

THE WAWANGA AND OTHER TRIBES OF THE ELGON DISTRICT, BRITISH EAST AFRICA.

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1. INTRODUCTION.

THE Elgon district is inhabited by several different tribes subdivided into many distinct political sections. The present paper deals with a portion of these tribes and sections.

My notes were collected over a period of three months under pressure of much other work ; it is not pretended, therefore, that they are either very complete or very accurate ; all the information here given has, however, been verified as carefully as possible and is, I think, on the whole substantially correct ; and in any case a paper of this description carries with it its own internal evidence.

I do not propose entering very closely into details of the history or origin of any of these people ; what information I possess on these points will appear in my notes, and I leave it to others to draw their own conclusions. Similarly I have drawn no distinctions between myths, legends, traditions and facts of real historical value.

I have two remarks to make with regard to these notes. The first is this : I have heard doubts expressed at times as to the accuracy of my information on the Kavirondo and in particular of that portion relating to chief Mumia. Now up to the time when these notes were ready for the typewriter, I had read one work only on anthropological science ; since then I have read two more ; one is Professor Frazer's *Pysche's Task*, the other *Early History of the Kingship* by the same author, and in both these I find the most abundant confirmation for almost all my information.

My second remark is this : I have heard it stated that Mumia is a man of no importance or at best a self-constituted headman ; I think the account I have here given of the Wawanga kings is sufficient to contradict this idea.

I make these two remarks for this reason. I collected this information in order that I might, with the knowledge thus gained, be in a better position to administer these people ; it may therefore be equally of use to other administrative officers, and it is mainly with that idea that I have taken the trouble to compile these notes ; and I therefore ask that criticism directed towards them may not be of the purely destructive order.

In the following pages I propose dealing with the undermentioned tribes:—

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|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. The Wawanga. | 8. The Kitosh tribes. |
| 2. The Wamanga. | 9. The El Konyi. |
| 3. The Uasin-Gishu Masai at Mumias. | 10. The Walago. |
| 4. The Watsotso. | 11. The Wangoma. |
| 5. The Kakumega people. | 12. The Wamia. |
| 6. The Kabras. | 13. The Kakelelwa. |
| 7. The Tatchoni. | |

2. WAWANGA.

I.—*Distribution.*

I. This tribe is separated into two distinct political groups: one under Mumia S/O Skiundo; the other under Tomia S/O Sakwa. The former occupies the adjoining districts of Loreko and Uwanga¹; and is by far the larger and more important of the two. The latter occupies the country known as Mukullu and numbers perhaps some 3,500 souls. The population of both divisions is largely intermixed with foreign tribes.

II. *Clans.*—Appendix A is a list of the Wawanga clans, their respective totems and origins according to tradition.

II.—*The Wawanga Dynasty.*

I. *Family tree.*—The Wawanga are ruled by a royal dynasty; their tribal history is essentially that of their rulers. Attached will be found the royal family tree (Appendix B). I cannot guarantee its absolute accuracy, but for all practical purposes it will, I think, be found sufficiently correct.

II. *History.*—The ancestor of the present ruling family was a man called Kwandedi. He was born in Terriki (Kisumu district) and moved, whilst yet a young man, to Shira on the banks of the River Yala. Here his two sons, Kaviakalla and Wanga, were born.²

At this time tradition has it the whole country, excepting Shira and the Manga³ district, was covered with dense forest, the haunt of numerous elephants and other big game.⁴ Traces of this forest are still to be seen in many parts.

The coming of the Wawanga to Loreko was according to tradition in this wise. After their father's death, or perhaps when he was a very old man, Kaviakalla and Wanga quarrelled; it is said because the former's wife, being suspected of stealing

¹ *Vide* Appendix A, (a).

² *Vide* Appendix A, (b).

³ Not to be confused with the Wawanga. Further information on this tribe will be given in a separate paper.

⁴ I can find scarcely any trace of the existence of a hunting tribe such as the Athi of Kikuyu.

bananas from the latter's plantations, and one day being actually caught in the act, went and hanged herself. Wanga thereupon fled in fear of his brother, and taking refuge with the Wamanga worked as a servant for an old man and his wife. Now Wanga was wearing his copper bracelet, which only the Itawkho wear,¹ and he kept his hand concealed under his cloak, that none might recognize him for a chief; telling the people that his hand was sick. The woman in whose house he lodged became suspicious, however, and one day she placed food and water for him in the hut and boring a hole in the wall, spied upon him and saw him eating with the hand, on which he wore the copper bracelet.

So the news went round that a great chief had lodged in their village, and reached Wanga's wives, children, and retainers, who had long been searching for him, and they and some people from Maragoli, called Wakholue, accordingly came and joined him; and he and all his people crossed over the Lusumu and built their village at Loreko.

Later Wanga explored the country to the north of the Nzaea in the direction of Mount Elgon, and at a place called Matungu he fell ill and died. When he saw that his end was approaching, he gathered his people about him and addressed them thus: "This is my camp, where I shall die; when, therefore, chiefs of my loins depart, bury them here." And to his son he said: "When I am dead, do not forsake my country, but build at Loreko."

So Wanga died and was succeeded by his son Wavalla; and Wavalla built a great village at Loreko near the site of the present Government Station, and all his people lived with him in this village.

Wavalla was a great cattle expert, and he showed the people of Wabo in Ukhaio, whose cattle were very fierce, how to cut off the tips of the horns, and for every four head he treated thus he received one head in payment.

Now his brother Muroño coveted the chieftainship; and he told the people of Wabo that all their cattle would die, because Wavalla had cut off the tips of their horns; so the Wabo killed Wavalla, and Muroño proclaimed himself chief in his place.

But the dying chief gave his copper bracelet to his Wakhalivu servant saying: "Take this bracelet to Wambatsa's village, so that Muroño may not kill you to obtain it and thus become chief; and tell my wife, who is heavy with child, that if she bear a male child, she is to call it Musui,² so that Muroño may be deceived into thinking the child is a girl, and thus shall my son be chief after me." And in course of time Wavalla's wife bore a male child, and she called him Musui, and he was brought up in the village of Wambatsa,³ his mother's uncle. Wavalla further instructed his servant: "When my son is grown big, and Muroño comes to fight Wambatsa, so that he may be sole chief, put four arrows into his (Musui's) hand,

¹ For information regarding the Itawkho, *vide infra*, 2, III, p. 24.

² Usui is the Kavirondo word for a hen chicken.

³ Wambatsa was a chief of the Wamanga tribe.

one arrow for every day of my funeral, which will never be celebrated,¹ and with these arrows let him shoot at Muroño's people."

Now there was great enmity between Wambatsa's and Muroño's people, because Muroño wanted to rule the latter, and Muroño said: "Why do the common people dictate to me the chief, in my own country? I will go and fight them"; and he came and fought with Wambatsa; and Wambatsa took Musui, and gave him four arrows into his hand; and Musui shot these and killed four men; and thereupon Wambatsa's people fell upon Muroño's people and drove them with great slaughter across the Nzaea. And they proclaimed Musui king; but Muroño continued to reign over the territory across the Nzaea, and refusing to give up his leopard-skin cloak, wore it in his own country.²

The Wawanga thus became split into two sections, each under its own chief.

When Muroño died, he was succeeded by his son Kitai,³ who oppressed the people greatly. He robbed them of their best milk cattle, and it is related of him that, when he heard of any specially fine beast, he would go to the owner's village and remaining there would refuse all meat and drink, until the man, fearing lest his chief should die in his own village, gave up the cow to him.

So the people wearied of Kitai's oppression, and one by one they crossed over the Nzaea into Loreko, until he was finally left with scarcely any people to rule over.

When therefore Musui was crowned king, the people came to him and said: "Look at Kitai, how because of his oppression of us he is left without any people; see to it therefore that, when you die, your children do not do as he has done, or else we cannot give them the copper bracelet," and Musui agreed to what they said; and I think there is no doubt that his descendants have on the whole faithfully kept this promise.

Musui was succeeded by Kitechi, on whose succession a series of Wamia raids commenced; the witch doctors therefore instructed the people to depose him and to put in his place a man with a hunchback sister, and Nedia, whose sister was a hunchback, was proclaimed king accordingly. He built his village at Loreko, just beyond the present police lines at Mumias Station. The spot is now converted into a great banana grove. The walls and ditch of the village still remain, and trees, many of them of a considerable size, grow there.

Nedia is said by bribery to have usurped the government over the Wawanga.

At the time the British Government took over this country the Wawanga chiefs ruled over a number of different tribes.

The chronological order, in which the various sections were brought under

¹ *Vide infra*, Wawanga burial customs, p. 33.

² *Vide* Appendix A, (c).

³ I give the story as told me by the people, but I think it is more than probable that Muroño was succeeded by Tavuche, who in turn was succeeded by Kitai. Tavuche's reign was probably very brief and unimportant, and terminated before Musui grew up.

control by Wanga's descendants, appears rather confused, but I take it that up to the time of Nedia's succession the position was this. The Wawanga were an independent tribe occupying the right and left banks of the middle Nzaea River. Those on the left were ruled by Musui and later by his sons; those on the right, by Morono and his sons. On the left bank of the Lusumu were the Wamanga, also an independent tribe ruled by their own chiefs. These three sections appear in Nedia's time first to have been brought under the single control of a chief of the elder branch of the house of Wanga and have, with the exception of the Mukullu section, remained so ever since.

Nedia's descendants gradually extended their rule over many other sections and tribes in the Elgon district. Under Skiundo, the father of Mumia, the Wawanga kingdom reached its zenith. The exact amount of control exercised by these chiefs over the different sections varied no doubt considerably, but their influence made itself felt over a very large area, and but for the advent of the white man I think there can be no doubt that Mumia and his descendants would have succeeded in establishing a great kingdom very much on the lines of that of King Mtesa of Uganda. Whether in doing so they would have come in conflict with the kings of Uganda, and gone under before them, it is of course impossible to say; but at any rate there can be no doubt that the Wawanga rule contained in it great potentialities for future expansion. Even now at the present day Mumia's influence and authority is still recognized far and wide and extends beyond the borders of the Elgon district.

During Nedia's reign certain Uasin-Gishu Masai left the Angata Nanyooki on account of drought and established themselves temporarily at Lugawkho in Marama. Their chief was Kitumbess of the Oltatua clan.¹ It is related of Nedia that he used to invite these people to his village to drink beer with him, and at night, when they became intoxicated, he strangled them and threw their bodies outside the kraal, giving out that they had died of drink. For this the Masai decided to take vengeance, and they came and besieged Nedia in his village and demanded that he should be delivered up to them.

