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PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE OROPOM PEOPLE OF KARAMOJA, THEIR ETHNIC STATUS, CULTURE AND POSTULATED RELATION TO THE PEOPLES OF THE LATE STONE AGE.

By J. G. Wilson

The writer first came to Karamoja in 1952 and was resident from then until 1959. He returned to Karamoja in 1962 and has been resident since. During that time he has taken a close interest in both archaeology and palaeontology, finding in 1956 the Napak Miocene fossils[1] and in 1958 the Moroto Miocene fossils.[2] He has also taken a close interest in the widespread and abundant archaeological material, including stone tools and pottery, which is to be found in the district. An early collection of this was forwarded to Dr. Merrick Posnansky, who was then Curator of the Uganda Museum. This collection included grooved pottery. Latterly a collection of several thousand pieces of pottery and numerous microlithic stone tools including scrapers and other objects have been collected and these are probably of a Late Stone Age industry. Similar material has been collected in the area until recently known as Karasuk, and in the adjacent districts of Turkana and West Pokot in Kenya. The material collected, particularly the pottery, reflects such a high degree of skill and artistry in its manufacture, that it is obviously not connected with the much cruder pots of the present occupants of these areas. Furthermore, numerous informants among the present residents have no tradition of having any connection with the manufacture of these artifacts, with the exception of a few people who claim to be descendants of a people known as *Oropom*. They are occasionally referred to as *Oworopom, Oyoropom* and as *Oropoi.*

The second clue to the possible existence of people who were known as Oropom came to light in a paper written by Captain Turpin in 1915 but not published till 1948[3] in which he described the tradition of certain Karimojong elders that a tribe known as the Oropom was broken up by the Karimojong early in the nineteenth century. He also mentions tradition as relating that the Karimojong occupied the Chemorongit mountains (Karasuk), which had up to that time been occupied by the Oropom people. Further mention of people known as Oworopom is made by Wright[4] and Lawrance[5] as being the original inhabitants of Teso district.

Distribution of people of Oropom descent and some of their traditions.

By 1966 a large collection of Late Stone Age artifacts had been collected and notes made of the locality of the finds of the pottery fragments. In that year in the course of famine relief work close contact was made with vast numbers of Karimojong and the opportunity arose to observe a really true cross-section of the various Karimojong groups and sub-tribes of the district. This also provided an occasion to notice the full range of physiognomic types that could be differentiated between individual and individual, and locality and locality, it also became apparent that in certain places there

were variations in the kind of personal adornment worn by women. These variants, both women and girls, and even infants, displayed a single cowrie shell attached to a forelock, which rested in the centre of their forehead. On questioning such wearers it emerged that they were people of Oropom descent. In fact many were emphatic in stating that they were Oropom and not Karimojong. The preponderance of the wearers occurred in Matheniko and Pian counties, with a smaller incidence in Bokora county. They were not observed at all in Jie county or Dodoth, while a few wearers were found in Upe county and in Karasuk particularly around Kacheliba trading centre, which borders Kenya on the Turkwell river. Numbers of such people were also observed among the Tepes people of Moroto and Kadam mountains, but not among the Labwor (Tobur) or Napore peoples.

The people distinguished referred to the cowrie shell as *Esigir,* the plural of which is *Ngsigir,* which is a Karimojong word. The contrast with male descendants of the Oropom who were without such decoration, naturally led to closer observation of their physiognomy, and here it was observed that many of the men bore an indented mark on the centre of the forehead which was referred to as *Esigirait.* Having now isolated a group of people from the main Karimojong body, differences in facial physiognomy were then observed between the people of Oropom descent and those of Karimojong descent. The most obvious characteristic of numerous Oropom was their mongoloid features, with slant eyes and prominent cheekbones. The initial observation was made at Lorengedwat in Pian county where many people of Oropom descent are located. Latterly, also in Pian county at a place called Lolachat, many people of Oropom descent displayed more pronounced physiognomic differences. Here large numbers of people had a comparatively light pigmentation of the skin, being reddish brown in appearance. Their facial physiognomy too, was different, many possessing what might be termed pedomorphic features, with prominent rounded foreheads, small upturned noses, with fine bones and slant eyes. In some individuals, a further factor which is generally associated with Bushmanoid peoples and is referred to as 'peppercorn hair', was apparent. Lastly it was observed that many of the people displayed a pentagonal skull conformation. These features added together suggest that they were of Bushmanoid extraction.

The foregoing having been established it followed that these people might have some interesting traditions which would explain their difference in appearance and their insistence on being Oropom. To gather such information it was obvious that those best informed would be old people of either sex. Initially little information was gathered about cultural differences between themselves and the Karimojong, but a great deal of information was volunteered about how they came to be among the Karimojong. Turpin's narrative about the break-up of the Oropom on the Turkwell was strongly corroborated and enlarged. A battle had indeed taken place, probably about 1830 in the neighbourhood of Kacheliba, in which a large group of Karimojong of the Bokora, Matheniko and Pian sections had completely overcome all opposition.

It is uncertain how strongly they were opposed, or whether this battle was not the climax of other battles that had occurred previously. However this was the final battle and Oropom settlements virtually ceased to exist in that area, though as late as 1927 according to a reliable informant, a few

relict Oropom villages survived between Kacheliba and Karita. Many individuals and families fled from the scene, some going in a westerly direction to Teso and others even as far as Bukedi. Others fled south, seeking refuge among the Nandi and Vukusu, but many went further, joining those who were seemingly their relatives, the Uasin Gishu Masai. A few made their way to what were then intact Oropom settlements in Pian county, particularly between Lolachat and Namalu. One old man, a Pian of Oropom extraction, related that as late as 1897 these refugees were still to be distinguished from the people in whose area they had taken refuge. Apparently in that year. he had travelled with his father when still a youth, in order to seek food from their relatives who were living among the Vukusu. On arrival there he relates that the Oropom were clearly distinguishable from the Vukusu as the men were naked and had red bodies (ochre), and though they were cultivating bananas, finger millet and maize, as the Vukusu, their houses were different. These he said, were constructed of three or four rooms while those of the Vukusu had only one room. The significance of this will be seen later.

Not all the Oropom fled however, thousands were taken prisoner by the Karimojong, roped together in lines, and abducted to the homes of their captors. Furthermore it appears that the Karimojong, in many instances made whole Oropom families prisoner, such families remaining intact after their arrival at their captor's home. In this way Oropom tradition and in certain instances language, was kept alive. Though they were confined by their captors to the owner's enclosure and were obliged to discontinue their own cultural practices and adapt themselves to the Karimojong way of life. The reason for this magnanimity on the part of the Karimojong is hard to fathom; the reason given by one informant appears plausible, and that was that the Karimojong feared the Oropom as witches who had the power of bringing famine and disease to those who afflicted them. So by absorbing them they averted this and at the same time might benefit by their absorption. Anyway these groups of prisoners gave rise to the many people of Oropom descent that can be found at Lorengedwat in Pian county and other places.

It would appear though that there were extant groups of Oropom living in other parts of Karamoja who were not disrupted at the time of the Turkwell battle. These were to be found as a small group in the area around Rupa and Nakiloro and some distance northwards, in Matheniko county. Other Oropom still survived in the area between Elgon and Kadam, still others in a line from Namalu through Lolochat towards Nabilatuk and even Lorengedwat. Of these, as will be related, the Matheniko group became largely broken up, but the Pian group were to some extent absorbed peacefully. This took place as the Pian settlements were established in Nabilatuk. The Pian themselves say that until about 1890 their settlement did not extend far south of the Manimani river at Lorengedwat. Even in 1952 Pian settlement did not extend beyond Napianenya, which is a few miles south of Lolachat. While Namalu, which is today thickly populated, was then virtually unpopulated.

Tradition on the past settlement of Karamoja and adjoining areas.

Tradition, as revealed by informants mainly in Matheniko, indicates that in the distant past the Oropom were a numerically populous people, occupying a very large area. This area is claimed to have extended over all Turkana

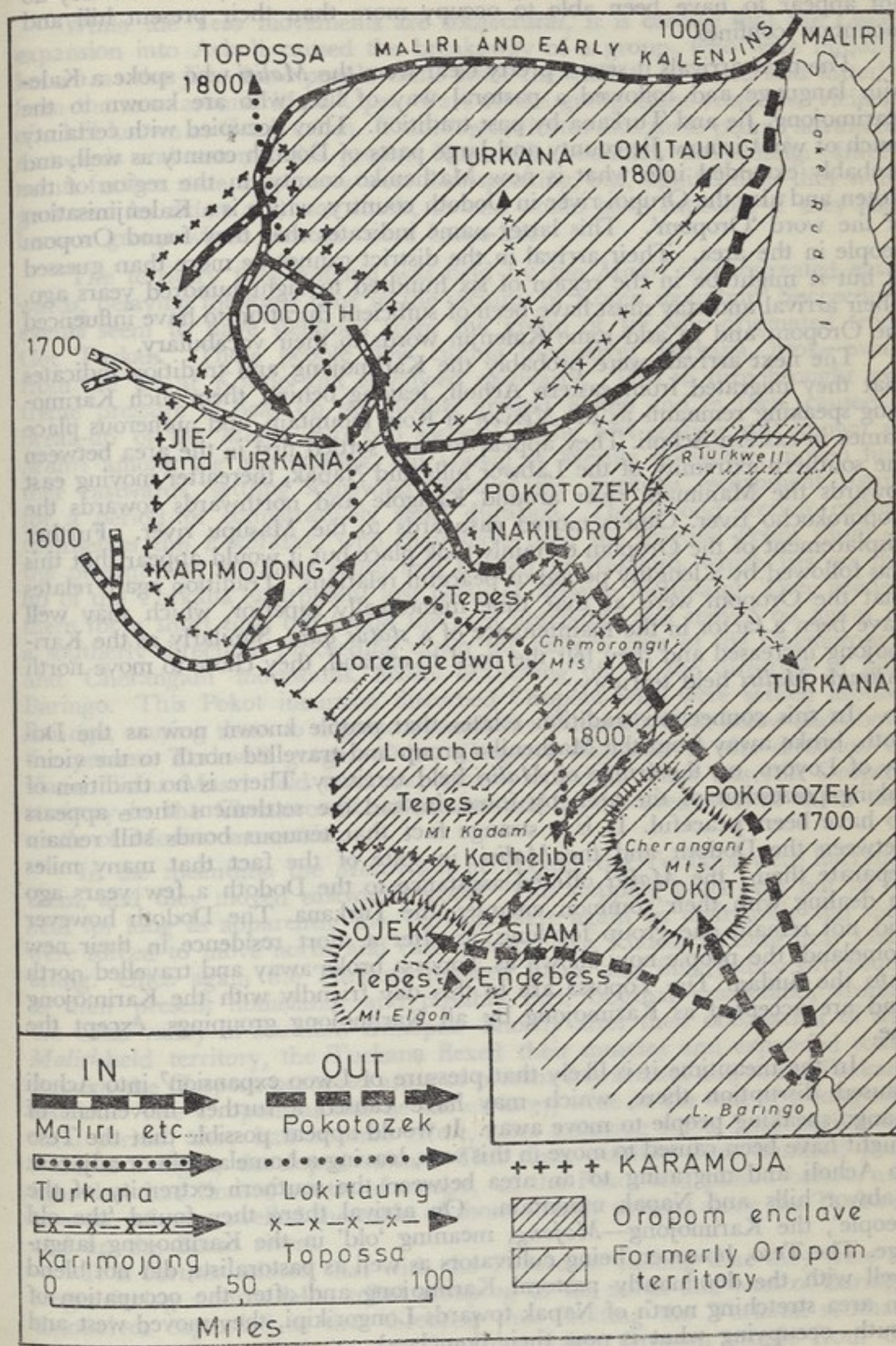
district to a point somewhere east of lake Rudolf known to informants as Malimalte, probably in what is Boran country at the present-day. They also relate having occupied the area from and including the Cherangani range eastwards to lake Baringo, and much of the present-day Trans-Nzoia district as well as territory south of this, now occupied by the Nandi and Uasin Gishu Masai. They further claim to have occupied Mount Elgon but were driven out by the arrival of the Kadam Tepes on the higher reaches and latterly by the Sebei on the lower reaches. To the west of Karamoja they claim to have occupied all of Teso district and further west. South of this they claim to have occupied what are now Bugisu and Bukedi districts. There is little mention of their presence in Acholi or Lango districts, but significantly a clan name known as *Orupo* occurs among the Acholi people. They also claim that the area now occupied by the Didinga and Topossa in the Sudan had been part of their territory. A Didinga informant was able to confirm that there is a tradition among the Didinga of having dispersed a people known as *Argit* who were red in appearance and who were responsible for the many remains of fine pottery and bored stones to be found in Didinga country. Some informants who are descendants of the occupants of the Turkwell settlements, claim that they were driven out by the Turkana when they occupied that area, causing them to settle in the Chemorongit mountains and south to the Turkwell. Turkana of Oropom descent occur today around Lokitaung and other places.

There is abundant archaeological evidence that at one time the Oropom were much more widespread in Karamoja. This therefore poses questions concerning the history of the various groups which inhabit the district now. The following is an attempt to reconstruct the sequence of peopling of the district as is available at present.

There are at present four sections of the Karimojong — the *Bokora, Pian, Matheniko* and *Dodoth*. There are also the *Jie* who, though Karimojong speakers, are not of the original group, as will be seen, and who were at one time closely linked with the *Turkana*. There are also a number of smaller tribal groupings which embrace the *Tepes* who occupy Moroto, Kadam and Napak mountain areas; the *Tobur* (*Labwor*) and *Nyakwai* who occupy the Labwor hills and the *Nyangea, Napore* and *Teuso* who occupy hilly areas in northern Karamoja. Finally there are the *Pokot (Suk)* who occupy part of southeastern Karamoja and the area known as Karasuk.

It is assumed that the primary occupants were Oropom and it appears likely that the first invaders of their territory were proto-Kalenjin speakers who may have included the Nyangea, Teuso and Tepes. These people at any rate have traditional links and, as will be shown later, had connections with a larger Kalenjin grouping who were known as *Maliri*. However, it is equally possible that these people were preceded by the arrival of the traditional iron working peoples who are the Nyakwai, the Tobur and the Napore. Archaeological evidence shows that besides numerous remains such as slag heaps which are to be found in the west of the district adjacent or near to the present iron working peoples, there is evidence that an iron working people passed from the north of the district to the south along the eastern boundaries.[6] Moreover since no trace of these people is to be found among the Tepes, it is likely that iron working peoples preceded the first settlements of Tepes and other proto-Kalenjin speakers. Whatever the case may be it would appear

TENTATIVE TRIBAL MOVEMENTS 1000 — 1800 AD



that the influx of Tepes, Tobur and Napore was numerically small as they do not appear to have been able to occupy more than their present hill and mountain confines.

The next arrivals it seems pretty clear were the *Maliri* who spoke a Kalenjin language and followed a pastoral way of life, who are known to the Karimojong, Jie and Turkana by past tradition. They occupied with certainty much of what is now Jie county and large parts of Dodoth county as well, and probably extended into what is now Matheniko county, in the region of the Koten and also the Orupoi river in Dodoth country, which is a Kalenjinisation of the word 'Oropom'. This latter name indicates that they found Oropom people in the area. Their arrival in the district cannot be more than guessed at but it might be in the region of six hundred to eight hundred years ago. Their arrival and stay must have been of sufficient duration to have influenced the Oropom and to add some Kalenjin words to their vocabulary.

The next arrivals were probably the Karimojong and tradition indicates that they migrated from eastern Acholi, leaving behind them such Karimojong speaking remnants as the *Ngiyen* of Rom mountain, and numerous place names in eastern Acholi. They appear to have settled first in the area between the southern extremity of the Labwor hills and Napak, thereafter moving east towards the Manimani river around Kangole and northwards towards the Loporokocho river. Others moved eastwards to the Masupu river. Further displacement of the Oropom certainly took place but it would appear that this was followed by a lengthy period of peaceful relations. Tradition again relates that the Oropom were at that time numerically superior, which may well have been a factor in the maintenance of a *status quo*. Similarly as the Karimojong increased and they felt the need to expand, they chose to move north through *Maliri* held territory.

In this connection tradition relates that people known now as the Dodoth, broke away from the Matheniko group and travelled north to the vicinity of Loyoro, on the fringe of *Maliri* held territory. There is no tradition of taking possession of the area by force, instead the settlement there appears to have been peaceful. It is a strange fact that tenuous bonds still remain between the Dodoth and the *Maliri;* in spite of the fact that many miles separate them; the *Maliri* offered assistance to the Dodoth a few years ago in dealing with their common enemies, the Turkana. The Dodoth however did not remain one group for long, as after a short residence in their new homeland, the people now known as Topossa broke away and travelled north into the Sudan. The Topossa are to this day friendly with the Karimojong and are accepted as Karimojong by all Karimojong groupings, except the Jie.

In the meantime it is likely that pressure of Lwoo expansion[7] into Acholi caused disruption there, which may have caused a further movement of Lango speaking people to move away. It would appear possible that the Teso might have been caused to move in this way, leaving a homeland in or adjacent to Acholi and migrating to an area between the southern extremity of the Labwor hills and Napak mountain. On arrival there they found 'the old people', the Karimojong—*Mojong,* meaning 'old' in the Karimojong language. The Teso, however, being cultivators as well as pastoralists, did not blend well with the dominantly pastoral Karimojong and after the occupation of an area stretching north of Napak towards Longorikipi, they moved west and south, occupying what is now their homeland.

While the Teso movements are conjectural, it is certain that the Lwoo expansion into Acholi caused the breakaway of a group, who were initially known as the Jie; these people came from the vicinity of Gulu and latterly from the area around Madi Opei. Part of the group came from the vicinity of a hill known as Got Turkan. Tradition indicates that these people advanced eastwards and entered the present Karamoja boundary at Adilang. Informants further state that many were Luo-speaking, but, significantly, they were governed by elders and not chiefs, as one would have expected if they had been a group whose customs were Lwoo-ised.

The territory they entered was held by the *Maliri* who retreated eastwards, delaying for some time in the vicinity of Koten mountain. Succeeding events seem to have stemmed from the group of Jie who originated from Got Turkan. These people now calling themselves Turkana, broke away from the Jie at Kotido and advanced eastwards. This in turn brought extreme pressure to bear on the *Maliri* around Koten and in turn, caused a break-up of the *Maliri* into two sections. The first section still known as *Maliri* among the Karimojong, but known as Merille elsewhere, moved further eastwards, settling somewhere east of the Turkana escarpment, again for a period of comparatively short duration. The second section calling themselves the *Pokotozek,* who may have been the original Pokot (Suk) of the present-day, migrated south and arrived at Nakiloro, which lies on the lip of the Turkana escarpment just north of Moroto mountain. They resided there for a short time but found the area untenable and moved on again in a southerly direction, proceeding down the eastern side of the Chemorongit and Cherangani mountains, finally branching off in the direction of lake Baringo. This Pokot incursion disturbed Oropom who were settled around Baringo, causing them to migrate towards the Turkwell, both below and above the present Turkwell gorge. Other Oropom migrated in the direction of Uasin Gishu Masai held territory; others settled in what was still Oropom territory in the Chemorongit mountains and in the area west of there and south of Moroto mountain.

In the meantime the *Maliri* got no respite, the Turkana were harrying them, and they moved eastwards again. This stopping place was not to be held for long as apparently the Turkana were again on their heels and they were forced to move north and east towards lake Rudolf, settling near Lokitaung. Once again the Turkana pursued them, and finally they proceeded to their present homeland, and possibly their original cradleland, around the Omo valley in southern Ethiopia. Shortly after their occupation of this *Maliri*-held territory, the Turkana flexed their muscles and expanded south through the Oropom occupied areas of present-day central and south Turkana district. The Oropom as will be shown later, were at the end of a long cultural period; they had become effete, after enjoying for a long period the fruits of a highly developed culture This time, possibly three hundred years ago, they had limited routes of escape, as the Pokot had passed before, and now the refugees swelled the ranks of those already present along the Turkwell and up the Suam rivers.

It is further related that with the *Pokotozek* finding that they were no longer facing a formidable tribal grouping to the north and west of Baringo, themselves expanded in that direction thus limiting the Turkana southern movement and expelled the now less formidable Oropom people from the

Cherangani mountains and further west right up the slopes of Mount Elgon, where a splinter group of the *Pokotozek* formed the people known today as the Sebei. They found on arrival, Tepes people who had originally migrated from Kadam mountain in Karamoja, and whose former area was known as *Entepes* which gives rise to the area known as Endebess today. The Tepes of Endebess had already been under pressure from refugee Oropom who came into the area in such numbers as a result of Pokot-Turkana expansion that they had to clear out, and numbers of them returned to Kadam. The newcomers to Entepes termed the Oropom the *Sirikwa,* but their density of population, as evinced by Sirikwa holes was such that they were then immovable. It took the Karimojong dispersion of the Oropom on the Turkwell in the early eighteenth century, to finally submerge the Oropom-Sirikwa as an extant grouping.

The Karimojong grouping who were both north and south of the Jie grouping in former *Maliri* occupied territory, were strong enough to contain the Jie expansion in either a north or south direction. Moreover they were strong enough to move into former *Maliri* held territory from the southern tip of the Magosi range to Koten mountain beyond the northern extremity. When this took place is conjectural, but it did take place and a corridor between the Matheniko and Dodoth-Topossa groupings was kept open, as it is today. In the process of occupation the Matheniko appear to have assimilated two small groupings known as the *Ngimuno* and the *Mogos.* These groups form part of the Matheniko tribe as it is known at the present-day, but there are individuals living among this Mogos sect of the Matheniko who claim to be of *Maliri* descent. Moreover in spite of the fact that the *Mogos* clan speaks akaramojong and is in all ways identical with other Karimojong, they have, unlike other clans of the Matheniko, for a considerable time inter-married with the Tepes of Moroto mountain and maintained friendly relations with them. This gives a strong indication that the Tepes were either an off-shoot of the *Maliri* as the *Mogos-Ngimuno* people must have been, or that the Tepes were one people with the *Ngimuno-Mogos* who were an earlier arrival of Kalenjins, or what might be termed proto-Kalenjins. The Tepes being fortunate in having a more defensible environment than their brother *Mogos* resisted submersion by the Karimojong. Further, Kalenjin links are evident when tradition states that many *Pokotozek* joined the Tepes at Nakiloro during their ephemeral stay there, when on route to Baringo.

The Karimojong expansion into the eastern parts of Matheniko county isolated the Oropom into an ever narrowing enclave north of Moroto mountain, where they still survive. Either concurrently, or some time after the Bokora sect of the Karimojong occupied the land, the Teso had vacated on their migration south and west, and with more land, it is likely that their cattle herds increased and with that the population too, and by about the beginning of the eighteenth century the Karimojong group were again crowded . Expansion followed this time in the area south of Moroto mountain and settlements were formed in a line south of there, from Lokitonyala through Loro and Amudat southwards. Oropom living in this area were now forced to further swell the ranks of those on the Turkwell-Suam river. This set the stage for the final blow which as Turpin relates took place about 1830, which left only minor groupings of Oropom between Elgon and Kadam and the Lolachat area, and the Matheniko enclave.

Tradition by Karimojong and Oropom about the Oropom.

The following is an account of a very old Karimojong about the final days of the Oropom in Matheniko. The informant is known as Longoli and is resident near Moroto; he claims to be more than a hundred years old. From checking many of his statements, it is possible in fact that he is more than a hundred years old. His eye-witness accounts of the Oropom would anyway tax the imaginative powers of a young genius, let alone an old man.

Longoli has been questioned on a number of occasions and states that when he was a youth, there were still Oropom settlements at Rupa and Nakiloro. He states, "I remember the Oropom, it was shameful of us to kill them. Their houses were well constructed, much better than ours, and had three or four rooms, one or two of which housed their cattle and small stock, others were lived in. They frequently placed rocks in the foundation of their houses and the roofs would often be covered with soil, not grass as we Karimojong used. Their gardens were neatly laid out, far bigger than ours, and they grew a lot of food, including maize, sorghum, finger millet, pumpkins and white beans. Their plots were divided with grass bunds and paths led from their houses to their gardens. They used to share their harvests communally, so no individual starved. They kept cattle too, which had long horns, and trained the horns of the cattle as we Karimojong do. They also drank milk and blood. They had one trick which was very clever and that was when concealing stolen cattle, they would excavate a great hole in the ground and then cover it with trees and soil, and then hide the cattle in it. Sometimes they would build a house on top and it was impossible to know that cattle were concealed there. At night the cattle would be fed and watered and they would remain there for about two weeks. At the end of that period they would be brought out, no person could claim that they were his as the colour had changed. We learned this trick from them and still use it today!"

"In appearance they were very light skinned and had pronounced slant eyes. The women and girls wore skin clothing and applied a mixture of oil and ochre to the hair and body; the men did likewise. Their women wore large ear-rings like the Nandi, but did not plait their hair. The men wore their hair long in a pigtail, like Indian women, and pierced their ears and elongated the lobes like the Nandi. Both their men and women wore many bangles, sometimes stretching from their ankles to their knees and from their wrists to their armpits. The men wore no clothes like we Karimojong but wore a belt which covered their penis.[8] The old men, particularly if they were fat, wore a cord on their foreheads, to prevent their skin from sagging over their eyes, they had very loose skin."

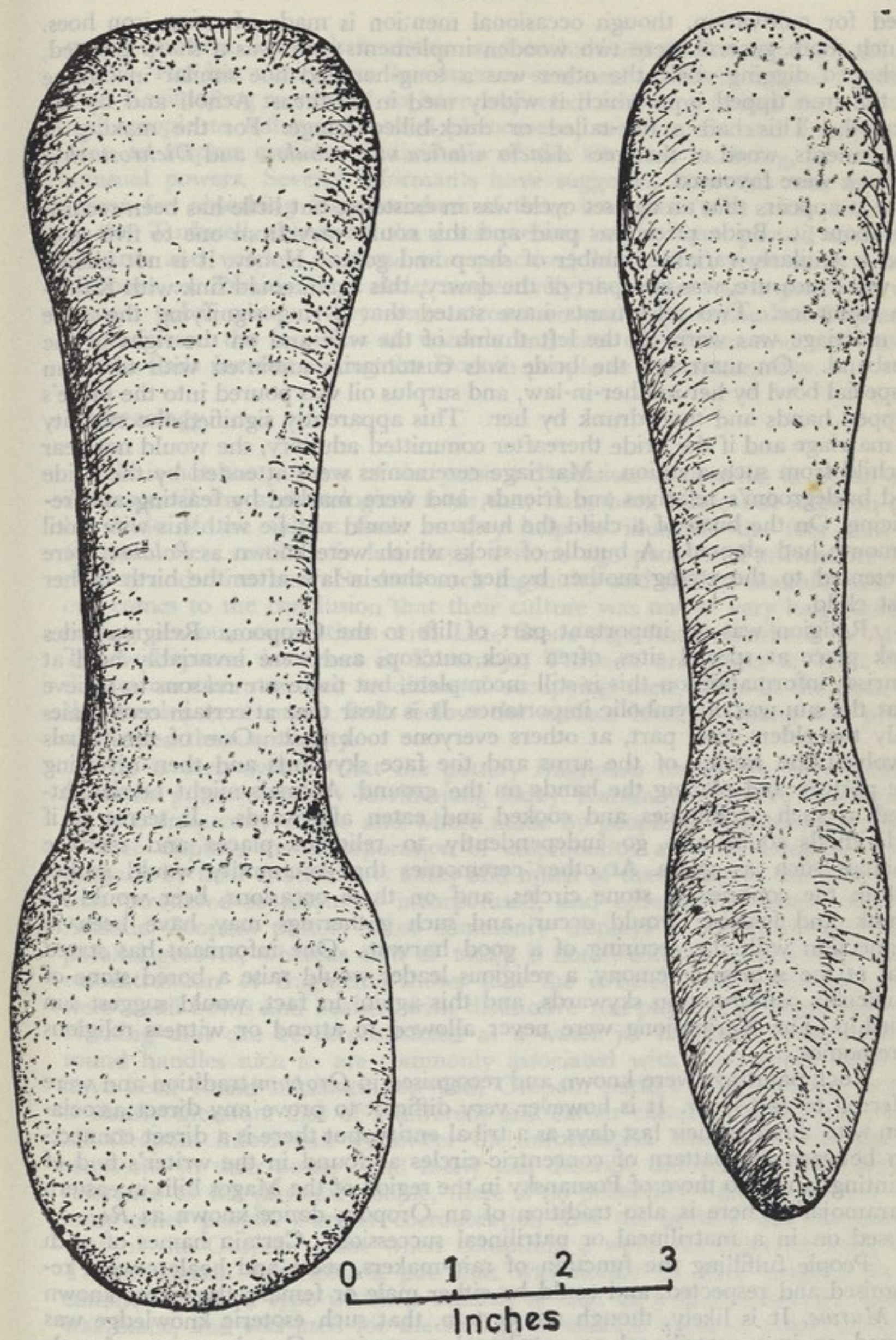
"The men had arrows, spears and shields, but did not fight with arrows. Their shields were larger than ours, but were ineffective as they were made of cowhide. Their spears were unlike ours, more like those of the Nandi. When we were strong enough we desired their cattle which had long horns, and we fought a great battle with them. However they were cowards and their elders had to force the young men to fight us; in doing this, they gathered them together in long lines, securing them one to the other by ropes, to prevent them running away. This was very foolish, as when we killed one or two of

them, the whole line collapsed with the weight of their bodies, and we slaughtered them where they fell. After the battle we seized their cattle and plundered their houses and gardens. This was shameful, as they had beautiful houses and even beds which were raised on legs and covered with thongs. We destroyed everything, even their pots which were much finer than ours. The survivors fled towards Lorengedwat."

Longoli's account has received some corroboration from Oropom people descended from the last Oropom settlements in Matheniko county and it would appear from this that the elimination of the Matheniko enclave may have taken place between 1870 and 1880. Other informants all elderly and mainly the children of Oropom prisoners taken by the Karimojong at Kacheliba were able to expand much of what Logoli related. Several of these informants came from Lorengedwat and had been reared by Oropom parents and concomitantly had some knowledge of other traditions. A further informant, a very old woman, who claimed to be a child of one of the residual Oropom families that had remained after the break-up of the Oropom there, as mentioned by Longoli, proved to know something about their religious customs and was able to indicate two sites, where as she put it, would be found 'their things'. This information was invaluable as besides pottery, other artifacts including a polished stone hammer were found. The old lady remembered a few words of the language and was able to differentiate certain pottery patterns. The word had got around however that the writer was on the look-out for people who had some knowledge of the language and after a number of charlatans had been questioned, another old lady arrived one day who is known by the name of Akol. Akol is descended from the prisoners taken by the Karimojong on the Turkwell and besides being able to furnish many Oropom words, she has also furnished a great deal of information about their customs, and the uses and types of artifacts that were known in the past.

