ivory as money, 412
- District chiefs, 233  
 courts, 241
- Dividing game, 449  
 meat of buffaloes, 448  
 the spoils of war, 360
- Divination, 338  
 by drops of blood, 340  
 castor oil berries, 340  
 coffee-berries, 340
- Division and subdivisions of clans, 135  
 of clans, 133  
 the Lung-fish clan, 148  
 of property, 270  
 of time, 37
- Divorce was seldom practised, 97
- Doctored beer given to victims before executing them, 306  
 beer administered to victims, 334
- Dogs fed after hunting, 449  
 unable to bark, 425  
 used for hunting, 424  
 in buffalo hunting, 448
- Domestic cats, 425
- Door making, 375
- Drag nets, 392
- Dreams regarded as a means of communication with the dead, 18
- Dress of girls, 79  
 of the guards, 201  
 the parents of twins, 65  
 of priests, 274  
 the priest of the python god, 321  
 of warriors, 350  
 worn by Gulu's priests, 317
- Dressing skins, 409
- Drowning people never rescued, 319
- Drum beaten to announce war, 349  
 to end national mourning, 167

- Drum *Busembe* exposed once during a king's lifetime, 213  
 making, 407  
 named *Betobanga*, 297  
 of the god of the chase, 312  
 sounded to give life to the king, 27
- Drummers, 26  
 engaging, 30
- Drums, 25  
 beaten to attract the god's attention, 315  
 to prevent the wind spirit from escaping, 327  
 containing fetiches for chieftainships, 29  
 sounded to warn people to cease mourning, 109  
 used at the birth of twins, 65  
 used when dancing or when travelling, 29
- Drunkenness, 441
- Dug-out canoes, 385  
 on Lake Wamala, 250
- Duties of a newly-elected king, 190  
 of boys, 76  
 of chiefs of clans, 19  
 of Kibuka, 305  
 of medicine men, 278  
 of mourners, 120  
 of Mukasa's priests, 293  
 of peasants' wives, 95  
 of python god, 321  
 of second wife, 83  
 of temple slaves, 301  
 of the chiefs of Kyadondo district, 249  
 of the father of twins, 67  
 of the god of the chase, 311  
 of the *Katikiro*, 234  
 of vestal virgins, 275  
 of wives, 95
- Dwelling places of ghosts, 282
- E
- Earth god, 312
- Earthquakes resulting from a god's movements, 313
- Edible rat, 450
- Eldest son never inherited his father's property, 117
- Elephant hunting, 445  
 on the plains, 446  
 spears, 446  
 traps, 446
- Embalming the King's body, 104
- Ending of the Royal mourning, 108, 197  
 the twin-birth ceremonies, 71, 72
- Enraged god slaying a victim, 307
- Entrance to the Royal enclosure, 369
- Escort provided for the King's wives when visiting, 7
- Estates of the Bear clan, 163  
 of the Bird clan, 160  
 of the Buffalo clan, 155  
 of the Bushbuck clan, 164  
 of the Cephalopns clan, 167  
 of the Civet-cat clan, 146  
 of the Crow clan, 171  
 of the Dog clan, 165  
 of the Elephant clan, 148  
 of the Genet clan, 171  
 of the Grasshopper clan, 145  
 of the Heart clan, 169  
 of the Hippopotamus clan, 166  
 of the Jackal clan, 165  
 of the Katinvuma clan, 159  
 of the Leopard clan, 141  
 of the Lion clan, 142  
 of the Lung-fish clan, 150  
 of the Manis clan, 153  
 of the Monkey clan, 157  
 of the Mushroom clan, 152  
 of the Oribi antelope clan, 158  
 of the Otter clan, 144  
 of the Rainwater clan, 172  
 of the Rat clan, 160  
 of the Reedbuck clan, 168  
 of the Sheep clan, 154  
 of the Yam clan, 162  
 of the Tailless-cow clan, 170  
 of princes, 187, 188  
 of princesses, 189
- Evil restricted from fear, 268
- Excommunication of a murderer and his clan, 20
- Exorcising ghosts, 101
- Explanation of clans, 133
- Explanatory notes of plans, 523-525
- F
- Family burial-grounds, 134  
 estates, 133  
 gods, 134  
 of a man killed by plague as the property of Kaumpuli, 310
- Fancy baskets and their use, 411
- Fat sold for soap-making, 454
- Father recognising his son's bravery, 362
- Father's brothers termed little fathers, 129
- Feast given by a warrior on his return from war, 364  
 made to fetiches, 329
- Female births greater in number than those of males, 97

- Female medium debarred from duty during menses, 276
- Fence enclosing Royal enclosure, 368
- Festivals of Nende, 308
- Fetich *Luboa*, 328  
*Luzalo*, 331  
 made to represent a serpent, 327  
*Mbagwe*, 327  
*Nambaga*, 328  
*Semwima*, 326  
*Zinga*, 329
- Fetiches, 271, 279, 323  
 captured, 358
- Fetiches in drums, 408  
 placed before a general's hut, 354  
 by women in their gardens, 15  
 over the door of a house to guard it, 15  
 possessing temples, 271  
 used during war, 324  
 used in battle, 356  
 worn by women to give offspring, 316
- Fife, the, 35
- Filling a grave with barkcloth and earth, 119
- Fine accepted instead of the death of a murderer
- Fines, 261  
 imposed on fisher folk, 394  
 paid by peasants for adultery, 262
- Fingers used at meals, 437  
 used to demonstrate when counting, 41
- Fire in Kibuka's temple extinguished at the King's death, 304
- Firearms introduced into Uganda, 226
- Fire obtained from a rock, 304
- Fire-place, 376, 435  
 consecrated to a God, 378
- Fires and their causes, 21
- Firewood tax for the royal enclosure, 206
- First fruits, 428  
 of victory, 359
- Fish an article of diet, 391  
 a common dish, 439  
 baskets, 396  
 hooks, 395  
 lines for small fish, 397  
 offered to the god Mukasa, 393
- Fisherman, 391
- Fisherman's family observing taboos, 394
- Fishermen on the rivers, 396  
 Ripon Falls, 398
- Fishermen's baskets, 411
- Fishing, 391  
 lines, 394
- Fish nets, 393
- Fish traps, 392  
 along the shore of the lake, 396
- Fits regarded as ghostly possession, 288
- Floor making, 374
- Floors carpeted with grass, 376
- Folklore, 460-485
- Food never kept for another meal, 437  
 for an army, 351  
 from the King's table given to his dogs, 207
- Foot traps for elephants, 447
- Forests of Uganda, 4
- Forked tree for the neck of prisoners, 266
- Foster mothers, 53
- Fowls accidentally killed, 423  
 kept in a new garden, 427
- Fowl rearing, 423  
 test in divination, 340
- Fowls kept for ceremonial use, 423
- Freehold estates, 238  
 lands, 135
- Freemen, 246  
 their duties, 13
- Freight of a canoe, 390
- Fruit trees introduced into Uganda by Arabs and others, 5  
 were not cultivated, 5
- Funeral of a peasant, 125  
 peasant's wife, 125
- Funerals of young children, 126
- Furnaces used for iron smelting, 379