When Nedia saw that his people would die of starvation, he said: "Let me go out and be killed, that my people may live"; and he and eight of his elders came out and were slain. Nedia ran some 400 yards before being killed. He fell at the foot of some rocks, where his descendants to this day sacrifice annually to his spirit. Dying a violent death he was not buried at Matungu.²

Judging from traditions and stories handed down regarding him, Nedia was the greatest of the Wawanga kings. One is led to suspect, however, that like Saul of old, he fell a victim to the jealousy and intrigue of tribal priests and witch-doctors.

The following is one of the best-known stories told of him; it will serve to

¹ For further information regarding these people *vide* separate paper on the Uasin-Gishu settlement at Mumias.

² *Vide infra*, Kavirondo burial customs, p. 33.

some extent to illustrate what I mean. Nedia had a rooted objection to witchcraft, and to all who practised it, and to convince his elders of the absurdity of their belief in them, he one day hid his copper bracelets in the grass, and then accused them of having stolen them. They denied the theft and Nedia therefore sent for a witch doctor, who administered to them the potion given at trials by ordeal. The elders drank it, and one and all fell down insensible from the effects of the drug. The following day Nedia took the witch doctor and the accused men to the spot where he had hidden the bracelets, and showing them to the witch doctor ordered him out of the country, saying he would not countenance such practices any longer.

On Nedia's death Kitumbess is said to have made Sundwa chief and given him a great quantity of cattle.

Sundwa was succeeded by Mukoya, who is also said to have owed his appointment to Kitumbess; but according to another version Sundwa himself named him his successor.

Mukoya was a younger son; Kweyu, his elder brother, was passed over by Sundwa on account of his bad character and the manner in which he robbed people of their property.

When Kweyu heard that Mukoya was appointed chief, he seized four of the ten sacred spears and the ten copper bracelets¹ and fled with them to Shimuli, near Mumias. His people also seized the royal ancestral stones; they have not been seen since, and what became of them is not known.

An intermittent warfare now ensued between the two brothers and continued up to the time of Kweyu's death. Mukoya dying shortly afterwards, their respective sons Skiundu and Sakwa made peace.

Skiundu was the father of Mumia; Sakwa the father of Tomia, the present chief of Mukullu.

When Sakwa died, Wanbani, Tomia's younger brother, attempted to make himself chief of Mukullu, but was prevented by the intervention of Mumia. Skiundu, another younger brother, also supported Tomia.

III.—*The Itawkho.*

The Wawanga ruling clan is the Wakhitsetse. The clan is divided into numerous branches, as may be seen from my list. Members of the ruling class, and especially heads of the different families, enjoy many privileges denied to the common people. These gradually cease in the case of younger members of the more distant branches. Further, no member of the family can enjoy any special privileges during the lifetime of his father, but on his death a man's sons generally succeed to his rank and dignity, though of course only one son succeeds to the position of supreme chief; thus on the death of Skiundu, the father of the present

¹ *Vide infra*, 2, Part VIII, p. 27.

king, all his sons were promoted to the rank of Itawkho, the name given to chiefs entitled to wear a copper bracelet.¹

All Itawkho are addressed by the common people as "Mwami," and in the case of the king even his own brothers and uncles may not call him by his name. Very old and important elders of the Wakhalivu clan are sometimes permitted to do so; Sai, the great Uasin-Gishu "Oiboni" may call him "N-gerai," my child; Lenyakul, Sai's son, may address him as "my brother."

We have thus here in the case of the Wakhitsetse family a well-defined tribal aristocracy.

IV.—*Chief's Privileges.*

It is rather difficult to define clearly the distinction between the supreme chief and other Itawkho. In the following the term king is applied to the supreme chief only. The privileges and prerogatives enumerated below are in some cases confined to him alone; in others they are enjoyed alike by all the Itawkho. Most of the king's privileges are also enjoyed by reigning chiefs within the limits of their own districts; this is so in the case of Ligorri, for instance:—

- (a) If a man kill an elephant, or find the tusks of a dead elephant, one tusk and the tail are claimed by the chief. If the elephant is a single tusker or if only a single tusk be picked up, it becomes the property of the chief. The hunter or finder is in such case entitled to a reward.
- (b) All leopard and lion skins are claimed by the chief, who gives the owner a small present and invites him to drink beer with him. An Itawkho is rewarded with the present of a bullock.
- (c) Only the king may wear a leopard-skin cloak, or sleep on a lion skin. Ligorri is an exception to this rule; he has the hereditary right to wear a leopard-skin cloak.²
- (d) Certain kinds of stones and beads, such as ancient Egyptian beads, may only be worn by chiefs.³ Anyone finding such a stone or bead must take it to the chief, who gives him in return a sheep.
- (e) The skin and certain portions of the meat of all hippo killed are claimed by the chief. One foreleg is the special perquisite of his headman. The chief does not himself eat the meat but he gives it to his wives, children, and servants. The person who killed the animal is not entitled to any reward.
- (f) All buffalo skins are taken by the chiefs, who give them to their warriors to make shields of.

¹ Promotion to this rank appears to depend to some extent upon the will of the Wakhalivu.

² *Vide* Appendix A, (d).

³ *Vide* Appendix A, (e).

- (g) No one may sit on a stool (or chair) in the king's presence, but must sit on a new bullock hide provided for this purpose in the village.¹ The king's sons may not sit on a stool during his lifetime, nor until a year after his death; but may sit on a log or box. Should a son break this rule, he is liable to be banished from his father's presence for several years.

Common people are not supposed to speak to the king until spoken to; nor are they supposed to talk in his presence. Skiundu is said to have been very particular about this.

V.—*The Wakhitsetse.*

Helot clans.—There are three clans that occupy very much the position of serfs or helots to the Wakhitsetse. These are the Washikava, Wakhalivu, and Wachero:—

- (a) The Washikava are said to have acted as guides to Wanga's people, when they joined him after his flight from Shira. It is (or was) their business to build the king's village, make roads, etc. Both Nedia and Skiundo appear to have worked them very hard and to have treated them with a severity only shown towards slaves.
- (b) The Wachero are the official undertakers to the king.
- (c) The Wakhalivu are the most important of these three clans. Their elders act as advisers to the chief, who consults them in all important matters and is supposed to be guided by their advice. Their young men are his police and messengers; they collect fines, execute punishments and effect arrests, in return for which they receive certain fees.²

The Wakhalivu also kill the king's sacrificial beasts; and in return are given the biggest portion of the meat of the slaughtered animal.

The principal Wakhalivu elders are Malalua, Mananda (or Manda), Sulua, and Kongoti. Malalua is the head of the clan, but owing to the fact that he is uncircumcized, he does not play so important a part as might otherwise be expected.³

Further information regarding the Wakhalivu and Wachero will be found in my notes on the death and burial and coronation of the king.

VI.—*The Manner of the King's Death.*

Wawanga kings are not allowed to die a natural death. Should they become too old to rule, or should they fall sick beyond recovery, they are strangled by the

¹ *Vide* Appendix A, (f).

² *Vide* chapter on Wawanga laws.

³ *Vide infra*, 2, Part X, p. 29.

Wachero; a cord is used for this purpose. This custom must date back a long time, for I am assured that Kwandedi and all his ancestors, who died in their huts, were put an end to in this manner.

The dying king is guarded in his hut by the Wachero, who allow none to enter. An exception, however, is made in the case where the king is taken suddenly ill, when his Wakhalivu elders are admitted, in order that they may learn his last wishes regarding the succession to the kingship and receive his instructions on other important tribal matters.

VII.—*The King's Successor.*

The king himself chooses his successor from amongst his sons, and communicates his choice to the Wakhalivu elders, who may not divulge the secret to anyone during his lifetime. Should they do so, the son selected will die. The eldest son is not necessarily chosen.¹

The king also nominates a second son to act as co-chief² with the first. I am not quite clear as to what particular position this other chief occupies or what his duties are. But I take it that in the event of the king dying without male issue, or if the son selected to succeed him were still a minor, the office of king would devolve upon the junior chief.³

VIII.—*The Sacred Spears and Copper Bracelets.*

The principal chief succeeds to all his father's *regalia*, such as the sacred spears, Wanga's copper bracelet, the leopard-skin cloak, etc. Great importance is attached to this copper bracelet; by virtue of its possession alone does the king hold office.

On his death it is taken off by the Wachero and given into the custody of the principal Wakhalivu, who guard it jealously, until the time has come to place it upon the new king's wrist.

I have related how Kweyu, on the death of his father Sundwa, stole the bracelets and the ten sacred spears. Six of these spears were subsequently returned and are now in the possession of Mumia; the remaining four are still with Tomia. Tradition has it that the recovery of the copper bracelet was in this wise. Shortly after Kweyu fled to Shimuli, Mukoya's sister paid a visit to his village and slept the night there, and in her sleep she dreamed that something touched her on the ear, and waking she found it to be this bracelet, which she thereupon took and, wrapping it up in grass, hid, and then sent word to Mukoya, who sacrificed a goat as a thank-offering to the spirits of his ancestors, and rewarded his sister with a present of cattle.

¹ Mumia, for instance, is the fourth son of Skiundu.

² He is not strangled, but is allowed to die a natural death.

³ Mumia's brother Nanjira is the present holder of this office; in Skiundu's time it was his (Skiundu's) brother Nafukho.

Several other copper bracelets of lesser importance were taken by Keweyu at the same time; these are all still in the possession of his descendants, and were seized by Wambani when he attempted to usurp the chieftainship from Tomia. They are now distributed amongst Sakwa's various sons.

All sorts of superstitions have been woven round Mumia's copper bracelet by the common people, who regard it with the very greatest awe and reverence. One of these is to the effect, that if the king wish to cause the death of anyone, he can do so by striking together, at dead of night, this bracelet with another one he wears on the other wrist; pronouncing at the same time the person's name.

The sacred spears are of a very great age, and several of them are of peculiar pattern and workmanship unlike any I have ever seen in East Africa. The others are, I am inclined to believe, spears with which former kings have slain men in battle.