Akol and other informants verified a great deal of what Longoli had said. All informants agree that the Oropom at the close of their existence as a distinct people were pastoralists and also cultivators. Their cattle had pronouncedly longer horns than those of the Karimojong and they both withdrew blood and milked the cattle as the Karimojong do. Similarly they trained their cattle horns in various shapes and used for the purpose what have been widely referred to as polished stone axes, but which were in fact, polished stone hammers.[9] They also trained the horns of their goats and possibly sheep and used for the purpose a similar instrument to that used for cattle, only smaller. Unlike Kalenjin peoples who they seem to have resembled in mode of attire, they did not circumcise and in further differentiation applied red ochre to all parts of the body, not only the head. The lower two incisor teeth were removed and lip plugs usually of stone, but sometimes of wood, were worn. In their later days, metal bangles were worn on the arms and legs, this metal being obtained from traders. In the past, beads of stone and seed and wrist bangles and pendants of stone, had prevailed.

They had no knowledge of the making of iron and had in the past, like the *Maliri* and Karimojong, obtained their spears from the Nyakwai and Tobur tribes. People on the Turkwell settlement obtained their spears and some iron ornaments from a small iron-smelting group of people known as the *Orumpa* or *Mala,* who were settled somewhere between Kacheliba and Kanyarus, at the base of Mount Elgon. Iron impements were not widely



Polished Stone Horn Hammers

used for cultivation, though occasional mention is made of using iron hoes. Much more general were two wooden implements; one was a sharp pointed, v-shaped digging stick, the other was a long-handled hoe similar in outline to the iron tipped type which is widely used in northeast Acholi and by the Dodoth. This had a fish-tailed or duck-billed flange. For the making of implements, wood of the trees *Acacia nilotica* var, *subulate* and *Dichrostachys cinerea* were favoured.

It appears that an age set cycle was in existence but little has been recorded about it. Bride price was paid and this could vary from one to five cows and a similarly variable number of sheep and goats. Honey, it is not known in what measure, was also part of the dowry, this again could link with Kalenjin influence. Two informants have stated that a ring signifying the state of marriage was worn on the left thumb of the wife and on the right of the husband. On marriage the bride was customarily anointed with oil from a special bowl by her mother-in-law, and surplus oil was poured into the bride's cupped hands and then drunk by her. This apparently signified the sanctity of marriage and if the bride thereafter committed adultery, she would not bear a child from such a union. Marriage ceremonies were attended by the bride and bridegroom's relatives and friends, and were marked by feasting and rejoicing. On the birth of a child the husband would not lie with his wife until a month had elapsed. A bundle of sticks which were known as *Poloket,* were presented to the young mother by her mother-in-law after the birth of her first child.

Religion was an important part of life to the Oropom. Religious rites took place at special sites, often rock outcrops and were invariably held at sunrise; information on this is still incomplete, but there are reasons to believe that the sun was of symbolic importance. It is clear that at certain ceremonies only the elders took part, at others everyone took part. One of the rituals involved the raising of the arms and the face skywards and then reversing the posture and placing the hands on the ground. Animals might be slaughtered at such ceremonies and cooked and eaten afterwards. It seems as if individuals could also go independently to religious places and sacrifice animals such as goats. At other ceremonies the community would gather within the confines of stone circles, and on these occasions, beer would be drunk and feasting would occur, and such gatherings may have been in connection with the securing of a good harvest. One informant has stated that at the sunrise ceremony, a religious leader would raise a bored stone of particular conformation skywards, and this again. in fact, would suggest sun worship. The Karimojong were never allowed to attend or witness religious ceremonies.

Rock paintings were known and recognised in *Oropom* tradition and were referred to as *Girigir*. It is however very difficult to prove any direct association with them in their last days as a tribal entity, but there is a direct connection between the pattern of concentric circles as found in the writer's find of paintings and also those of Posnansky in the region of the Magos hills in eastern Karamoja.[10] There is also tradition of an Oropom dance known as *Re*.
passed on in a matrilineal or patrilineal succession. Certain names of such

People fulfilling the function of rain-makers, seers and healers were recognised and respected, and could be either male or female, they were known as *Murwe*. It is likely, though not certain, that such esoteric knowledge was passed on in a matrilineal or patrilineal succession. Certain names of such

people survive in their tradition and include *Apakorian, Apalamagal* and *Ilomil*. The last named was known as a seer and reader of animal intestines. The Karimojong were said to have respected and even feared the ability of such people to influence natural phenomena, such as rain and drought; and even to respect ordinary individuals of the Oropom as being possessed of unusual powers. Several informants have suggested that this was a cogent reason for absorbing large numbers of them into their tribe after dissolution at the Turkwell, otherwise the consequences might have proved disastrous. Wizards and witches or those who practised 'black arts', were known to the Oropom as *Rimirim* and *Ariet* respectively, but since such practices were against tribal custom, they were uncommon and kept concealed. Reputedly, hyenas were the familiars of wizards and cats of witches and such use of hyenas finds parallel among the Dodoth people at the present-day.

Archaeology.

It is not the puposes of the present discussion to describe in detail or to illustrate all the archaeological finds that have been made but mention must be made of the salient finds as they help to illustrate the fact that the *Oropom* were until their last days, a stone age people. Furthermore their pottery and other artifacts show such ingenuity and skill in manufacture that one comes to the conclusion that their culture was one of very long standing, having obvious connections with Late Stone Age finds elsewhere in Africa. The widespread incidence in Karamoja, Turkana and parts of West Pokot district corroborates their tradition of occupying these areas in the past, and the incidence of many finds below the surface level in many soil profiles vindicates their antiquity.

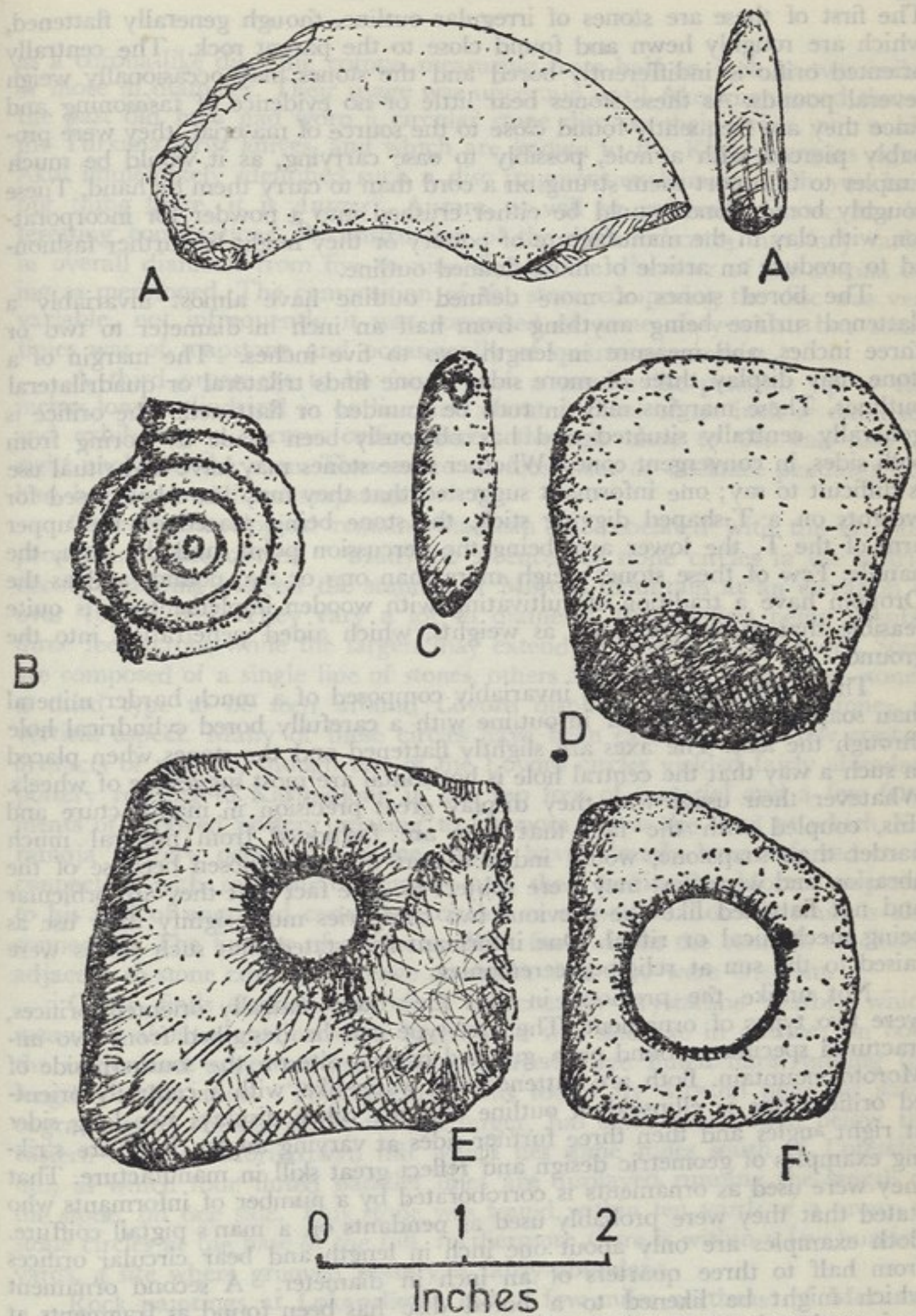
It is very evident that the pottery fragments found are very different from the pottery used by Karimojong today. Karamojan pottery is not grooved, it is frequently coarse and where made by people of Karimojong descent it often displays the incorporation of amphibolitic asbestos. Oropom pottery as made by their descendants today and much of that made in the past, shows that powdered soapstone is incorporated, and asbestos is never observed. Archaic Oropom pottery most commonly displays a concentric pattern of parallel grooves, whereas that of today is not decorated in this way. Lastly, reconstruction of fragments shows that the articles most commonly made were small bowls and beakers with distinctive rim patterns in many instances. Nothing that can be reconstructed as a water jar has been found, and no round handles such as are commonly associated with Karamojan water jars have been found in association with Oropom pottery. The Oropom pottery is clearly therefore that of a different and earlier culture. Furthermore, when all Oropom informants volunteer the information that they incorporated soapstone in their pottery and many can describe different patterns without reference to the physical sample, there is no possibility that the pottery is of some other people. Further corroboration that the pottery was indisputably that of the Oropom came when compiling a word list from an informant. The informant described a pot that was similar in other respects to the common grooved type which is reddish to buff in colour; this type she said was black, and was used for the storage of medical herbs or possibly oil; she termed it *Kiriente*. Pieces of grooved pottery had previously been observed

which displayed a black colour both on the surface and in section. The blackness might have been graphite or some other forms of carbon, but testing of samples by heating to a high temperature with a blowlamp disproved this. Later in a further compilation of a word list an informant confirmed that Oropom had applied ilmenite sand to the hair as Karimojong do today, and the name of ilmenite sand had been given also as *Kiriente*, so here was a clearly established link between black pots and the use of ilmenite as a pigment and evidence that the informants were the same people that had made the pottery.

It has already been mentioned that the commonest pottery finds display a grooved pattern; this pattern commences at the base of the pot, which is usually conical, as a single dot and is followed by a succession of evenly spaced concentric grooves which ring the pot in horizontal succession up to the rim. Three pot bases of this type were shown recently to the Conservator of Antiquities in Uganda, Mr. Sassoon, who mentions the grooving as — "Being so regular and perfect that one is constantly thinking that the pot must have been turned on a wheel".[11] The beaker type of pottery is of rarer occurrence and the pattern more variable with some pieces displaying the most intricate stick incised patterns, while the sherds themselves are generally thinner than those of the grooved bowls. Some sherds of the latter are only a fraction of an inch thick and of extremely even texture reflecting the incorporation of talc. This may well also account for their durability.[12] This grooved pottery has been found in a great number of sites in Karamoja, particularly on the central and eastern areas, often at the base of rock outcrops and inselbergs where soil erosion has deflated the soil profile, to expose sometimes whole pots fractured *in situ*. In such instances conical grooved pot bases have been found, which are quite distinct from what are termed dimple bases. A great deal of such material has also been collected on eroding soil pediments around the base of Moroto mountain. Besides those areas, many occurrences of grooved pottery have been found east of Moroto mountain, below the escarpment in Turkana and eastwards from there to lake Rudolf. Similar fragments some distance down the Marich pass in West Pokot district have also been discovered.

Invariably microlithic stone tools occur with the pottery. These include blades and scrapers and are commonly fashioned from chalcedony, quartz and quartzite. Tools made from obsidian are much rarer in occurrence. Besides microliths there are numbers of larger tools fashioned from hard, fine-grained, volcanic material, which include some blades of lanceolate and some of ovate outline. More distinctive artifacts are of elongate chisel-like objects, flaked to give a chisel pointed surface at one end, with an elongated stem, often four or five sided, with a distinct one-faceted, vertical face which terminates the distal end. These vary in length from possibly two inches to five or six inches, and may have been employed as gougers for boring soapstone or even for incising patterns on rock. One such specimen was found close to a stone circle below Loteteleit hill where Morton described grooved concentric circles.[13]

Also found in direct association with the pottery and tools on a number of sites were bored stones, almost invariably of soapstone, but occasionally of quartzite, quartz-mica schist and other minerals. The stones vary considerably in size and conformation but may be subdivided into three main types.



A Wrist disc fragment
B Grooved pot base
C Necklace pendant
D Polished stone hammer
E Bored stone
F Hair pendant

The first of these are stones of irregular outline, though generally flattened, which are roughly hewn and found close to the parent rock. The centrally oriented orific is indifferently bored and the stones may occasionally weigh several pounds. As these stones bear little or no evidence of fashioning and since they are frequently found close to the source of material, they were probably pierced with a hole, possibly to ease carrying, as it would be much simpler to transport them strung on a cord than to carry them by hand. These roughly bored stones would be either crushed into a powder for incorporation with clay in the manufacture of pottery or they might be further fashioned to produce an article of more defined outline.

The bored stones of more defined outline have almost invariably a flattened surface being anything from half an inch in diameter to two or three inches, and measure in length two to five inches. The margin of a stone may display three or more sides so one finds trilateral or quadrilateral outlines. These margins may in turn be rounded or flattened. The orifice is generally centrally situated and has obviously been made by boring from both sides, in convergent cones. Whether these stones may have had ritual use is difficult to say; one informant suggested that they may have been used for weights on a T-shaped digging stick, the stone being placed on the upper arm of the T, the lower arm being the percussion point, and the stem, the handle. Few of these stones weigh more than one or two pounds and as the Oropom have a tradition of cultivating with wooden implements, it is quite feasible that these found use as weights, which aided penetration into the ground.

The third type which is invariably composed of a much harder mineral than soapstone, is orbicular in outline with a carefully bored cylindrical hole through the axis. The axes are slightly flattened and the stones when placed in such a way that the central hole is horizontal are most suggestive of wheels. Whatever their usage was, they display great precision in manufacture and this, coupled with the fact that they are fashioned from mineral much harder than soapstone, would indicate that this was chosen because of the abrasion and wear that they were subject to. The fact that they are orbicular and not flattened like the previous two categories must signify their use as being mechanical or ritual. One informant has stated that such stones were raised to the sun at religious ceremonies.

Not unlike the previous, in that they bore centrally oriented orifices, were two types of ornament. The first type can be described from two unfractured specimens found on a grooved pottery site on the southern side of Moroto mountain. Both are flattened and wafer-like, with a centrally oriented orifice; one is ellipsoid in outline and the other displays two long sides at right angles and then three further sides at varying angles. Both are striking examples of geometric design and reflect great skill in manufacture. That they were used as ornaments is corroborated by a number of informants who stated that they were probably used as pendants on a man's pigtail coiffure. Both examples are only about one inch in length and bear circular orifices from half to three quarters of an inch in diameter. A second ornament which might be likened to a bored disc has been found as fragments at various sites, but with particular frequency at a place called Alale in Karasuk, together with very delicate pottery shards. Fragments of this ornament have been found at a number of sites which when complete would appear

as a corona-like disc, the corona measuring from half an inch to two inches or more in diameter. Their usage was uncertain until Akol mentioned that in the past old men had worn a circular stone disc on their wrists, not unlike the Turkana wrist knives, and which are known to the Karimojong as *Aguli*. Akol immediately identified such a disc fragment exclaiming, "Oh you have our thing there, it is *Aurare*". Aurare, as will be referred to later, has interesting connotations. Reconstruction of the discs indicates that they varied in overall diameter from five to nine inches, the diameter of the corona being as mentioned. The composition of the stone composing the disc was very variable, not infrequently it was composed of some slaty-schist, but sometimes was of soapstone and occasionally of quartz-mica schist.

A third ornament to be found was a needle-like pendant up to two inches long, cylindrical in outline and about a third of an inch in diameter, and exhibiting a narrow orifice bored through close to the end and at right angles to the stem. These were obviously ear or necklace pendants and had been carved from soapstone.

Other archaeological remains that can be associated with the Oropom people are stone circles. Many occurrences of stone circles in the district occur, including one on the summit of Moroto mountain at an elevation of over 10,000 feet. They vary a lot in diameter, the smallest being possibly three feet across, while the largest may extend to twenty feet or more. Some are composed of a single line of stones, others are wall-like with many stones: a third type to be seen around Loyoro displays large slab-like stones in vertical aspect. Many of these circles have been excavated and few contain artifacts or pottery, though two of the Loyoro circles yielded fairly abundant pottery relating to Karimojong in the top foot of material and a few fragments of grooved pottery relating to Oropom below the level at which Karamoja pottery occurred. Stone circles have already been referred to in connection with religious ceremonies and their finding by Morton adjacent to his find of engraved concentric circles on a rock on Loteteleit hill is also connective. The finding of artifacts, albeit few, within the confines or closely adjacent to stone circles can leave no doubt that they were Oropom.

Other finds included a block of coarsely crystalline marble which measured about eight inches in length and was slab-like in outline; on both the under and upper surface were displayed three fluted lines running the length of the stone. This specimen was found by Morton near his stone engravings. A similar stone, though larger, has since been found below the eastern slope of Moruariwan hill which lies some miles south of Loteteleit hill, in which four fluted parallel lines are displayed running the length of the stone, on one side. This stone was found within ten yards of a group of stone circles at the base of the hill, furthermore there is within a few hundred yards, a site where grooved pottery is fairly abundant.

Rock paintings at Lokapeliethe hill, a few miles northeast of Moruariwan hill, display the same concentric circle pattern as Morton's engraved designs on Loteteleit hill, and can therefore be clearly related. The rock paintings also include a vivid depiction of a giraffe and a number of hieroglyphs.[14]

Language.

A number of Oropom words have already been mentioned in the text and a word list has been compiled. It is therefore considered appropriate to expand the list of words given without going into the subject at length, as the process of collection is still going on. It must also be made clear that there are probably two distinct dialects of the Oropom language which may be recorded in Karamoja. The first dialect has been gathered from descendants of people made prisoner in the Turkwell area, and contains a significant number of Luo words and some of Bantu derivation; the second dialect which has been gathered from descendants of Oropom people who remained in Matheniko county, has fewer Luo words. Both dialects contain words which are obviously Kalenjin borrowings, but with regard to the Karamoja dialect, it is impossible to tell which came first. The language may tentatively be ascribed to the Khoisan group but this is not certain. The word list given in the appendix is taken only from the Turkwell dialect.

Summary.

This preliminary study of the Oropom establishes the following salient points:

(i) that there exists in Karamoja today a group of people who distinguish themselves from other Karimojong by the name Oropom.
(ii) that many individuals represented in this group have physiognomic features which relate to Bushmen.
(iii) that by tradition and archaeological evidence they appear to be descendants of a large group which occupied Karamoja and much of the neighbouring parts of Kenya prior to the arrival of Karimojong, Kalenjin and other people in these areas.
(iv) that their displacement from their former territory can be traced by an outline of the arrival of other tribes and their succeeding movements.
(v) that their pottery and other artifacts place them as Late Stone Age people; but that their use of polished stone hammers for horn shaping and their tradition of keeping domestic stock places them apart from early hunter-food gathering peoples and that their pottery design, from and composition places them as highly skilled artisans and that their use of talc as an ingredient of pot-clay distinguishes them from succeeding peoples.
(vi) that a word list may place them tentatively with Khoisan-speaking peoples, though there are some borrowings from Bantu and Luo.

Some speculations on Oropom cultural associations in eastern Africa.

From these conclusions it is tempting to try to see the Oropom in a wider field of reference. The Oropom may perhaps be considered to be related to other Late Stone Age cultures in eastern Africa. In particular an earlier occupation by people of Bushmanoid stock over much of East Africa has commonly been accepted, and these may be supposed to have produced the tools of the Wilton culture which have been found around

lakes Victoria, Edward and Rudolf.[15] Possible remnants of this Bushmanoid stock are found elsewhere in East Africa today, and others have mentioned small, brown-skinned Bushmanoid peoples as the predecessors of Teso who were called *Oworopom*. Rock-painting and associated grooved pottery has been found in association with Wiltonian tool sites, which supposedly pre-date the Bantu influx. At other Wiltonian sites, bored stones, quartz cylinder (lip plug?) and a cowrie shell (peg) were found. All these characteristics and artifacts can also be identified amongst the Oropom.

A further field of speculation is open in the occurrence of certain words as clan names and place names. Thus there is the clan name *Orupo* in Acholi and the clan name and place name *Laropi* in Madi, both of which are suggestive of and akin to Oropom.

Turning to the east, one is tempted to see the Oropom in relation to the *Sirikwa*. Various aspects of the people referred to as the *Sirikwa* in the same Turkwell-Suam areas have been reported on, though the term itself is conjectural. Weatherby supposes that the '*Sirikwa*' did not circumcise, unlike their Kalenjin neighbours. These mysterious people left behind them the so-called 'Sirikwa holes', as well as multi-roomed dwellings and stone foundations.[16] All these facts and the geographical location fit so exactly with what has been found amongst the Oropom that they could only have been one people.

It is possible, perhaps, to extend our view further afield. Grooved pottery with other Late Stone Age artifacts have been found near Khartoum in association also with lip plugs, conical based pottery and bored stones, an assemblage similar to that found amongst the Oropom. Moreover a Khartoum skull, presumably of the same age, had narrow nasal bones which has been taken to be the earliest recognisable Negroid skull in Africa; but narrow nasal bones may be a Bushmanoid rather than a Negroid feature. The same commentator has drawn attention to the prominent supraorbital ridges in some pre-dynastic skulls in Egypt, yet these are Bushmanoid features which survive amongst the Oropom today. Furthermore Sonia Cole has mentioned finding 'polished axe heads' at a Sudan Neolithic site which she tentatively links with pre-dynastic Egypt, and likewise 'polished stone axes' of a two-lugged type have been supposed to have been copied from Egyptian two-lugged metal axes.[17] Such 'axes' have been found in association with Oropom pottery and even a two-lugged type is still in use amongst the Karimojong today.

These artifacts, however, pose interesting problems. It seems improbable that stone age people would go to the trouble of polishing a tool just for the simple task of cutting down a tree. It seems more probable that such care would be devoted to an object used in a ritual or religious purpose; thus it is suggested that these objects are not 'axes' but horn hammers. Horn hammers are used by the Karimojong for softening the cartilage at the base of the horns in order that the shape of the horn can be altered to a shape suiting the owner's desire. The Oropom have the same tradition and claim that the smaller ones are used for shaping goat horns.

These connections between the Oropom and pre-dynastic Egypt are somewhat tenuous; but it may be possible to establish other links. The Oropom corona-like disc may be related to sun-discs in use even in dynastic Egypt and for which the Oropom name *aurare* may relate to the Egyptian worship

of the sun-god, *Re*. Finally one may speculate upon the wearing of the cowrie shell on the forehead by Oropom women and upon the incision on the centre of the forehead by Oropom men. Is this a parallel to the sign of the serpent worn on the forehead by Egyptian kings and priests which signify the same occult powers that the Karimojong attribute to the Oropom?

All these various conjectures lead one to believe that the appearance of similar artifacts and words, establishes the fact that the Oropom Bushmanoids had language, cultural and religious borrowings from dynastic and pre-dynastic Egypt.

APPENDIX

English	*Oropom*	*English*	*Oropom*	*English*	*Oropom*
Man	Muren	Meat	Apintoo	Fire	Emaa
Woman	Nakwanta	Milk	Coko	Sun	Aca
Child	Muto	Food	Araukoo	Moon	Pele
Father	Mamunyu	Oil	Konoye	Day	Awar
Mother	Iyoo	Fat	Moda	Night	Riono
Brother	Lukiya	Cooking Pot	Kodo	Rain	Lat
Sister	Pese	Ditto (Black)	Kiriente	House	Apirgoo
Old Man	Kuko	Grooved Design on Pots	Nacipa	Tree	Telegai
Old Woman	Kukuye	Eye	Kongiye	Grass	Purung
Mother-in-law	Yo	Nose	Torom	White	Pele
Warrior	Lim	Ear	Ki-ito	Black	Timu
Enemy	Bu	Tooth	Ne-et	Red	Kopurat
Thief	Mokorat	Breast	Kisina	Blue	Puthia
Fool	Bung	Penis	Oyaa	Good	Pau
Clever Person	Woth	Vagina	Kibunte	Bad	Girito
Seer	Murwe	Hand	Akeleng	Hard	Keter
Wizard	Rimirim	Foot	Apaukoo	Soft	Lujuk
Witch	Ariet	Hair	Akopito	Dry	De-au
Dog	Kokuye	Cowrie Shell	Pel	Wet	Ret
Cat	Ariet	Mark on Forehead	Nageran	To sleep	Sanan
Cow	Ngobo	Ear-ring	Napiroi	To walk	Pauwo
Bull	Losogol	Neck Bangles	Gorom	To swim	Redik
Cattle	Pange	Women's Apron	Ongor	To dig	Chege
Goat	Ngoror	Stone Wrist Bangle	Aurare	To cut	Tubo
Sheep	Merek	Spear	Ngokit	To sit	Paja
Lion	Ru	Arrow	Motit	To lie down	Lura
Leopard	Meri	Bow	Terema	To give	We
Gazelle	Tuth	Soil	Nyapid	To receive	Aruka
Eland	Ongor	Chalcedony	Atunatun	To cook	Ipo
Snake	Kwolta	Water	Lata	To burn	Mala
Crocodile	Moro			To boil water	Mak
Fish	Karu			To speak	Dokol
Egg	Iken			To marry	Ritha
Honey	Madik				

NOTES

1. Bishop, W.W. Miocene mammalia from Napak volcanics, Karamoja. *(Nature* London, **182,** no. 4648, 1958, pp. 1480-1482.)
2. Bishop, W.W. and Whyte, F. Tertiary mammalian faunas and sediments in Karamoja and Kavirondo. (*Nature,* London, **196,** no. 4861, December 1962, pp. 1283-1287.)
3. Turpin, C.A. The occupation of the Turkwell river area by the Karamojong tribe. *(Uganda J).* **12,** no. 2, 1948, pp. 161-165).
4. Wright, A.C.A., Notes on the Iteso social organisation, *(Ugandu J.),* **9** no. 2, 1942, p. 60). Wright in fact refers to *Iworopom* as a place, rather than as a people, but as the place in the east from which the Iteso came.
5. Lawrance, J.C.D. *The Iteso,* London, 1957, pp. 8 and 10, and in A history of the Teso to 1937, *(Uganda J.,* 19 no. 1, 1955). Lawrence, drawing exclusively on pin, regards the Iworopom as the proto-Iteso.
6. Wilson, J.G. Notes on Karamoja use of naturally occurring minerals. *(Uganda J.,* **34** no. 1, 1970 pp. 81-82.)
7. Crazzolara, J.P. Lwoo migrations. *(Uganda J.* **25** no. 2, 1961).
8. This may have been a penis sheath, and a belt of similar form is still extant in Matheniko today, known as *aporiamabor.*
9. It is Mr. Wilson's intention to publish more information about these hammers later. Little has in fact been wrtten on the subject, but they have already been described for the Sudan in Kronenberg, A. The Longarim favourite beast, (*Kush,* **9,** 1961, pp. 258-277). (*Eds.*)
10. Posnansky M. and Cole, G.S. Recent excavations at Magosi, Uganda. A preliminary report. (*Man,* London, **63,** no. 133, July 1963, pp. 104-106.)
11. Sassoon, H. Monthly newsletter. Department of Antiquities, Kampala, April 1970.
12. Quite possibly a re-examination of grooved and other patterned pottery shards from known Late Stone Age sites elsewhere may be worthwhile to see if they also incorporate talc.
13. Morton, W.H. Rock engravings from Loteteleit, Karamoja. *(Uganda J.,* **31,** no. 2, 1967).
14. This would seem to be an independent discovery of a giraffe painting from that reported by L. Robbins in the previous number of the Journal: Rock paintings at Napudeh hill, Karamoja. *(Uganda J.,* **34,** no. 1, 1970). Mr. Wilson intends to write a note on his discovery later. In this section on archaeology it will be appreciated that unless otherwise stated the references are to objects found by the author. (*Eds.*)
15. Posnansky, M. The prehistory of East Africa. Chapter 3 in *Zamani* edited by B.A. Ogot and J. Kieran, Nairobi, E.A.P.H. and Longmans, 1968.
16. Weatherby, J.M., Kipkorir, B.G. and Sutton, J.E.G. The Sirikwa. *(Uganda J.,* **28** no. 1, 1964).
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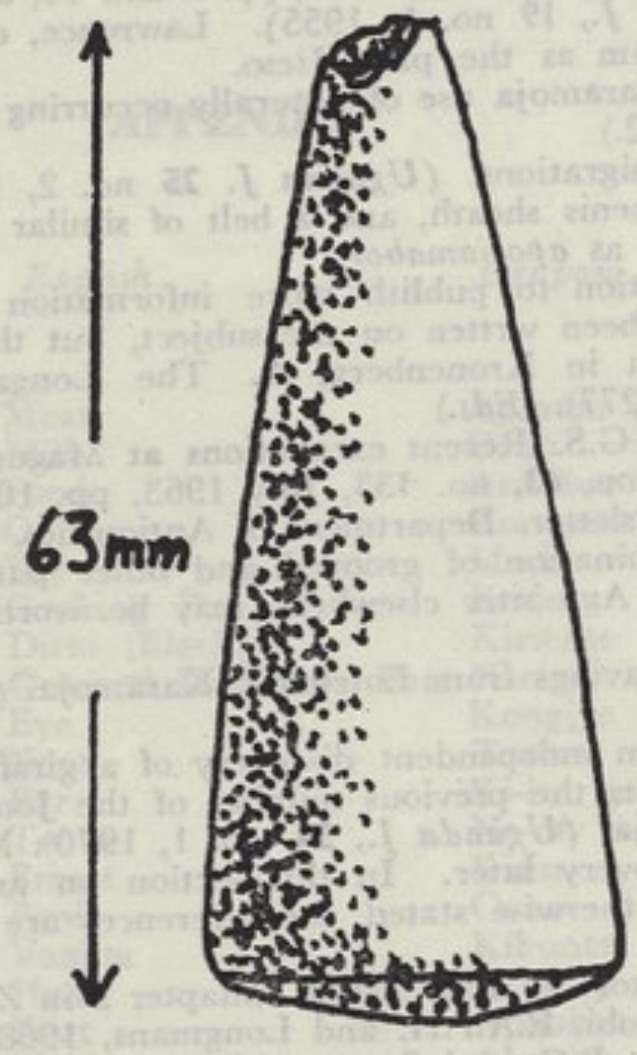
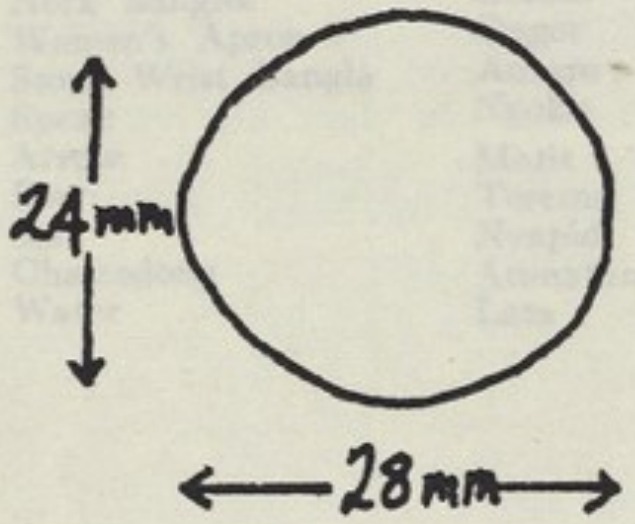
NOTE

QUARTZ CONE ARTEFACT FROM THE ACHWA VALLEY

By M.A. Barrett

In June, 1968, a translucent white quartz cone weighing 46 grammes was found on the surface of grassland at a position 3°04, N :32°35 E latitude which is some 6.5 kms. from the Achwa River. The "tip" of the cone is missing; there is no other fracture. The length along the side of the cone is 63 mms. The base is slightly convex with a maximum diameter of 28 mms. and a minimum of 24 mms. All surfaces, except the fractured tip, are ever and polished. There have been no other finds in the immediate vicinity.