## G

- Game caught in nets, 449
- Games, 77, 78
- Garden struck by lightning, 432
- Genealogical tables, 173  
 table of the Grasshopper clan, 184, 185  
 of kings, 175-180  
 of the Oribi clan, 181-183
- General birth customs, 53  
 choosing his heir, 350  
 jumping over his wife, 357  
 not allowed to sleep in the capital, 350  
 of an army, 348
- General's account of an expedition to the King, 361  
 position during battle, 356  
 powers, 351  
 sending offerings to the war god, 363  
 use of fetiches, 324  
 weapon and dress, 351
- Geographical situation of Uganda, 3

- Ghost kills a king, 226  
 of aunt the cause of sickness, 102  
 of the afterbirth, 54  
 of the King, 111  
 paid before a widow could remarry,  
 97
- Ghosts, 273, 281  
 annoyed by people, 287  
 bearing marks of their former estate,  
 282  
 claiming land, 287  
 of kings warned the living concern-  
 ing state affairs, 113  
 destroyed, 287  
 feeling cold, 287  
 thirst, 287  
 holding conversation together, 282  
 of animals and reptiles, 288  
 buffaloes feared, 289  
 common people, 285  
 kings, 283  
 sheep feared, 289  
 pitted one against another, 286  
 the cause of the King's death, 98  
 guardians of children, 64  
 to accompany the King's ghost, 107  
 visiting the god of death, 285
- Gift to the Budo temple, 204
- Girls as goat herds, 79  
 dedicated to the gods and chiefs, 9  
 duties, 79  
 often went naked, 443
- Glazing pottery, 402
- Goat herds, 422  
 rearing, 422  
 skin robes, 409
- Goats resting at noon, 423
- Goddess Nabuzana, 317  
 Nagadya, 318  
 Nagawonya, 315  
 Nalwanga, 301
- God entering a new temple, 317  
 Gulu, 317  
 Kitaka's power over ghosts, 312  
 Mbale, 316  
 Mirium, 313  
 Musisi, 313  
 Namulere, 317  
 Nkulu, 316  
 of plague, 309  
 the chase, 311  
 the Creator, 312  
 Wamala, 314  
 Wanga, 146, 313
- Gods consulted about wars, 348  
 influenced by women's chastity, 363  
 made angry by adultery committed,  
 262  
 of the Baganda, 271  
 forests, 322
- Gods ordering human sacrifices, 332  
 possessing many temples, 276  
 visiting the king, 299  
 wrestling, 314
- Gomba district, 255
- Good manners, 44
- Goods for sale in markets, 452
- Grain is not grown, 5
- Grass and sticks offered to river spirits,  
 318  
 used for thatch, 372
- Grasshoppers eaten, 439
- Gratitude, 45
- Graves contained one body in each,  
 127  
 lined with barkcloth, 118  
 of suicides feared, 127  
 the kings in Busiro, 252  
 thatched, 123  
 the true home of ghosts, 282
- Greeting the King, 209, 259
- Guardian of the sacred fire, 202  
 of the sacred fire, Gombolola, 159
- Guardians of Budo hill, 193
- Guardianship of princes, 188  
 of commoners' children, 74
- Guards at the gates of the Royal  
 enclosure, 369  
 in and round the enclosure, 201
- Guinea-fowls sacred to forest gods, 323
- Guns introduced into Uganda, 228

## H

- Hair of priests dressed in a special  
 manner, 296  
 on the face shaved or plucked out, 7  
 short, black, woolly, 7
- Haircuttings used for magical purposes,  
 344
- Harpooning the hippopotamus, 451
- Harps, 33
- Haunted houses, 278, 286
- Heads of clans, 19
- Heir chosen by the clan, 270  
 impersonating his predecessor, 3  
 of a peasant, 125  
 passing under a barkcloth held over  
 the grave, 119  
 receiving visitors, 122
- Heir's visit to the King, 123
- Herdsmen, 415
- Herdsmen's customs, 417  
 dress, 420
- Hill spirits, 319
- Hippopotamus hunting, 451
- History of King Cwa, 214  
 of King Daudi Cwa, 230  
 of King Kamanya, 276