The leopard-skin cloak and spears are entrusted into the keeping of the king's mother, or, if she be dead, to his principal wife. It is believed that a person can cause civil war and domestic strife throughout the Kavirondo country by taking them outside and pointing with them in different directions; for this reason they are always carefully guarded. When they were shown to me, I was told that they had for over ten years not been taken out of the hut, where they are wrapped up in grass and tied to the centre pole. Only the chief, his wife, or mother, and a circumcized Mkhaliyu, whose age is of no consequence, may handle them.¹

IX.—*The Funeral of the Dead King.*

The funeral celebrations of the dead king are very similar to those of the common people; but the manner of his interment is quite different. Only the Wachero and a few very old women are allowed to enter the hut in which the body of the dead king is lying; and by them all the offices of the dead are performed.

The corpse is wrapped in the hide of a newly slaughtered bull and buried in a sitting position in the chief wife's hut, with the head above ground.² A tube for sucking up beer leading from an empty beer pot is stuck in the mouth, and an inverted bowl is placed over the head.

The chief wife keeps guard in the hut for twenty days, after which the roof is broken down; as soon as the head commences to decay it is covered over with earth.

A year later the Wachero dig up the bones, and after washing them in water and anointing them with butter, wrap them in the raw hide of a bull. A great procession is then formed to Matungu, the burial place of the kings, where the

¹ After they were shown to me Mumia had on the first occasion he visited his mother to sacrifice a goat and perform various rites in order to avert any evil effect that might be caused by their removal from the hut.

² *Vide infra*, 2, Part X, p. 29.

bones are finally deposited.¹ The grave is marked with a few small stones and periodically visited by the new king for purposes of sacrifice.

Unlike most such cemeteries Matungu is undistinguished by any special natural features. Neither rocks nor trees mark the spot, and it took me one whole hour to find it although assisted by guides.

No uncircumcized native may approach the place.

X.—*Circumcision and Coronation of the New King.*

As I have said before, the reigning king himself chooses his successor and communicates his choice to the Wakhaliu. The nomination, which up till now has been kept a deep secret, requires, however, yet to be ratified in the following manner: At the funeral celebrations a bull is killed, in the hide of which the corpse is wrapped. The king's nominee is given a spear and instructed by the Wakhaliu to kill this beast. The son appointed to act as co-chief holds the bull by a rope round its neck, whilst his brother spears it behind the shoulder before the door of the hut, in which the body of the late king is lying; the dying animal must then bolt inside the hut and falling on the corpse there expire; otherwise the late king is presumed to have reconsidered the matter. Thus is his choice made known to all the people.

But no uncircumcized person can become a chief or wear a copper bracelet, and three months after his father's death the new king is accordingly circumcized, together with representatives of all the different clans practising this rite. The operation takes place in his village, where all those who undergo it remain till their recovery. The members of the Wakhaliu, Wachero, and Washikava clans occupy the same hut as the king during this time.

Six months later the remaining brothers are circumcized, each in his own village, together with others of the different clans; all those operated on at the same time remaining together in the same village until convalescent.

A year later the dead king's bones are interred at Matungu. The new king heads the procession and is surrounded by a great bodyguard of warriors, as a protection against possible rivals.

On his return he makes a present of bullocks to the various clans, and a great feast takes place in his village. The new king and all his brothers, however, enter a hut and remain there for four days. On the night of the fourth day a circumcized Mkhaliu elder places the copper bracelet on the king's wrist and upon his shoulders the leopard-skin cloak, which he wears during the next four days. The king's brothers are then also given their bracelets, each in turn, in the order of their seniority.²

¹ Throughout the Kavirondo country it appears to be the custom to bury chiefs in this manner.

² One elder slips the bracelet on and the other clinches it. At Mumia's coronation this was done by Manda and Kongoti; Malaluwa, not being circumcized, was debarred from officiating.

Outside, in the kraal, the historic spears and royal ancestral stones are exhibited during these four days, and are then entrusted to the keeping of the king's mother or chief wife.¹

XI.—*The King's Mother.*

The king's mother is a most important personage—and possesses great influence over the king in his domestic affairs and in tribal matters.

She exacts large contributions in money and in kind from the king and the Itawkho; and is, in consequence, reported to be enormously rich. Should these contributions not be forthcoming, she threatens to make use of the power vested in her by virtue of her custody of the sacred spears; a threat that rarely fails to have the desired effect.

She also plays a very important part in the reaping and sowing of the crops and in other similar domestic affairs of the tribe.²

The present king's mother is a very old woman called Mamanya; she belongs to the Wamukhula clan of the Marama section of the Kavirondo tribe.

3. WAWANGA CUSTOMS.

The following are some of the more important Wawanga beliefs, domestic manners and customs. Some of these are peculiar to this tribe alone; but the great majority are common to all the Kavirondo peoples, though they may vary in minor details according to the particular section or tribe.

I.—*Circumcision.*

In no case is circumcision generally practised; on the contrary it appears to be entirely optional. Elder sons and only sons are almost invariably circumcized; younger sons but rarely; and it is quite the exception to find a family where every male member has undergone this operation.

II.—*Totemism.*

The clans are exogamous, children take the totem of their father. A man may not marry a woman of his mother's or grandmother's clan.

The Wakhitsetse women appear to have a special clan of their own called, I think, Musuvu; but on this point I can furnish no information. If a man find he has married a woman of the same clan as himself, the following procedure is resorted to. The man and his wife climb on to the roof of the hut and after

¹ No uncircumcized person may sacrifice at these stones, or even touch them.

² *Vide infra*, cultivation of crops, p. 48.

swallowing a blue bead both cry out: "Now we have no longer any clan." Descending they enter the hut and shut the door. An old man then comes to the door and calls to them: "Come forth now, for you have no longer any clan"; and they leave the hut and sacrifice a white goat, from the belly of which a strip of skin is cut with which the man ties his right hand to the woman's left hand; this is then severed. After this they may live together as man and wife.

III.—*Religion.*

The Kavirondo religion is a form of theism combined with ancestor worship. The latter plays by far the most important part in their religious lives. To their ancestors they make sacrifices and offer up prayers on all domestic occasions.

In every village and on the path leading to the village, small stones, usually oblong in shape, are to be seen. There are stones erected to Were (God) and to the ancestors.

There are three kinds of such little temples: the Msambue, the Mukurru, and Were.

(a) *Msambue*.—These are the stones put up to the male ancestors. Their place is facing the door of the chief wife's hut; a miniature hut is usually erected over them.

During his father's lifetime a man may not have his own Msambue; if he wish to pray or sacrifice to his ancestors, he must do so in his father's village.

On the death of the father, the eldest son succeeds to the Msambue stones, one of which he usually retains for his own use; the rest he gives to his younger brothers, who supplement them with stones taken from the bed of a river. If the father die whilst his children are yet minors, his brothers or some other elderly male relative of the family take charge of the stones, until the sons are grown up.

The Msambue stones are usually three in number. If there be not sufficient stones for all a man's sons, the elder ones will add a few extra ones to those of the father, and as their younger brothers grow up, they give them one of these.

(b) *Mukurru*.—Mukurru is the stone erected to the maternal spirits; it is usually to be found under the verandah of the chief wife's hut. When a man dies, his son puts up this stone to his own mother, if she be dead; if she be still alive, it is put away during her lifetime. In such case it is usually deposited in a tree or in some rocky place.

(c) *Were*.—Women also erect stones to their ancestors. Just off the pathway leading to the village is the spot selected for Were's stones; as a rule only one is put up; but when a Kavirondo crosses the Malaba River for the first time he takes a stone from the bed of the river and deposits it alongside Were's stone.

(d) *Sacrifices*.—The following is a common form of sacrifice: A young bull calf is selected and its ears are cut off and placed at the Msambue (or sometimes at

Were). This bull is now a kind of sacred beast, and should any member of the family fall sick, it is brought to him and its urine sprinkled over him, whilst at the same time the ancestral spirits are called upon to cure him.

It would be a dire calamity were this beast to be lost or stolen¹; and the least that could be expected would be that one of the family should fall sick.

When the bull is full grown,² the members of the family assemble and sacrifice it to the ancestral spirits. Its blood is poured out at the Msambue; the lungs, tongue, hoof of the right foreleg, stomach, liver, windpipe, etc., are boiled together in a pot inside the hut and then cut up. Some of this is placed at the foot of the Msambue and at Were's, and some is thrown out in different directions in the kraal to the ancestral spirits, each of whom is called upon by name. The remainder is given to the women and children to eat.

Such sacrifices as this may not be made by a man during his father's lifetime.

Sheep may not be offered as a sacrifice; neither may any female stock be offered at the Msambue.

Further details regarding sacrifices will be found in the following accounts of burials, marriages and superstitious customs and beliefs.

I regret that I am unable to go into the question of sacrifices offered by the chief on behalf of the whole tribe.³ These appear to be of great interest and would be well worth the trouble of investigating.⁴

(e) The Wawanga have certain sacred rites connected with the python, similar to those described in my Kabras paper.⁵ Straw images of these snakes with a pot of porridge or beer and perhaps a few feathers stuck in the ground beside them are often to be seen in the villages. In such case someone in the village has recently met a python and offered it food or a fowl, and on his return has made this image of it.

IV.—*Births.*

At her first confinement a woman stays in her hut for four days; on the night of the fourth day her husband sleeps with her in her hut, and in the early morning before cockcrow the woman sweeps all the grass and dirt in the hut into a basket, and she and her husband proceed to the river, where her husband selects a spot in the long grass for her to deposit the contents of the basket. After this they return to the village. Both going and coming the husband walks in front, the woman following behind.

¹ I mention this, because I have known at least one case where such a beast was seized in payment of a debt.

² Not necessarily immediately it is full grown; sometimes it is not sacrificed until old age.

³ *Vide infra*, cultivation of crops, p. 48.

⁴ *Vide* Appendix A, (g).

⁵ *Vide* separate paper on Kabras (Totems).

Nothing special is done with the basket, *i.e.*, it is not burnt or thrown away.

On her second confinement the woman goes alone.

If the child be illegitimate, the woman's mother takes the place of the father. If she subsequently marry, her husband accompanies her on the occasion of her first confinement since the marriage.

The umbilical cord together with the afterbirth is buried by the mother at the back of the hut on the day of the birth; the umbilical cord above, the afterbirth beneath; should they be placed *vice versa*, it is believed that the woman will bear no more children.

A woman who has borne twins may not look at a cow in calf for fear the milk will dry up. Should this occur, a medicine-man is called in, and he makes medicine in a pot and places it over a fire until the contents boil over. It is then taken off, left to cool, and given the cow to drink. The medicine-man receives a fowl for his services.