Uganda Journal, **34**, 2 (1970) pp. 147–162

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NEIGHBOURHOODS FOR THE COLLECTION OF ORAL HISTORY IN PADHOLA

By R. M. Packard

The oral historian embarking upon the collection of the traditional history of any society is faced with the question of what methodology he should employ in the collection of his oral data.[1] It is moreover a question of considerable importance since the quality of data can be significantly affected by the methodology decided upon. In deciding upon what methodology to use, one must ask two questions. First, is the method relevant to the particular society under study; and secondly, is the method relevant to the type of data one wishes to collect. These two questions are of course related; for while one method may be relevant to the collection of a certain type of material in one society, it may not be relevant to the collection of the same material in another society. Moreover, a method which may be relevant to the collection of one type of data within a given society, may not be relevant to the collection of another type of data within that society. It is to this last point, with reference to the Jopadhola[2] of eastern Uganda, that attention is given in this essay.

Dr. B. A. Ogot has suggested that because the Padhola are a segmentary society it is both more practical and historically more meaningful to work through the clans in the collection of oral history. For his own research he states that he employed a method in which he concentrated on the collection of clan histories. It could be argued that for the collection of the type of data that Dr. Ogot seems to have been primarily interested in, i.e. the history of the migrations of the southern Luo peoples, the use of clan histories is justified. For it can be seen that the history of the migration of the Jopadhola is basically a composite of the histories of the migration and settlement of the individual clans. Thus clan histories would seem to be a natural medium for the collection of this type of data.[3]

The use of clan histories may not, however, be the best approach to the collection of data relating to the subsequent social and political development of Padhola. The reason for this is that the clan seems not to have been the focus for this development. It can be demonstrated that the focus of social and political interaction within traditional Padhola society was the localized composite settlement or neighbourhood *(loka)*, which in terms of the Jopadhola can be defined as a geographically delineated community made up of the localized clan settlements of various clans. Consequently, the collection of the history of these localized settlements, and not of the clans, is the most viable way to collect data on the traditional social and political development of the Jopadhola.

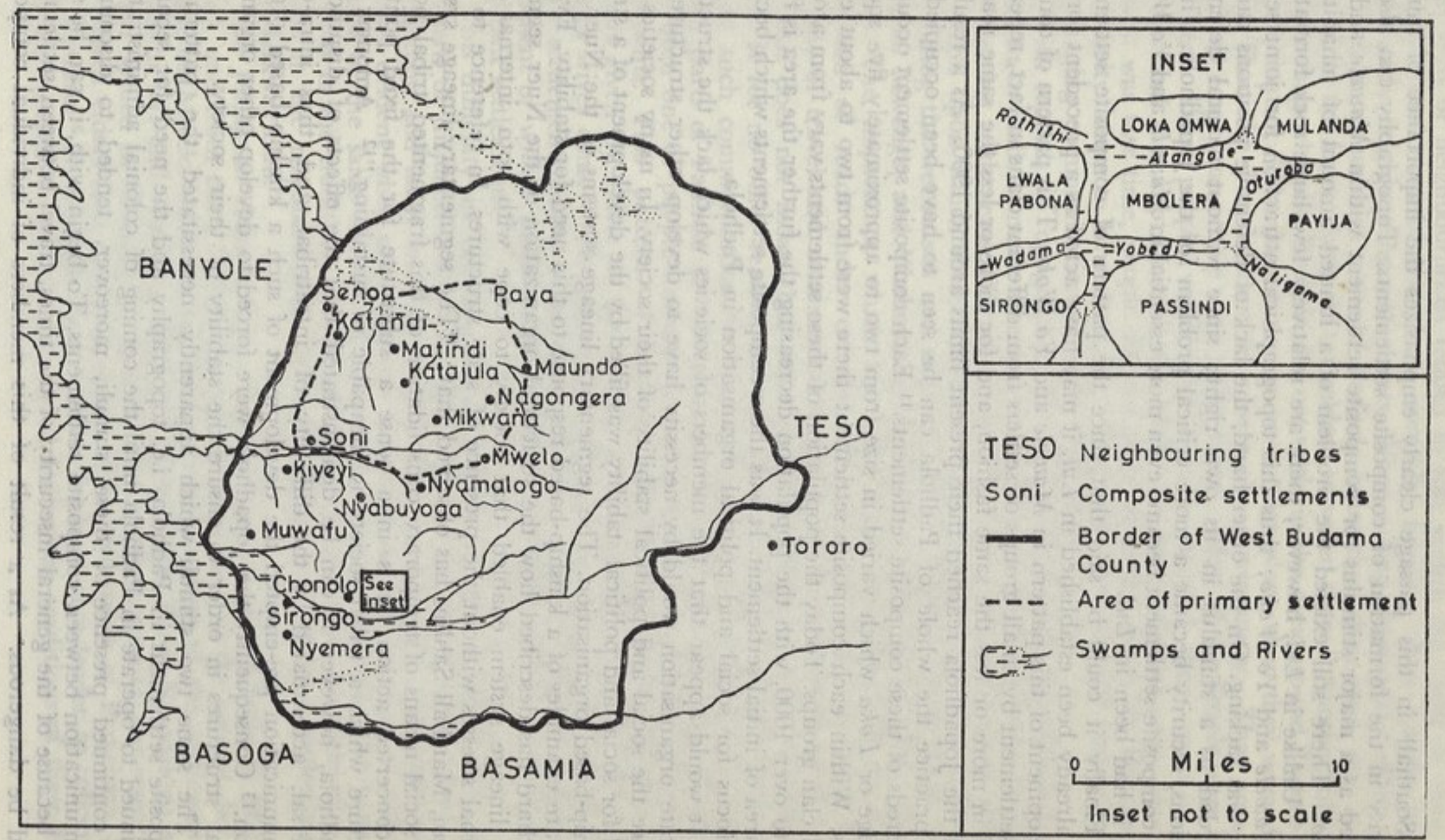
Ogot has demonstrated effectively that the migration of the Jopadhola occurred not as a mass movement of people from one place to another, but as a coming together of a number of small and diverse family groups, or clans, over a period of several generations. When these clans first settled

in West Budama, between ten and eleven generations ago, they formed joint settlements as opposed to exclusive clan settlements.[4] No doubt there were a number of reasons for this process of joint settlement. The primary reason would seem to be security.

During the period of initial settlement the Jopadhola were fighting with the Josewe[5] on the east and the Banyole on the north and west. Moreover, there is some evidence both in the form of place names and also from Kinyole and Padhola traditions that there were settlements of Bantu speakers in several of the areas in which the Jopadhola initially settled.[6] These prior settlements seem to have been driven away by the incoming Luo.[7] Having arrived in small numbers these early Jopadhola settlers found it necessary to band together in order to defend themselves.

The topography of this area of original settlement, known in Duopadhola as *Lul,* seems also to have promoted co-operative settlement. West Budama county consists of swamps interspersed with ridges of dry land *(loka)*. In effect, there was only a limited amount of inhabitable land. The Jopadhola, out of necessity were drawn to these ridges of dry land, further promoting a pattern of co-operative settlement. Furthermore, on some of these ridges there exist large rock formations, such as those found today at Nyamalogo, Maundo, Mwelo, Sere, and Nagongera. According to Padhola traditions, these rock formations provided these initial settlements with natural fortifications for defence. Moreover, because there were numerous caves within these rock formations, the settlements surrounding them were able to hide their women, children, and even some of their livestock during times of fighting.[8] These rock formations can thus be seen to have had a considerable attraction for groups of settlers moving into an area which is generally lacking in defensive positions, and thus to have helped to stimulate the pattern of joint or composite settlement that seems to have evolved.

As the clan groups which made up these settlements grew in size, they remained at first highly localized by following segmentary lineage principles in their expansion and thus retaining a close correspondence between residential and genealogical patterns. However, as the land within the area of composite settlement was taken up, a pattern of disjunctive dispersal evolved with small groups of agnates hiving off from their original clan settlements and settling in other parts of Padhola.[9] This seems to have begun between six and eight generations ago. It can be seen that the pattern of composite settlement which developed in *Lul* was replicated in the areas of secondary settlement, *Mawele,* and *Yo Woko* as well. Again small groups of settlers moved into new areas where the continued problem of security and the topography of the land resulted in the continuation of the pattern of composite settlement which had begun in *Lul.* Dr. A. W. Southall describes this process of secondary expansion as follows: "These settlements were usually founded by bands of adventurers, sometimes as few as two brothers and their wives and a few cattle, who finding that the land had become scarce in their natal settlements, went out to seek their fortunes. Such tiny groups had complete political independence in the ordering of their day to day affairs. Some were lucky in finding unoccupied land beyond the boundaries of previous Padhola settlement, but often they had to dispute possession with Tesio or Nyole. Having won new territory, they often permitted other similar small groups to come and settle with them. As long as land was adequate they were glad to increase the number of friendly neighbours who could unite in defence."[10]


BANYOLE
Senoa
Paya
Katandi
Matindi
Katajula
Maundo
Nagongera
Mikwana
Soni
Mwelo
Kiyeyi
Nyamalogo
Nyabuyoga
Muwafu
Chonolo
See Inset
Sirongo
Nyemera
Tororo
TESO
BASOGA
BASAMIA
INSET
Rothithi
LOKA OMWA
MULANDA
Atangole
LWALA PABONA
MBOLERA
Oturoba
PAYIJA
Wadama
Yobedi
Naligama
SIRONGO
PASSINDI
TESO Neighbouring tribes
Soni Composite settlements
Border of West Budama County
Area of primary settlement
Swamps and Rivers
0 Miles 10
Inset not to scale

Southall in this passage clearly emphasizes the importance of mutual security in the formation of composite settlements. Topography can also be viewed as a major stimulus for composite settlement within *Mawele* and *Yo Woko*. There still existed the problem of a limited amount of inhabitable land. Unlike in *Lul*, however, there are relatively few large rock formations in *Mawele* and *Yo Woko;* thus this topographical attraction for joint settlement was lacking. On the other hand, the lack of defensive positions can be regarded as a stimulus in its own right; since without natural defensive positions, security became a more critical problem for the Jopadhola. Therefore, composite settlement became even more essential in *Mawele* and *Yo Woko* than it had been in *Lul*.

Finally it could be said that since the pattern of composite settlement had already been established in *Lul*, it may have acted as a precedent for the development of this pattern in *Mawele* and *Yo Woko*. This pattern of composite settlement by small groups of settlers from different clans in fact, repeated itself in more or less the same fashion, and for more or less the same reasons until the Jopadhola reached their present limits around 1900. As a result of this practice the whole of Padhola can be seen to have been occupied by hundreds of these composite settlements.[11] Each composite settlement occupied a ridge or *Loka* which varied in size from two to approximately five square miles. Within each composite settlement there were from two to about eight local clan groups. Today the population of these settlements vary from around 120 to over 1000, with the population decreasing the further the area is from the area of initial settlement. It was these composite settlements which became the focus for social and political organisation in Padhola.

It would appear that the members of societies which lack the structures of state organisation would by necessity have to develop other structures to ensure the social and political stability of their society. In many societies this need for social and political stability was filled by the development of a strong kinship-based organisation. The segmentary lineage systems of the Nuer and Tiv are examples of a kinship-based response to this need for stability. Evans-Pritchard has described how the structural organization of the Nuer segmentary lineage system enabled that society to cope with both internal and external stresses without the presence of state structures. In reference to this system, Marshall Sahlins has observed that: "The segmentary lineage system is a social means of temporary consolidation of this fragmented tribal polity for concerted action. It is in a sense a substitute for the fixed political structure which a tribal society is incapable of sustaining."[12] Amongst the Jopadhola, however it can be demonstrated that the effects of disjunctive dispersal, accentuated by the difficulty of intratribal and thus intra-clan communication pre-empted the development of such a kinship–based organisation.[13] Consequently the Jopadhola were forced to develop other organizational structures in order to ensure the stability of their society.

The same two stimuli which apparently necessitated the pattern of composite settlement in Padhola, i.e. topography and the need for security, continued to operate in Padhola until the coming of colonial administration. The continued presence of these stimuli, moreover, tended to discourage communication between composite settlements. To begin with, it can be seen that because of the general insecurity of the times, travel between settlements could be dangerous. As a result of this members of individual composite

settlements or neighbourhoods tended to stay within the limits of their own neighbourhood most of the time, normally limiting their travels to only immediately neighbouring settlements. When asking present-day elders about events that occurred in areas of Padhola other than their own, one is often told, "I do not know about that, I seldom travelled there." Another informant in explaining why the Padhola did not settle in the area around Tororo until recently stated, "The Josewe use to be in that place, then they were driven away. Then the J'omia came, they were also driven away. That area then remained empty, no people were living there... Most of the people were living together... these people would dig trenches around them so as to avoid enemies and that kept most of the people in one particular area. And you know it was war time, people did not want to spread much."[14] This concern for security seems to have kept the Jopadhola close to their homes thereby discouraging communication between settlements.

With regards to topography, the swamps rivers and forests which were prevalent in Padhola made communication between anything but immediately neighbouring settlements difficult. Many of these swamps and rivers dividing the ridges upon which these settlements were located were often difficult to pass during the wet season and swamps such as Dumba, Ligaga, Osia, Were, Mulaba, Mwenge, and Wadama were difficult to pass even during the dry season. The importance which the Jopadhola seem to attach to the introduction of roads under colonial administration seems to attest to the difficulty of travel and communication before these roads were built.[15]

This does not mean that communication between settlements did not occur. If for no other reason, the laws of clan exogamy would have necessitated such communication.[16] Moreover people did occasionally travel to distant parts of Padhola to visit relatives. Yet the general pattern seems to have been one of people limiting their travels to immediately neighbouring settlements. This pattern of localized communication is reflected in the answers given by elders to the question, "From which clan did your grandfather's wives come?" The answers to this question indicate that men living in one settlement tended to marry women from clans living within their own settlement or within neighbouring settlements rather than from clans living in distant settlements.[17]

This difficulty in communication between composite settlements, given a pattern of disjunctive dispersal, deterred the development of strong clan organisation and unity in Padhola. This lack of clan unity and organisation becomes evident when one compares the traditions and practices of different sections of the same clan living in separate parts of Padhola. The variation one finds in the traditions of separate local settlements of the same clan can be seen in the responses given by elders living in three local settlements of the JoLakwar clan.

The JoLakwar claim to have travelled together with Adhola to Matindi in *Lul*, and from there Lakwar moved to Paracham, in the present-day Kitongole of Mwelo. After an indefinite period members of the settlement at Paracham left and settled in Soni and Nyamalogo. From Nyamalogo some Lakwar settled in Muwafu in *Mawele*. During the course of my research I interviewed elders from this clan living in the settlements of Paracham, Soni and Muwafu.[18] In all three cases I asked the local clan leader to collect the local clan historians from his clan. In recording the traditions of these three

groups of elders, several variations became apparent. In general all three groups gave a similar account of the clans' migration and initial settlement in Padhola. They all claim that their clan had fought with the Josewe, the Banyole, the Teso, the Bagisu, and the Baganda: and they all related stories about Majanga,[19] Bura[20] and the coming of the Baganda and Kakungulu. However, in detail and emphasis given to specific events, the three groups of elders varied considerably in their responses. Some of these variations are shown in the chart on the next page.

These variations when placed beside those recorded among the local settlements of other clans indicate that 1) clan sections living in different areas of Padhola underwent to some extent disparate experiences and that 2) these experiences tended to be incorporated into the traditions of the area in which they occurred, but tended not to be incorporated into the traditions of clan sections living in different areas. This in turn would tend to indicate that 1) separate sections of the same clan did not, in any meaningful way act as a single unit; and that 2) communication between separate sections of the same clan was probably minimal.

This lack of clan unity and organization can also be seen by comparing the local practices of various localized settlements of the same clan. One example of this variation is observable in the Padhola institution of *Jochembe*. Southall describes this institution as follows: "In the case of disputes involving large clan settlements there was a peculiar system of interclan arbitration on the basis of reciprocal burial obligations. Every clan had another clan to bury its dead, usually on the basis of direct reciprocity. When involved in serious dispute with another clan, as in the case of homicide, a clan called in its buriers to arbitrate and arrange compensation and reconciliation."[21] This is, in fact, how each group of elders interviewed described the system. However in asking each local clan settlement the name of the clan that was their clan's buriers, or *Jochembe*, it became apparent that instead of each clan as a whole having another clan as its *Jochembe*, localized settlements of the same clan living in different parts of Padhola claimed to have different clans as their *Jochembe*. It appears that the *Jochembe* relationship was actually a localized arrangement between two settlements of different clans living within the same or immediately neighbouring *Loka*. This variation in *Jochembe* can be seen in the limited sampling below.

Clan	Settlement A	Jochembe	Settlement B	Jochembe
J'Amor Kasede	Nyamalogo	Panyiringa	Chowolo	J'Ojilai
JoLakwar	Soni	J'Oruwa	Muwafu	J'Amor Kagulu
Jep-Odwi	Kiyeyi	J'Amor Polam	Chowolo	Panyirinja
JoBiranga Owini	Paya	Paragang	Nyamalogo	PaBendo
J'Oruwa	Chowolo	P'Tikidiegi	Kiyeyi	J'Amor Kijwala

It may be that this localization is a change that has occurred recently and that traditionally each clan had only one clan as their *Jochembe*. This seems unlikely. For if anything clan organization and unity have become stronger and practices less localized since the coming of colonial administration to Padhola.[22] Moreover, the nature of the *Jochembe* relationship would seem to dictate this type of localized arrangement. Because dead bodies had

Question about	Paracham	Soni	Muwafu
Prior settlement in Padhola by people other than the Jopadhola.	We were the first to settle here.	There were Banyole here when we came. We drove them away.	There were Banyole here when we came. We drove them away.
Fighting with the Banyole.	Elders remember fighting with the Banyole but with very little detail as to actual encounters or causes. They did not consider the Banyole a serious threat to their settlement.	Elders remember Remembered events in detail. causes of specific raids. Considered the Banyole to have been a considerable threat. They claim to have settled in Soni in order to deter Banyole raiding.	Elders could relate stories in detail about specific raids. They did not seem to consider the Banyole a threat to their settlement.
The authority Majanga had over clan affairs.	Authority over *Bura* worship. Could try cases. Sent groups of Jopadhola to live on the borders of Padhola and Banyole. Leader in military matters.	Same as elders in Paracham plus authority to appoint chiefs throughout Padhola.	Authority only in matters of *Bura* and in hearing difficult cases.
Where the clan received *Bura* from.	From Majanga – we used to go to Tewo forest to worship *Bura*. No one had *Bura* before Majanga	Same as elders in Paracham.	We received *Bura* from a man named Wesa in Nabuyoga. Majanga also found *Bura* at the home of Wesa.
Participation of the clan in war with Kakungulu and the Baganda	Fought with the Baganda for only a short time. All of the Jopadhola fought.	Fought Baganda for a long time. All of the Jopadhola fought.	We did not fight with the Baganda. The fighting was only in Majanga's area.

to be buried quickly; and because disputes had to be settled before they escalated, a clan's *Jochembe* had to live near at hand. Thus while one *Jochembe* relationship might be viable for the original settlements of two clans, it may not remain viable for sections of these clans which subsequently break-off and settle in other parts of Padhola; for the new settlement may not be close to a settlement of the clan which was its *Jochembe* in the context of the original area of settlement. If no settlement of the original *Jochembe* clan was located in the new area of settlement, it would be necessary to develop a *Jochembe* relationship with a localized settlement of a different clan.

A second example of this variation in local practices can be seen in the distribution of *Kuni* (sing. *Kunu*) shrines in Padhola. A clan's *Kunu* shrine was where the members of the clan went to communicate with and make sacrifices to their ancestors. If a man wanted help with the growing of his crops or a woman was barren, they would go to *Kunu*. *Kuni* among the Jopadhola were located in some outstanding geographical feature such as a large rock formation or a large *Mvule* tree. Ogot has stated that despite the process of disjunctive dispersal followed by the clans in Padhola, each clan still had their *Kunu* in the area of their initial settlement.[23] However, each of the local clan settlements surveyed in this activity claimed to have its own local *Kunu*. The following list, though by no means complete, either in regards to the number of clans listed or in the number of clan settlements claiming to have their own *Kunu*, gives some idea of this localization.

Clan	Settlements Claiming Local Kunu
Biranga Owiny	Maundo, Katandi, Namire.
JoLoi	Korobudi, Nyamalogo, Mwenge.
J'Oruwa Demba	Nyamalogo, Kiyeyi, Soni.
JoLakwar	Paracham, Nyamalogo, Muwafu, Soni.
JoPaBendo	Nagongera, Maundo, Nyamalogo.
J'Amor Polam	Simwenji, Kiyeyi.
Nyakeno	Katajula, Lwala.

When asked why they have their own local *Kunu*, clan elders living in areas of secondary settlement state that when their grandfathers first moved into the area they tried to return to their original settlement in order to visit the clan's *Kunu* there. However, because of the difficulty of travellnig between settlements and because their own settlement became more secure, they soon began to develop their own *Kunu* locally. In connection with this, F. K. Girling, writing on village spirit-shrines in Acholi, has suggested that there seems to be a correlation between the possession of a spirit-shrine and the political independence of a village.[24] A similar correlation may exist between the possession of a *Kunu* shrine and the political and social autonomy of localized clan settlements in Padhola.

Another indication of the lack of clan unity and organisation in Padhola is given by the absence of defined political leadership at the clan level. Clan leadership of a specifically political nature, i.e. entailing the adjudication of intra-clan disputes; the decisions regarding the initiation of raids, or the decision to call in a rainmaker, seems to have existed only at the local level. When asked to give a list of names of men who were regarded as the leader

of the whole clan, present clan elders seem to have difficulty in remembering more than a few names. Most of the names are of men who were clan leaders after the coming of the Baganda and therefore after the adoption of the Ganda hierarchy of saza, gombolola and muruka chiefs into the clan organization. When questioned about their difficulty in remembering the names of men who were leaders of the whole clan before the coming of the Baganda, some informants answer that they were only children then and so cannot remember. Others state that the idea of a man with political authority over clan matters had no real significance before the Baganda came. Before that time each local clan settlement had its own leader. There was ritual leadership at the clan level, but this had very little political significance. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that, with a few exceptions, the names of men who were credited with having had authority over the whole clan before the coming of the Baganda turned out to be, on further questioning, the names of men who had lived in the same local settlement as the informant who provided the name.

A fourth example of this variation in clan practices can be seen in the possession of specific local customs by particular clan settlements. In theory, each clan in Padhola possesses a set of customs relating to such things as the birth of twins, the kinds of food which can or cannot be eaten during pregnancy, and the burial of the dead. Some of these customs are observed by all of the Jopadhola, regardless of clan affiliation, while others are limited to specific clans.

In actual practice, however, one can find considerable variation between the customs followed by local settlements of the same clan. For example, in theory, every clan in Padhola buries its dead so that the head of the body points towards the direction from which the clan supposedly came when it migrated to Padhola. Since among the Jopadhola one of the elements which defines clan membership is the fact, or myth, of common migration, the maintenance of the correct burial custom would seem to be of considerable importance to the Jopadhola. However, the actual practices of localized settlements of the same clan frequently vary from one another. In the village of Kiyeyi in *Mawele,* the members of a local settlement of the Kijwala sub-clan of the J'Amor claim to bury their dead with the head of the body pointing east, while a settlement of the same sub-clan living in Muwafu claim to bury their dead pointing towards the west. The local settlement of the JoLakwar living in Muwafu claims to bury their dead pointing to the west, while a settlement of the same clan living in Soni and another in Paracham both claim to bury their dead pointing east. Finally a settlement of the JoKoi Pawangara living in Nabuyoga state that they bury their dead towards the east while a settlement of the same clan living in Maundo claims to bury their dead towards the west.

Finally there is the question of land tenure. Ogot has noted that unlike the Kenya Luo, there is no part of Padhola that is exclusively reserved for a particular clan. In explaining this contrast, Ogot suggests that the reason that the Jopadhola do not base their land tenure system on clan membership is that when the Jopadhola came to West Budama they found it a virgin territory, uninhabited by any other people. Therefore possession of the land was not by conquest but by improvement, and since improvement is a continuous process anyone who could claim to have improved the land had a

claim to it. Thus the descendants of no one man could have exclusive claim to any piece of land.[25]

The difficulty with this suggestion lies with Ogot's initial assumption that the Jopadhola found West Budama uninhabited. There seems to be considerable evidence that there were Bantu speaking groups living in several areas of West Budama prior to the arrival of the Jopadhola. These prior groups would have had to have been driven out before the Jopadhola could take possession of the land. Padhola traditions from Soni, Kiyeyi, Muwafu, Mbolera and Passindi all state that the first Jopadhola to settle in the area found Banyole living there and drove them away. These traditions seem to be supported by Banyole traditions which claim prior occupancy in a number of areas of Padhola. This apparent lack of a clan-based system of land tenure is more likely a result of the relative weakness of clan organisation in Padhola than of any lack of opposition when claiming the land.

In light of the above variations in 1) traditions; 2) the practices regarding *Jochembe, Kuni* shrines and burial of the dead; and in light of the lack of traditional clan leadership and the insignificance of clan membership in questions of land tenure, it would appear that clan organization and unity in Padhola were relatively weak, and that they failed to develop sufficiently to provide the Jopadhola with an adequate basis for social and political stability. Since the localised clan settlements were generally too small to exist individually as viable social and political units, the Jopadhola were forced to develop other organisational structures to ensure this stability.

In a sense the history of the Jopadhola from the period of their initial settlement until the coming of colonial administration can be viewed as the history of the Jopadhola's attempts to solve this basic problem. The development of *Bura* worship, the celebration of *Akisil*[26] and the rise of Majanga as a charismatic leader for all of the Jopadhola at the end of the nineteenth century can all be viewed as Padhola responses to the basic problem of maintaining social and political stability. The Jopadhola's primary response to this problem, however, seems to have been to make their composite settlements or neighbourhoods the principal units of their social and political organisation. In other words, the composite settlement became the focus of social and political interaction for each Japadhola.

Given the composite residential pattern that had evolved in Padhola and the subsequent difficulty in communication and thus difficulty in social and political interaction between settlements, a local focus for social and political organisation would seem to be a natural response. Moreover, the topography of Padhola alone provides a natural basis for this focus. The swamps and rivers which separated the ridges, or *Loka,* formed natural boundaries between settlements located on these *Loka.* This in turn provided each settlement with a sense of geographical unity and provided a further stimulus for this type of territorial response.

The social and political importance of the composite settlement to Padhola life is evidenced by several aspects of that life. As indicated above the composite settlement was the principal unit on which a Japadhola depended for his security. In *Lul* this was brought about by the sharing of the natural defence positions provided by the presence of large rock formations. In the rest of Padhola it was necessitated by the lack of these positions and the consequent need for local co-operation. Furthermore the difficulty of communi-

cation between settlements made dependence on one's clansmen for security impractical. The Jopadhola had to look to their immediate neighbours, regardless of clan affiliation, for security.[27]

This territorial response was no doubt made possible by the general nature of warfare before the coming of the Baganda. With very few exceptions the warfare between the Jopadhola and their neighbours was fought on a very limited scale. It consisted primarily of reciprocal raiding. A small party from one side or the other would initiate a short term raid against a settlement of the other side in order to obtain food, cattle or human captives. In due course this raid would be avenged by the inhabitants of the settlement that had been attacked. This type of warfare seldom required the Jopadhola to look beyond the limits of their own *loka* for support, and thus for the most part the composite settlement was a viable unit for defence organisation in Padhola.

The degree to which defensive organisation was highly localized within the *loka*, is evidenced by the apparent inability of the Jopadhola to respond rapidly to warfare on a larger scale. Padhola traditions relate that between two and three generations ago the Jopadhola suffered from a large scale attack by a group known in Duopadhola as the *JoNgaya*. The word *JoNgaya* means people with large shields, and most of the Jopadhola equate them with the Baganda. It seems that for several days the *JoNgaya* roamed at will through Padhola killing, pillaging and burning compounds as they went. The Jopadhola were finally able to organize themselves sufficiently to drive the invaders away, but not before they had suffered greatly.

In retrospect, the fact that the Jopadhola had found it difficult to organise above the level of the composite settlement is further evidenced by the fact that shortly after this incident with the *JoNgaya*, Majanga rose as a charismatic leader in Padhola. It could be argued that one of the forces which led to his rise was the Jopadhola's realization, brought on by their defeat at the hands of the *JoNgaya*, that their local basis of political organisation left them vulnerable to large scale attack and that they therefore needed to evolve a system of organisation that would permit a larger scale of co-ordination.[28]

As well as fighting together, men living within the same composite settlement or neighbourhood also hunted together. Within each composite settlement one or more men were regarded as hunting leaders *(Jotuko)*. These hunting leaders were chosen on the basis of their skill as hunters and their knowledge of when and where to hunt particular game. As such they were given the responsibility of organising the hunting activities of the settlement. Their leadership was evidently marked by their possession of a small hunting horn *(gwara)*, which they used to assemble the men of the settlement for hunting and for giving signals during the hunt. After the hunt the division of the meat from any kill made during the hunt was directed by the hunting leader, with a hind leg and thigh and the head going to the man who first speared the animal, and the rest being divided among the other members of the hunting party. Aside from hunting matters these *Jotuko* apparently had no other authority over the activities of the settlement.