- History of King Jemba, 218  
of King Juko, 219  
of King Junju, 225  
of King Kagulu, 221  
of King Kaima, 217  
of King Kalema, 229  
of King Katerega, 219  
of King Kayemba, 219  
of King Kigala, 216  
of King Kikulwe, 221  
of King Kimbugwe, 218  
of King Kiimba, 216  
of King Kimera, 215  
of King Kintu, 214  
of King Kiwewa, 229  
of King Kyabagu, 224  
of King Mawanda, 222  
of King Mulondo, 217  
of King Mutebi, 219  
of King Mutesa, 227  
of King Mwanga I., 223  
of King Mwanga II., 229, 230  
of King Nakhingwe, 217  
of King Namugala, 224  
of King Ndaula, 220  
of King Sekamanya, 218  
of King Semakokiro, 225  
of King Suna I., 218  
of King Suna Kalema, 226  
of King Tebandeka, 219  
of King Tembo, 216  
of the Baganda Kings, 186  
of the Bean clan, 162  
of the Bird clan, 159  
of the Buffalo clan, 154  
of the Bushbuck clan, 163  
of the Cephalopus clan, 166  
of the Civet-cat clan, 145  
of the Colchus Monkey clan, 142  
of the Crow clan, 170  
of the Dog clan, 164  
of the Elephant clan, 147  
of the Genet clan, 171  
of the Grasshopper clan, 144  
of the Heart clan, 169  
of the Hippopotamus clan, 165  
of the Jackal clan, 165  
of the Katinvuma clan, 158  
of the Leopard clan, 140  
of the Lion clan, 141  
of the Lung-fish clan, 148  
of the Manis clan, 153  
of the Monkey clan, 156  
of the Mushroom clan, 151  
of the Oribi Antelope clan, 157  
of the Otter clan, 143  
of the Rainwater clan, 172  
of the Rat clan, 160  
of the Reedbuck clan, 168  
of the Yam clan, 160
- History of the Sheep clan, 153  
of the Tailless-cow Clan, 169  
Homicide and murder, 266  
Hospitality, 6  
House-breakers killed if caught, 264  
building, 366, 369  
of a deceased wife destroyed, 126  
of the deceased Queen or King's  
Mother destroyed, 116  
with a pinnacle, 373  
Houses built from the top, 369  
draped with barkcloth, 376  
in the Royal enclosure, 366  
last only a few years, 366  
Human bones used as drum sticks,  
213, 296  
sacrifices, 331  
at the King's funeral, 107  
at the Royal enclosure, 210  
to a deceased king, 284  
to prolong the King's life, 212  
abolished, 2  
at the King's Enthronement, 109  
made to drums, 27  
made to *Mhajwe*, 328  
offered to Kibuka, 305  
offered to the dead King, 112  
offered to Wamala, 315  
to invigorate the King, 209  
to preserve the King's life, 197  
to purify the new King, 108  
to strengthen the King, 200
- Hunting, 445  
from trees, 446  
small game, 448  
Hunter's horns, 37  
Huntsman not allowed to meet women,  
449  
Huntsman's return home, 450  
Husband endangered by his wife's  
adultery, 262  
jumping over his wife, 363  
Husband's and wife's mutual pledge,  
352  
not punished for wife murder, 263  
Huts built by travellers, 377  
built by warriors, 353  
used as smithies, 382
- 1
- Importance of ceiling rings in a house,  
37  
Imprisonment, 22, 264  
Incendiaries, 22  
Indulgence of passions not considered  
morally wrong, 10  
Infants exposed to the New Moon, 58  
sickness, 101

Inferiors addressing superiors, 44  
 Influence of the ghost of the afterbirth upon the living child, 55  
 Information, sources of, 3  
 Inheritance, 270  
 Insanity, 22  
 Installing the heir, 122  
 Intercession made by a goddess to a god, 315  
 Iron obtained from smelting stone, 381  
   to be found in the South-West of Uganda, 5  
   smelting, 379  
   workers, 170  
   working, 378  
 Ivory money, 412  
   obtained from Kyagwe district, 251  
   sold to Arabs, 269  
   workers, 412

## J

Jawbone of the dead King decorated, 110  
   of the dead King extracted, 109  
 Jawbones of chiefs were often preserved, 113  
   of kings, 282  
   the special portion of body to which ghosts cling, 282  
 Jumping over a wife, 17, 53, 55, 57, 63, 144, 206, 357, 363, 378, 459  
   a wife after cleansing a well, 459

## K

Kago as substitute for the King in twin birth ceremonies, 73  
*Katikiro* called a king, 236  
   not allowed to go to war, 355  
*Katikiro's* court, 260  
 Kaumpuli, the god of plague, incarnated, 219  
   office and estates, 235  
 Kibuka exposed for people to gaze upon him, 305  
   fighting from the clouds, 302  
 Kibuka's priests and mediums, 303  
   the War god coming to Uganda, 217  
 Kibuka's temple, 303  
   slaves, 307  
 Kikerekere branch of the Lung-fish clan, 151  
 Killing the King's brothers, 99  
*Kimbugwe's* office and estates, 235  
 King alone able to depose chiefs from office, 238  
 King and Queen carried to Budo, 191

King and Queen crowned, 197  
   appointing a man to build a temple 277  
   beating the Royal drum, 199  
   burning cowry-shells, 212  
   called "a lion," 207  
   consulting Kibuka, 305  
   fined by a chief, 211  
   forbidden to look towards the temple of Kaumpuli, 309  
   given details of wounded and dead in battle, 359  
   had his meals alone, 207  
   holds a general responsible for the welfare of army, 351  
   hunting bushbuck, 209  
   informed of a war, 357  
   informed of the spoil, 359  
   jumping over ivory to increase elephants, 168  
   mourning for his predecessor, 196  
   mourning for a predecessor he has killed, 347  
 Mutesa changed the old customs, 229  
   not allowed on sacred hills, 319  
   only made offering to Walumbe, 315  
   particular about the appearance of his wives, 93  
   planting Barkcloth trees, 194  
   playing a stone-spinning game, 211  
   plundering temple property, 301  
   repealing death sentences, 333  
   robed with Royal barkcloths, 194  
   saw his servants' food daily, 207  
   standing on the sacred mound on Budo, 194  
   taking leave of his Mother, 210  
   taking part in thatching, 372  
 Tebandeke possessed by the god Mukasa, 220  
   receiving an army, 360  
   visiting his ancestor's temple, 283  
 King's brothers not allowed to have male children, 81  
   chief cook, 206  
   control over money, 268  
   council, 233  
   custom of taking meals, 208  
   death, 103  
   drinking cup, 152  
   eldest son not allowed to reign, 188  
   enclosure, 201  
   fetiches, 324  
   food sent by his Mother and the Queen, 206  
   funeral, 107  
   grandmother capturing the wind spirit, 325