In a village, where a woman has borne twins, a warthog's tusk, a hartebeeste's hoof or a piece of buffalo horn is hung round the neck of a cow in calf to avert any evil effects; this charm is removed once the calf is weaned.

Similarly a mother of twins may not cut grain at harvest time or sow seed in the plantations without first taking special precautions to counteract evil effects.

Again, if she pass by fermented grain, for making beer, spread out to dry, she must spit upon it and take some in her mouth and put it back; otherwise the beer will be spoilt.

Such a woman, therefore, smears white clay on her temples and forehead whenever she goes on a visit to another village, and this is supposed to counteract the evil effects of her presence. She does the same when she goes to reap or sow the crops.

A pregnant woman may not eat meat called Ivechi,¹ if it has been placed in her hut overnight in an uncooked state; otherwise the child, when born, will be sickly; and when it commences to crawl, its hair will fall out, and sores will appear on its scalp.

V.—Burials.

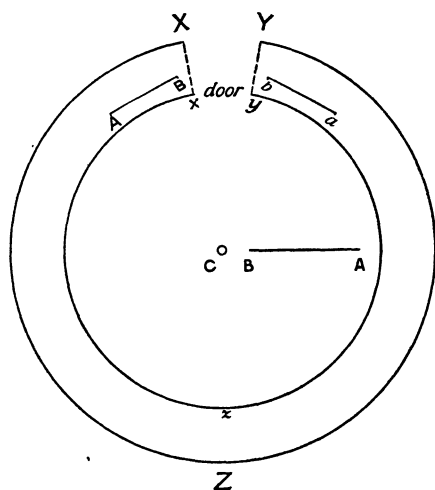
The Wawanga bury all their dead—males lying on their right side, females on their left; married men are interred in the chief wife's hut, between the centre pole and right wall, looking towards the door; that is to say, feet at centre pole, heads towards wall. Women, children, and unmarried males are buried under the verandah of the hut—males to the right, females to the left of doorway; in both cases the feet towards the door, the head away; thus as in accompanying diagram.

It will thus be seen that all corpses are interred so as to face the doorway,

¹ Some portion of the stomach, perhaps the spleen, *vide* totem of Wareka clan, Appendix A.
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the idea being, I presume, that the spirit of the departed person may not be cut off from the society of friends and relatives.

An exception is made in the following cases: Persons killed by lightning and



X Y Z	Verandah of hut.	A ...	Head.
x y z	Wall of hut.	B ...	Feet.
A—B	Male corpse.	a ...	Head.
a—b	Female corpse.	b ...	Feet.
C ...	Centre-pole of hut.		

monstrous abortions are buried in swamps.¹ By monstrous abortions I mean children born, say with two heads, or with too many limbs, etc. Ordinary deformities are allowed to live.

Suicides, and people who have come by a violent death, are buried in the kraal and not in the hut, even though death actually takes place some time after the infliction of the wound. A man dying from a blow from a knobkerry is usually buried outside, but, if he be brought back to the hut and die some two or three days later, he is buried as he would have been, had he died a natural death.

A drowned person is buried, when the corpse is recovered, on the spot where it was found.

Anyone discovering the corpse of a suicide is rewarded by the relatives with anything from a goat to a cow; the reward varying, presumably, according to deceased's wealth and importance.

The finder of a drowned person is rewarded with a cow and may claim every article of property in the dead man's hut.

In both the above cases he is also given a sheep to sacrifice on the spot where he found the corpse.

No reward is paid for finding the body of a person killed by lightning, *murdered*, or dying a natural death.

A man's grave is dug by his brothers and brothers-in-law; a woman's by her brothers; her husband's brother removes the earth.

If a man has lain sick for a long time, and on the day of his death any friends or kins-people come to visit him and find him already dead, they are permitted to dig his grave.

A child's grave is dug by the grandfather or by an elder brother. A new hoe is used in digging the grave of a grown-up person and becomes the property of the man who dug the grave.

A child's grave is dug with an old hoe, which the mother afterwards presents to her father. After the grave is dug and the corpse interred, the hoe is detached

¹ The idea of burying in such cases in a swamp is presumably to prevent the ghost returning to the village; it being naturally difficult to escape out of a swamp.

from the handle, and both are left lying on the grave, together with the grass rope and basket used for removing the earth, until the funeral is over.

The hoe before being given away is left lying in the hut for four or three days¹ after the funeral ceremonies.

When the corpse has been deposited in the grave, the person who dug the grave first throws in a handful of earth from each hand, next the person who removed the earth, and next each wife, beginning with the chief wife.

The two men who dug the grave then fill it in ; they also deposit the corpse in the grave.

A leaf of a tree called Mutoto is placed underneath the ear, on the side on which the corpse is lying, and two leaves on the other ear. These leaves are perforated so that deceased may hear what is being said.

In the right hand and stretching upwards out of the grave is placed a stalk of the wild eleusine grain. The protruding end is bent down and covered over with earth. This is done by the man who dug the grave, and the corpse, if that of a male, is thus addressed by some old man : "Do not be angry with us, but die as all men must die, and leave your hand pointing upwards, that your children may grow up, and your wife, if she be pregnant, may bear a child and call it by your name, and your sons will also call their children after you."

A woman is addressed in the same manner by her husband or some old man, who also adds, that her husband will marry another wife and will call the new wife by her name.

The funeral celebrations last, in the case of a male, four days, in the case of a female, three days. During this time the door of the hut remains open, in order that the spirit of the departed person may not be cut off from the company of relatives and friends. Until the corpse is buried, the dead man's wife, or if it be a woman, her husband, and relatives remain in the hut and during the night following the death set up great lamentations ; but once the corpse is interred they lament by day only.

Immediately after the death the wives or other female relatives pour grain and fermented millet over the corpse. This is swept up before burial and thrown to the fowls.

Before the interment, deceased's sister, or some old widow, fetches water from the river, and placing the body with the head in the doorway, shaves the forehead and temples. The water used for this purpose must be fresh from the river ; the pot containing it is placed upon the grave and, after the funeral service, given to the person who performed this office.

Grown up people are buried in the morning before 10 a.m., but children may be buried at any hour. After the burial all present proceed to the river to bathe ; until they have done so they may not enter any hut but that of the deceased. On their return a fire is lit on the grave over the feet. This fire is kept burning for

¹ According as deceased was a male or female.

one whole month. Should it go out, it must be re-lit from the fire in the hut; should this also be extinct, it must be lit again by means of a fire drill.

The following days are occupied in everyone shaving their heads; water for this purpose being taken from the same pot as that used in shaving the corpse. When finished with, the remaining water is poured away and the empty pot left standing on the grave. In the evening, a fowl, a cock in the case of a male, and a hen in the case of a female, is killed by the man who dug the grave. The head is first struck upon the grave and then on both door-posts and on the ground between them. It is then roasted at the fire on the grave and eaten by all those who helped in the digging. The last day of the funeral celebrations a bullock, goat, sheep or fowl, according to deceased's wealth and importance, is killed and eaten with porridge.

The following is more or less the chronological order of the funeral celebrations:—

(a) *If a male.*

First day: corpse is buried; everybody bathes; fowl is killed in the evening; great lamentations.

Second day: lamentations only.

Third day: lamentations; mourners shave their heads.

Fourth day: kill a bullock, or other animal, and sweep up.

(b) *If a female.*

First day: as in case of a male.

Second day: mourners shave their heads.

Third day: as fourth day in case of a male.

After the funeral the hut is cleaned; the dirt, together with the hoe handle, etc., is swept into an old basket and burnt, just off the path leading to the village.

The dead person's sleeping skin is given to the man who removed the earth from the grave. He takes and washes it when they go to the river to bathe after the interment. A child's sleeping skin is destroyed together with the basket and hoe handle.

At the funeral lamentations one wife dances with the dead man's beer pot and sucker; another with his chair; another with his spear and shield; another with his clothes; another with his bead head-dress. If there be only one wife, she dances with these things by turns.

Immediately after the death the widow cuts off her tail, and leaves it on the floor of the hut. After the funeral celebrations, and so long as she remains a widow, she wears a shabby tail made of banana leaf fibre—the one discarded at her husband's death she must never wear again. It is usually given away to some one else to wear.¹

¹ Regarding this article, *vide infra*, marriage customs, p. 42.

The dead man's chief wife¹ remains in the hut, where the body is buried, during the following two months for the purpose of tending the fire. After this the hut is broken down and the timber is used as firewood. Stones and thorny branches are placed upon the grave. If the body be buried under the verandah of the hut, a lily called "Ikakha" is placed upon the grave to keep off the hyænas.

The following season, when the eleusine grain is sown, a dance takes place and sacrifices are made to the dead person's spirit.²

The dance lasts, in the case of a married man, four days; in the case of a married woman, three days, and in the latter case is not nearly such an important function.

The men dance with their shields and spears, and the women don their smartest tails.

The first two or three days, as the case may be, the dance takes place in the evening at sunset and lasts till about 8 p.m.; but on the last day dances last from cock-crow till late in the afternoon. On the last day also sacrifices are offered to the spirits of the departed and to Were.

A pot of beer is brought, and one of the dead man's brothers pours a little over the grave saying: "Drink this beer we have brewed for you," the kinsmen then consume the rest of the beer.

If the grave be that of a woman, her female relatives perform this rite. The same ceremony is then gone through at Were and at the Msambue: the relatives calling upon Were and the spirits of the dead and pouring out libations to them. In the case of a woman this ceremony is performed at the Mukurru instead of at the Msambue.

A bullock is then slaughtered and its blood poured over the grave. The ears, nose, wind-pipe, tongue, lungs, stomach, liver, the right hoof and the meat under the backbone are put in a pot, boiled and cut into small fragments; these are then tied all round the grave, and at Were's and the Msambue stones, where the dead man, Were, and the souls of the departed ancestors are thus addressed:—

"Were, you are our eyes, accept this food, and keep us in good health."

"See, brother, we have brought you this food, eat and be not angry with us and send us good health."

At the Msambue the ancestors are invited to feast with them and to join in the dance.

In the case of a female an old or barren cow is killed instead of a bullock. Blood is poured upon the grave, but no meat is offered. Instead of sacrificing at the Msambue, this is done at the Mukurru.

If sickness occur in a family some years, say two or three perhaps, after the death of any member, the medicine man will sometimes attribute it to the spirit of

¹ Failing his wife, some other relative, such as brother, performs this duty.