A local focus to political organisation is also evident in the area of political leadership in Padhola. Beyond the rather limited forms of political leadership represented by the leaders of localized clan sections, and the above

mentioned *Jotuko*, political leadership before the end of the nineteenth century and the rise of Majanga, was limited to the leadership of individual composite settlements. This leadership seems to have taken two forms. In the area of primary settlement where composite settlements seemed to have formed as joint enterprises, leadership was based primarily on merit. That is to say, one or more men who had attained positions of respect within the settlement, primarily by means of their military skill or their economic position would be regarded as authority figures in times of trouble or dispute. This authority was in no way despotic for there was very little in the way of viable sanctions to enforce decisions made by these leaders. They can best be regarded as firsts among equals.

In the areas of secondary settlement a more clearly defined type of leadership seems to have existed. As Southall has pointed out, these secondary settlements seem to have been settled by one group of settlers from a single clan. It was these initial settlers who then welcomed other settlers into their area. Southall goes on to observe that, "The mode of land distribution was for the earliest occupants of the land, whether by conquest or mere occupation, to allot land to incoming groups nearby, digging a trench (*keu*) as a boundary marker between them."[29] The leader of this original group of settlers was regarded as the leader of the composite settlement by right of his group's position as giver of land. This type of authority seems to have been more substantial in that, in theory at least, the giver of land had the possible sanction of being the taker of land.

The importance of the composite settlement for social organisation in Padhola can be seen in the celebration of *Akisil* or age-set. *Akisil* was a tribe-wide celebration to mark the "passing out of older men from active fighting as warriors."[30] The celebration was tribe-wide in that it was co-ordinated to occur at the same time throughout Padhola. Moreover it seems that during the period of initial settlement the celebration of *Akisil* brought all of the Padhola together in one place. Subsequently, and during most of the pre-colonial period, the actual celebration and organisation of *Akisil* seems to have been carried out within each composite settlement. The members of each settlement would choose men within their settlement who had reached the age of *Akisil*. These men would then choose a man and woman to act as their servants (*jago*) during the celebration. Following this, these men with their servants, would travel around to all of the homesteads within the settlement. At each household they would be given gifts of food and drink. This phase of the celebration lasted for three or four weeks. After it was completed all the inhabitants of the settlement would retire to a shrine near one of the swamps which bordered their settlement. Here in an open place the initiates to *Akisil* would participate in a mock fight with sticks with the living members of previously initiated age-sets. After this fight each of the initiates would sacrifice a bull. This would be followed by feasting.[31]

It should be noted that a number of the aspects of this celebration seem to emphasize the unity and co-operative character of the composite settlement. First, the servants chosen for each initiate were chosen from clans other than that of the initiate. Moreover all of the initiates travelled around the settlement together rather than in clan groups. Both aspects would seem to cut across clan membership and emphasize the unitary rather than the composite nature of the settlement. The unity of the settlement is also stressed by the

actual act of travelling to all of the homesteads within the settlement. It is interesting to note the similarity between this practice and the *cha-njeku* rite of the Wabwambo of South Pare described by Dr. Kimambo. One of the principal aspects of the Wabwambo ceremony was the conducting of a white bull around the borders of the whole of the Wabwambo state. Dr. Kimambo suggests that this was meant to symbolize the unity of the whole state.[32] The Padnola practice of having the men to be initiated into *Akisil* travel around to all the households within their settlement can probably be seen as symbolizing the same sort of territorial unity though on a much smaller scale. Finally, Southall points out that during the mock fight (*temo mene*), "... heavy stress is laid on the good humour required of the fighters. It is said that if you allowed yourself to become angry you would die."[33] This emphasis on good humour can be viewed as stressing the critical importance of maintaining harmony between the various groups which made up the settlement. The fighting itself can be viewed as a means of releasing the tensions that must arise between these groups without at the same time jeopardizing the unity of the settlement. Thus in its organisation and execution the celebration of *Akisil* can be seen as emphasizing the importance of the role of the composite settlement in the social and political life of the Jopadhola.

Another aspect of Padhola social life which would seem to emphasize the importance of the composite settlement in Padhola society is the relationship that exists between a man and his affines. Among the Jopadhola, as in other societies, a special relationship exists between a man and his affines. With the exception of his wife's grandparents and his wife's brother, which are treated the same as his own, all of his affines are to be treated with special respect or even fear. This respect or fear is expressed by special politeness and the avoidance of certain types of behaviour.[34] Anne Sharman has described this type of behaviour as follows: "In general terms special politeness requires that a person dress neatly— so that his body be not exposed — and that he be restrained in his behaviour and in the topics of conversation he chooses...He must not refer to sexual matters in their presence and because milk is said to be like semen he should not drink it at their homes. He must avoid wearing their clothes and must not go into their sleeping places, and where he is very afraid of a person he should not even go into his house or look at him directly when addressing him. When he has no great fear of a person, but still respects him, he should not avoid him but be careful to be polite."[35] The observance of this type of avoidance behaviour decreases, the greater the genealogical distance between a particular affine and a man's wife. However, it would appear that all of the affines living within a man's own settlement are treated in this manner. Granted there are other societies in which this avoidance pattern occurs, it is the extension of this practice to all of one's affines within one's own settlement, regardless of the real genealogical distances, which makes this custom significant among the Jopadhola. It would appear that the extension of this custom to all of a man's affines living within his own settlement represents a further attempt to minimize tension and open conflict within the settlement. Once again this emphasizes the importance of that unit in the social and political life of the Padnola.

Finally, from contemporary evidence, it should be noted that when two Jopadhola who do not know each other meet and wish to identify each other, the first question they ask after the usual greeting is, "Where are you from?",

not, "What is your clan?" Since, as mentioned above, clan organisation and unity have become stronger since the coming of colonial administration, this practice would seem to reflect the relative importance of local residence in Padhola life, rather than the weakening of the importance of kinship ties.[36]

From the above discussion it would appear that the pattern of composite settlement which evolved in Padhola combined with the difficulty of communication between settlements, had two important effects on Padhola society. First, they pre-empted the development of strong clan organisation and unity, and thus eliminated the clan as a basis for social and political organization and stability. Secondly, in the absence of strong clan organisation, they promoted the development of the composite settlement as the principal unit and focus of social and political interaction. Thus, in terms of the collection of data on the social and political development of Padhola, the history of these composite settlements and not the history of the clans should be the focus of research.

NOTES

1. I would like to acknowledge my gratitude to Michael and Susan Whyte for their advice and suggestions in the writing of this paper. I am similarly indebted to my wife Prudence.
2. The people are called *Jopadhola* (sing. *Japadhola*) meaning *Jo*, people; *Pa*, of; *Adhola*, the tribes eponym. The country is called *Padhola*, and the language is *duopadhola*.
3. Ogot, B.A. *History of the southern Luo*, vol. I, Nairobi, 1967, pp. 22-23. I have employed Dr. Ogot's system of dating, a generation being equal to 27 years. Subsequent references to Ogot are to this source.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 104
5. The identity of the Josewe is unclear. Ogot describes them as follows: "There is no agreement as to who these people were. In the majority of Padhola traditions they are identified with the Masai — probably the Uasin-Gishu Masai — though others identify them with the Sebei or Nandi." *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.
6. Higenyi, *The history of the Banyole*, unpublished manuscript. Original MS in Luganda, 1930. Translated into Lunyole by Higenyi, 1964. Translated into English by Wesana-Chomi. The passage below is quoted from a typed copy supplied to me by S. Whyte 11p. The Acholi and the Langi took the south-eastern part where the Badama live today. The portion which these people occupied has been the rightful place of the Banyole from time immemorial and that portion covered the following places:
   1. Maundo rock where Maundo the grandson of Munyole lived.
   2. Senda and Negohe also the grandchildren of Munyole, occupied *Nagongera*.
   3. *Mwelo* belonged to Songo, a grandson of Munyole; this was the area the Abalwa clan used to occupy. Even today some Abalwa are found there.
   4. *Kiyayi* was occupied by the Abahanja clan, also Munyole's grandchildren.
   5. Mulanda was the home of the Abagalo and Bagalo clans, also the grandchildren of Munyole. There also used to be a place called *Loka Omwa* which in Adhola means the land of the Banyole, our enemies.

   Loka Omwa still exists today. See map for this and other areas mentioned. Higenyi's reference to Kiyeyi is also supported by traditions from that area. Interview with Noah Opio, 85, J'Amor P'Olam, Kiyeyi, 29 April 1970. Also interview with Yona Owori Othieli, 73, Jo Ramogi (clan leader) Mbolera, 13 June 1970. Field work noted in this paper was carried out between May 1969 and August 1970.
7. This is the interpretation given to me by the majority of my informants. It seems quite likely, however, that these groups of Bantu speakers were assimilated by the incoming Luo groups.

8. Interviews: Noah Opio, 29 April 1970 in reference to Kiyeyi rock. Also Yonasan Onyango 60, Ojilai, Wakisiki 16 March 1970, in reference to Nyamalogo rock.
9. Southall, A.W. "Padhola: comparative social structure," E.A.I.S.R. Conference Paper, 1957, pp. 10-11.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9. Dr. Southall in this passage is referring specifically to the settlement of *Yo Woko*. My own research in the *Mawele* area, however, indicates that a similar process occurred there.
11. The coming of colonial administration to Padhola brought a more secure environment to the area. This in turn made the need for clustering settlements less necessary. Nonetheless if one looks at the current Uganda Lands and Surveys map of West Budama County (Series Y732; Sheets 63/2, 63/4, 64/1 and 64/3; Edition 1.–D.O.S.), which shows the relative distribution of households, this clustering effect is still evident. This is especially true in the areas of secondary settlement where population density is relatively low and the clusters are thus more clearly visible.
12. Sahlins, M.D. The segmentary lineage system: an organization of predatory expansion, (*American Anthropologist, 63,* No. 2, April, 1961, p. 342.) E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "The Nuer," *African Political Systems,* eds. M. Fortes and E.E. Evans-Pritchard, London, 1940.
13. Local lineages in Padhola form what has been termed a linear series' of lineages. They do not merge in the manner that lineages merge among the Nuer. They, ".....stand side by side as it were, knowing only that they share common blood, but not knowing the genealogical details." The Padhola lineages are thus unable to interact wiht one another in the pattern of complementary opposition that is found in Nuer society. R. Fox, *Kinship and marriage,* London, 1967, pp.126-127, also Southall, *op. cit.* p.6.
14. Interview with Sylvester Orach, 65, Nyapolo Orang, Senda, 1 September 1969.
15. Looking at West Budama county today it is very difficult to imagine that communication between various parts of Padhola was difficult. One must try, however, to put oneself in a 19th or 18th century mindset. It is necessary to picture Padhola as a considerably different place from what it is today. To begin with there were no roads or bridges before the coming of colonial administration to the area. There may have been paths of some sort but there seems to be no indication that there was any formalized means of keeping these paths up. Given the way in which paths become overgrown even with today's traffic, one could assume that even paths were limited in number. Moreover, there seems to have been considerably more vegetation to contend with then. Even today areas such as Maundo forest would be difficult to pass through were it not for the local roads in the area.
16 The clans in Padhola are exogamous. Moreover as Southall has pointed out the prescription of exogamy is far-reaching. A man must not marry into the clan of his mother, his mother's mother or his mother's mother's mother. Nor may he marry into the clan of his father's mother or his father's father's mother. It should be obvious that such a far-reaching prescription would make it necessary for the men of one localized clan section to look beyond the limits of their own composite settlements for wives. This in turn ensured a certain degree of communication between these settlements. Southall *op. cit* p.12.
17. It is interesting to note that this pattern of getting wives from neighbouring settlements seems to have broken down with the present generation of elders. The wives of some of these men come from quite distant parts of Padhola. This probably reflects the security and easier communication that was brought by the introduction of colonial administration. There is also some indication that men who were regarded as having been important leaders prior to the coming of the Baganda married on a wider scale, obtaining wives from more distant areas of Padhola, than their neighbours. Interviews with Aroni Magara, 67, Jokoi Pawangara, Nyamalogo, 27 August 1970. Also Noah Opio, 21 August 1970.
18. Interview with Paulo Odoyi, 45, Gabriel Ondera, 75, and Domiano Olowo 80, (Paracham) 9 May 1970; Donacio Magara, 60, Mikili Oburu, 70, Zacharia Jaboth, 80, Bonaventure Odoyi, 50, Yowna Ofumo, 85, (Soni) 27 April 1970; Mulekwa Wachalo, 84, Eriny Oboth, 60, (Muwafu) 3 May 1970.
19. Majanga was a member of the Nyapolo Ogule clan who rose to a position of

charismatic leadership among all the Padhola in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

20. *Bura* is regarded by the Jopadhola as a personification of the Nilotic deity *Jok*. According to Ogot it was introduced to Padhola from Bugwere. *Bura* worship was of great importance to Padhola society for it apparently acted as a catalyst for greater unity in Padhola. See Ogot, B.A. Traditional religion and the pre-colonial history of Africa: The example of the Padhola." *Uganda Journal, 31*, No. 1, 1967.
21. Southall *op. cit.* p.15.
22. In looking for a social-political system on which to base their administration, early Baganda and British administrators in Bukedi tended to see clan organisations where they did not necessarily exist. Southall writes: 'By an enlightened desire to integrate the African local government with indigenous institutions, clan organisatiin was stressed. The people were required to produce clan leaders as their representatives, even where clans were not perhaps, the most important basis of social organisation. This made the people self-conscious about their clans and, in a situation like that of the Padhola, might well have encouraged the transformation of clan organization." Southall *op. cit.* p.11.
23. Ogot, *op. cit.* pp.88-89.
24. Girling, F. K. *The Acholi of Uganda*, London, 1960, p.81.
25. Ogot, *op. cit.* p.86.
26. See below for description of *Akisil*.
27. Interviews with Israel Okong, 76, J'Amor Mugulu Kasede, Pabwok, 11 June 1970. Noah Opio, 29 April 1970, Aroni Magara, 12 February 1970.
28. Oboth-Ofumbi, *The Padhola*, Kampala, 1960, in Duopadhola p.5. According to Padhola traditions the JoNgaya (Baganda) came to attack Padhola in order to avenge the defeat they had suffered at the hands of the Padhola who had allied with Wakoli in Busoga. The Jopadhola state that they were finally able to defeat the JoNgaya by surprising them while the latter were sleeping. They claim to have killed nearly all of the invaders. There is a possible reference to this raid in A. Kagwa, *Bassekabaka be Buganda, Bunyoro, Koli, Toro, ne Ankole* (London, 1927) pp. 136-137. The reference is to a defeat of a force of Baganda led by a man named Waliomuzibu, which had been sent to fight the Bakedi. This event occurred during the reign of Kabaka Mutesa I sometime around 1883-4. Also Ogot, *op. cit.* pp 106-7.
29. Southall *op. cit.* p. 11.
30. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.
31. Interviews with Yona Owora 13 June 1970; Israel Okong 11 June 1970; Saulo Okado, 70 JoLoli, Mulanda, 25, May 1970. The following list shows a number of *loka* and name of the shrine to which the residents of the *Loka* go in order to celebrate *Akisil*.

Loka	**Site of Akisil**
Mbolera	Legere
Pabwok	Oturoba
Mulanda	Atongole
Kiyeyi	Ologweno
Muwafu	Nyawignini
Soni	Panlyiach
Katandi	Odi Miel

See also Rafaeli Musajjawalulira, A Ceremony in Budama *Munno*, 1915, pp. 148-149. For a contemporary description of *Akisil*. English translation provided for me by Dr. Michael Twaddle.

32. Kimambo, I. N. *A political history of the Pare of Tanzania*, Nairobi, 1969, pp. 77-78.
33. Southall, *op. cit.* p.12
34. Sharman, A. 'Joking' in Padhola: categorical relationships, choice and social control, *Man*, **4**, no. 1, March 1969, p. 104.
35. *Ibid*,. pp. 104-105.
36. This was observed as occurring on numerous occasions between my field assistant, Simon Okong, and informants whom he had not met before. They would inevitably ask him where he was from, that is, what part of Padhola. To which he would answer "Chowolo", his village or *loka*. He was seldom, if ever, asked about his clan.

Uganda Journal, **34**, 2 (1970) pp. 163–170.

OKEBU IRON SMELTING

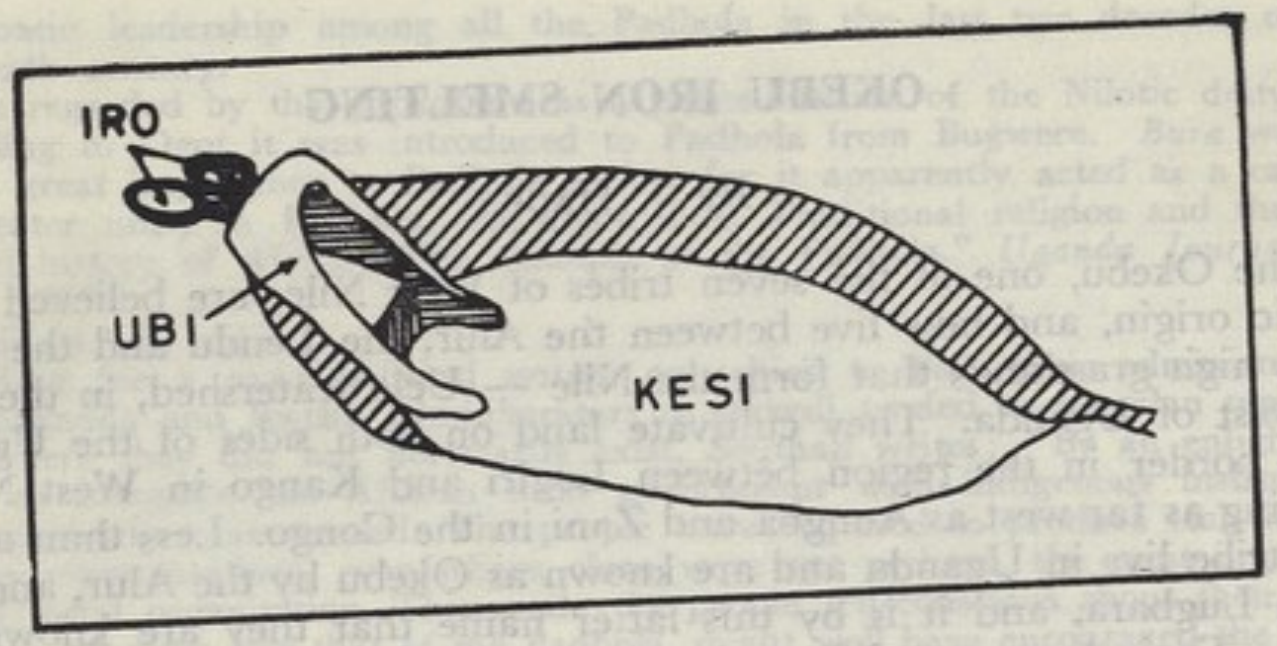
By J. Haden

The Okebu, one of the seven tribes of West Nile, are believed to be of Sudanic origin, and now live between the Alur, the Lendu and the Lugbara on the high grasslands that form the Nile — Uele watershed, in the extreme northwest of Uganda. They cultivate land on both sides of the Uganda — Congo border in the region between Logiri and Kango in West Nile, and stretching as far west as Aungba and Zani in the Congo. Less than a quarter of the tribe live in Uganda and are known as Okebu by the Alur, and as Ndo by the Lugbara, and it is by this latter name that they are known in the Congo. Their language differs significantly from Lugbara, but is included with it in the Madi-Moru group by Tucker.[1] Unlike both the Alur and the Lugbara, who have been the subjects of detailed studies, the Okebu have yet to attract the interest of anthropologists.[2]

They have a reputation as expert ironworkers throughout West Nile, and have in the past, before 'Birmingham hoes' became readily available, supplied the other tribes of the district with all their iron tools and weapons. Over a long period, Okebu blacksmiths have also moved into the surrounding areas, either as a result of local famines or in what appears to be a form of deliberate 'technical aid'. These emigré Okebu were respected and protected as valuable assets to their new communities, and many have become assimilated into the other tribes, so that today, Alur, Kakwa, Lugbara and Madi all have blacksmiths working within their areas who may or may not acknowledge their Okebu origin. It appears that none of these other tribes actually smelted iron, the technology of the process being the jealously guarded secret of the Okebu until comparatively recent times.

Okebu tradition holds that they were the second group to migrate from the north, and to cross the Nile, preceded by the Lendu and followed by the Madi. They account for their monopoly of iron working by saying that originally, all three 'brother' groups shared their smelting knowledge, but that the Lendu and the Madi lost the skill as a result of a beer party. The industrious Okebu, when all three were in mid-smelt, decided to finish the job before sharing in the refreshments and thus avoided the accidental destruction of the bellows-skins of the other two groups when their unattended furnaces caught fire. Even today the Okebu who still remember their smelting activities lay great stress on the extremely arduous nature of their work, and their doubt as to whether a European or even a Lugbara would be capable of it.

There are still several small groups of Okebu smiths active in the area between Arua and Goli, making small weeding hoes, slashers and knives from scrap iron for sale in local markets, but no smelting of iron ore has been done in the area since the 1940's. In the Zani region of the Congo, smelting continued up to 1950 when it was apparently stopped by government action.[3] In 1969 two groups of elderly Okebu smiths were found at Pukia near Arua and at Aligo, near Kango who demonstrated their smelting skills so that a record could be made before it became too late. Both groups agreed to show the complete process of smelting and smithing that they had learnt in youth.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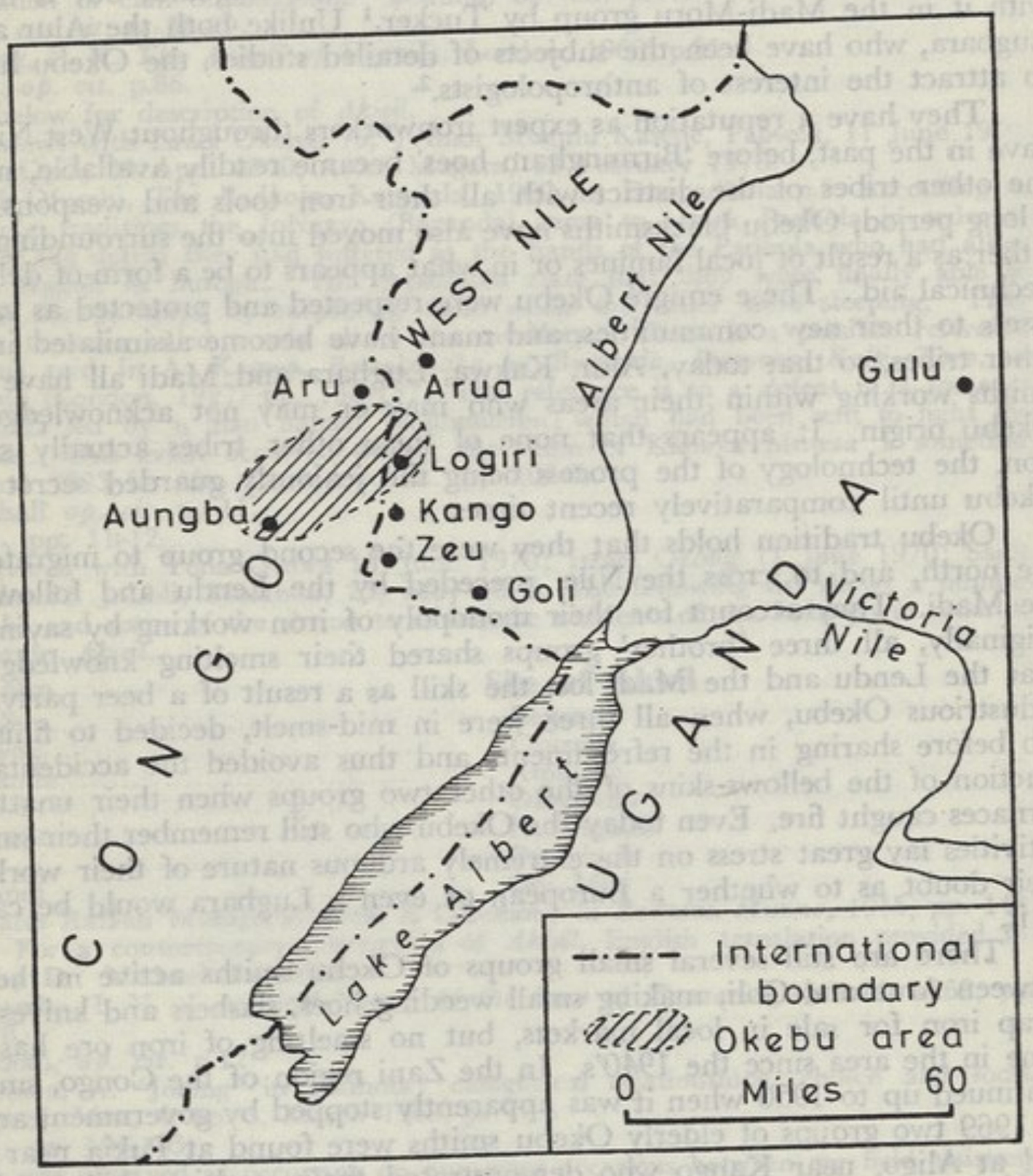

WEST NILE
Albert Nile
Aru
Arua
Gulu
Logiri
Aungba
Kango
Zeu
Goli
Victoria Nile
Lake Albert
C O N G O
U G A N D A
International boundary
Okebu area
0 Miles 60

A furnace of traditional pattern was constructed on a site in the compound of Mvara Secondary School, Arua; raw materials were gathered and the furnace fired on three occasions with varying degrees of success.

Supply of raw materials.

Iron ore. (Kolomvo). The smelters in the Aligo area depended for their supply of ore on the neighbouring Alur, as the best ore is found as outcrops on a hill, Amonze, near Zeu. In the past, Okebu smiths would bring gifts of hoes and other iron objects to the elders of the area, and the Alur would then allow them to dig ore from the surface of Amonze, and ensure their free passage through Alur territory. This right of passage was vital to the smiths as relations between the two tribes were often strained. Ore was dug from this site in 1969. About 150 pounds of ore, identified by the Geological Survey, Mines Division, Entebbe, as limonite, was taken from the shallow diggings that are scattered all over the surface of Amonze, and carried by head load to Aligo, 18 miles away. This ore was shown to be about 80% iron oxide, as Fe_2O_3 and was described as the best *kolomvo* by the Aligo elders. Small amounts of other ores were also obtained, including a high grade magnetite from the Zani area of the Congo and various low grade laterites from the Arua area. The only preliminary treatment of the ore is to break it into pieces the size of a shilling and to dry it thoroughly in the sun.

Charcoal. Charcoal burning for smelting was the task of both men and women, and only particularly hard woods were considered suitable. The elders produced some charcoal from *Mupa* wood (unidentified), but this had to be supplemented with locally burnt charcoal. The charcoal is also broken into small pieces.

Slag. (*Iza,* Lugbara : *Aye ze,* literally 'excrement of iron'.) This was described as the most important raw material by the elders, and could only be obtained from old furnaces, thus stimulating a search for old smelting sites. Good *Iza* consists of a conglomerate of pieces of charcoal and partially smelted ore, (referred to as 'bloom' by some authorities.) For the first attempt to smelt, only relatively small pieces of very weathered *Iza* with a lot of moss and earth could be found; but the second and third smelts benefited from the earlier attempts.

Construction of the Furnace. (Ubi)

Smelting goes on throughout the year, but as the site is open to the elements, new furnaces are usually constructed at the beginning of the dry season in December or January. Several male members of the clan would co-operate in the building and operating of each furnace. Three men took about three days to prepare the permanent structure. The shallow top soil was first removed from an area about 20 feet square, and a shallow pit (*Kesi*) dug, roughly oval, 8 feet long and 6 feet wide and about 2 feet deep. The sides of this pit were sloping and a narrow drainage channel was cut from the lower end to carry off rain water. It is not clear whether this pit is an essential part of an *Ubi,* or whether the shallow slope of the ground made its construction necessary. The Aligo elders suggested that it was always dug, but a report from the Congo[3] suggested that the pit was not normal.

At the higher end of the pit, a structure of sun-dried clay was built over a base of stones, in the form of two converging clay walls climbing the bank of the pit and meeting in a saddle just above the level of the surrounding earth. The saddle was pierced by a hole about 6 inches across and 5 inches

high at the level of the earth. The face of the bank inside the walls was cut to form a step 10 inches high with an almost vertical wall. The vertical and horizontal faces of the step, together with the floor of the pit within the walls, were surfaced with soft clay. This completed the permanent structure of the furnace which was then left to dry for a week and the cracks were mudded over with a clay slurry. A pair of fired clay bellows-pots (*Iro*) were then sunk side by side in soft clay in the earth above the furnace so that the nozzles of the pots pointed directly into the hole in the saddle of the furnace.

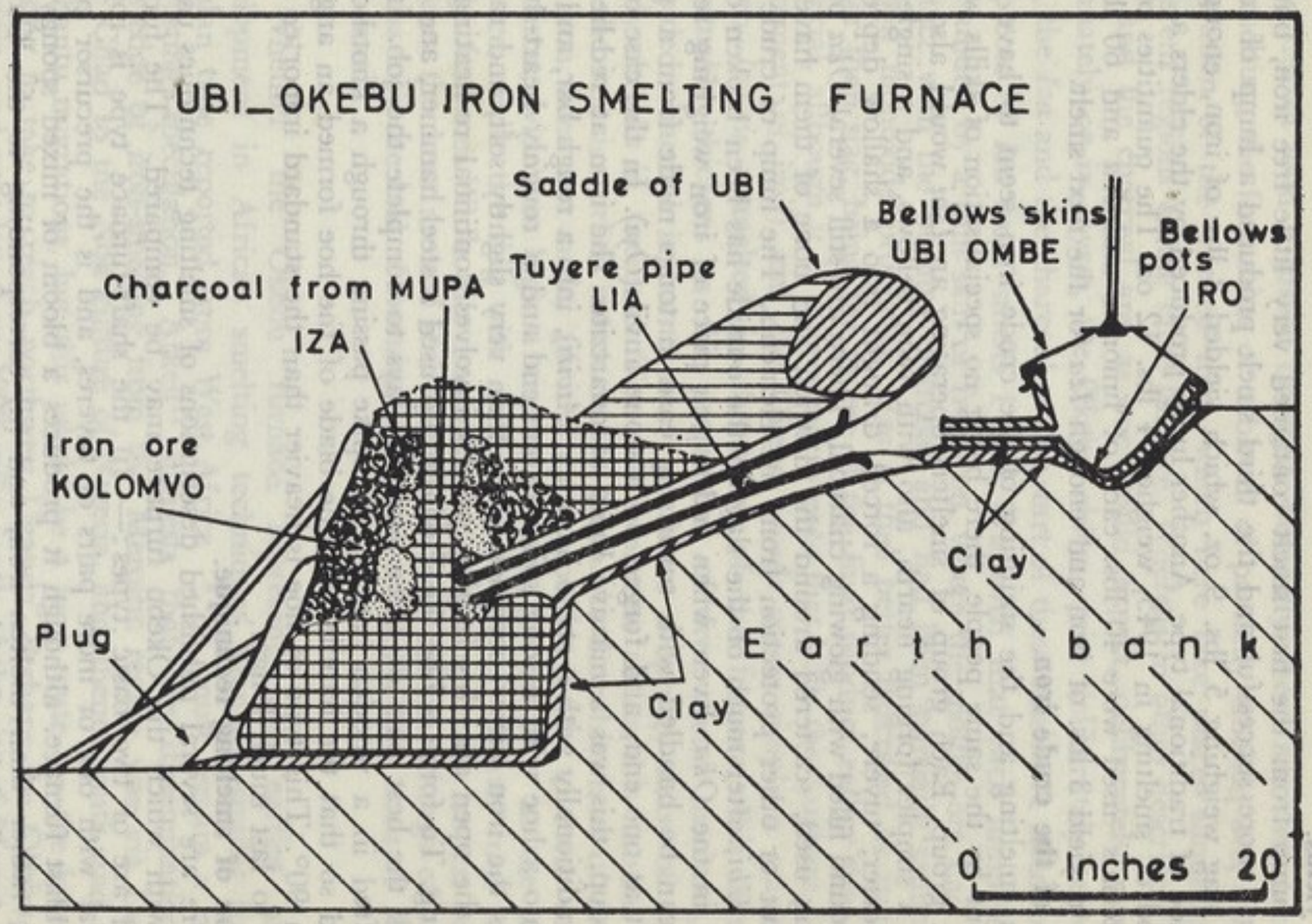
Technique of smelting.