- King's grave dug by a man of the Yam Clan, 161  
 levee, 204  
 meals served on leaves on the floor, 207  
 messengers, 266  
 messengers addressing the god, 298  
 Mother not allowed to remarry, 237  
 Mother removed from the widows, 105  
 Mother's court, 266  
 Mother's estates, 237  
 Mother's heiress, 114  
 Mother's residence, 203  
 Mother's official residence, 237  
 offerings to Mukasa, 298  
 permission necessary to open a market, 456  
 powers, 232  
 private servants, 257  
 reception hall, 258  
 retainers and slaves received food from the Royal kitchen, 206  
 Royal rug, 259  
 scapegoat, 109  
 sham fight with *Kasuju*, 204  
 sickness, 98  
 smiths, 382  
 tax on boys and girls, 205  
 tomb, 107  
 umbilical cord, 236  
 umbilical cord presented to Mukasa's medium, 299  
 uncle appointed to the office of *Sabaganzi*, 105  
 visit to Budo, the reason for going, 192  
 visit to his father's temple, 112  
 visit to *Nankere*, 210  
 wives allowed to pay visits, 94  
 wives assist their husbands to obtain other wives, 87  
 wives ending mourning, 206  
 wives branded a fetich when about to be put to death, 324  
 wives restricted in paying visiting, 369  
 wives taken from common people, 86  
 wives termed prisoners, 51  
 Kings accession feast, 213  
 commanding an army in person, 354  
 descended through the male line, 187  
 the sons of Baganda women, 186  
 Kintu, the ancestor of man, 137  
 the first man to come to earth, 136  
 Kissing, not known, 61  
 Kiziba country tributary to Uganda, 234  
 Koki, a tributary country, 234  
 Kraals for cattle, 417  
 Kyadondo district, 247  
 Kyawe district, 250
- L
- Lake Victoria, travelling by canoe on, 1  
 Lake Wamala, 250  
 Land could not be sold, 268  
 Land tenure, 268  
 Language of parents unrestrained before their children, 10  
 Launching a canoe, 390  
 Laying fish nets, 393  
 Leather throwers, 338  
 workers, 408  
 Leaves of plantain tree used in cooking, 431  
 Legend of Kintu, 460  
 of Mukasa, 290  
 of the god of plague, 309  
 of the origin of Lake Wamala, 314  
 of the origin of rivers, 318  
 of Wanga raising the sun, 313  
 of the war god, 301  
 Legitimacy of a child established, 61  
 Leopard skins the King's property, 451  
 Levying workmen for State labour, 258  
 Life of a child, 75  
 Light-coloured people buried at death at cross-roads, 289  
 Lion hunting, 450  
 List of Kings, 231  
 Lung-fish clan endogamous, 134  
 Lusaka the official name of the King's Mother's residence, 215  
 Lying detrimental to success in fishing, 395
- M
- Magic, 46, 98, 328, 344, 394, 432  
 Magic trap to catch a foe, 344  
 worked to kill enemies, 344  
 Maid provided by the *Mugema* to guard the King's wives, 51  
 Mainpost removed from the King's tomb, 107  
 Maize crops, 432  
 Making an effigy of a twin, 125  
 Malevolent ghosts, 286  
 Mallets used to make barkcloth, 405  
 Man helpless against death, 464  
 killed at *Natu's* hut, 212  
 Man killed at the King's feast, 213  
 visiting the land of the dead, 466

- Man's appearance in Uganda, 461  
 Maps.  
 Maps, explanatory notes of, 523-525  
 Market places, 452  
   in Kyagwe district, 251  
 Markets in country places, 456  
 Marriage, 82  
   consummated, 91  
   contract, 88  
   feasts, 89  
   of a widower, 126  
   of temple slaves, 300  
   of the King, 83  
   vow was binding, 97  
 Married to a god, 275  
 Masks used in dances, 24  
 Materials used in basket making, 410  
   to make fetiches, 325  
 Mat making, 413  
 Mawokota district, 254  
 Meal cooked by a wife after her marriage, 91  
 Measurements, 39  
 Meat from sacrifices eaten by priests, 294  
   seldom obtained by peasants, 439  
   sold in markets, 452  
 Medicated beer given to victims for sacrifice, 331  
 Medicinal properties of amulets, 331  
 Medicine given to dogs, 424  
   poured into fetiches to increase its potency, 328  
 Medicine-men, 277  
   making fetiches, 325  
   treating sick men, 343  
 Medium becoming possessed by a god, 298  
   giving oracles when standing on thorns, 313  
   ill-used by a king, 227  
   of a crocodile god, 336  
   of a leopard, 335  
   of *Nbajwe*, 327  
   of the Python god, 320, 321  
 Mediums, 274  
   vendors of amulets, 329  
 Men employed in building in the Royal enclosure, 366  
   not allowed to garden, 426  
   not allowed to meet women when going to forest gods, 323  
   not allowed to sit on women's beds, 408  
   prohibited from entering the house of any absent warrior, 363  
   put to death for shedding Royal blood, 341  
   separated from their wives during the time of building Mukasa's temple, 293  
 Men the fathers of many children, 57  
 Messages and messengers, 12  
 Messengers mutilated for mistakes made in delivering a message, 12  
 Metal never tempered, 383  
 Method of catching ants, 440  
   of cutting boards, 387  
   of extinguishing fires, 21  
   of hunting lions, 451  
   of killing sheep, 288  
   of procuring bones for drum sticks, 296  
   of stripping a tree of its bark, 404  
 Methods adopted by tax collectors, 244  
   of exorcising ghosts, 287  
 Milk, 440  
   boiled by boys, 419  
   boiled ceremoniously, 418  
   flavoured with smoke, 419  
   pots, 401  
   vessels, 419  
 Milking customs, 420  
 Misconduct of girls, 79  
 Months, 38  
 Moral ideas, 267  
 Mother-in-law not allowed to see her son-in-law, 129  
 Mother of twins not allowed out during the day, 68  
   mourning for her child, 126  
 Mother's affection for her child, 60  
   rights over her child, 60  
   scarifying their daughters to prevent the King from marrying them, 81  
   taught their children to respect their totems, 128  
 Mothers praised or scolded after the naming ceremony, 64  
 Mourners' food, 193  
   not allowed to wash, 119  
 Mourning for a twin not allowed, 125  
   for the dead King, 104  
*Mugema's* duties at the coronation, 198  
   to the King's wives, 50  
   not allowed to eat food cooked in the Royal enclosure, 253  
 Muhamedanism in Uganda, 229  
 Mukasa a benign god, 290  
   a human being, 291  
   and python god related, 322  
   angered because canoes were dragged inland, 226  
   entered his new temple by night, 295  
   sending gifts to the King, 299  
   the giver of twins, 299  
   the god of the lake, 300