² This is only done in the case of a married person. If the relations cannot afford it, they may wait one or two seasons before holding this ceremony.

the deceased person. His relatives and kinsmen accordingly brew beer and kill a bullock ; or a cow, if deceased was a woman.

A great dance, which lasts till early morning, is then held, at which much drink is consumed. At about 4 a.m. libations are poured out at the Msambue and to Were and at the Mukurru stones under verandahs of the hut.

If deceased was head of the village, the inhabitants after this usually abandon the place and build elsewhere.

Again if a man fall sick, and in delirium call out the name of a departed relative, the sickness is usually attributed to his spirit, and the medicine-man will tell them to dig up the corpse, that the sick man may be cured.

Accordingly the bones are dug up and burnt in an open place over a red ants nest. The ashes are then swept up into a basket and thrown into a big river.

The corpse is dug up by a very poor old man, who is rewarded for his services with a hoe or one rupee and the fore leg of the sheep killed on these occasions. He also superintends the destruction of the bones and throws them away.

If when the corpse is dug up the flesh is found to be dried up and only the stomach rotted away, it is considered a very bad sign.

Sometimes instead of disposing of the corpse in this manner a stake is driven into the head of the grave, and into the hole thus formed boiling water is poured. The stake is left lying on the grave. The corpse being thus disposed of, a black ram is killed, and all the dead person's relatives rub dung from the stomach of the slaughtered beast on their chests and tie strips of skin round the right wrist ; the head of the family, in which the sickness occurred, ties a strip round the second finger of his right hand and the sick person a strip round the neck.

VI.—*Marriages.*

When a man wishes to marry, he makes a present of a bullock to the father¹ or nearest male relative of the girl.

After say one and a half months he makes a further present of a cow and a bull and again a few months later of a cow and two bulls ; and lastly of a cow.²

After these preliminary payments the bridegroom proceeds with at least four of his kinsmen to the bride's village and there seizes her by force. The girl at once commences screaming for help, and in answer to her cries the women of the village come running up. The bridegroom beats and drives them off with a stick. The girl is then carried away to the village.

In the evening the bride's girl friends and relatives proceed to the bridegroom's hut, where they are witnesses to the consummation of the marriage and the bride's virginity.

¹ By father I mean the girl's actual father or male guardian.

² If the suitor for the girl's hand be a rich man, he probably pays the whole of the marriage price at one time.

The following day they return to the village singing; leaving behind, however, a young sister or other girl friend to bear the bride company.¹

Next day the women and young girls from the bride's village form a procession to the bridegroom's village. They march singing and carrying with them fowls, goats, porridge flour, and four pots of beer. On arrival they perform a dance and sing.

Before entering the village they conceal a pot of porridge off the road and post a sentry over it. On their departure the bride accompanies them, and all partake of this porridge. The bride then returns to her husband and the rest go home.

If the bride be not seized by force, she proceeds of her own accord—carrying her father's spear and accompanied by many virgins—to the bridegroom's village.² One of her brothers heads the procession with a pot of beer.³

Before her departure her father ties a live male quail round her neck, after breaking its legs and wings. This bird the bridegroom, on her arrival, takes and roasts at the Msambue, after which it is eaten by the children of the village.⁴

He then ties another quail round her neck. This bird is cut off the following morning, leaving behind, however, the beak, and is then roasted at the Msambue. The bride wears this beak round her neck until the ceremony of the goat skin has been performed as described below.

Should the bird die during the wedding night, it is considered a very bad omen: the bride will fall sick and her children die.

The party waits outside the village singing, until the bridegroom sends out a hoe as a present for the bride's father. They then enter and proceed to the door of the hut, where they remain until the bridegroom produces a goat as a further present to the bride's father. All then enter the hut, the bride's brother going in first; and the bridegroom's relatives, but not the bride's, are given beer to drink.

Everybody partaking of this beer presents a piece of iron wire or a string of beads to the bride's brother.

The bride is then anointed with fat, and "sim-sim" seed is sprinkled over her. Her brother then returns to the village, taking with him the spear.

The following (the third) day the marriage ceremony is performed in this wise: A he-goat is killed and a long strip of skin is cut from the belly. The bridegroom's grandfather, or some other elderly male relative, standing with the bride at the Msambue, splits the skin up its length and passes it over her head, so that it hangs down over her chest, saying: "Now I have put this skin over your head; if you leave us for any other man, may this skin repudiate you and may you become barren," and she replies: "If you do not marry me properly (*i.e.*, pay the full marriage price according to law and custom) I shall leave you for another husband."

¹ *Vide infra*, p. 42.

² The women decorate themselves with feathers and carry shields.

³ A kind of grass called Lombobo is tied round the pot of beer and also below the blade of the bride's spear.

⁴ *Vide infra*, remedies against sickness, p. 44, regarding this custom.

The meat of this goat, with the exception of one shoulder, is taken to the bride's father by the bridegroom's wives or sisters.

The following day the bridegroom kills a bullock, which is cut up by the bride's brothers, who are given the neck, haunches, and skin.

The bridegroom keeps one shoulder ; the rest of the meat is given to the bride's female relatives.

Two days later the bridegroom kills another very big bullock, of which one leg and the back are sent to the bride's mother ; the bride makes biltong of the remainder of the meat, some of which she sends to her mother ; the rest she keeps for herself.

On this day, too, the bridegroom makes the bride a present of a bullock, four goats, ten hoes, or ten rupees, beer and grain, all of which she sends to her father.

On this day also she is given a variety of presents, which she passes on to her father. Thus when she first drinks water she receives a ring of iron wire, or the equivalent in money ;¹ a hoe, when she makes the bed ; five strings of beads, when she goes to get firewood ; four strings of beads, when she digs sweet potatoes ; one string of beads, when she cuts bananas ; two rings of iron wire, when she makes up the fire in the hut ; a hoe, when she shuts the door ; another, when she places the cooking pot over the fire, because the fire being hot she might scorch her fingers² ; one ring iron wire, when she crushes grain ; eight strings of beads, when she washes her hands ; two hoes, when she drinks beer ; two rings iron wire as compensation for any dust or dirt that may fall into her eye when gazing up at the roof of the hut ; three rings of iron wire on the first day she works in the plantations.

A month later, when the bride wishes to return to her mother for the first time, she takes her stand upon a new bullock hide outside the door of the hut and is anointed with butter upon the neck and shoulders and then sprinkled with sim-sim seed. Together with her husband and ten women of her family, and ten men of his family, she then proceeds to her mother's village, all of them singing by the way.

On reaching the village the party comes to a halt outside, and the bride's mother brings out a pot of beer which is drunk by the ten women. The father now sends out a goat and a hoe, and hereupon the party enters the village, and all but the newly married couple go inside the mother's hut. The latter, together with two small children, one a brother of the husband, the other a sister of the wife, remain standing outside the hut, the wife on her husband's left, with his brother on her left, her sister on the husband's right. The bride's mother now brings out porridge and meat, which is eaten by the wife and two children. She then brings out a drinking gourd containing beer, into which she mixes some sort of medicine.

All four now sit down on the ground. The husband, taking a mouthful, spits

¹ Payment in kind is gradually giving way to payment in money.

² The idea underlying these gifts would appear to be that they are in some way compensation for all the domestic worries and troubles her future life may hold in store for her.

it out on his right side, and another mouthful which he spits out on his left side. The bride's sister then does the same ; next the husband's brother, and last of all the bride.

Hereupon the husband enters the hut and joins the others, who are feasting and dancing ; an old woman now appears and pushes the bride twice towards the door ; the third time she pushes her right inside.¹ The two children then enter too.

The whole party now feasts and rejoices until the early morning, when the bride's father produces a bullock, which is killed by the visitors and eaten by all present. The husband, however, does not join in the feast until the father has given him five hoes.

After this the guests take their departure ; but the newly married couple and the two children sleep the night in a hut in the village, returning all four of them the following day to the bride's new home.

During the first six months of her married life the bride does not have a hut of her own, but lives in the hut of one of her husband's other wives. They now request permission from the bride's father to build a hut ; this is not granted until the full marriage price has been paid. The father accordingly now demands two cows and a bull and a long wrangle as to the payment then ensues, which usually ends in the bridegroom giving way.

The two cows in question go to the bride's maternal uncle.

When the building of the hut is completed, the bride's father makes a present of a bullock, grain, cooking pots, a broom for sweeping out the hut, a quantity of firewood, eight pots of beer, ten fowls, three baskets of flour and some basketwork plates.

A great procession of women is formed to bring these things. They come singing and dancing ; a young boy accompanies them leading the bullock. The husband kills a goat and gives it to the women to eat, keeping a shoulder for himself ; the wife does not join in the feast. The goat is eaten in the hut, before entering which singing and dancing take place outside.

The wife may now cook her husband's food in her own hut ; but she may not cook food for herself nor eat there until ten days have gone, when her husband gives her a hoe. Neither may she sweep out her hut until her mother has been to see her ; this the mother does after about a month, bringing with her six pots of beer, a goat, six baskets of flour, and three bundles of firewood.

On her arrival the husband gives his mother-in-law beer, brewed by her daughter, to drink in the hut and himself drinks her beer. He also gives her a goat in exchange for the one she has brought him and flour for her flour.

Although the mother may drink beer in her daughter's hut she may not yet eat food there, neither may her daughter cook for her. The following day mother and daughter sweep out the ashes from the hut, and the young girl, who originally accompanied the bride, returns with the mother after receiving a present of a hoe.

¹ This is in some way an allusion to the three days' funeral celebrations for a dead woman.

Apparently the reason for this girl remaining with the bride during this time was, that one or other of them might always be in the hut to prevent anyone entering with the object of stealing ashes. Should such a misfortune occur, the bride will never bear children or she will quarrel with her husband.

In ten days' time the husband sends once more for his mother-in-law, and she comes, together with six old women, bringing with her beer. The husband also produces beer and kills a very big ram, which she eats in company with the other old women. The ribs and stomach are consumed in the evening; the back, shoulders, and chest the following morning; the remainder of the meat, with the exception of one shoulder retained by the husband, they take with them when they return.

The husband now gives his mother-in-law a hoe, and henceforth she and her daughter may eat together.¹ Somewhere about this time also the mother is given a good milk cow to compensate her for the loss of her daughter.²

A woman does not wear a tail until she becomes pregnant for the first time after her marriage. She herself makes the tail, and when she dons it for the first time her husband presents her with a she-goat to give to her father.

When a woman is past child-bearing, her husband may no longer sleep in her hut; if he enter her hut he must sit on the side opposite the kitchen.