Three attempts at a smelt have so far been made, the first by elders from Aligo; the second by the students of Mvara school on the occasion of the visit of the Conservator of Antiquities and the last by a different group of elders from Pukia. The technique was substantially the same in each case and although the first was least successful in terms of the amount of iron obtained it provided the pattern for the others.

Three men started work at dawn, building a roughly semi-circular wall of soft clay across the base of the furnace, and filling the enclosed space with broken charcoal. The single tuyere pipe (*Lia*), about 1½ inches interior diameter and 26 inches long, is then fixed in a bed of wet clay packed into the saddle of the *Ubi* so that the bellows' tubes converge into the mouth of *Lia* but do not form a sealed joint. The lower end of the *Lia* projects over the step in the *Ubi* above the bed of charcoal by about 4 inches and pieces of *Iza* are then arranged around the *Lia* end to form a rough chimney from the bed of charcoal to a height of about 6 inches above the charcoal. Burning tinder is then dropped down this 'chimney' to fire the charcoal, and the fire maintained by gently pumping the bellows. Fresh ore is then packed around the *Iza* and a second retaining wall of wet clay built around the ore stack with a gap of about 1 inch between the lower and upper wall, exposing the ore. More charcoal is then added to the top of the furnace, which is left quite open. The furnace is now fully charged and the bellows operator has to pump sufficient air into the smelt to maintain it at white heat for several hours. The rate of pumping is such that one cannot maintain it for more than about ten minutes, so a relay of workers is necessary.

After about two hours, a hole is made at the bottom of the retaining wall and a place cleared in the charcoal inside to see if the molten slag is running down to the base of the furnace. White hot slag should collect at the base and run out of the hole into the pit. The upper part of the furnace retaining wall is then broken away and a greenwood pole used to work the mass of the smelt towards the centre of the furnace, in order to 'help the iron to come together' as one elder put it.

The air blast is then maintained for a further two hours, with continuous addition of charcoal and 'poling' of the smelt, before the furnace is broken open to reveal a white hot lump fused onto the end of the *Lia*, above a mass of molten slag, partially burnt charcoal and partially smelted ore. The lump contains a high proportion of iron in a soft, spongy state, and is broken away from the *Lia* and removed with the aid of a strap made by hammering the middle of a greenwood pole and wrapping the wet fibres around the lump. Some of the slag is knocked off the iron before it is quenched in a hollow filled with water.


UBI_OKEBU IRON SMELTING FURNACE
Saddle of UBI
Bellows skins
UBI OMBE
Bellows
pots
IRO
Tuyere pipe
LIA
Charcoal from MUPA
IZA
Iron ore
KOLOMVO
Clay
Plug
Earth bank
Clay
0 Inches 20

Smelting yields.

The lump from the first smelt contained very little free iron, but the second was more successful and the third smelt produced a lump of mixed iron and slag weighing 5 lbs. 9 oz. which yielded 2 lbs. of iron, enough to make a hoe of traditional type. Another lump produced by the elders at their last period of smelting in 1945, weighed 4 lbs. 12 oz. The quantities of the raw materials used were 40 lbs. each of limonite and *Iza* and 60 lbs of charcoal to yield 3 lbs. of iron and enough *Iza* for the next smelt.

Smithing of the crude iron.

Both smelting and the smithing of the crude iron seem to have been carried out by the same people, there being no specialisation of skills within the work group. Each group of smelters operating an *Ubi* would also have an *Oka,* a simpler forging hearth, also with twin bellows, and a single, but much shorter, tuyere, sending a forced draught into a shallow depression in the ground filled with glowing charcoal. There are still several *Oka* of this type being used, scattered around the district, and none of them have any sort of hut or other protection from the elements. The lump of crude iron from the *Ubi,* after much of the slag on the outside has been broken off, is reheated in the *Oka.* Even when red-hot, a piece of iron weighing several pounds can be handled with surprising ease in tongs made from a green pole cleft at one end, and forged on a stone anvil (*Oyi*). In the case of the Pukia group, this was a massive lump of quartzite. The iron at red-heat, is beaten traditionally with a stone hammer (*Awiri*), into a rough bar, and then forged into a hoe with a long spike at one end and a roughly heart-shaped blade. As the iron never becomes more than very slightly soft, and rapidly cools in the open air, this forging process involves continual re-heating and hammering. To forge a hoe the Pukia group used a steel hammer, and three men took the best part of three working days to complete the job. It was then hafted in a wooden handle, the spike passing through a knot-hole in the wood so that the handle and the blade of the hoe formed an angle of less than 90°. This type of hoe is heavier than the standard imported type, but said to last much longer.

Discussion of smelting technique.

There are several published descriptions of smelting techniques used in Africa, with which the Okebu furnace may be compared. The furnaces described are of two basic types:— (i) the shaft-furnace type is roughly cylindrical with one or more pairs of tuyeres, and is the precursor of the modern blast furnace. although it produces a bloom of mixed spongy iron and slag rather than molten iron, and (ii) corresponding to the 'Catalan' furnace described by Coghlan[4] and Forbes[5], has a single tuyere in the back of the furnace, and produces malleable wrought iron either directly or via a bloom. In Uganda, the shaft type of furnace was used in the Kigezi area, if the photographw hich appears in Thomas and Scott's book[6] is representative. There is no published account of smelting in Kigezi apart from this. Wayland[7] has described a Catalan type furnace used in the Labwor hills of western Karamoja, in which limonite was smelted, but the description does not suggest close similarity with the Okebu furnace.

Two features of the Okebu furnace make it particularly interesting. Firstly there is the extreme simplicity of the structure of the furnace, which could be described as being of Catalan type, but is really no more than an

open hearth with a forced draught. Secondly there are two distinct stages of smelting, the formation of a bloom of partially smelted ore, and the concentration of the smelted iron, which here take place simultaneously in different regions of the same furnace. Whereas in other described smelts, the ore and the charcoal are, as one would expect, deliberately mixed, either intimately or in layers, the Okebu elders quite deliberately segregated the ore, the *Iza* and the charcoal at the start of their smelts. A close examination of pieces of *Iza* from smelts 1 and 2 showed that each lump of slag was surrounded by a thin skin of free iron, where the molten ore had come into contact with the burning charcoal and had been partially reduced by the carbon monoxide produced. *Iza* is thus better described as iron "bloom" rather than slag, being the source of the final product rather than the waste material, although it is interesting to note that both the Lugbara (*Aya ze* = excrement of iron) and the Okebu words mean simply a waste product. When *Iza* is resmelted in the heart of the furnace, this skin of iron presumably thickens as the proportion of free metal increases, and the occluded charcoal is burnt away, to leave a spongy mass of iron which slowly shrinks in volume. The poling process assists this natural shrinkage and the iron is worked into a central lump. At the white heat of the furnace, the iron does not melt, (if it did, it would solidify to form unworkable cast iron, with too high a carbon content). It remains at the top of the furnace, while the slag with a high proportion of silicates runs to the base of the furnace. While this mass of iron is forming in the hottest part of the furnace, the heat around it is enough to melt the new charge of ore so that it runs into the bed of burning charcoal to form a new mass of *Iza* for the next smelt.

Whether the Okebu furnace represents an 'earlier' or 'later' development in African smelting techniques than the similar furnaces of Catalan type reported from West Africa [8,9,10], must remain a matter for interesting speculation. Arkell[11] suggests that the dissemination of the knowledge of iron-smelting from the Meroitic region was via Darfur and Lake Chad to the Nok culture of Nigeria, and thence south and east with the Bantu migrations, but this would be a long route for the knowledge of smelting to take to reach northwest Uganda. Perhaps the Okebu, Sudanic in origin, and now less than 1000 miles south of the site of Meroe, represent one link in a possible direct route up the Nile valley into east and central Africa.

Acknowledgements. The author is indebted for the help of the Okebu elders, Ondiba and Johaanna Ondia of Aligo and Nduabayo, Ejidio, Cerestine and Perisiko Karinda of Pukia, to the Mukungu chief of Aligo Mr. Oboko, and Mr. Onessimus Edrevi of Mvara village. Tht work was pursued by the Science Society of Mvara secondary school led by Peter Ogani. The advice of Mr. Hamo Sassoon, Uganda Conservator of Antiquities, is greatly appreciated.

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Uganda Journal, **34**, 2 (1970) pp. 171–177.

THE PERFORMANCE OF UGANDAN AFRICAN CHILDREN ON SOME PIAGET CONSERVATION TASKS

By B. Otaala

Piaget was a pioneer in the field of child psychology who recognised that a critical event in the development of a child's sense of perception was the age at which the child understood that a quantity remained the same after a transformation had taken place in the shape of the vessel containing the initial substance. Thus, a young child may be deceived in believing that when a litre of water is transferred from a tall glass into a short broad beaker that a different quantity existed in the second vessel from the first. The age at which a child would recognise that the quantity remained the same was defined by Piaget as the age of conservation' (e.g. the age at which a child is able to maintain that two amounts of a substance or liquid remain the same after a perceptual transformation has taken place into a different shape). Piaget did most of his analysis upon Swiss children, amongst whom he found that the 'age of conservation' was between 6 and 7 years.

Validation studies on Piaget's work have tried to find if the stages of development of Swiss children described by Piaget are identifiable in other populations, and the extent to which the relationships between underlying abilities in any one stage are similar to those set forth in the Piaget theory. The aim of the exploratory study reported here was to enquire into the validity of Piaget's claim concerning the emergence of conservation abilities in African children. Studies done in West Africa by Price-Williams in 1961,[1] 1962;[2] Greenfield, 1966;[3] Beard, 1967;[4] and Etuk, 1967[5] have largely supported Piaget, but at the same time the radical difference in the achievement of conservation and the mode of concept formation as between Tiv and Wolof, as reported by Price-Williams and Greenfield, reveals the need for studies in a variety of African cultures.

Specific questions to which this exploratory study sought answers were:

1. What patterns of thinking do Ugandan African children reveal on some of Piaget's conservation tasks?
2. Are there differences in the conservation abilities revealed by boys and girls?

* * * *

The conservation tasks used included those of conservation of number, conservation with counting, conservation of an amount of liquid, conservation of an amount of clay, and conservation of area. The first three tasks were taken, with modifications, from those used by Almy and associates.[6] The remaining tasks were taken from Vernon's (1969) "Piaget battery".[7]

Task one involved the conservation of the equality of number in two rows of buttons (one row with 11 red buttons and the second with 11 yellow buttons) through two transformations of bunching one row, and then spreading the other out. After each transformation the child was asked, "Are there more red buttons or more yellow buttons or are they the same?" Then he was asked for an explanation, "Why do you think so?"

Task two involved the counting of a set of eleven buttons, followed by two transformations of bunching and spreading the buttons. After each transformation the subject was asked, "How many?"

Task three involved the conservation of an amount of liquid when it was poured from one of two identical glasses into a shallow dish. The subject was asked, "Is there more here (in dish) or more there (in standard glass) or are they still the same?" He was then asked for an explanation, "Why do you think so?" The same questions were asked after the water was emptied from the shallow dish into a narrower, taller glass.

The fourth task involved the conservation of an amount of clay when it was rolled from a ball into a "sausage"; and when it was rolled back into a ball. After each of the two transformations involved in this process. the question put is, "Now have you got more clay, or have I, or have we both the same amount?" This was followed by, "Why do you think so?"

The fifth task involved the conservation of an amount of area when six one-inch square blocks are spread on a green blotting paper 12 inches by 9 inches and the same number of blocks are placed in a row in one corner of a blotting paper of an identical size. The question then put to the child is to determine whether he considers there is the same amount of "grass" in each "field" after the farmer has built houses on them. An explanation is then sought after he has given his response.

Each task included orientation or practice which enabled the interviewer to ascertain whether the child's attention was appropriately focussed and whether he appeared to understand the questions.

Each of the five conservation tasks was categorized independently, but the procedure for categorization was basically similar. It consisted of weighing total evidence within each task for or against conservation, and then scoring it as correct or incorrect. It is recognised that this procedure probably failed to do justice to the intricacies of the children's thinking and to the obvious relationships among two or three responses associated with each task, but since the study involved ranges of ages and had a large variety of conservation tasks, such a procedure seemed feasible.

The subjects of this study were selected in two phases. In phase one a total of 102 primary school children were selected from two rural schools in Teso. In phase two, 20 children were selected from alternate classes from these two schools and from four schools in and around Soroti. Altogether 180 children were interviewed in the second phase. The results reported here apply only to the children shown in Table 1.

The interview schedule was translated from English into Ateso (the language of the children) by two Iteso teachers. These translations were then compared with each other and with that made by the investigator himself. The translations were then discussed and a common version agreed upon. The investigator (himself an Etesot) administered the interviews and recorded the responses of the children, translating them directly into English, except in the cases where some doubts as to the child's intent arose. In the latter cases, the child's responses were written verbatim in Ateso and translated into English later. The children were interviewed individually and each interview took from twenty to thirty minutes. The interviews were conducted, sometimes under a tree, but mostly in a corner of the staffroom.

TABLE 1: School, Sex, and Classes of Subjects

School	Sec	Class P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	Total
Koloin	Boys	19		19		22	9	69
	Girls	11		8		6	5	30
	Both	30		27		28	14	99
Mukura	Boys	21	6	10	8	12	9	66
	Girls	14	4	10	3	6	2	39
	Both	35	10	20	11	18	11	105
Soroti Muslim	Boys	1		3		3		7
	Girls	8		3		3		11
	Both	9		6		3		18
Fr. Hilders	Boys	2		4				6
	Girls	8		2				10
	Both	10		6				16
All Schools	Boys	43	6	36	8	37	18	148
	Girls	41	4	23	3	12	7	90
	Both	84	10	59	11	49	25	238

As for the scoring of the data, on the "counting" task, to be clearly conserving, the subject had not only to count correctly, but had to be able to give the correct number after the buttons had been "bunched" or "spread out." On the "conservation of number" task, for a child to be correct, or clearly conserving, he had not only to demonstrate that two groups of buttons remained the "same" number after the transformations; in his explanation he had to indicate that this was so "because the two rows had the same number before" or "because if put back in rows they would be the same" or "none has been taken away or added to the rows." A similar explanation was required for conservers on the "conservation of an amount of liquid" task. The same was true of the "conservation of an amount of clay" where, to be conserving, the child had to indicate that the reason why the "clay ball" and the "sausage" were still the "same" was because "if the sausage was rolled back they would be the same" or "they were the same before." The task on "conservation of area" required that the conserver be able to explain that grass would be equal in the two "fields" after "houses" had been built because the houses in each field were the same size and number. Because the questions were standardized, responses had to be taken at their face value.

The study dealt with the extent to which Ugandan African children were able to conserve on some Piaget "conservation" tasks. It also dealt with

the relationship between the ability to conserve and the class level of the children (it proved difficult to obtain the exact ages of the children). It further dealt with the relationship between the ability to conserve and the sex of the children.

Table 2 was prepared to indicate the number and percent of children conserving in classes P1 — P6, for each of the conservation tasks. Examination of the table shows the extent to which the subjects in the various classes conserved on the five conservation tasks. For all schools, generally speaking, the percent of conservers in each of the tasks rises from P1 — P6. This generally conforms to what one would expect on the basis of Piaget's theory. The fact, however, that even by P6 level, where children are about 12 years old, not all children are conserving 100 percent, seems to suggest that this group's progress seems to be slower than Piaget's theory would suggest, although Piaget recognized that the rate at which conservation abilities appear might be affected by different cultural or socio-economic backgrounds. This

TABLE 2: Number and Percent of Children Revealing Conservation

	Tasks in which Children conserved											
	P1 N=84		P2 N=10		P3 N=59		P4 N=11		P5 N=49		P6 N=25	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Counting	59	70	9	90	58	98	11	100	47	96	25	100
Number	11	14	3	30	31	53	3	27	41	84	18	72
Liquid	8	10	5	50	33	56	9	82	37	76	23	92
Clay	9	11	3	30	19	32	6	55	30	61	15	60
Area	2	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	4	8	4	16

finding also seems to differ from that of Patricia Greenfield who found that her Senegalese school children of bush and town yielded the familiar developmental sequence, "with conservation virtually always attained by sixth grade (Primary six)." However it should be recalled that Greenfield's scheme of categorization seems to have been more "lenient" for she states: "The achievement of conservation was said to be present when a child gave equality responses to both quantity comparisons with the standard beaker, that involving the long, thin beaker and that involving the six small beakers. *A child who changed his mind was given credit for his final answer.*"[8] (emphasis, mine).

The finding is also not in agreement with that of Vernon who found that the eleven year-old boys he tested (Primary five) made very low scores on Piaget tasks he gave them. He claims, "The worst deficiencies were in all the conservation tasks, over 50 percent being nonconservers in every item; they were very low, also, on number concepts."[9] Except for the scores on conservation of area, the scores for all the other conservation tasks for the Primary five class in this investigation were all above the 50 percent mark. Vernon's subjects were, however, interviewed in English, and as he himself observes, "much of the difficulty may be one of communication of ideas."

Conservation abilities seem to vary with the specific task, and also with the age of children. For this group of children, conservation on counting seemed the easiest, followed by conservation of a number of buttons, an amount of liquid, an amount of clay, and area, in that order. The order of difficulty of the various conservation tasks also seems to be in agreement with previous findings, except in P2 and P4 and P6 classes, which however, had very small numbers of subjects.

Table three indicates the number and percentage of children conserving in P1, P3, P5 and P6 classes, in four conservation items, in the two rural schools, Koloin and Mukura.[10] Generally the trends of the two schools are similar, both in terms of the increase in percentage of conservers by class (P1-P6); and in the order of difficulty of the four conservation tasks. There are, however, some differences with respect to the percentages of conservation of counting and number in P1 and P5

TABLE 3: Number and Percent of Children Revealing Conservation, in two Schools

Koloin School

Tasks in which Children Conserved	P1 N=30		P3 N=27		P5 N=28		P6 N=14	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Counting	26	87	26	96	26	93	14	100
Number	4	13	9	33	24	86	11	79
Liquid	4	13	14	52	19	68	13	93
Clay	3	10	8	29	13	46	7	50

Mukura School

	N=35		N=20		N=18		N=11	
Counting	22	65	20	100	18	100	11	100
Number	6	17	15	75	14	78	7	64
Liquid	4	11	11	55	15	83	10	91
Clay	6	17	6	30	13	72	8	73

and on number in P3, P5, and P6. The differences are in favour of Koloin School in P1 (counting); P5 (number) and P6 (counting). and in favour of Mukura School in P1 (number); P3 (counting and number) and P5 (counting). The differences are practically, but not statistically, significant. Since counting and number are more likely to be influenced by practice effects of teaching, than are the other conservation tasks, and since Uganda teachers at primary level have a tendency to drill children in mathematics, these differences may reflect merely the spurious effects of the degree of teaching effectiveness in those classes in the two schools.

Table 4 indicates the percentage of boys and girls revealing conservation, by class, in P1, P3 and P5. Investigators in Africa have suggested a tendency for boys to perform better in all school matters. These data suggested a difference in favour of girls in P3 and in P5. Since the drop out rate is much higher for girls than for boys, this difference probably suggests that the girls who remain in school are a select group and should be expected to perform better than boys.

TABLE 4: Number and Percent of Boys and Girls Revealing Conservation

Tasks in which Children Conserved	P1 N=43 N	%	P3 N=36 N	%	P5 N=37 N	%
Boys						
Counting	31	72	35	97	35	95
Number	5	12	15	42	30	81
Liquid	4	9	19	53	26	70
Clay	5	12	12	33	21	57
Girls	N=41		N=23		N=12	
Counting	28	68	23	100	12	100
Number	6	15	16	70	11	92
Liquid	4	10	14	61	11	92
Clay	4	10	7	30	8	67

The quality of explanation of non-conservers seemed to vary not only from child to child, but from class to class; and there was evidence that these children were at various points on the operational path to conservation. As the questioning was standardized it was not possible to probe some of the responses as Piaget's "method clinique" would prescribe in such cases. It seemed reasonable to give some of the flavour of the descriptions and responses of these non-conservers.

In tasks one and three after the orientation, the interviewer bunched or spread out buttons in task one, and in task three asked the child to pour the water from one glass into a bowl, and later from the bowl into the taller, narrower glass. Questions were then asked which required the child to demonstrate conservation. The procedures described earlier were followed for the other conservation tasks.

What seemed to emerge from the responses of the younger children indicated their concern for the perceptual differences arising in the bunching or spreading of buttons; the pouring of water from one container to another container of a different size and height; the rolling of the ball of clay, etc. Older non-conservers seemed to vocalize their own uncertainty by indicating that the two elements being compared appeared to be the same.

Concerning explanation, one thing which clearly emerged was that an adult not experienced in listening to or following children's explanations can be at once frustrated and amused by the apparently naive statements. Frustrated because what appeared a simple, short explanation is not easily categorizable; amused for the same reason. When, for instance, a child explains that the water in the bowl is the "same" because "it was in the glass" is he referring to the fact that it was the same water that was in the glass that has been transferred there, or is he saying that the amount is the same?

However, despite these ambiguities, it was possible to some extent to see a pattern in the most frequent explanations. The younger children tended

to refer to their actions, "because I poured it there;" the examiner's actions, "because you bunched (or spread) them;" or to the act done on the objects "because they were bunched (or spread)". In contrast, the older non-conservers tended to give the greater number of ambiguous explanations "because it was in the glass," or to give a correct explanation through one tranformation and an incorrect or ambiguous explanation through the second transformation. The latter category of non-conserver was clearly nearer to his destination on the road to operational thinking than the earlier one.

The results of this exploratory investigation of the abilities of Ugandan African children, illustrate the usefulness of Piaget techniques in such areas. Certain developmental trends are suggested which seem to indicate not only that the children understood the questions posed to them, but also responded to these questions in a way which reflected the experiences they brought to the tasks, and the way they viewed their world.

When the P5, and P3 and P1 children are compared, some progress toward a more stable concept of conservation is suggested, but the contrasts between the various groups are not as striking as one might expect from the Piaget theory which stipulates achievement of conservation by age seven or eight. In this investigation, even by P6 level, when children are about twelve years old, and when they should be expected to be thinking operationally according to Piaget's theory, not all children were conserving 100% (see table 2).

The lack of striking differences between the group may reflect a number of factors, some of them arising from the children's own background, and others stemming, possibly, from inadequacies in the interviewing procedures.

NOTES

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8. Greenfield, *op. cit*, p. 234.
9. Vernon, *op. cit*, p. 184.
10. P2 and P4 are not included in the table because no children were interviewed in these classes in Kolin school as table 1 shows.

NOTES

PLACE-NAMES IN KAMPALA

By R.A. Snoxall and H.B. Thomas.

Mr R.A. Snoxall, a Past-President of the Uganda Society, who gave his Presidential Address on 'Some Buganda place-names' (*Uganda J.*, **10,** no. 2, 1946, pp. 43-53), has written to comment on Miss Solzbacher's article on Kibuli in the *Uganda J.*, **33,** no. 2, pp. 163-174.

The origin of the name Kibuli always eluded me. I now feel fairly certain that the name derives from the Swahili-Arabic *Kibla* or *Kibula,* meaning 'the direction of Mecca, the point to which Muslims turn in prayer.' The root is common with the Swahili verb *kabili* = face towards.

This name would identify the area with a religious faith, and although it is true to say that: "Kibuli was not an allotment to the Muslim community such as Nsambya and Rubaga had been to the Catholics and Namirembe to the Protestants", yet it has more religious significance than any of the other three names. And how very true it is to say of the fine mosque which now adorns the hill-top that "it serves now as a maker, (or *Kibula,* my italics), in Kampala comparable to the cathedrals at Namirembe, Rubaga and Nsambya."

But when was Kibuli given its name? Can oral tradition substantiate that it began in 1900, when the original grant of land was made to Prince Mbogo "for himself and his adherents', or did it form a *Kibla* for devout Muslims even before that date?

* * * *

Mr. E. C. Lanning in drawing attention to typographical flaws in his article on Kikukule (*Uganda J.*, **32,** no.2, 1968) notes that on p. 144 Simoni should read Shimoni. **Mr. H. B. Thomas** later informed him that he recalls that in 1911 the Nubian Lines' were near what became the Kampala Sports Ground (now to become the O.A.U. Conference Centre). At that time the 'lines' were just going out of commission and were named 'Shimoni' (Swahili, *shimo* = 'in the ravine') after the Ravine Station in Kenya where the Sudanese troops were frequently stationed.

Uganda Journal. **34,** 2 (1970) pp. 179–193.

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM IN UGANDA

By H. W. R. Hawes

In 1968 the O.A.U./U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference on Education in Nairobi called for radical reform in the curriculum of primary education in Africa.

> "The aim of that reform should be the replacement of a merely theoretical education for a minority by an education for the Masses which should be such as to contribute towards the training of producers, particularly agricultural producers, citizens and adults well integrated in their social and cultural environments."[1]

Thus national leaders are, with justification, concerned about the irrelevance of what young children learn in schools to what they are likely to do later. It is often assumed, as a corollary to this, that what they learn in schools is a legacy of a colonial past where school syllabuses and text books were lifted with scant adaptation from metropolitan countries for use in their colonial possessions.

This article attempts an examination of Uganda's primary school curriculum from the founding of the first recognisable schools to the achievement of independence in 1962, in an attempt to assess how far these criticisms are justified. Throughout, a notable discrepancy will emerge between the intentions of those who framed curricula, and what actually happened in schools. An analysis of the reasons for this discrepancy, besides being of interest historically, may also serve to illuminate some of the problems facing those who seek to reappraise Uganda's primary school curriculum today.

The first primary schools in Uganda developed from bible and catechist classes. The first teachers were European missionaries and the Ugandans they had trained as evangelists. Indeed it is often very much a matter of opinion when these classes could actually be termed schools, for instruction in basic school subjects took place informally from the very first missionary contact. Mackay in a well known passage describes his methods, which few modern teacher trainers would fault:

> "Reading, I am teaching by the "look-and-say" method, and for this I prepare a series of large type sheets in the Luganda language. It is wonderful how rapid progress my pupils are making in this way."[2]

As this passage indicates, first priority in all instruction was in teaching children skills of basic literacy so that they could read and understand the bible, the catechism and the prayer book, together with instruction in the basic elements of the Christian faith. These remained, very naturally, the core of mission primary education throughout the years which followed; but almost from the beginning, other elements were present. The following quotation from a letter of Mackay to his sister illustrates well the deep and varied nature of the aims of the first religious leaders:

> "A powerful race has to be won from darkness to light; superstition and idolatry have to be overthrown; men have to be taught to love God and love their neighbour, which means the uprooting of institutions that have

lasted for centuries; labour made noble, the slave set free, knowledge imparted, and wisdom implanted, and, above all, that true wisdom taught which alone can elevate man from a brute to a son of God."[3]

This passage is quite unambiguous in its priorities. Knowledge of God and the ability to love God are vital above all, but there are other important elements. Knowledge is to be imparted and labour made noble. These objectives the early missionaries set about achieving as soon as possible.

A first and necessary step was the provision of schools for children and the gradual broadening of their curriculum beyond the mere teaching of reading. Hence the first recognisable schools developed in the last years of the nineteenth century.[4] By 1902 the White Fathers could announce that their 23 primary schools in mission stations all taught reading, writing and singing and that they were gradually introducing English, geography and arithmetic, though in their 700 village schools only reading was taught ... "but we hope to raise the level of their teaching rapidly by assembling teachers at regular intervals to receive instruction."[5] In the same year the C.M.S. reported that in their elementary schools, reading, writing, geography and scripture were taught together with "other subjects."[6]

In schools such as C.M.S. "Central Schools"[7] or the White Father' "Little Seminary" schools where teaching or supervision by Europeans was possible, more ambitious schemes were pursued.

Reports from both missions indicate a desire to increase the intellectual demands of the syllabus and a marked pride in the achievement of Baganda children. Favourable comparisons with capabilities of European children frequently occur. There is a desire to stretch children to see what they are capable of. Fr. Macou's report of the Little Seminary at Kisubi stresses the value of what he calls "intellectual gymnastics."[8] Such exercises were certainly practiced at Mengo where the "C.M.S. Gleaner" for 1902 reports that some boys were told to add up the cost of: "100 cows at £56. 3. 2d; 85 sheep at Rs. 5 annas 8 (at Rs. 14 annas 10 to £1); and 120 goats at 5,000 shells each (at 850 shells to the rupee and Rs. 15 annas 2 to £1). Several arrived at the correct answer — £5,694. 9s. 4d. $\frac{45944}{80225}$". The report adds, "We may be thankful that boys with brains like this are being trained as leaders of the church and state in years to come"[9]

The training of such leaders was seen, quite naturally, as an early priority. Thus schools mainly for the sons of Chiefs, were founded first at Namilyango (1902), later at Mengo (1905) and Budo (1906) in course of time to develop according to public school models into the country's first secondary schools. But the missionaries needed their schools to provide them with more than leaders. They needed teachers and clerks and storekeepers and interpreters. In providing a curriculum suitable for the training of such people, they were also serving the interests of the government. Indeed, in his Special Commissioners's report for 1901, Sil Harry Johnston notes that he has stressed to the mission societies that:

> "If the more intelligent natives were taught to read, write and speak English, and to acquire a sufficient knowledge of arithmetic in English they would be able to occupy many of the minor posts in the service of the Administration, posts which at present are filled by British and British Indian employees."[10]

To this the missions responded — though never losing sight of their own main aims. In 1903 a provisional regulation recorded in the Namilyango College log book states:

> "Boys on whose education time and money have been spent but who are incapable of becoming catechists, will either be sent away, or if their characters are good, will receive additional education to fit them for Government clerkships."[11]

To this end also "Central Schools" and later "High Schools" offered instruction in English.