- Mukasa's death and burial, 292  
 food, 291  
 grief on hearing of his brother's death, 303  
 medium a woman, 297  
 slaves, 300  
 temporary temple, 292  
 wives, 292
- Murder, 20
- Musical instruments called *Madinda*, 31
- Musical instruments, 25
- Mutebi the priest at the King's feast, 213
- Mutesa, rapid changes in the reign of, 3  
 the famous king, 2
- Mutilation in warfare, 358
- Mutilations feared because of the effects in the after world, 281  
 some causes for, 12

## N

- Nabikande*, the midwife to the King's wives, 50
- Nail parings concealed in gardens, 345
- Nalinya*, 111
- Names given to parts of a canoe, 389
- Naming a child, 61, 62  
 twins, 69
- Nankere's* son killed in order to give the king life, 210  
 treated as a prince previous to his death, 210
- Nantaba* the wind spirit, 325
- National gods, 273
- National oath of allegiance, 199
- Native hoes, 427
- Native name given to the rhythm of the drum, 30
- New moon ceremonies, 299, 428
- Newly-married couples choice of home, 96
- News conveyed to the king by runners, 359  
 from elephant tusk buried, 447
- Nurse maids, 58

## O

- Oath of allegiance, 349
- Obeisance made to relics, 285
- Object of folklore, 460
- Objects clinging to clothes used to trap fish, 397
- Offering made to river spirits when crossing rivers, 319

- Offerings made to a canoe, 390  
 to ghosts for good fortune experienced, 287  
 to ghosts to ensure prosperity, 288  
 made to the god of the Lake, 395  
 to the plague god, 311  
 to tree spirits, 386  
 to python god, 321
- Office of executioner, 332  
 of *Kangawo*, 252  
 of *Kasuju*, 256  
 of *Katambala*, 256  
 of *K'ibare*, 157  
*Kimbugwe* ceases at the King's death, 236  
 King's half-brother, 205  
 of *Kitunzi*, 255  
 of *Mukwenda*, 249  
 of overseer of road making, 241  
 of *Sekibobo*, 251  
 of tax collector, 244  
 of the ex-Queen, 111  
 of the *Gabungu*, 254  
 of the *Kago*, 248  
 of the *Kaima*, 254  
 of the *Mugema*, 156, 253  
 of the *Pokino*, 255
- Officers of the dead King, 111
- Offices of King's widows not allowed to lapse, 283
- Omens observed by travellers, 17
- Open space before the royal enclosure, 202
- Oracles, 275  
 given by a King's ghost, 284  
 given by night, 314
- Order of battle, 356
- Origin of clans, 137  
 of death, 463
- Ornaments, 443  
 of distinction worn by the King's servants, 258
- Orphans, treatment of, 12

## P

- Paddles and paddlers, 389
- Painting canoes, 390
- Parents of twins not allowed to see blood, 69
- Pastoral people of Ankole, 3
- Pasturage, good quality of, 5
- Patterns dyed on barkcloths, 406
- Peace making, 347
- Peasant life, 15  
 princes, 140
- Peasants' food, 437  
 houses, 376  
 partook of meals with their wives, 17