VII.—*Trials by Ordeal.*

(a) When chiefs or very important elders quarrel or accuse each other of witchcraft, theft, etc., they resort to a form of trial by ordeal that consists in placing the king's six sacred spears upon the ground, and both parties then step between them. The guilty party will die.

(b) A medicine man makes a potion, which he administers to both parties. The one falling down insensible after drinking the potion is pronounced to be the guilty party. If both fall down the medicine has failed to work.

As a rule when one of the two falls down, the hostile party will beat him with sticks and not infrequently cause his death.

This is a general form of trial for all offences.

(c) *For theft*: if a man accuse another of theft, either party may take a skull, and both accused and accuser then spit into it. If the accused be guilty, he will die, but if not his accuser will die.

This form of trial is scarcely ever resorted to, it being, I gather, regarded in the light of an impious temptation of providence.

(d) *For theft*: the accused takes droppings of a fowl and places them on the ground before the door of his accuser's hut, saying: "If I have stolen, may these droppings kill me." If guilty he will fall sick; but if innocent the inmates of the hut will fall sick. In such case the accuser will send for the man he accused, and the latter brings the fowl from which he obtained the

¹ On this occasion there is no singing or dancing.

² *Vide* Appendix A, (b).

droppings and killing it lets the blood drip on the spot where he put them, saying : " You accuse me of being a thief ; now I have brought the fowl that caused your illness, eat it, that you may recover ; but pay me compensation."

Both parties then eat the fowl ; the bones and feathers are burnt and the ashes thrown into a stream.

Should the man who invoked the trial not recognize the fowl, all the birds in the village are killed and eaten ; every man killing his own fowl. The bones and feathers are then collected together and burnt.

The accused party, whose innocence has thus been proved, receives in compensation anything from two sheep to a bull.

The procedure is the same in the case of the accused man falling sick.

(e) *For theft* : accused and his accuser proceed to a tree called Murembe¹ into which the accused man thrusts his spear ; his accuser is then called upon to pull it out.

The guilty party will fall sick and will not recover until his relatives have completely rooted up the tree ; a sheep is sacrificed and eaten on the spot together with some medicinal concoction ; every one ties a strip of skin from the sheep round the right wrist. The sick person ties it round his neck and rubs some of the dung of the slaughtered beast on his chest.

If the innocent party be sufficiently powerful to prevent it, he will not allow the other party to dig up the tree until adequate compensation has been paid him.

Sometimes instead of the Murembe tree, a tree called Murumba, the bark cloth tree of Uganda, is made use of.

(f) *For theft* : the following form of trial by ordeal is employed by women only. The accused takes a stone used for sharpening razors and striking it on the ground before the accuser's hut says : " If I have stolen, may this stone kill me." If she be really guilty, one of her children will die ; or if she be pregnant, she will abort ; if she have no children, she will herself fall sick. Her husband will in such case sacrifice a sheep² or a goat, and, if the latter, they will eat it together.

VIII.—*Witchcraft.*

(a) Any one wishing to harm a neighbour can do so by procuring a chicken's first egg and hiding it in the grass near the hut. The occupants of the hut will fall sick and may even die. Any one finding an egg near his hut and having reason to suspect witchcraft of this description at once consults a medicine man.

Should the medicine man confirm his suspicions, the following remedy is resorted to : A fire-drill is procured and held above the egg until fire is produced. The egg is roasted until it cracks, and the contents are then burnt ; the ashes are swept into a basket and thrown into a big river. They must not come in contact

¹ Ekiriti tree of South Africa : *Erythrina tomentosa*.

² Women may not eat the flesh of sheep ; *vide infra* Part XIII, Other Customs, (e), p. 49.

with anybody and are therefore swept up with grass. A cock is then killed, and the blood poured upon the spot where the egg was found ; after which it is roasted and eaten by the person who produced the fire, and the person against whom the witchcraft was made.

The man who concealed the egg will fall sick and die. This form of magic is very effective, and if the guilty person be detected, he is taken before the chief and heavily fined (six hoes and a bullock).

Should his victim die, he pays three or four head of cattle.

If the egg be an ordinary one, and this ceremony be performed, the persons doing so will fall sick ; it is advisable, therefore, always first to consult a medicine man.

(b) Another form of witchcraft is to place secretly the dead body of a domestic rat in the doorway of a hut ; the people occupying same will fall sick, and may even die ; especially small children ; pregnant women will abort.

If the body of a rat be discovered in this position and the owner of the hut has reason to suspect witchcraft, he consults a medicine man, who directs him to kill a red or white cock and to pour the blood on the spot, where the rat was found.

Before killing it, the owner of the hut takes the fowl by the leg and brushes each member of the family with it on the chest.

If this ceremony be performed unnecessarily, that is to say without consulting the witch-doctor, the people themselves will fall sick, and will not recover without his assistance.

In such case the witch-doctor kills a sheep, and gives them medicine to drink, and ties a piece of skin round each person's hand, and rubs dung on their chests.

The medicine man is given the whole of the meat with the exception of one shoulder.

If proper remedies be resorted to, the evil intended to the occupants of the hut will recoil upon the person himself ; and if he be detected, he is fined a bullock by the chief.

IX.—*Remedies against Sickness.*

(a) When a medicine-man is called in to cure a sick person, he sometimes gives instructions to perform certain rites with a quail. The procedure varies according as to whether a hen or a cock bird be chosen.

(1) *If a hen quail.*—If the patient be a male, he himself performs the ceremony ; if a woman, it is performed for her by her husband or some other male relative.

After both legs and wings have been broken, a string is passed through the under-beak, and the bird is suspended round the patient's neck, whilst the ancestral spirits¹ are thus addressed : " This is the custom, that we follow with this bird ; if this person be cured to-day, we will give it to you to eat."

¹ The medicine man gives instructions as to whether the male or female ancestors are to be addressed.

The under-beak is then severed from the body and left hanging round the patient's neck, where it remains during the following four or three days according as the patient is a male or female.

In the case of a male the ceremony is performed at the Msambue; in the case of a female before the door of the hut.

The bird is next plucked and roasted at the Mukurru, or Msambue as the case may be, where the feathers are also burnt; after which the person performing the ceremony takes pieces from the stomach, wings, legs, lungs, and skin of the neck and holding them in the palm of his hand throws them out in different directions; the while addressing the ancestral spirits thus: "Grandfather, great uncle (or grandmother, great aunt, as the case may be), I give you this bird, cure now therefore this patient."

The remaining flesh is then cut up into small fragments and put in a basket upon the patient's head; a number of small children come, and each takes a piece out of the basket and eats it.

(2) *If a cock quail*.—The bird is roasted at the Msambue and eaten there by the whole family. Male ancestors only are addressed; the rite is altogether much simpler than in the former case.¹

(b) Another remedy for sickness is to catch alive a small animal called "ifukho."² The sick person and relatives assemble before the door of the hut. The person who caught the mole holds it up by one leg and first the sick person and then he himself and then the others each in turn spit upon it saying: "Oh, our ancestors, help us and cause this mole to take away this sickness; we have not got a sheep to give you, but accept this mole, which is as a sheep from the jungle."³

The live mole is then put into a hole in the ground, and an inverted pot is placed over it. If it now burrow its way out in the direction away from the hut, the patient will recover; but, if in the contrary direction, he will die, since the ancestors have not heard the prayer.

(c) If anyone be constantly sick in the stomach, a medicine man is called in, and he takes fermented grain for brewing beer and pours hot water over it. This the sick person has to drink every morning for about a month, after which the dregs are thrown out on the pathway leading to the village in the hopes that some stranger passing by may, by stepping upon them, contract the sickness and thus take it away. They are only infectious, however, so long as they remain wet.

(d) A mother, whose children are sickly or die, places the next infant born to her out on the road leading to the village and arranges with an old woman to pick it up and bring it back to the village. Before doing so, the old woman pierces one of its ears and fastens a bead or piece of iron wire in it, which it wears till it is

¹ Possibly this version is not quite correct, and it may be that, according as the bird is a cock or a hen, the sacrifice is made to the male or female ancestors.

² A kind of rodent mole.

³ The Kavirondo speak of the "ifukho" as the "wild sheep"; although it bears no resemblance to a sheep.

grown up. On arrival in the village, she ties in its hair a wooden charm and a cowrie, which the child keeps until its mother is again confined.

If for any reason it is found necessary to shave the child's head, the lock of hair to which the charm is fastened is kept.

The lock of hair is finally cut off and the head shaved by the old woman who picked it up on the road.

Such a child is given the name of Magokha, or Nanjira. For her services the old woman is given a present of a fowl, some "sim-sim" and chiroko, and a piece of beef.

(e) A man frequently troubled with dreams regarding a dead person consults a witch-doctor, and he will instruct him to procure a white hen¹ and to pluck a few of its feathers and stick them in the ground before the stones put up to Were, and at the same time to offer up a prayer.

After plucking out the feathers the fowl is let loose. It is eventually, how long afterwards I cannot say, roasted and certain rites in connection with the ancestral spirits, similar to those I have described in the sacrificing of a quail, are performed.

Cock birds and also bulls and goats are sometimes used for this purpose.

In the case of the two latter beasts, the ears are placed at Were's stones.

Cures such as this are only resorted to some years after the death of the person whose spirit is supposed to be troubling the patient. In no case is it done until after the final funeral celebrations.²

(f) Sick people may not eat fowls, goats, or eggs.

X.—*Superstitions.*

(a) If a stranger force his way into a hut, and in doing so his skin cloak falls to the ground, or if he be bleeding from a fight, and his blood drip on the floor, one of the inmates of the hut will fall sick, unless preventive measures are taken.

The offending party is required to produce a goat.³ This is killed; before cutting up the carcase the skin is removed from the chest and belly and cut into strips, which everybody in the hut ties round the right wrist.

Should anyone already have fallen sick, the strip of skin is tied round his neck. The strips are first stirred round in the contents of the goat's stomach, and the women and children and any sick persons rub the dung on their chests.

Half the goat is eaten by the occupants of the hut, the other half by the stranger in his own village. Should anyone die in consequence, the offender forfeits a bullock to the relatives.

(b) The same procedure is resorted to in the case where a woman's tail has been forcibly torn off, or if a woman enter a hut without her tail.

¹ Occasionally a black hen is substituted for a white one.

² *Vide* Part III, Religion, (d), Sacrifices, p. 32.

³ In the latter case the man who commenced the fight pays the goat.