In the process of widening the range of curriculum offered at school, the need for developing manual and vocational training was not forgotten. The task of "making labour noble" was seen both as an educational goal and an economic necessity, as a means of teaching skills and attitudes of mind to fit a new generation into life in a modern Christian community, but also as a means of producing farmers who would grow export crops and artisans without whom, neither missions, government nor trade could prosper. In two letters to the Buganda regents Stanley outlines the imperial position. In 1901 he urges them to convince the British that Uganda is worth spending money on by stimulating production of "skins, ivory, rubber, gums and such things" and by teaching men to be carpenters, blacksmiths, brickmakers and even stonemasons." He concludes:

> "The Waganda are very clever, I know personally, but they can be cleverer, and when the railway reaches the lake there will be a great demand for all kinds of workmen to build houses, shops, churches, schools etc....."[12]

Later the same year, after congratulating the Baganda because "day by day you are becoming more and more like ourselves", he concludes in a letter:

> "Therefore let us go on. You on your part to see that your children go to school regularly and learn to read and write, and when they are strong enough, to see that every boy learns some trade whereby he can add something, however little, to the wealth, the beauty and sanitation of Uganda. And we (on) our part will send our clever young men to teach your youths the use of tools, the beauty of work, the value of your trees and plants, and the riches that lie in your soil, and how to grow things that when sold will bring money to Uganda, and make everyone more comfortable."[13]

Some of the first formal education provided, therefore, by both missions was vocational in character. Perhaps the largest undertaking was the very successful Uganda Industrial Mission founded by C.M.S. missionaries J.B. Purvis and K. Borup. Here effective instruction was offered in carpentry and joinery, printing and bookbinding and in the techniques of building.[14] In 1901, Bishop Hanlon of the Mill Hill fathers reported that industrial training was offered in all twelve of their missions. There would not have been any feeling at that time among the Baganda that vocational training represented anything in any way inferior. A letter from a Muganda clergyman writing to an English missionary in Liverpool proudly, though somewhat incorrectly, states that,

> "now in every place throughout Buganda they send all their children to be taught; not religion only but other things—carpentry, arithmetic, brickmaking, building and blacksmithing."[15]

In the earliest years of educational development it seemed, therefore as if the Primary School curriculum might be developed by the missionaries as an instrument of change in society, not only by providing literacy through which the faithful could read the scriptures, but aso by providing an academic training for the social and intellectual elite to fit them for leadership, and a vocational training aimed at establishing a middle class of artisans and agricultural innovators. Such would have been Stanley's ideal, also Mackay's and probably also Tucker's; but the mission system of education carried within itself elements which rendered the achievement of these ideals practically impossible.

The first lay in the character and educational backgrounds of the missionary laders themselves. With the institutionalising of education and the arrival from Europe of missionaries whose concern was to be entirely with school education, it was almost inevitable that the formal educational traditions of England and France should be transferred to Africa, and moreover, that African education should not reflect the current educational practice in the metropolitan country, but that obtaining at the time when the missionary teachers themselves were at school. In African educational systems more developed than Uganda's, elementary school codes clearly reflected this. A comparison between the Revised Code of 1862 in England and its subsequent modifications and the various elementary codes for West African colonies published in the Board of Education Special Reports for Educational Subjects between 1900 and 1905 reveal that whole sections had been lifted from one to the other. In Uganda the same principle obtained. The first professional educationalist employed by the Anglican church was C.M. Hattersley who was invited by Bishop Tucker in 1898 to organise the church's first system of primary schools and the training of teachers for them. Dynamic and committed as he was, Hattersley's horizons remained those of his own very limited education and training. The present General Secretary of the C.M.S. describes the result:

> "With immense energy he at once set about providing the Baganda children in their thousands, the same kind of schooling that he had experienced himself and if that was educationally hidebound, Hattersley himself was not to blame."[16]

Two further factors contributed to the process of rendering the curriculum both more academic and less efficient. These are, first the attitudes of the community towards education and second the relation between the volume of education provided and the means available for its efficient administration. In the earliest years of the century when white men were few, when the techniques of the new material revolution were still new and exciting, when main contacts were with missionaries who were as prepared to dig, build and do carpentry as they were to teach and pray, when colonial pressures were towards the agricultural exploitation of Uganda, there was no reason for an intelligent schoolboy or his Ugandan teacher to question the occupational value of technical or agricultural training. But this state of affairs did not last. Kenya developed, Indians arrived, and more white men came. White men in administrative and teaching posts were observed to enjoy more prestige and often to earn more than white men in technical posts. With the exception of a few planters, agriculturalists advised; they did not farm. Furthermore as jobs became available it was observed that

the majority of them were clerical, that clerks and interpreters enjoyed regular wages, status, and, through their access to information, a "window into the establishment," which carpenters and farmers did not. Hence children, and their teachers, began to judge the effectiveness of education, as they still do, in terms of the differential rewards accruing to it.[17] Another influence tended to sway rural communities towards a more "bookish" type of elementary education. This was the mission policy of making literacy a condition of baptism. Baptism was attractive to communities both for spiritual and material reasons. All the chiefs were Christians, so were all the teachers and nearly all the wage earners. Consequently many thousands of village schools sprang up, particularly in Buganda and other Bantu areas. Communities were fiercely proud of these schools and in a way they were far more closely integrated into village life than are schools today. Yet parents and local leaders did not tend to regard them primarily as preparing a child for further schooling or for employment, but rather as places where children could be prepared to pass their initiation test into the Christian community. Viewed in these terms only the acquisition of literacy assumed any importance.

The second factor, the efficiency of elementary education, is closely related to the equation of baptism and literacy mentioned above. Because both missionaries and native communities saw education as a road to conversion, schools multiplied to an extent only equalled in East and Central Africa, by those in Malawi. In Uganda, as in Malawi, the educational system thus became over-extended. Facilities for inspection, for supply of educational materials and above all, for the supply of educated and trained teachers proved totally inadequate in the face of the numbers enrolled.[18] Village schools usually shared accommodation with churches, possessed no educational materials other than printed reading sheets and were taught by pupil teachers, themselves products of the same system. A Busoga missionary writing in 1913 describes a typical problem.

> "It is most pathetic when you find, as in some places, 3 slates have to supply the writing needs of 40 scholars; and some of the children where they have no pupil teacher, sending their blackboards to a teacher four or five miles away to have a copy chalked on for them."[19]

At elementary schools in mission stations similar constraints operated. Here the standard of accommodation and instruction was a little higher and European supervision usually available; but trained teachers and sufficient equipment were largely lacking. Such deficiencies necessarily affect both the quality and type of teaching possible. An ill-trained teacher in poor accommodation, without supervision, without equipment, with too many pupils, must resort to highly formal methods of instruction. He has no alternative. He, in turn, indoctrinates others, and a self perpetuating tradition of poor instruction is created. Writing in the "Uganda Notes" in 1913 the Rev. J. Britton, principal of the Mengo Normal School issued an impassioned plea for better facilities for teacher training "if the 55,000 children enrolled are to be given any education worthy of the name."[20] Two years later an educational conference was held by the Protestant church at Budo (April 17-26, 1915) with a view to tightening up the system of school organisation and control; but sheer weight of numbers, lack of staff and of funds made any practical action largely impossible.

It was this situation which the international Phelps Stokes Commission encountered when it visited Uganda in 1924. The commissioners visited Uganda for two weeks in March. Their report is highly critical. Indeed no territory in East or Central Africa came in for quite such abuse. Lack of supervision is castigated, as also are lack of organisation and administration.

> "There is probably no British colony in Africa more immediately in need of educational supervision as Uganda... The chaotic condition of educational organisation in Uganda is quite equal to the inadequacy of supervision. . . . .
>
> The Educational objectives and adaptations discussed in the first chapter of the report are notably lacking in the schools of Uganda. With all the wealth of agricultural resources of the Protectorate, there is not a single agricultural school to prepare the Natives to take advantage of their wealth. The few institutions that give any attention whatever to the subject are negligible. The extreme neglect is almost equalled as regards industrial training. The teaching of hygiene is poor and limited. Nature study and physical science are almost entirely neglected. Under such conditions it is obvious that the educational content of the school curriculum should be radically supplemented. The courses of instruction should be re-arranged from the highest to the lowest."[21]

Criticism in such terms invites disagreement. It could be pointed out that some very promising experiments in vocational training at primary level, at Ngora, at Mukono, or that initiated the year previously by Mathers in Bugisu, had been overlooked. It could also be claimed that the report, drawing as it did, so largely on the experience of Mr. Garfield Williams was slanted towards consideration only of the C.M.S. schools and that, particularly in the matter of teaching vocational skills, the three Catholic missions exhibited a considerably more practical approach. It could be noted that in its criticism of elementary education the commission took the widest interpretation of the term "school". Thus what easily might have been classed as useful catechism centres were, in fact, criticised as "educationally futile" schools.[22] Yet, in substance, the criticisms of the report were valid. Curriculum in schools was disorganised and decentralised; narrowly and unproductively academic. Where the real weakness of the report lies, is in its naive assumption that a new direction can be given to education merely by rearranging courses of instruction.

Over the next twenty five years many attempts were made to effect such rearrangements in order to achieve such "objectives and adaptations". Their success or failure was to depend far more on the ability of their teachers, and the willingness of the community to accept the changes, than on the contents of the new courses.

The publication of the Phelps Stokes reports was one of a series of influences[23] which, in an era of reconstruction, was responsible for a radical change in Colonial Office education policy, leading to the appointment in Uganda, as in many other African territories, of a Director of Education, and to the creation, in 1924, of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies which was to dominate and unify curriculum policy throughout Africa for the next twenty-five years. The Advisory Committee's first and probably most important memorandum on *Educational policy in British tropical Africa* was published in 1925. It expresses with great force and clarity

the principles of adaptation to environment already argued in the Phelps Stokes report and to be echoed the following year in the "Hadow Report", *The education of the adolescent*,[24] which was to exercise such a great influence on the history of education in Britain.

The memorandum is quite specific in its aims and priorities. The task of education is first:

> "to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life. whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of people in the management of their own affairs and the inculcation of the true ideals of citizenship and service".[25]

Elementary education, conceived as being mainly in the vernacular, should be related to local conditions. There should be co-operation in curriculum planning

> "among scholars with aid from Government and Missionary Societies in the preparation of vernacular textbooks. The content and method of teaching in all subjects, especially History and Geograpny, should be adapted to the conditions of Africa".[26]

The memorandum is equally specific on the need for establishing a thorough system of educational supervision and for adequate facilities for the training and re-training of teachers which it states, should receive "primary consideration."

As a statement of objectives for curriculum reform the Memorandum is an admirably clear document and, in respect of its advice on syllabus construction and textbook reform, certainly possible to implement, provided the will to do so was present. It was present in Uganda. One of the first acts of the newly appointed Director of Education was to convene a syllabus and textbook committee which met in July and October 1925 and, with commendable speed, planned and authorised a provisional syllabus of studies for Elementary Vernacular and Intermediate schools. Early the following year cyclostyled syllabuses for normal schools were drafted. In 1928 special syllabuses for girls' schools both at the Intermediate and Elementary levels were issued. Syllabuses for the vocational Central Schools followed in 1930. These schools were designed specifically to provide a three year course of terminal education for pupils in the fifth, sixth and seventh years of schooling. The medium of instruction was Luganda or Swahili. The syllabus, which was designed to vary in emphasis according to the school or area, included an elementary business course, instruction in the ordinary routine work of native court records and the collection of poll tax, training in agriculture and in carpentry with liberal time allocations for practical work. By contrast, the parallel "Intermediate A" Schools, taught in English, had a considerably more academic syllabus. In addition to syllabus making, very considerable efforts were made in the production of textbooks in English, Luganda and Swahili, nda for use in the Buganda Province."[27] The Annual Reports of 1929 and dum is clearly present. By the end of 1927 the Director of Education could report, "We have practically completed a good range of text books in Luganda for the use the Buganda Province."[27] The Annual Reports of 1929 and 1930 list no less than twentyfive new publications, many available in more than one language version.

Examination of the content of both syllabuses and textbooks reveals a genuine attempt to translate the principles of adaptation into practice, often with considerable imagination, as in the Elementary Vernacular combined geography and history syllabus with its emphasis on what present-day educational jargon would term "environmental studies." Among the first textbooks prepared were those on agriculture and on nature study written by E. G. Staples, the Agricultural Department's Superintendent of Agriculture; a textbook on hygiene by Dr. H. B. Owen, the medical tutor at Makerere College; a book on poultry keeping by a Mr. Richardson, the Assistant Chief Veterinary Officer and "a special Hygiene book for girls' schools . . . compiled by the ladies of the C.M.S."[28]

No amount of good will and co-operation alters the fact that the introduction of new curricula into a school system involves problems of implementation and of acceptance. The former is very largely an administrative matter involving problems of production of syllabus materials, training and retraining of teachers, ensuring adequate supervision, all ultimately dependent on adequate planning and adequate funding; the latter depends on the absorptive capacity of the school system, the understanding and acceptance of the aims of the curriculum by those who administer and supervise, by those who teach, by those who learn, and by those who send children to school. The framers of the new curricula in the 1920's faced massive problems on all counts. Administratively they had to contend with an over-extended school system, which, because of its fundamental links with evangelisation, the mission societies were unwilling to limit. They had to train teachers for this system and, if possible, provide inservice training along the lines envisaged by the Memorandum. They had to retrain or replace present staffs of existing schools and classes and to find suitable staffs for new ones. They had to provide increased and effective supervision in a country where schools were scattered and communications poor.

Nevertheless, with the good will and co-operation which existed, much could have been achieved had adequate money been available. It was not. It was a serious blow for African education that the change of policy in the mid 1920's took place so shortly before a world economic clump; to be followed by a world war, so that both attention and funds were diverted from African colonies. During the next two decades both government and mission education services carried on their work in conditions of extreme penury. Thus supervision was curtailed. The total staff of the Education Department in the 1930's at no time exceeding eight, and facilities for teacher training were sadly limited. Teachers in the field, far from receiving the increased support and recognition they deserved, had their salaries cut.[29] This did not improve their morale.

Perhaps the most outstanding effect of the financial crisis was that only a small proportion of primary schools could be selected for government aid. In 1934 only 16 per cent of the total school population of the Protectorate was studying in aided schools.[30] The vast majority of the rest were in all-age bush schools, for which 'literacy centres' might be a more adequate name. Mission societies could not ignore these schools, for it was through them that the process of building the foundations of a Christian society depended, but neither could they afford to aid them adequately. Attempts to do so were made: colleges and courses for bush school teachers were created and they

were visited when possible by local missionaries and travelling teachers; but the size of the problem quite outweighed attempts to deal with it. As a result of attempts to grapple with the problem, mission facilities for supervision of aided schools were seriously weakened while the bush schools themselves remained, for the most part, as they had done before 1925, miserably housed, staffed and equipped.

In schools where it could be implemented, the new curriculum had a mixed reception. A government syllabus was welcomed, still more the textbooks which were written for it and its academic content was readily accepted. Attitudes to the ideas of adaptation, particularly as interpreted through the more practical elements of the syllabus, remained sceptical. Society had not changed, rural opportunities had not increased, nor had openings for clerks and interpreters diminished. Moreover it could be readily observed that the majority of those who taught teachers and those who supervised them might preach adaptation; but tended to reward examination success. So agriculture, nature study and craft work were accepted in schools very much in proportion to the enthusiasm of those who introduced them. If craft work and agriculture were encouraged in schools with the energy and devotion displayed by Mathers in Bugisu results would have been very impressive; but even he was forced to admit "that the pupils tire sooner over handwork than over reading and singing and have to be reminded and continually urged to stick to it."[31]

With the majority of pupils and teachers in primary schools, however, there was no question that vocational elements in the syllabus were accepted with little more enthusiasm than they had been ten years before. In the Central Schools where these elements were supposed to provide the basic core of the curriculum, the syllabus broke down completely, so that by 1935 it had to be admitted by the Director of Education that the syllabus had proved a failure:

> "The chief reason for this would probably be that the African master in charge was equipped neither by his training nor experience to ensure the fulfilment of the aims concerned, and hence that he failed particularly on the practical side to convince the community that his school was of much worth. Given half-hearted and largely ineffective practical instruction, a smattering only of much coveted English, little recognition during the course and, apart from Farm School admission, practically none at the end of the course, it is not surprising that many Africans and some of the Educational Secretaries regard the results as disappointing."[32]

The Central Schools were closed in 1937 and in 1938 a new pattern of schooling was introduced — a six year primary followed by a three year Junior Secondary course. Existing official syllabuses consequently virtually ceased operation and there began a period later described by a postwar Director of Education as "a period of experiment"[33] — in fact a state of curricular anarchy notable for the singular lack of unanimity in educational effort between missions, and between missions and the Education Department. During this time, despite official pronouncements, few indications remained in schools either of the philosophy of "adaptation" or of the spirit of co-operation in curriculum planning so evident in the 1920's.

During these years, however, the Department of Education under the guidance of a wise director, Harold Jowitt, made two decisions which were to have a great effect on later curriculum development. The first was in respect of language, when in 1937,[34] before the de la Warr Commission, and again in 1945,[35] the case for English as a future *lingua franca* was argued and successfully defended against protagonists both of the vernacular and of Swahili.

The second concerned teacher training, and involved a clear recognition not only of the need to raise the quantity of teachers in Primary Schools, but also their quality. This recognition of the need for quality, for a higher standard of basic education in trainees, for the need for them to develop a "self-reliant attitude" and a real understanding both of the material they teach and the community they teach in, was central to Jowitt's educational thinking. It is exemplified in his three wise books for teachers in training,[36] in the report of the 1944 conference chaired by him on Primary Teacher Training[37] and in his persistent attempts, despite financial stringencies, to raise the basic educational standards for entry to professional training. The effects of these efforts have been felt over subsequent decades. No single factor influences curriculum in Primary schools more than the quality of its teachers.

When a new Primary syllabus did emerge it proved to be a logical sensible, and workable document reflecting the experience of the considerable numbers of teachers and teacher trainers who had been brought together to draw it up. Its introduction indicates clearly that the main purpose of the primary school lies in the training of those for whom education is terminal so that: "Even if they do not proceed to Secondary schools they will be able to regard themselves as having completed one stage, which besides the general benefit which it has conferred upon them should, in the case of those who return to their villages, have equipped them to take an intelligent part in the more primitive economics of peasant cultivation and rural activities."[38]

Analysis of the content of the syllabus reveals a sensible and practical attempt to translate this statement of the theory of adaptation to the needs and conditions of postwar Uganda, and certainly no valid criticisms could be made of it on the grounds of lack of relevance.

Less attention seems to have been paid, however, to the matter of relating material to the age and ability range of the children and problems created by this lack of grading became more apparent as children began to enter school younger.

The limitations of the 1949 syllabus, like those of syllabuses before and after it, lay not in the manner in which it was drawn up but in the difficulties teachers had in teaching it; both because their own backgrounds were inadequate to the demands made on them, particularly in the English, Arithmeticc and Art syllabuses, or because necessary materials were too costly to procure, as in the Art and Health Education syllabus for upper primary classes, or because the materials just did not exist. The dearth of books in vernaculars other than Luganda was rendered more acute by the national language policy and exacerbated by the inharmonious relations which existed in that period between government and missions and between the two denominations themselves. Local squabbles over orthography on occasion either hampered or completely frustrated schemes to produce text-books.[39]

It would, therefore, be unwise to over-estimate the extent to which the 1949 syllabus reflected the real curriculum in the schools. Like those before it, it was probably capable of implementation only in full primary schools with trained staff with a certain scale of equipment and facilities for using it. These represented no more than a quarter of the aided schools in 1949. Elsewhere it is likely that all efforts would have been concentrated on achieving sufficient literacy and numeracy for children to gain entrance into the full primary schools.

The 1949 syllabus remained in force for over ten years, but during this time there can be detected a gradual change of official emphasis towards the purpose of the primary school.

The change is gradual. The two major planning documents of the 1950's, the report of the Nuffield Foundation's East and Central Africa Study Group[40] and that of Uganda's own African Education Commission,[41] both published in 1953, re-affirm the rural basis of education. Indeed the Nuffield Report advocates a return to a four year middle school system, a pattern too close to that of the old Central Schools for Uganda to consider adopting.

Yet even in these documents there can be discerned the beginning of a new concern that the approaches and methods of teaching children in British Primary schools, advocated in the Hadow reports and by now gradually making their impact in Britain, should be adopted in Uganda. The Nuffield report's plea for 'active education' in which all work in the infant classes is to be group work and "the class should always be subdivided into 4 groups of 7 or 8 children"[42] working by themselves with appropriate furniture and equipment, represents a very high order of wishful thinking.

At the same time it is possible to observe a change of attitude among those responsible for curricular policy. The men of the 1930's and 40's, like Sykes, Jowitt or Snoxall may not have been sufficiently in touch with the latest trends of educational theory; but they knew Uganda and the peoples of Uganda, spoke its language and were passionately interested in its socio-cultural heritage. Those who succeeded them, men such as D.S. Miller and J.T. Gleave, were not. They were highly competent professionals but never, in their bones, 'Ugandans.' As a result something important was lost to the Primary Schools curriculum.

Yet there is not the least question that during these years the quality of primary education, if not its relevance to the community, improved dramatically. This was largely due to simple economic factors. There was more money to aid and equip schools and supply teachers. But it was also due to the fact that teachers were trained to a higher level, and it is precisely in this insistance that priority should be given to quality in teacher training that the African Education Commission of 1953 made its greatest contribution to the improvement of standards in primary schools.

It was not until 1959 that the two year printed syllabus of Junior Secondary Schools was issued,[43] while the Primary School syllabus did not appear until early the following year.[44] When they did appear they reflected in many respects this change of attitude. There is no longer a preamble stating the objectives of the syllabus, nor do subject syllabuses, on the whole, contain any, but from analysis of the subject content it seems likely that the framers of the syllabus, consciously or unconsciously conceived of it, first and foremost, as preparation for further studies.

Gone, too, in certain instances, is the Ugandan emphasis in the early years. Local history has been replaced by a study of 'Landmarks of World History.' Yet it is in the attitude to the more rurally orientated syllabuses that the differences are most apparent. The teaching of Handwork is dismissed in less than half a page and the Nature Study syllabus, now separated from that of gardening, has acquired distinctly bookish overtones. Nor does the Junior Secondary syllabus show any serious indication of the vocational bias proposed by the Binns and De Bunsen Reports and even reiterated in the 1959 Sessional Paper.[45] Thus was the principle of adaptation finally abandoned.

While it would be unrealistic to suppose that the 1960 syllabus was followed in any but a proportion of Uganda's Primary schools, it is also certain that it was more widely followed than any that preceded it. Economic reasons and the quality of teachers were probably one major reason for this, but another, certainly is that there was increased identification of the aims of society—the parents, the teachers, the children—with those of the syllabus. The syllabus laid stress on the acquisition of 'book knowledge,' on the learning of English and of a sound grasp of arithmetical processes. Emphasis on environmental study, on aesthetic and on vocational aspects was reduced. Society approved, in the main, of these changes, because they saw in them a very direct relevance to the goal towards which nearly all aspired, that of entrance to a Senior Secondary School, hence to School Certificate, hence fol the forthunate few, to the ranks of the new elite.

Throughout the seventy years of Primary curriculum evolution one is conscious of certain elements which occur and recur and which have exercised an important effect upon the nature of the curriculum and its quality. The first is that never at any time has it been possible for the majority of teachers to teach or even to attempt to teach what has been laid down for them in the official curriculum. From the earliest times the primary school sytem has been over-extended, partly because of its close link with baptism. From the very beginning too few teachers with too little training have taught too many children with too little equipment. Ill-trained teachers in difficult new circumstances can seldom innovate. They must take refuge behind a fence of formality. Each new generation of hard pressed teachers indoctrinates the next so that there is created a self-perpetuating tradition of poor instruction. It is only when serious attention begins to be paid and money spent on training of teachers that the situation begins to improve.

The second is that only at the highest levels of curriculum planning was the philosophy of adaptation firmly appreciated. Men such as Mackay, Jesse Jones, Huxley or later, in Uganda, Jowitt might appreciate the need to relate education to the rural environment of the child. But the majority of European educators in the field, from Hattersley onwards, were products of an English education system, dominated by traditions born in the rough and tumble of the Industrial Revolution—literary, competitive and essentially urban in character. Such were the men who headed Normal schools and Training Colleges. The extreme pressure under which they worked gave them little time to re-evaluate their educational philosophies. Towards the end of the period there is evidence that their views were supported, tacitly if not overtly, by those in a position to frame official curricula.

The third is that at no time during the period in question did the rewards of rural life and vocational education appear to match those of urban employment and literary education. Only through the latter could regular employment, prospects of further education and promotion to the highest social and economic brackets available to Africans in colonial times be assured. Rural society, bound to tradition, dull, conservative and inert offered even less attractions to an energetic young person than it does today, and for that reason nearly all children, most parents and most teachers were prepared to support a school curriculum which contributed to their children passing their examinations and thus obtaining the chance, however uncertain, of their getting out of the village and climbing still further up the economic and social ladder.

Ten years have passed since the issue of the last colonial syllabus, yet, if we are honest, we must admit that the generalisations made above remain, on the whole, valid today and that the position is changing only very gradually.

The primary system remains over-extended. There have been improvements in the training of teachers, but much wastage within the profession particularly in the case of Grade III teachers. There are still many rural schools understaffed, overcrowded and very poorly equipped, quite unable to teach the material laid down in the 1965 syllabus. Yearly the school age population grows. Yearly more schools have to be erected, more still if the targets set by the current five year development plan are to be met. Rises in local and central revenue harldy keep pace with this expansion, so that schools still exist.

Recent evidence from Busoga would indicate that here, at least, their numbers are very great and certainly many still operate in Buganda, Ankole and Kigezi.[46] It is in these schools that the 'handed down' curriculum survives in its purest form and there is little reason to doubt that, in certain cases, the curricular approaches of the early years of the century survive, having been passed on from one untrained teacher to another in much the same way as oral tradition. One thing is for sure. The 1965 curriculum is not followed in these schools.

Nor does the 1965 syllabus for Primary Schools reflect any wholehearted return to the policies of 'adaptation'.[47] True, it has shed many of the more formal and English centred elements which characterised the previous document and certainly more attention has been made to base studies on the child's experience in a rural environment. But equally certainly the document remains primarily orientated towards the preparation of leavers towards wage earning employment or, preferably, entry to higher education. This orientation is farther strengthened by the manner in which the document is interpreted by the teachers who teach and by the pupils who learn. In fact neither the syllabus nor the way it is interpreted have much in common with the philosophy expressed at the Nairobi Conference.

It remains to ask whether, in fact, parents, teachers and, in more recent years, syllabus framers, have merely been obtuse in failing to recognise the arguments so strongly put forward by their betters over the last half century; or whether in 1968 as in 1925 it is still worth everyone's while to try, whatever the cost, to get an education which will help to secure entrance to further education or at second best to a wage earning job, preferably a white collar job. There is much to support the argument that given the present

wage and social structure of Uganda, it still is; and that few educationalists who preach the virtues of rural education would in fact seek it for their own children.

It would seem, therefore, somewhat naïve in the face of past history or present facts, to expect any immediate and overwhelming support for a new policy of 'back to the land' education for primary school leavers. Change must go much deeper than mere syllabus revision and Uganda's 'Move to the Left' policy can be seen at at least one way of providing a social context in which the Nairobi recommendations could become a reality. But, as this article has repeatedly stressed, there is yet another essential. Untrained or undertrained teachers with few facilities and little equipment cannot innovate. They must have the training and, within reason, the means to carry out a new policy.

NOTES

1. O.A.U./U.N.E.S.C.O. *Final Report, Conference on Education and Scientific and Technical Training in relation to development in Africa, Nairobi, 16-27, July, 1968.*
2. *Mackay of Uganda* by his sister, 1890, p.106. He goes on to praise his teacher training at the Free Church Normal School and at Moray House and wishes it were possible that "all missionaries were taught how to teach."
3. *Ibid.*, quoted in the Foreword.
4. Perhaps the school started by Miss Chadwick in Mengo in 1895 has as good a claim as any to be considered the first.
5. Board of Education, *Special Reports on Educational Subjects* 1905, pp.189-90
6. *Ibid.*, p.196.
7. Different missions used different terminology. At this time the C.M.S. refer to their rural elementary schools as "village" or "bush" schools, their schools in mission centres as "central schools". Mengo was the first and largest of the central schools, founded in 1898. By 1915 the organisation had become truly complicated comprising Village Day Schools, Junior Day Schools, Senior Day Schools, Central Schools and High Schools. This nomenclature is, however, somewhat misleading as it seems to refer to the situation of the school and the standard of staffing and accommodation rather than its educational level.
8. *Special Reports, op. cit.*, p.191.
9. *C.M. Gleaner* 1902, p.27.
10. Colonial Office, *Report by His Majesty's Special Commissioner on the Protectorate of Uganda,* Cmd. 671, 1901, p.18.
11. H.P. Gale, *Uganda and the Mill Hill Fathers,* Macmillan, 1959, p.246.
12. H.M. Stanley to Zakaria Kisingiri, *Mengo Notes,* January 1901, p.36.
13. H.M. Stanley to Buganda regents, *Mengo Notes,* May 1901, p.50.
14. "*Mengo Notes*" for September 1900 records proudly: "It speaks well not only for the intelligence of the Baganda, but for the sound training the boys have received at the Industrial Mission that three boys were able to compose and set up the whole of the type of our last number, and to print it too whilst Mr. Borup was away. They had no European assistance whatever beyond correcting proofs and a few suggestions as to the position of the various articles."
15. Rev. Silas Alwonya to Rev. C. J. Jones, *C.M. Gleaner,* 1901, p.119.
16. J. V. Taylor, *The growth of the Church in Buganda,* S.C.M. Press 1958, p.93. Also quoted in G.P. McGregor, *Kings College Budo,* O.U.P. 1967.
17. There are close parallels with the situation in West Africa, ably described by P. Foster in *Education and social change in Ghana,* 1965.
18. By 1922, 157,000 were enrolled, *Uganda Blue Book,* 1922.
19. *Uganda Notes,* April 1913, p.76.