- Peasants preferred to live in the country, 246  
 use of fetiches to diagnose sickness, 325  
 wives not guarded, 95
- Pedestrians compelled to assist in road-making, 243
- People captured for passing Kibuka's temple during the re-building, 304  
 fear to fell large trees, 317  
 living in the Royal enclosure, 366  
 never greeted when at meals, 437  
 the, belong to the Bantu family, 6  
 when drowning not rescued, 241
- Person of priests sacred, 274  
 of vestal virgins sacred, 276
- Petty theft, 267
- Physical features, 4  
 type, 7
- Pillars used in building, 371
- Pinnacle of the temple, 295
- Pits for trapping game, 450
- Place of safety for the sacred objects in a temple, 284
- Plague god in human form, 309
- Plan of the capital, 200, 523-525
- Plantain flour, 439  
 trees and how they are grown, 429  
 grown from shoots, 430  
 poisoned by witchcraft, 290
- Plantains the staple food of the people, 5
- Plantations of plantains called gardens, 4
- Poison ordeals, 341
- Politeness, 8
- Political changes, 2
- Polygamy and the marriage of sisters, 83
- Population, 6
- Porters, desertion of and difficulties with, 1, 399
- Possession by gods, 275
- Potter at work, 400
- Pottery baked when the moon was full, 402  
 sold in markets, 455
- Poverty did not exist, 12
- Power given to royal messengers, 266
- Powers of imitation, 365  
 of medicine-men, 277
- Prayer to Mwanga to give answers in divination, 339
- Precautions taken by pregnant women when visiting, 49
- Preparation for war, 348
- Preparing a chief's body for burial, 116  
 food for cooking, 435  
 for a hunt, 445
- Priest entering the temple, 294  
 of Namulere, 317
- Priestesses as midwives, 318
- Priestly office and dress, 296
- Priests and their duties, 274  
 captured, 358  
 duties in battle, 357  
 in seclusion, 295  
 of Nende, 308  
 treating plague-stricken people, 310
- Princes and princesses servants to Kibuka, 307  
 burnt to death, 189  
 encouraged to marry, 187  
 fighting for the throne, 190  
 of the drums and peasant princes, 188  
 put to death, 188  
 to death at Benga, 336  
 to death by starvation, 337  
 rejected from being king, 190  
 wives, 85
- Princesses dedicated to Nende, 308  
 fond of gardening, 426  
 forbidden to marry, 232  
 not allowed to marry, 85, 187  
 sent to reside in temples, 74, 303  
 were free to pay visits, 8
- Prisoners released on parole, 264
- Private estates of chiefs, 246
- Products of the country supplied the needs of the people, 5
- Profligacy of the sexes, 10
- Property confiscated by *Kaumbuli*, 310  
 of a chief when promoted, 14  
 of cowards confiscated, 362
- Proverbs, 485-491
- Proving a child's legitimacy, 50
- Punishment for adultery, 261  
 for incest was death, 129  
 for seduction, 263
- Purificatory ceremonies after childbirth, 53, 55  
 for the parents of twins, 68  
 performed before building a temple, 293
- Purifying houses from plague, 310
- Python god, 320  
 conferring boons, 322  
 god's food, 321

## Q

- Queen and her status, 84  
 and King's Mother inducted into their official estates, 196  
 robed with royal barkcloths, 195  
 the chief guardian of a king's temple, 283

Queen's court, 237, 266  
 estates, 236  
 heiress, 114  
 residence, 203  
 title changed at the death of the  
 King, 283

## R

Rafts, 391  
 Railway journey to Uganda, 1  
 Rainfall, 4, 6  
 Rainstorm stopped, 432  
 Rainy seasons, 38  
 Ram of a canoe, 387  
 Rank given to a chief, 257  
 Rattles used in Kibuka's temple, 307  
 Reasons given for removing the jaw-  
 bone, 112  
 Rebellion, 347  
 in Uganda, 230  
 Rebuilding temples, 276  
 Mukasa's temple, 292  
 Reception of a victorious army, 360  
 Receptions held by a king's ghost, 284  
 Records orally handed down, 3  
 Reed work in a house, 372  
 Relatives of a chief often became his  
 trusted servants, 13  
 Relics in a king's temple, 284  
 redecorated, 285  
 Religion, 271-345  
 Remarriage of widows, 96  
 Remedies used in sickness, 100  
 Residents in the capital responsible for  
 the maintenance of the roads,  
 243  
 Restrictions placed on people who  
 drank milk, 418  
 upon mourners, 120  
 upon Mukasa's medium, 297  
 Retaining the after-birth ghost in the  
 clan, 55  
 Retarded delivery owing to adultery,  
 55  
 Reverse in war, 357  
 Rewards for bravery in battle, 357  
 Riches never hoarded, 267  
 Rigorous mode of punishing prisoners,  
 265  
 Ring in house roof of great esteem,  
 369  
 Ripe plantains eaten by travellers, 439  
 Rites performed to purify spoil, 363  
 River spirits, 318  
 Road taken by the King when going to  
 Budo, 192  
 Roads, good, 4  
 guarded to capture people, 332

Roads in country districts, 239  
 the capital, 241  
 Robbing temples, 273  
 Rocks found chiefly along the shores  
 of the lake, 5  
 Rooms in a house, 375  
 Rooted objection to women rulers, 232  
 Roots eaten in times of drought, 439  
 Rope-making, 413  
 Routine followed in cultivating a plan-  
 tain grove, 430  
 Royal bearers, 155  
 drums, 25  
 guarded by the *Mugema*, 104  
 enclosure, 368  
 divided into sections, 369  
 hunt at the end of mourning, 197  
 leopard hunt, 209  
 oath given to the nation, 198  
 potters, 143  
 rug, 141, 409  
 spear returned to Budo, 204  
 war fetiches, 324  
 widows, 105  
 Royalty belonged to the mother's clan,  
 128

## S

Sacred bats, 316  
 crocodiles, 336  
 fire at the entrance of the Royal  
 enclosure, 202  
 extinguished, 103  
 in Kibuka's temple, 304  
 taken to war, 355  
 used to burn princes, 336  
 hills, 319  
 meal after a battle, 357  
 to dedicate a canoe, 390  
 objects in Kibuka's temple, 305  
 in *Mbajwe's* temple, 327  
 pot in canoe, 394  
 trees in a garden, 427  
 Sacrifices to ghosts, 286  
 Sacrificial place Benga, 336  
 Ekulu, 337  
 Kitinda, 336  
 Kubamitwe, 337  
 Mutukulu, 337  
 Namugongo, 337  
 Seguku, 334  
 with no important ceremonies,  
 338  
 Sacrificial places, 331  
 Sailors the songsters of the country,  
 37  
 Salutations, 42  
 Salt a luxury, 438