(c) A man returning from a raid, on which he has killed one of the enemy, may not enter his hut until he has taken cowdung and rubbed it on the cheeks of the women and children of the village and purified himself by the sacrifice of a goat, a strip of skin from the forehead of which he wears round the right wrist during the following four days.

(d) A woman may cause her husband's death by walking abroad without her tail.

The husband therefore kills a goat, which he is entitled to demand from her people, and eats it in company with his wife, who also ties a strip of skin from the belly of the goat round the neck and rubs some of the contents of the stomach on her chest.

(e) If a fowl lays an egg at night, it is killed and eaten; otherwise it is believed one of the children in the hut will fall sick.

XI.—*Omens.*

(a) Grown-up people going on a journey ask the first person they meet some sort of a question such as this: "What sort of traveller are you?" and the man will reply somewhat to this effect, "I am a person whose first-born child was a male" (or female as the case may be). If the traveller's own first-born child happens to be of the same sex, he thanks him, saying: "Now I shall find plenty of food at my journey's end, and I shall get there quickly." If, however, it happen contrary wise, he will return to his hut and leave later in the day, always provided, of course, he was at the time of meeting still only a short distance from home.

(b) Children when going on a journey tie a knot in the grass, and this they believe will insure them arriving at their destination before the family they are visiting has eaten.

(c) It is lucky, when going on a raid, if the first person met with on the road has borne a female child first.

(d) It is also lucky, when going on a journey, to stumble with the left foot, but unlucky to stumble with the right. When returning from a journey the opposite holds good.

(e) If a man hear a bird, called by the Kavirondo lion, singing on his left, when setting out on a journey, it is a good omen. If the bird sing on the right, it is a bad omen, and the traveller will fall sick, or if he be setting out on a raid he will be killed.

If the bird sing straight ahead it is an extremely bad omen and betokens that either he or some one in his village is about to die.

(f) A man returning from a long journey places his spear in the Msambue and leaves it there for the next twenty-four hours or so.

XII.—*Cultivation of Crops.*

(a) The year is divided into two seasons, Morotso, the season of big rains, and Mulumbi.

Fresh ground is only broken towards the end of the Morotso season. On this fresh ground sim-sim and chiroko are sown the following Mulumbi.

When these crops are harvested, muyimbe is sown the following season in the same ground.

Sweet potatoes are planted in the Morotso season on old mtama ground. White mtama is cultivated in the long rains, red mtama in short rains.

(b) Before the people may sow mtama the king must make medicine.

About six months before the time has come for sowing, a pure white bullock is killed at the royal Msambue.

Formerly this was done by the Wakhalivu, but now it is usually done by Swahilis.¹

The beast is pithed in the neck; the meat is distributed amongst various important old men.

The following month the Wakhalivu strangle a black ram before the hut of the king's mother.²

The carcase is then taken into the hut and placed by the bedside facing towards the head of the bed. The following day it is taken outside and cut up by the Wakhalivu, and the king, his wives, and children tie a strip of its skin round their fingers.

The next day the common people go and sow millet in the chief's fields. After which they may sow in their own plantations.

Anyone caught sowing millet before the chief has done so is fined and may very possibly even die.

No such custom exists in regard to the wimbe crop, but in the chief's own family his mother or chief wife must first commence the sowing; the remaining wives may then each sow their own particular patch.

(c) Every day when people go to cut the wimbe at harvest time they tie the first stalk they cut round their necks. These on their return to the village they fasten to the centre pole of the hut.

After the harvest the stalks so collected are made up into a bundle and placed under the roof of the grain hut, and from them is obtained next year's seed for sowing.

On the first day of the harvest also the head of the family places the four first stalks cut at the Msambue and at Were; two at each.

(d) Should the rain fail, the people make the medicine-man a present of a bullock and request him to produce rain. So long as the drought lasts the chief sends him the humps of all bullocks killed by him; and at harvest time, should the medicine-man have been successful in producing rain, he sends round to all the plantations for a contribution of grain.

If, however, no rains come, the people argue that some other medicine-men

¹ *Vide* Appendix A, (e).

² Or possibly chief wife.

are jealous of him and are working against him. They accordingly go by night to their own medicine-man and kill him.

It is asserted that heavy rains invariably follow his death.

XIII.—*Other Customs.*

(a) If lightning strike a hut or kill a person or beast, a medicine-man is called in. He asks for a black sheep and having killed it removes all skin and flesh from the skull, into which he puts medicine. The medicine is roasted in a pot, and everybody in the village is given a little to lick up in the palm of his hand. Some is also put into a reed and hidden in the grass of the roof of every hut in the village. The remainder is poured into the skull, which is then buried by the medicine-man, where the lightning struck, he himself digging the hole. With it is also buried a stick from the hut or, in the case of a person or a beast, some grass or earth from the spot where the lightning fell.

For his services the medicine-man is given a hoe and the whole of the sheep excepting one shoulder.

A lily called the "Ikakha" is often stuck on the roof of huts to keep off lightning; this is a very common sight in Kavirondo.¹

(b) In the village of an old man of the Wakhitsetse clan near Mumias I noticed one day a rather curious-looking spear stuck in an ant hill, and on inquiring its purpose I was informed by this latter-day Moses that he used it for driving off hail.

All over the Kavirondo country cows' tails² may be seen stuck upon poles or trees in or near the plantations; their object is to keep off hailstorms.

(c) When a man builds a hut, he places in the trench in which the uprights stand, medicine made of a mixture of cow dung, leaves of a tree called Movini and fresh green grass sprung up in a spot where cattle have been kraaled, whilst at the same time he prays to his ancestral spirits.

(d) Small children may eat their meals with their father, but when they grow up they must eat in the cattle shed or "simba" hut. A son may not eat with his mother, but a daughter may.

Women may not sit on chairs; children may not sit in their father's chair; neither, until they reach the Oluasatsa age, may they sit in their father's presence, but are allowed to sit on a box or log of wood.

A son may not, in his father's absence, enter the hut of any of his father's wives, excepting that of his own mother.³

(e) Women, after they have reached the Muraka age, may not eat sheep, hares, a rodent called "iferre," raw meat, guinea fowl, pig, fowls, eggs, etc.

¹ The same plant as is placed upon the graves to keep off hyænas; *vide* burial customs, p. 37; I believe a cow or a bull's horn is also sometimes used instead.

² I believe they are cow's tails, but am not quite sure on this point.

³ The sin of Reuben is not unknown in Kavirondo families, and for this reason the father usually moves his son into a separate village when he grows up.

XIV.—*Stages in the Life of a Kavirondo (Livaka).*

The following is a rough idea of the different stages into which the life of these people is divided; it is probably not very accurate; it may, however, serve as a basis for others who may wish to collect further information on the subject.

The information was collected from the Tatcheni people, but holds good also for the Wawanga and kindred tribes:—

- A. *Males*.—Mwana: age of infants.
 Mmiya: age of small boys.
 Muraka: age of puberty.
 Musoriri: age of marriage.
 Mutsatsa: age of married men.
 Mukofu: age of very old men.
- B. *Females*.—Mutorro.
 Mwana.
 Mmiya.
 Mukhana.
 Mukhuviu.¹
 Mukhassi: age of women, who have had a child.
 Muchere: the age of women, who are past child-bearing.

XV.—*Seasons.*

The following are approximately the divisions of the Wawanga year into months and seasons. Despite every effort to get this correct I failed to do so; and I am driven to the conclusion that the Wawanga have all but ceased to remember their own names for the months:—

A.—*Murotsi: March to August.*

<i>March</i>	...	<i>Omwajiro</i> : commence cultivation; sow chiroko.
<i>April</i>	...	<i>Ommilimiro</i> .
<i>May</i>	...	<i>Liununa</i> : women and children only at work in the fields.
<i>June</i>	...	<i>Ommuchesero</i> : Mwimbi harvest; all hands busy building grain huts.
<i>July</i>	...	<i>Muerango</i> : all hands busy threshing grain.
<i>August</i>	...	<i>Ommulchuiro</i> : a month of little work; the women grind up flour for brewing beer.

¹ The age of circumcision amongst tribes such as the Tatchoni, where this rite is practised amongst women.

B.—Mulumbi : September to February.

<i>September</i>	...	<i>Ommirachiro</i> : work as in March.
<i>October</i>	...	<i>Sirasire</i> .
<i>November</i>	}	<i>Eshimiu</i> : hot months, when there is no work.
<i>December</i>		
<i>January</i>	...	<i>Mundau</i> : plant sweet potatoes ; women and children do most of the work. The mwimbi commences coming up.
<i>February</i>	...	<i>Omuomuvikhua</i> .

4. WAWANGA LAWS.

I.—Administration of Justice.

The law, except in petty cases, is administered by the king alone ; petty cases may be dealt with by the village elders, who inflict small fines, such as a couple of fowls or a hoe.

The punishments that may be inflicted by the king are :

- (a) Imprisonment for a couple of months with or without hard labour.¹
- (b) Simple imprisonment until the accused pays the fine.
- (c) Imprisonment in the stocks for one month.

Mumia objects to capital punishment and never passes such a sentence ; arguing that little good can come from adding a slaying to a slaying.

The king has the right to flog for certain offences, but Mumia does not exercise this right either.

The manner in which fines are disposed of will appear in my list of laws.

It should, however, be noted, that the king has the right to claim the whole of the fine inflicted, should he choose to do so.

II.—Sanctuaries.

Throughout the Elgon district there are certain places where a fugitive from justice may take refuge.

Such spots are usually the burial places of great chiefs and are regarded as sacred² ; for instance, the cemetery of the Wawanga kings.

If a man take refuge in a sanctuary, the owners of the same are bound to protect him and prevent others following him, even by the force of arms. As soon, however, as the fugitive leaves the sanctuary, he may be apprehended. Should his pursuers insist on following him into the sacred grove and, in consequence, a fight ensue between them and the owners of the grove, they are fined three head of

¹ Hard labour consists in work in the king's plantations.

² *Vide* Appendix A, (j).

cattle by the chief for violating the spot. Should in such a case the man they are seeking be wanted for murder, he or his relatives are also fined three head of cattle for the crime, but the murdered man's relatives receive no compensation.

Should a murderer or other criminal take refuge in a village and pay the elders a goat or a bull, they are bound to protect him. The chief, however, may call upon the people to produce him, and they will then bring him secretly by night to the chief for trial.