20. *Uganda Notes,* August 1913, p.188. In a very outspoken plea, Britton states, "We cannot possibly go on as we are, the position from the Native's point of view is intolerable."
21. *Education in East Africa.* Report of the Second African Education Commission Chairman, Thomas Jesse Jones, Ph.D., Phelps Stokes Fund, New York, 1924, p.167.
22. The case is argued in *C.M. Outlook,* 1925, pp.220-228.
23. These included the influence of the League of Nations principle of Trusteeship (1919), the influence of colonial governors such as Guggisburg and Lugard and pressures from the International Missionary Council.
24. Consultative Committee, Board of Education, *Education of the adolescent,* 1926.
25. *Educational policy in British tropical Africa,* Cmd. 2374, 1925, p.4. There is evidence that at least one committee member wanted to suggest even more radical changes. Dr. Julian Huxley writing in 1930 *(Oversea Education* vol. 2, pp.1-13) envisages a unified curriculum designed around a "central organic core", the study of man and his relationship to his rural environment.
26. *Ibid.,* p.6.
27. *Annual Report for the Education Department* for 1927, p.10
28. *Annual Report* for 1926, p.12.
29. *Diocesan Gazette, Uganda Diocese,* Nov. 1934, lists new scales to be paid in the diocese to Protestant teachers. At their higher levels they are considerably less than those recommended by the Education Department, yet the N.A.C. were unable to pay more without cutting down their teacher force. For similar reasons voluntary agencies were forced to cut down their entries to Training Colleges.
30. *Annual Report* for 1934, p.11.
31. *South of the Sudd and on the backwaters of the Nile,* October 1929, p.21.
32. *Annual Report* for 1935, pp.18 and 19.
33. *Syllabus for African Primary Schools,* Uganda, 1949, p.5.
34. Provisional Memorandum on Language Policy submitted to the Makerere Commission 1937 H. Jowitt.
35. *Report of Conference to consider Language in African School Education.* November 1944. Entebbe Government Printer, 1943.
36. *Principles of education for African teachers.* 1932, *Suggested methods for the African school,* 1934. *Suggested organisation for the African school,* 1949. Harold Jowitt, Longmans Green.
37. *Report of Conference on Primary Teacher Training.* Entebbe Government Printer, 1945.
38. 1949 Syllabus, p.4.
39. *Annual Report* for 1949, p.22.
40. *African Education,* Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office, O.U.P., 1953 p.67.
41. *African Education in Uganda.* (De Bunsen Report). Government Printer, Entebbe, 1953.
42. African Education, *op. cit.,* pp. 88-89.
43. Uganda Protectorate, *Syllabuses for Junior Secondary Schools,* Uganda Bookshop Press, 1959.
44. Uganda Prote-torate, *Syllabuses for Primary Schools,* Uganda Bookshop Press, 1960.
45. *Education in Uganda* (Sessional Paper), p.19, and Annual Report for 1958. p.6.
46. H. Hawes and S. Bwanswa-Sekandi Unaided Primary Schools in Uganda *(Teacher Education in New Countries.* **10,** Number 1, pp.26-35).
47. Government of Uganda *Primary School Syllabus* 1965.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Simon Charsley contributed to the previous issue of the *Journal*. He is a lecturer in sociology at the University of Glasgow and had spent two years in Bunyoro as a research fellow attached to the Makerere Institute of Social Research.

John Haden is a science teacher at Mvara Secondary School, Arua where he is in charge of the Scientific Society and it is from this connection that the present article derives.

Hugh Hawes had taught in Uganda secondary schools since 1953 and became a tutor at the Makerere Institute of Education prior to accepting a similar post at the Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria in 1969.

Rosemary Mills was the director of the Makerere Social Welfare unit from 1964 to 1968 and is at present a Reader in Social Administration at the New University of Ulster at Coleraine.

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Randall Packard is a research student from the U.S.A. who first went to Bukedi district as a Peace Corps worker on a Trachoma eradication project, but has now spent two years working on the oral traditions of the Jophadola.

Hamo Sassoon is the Curator of Antiquities for the Ministry of Culture and the brief note in this issue of the Journal arises from his work in a similar capacity in Tanzania prior to coming to Uganda two years ago.

John Wilson explains in his article that he has been interested in the Oropom problem since his first introduction to Karamoja in the early 1950s. He is still resident at Moroto and hopes to publish more thoughts on the subject of the pre-history of Karamoja later.

NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

The editor regrets that this issue is rather shorter than recent numbers. This is in response to the need to reduce printing expenses pending the introduction of new subscription rates for 1971. Natural History readers will regret the absence of an article to meet their interests, but unfortunately what otherwise would have been a timely article on the *embalassassa* problem did not materialise before the translation of one of the co-authors to Ministerial status. It is hoped to rectify this omission later. The main shortening has been upon the bibliography and the reviews, though the number of pages of bibliography for the two numbers of the combined volume is certainly no less than usual. Also a financial saving has been made in not using half-tone plates or in producing a volume index, which the editor suspects is seldom used. The numbers for 1971 should resume their normal size and part of the increased expenses of producing the *Journal* should in future be off-set by carrying advertisements.

Uganda Journal, **34**, 2 (1970) pp. 195–199.

A NOTE ON MARRIAGE IN BUNYORO

By S. R. Charsley

This note compares two sets of data on marriage in Bunyoro, one collected in the early 1950's by Beattie from the village of Kihoko in southern Bunyoro,[1] and my own obtained in the course of a study in 1966 of a village in Kigumba sub-county in northeast Bunyoro, to be referred to here as 'Kimina'[2]. There are certain marked differences between the two sets of data. The Kimina data are relevant particularly to Beattie's important finding that in Kihoko there was no tendency for marriages in which traditional payments had been made to be more stable than those without. I follow Beattie in using the term 'marriage' to cover "any sexual union between a man and a woman which is or may be, relatively enduring, the partners to which refer to each other as 'my wife' (*mukazi wange*) and 'my husband' (*iba nyowe*) respectively, and the offspring of which have a recognised status as the legitimate offspring of the spouses".

There is unfortunately no evidence that either village was in any way typical of Bunyoro as a whole. Each undoubtedly had its peculiarities, and one of these in the case of Kimina concerned marriage directly. There were in this village relatively few extant marriages, 24 in 31 households, 77% as opposed to 90% estimated in a sample census for the indigenous population of Kigumba as a whole. This affects the Divorce Ratio C discussed below, but as a measure of the situation at one particular time, it is not necessarily relevant in any way to the typicality of the total record of all marriages of all inhabitants over the period of their lives to date. A factor of greater likely relevance to the long-run record is the difference between the villages that, whereas Kihoko was long-settled and indeed chosen by Beattie partly for this reason,[3] Kimina dates only from 1919. This does not necessarily make each atypical of its area, for the two villages, to add still further to the difficulties of comparison, are in part of Bunyoro which differ considerably. Kihoko is in the conservative and culturally homogeneous south of central Bunyoro, whereas Kigumba is in the far more heterogeneous northeast, where indigenous Nyoro, Palwo and Ruli meet, and large-scale and varied immigration had been occurring for at least a decade before this present study in 1966.[4]

The data on Kimina were collected in the course of village census work and refer, except for the figures in Table 2, to all marriages (104) reported by the indigenous inhabitants of the village. These marriages were contracted during the previous sixty years or so, as also were Beattie's cases, and this allows some comparison between marriages reported from different periods. In many cases the informant was at the time of the marriage living in a different village or even in a different part of Bunyoro altogether, a fact which provides some slight grounds for treating the marriages recorded as a sample drawn from the total universe of Nyoro marriages.

The data are reported in three tables. These indicate, first, a weakening in traditional and more demanding forms of marriage, second, an increasing localization of marriage, with spouses being sought less widely, and third, the unions formed becoming less and less enduring.

The weakening of traditional and more demanding forms. The full range of marriage types described by Beattie could still be observed in Kigumba in 1966. These ranged from traditional ceremonies carried through their several stages with due payments and little concession to new circumstances or ideas beyond changes in the value of goods and money; to entirely free (*kya busa*) unions with neither formality nor payment of any kind. 'Ring' marriages according to the rites of the Church of Uganda or of the Catholic Church were also still found. The difference, as compared with Kihoko, was that the balance had tilted towards the 'free' type. The traditional pattern of enquiring for a suitable girl, followed by arrangements between the suitor and such a girl's father, with the girl herself contributing little more than her consent, and not always even this, had become rare. The first stage was much more commonly a mutual attraction between a man and a woman, with a sexual relationship readily entered into, followed by the establishing of a domestic arrangement. If formalities or payments were to occur at all, they were far more likely to follow than to precede these events. One couple in Kimina, for instance, began to live together in 1952, undertook the traditional formalities in 1957, and were married in church in 1961, having been forced into it, according to the wife, by the priest. Conversion of the status of a union does occur, but not sufficiently regularly for it to be expected or for 'free' marriage to be considered merely a trial union.[5]

Table 1: Types of marriage.

	Kihoko (1953)		**Kimina (1966)**	
	Number	*Percentage*	*Number*	*Percentage*
Traditional marriage normally with payments *(mukaaga)*	53	52	39	38
Inherited	6	6	4	4
Uxorilocal	2	2	1	1
'Ring' marriage, normally with payments	12	12	5	5
Initial payment only *(kweranga)*	4	4	10	10
Free *(kya busa)*	25	25	45	43
	102	101	104	101

It will be seen that the first three categories, the traditional forms, account for 60% at Kihoko, but only 42% at Kimina. If marriages with substantial payments i.e. those in the traditional and 'ring' categories (with one Kihoko exception) are considered, the contrast is between 63% and 43%. These figures provide some evidence of a decline in the formalization of marriage.

The range of marriage becoming more localized. The Kimina marriages showed a greater tendency for the couple to be living in the same village before their marriage and a correspondingly lesser tendency for spouses to be found beyond the neighbouring villages. Table 2 shows the measure of the difference and suggests that it is in part a progressive one. The Kimina figures are given in two parts which show that the marriages contracted since the period of Beattie's study have been more highly localized than those contracted earlier. The pattern of the latter is less unlike the Kihoko pattern of marriages extant in 1953, though it already shows a greater localization.[6]

Table 2: Location of homes of husbands and wives at time of marriage

	Kihoko		Kimina			
	Extant marriages 1953		Marriages (male informant only) 1921/55		1956/65	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Same village	7	15	13	33	14	48
Neighbouring village	17	36	9	23	7	24
Other	23	49	17	44	8	28
	47	100	39	100	29	100

The difference between the two periods is probably connected with the change already noted in the way in which unions come to be contracted. Where men and women associate in common activities and partnerships develop out of this by self-selection, it is, other things being equal, out of the area of most regular association that they can be expected most often to appear. This area is primarily the village itself, secondarily it is the immediately surrounding villages, with a constant round of inter-visiting and drinking in which the women nowadays play a full part and with frequent opportunities for casual interaction. Where marriages are 'arranged', on the other hand, though there has always been approval for marriage with neighbours, other particular considerations are often important, such as the cementing of friendships between men or the formation of useful affinal connections. This may well result in a different and, in the circumstances of Bunyoro, probably less localized distribution of spouses' homes than is likely under a 'love-match' regime. In Bunyoro there can be little doubt that the direction of change is towards a predominance of self-selection on the part of spouses, and hence also an increasing localization.

One important consequence of this is that, even in conditions of high mobility between villages, the extent of kinship and affinal ties between villagers remains considerable, with single men and women of incoming families rapidly taking their places in the marriage market and contracting alliances. Indeed the high mobility may itself contribute to the localization by making available within the village potential spouses who are not barred from marriage by clanship or close kinship.

Marriages becoming less enduring. This is suggested by a calculation of standard divorce ratios, which also allow a comparison with other societies. The two most significant ratios have been termed 'B' and 'C'[7] Ratio B is the number of divorces experienced by a given population as a percentage of all terminated marriages, i.e. those terminated by the death of a spouse as well as by divorce. Ratio C is the number of divorces as a percentage of all marriages ever contracted by members of the population, *except* those that were terminated by the death of a spouse. Table 3 (a) shows Kihoko ratios, derived from Beattie's Table I, and Kimina ratios, together with those of Luvale and Ndembu, the two highest in the list of 14 African rates cited by Mitchell[8] for comparison.

Table 3: Divorce Ratios B and C·

		B	C
a.	Kihoko 1953	69	45
	Kimina 1966	77	73
	Luvale	70	45
	Ndembu	80	61
b.	Kimina marriages *with* traditional payments	56	66
	Kimina marriages *without* traditional payments	96	81

Marriage in Bunyoro has long been considered unstable, even notoriously so. Beattie's 1953 figures showed that the belief was well justified and there is every reason to think that it had become even more so in the succeeding period. Kimina figures, particularly for Ratio C which is influenced by the fewness of extant marriages, are extraordinarily high. Even when a weighting is applied to take account of the lower probability of surviving than broken marriages being recorded when sampling all members of a single community,[9] this ratio is lowered only to about 60%. Even so emended, the rates are scarcely lower than those for the Ndembu, the highest recorded by Mitchell.

Beattie's figures suggested that there was no connection between the stability of marriage and whether payments had been made. In Kihoko 55% of "free" marriages were surviving, against 45% broken, whereas of dratitional marriages with payments 49% were surviving. This finding is not supported by the Kimina data, which show that marriages without payments had been considerably more unstable than those with payments (Table 3b). Such differences may have no more significance than the reflection of idiosyncracies in one or both the populations studied. Nevertheless it is still worth considering them seriously. If there is a genuine difference in the relation between payments and stability, then it may be suggested that such a difference arises from the changing significance of traditional marriage procedures and payments. Formalization of all kinds now tends to follow the establishment of conjugal relationships. Marriage ceremonies are often a semi-optional public validation rather than the means to the creation of conjugal relationship. Such validation is in many cases only undertaken when the relationship has

proved itself satisfactory, often over a period of years even. The Kimina figures may show, therefore, not that payments are conducive to stability but rather that payments are often only made when a measure of stability already exists. Whether the making of payments or other formalizing procedures affect the subsequent course of the marriage, making it more or less likely to endure, is a matter which it would require more detailed study with larger numbers to be able to say.

NOTES

1. Beattie, J. Nyoro marriage and affinity, (*Africa*, London, **28**, 1958.)
2. Charsley, S. R. Mobility and village composition in Bunyoro, (*Uganda, J.* **34**, 1970.)
3. Beattie J. *Understanding an African Kingdom: Bunyoro.* New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965, p. 14.
4. Charsley, S. R. Population growth and development in northeast Bunyoro. (*East African Geographical Review*, **6**, 1968.)
5. In classifying such cases, only the latest status of a particular union has been used.
6. Figures for extant marriages in Kimina are not shown but resemble those for all marriages in the more recent period.
7. Barnes, J. A. The frequency of divorce, in Epstein, A.L. (Ed.) *The craft of social anthropology*, Manchester University Press, 1967.
8. Mitchell, J. C. On quantification in social anthropology, in Epstein, A.L. (Ed.) *The craft of social anthropology*, Manchester University Press, 1967, Table 1.
9. Barnes, *op. cit.* pp. 57-60.

CORRIGENDUM

Mobility and village composition in Bunyoro, S.R. Charsley, *Uganda Journal*, Vol. 34 no. 1, page 16. The editor regrets that the top line of page 16, of the above mentioned article was omitted. The following line should be inserted :—

But is there such a social unit as a community? Beattie has stressed the lack ....

IRON COWS AND COPPER SPEARS: THE ROYAL INSIGNIA OF KARAGWE

By H. Sassoon

Summary of a talk to the Uganda Society

In 1861 the explorers Speke and Grant were at Bwerenyange, the court of Rumanyika, then king of Karagwe. They were shown "a number of brass grapnels and small models of cows made in iron". Grant also recorded a copper "grappel" and two copper kettledrums. Stanley visited Bwerenyange in 1876 and was impressed with Rumanyika's house of treasures; he made sketches of many of the objects and these were published in *Through the dark continent.*

By 1965, the kingdom of Karagwe was past history, and Bweranyange was deserted; but the royal collection, or most of it, was still kept in a small hut there, because Bweranyange was the spiritual centre of the old kingdom. Sirteen selected pieces have been in a museum in Stuttgrant since 1906; if these are included, the whole collection amounts to 120 objects of iron, copper and brass.

Studied as archaeological specimens, some of the pieces throw valuable light on Karagwe's relationship to the surrounding kingdoms. The "grapnels" for example have parallels in the insignia of the former kingdoms of Rwanda, Ankole and Buganda. In Rwanda, iron anvils with horns are called "nyarushara", which in Runyankole is the name for a bull with down-turned horns, and in fact Grant was told in 1861 that the copper "grapple" at Rumanyika's court represented the horns of cattle. In Buganda at Kasubi Tombs there are three copper objects which are obviously related to "nyarushara", yet their original name and purpose are forgotten, and now they are dubbed "two-bladed swords" — which clearly they are not! Originally, all the objects of this type must have been ceremonial anvils. In the Karagwe collection the anvils form a series leading from an ordinary smith's anvil to the fine copper specimen seen by Speke; and in Rwanda the iron "nyarushara" is easily reconisable as an anvil, although it has two horns projecting from its sides. Finally, in a recent publication of the royal ritual of Rwanda, details are given of the ritual re-forging of the royal ironwork, using "nyarushara".

Uganda Journal, **34**, 2 (1970) pp. 201–209.

POLYGYNY IN KIGEZI

By M. T. Mushanga.

Kigezi, the home of the three ethnic groups of the Bakiga, Bahororo and Banyarwanda, is a very small district with a total area of 2,040 square miles, of which 1,969 square miles is land and swamps, while 71 sqaure miles is open water.[1] The country is characterised by high mountainous forested land and small lakes with an average altitude of 6,000 feet above sea level. It borders on Rwanda in the south, Congo in the west and the district of Ankole lies in the east and northeast. Kigezi is one of the most densely populated districts in Uganda. The 1959 census showed a mean of 260 people per square mile which rose to about 325 in 1969 with as many as over 1,000 people per square mile in some areas such as the Gomborora of Bufnara. According to the 1969 census, Kigezi has 642,300 people as against 494,488 ten years before.

Kigezi is a district with an admixture of polyglottal ethnic groups of which the Bakiga are the autochthonous and dominant group. The other significant Bantu groups are the Banyarwanda mainly in the southwest area of Bufumbira, and the Bahororo, a group akin to the Bahima of Ankole, in the northwest in the county of Rujumbura. There is a very small group of Batwa in Bufumbira and Kinkizi counties who are akin to the Bambuti of Ituri forest. All of these three main ethnic groups are mainly endogamous, with very little intermarriage across ethnic barriers; and this is more so between Bakiga and Banyarwanda than it is between Bakiga and Bahororo. There is some mild conflict between these groups which very rarely flares up to open hostility but which mitigates against cross-ethnic marriage. Each of these ethnic groups is organised on a patrilineal clan structure. Clans are exogamous but tend to be endogamous ethnically. Clan endogamy, as is the case in most Western Lacustrine Bantu, is unknown; with the exception of the so-called rolay clans of the adjacent areas.

The ideal type of marriage is polygynous and is widely practised. Traditionally no marriage was possible without the payment of bridewealth *(Enjugano)*. Bridewealth is still the most important legitimising element in present-day Kiga, Hororo and Nyarwanda marriage.

There is no need here to give an account of traditional marriage in Kigezi (especially Kiga) as this has been clearly detailed by Edel.[2] In brief, marriage was contracted by the father or paternal uncle of the groom on behalf of the groom. Bridewealth was raised by the agnates of the groom, the father paying most, and in most cases, all the required cattle, goats, and hoes. The negotiations for the transfer of the bridewealth took a very long time, sometimes as long as a year. The amount of bridewealth differed from group to group and from family to family within each group. The cattle-keeping Hororo paid their bridewealth in cattle, the Kiga in goats, sheep, and hoes in addition to great quantities of beer. The age of the groom at marriage

differed from one ethnic group to another, but on the whole Hororo tended to arrange the marriage of their sons at a much later age than the other groups. Males tended to marry when a bit older than females, and 18-20 seemed to have been the average for males as against 14-16 for females. The tendency was for the richer families to delay the marriage of their daughters. Mate selection was done by the father or elder brothers of the groom. The announcement of the intended marriage followed a secret investigation into the moral, economic, and social status of the family of the bride. The brides' family too, as soon as it became aware of the other family's interest in their daughter, carried out a counter secret investigation in the family of the groom. If either of the families discovered something unacceptable, such as witchcraft, or laziness of the girl, or any other negative attribute, the process of marriage was given a hasty end. All animals paid for bridewealth such as cows, or goats were, in most cases, used to pay for the marriage of the girl's brother, or for the father's additional wives. No such animals were sold, and it was taboo to slaughter such an animal. In an already polygynous family, all beasts that are paid as bridewealth for a daughter went to the hut of the mother of that girl; if she had no mother, this duty would fall upon the senior wife of the girl's father. Cattle and goats paid as bridewealth would not be used to pay for the girl's step-brother if she had a brother, even if still young. Marriage was a lineage concern, and not simply a family's business as it is tending to be in recent times. At the paying family, the paternal uncle of the boy had an obligation to contribute, so did his blood-brother *(Omunyamukago)* and other near agnates. At the receiving family, there were relatives who, because of their religious-magical and ritual positions, had to receive some share of the bridewealth; the most notable being the maternal uncle *(Nyinarumi)* and paternal aunt *(Ishenkazi)*. It was believed that if either of these two relatives went away angry, the girl would be barren, and since children were a very important consideration in every successful marriage, this obligation was very rarely, if ever, infringed. There were, occasionally, cases of elopement *(Okusigura)* and other emergency types of marriage in which the girl was to be married the very day the emergency was declared *(Okuteera oruhoko)*. These other methods of acquiring a wife were the resort of those in special circumstances. A rich man who did not enjoy a favourable reputation in the village could find it difficult to get a girl for his son, so he could do so by using these alternatives; but these were rare. A rich man usually returned one or two beasts to his son-in-law as a contribution to assist him to establish a home *(Okushagarira)* and the beasts would not be demanded for return in case of a divorce.

Polygyny was the ideal type of marriage, and tended to be enjoyed by the rich members of the society. Even today one can tell the economic and social status of a head of a family by looking at the physical structure of his home. The richer the man, the larger the herd of his cattle or goats, the larger the acreage of the land he owns, the more wives he is likely to marry and so the larger the homestead. This orientation has been disrupted by immigrant religious beliefs which preached the goodness of monogamy and the badness of polygamy. The missionaries did a great deal of work to convert the people of Kigezi to accept monogamy. The missionaries from the beginning were against the institution of bridewealth which, through their lack of adequate knowledge of African culture and philosophy of life,

they regarded as 'selling' and 'buying' of women. This seems to have pre-occupied the missionaries very much, in fact it seems as if marriage of one wife was the only criterion of being a 'good' Christian.

Priests of Catholic and Protestant churches[3] preached not only against ancestor worship but also against polygamy and the institution of bridewealth. The missionaries went further and preached against customary marriage that it was pagan and therefore not good. The missionaries' efforts to stamp out these 'evils' of paganism and of 'buying' wives had the tacit support of the British administration who, at the time of their coming to Kigezi, were engaged in fighting against the forces of the Nyabingi cult which was growing into a semi-political secret organisation. This religious cult which was spreading into Kigezi, Ankole and Bukoba had already been established in Rwanda, and was, also the main pre-occupation of European missionaries. People who has been initiated into Nyabingi were also accepted to become Christions, but both Nyabingi and Christianity were new religious cults; the differences were that the latter was led by white people, forbade drinking, condemned traditionally valued marriage patterns and insisted that people must give up their ways of life to live the new life. However, the two new beliefs spread. Nyabingi was spread mainly by women. It was not against polygamy or the traditional practices that went along with it. It was propagated by people of the same colour, and who knew the more acceptable rationalisations and meaningful explanations; it did not require a person to read and write, nor did it require a person to travel distances to go to worship. Christianity, with the support of the administration and with educated leaders spread and suppressed Nyabingi. Nyabingi being more akin to the traditional beliefs, was very easily accepted, but lacking official support, was soon driven underground, to be practised by both Christians and pagans, both doing so in secrecy. In the Kigezi of today there are very few people who still belong to this Nyabingi cult.

In spite of more than half a century of Christian work in Kigezi, polygyny is practised quite freely by both Christians and non-Christians. Everyone who is familiar with conjugal relationships in Kigezi will testify that polygyny is not an exclusive monopoly of non-Christians.

With the assistance and ready co-operation of the chiefs in Kigezi, it was possible to collect data on marriage throughout the whole district. Questionnaires were sent to each Gombolola (sub-county), chief in the district with instructions to fill them and return them to the Saza chief (county chief) who in turn passed them to the Administrative Secretary. A secret check was made by sending more forms to the chiefs of Rukiga and Rubanda counties four months later for comparison with the previous returns, and this second exercise showed very little variation from the first. In 1969 the returns indicated that there were 75,515 married men in hte whole district. This figure is rather smaller than would be expected in a population of 643,300, but it must be remembered that there are thousands of Bakiga and, to a lesser degree, Banyarwanda, working as migrant labourers outside Kigezi; mostly on tea estates of Igara in Ankole; in Buganda coffee, cotton and sugar estates; in industries in Jinja; and there are about 3,000 working at Kilembe copper mines, and about 2,000 more are working in Toro tea estates. It is estimated that 60,000 men leave Kigezi annually to seek employment.[4] This not only reduces the number of married men in the district, but also makes it all the more

possible for the men staying at home to acquire more wives because labour migration significantly affects the female-male ratio in the district. The survey showed that there were 55,227 men married to one wife and 20,288 more men married to more than one wife, that is roughly one in every three married men was a polygamist. Of those, 13529 were married to two wives, 4,253 to three wives, 1,6662 to four wives, 643 to five wives, 149 to six wives, 32 to seven wives, 9 to 8 wives, 8 to 9 wives and three men were married to ten or more wives. In most of these cases, the figures fall by about one-fourth, up to the eight wives group. In all, there were 50,972 women married in polygynous marriages.

The question may be raised whether some of the women married to men who were already married to one wife were not in a form of concubinage rather than true marriage. Concubinage seems not to be known among the people of Kigezi, though a special status is given to the first wife. The first wife (*Omukazi omukuru* – principal wife) occupies a prestigious position, a position of respect from her husband, co-wives and the wider society. Her house is usually the largest of all, and is centrally located in the homestead. Important guests and visitors are received and entertained in her house; she, on the average has more land plots and may be delegated with the duty of caring for the husband's ageing parents. The principal wife was *primus inter pares*. Her co-wives are as legitimately married as herself and enjoy the respect that society accords to all married women. There is no stigma attached to such marriages and therefore the concept of concubinage is not applicable. The children born to these extra women are as legitimate as those of the first wife, and, since the rules of first-son inheritance are not enforced, children of subsequent wives may inherit not only the property but also the status of the head of family; as is the case in neighbouring Ankole.

Preliminary data on crimes of violence against the person show very little open conflict between co-wives; in a sample of 98 cases only 0.26 per cent of the homicides committed by women involved co-wives. This does not mean that there is no ill-feeling between co–wives. What it shows is that the conflict between co-wives is no more salient than it is among the rest of the people. The study shows that out of seven criminal homicides committed by women, out of 98 cases in the sample, only one case involved co-wives. One might expect a much higher homicide rate involving co-wives if polygamy engenders conflict. On the whole there is very little resentment among girls to polygyny; the practice being a common social institution and is widely accepted. Polygamy seems to attract men above thirty years of age, and more so for those above fortyfive. It is also a phenomenon in which the 'educated' seem to be excluded. The more education a man has, the less likely he is to marry more than one wife. In the same way, the more education a girl has, the more likely she is to remain married only to her husband. There are explanations for this tendency. Polygamy is a status symbol for those who are rich but with less education. It is something which confers 'manhood' (*Obusheija*) to a man. For the one who has some 'good' education this is not the case. High governmental position, possession of a car, or a relatively high salary are the main coveted social indices of social prominence; not a large number of wives, children or cattle as the case is with men with less education. There is very little to suggest that the 'educated' are monogamous because of their Christian beliefs; but it must be noted that this is very difficult to indicate. What must

be dismissed at once is the suggestion that the more educated are more religious than those with less education. The difference between the less educated polygamists and the more educated monogamists hardly lies in religious beliefs, but in differentiated social values held by the two groups of society. The one being tradition-oriented, while the other is modernistic, more western-oriented; and economically motivated towards monogamy.

In 1969, there were 7,523 marriages of which 3,386 were arranged and finalised under customary law; 1,167 were done in Catholic churches; 1,009 in Protestant churches; 30 were done under Islamic law. That is roughly one marriage in every three was Christian or Islamic. There were 1,931 cases in which no bridewealth was paid, but were likely to be paid in a *post-facto* way; that is, bridewealth to be paid after the girl is already living with her husband; a practice that is quite widely adopted in Toro.[5] The data shows that more marriages are arranged under customary law than are arranged in neo-religious bodies; and bridewealth is still the socially approved way of legitimising marriage. It is interesting to compare these figures with Professor Perlman's findings in one area of Toro. Of 78 cases of marriage which Perlman studied, 64 had started as concubinage (i.e. with no bridewealth, and therefore legally illegitimate) of which 44 or 68.7% remained concubinage, 19 or 29.7% became customary marriages (i.e. had to go to the church), 10 (out of 78) had originally been contracted as customary marriages, 4 had started as 'ring' marriages and, of all these cases 82% had started as concubinage, and 56.4% remained concubinage. It is self-evident that concubinage, the type of marriage that requires no bridewealth, no lengthy negotiations and no ceremony, is the approved way of marriage in this area of Toro. Perlman also breaks down his figures to show that the tendency to concubinage is on the increase. This means that almost four marriages in every five are likely to be concubinage.

The amount of the bridewealth, whether in terms of cattle or cash (as is the case with the educated) varies with the social status of each family and the level of education especially of the girl. The more prestigious the family of the girl or of the boy, the higher the bridewealth is likely to be. Again, the higher the educational level of the girl, the higher the bridewealth. In Kigezi a girl with post-primary education is married at the average of 3000 to 4000 shs plus several goats, several pots of beer and other gifts; while a girl with post secondary education may fetch upwards of 5000 shs in addition to the rest of the goods. The Bakiga argue that the parents of the girl took a lot of trouble and sacrifice to prepare the girl and that she is more useful for her husband than if she had not received any education. This is made more complicated by the attitudes of the parents vis-a-vis their daughter. The more faith they have in her, as a hardworking and good mannered girl, the more the bridewealth is likely to go up; but if parents have little faith in their daughter, that is, if they are not sure that she will make a successful wife, the bridewealth is likely to be less. This is due to the anticipation of refund of the bridewealth. The amount of bridewealth also determines the villagers' and the affines' attitudes towards the new wife. The more that was paid for her, the more respect and higher status she is accorded; and this also affects her conception of herself as a worthy wife and member of her new group. The Bahororo, on the whole, pay more cattle than the other groups. This is because they keep more cattle than the Bakiga and Banyarwanda.

Bridewealth is one of the several explanations why people of Kigezi, especially the Bakiga, emigrate to work outside. Young men have to spend several years in labour camps before they can raise enough money to buy cows with which to pay for a wife where cattle are demanded instead of hard cash. The average among the Bakiga is three cows and a bull and may be twice this amount among the Banororo. A cow may cost from 350 sh to 500 sh or even more; and a bull costs slightly less than a cow; and a young cow, a heifer, costs much more than an old cow. Goats range between 40 and 100 sh; sheep, on the average cost less than goats. This means that in a society where the majority of the people live at a subsistence level, with the average annual income of no more than 120 shs to get married is a very costly undertaking which forces young men to spend very protracted periods away trying to raise the required money. This has tended to raise the average age at which the men get married from 18-20 to 25-30 years; and of the women from 14–16 to 18–20 years. The girls' first hold on as the young men remain abroad labouring to raise bridewealth, and eventually give up to be married as the second or third wife of an older man.