- Salt was obtained from Bunyoro, 5
- Sandal making, 410
- Sanitary arrangements, 243  
in peasant huts, 377
- Scapegoat, 342
- Scarifications avoided, 7  
practised in Kyagwe, 81  
were uncommon, 442
- Seat of owner of a house, 378
- Second wife taken from paternal grand-  
mother's clan, 83
- Secret police, 208
- Selecting a site for the capital, 366
- Selection and status of chiefs, 13
- Sensalire*, the Royal herdsman, 147
- Servants kneel to receive orders, 44  
in Kibuka's temple, 307
- Serving food, 436
- Shadows, fear of, 23
- Sham fight as a purificatory rite, 355  
at the birth of twins, 70  
on Budo hill, 193
- Shaving children's heads, 64  
the body, 59
- Sheep herded with cattle, 412  
never killed during time of war,  
363
- Shield making, 406
- Shrines built in a new garden, 427  
for buffaloes' heads, 289
- Shrine for the ghost built by a grave,  
123  
of ghosts at graves, 286  
to the thunder god, 432
- Sickness buried in paths, 344  
cast upon waste land, 343  
caused by ghosts, 100  
transferred to animals, 342  
to images, 344  
to people, 342  
to plantain trees, 343
- Singo district, 249
- Sister taken to wife by an heir, 122
- Sister's son ending mourning ceremony,  
121
- Site chosen for the capital, 200  
for a temple of a King, 283
- Situations of temples, 273
- Skins of animals used as clothing,  
442  
used for clothing, 409
- Slavery with the coasts, 229
- Slaves could be sold or killed by their  
owners, 15  
how they were obtained and their  
status, 14  
put to death to end twin-birth cere-  
monies, 73  
were buried, not cast out to wild  
animals, 127
- Slave woman made free if she was  
married by her master and had  
children, 14
- Sleep and dreams, 18
- Sleeping during rain storms, 18  
-sickness ravages, 6
- Sliding doors and gates, 375
- Small fish baskets, 397
- Small-pox, 102
- Smiths, 379
- Smith's son learning to work iron, 382
- Sneezing avoided, 259
- Soap making, 413
- Social life, 7
- Soil, the, 5
- Son not necessarily the heir to his  
father, 12
- Sons of the King killed at birth, 137
- Souls of the dead visiting Walumbwe,  
315
- Spearing fish, 398
- Speke in Uganda, 229
- Spies and scouts used in the army, 355
- Spinach, 434
- Sponges made from stems of plantain  
tree, 431
- Spring traps for game, 450
- Spurious charges brought against chiefs,  
259
- Standing army raised by King Mutesa,  
227
- Stanley in Uganda, 229
- Status of women given by the King to  
men to be their wives, 93
- Steering a canoe by objects on the  
land, 391
- Stitching canoe boards together, 388
- Stocks, 264  
used to detain culprits, 22
- Stools, 408
- Stones used by a god as messengers,  
316
- Story of the cat and the fowl, 470  
of the dog and the leopard, 471  
of the hare and the elephant, 480  
of Kiwobe and his sheep, 477  
of the leopard and the hare, 467  
of the lion and the cow, 474  
of the lion and the crocodile, 471  
of Mpobe, 465  
of Mugema nursing Kimera, 215  
of Ndyakubi and Ndalakubi, 482  
of Sesota, the large snake, 475  
of Sifirwakange and Kasokambirye,  
478  
of Why the bats hang head down-  
wards, 483  
Wokubira Omulalu Mukyama, 484
- Strangling the guardian of the sacred  
fire, 103

- Sub-chiefs responsible for country-roads, 240  
 Substitutes for chiefs in the army, 355  
 Sugar-cane, 434  
 Suicide, 20  
 Suicide's body burned on waste land, 289  
 Sunset, ideas of, 39  
 Superiority of the Baganda over Bantu tribes, 365  
 Superstitions of travellers, 17  
   regarding adultery, 72, 262, 362  
     Bean Clan, 162  
     Bushbuck Clan, 163  
     beads worn by a child, 58  
     burying two bodies in a grave, 127  
     child-birth, 55  
     horn feet first, 54  
     teething, 74  
     conception, 47  
     cutting hair, 24  
     dreams, 18  
     ghosts, 281, 286, 288  
     of hills, 319  
     of madmen, 23  
     of suicides, 21, 127  
     of twins, 124  
     menses, 80, 352  
     naming children, 62  
     pregnancy, 49  
     rivers, 318  
     shadows, 23  
     sheep climbing a house, 423  
     sickness, 98  
     sleep, 18  
     sneezing, 23  
     suicides, 21  
     trees, 317  
     twins, 66  
     wells, 455  
 Surgery, 358  
 Sweet potatoes, 428
- T
- Taboos observed by pregnant women, 49  
   on women drawing water, 459  
 Taking leave of the dead, 117  
 Taxation, 244  
   in boys and girls, 245  
 Tax paid by workmen before doing State labour, 243  
   when road making, 241  
 Taxes divided by the King, 245  
 Teething customs, 74  
 Temple drums, 28  
   enclosure, 285  
   for the King's jawbone, 110  
 Temple functions, 298  
   of Mukasa, 292  
   of the python god, 320  
 Temples and their structure, 276  
   destroyed by King Kyabagu, 224  
 Tents used for royal guards, 201  
 Terms of relationship, 129-132  
   used by the members of a clan, 83  
 Testing the legitimacy of a child, 56  
   of twins, 70  
 Thanking a host for a meal, 438  
   people for working, 8  
 Thank-offering after a punitive expedition, 299  
 Thanks, 45  
 Thatchers, 372  
 Thatching a house, 373  
 Theft, 10, 264  
   from peasants, 15  
 The King's wives, 50  
 Thick smoke to stop rain, 315  
 Thief's body was not buried, 15  
   use of fetich, 329  
 Thieves stealing food by night might be killed, 15  
   when forcing a house might be killed, 12  
 Throwing grass on graves, 289  
 Timber for canoe building, 385  
 Time measured by meals, 38  
   by women by the pipes they smoked, 38  
 Titles given to the King's wives, 85  
   to the parents of twins, 65  
 Tobacco pipes, 403  
 Toll taken by the royal gate-keepers, 204  
 Tools used for making pots, 399  
 Torches used in the evenings, 201  
 Torture in the stocks, 259  
 Totems of kings, 187  
 Tradition of the first plantain tree, 428  
   of the Katinvuma clan, 158  
   of the Lung-fish clan, 149  
   of the origin of the Bean clan, 162  
   of the origin of the Hippopotamus clan, 166  
   of the origin of the Yam clan, 16  
 Transferring sickness, 101  
 Traveller's precautions to preserve his wife's health, 17  
 Travelling, 17  
 Trials before the *Katikiro*, 260  
   before the King, 259  
 Tributary countries, 234  
 Treason, 266  
 Treatment of a visitor's dog, 425  
   calves, 418  
   cowardly chief, 361  
   dead in war, 359