In 1969 there were 686 cases of divorce in the whole district. This appears to be a very small rate, but it is very difficult to say so with certainty as there are no other societies in the neighbourhood with which to compare this figure. This, two, is an indication of a low rate of conflict in these polygamous families. The main causes of divorce are the barrenness of the wife; marital incompatibility; and laziness of either the husband or the wife. Very rarely is infidelity the cause of marriage break down. As Edel observed over thirty years ago, the situation seems hardly to have changed. She wrote: "Marriages are on the whole fairly permanent. Divorce can and does occur, but many attempts are made to resolve difficulties by other means..... If a man and woman quarrel the elders of the village may act as the first court of arbitration, or the woman may go away in anger to her father's home, the woman is given a chance to present her case as much as her serious consequences. A woman may return voluntarily, having got only as far as one of her neighbour's houses, where she took shelter for a night until her anger cooled. Or her husband may come after her and fetch her back."[7]

A lot of would-be divorce cases are settled in these arbitration tribunals of elders. At these tribunals, which, in most cases are held at the woman's father's home, the woman is given a chance to present her case as much as her husband; even witnesses may be called upon to explain what happened. The history of the couple's behaviour is retold, the people who know more about each of the disputants' characters are allowed to say what they have to say, and finally the elders decide the case depending on what they think are valid points. In the case where a woman wins, a fine is imposed on the husband. This may be a goat, or a few pots of beer or in more serious cases, a cow. Once the fine is paid, the man is allowed to return home with his wife after promising that he will not repeat the offence. In the case where the woman is found to be in the wrong, the fine may be paid by her father or her brother and she is sent back with her husband but with a lot of rebuking and cautioning. There are, indeed, very few cases of divorce which do not go through these tribunals. A man who mistreats his wife is laughed at, and divorce may bring dishonour to a man as much as to a woman. In the case of divorce, all the children remain with their father under the care of his mother

or, if he has other wives, with the senior of these; but in some cases, the divorced woman may take the small children with her till they are of age to join their father's home. Brideweilth is returned at divorce but only after protracted negotiations. A woman who is divorced is free to marry another man but at a reduced amount of bridewealth because she is not a virgin and is known as *Omushumbakazi*. When a woman remarries, it is most likely that she will stay permanently with her sew husband because to be divorced twice makes it is almost impossible for one to be married once more.

In 1969 there were 701 reported cases of girls who became pregnant before marriage. According to Bakiga — Bahororo — Banyarwanda people, this is a very serious misdeed which was punishable by death in years past. Such a pregnancy not only brings shame to the girl herself, but also to all her kin group. It is the grossest misconduct a girl can commit. Pregnancy very much reduces the chances of the girl to get married and therefore denies her father of bridewealth. When such a girl happens to get married which is most unlikely, she fetches much less bridewealth even than a divorced woman. There were many taboos which were related and were to be observed in respect of such pregnant girls. One taboo was that she may not go to fetch water from the well, because the well would dry up. As soon as a girl suspects that she is pregnant, she may reveal this to her close friends who may bring it to her mother's notice. Immediately she will quit her father's or her brother's home and go to live with another distant female relative till she is delivered, whereupon she may return, or go to get married to the man who impregnated her, or she may go to look for a job as a house-girl or barmaid in order to earn some money to maintain her child and herself. But she may be sure that she will never be warmly received at her father's home.

Of 98 criminal homicide cases taken from Kigezi for study, 14 are of infanticide. This is a very high figure when compared with Toro where infanticide is not heard of at all; and old women and men exclaim with horror to hear that such a thing can happen among human beings. The point is that pre-marital pregnancies are a common feature among the Batoro, that even girls speak about it with no shame at all, and are an accepted norm. Though there may be cases of deliberate abortions in Toro, and in Kigezi too, these are induced because of employment problems especially among serving women in education, nursing and other related occupations. When this question of Bakiga girls committing infanticide was discussed, one old Mutoro said that Bakiga girls are precious economic assets of their fathers while this is not so for Batoro girls. On the average a Mutoro parent can only expect 200 to 300 shs for his daughter, while it is more than ten times that much in Kigezi. Perlman recorded the lowest bridewealth in Mwenge area as being 30 shs. In most cases, girls who get impregnated eventually get married to the men who impregnate them; and it is in such cases that the payment of bridewealth follows after the conjugal relationship of the man and the woman is already established. These are the ones who tend to increase the number of additional wives. In additional, there are women who are inherited by their husband's brothers or even their husband's sons, but these cases are becoming less and less.

In conclusion, Kigezi figures prove the theory that the higher the bride-

wealth, the more stable and permanent the marriage, which is negatively proved by Perlman's figures in which concubinage and divorce or separation is high, in accordance with a low bridewealth. It must be noted that there are people in Kigezi, especially the Balokoli (the revivalists), who say that the institution of bridewealth is pagan and liken it to the 'buying' and 'selling' of women, but their protestations do not seem to have any appreciable impact on the society as a whole.

Acknowledgement

This essay is based on raw data collected through chiefs during 1969. Questionnaire forms were sent to the county chiefs who passed them to the Gombolola chiefs, who in turn distributed them to the Miruka chiefs who filled in the required information. After the completion, the forms were sent back to Kabale. Four months later a check was carried out by sending more forms to the chiefs of Rukiga and Rubanda counties. These were sent to the Miruka chiefs, they were filled and returned for comparison. There was hardly any variations from the original data. But this exercise does not imply that the data are correct. It is almost impossible to collect precise data on a district level. They take much time and effort to collect and in some cases there are wrong entries on forms. The data on Polygyny in Kigezi presented in this essay are indicative of the real institution of marriage in Kigezi.

My thanks go to the Kigezi District Administration for their co-operation in collecting the data especially Mr. E. Mbareeba, the Administrative Secretary, Mr. Eridadi Kangye, now Saza Chief in Rujumbura, Mr. Katabazi, now Saza Chief, Rukiga who, not only agreed to carry on the exercise of checking, but also enjoyed being involved in the survey.

NOTES

1. Taylor, B.K., *The western lacustrine Bantu*, p. 114.
2. Edel, M.M., *The Chiga of western Uganda*, chapter four.
3. There are about 200,000 Protestants and 202,741 Catholics in Kigezi. Personal correspondence, with heads of churches, January, 1970.
4. Timothy, K., M.A. thesis, Makerere University.
5. Perlman, M.L., Some aspects of marriage stability in Toro. E.A.I.S.R. Conference Papers, no. 120 of 1960 and no. 134 of 1962.
6. Timothy, *op. dit.*
7. Edel, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

MEN MARRIED TO X WIVES

	Total	To 1	To 2	To 3	To 4	To 5	To 6	To 7	To 8	To 9	To 10 or more
RUBANDA	10,910	6,887	2,459	909	443	115	68	14	6	6	3
RUKIGA	12,173	9,089	2,336	565	127	40	13	3	–	–	–
RUJUMBURA	14,300	12,494	1,416	295	81	12	2	–	–	–	–
NDORWA	13,485	9,380	2,853	843	269	88	43	5	3	1	–
KINKIZI	9,592	7,431	1,601	494	54	10	1	–	–	1	–
BUFUMBIRA	15,055	9,946	2,864	1,147	688	378	22	10	–	–	–
MARRIED MEN	75,515	55,227	13,529	4,253	1,662	643	149	32	9	8	3
MARRIED WOMEN	106,199	55,227	27,058	12,759	6,648	3,215	894	224	72	72	30

MARITAL ARRANGEMENTS IN 1969

	NUMBER OF WOMEN DIVORCED	WOMEN MARRIED WITH NO BRIDEWEALTH	MARRIED IN CATHOLIC CHURCH	MARRIED IN PROTESTANT CHURCH	MARRIED IN ISLAM	MARRIED UNDER CUSTOMARY LAW	GIRLS PREGNANT BEFORE MARRIAGE
RUBANDA	56	52	77	36	–	200	53
RUKIGA	79	225	127	54	1	174	156
RUJUMBURA	166	436	134	91	10	124	216
NDORWA	148	550	490	359	7	696	129
KINKIZI	159	243	215	401	9	1,755	103
BUFUMBIRA	78	425	124	67	3	437	44
TOTAL	686	1,931	1,167	1,008	30	3,386	701

NOTES

THE DISCOVERY AND EVALUATION OF TERMITE-EATEN WOOD OF THE TREE HEERIA RETICULATA

By J. G. Wilson

The writer believes that he was the first person in East Africa to collect termite-eaten specimens of wood from the tree *Heeria reticulata.* Termite eaten specimens from Karamoja are now being sold to collectors of objects d'art.

The tree is listed in *The indigenous trees of Uganda,*[1] as occurring in savanna, in the districts of Mubende, West Nile, Madi, Acholi, Lango, Teso, Karamoja and Mbale. It has also been found in Ankole and Sebei districts. It is described by the authors of the above, as a tree sometimes attaining a height of 30 feet, (but it is usually much smaller is Karamoja). The leaves are elliptic to lanceolate in outline and measure between 4 and 8 inches in length, with a breadth of from 1 to 3 inches; the undersurface is silvery in appearance. The bark is grey when mature, and the wood appears from pale to deep red when freshly cut.

It is known to the Karimojong as *Emuturun,* and is a fairly common constituent of several savanna communities in Karamoja. Interest in it arose when carrying out a soil[2] and vegetation[3] survey of the district, between 1955 and 1959, as relict, living and dead trees were occurring in bushland which had succeeded the original savanna. This led to a closer study of the situation and it was found that termite activity was exalted when overgrazing by cattle precluded customary annual burning. In the due process both perennial grasses and trees were subject to such increased attack that they died out to be replaced by more resistant elements. During this observation it was noticed that *Heeria* trees were more resistant to attack than, say, *Combretum* species; it was also observed that the mode of attack by termites on *Heeria* wood differed from that on the wood of other trees. This led to closer observation of the phenomena, the most outstanding feature of which was that *Heeria* wood was not, as in many other trees, eaten to exhaustion, since both living and dead trees displayed prominent areas of weathered termite-eaten wood that were patently not being consumed in one phase of attack. It also become apparent that *Heeria* wood was extremely resistant to destruction by the agents of rot, and secondly, that few if any signs of damage by boring insects were evident. It was surmised therefore, that there is probably a substance in *Heeria* wood which has not only a preservative action, but which is also distasteful to insect predators. Further observation of the phenomena showed that termites preferred the under layers of unweathered wood to that of the weathered outer surface. Concomitantly numerous skeletal pieces were found which were cylindrical in outline with a hollow centre. Another factor observed was that on the death of its roots,

Heeria sheds its bark quickly. This leads to rapid exposure of the outer wood to weathering influences. By contrast, in many other savanna trees, the bark was not shed quickly, and the wood was observed in many instances to be eaten from the outer layers progressively inwards.

The skeletal pieces of *Heeria* wood exhibited one more feature which distinguished it from that of other trees. This was the structure. Firstly there was no pronounced lignification of the heartwood, cut sections showing an even profile throughout. Secondly, examination of dead branches and trunks showed that in many cases, the annual growth increment appeared as a spiral of rib-like tissue. In some instances where several such layers overlapped, it was apparent that one year's growth might proceed in a clockwise direction, while the succeeding year's growth might follow an anticlockwise direction. This final observation on the unusual structure was clearly evinced by the pattern of termite attack which appeared to follow the softer tissue between the spiral rib-like structure, in such instances where growth had been made in this fashion. The results are most intricate patterns, and where these coincide with intermittent destruction followed by intermittent weathering, the most extraordinary shapes result. The natural comparison to any other object is to driftwood, such as may be found on sea and lake shores where etching by the action of abrasive sand had worn away the softer tissue, leaving a combination with weathering, this had resulted in the appearance of exceptionally beautiful sculpted forms.

Being at the time concerned with the botanical composition of Karamoja vegetation, it was consequential that investigation should be made as to whether these sculpted forms were confined to *Heeria* trees only; or whether they appeared in the wood of other trees as well. Study along these lines quickly eliminated other common trees such as *Acacias* and *Combretums*, but not surprisingly, trees of the same family as *Heeria*, namely *Anacardiaceae*, to a lesser extent exhibited the same phenomena. These included members of the general *Rhus*, *Sclerocarya*, *Lannea*, and *Pistacia*; it may be of interest to add that the cultivated Mango also belongs to this family. Some sculptured forms were also noticed among members of the genus *Commiphora*, which belongs to the family *Burseraceae*. However, the sculpted forms of *Heeria* were far and away more striking than anything stemming from these other sources.

The artistic appeal of the termite-eaten *Heeria* has since become widely accepted. In the early 1960's a certain amount was sold through a gift shop in Kampala, and some has even sold in London where one piece has fetched 500 sh. Currently the wood is sold, after polishing, by the Uganda Foundation for the Blind. One fine specimen is known to have found its way to the desk of Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.

NOTES

1. Eggeling, W. J. and Dale, I. R. *The indigenous trees of the Uganda Protectorate*, Revised Edition, 1951.
2. Wilson, J. G. The Soils of Karamoja District, Agricultural Department Research Memoir. Series I, No. 5, 1959.
3. Wilson, J. G. The Vegetation of Karamoja District. Agricultural Department Research Memoir. Series 2, No. 5, 1962.

VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES IN MBARARA

By Rosemary Mills

Most of the voluntary societies in Uganda are of European or Asian origin having been introduced by missionaries, businessmen and colonial officers, and their wives. They are co-ordinated by the National Council of Social Service for Uganda which is a representative non-government agency developing co-operation and understanding between the voluntary societies and statutory authorities. In 1966 the Council was interested to find out whether the organisation of the societies affected participation in voluntary social service; and, because of the unfortunate history of religious conflict in Uganda, whether persons of different religions were willing to come together for social service. Mbarara in Ankole was chosen for this purpose as it had branches of most of the Societies found in Uganda.

A list of registered householders within the Mbarara town boundary was obtained from the town clerk. A total of 208 houses were selected by random or systematic sampling from a list of 521 dwellings. Permission was refused to interview the residents in the police, prison or army barracks and the residents in four houses refused to co-operate. All residents in the 204 houses contained in the sample who were aged 13 years or over and who had lived in Mbarara for at least three months were interviewed by first year social work and social administration students from Makerere University College.

The probation officer prepared a list of the voluntary societies and government committees in Mbarara. Schedules were designed to find out whether the resident had heard of each society or committee and if he had ever been a member. Those who had only heard about the voluntary societies were asked if they would like to become members. The members were asked what they thought about the leadership, the quantity and quality of the activities and whether the place and time of the meetings were convenient. Those who had stopped being members of a voluntary society were asked if they would be willing to give time or money to the society. The residents were asked particulars about their age, marital status, ethnic group, education and religion and with which religions they were willing to co-operate for social service when they were in agreement with the objectives. In spite of selecting the students to interview residents according to their ability to speak the required language, a few students said that they had experienced difficulty in communication and in addition some residents were suspicious and co-operation was only achieved after much persuasion.

A total of 283 men and 273 women were interviewed. There were 177 Roman Catholics, 145 Protestants, 150 Muslims, 66 Hindus and 18 who said they had no religion. The results showed that fewer men than women had not heard of any organisation and more men than women had belonged to one or more. Three quarters of the residents were under 40 years of age and a smaller proportion of these residents had heard of no organisation and a larger proportion had belonged to an organisation than those who were over 40 years old. There were twice as many married as single residents, but the majority of married men had belonged to an organisation in contrast to the

married women. The number of Europeans was small but all the women and half the men had joined an organisation. Asians were more interested in joining organisations than Africans. The less well educated were more ignorant about organisations and less frequently became members. The majority Roman Catholics had heard of at least one organisation but a higher proportion of the Protestants, Muslims, and Hindus had joined an organisation.

Of those who had joined an organisation 124 residents had joined one, 122 had joined 2–5 and 10 had joined 6 or more. This included a Hindu who had joined thirteen. The Roman Catholics and Muslims were slightly below and the Hindus slightly above the overall average of 2.2 organisations joined.

On an average of all the voluntary societies, 68 per cent of the residents had not heard of the society, 28 per cent had heard about it and 4 per cent had belonged. There was considerable variation. The Grail which was situated a few miles outside Mbarara was the least well known. Only one resident had belonged and 94 per cent had never heard of it. In contrast 12 per cent had belonged to the Boys Scouts, and 33 per cent had not heard of it. The Y.M.C.A. Red Cross and Girl Guides were also quite well known. More women had belonged to the Community Development women's clubs than to the Roman Catholic Women's Clubs and to the Mothers Union. Seven were members of the Uganda Council of Women. Although 42 per cent had heard of Save the Children Fund only 9 residents had been members. The Muslim Association was better known than the Asian Community. About a quarter of the residents knew about the main commercial organisations and as would be expected in an urban area the Chamber of Commerce and Public Employers Trade Union had a considerably higher membership than the Farmers Club.

The government committees in general were less known than the voluntary societies. On an average of all the committees 73 per cent had not heard of the committee, 26 per cent had heard about it and 1 per cent had belonged to it. The Literacy Committee with 19 members was the best known as over half the residents had heard about it.

The non-religious voluntary societies which catered for both sexes had the greatest potential for increasing their membership. But if allowance is made for the small number of boys and girls who would be eligible to become boy scouts and girl guides; for women's clubs catering for women and for religious organisations tending to be more attractive to residents of the same religion, it would seem that almost all of the societies could extend their membership if they wished.

Of those who had belonged to an organisation on an average four-fifths of the membership assessed the leadership as good and none had left the organisation because of weak leadership. On an average about 70 per cent of the members gave a good assessment for the quality, quantity and time of the activities and 80 per cent for the place. One member had left the organisation because of the poor quality of the activities and three because there were too few. Sixteen had left because of the inconvenience of the place. Nearly all of the ex-members of voluntary societies were willing to contribute money to the society and two-thirds were willing to render a

service, such as selling flags. This suggests that most of those who had left the society still retained some interest in it.

In all religions a high majority were willing to co-operate with their own religion. Forty-three per cent of the Muslims said that they would only co-operate with their own religion in contrast to 24 per cent of the Protestants. The proportion for Roman Catholics was 33 per cent and for Hindus 35 per cent. Only eight people would not co-operate with any organisation but about 20 per cent of the Protestants, Muslims and Hindus and 14 per cent of the Roman Catholics were willing to co-operate with an organisation run by any religion or which was non-religious in character where they were in agreement with the objectives. More Protestants were willing to co-operate with Roman Catholics than Roman Catholics with Protestants but the Muslims showed equal interest in co-operating with Roman Catholics and Protestants. A higher proportion of Roman Catholics and Protestants were willing to co-operate with Muslims than with Hindus. The willingness of many of the members of different religions to come together for social service where they were in agreement with the objectives suggests that in spite of the serious religious conflicts in the past, religious barriers are breaking down.

A recruitment campaign which included all religions could result in a large membership in voluntary organisations. Most of the members who had joined an organisation were satisfied with the leadership, quality and quantity of the activities and the time and place of their occurrence. Although a few persons had left the organisation because they were dissatisfied most of those who had left were still interested and willing to help. Others who had heard of the organisation wished to become members. The most important area for organisational improvement would be the establishment of better methods of communication so that the objectives and activities of the organisations become better known. For the less well educated, talks on the radio or in small groups in the villages would be appropriate. The better educated could also read about the organisations' activities in the press or on posters.

MONUMENTS

The Conservator of Antiquities, Mr. Hamo Sassoon, has written to the effect that he is compiling a record of the historical inscriptions of Uganda. Some of the monuments no longer have their inscribed plaques, and photographs of these inscriptions would therefore be helpful. If any readers of the Uganda Journal have old photographs of Uganda's monumental inscriptions he would be grateful to borrow them and have them copied. Would any person with such photographs please contact Mr. H. Sassoon at P.O. Box 7136, Kampala.

COSSITZA

By H. B. THOMAS, O.B.E.

At *Uganda Journal* **23** (1959), p. 179 is a description of 'a sketch map of Gordon's Equatorial Provinces', in which Colonel C.G. Gordon designates the Ripon Falls as 'Cossitza'. The name makes a few appearances in Gordon's letters printed in Birkbeck Hill's *Gordon in Central Africa 1874-1879*, but never gained wide currency. Its provenance has long been unknown. It defeated Dr. Stuhlmann when he came to transcribe Emin Pasha's *Tagebücher* (See German edition, Vol. 1, p. 118).

Clearly it was not an African word, and I did wonder if Gordon might have adopted it from Rumania, since, for two years from the end of 1871 until shortly before his appointment to the Sudan in 1874, Gordon was the British member of the International Commission for supervising the Sulina branch of the Danube and was stationed at Galatz, as H.B.M. Vice-Consul.

Soon after the *Uganda Journal* article was published Sir John Gray referred me to a letter in the British Museum (Add. Ms. 40.665) from Gordon to one Richard Spiers Standen, dated Dufile, 18 February 1876, in which Gordon makes a rough sketch to explain his plans for future operations in Equatoria. In this he writes, as a footnote to the name 'Cossitza,' "Station called after Cossitz of Galatz. Refer to Mrs Carnegie." This enigmatical note did not make it clear who or what was Cossitz. I have been unable to identify either R.S. Standen or Mrs Carnegie.

In 1963, Gordon's last remaining nephew, Lieut.-Col. F.W. Moffitt bequeathed to the British Museum a further large collection of Gordon's papers, thus filling many gaps in the Museum's already extensive holdings. Sir John worked on this new material and told me of a letter from Gordon to his sister, Augusta, dated from Abyssinia, 2 October 1879. "Will you kindly send to Monsieur Cossitz, Galatz, Roumania, one of my Egyptian photos".

I asked the cultural attaché of the Embassy of the Rumania People's Republic in London if any details of M. Cossitz of Galatz were on record; but nothing could be learned from the appropriate institutons in Bucharest. There the matter now rests.

'KULEKWA'

By H. B. THOMAS, O.B.E.

In *Uganda Journal*, **25** (1961) pp. 50-51 is an account of the early 'Church Missionary Society Boats in East Africa'. This referred to the *Gabunga* as being under construction by Alexander Mackay at Usambiro when he died there on 8 February 1890. In the following May it was completed by the C.M.S. missionaries Walker and Deekes and was launched as the *Kulekwa*. It was wrecked about eighteen months later. The article states that the relevance of the name "is not very apparent". But, *Omulekwa* is the Luganda for 'orphan'; and so registers very appropriately the fact that the *Kulekwa* was Mackay's orphaned child.

THE SONG OF OCOL

By Okot p'Bitek

Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1970, 86p. 5sh. (E.A.)

We are all incorrigible askers for more and like Oliver Twist are constantly disappointed with the more we get. Queen Elizabeth asked Shakespeare for another play about Falstaff and must have been disappointed with The Merry Wives of Windsor. We asked for more from Dr. Okot p'Bitek after *The Song of Lawino;* of course we did. That vigorous, humorous and very positive expression of the traditionalist viewpoint cried out for an answer. I would guess that the author has heard over and over again the request "What would Ocol say". Well, here is the answer. Couched in the same vigorous language though with less exuberance of image. Obviously Lawino is far more likely to fall back on the colourful images of her own language than her sophisticated and de-tribalised husband. It is extremely entertaining and readable and the illustrations by Frank Horley are of considerable power. But it does have the faults of so many sequels. Rarely can the second attack at the same subject have the same clarity, vigour and panache as the first; and *The Song of Ocol* is no exception. Lawino's case was presented with enormous singleness and integrity, both her moments of attack and defence made a coherent satirical picture. The author used Lawino in order to attack many aspects of the contemporary scene but retained coherence because the attacker was Lawino, the immediate object of her assault was her husband and through him all the influences which she saw as corrupting him. There is no longer such a single vision from Ocol although I suppose one could argue that this is in character. He does not really know where he is going or what are the principles by which he lives and so he may well be the sort of person who will hit out wildly.

The poem rings with passion but it lacks direction. Ocol begins with dismissing his wife but as the poem goes on he attacks indiscriminately and draws his evidence not only from all over East Africa but far and wide throughout the continent and, whereas when Soyinka does this in *A Dance of the Forests* it has symbolic meaning, it lacks it in *The Song of Ocol.* The satire and irony of Lawino's song was firmly controlled and we never lost the speaking voice of this abandoned wife. In this poem one feels at times Okot is merely using Ocol as his medium and there is a kind of love-hate relationship between author and character that leaves one in doubt what reader reaction is asked for. The satire of Lawino was never unrealistic. One was compelled to sympathise with the singer even while the mind was developing counter-arguments to her viewpoint. Her ideas were an encouragement to vigorous and thoughtful discussion just as Okot's poetic technique (however much he may, with false modesty, claim to have clipped the eagle's wings in writing in English) has already been paid the compliment of countless imitations. But here it is almost as though the author himself is afraid Ocol's viewpoint will be too compelling if he does not pull his punches sometimes

and the satire of the singer occasionally, therefore, becomes a little close to caricature. After a passage of vigorous abuse on traditionalism (and there are some splendid moments — nowhere perhaps is he more moving than in his image of the exiled monarch) he will temper the wind to the shorn lamb. In section 3, for instance, after a powerful and biassed picture of divination in the "curing" of malaria Ocol concludes he will drop all the diviners in the lake. He then goes on:

"We will arrest
All the village poets
Musicians and tribal dancers,
Put in detention
Folk story tellers
And myth makers
The sustainers of
Village morality."

Obviously Ocol is to alienate us here but it is laid on too thick and when later in the same section he makes Ocol reject Cesaire, Senghor and the rest, I feel it is not in the character of Ocol or at least not in the character of Ocol as I have pre-conceived it from Lawino's picture. Lawino's Ocol would surely be an apostle of the still fashionable negritude attitude. But side by side with the vivid description of the young woman dragged to premature old age by servitude to tradition came moments which conflict poetically and also effectively as in the lovely

"I hear the lowing of cattle
A forest of long white horns
Approaching home
(here the reader is led to make his equation
between cattle and women by the force of poetry)
I hear the wild song
Of the herdsman
He is singing praises
(and so far so lovely)
To your ugliness!"
(the bathos makes the satirical point)

Obviously Ocol is a mixed up man and so cannot have the directness of attack of the single-minded Lawino. Is this further evidence of the differing attitude of the two sexes which has been so often stressed by writers? But self-questioning does not allow the same purity when the author is aiming to combine satire and poetry.

It is an invigorating poem. Ocol's rapid anthropological survey of the mixture of East African traditions will invite immediate recognition in most readers, recognition because of the vividness of the poetry. The review of tribal customs at the beginning of section 5, for instance, is made with admirable economy. Ocol himself comes to life once or twice; in his descriptions of his love for flowers, his naive delight in his "Merc" and his pride in his modern farm. Some of the symbolism is extremely exciting and even moving. Like the last three lines in a minor key after a passage of fairly crude hyperbole which is suddenly given new depth by this last moment:

"What proud poem
Can we write
For the vanquished?"

Obviously Ocol might pursue his studies in literature a little further to discover that the proudest poems are those written for the vanquished in East Africa as elsewhere. The heroism of the *Battle of Maldon* and of the singer about death in Uganda is enhanced by the fact that they cannot win.

The Song of Ocol is very well worth reading but it will disappoint because it does not make the excellent whole the first poem did. It suggests that the author is ready to move on to new things, that he has a store of poetry in his word hoard that might next find a completely serious voice. Ocol keeps hauling himself back by the scruff of his neck from seriousness and there are moments very much of the "Eheu Fugaces" type.

"Weep long,
For the village world
That you know
And love so well,
Is gone,
Swept away
By the fierce fires
Of progress and civilisation!"

This is evocative in a way his attacks (to hell with your pumpkin;) are not.

"That walk to the well
Before sunrise,
The cool bath in the stream,
The gathering of the family
Around the evening fire".

I think the real trouble is that Ocol is at times only two dimensional and then suddenly there is life in him and so we can neither believe or disbelieve in him in the long run. Too often if we scratch him we do not know whether it will be blood or didactics that will flow from the probe.

MARGARET MACPHERSON

ANTELOPES

By R. Bere

Arthur Barker Ltd., London, and Arco Publ.Co.,Inc., New York 1970
96 pp., 76 photographs, 16 in colour. 25 shs. (stg)

This attractively produced book will be appreciated by a wide range of readers. Well-chosen illustrations are combined with a text which reflects the author's painstaking appraisal of the literature and his long experience close concern for African wildlife. Apart from a few "atmosphere" passages the text is compact, informative and unsentimental, and is quite up to the standard set, for example, by Leslie Brown's *Africa: a natural history*.

The first chapter is a descriptive introduction, and picks an interesting path through a subject which could so easily have been presented as a tiresome catalogue. Selected details of each species are given in an appendix at the end of the book. Chapter two, on distribution, habitat and food, is packed with the kind of information which is the foundation of game management and responsible conservation, as is Chapter three, a fascinating account of antelope social behaviour of special interest to the Uganda reader. The fourth chapter, "Antelopes and Predators", is inevitably more anecdotal, but contains valuable references to recent studies on hyaenas, wild dogs and other misunderstood predators. A few details of man as a predator—hunting and trapping methods — would have added considerable interest. The final chapter "Survival and conservation", provides a very brief review of diseases, leading in to the disastrous effects on ungulate ecology of rinderpest following its introduction from Asia in about 1890. The author, not unnaturally, attacks tsetse control policy of shooting out wild animals to make way for cattle, which he states to be inferior to antelopes both in terms of meat production and of damage to natural vegetation. Indeed, if what Rennie Bere and many others have been saying is established fact, it remains obscure to this reviewer why the ranching of game animals has advanced so little in East Africa, unless social and logistic difficulties are the real obstacles. If this is so, then to be effective, conservationists' arguments should be presented in a broader and more practical context. Doubtless these shortcomings in the present book are a matter of space, but I can think of no better person to do this than Rennie Bere who, as the first Chief Warden of the Uganda Game Parks, should be highly respected in this country and who stands aside from the international jet-set termed by John Hillaby the "evangecologists".

My principal adverse criticism of this book is that the selected bibliography is far too short, especially with reference to recent original studies which add so greatly to its value. It has been pointed out to me that one photograph (p27) is incorrectly titled as a blue duiker. The picture is in fact of a suni

One's first reaction to the appearance of this little book is that it is of the superficial Christmas present variety, an impression quickly dispelled by the high standard especially of the second and third chapters. By reading it, one's appreciation of Uganda's antelopes will be greatly enhanced.

E.A. Virus Institute, Entebbe. A. W. Mc Crae

Uganda Journal, **34**, 2, (1970) pp. 221-232.

UGANDA BIBLIOGRAPHY

1970

Compiled by

BRYAN W. LANGLANDS

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This is the fifteenth bibliography on Uganda published in the *Uganda Journal*. This list comprises two-hundred items of which all except thirty concern works published in 1970. Although this is shorter than usual, the previous list was an exceptionally long one. The asterisks indicate references which have not been seen by the compiler, but which have been obtained from reliable sources. The list of abbreviations is as for the 1969-1970 list to which the following should be added.

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