- Treatment of dog guilty of fowl catching, 424  
 fever, 103  
 lambs and kids, 423  
 pregnant women, 48  
 sickness, 99  
 the after-birth, 52, 54  
 the after-birth of twins, 65  
 widows, 270
- Treaty made with British Government, 2
- Tree spirits, 317, 386  
 upon which a suicide was committed  
 burned, 280
- Trees used in building Mukasa's temple, 294  
 use made of, 4
- Tunes played on fifes, 36
- Twin-birth ceremonies, 65
- Twin rites completed in warfare, 358
- Twins born to the King, 73  
 were never said to be dead, 124
- Type of the Baganda kings, 186
- U
- Umbilical cord necessary in the naming ceremony, 62
- Unfaithfulness a cause of sickness, 101
- Uses of amulets, 329  
 of fetiches, 279, 323
- V
- Varieties of barkcloth trees, 403  
 of plantain trees, 431
- Vegetables used for food, 436
- Vessels of temples sacred, 274  
 used for cooking, 435
- Vestal virgins, 9, 275  
 deposed from office at puberty, 276
- Victims maimed and given to crocodiles, 336  
 tortured at sacrificial place, 335
- Visit paid to the King by the father of twins, 72
- Visiting the grandparents of twins, 70
- Visitors admitted to a sick room, 103
- W
- Walumbe, the god of death, 315
- Wamala's medium not seen by the public, 314
- Warfare, 346
- War gods, 301
- War gods Nende and Kirabira, 308  
 shown to the people, 308
- Warrior visiting his father after a war, 362
- Warrior's return home, 362
- Warriors afraid to pass fetiches, 354  
 in battle, 356  
 rewarded for bravery, 360  
 supply their own arms, 347  
 taking oath of allegiance, 349  
 travelling in Uganda, 351
- Washing the hands before a meal, 436  
 uncongenial to children, 9
- Water spirits in wells, 458  
 test in divination, 339
- Weaning princes and princesses, 73
- Wells, 458
- Whip made from human flesh, 211
- Widows claimed by relatives, 121  
 executed at the King's funeral, 106  
 given to the King, 121  
 of a king appointed to reside in the temple, 283  
 of the deceased king, 204  
 the property of the heir, 270  
 who become slaves, 121
- Wife chief nurse in sickness, 100  
 murder, 20  
 presents her husband with a fowl, 91  
 seeking aid from fetiches for absent husband, 352  
 taken from paternal grandmother's clan, 135  
 taking leave of husband when going to war, 352
- Wife's conduct tested by husband on his return from war, 364  
 duties, 83, 94  
 faithfulness tested, 362  
 first visit to her mother-in-law, 92  
 redress should she dislike her husband, 92  
 visit to her relatives after her marriage, 91
- Wind spirit carried to the Royal enclosure, 326  
 recaptured by each new king, 327  
 storm stopped, 432
- Wine, 441
- Wives allowed to take leave of condemned husbands, 334  
 to visit their relatives, 94  
 and children pledged by workmen, 242  
 and the restriction placed on them, 93  
 as guardians of fetiches, 324  
 carrying husband's bedding, 23  
 divorced when subject to fits, 288

- Wives guarded, 94  
 of chiefs were visited by their male relatives, 8  
 of cowardly chiefs sold into slavery, 362  
 of the King who might not have sons, 137  
 put into the stocks, 23  
 smashing their water-pots, 334  
 taken upon punitive expeditions, 353  
 tortured when suspected of adultery, 263  
 witnessing husband's death, 334
- Witches burned to death, 289
- Woman, changed position of, 2
- Women able to refuse an offer of marriage, 88  
 and men not allowed to use the same bath, 18  
 as paddlers in a canoe, 391  
 carrying loads would refuse to greet a man, 8  
 consulting the earth god for increase of crops, 313  
 eating apart from men, 438  
 fear the ghosts of suicides, 21  
 forbidden to herd or milk cows, 416  
 to pay visits without their husband's consent, 7  
 to shave when their husbands were at war, 7  
 formed the wealth of a man, 246  
 given by the king to his servants to become their wives, 14  
 gardening, 426  
 given in marriage by the king, 92  
 knelt down when addressing men, 8  
 mourners taken from the house of mourning by their husbands, 123  
 not allowed to mention dead sheep, 289  
 not allowed to mourn for the dead from plague, 310  
 not allowed to sit in a doorway when a man entered the house, 49  
 not allowed to sit on stools, 48
- Women not allowed to step over a man's feet or mat, 49  
 not allowed to touch unbaked pots, 402  
 not debarred by poverty from becoming wives of the King, 269  
 of the Bushbuck clan not allowed to have sons when married to the King, 164  
 outnumbered men, 97  
 patting themselves to prevent the earth-quakegod killing them, 313  
 restricted from approaching drums, 30  
 secluded during menses, 96  
 smoking tobacco, 441  
 tortured to name their seducers, 261  
 usually outlived men, 97  
 were not guardians of children, 12  
 when old often left their husbands and went to live with relatives, 13  
 with large families, 57
- Women's houses, 9  
 quarters, 94  
 vows to Mukasa, 300  
 work in a plantain grove, 431
- Working ivory, 412
- Workmen fined for doing bad work, 246  
 for not working, 242  
 supply their building materials, 372
- Work of building Mukasa's temple begun on a chief's head, 295  
 seldom completed, 366
- Wounded in battle, 358
- Wrestling, 78

## Y

Young girls taken to wife by chiefs, 93

## Z

Ziba people tributary to Uganda, 3