In such case, if the man be too poor to pay the fine, the chief will say to him, "I cannot kill you now, since you have been brought to me"; and he will assist him to escape out of the country, since otherwise the murdered man's relatives may kill him, if they catch him.

III.—*Punishments.*

A.—*Homicide*.—If committed in an affray, the chief despatches his "askaris" to surround the village, and a fine of two cows and two bulls is exacted from the people; both parties then appear before the chief, and the guilty person is fined fifteen head of cattle, of which five head go to the chief's headmen, Ligirri and Nanjira, and the remaining ten head to the dead man's relatives.

The Wakhalivu, who collect the fine, receive from five to ten goats and a few hoes.

Should the man who committed the crime be unable to pay the fine, the relatives of the dead man may kill him, should he fail to escape; should he, however, do so, Mumia will not allow them to pursue him.

B.—*Murder*.—(a) The relatives may seize the whole of the murderer's property or failing that may kill him.

(b) If a man murder his own wife, he is fined two cows and two bulls. One of the bulls is given to the chief and the other is killed at the funeral. One of the cows goes to the woman's father, the other to her maternal uncle.

(c) If a woman be murdered by some one else, the crime is punished as in the case of the murder of a man; most of the fine goes to the husband.

(d) If a woman kill her husband, she is beaten with sticks by her brother-in-law. The marriage price is returned to the husband's relatives; a small portion of it is given to the chief.

(e) If a man murder his own father, he pays a small fine of two or three head of cattle to the chief. The same holds good if a father murder his own child.

(f) If a woman kill her child she is beaten, and her husband is fined two or three head of cattle by the chief.

(g) The murder of a child is otherwise punished the same as the murder of a grown-up person.

Note.—Generally the murder of a relative is punished less heavily than that

of a stranger; the fine varying in proportion to the degree of ownership the murderer has in the victim. The reason being, of course, that the death of a relative is regarded more in the light of a private loss than from the point of view of the community.

C.—*Injuries to the body.*—(a) *For a spear wound.*—The man inflicting the hurt is fined two bullocks by the chief. The injured man gets nothing, unless it be a sheep to sacrifice at the Msambue. Should he die later of the wound, a further fine of four bulls and four cows is exacted, of which one bull and one cow go to the chief, and one bull to his headmen (Nanjira and Ligerri)—the remaining head go to the relatives.

(b) *Hurt with a knobkerry.*—One goat, which is eaten by the injured party.

(c) *For loss of a hand.*—The injured person receives two cows, and a fine of one bull is exacted by the chief.

(d) *For loss of a leg or an eye.*—One cow, and a bull to the chief.

(e) *For loss of a finger or thumb.*—The injured party is given a sheep to sacrifice and eat.

(f) *Loss of a tooth or for tearing lobe of ear.*—The offender pays a bull, of which the hump goes to the chief. If the injured person belong to the Wakhitsetse clan, the chief gets the ribs instead of the hump.

(g) *For breaking an arm.*—Two cows, and one bull to the chief.

(h) *For breaking a leg.*—One cow, and one bull to the chief.

(i) *For causing loss of both eyes.*—Five cows and five bulls. Four head go to the chief, and six to the injured person.

(j) If a man leave his child unattended in the village and a fowl peck out its eyes, the chief fines the man a bull.

(k) If a man give a girl a disease called "Buba,"¹ her father claims a bull from him. Should the girl pass this disease on to another man, her father has to pay him a bull.

(l) If a beast cause the death of anyone, it is speared and eaten.²

Note.—If a fine of several head of cattle is inflicted, the bull, as a general rule, goes to the chief. If the fine consist of a bull only, the hump or ribs, as the case may be, is claimed by the chief.

For injuries inflicted by a woman the fine is always rather less.

Injuries caused by an intoxicated person are dealt with on the above lines.

Persons of unsound mind are beaten; but if they commit murder, they are executed.

D.—*Sexual offences.*—(a) *For rape or adultery.*—Offender pays a bull to the husband or father. The bull is killed and eaten; the hump is given to the chief.

(b) *For rape on a virgin.*—One cow to the father of the girl.

¹ Buba is, I take it, yaws or framboesia.

² Presumably at the funeral.

(c) If a man put a girl in the family way, he pays one head of cattle to her father. Should he subsequently marry her, the marriage price is reduced accordingly.

If the child be a boy, its father may claim it, but he may in such case be required to pay another two head of cattle to the girl's father.

If the child be a girl, it becomes the property of the mother's husband.

Should the girl die in giving birth, the father of the child pays a bull to the chief, a cow to her father and another to her maternal uncle, and a fourth beast, which is slaughtered at the funeral.

E.—*Theft*.—(a) *Of cattle*.—The thief is fined from one to five head, according to his wealth and the amount stolen. A rich man is punished more severely than a poor man.

Should he be unable to pay the fine, he is put in the stocks for one month, or given one or two months' hard labour in the chief's plantation.

Should he escape, he is punished.

Half the fine goes to the chief and half to the owner of the stolen property.

(b) *Of sheep*.—If the thief be a rich man, he is fined two sheep for every sheep stolen. Half the fine goes to the chief and half to the owner; a poor man is punished with imprisonment with hard labour.

(c) *Of fowls*.—The thief is fined two fowls for every one stolen.

(d) *Of food from a village or plantation*.—If committed in times of scarcity, the thief is fined one head of cattle; otherwise one sheep. The quantity stolen is measured off in the field with a rope and collected from the thief's plantations accordingly.

F.—*Accidental Injuries*.—The person concerned is fined by the chief for his carelessness and pays compensation to the injured party.

The following is a typical instance of the way accidental injuries are dealt with.

One of Mumia's wives went to her grain hut; she had her small child with her at the time and placed it on the ground beside the hut. Her brother, who was assisting her, lifted the roof off the hut and without noticing it deposited it on the spot where the child was lying. The child was presently found to be missing, and when search was made for it, was discovered dead under the roof of the grain hut.

Mumia thereupon paid five head of cattle to his clan and slaughtered a bullock. The woman was divorced, and the marriage price demanded back.

G.—*Arson*.—*For burning a hut*: the person concerned pays to the owner the value of the hut and everything in it. If wilful intent be proved, he is also fined five hoes. Should cattle be damaged in the fire, he is fined in addition one cow and one bull. The bull is claimed by the chief.

H.—*Other Offences*.—(a) If anyone, including her own husband, *tear off or take hold of a woman's tail*, he is required to pay a sheep or goat, which is sacrificed

and eaten, otherwise the woman's children will fall sick, and she herself, if pregnant, will abort.

(b) If a man *assault a woman* by seizing her by the hand, he is required to produce a bullock, which is slaughtered and eaten by the woman's brother in the husband's village. The husband may not join them; the hump is sent to the chief.

(c) For violating a sacred grove: the offender is fined a bull by the chief.

Punishments for offences connected with witchcraft and compensation for accidental injuries connected with superstitions have been dealt with in Parts VIII and X respectively (pp. 43 and 46).

IV.—*Laws relating to Marriage.*

(a) If a woman leave her husband, the chief orders her to return to him. If she refuse, the marriage price has to be returned to him, less the value of what she brought him at their marriage.

(b) If a woman leave her husband, she may take with her any young children of the marriage; but when they are grown up, the father may claim them.

(c) The proportion of the marriage price to be returned varies according to the number of children the woman has borne her husband. A husband is not entitled to demand back any portion of the marriage price, should the children exceed three in number.

If at the time of separation the children are very young and subsequently die, half the marriage price can be demanded back.

When the marriage price is returned, the male children belong to the father, the female children to the mother.

(d) A man cannot demand back the marriage price in the event of the woman proving barren.

(e) If a man marry a girl and find she be not a virgin, he is entitled to demand the return of one bullock.

If she be found to be with child, he may divorce her.

(f) If a man ill-treat his wife, she may complain to the chief, who fines him a goat.

V.—*Laws relating to Property.*

(a) If a man clear land and then abandon it, he can dispose of it for a nominal sum, such as one fowl.

(b) Banana plantations can be bought and sold.

The price of an average plantation is one goat and a hoe, or a bullock, or ten rupees.

(c) Huts can also be sold. Formerly they were valued at two fowls but owing to the scarcity of timber in these days the price now amounts to four or five rupees.

VI.—*Inheritance.*

(a) A minor's property is given into the custody of his uncles, who are given a small share of the cattle. The boy spends half his time with his mother's brothers and half with his father's brothers.

(b) If a man have no brothers, his property is entrusted to the care of the chief, who selects suitable guardians for the children and on the day of their father's death is given a bullock.

(c) A father can leave his property amongst his sons as he chooses, giving a younger son a larger share than an elder son; but the whole of his property must go to his children.

(d) A very rich man's property is divided up amongst his sons by the chief, who in return receives a cow for his trouble.

(e) On the death of a man young and childless wives pass to his brothers. Should they refuse to go, the return of the marriage price can be demanded.

Wives with children can elect to live with them.

(f) If the girl have no full brothers, the price is divided amongst her half brothers. In a family, where there are, say, three brothers and three sisters, the eldest brother would take the purchase price of the eldest sister, the second brother that of the second sister, and so forth. This is very frequently done during the father's lifetime, in order that his sons may themselves purchase wives with the cattle thus obtained.

(g) Every wife receives from her husband a certain quantity of stock. The chief wife is given most, unless she prove incompetent. On the death of the husband this property is divided up amongst the woman's children. If one of the wives have a larger number of children than the others, their portion is increased from the common stock. Every woman has also her own banana plantation, which goes to her eldest son.

APPENDIX A.

(a) Loreko is the country lying between the Nzaea and Lusumu Rivers; towards the east it is bounded by a small stream flowing into the Nzaea; from Mumias to this stream is a distance of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. Uwanga is the country across the Nzaea (right bank); its northern boundary is the Sioia River.

(b) Wanga belonged to a tribe called the Wakhesiru. Kaviakalla's descendants are said to be living in Maragoli; it would be interesting to trace this, the elder branch of the family.

(c) Murovo's descendants still continue to reign semi-independently over a section of the Wawanga known as the Ndangalessia; the present chief is Ligorri S/O Denjeshe (*vide* Appendix B). The head of this family enjoys all the privileges and prerogatives of a reigning chief in his own right, but acknowledges

Mumia as supreme chief; and Mumia on his side recognizes his claims (*vide* Wawanga laws: Nanjira and Ligorri share in fines inflicted by the king).

(d) There are very few chiefs in the Elgon district who have the right to wear a leopard-skin cloak. Majanja, a very great Kitosh chief, was not permitted to do so, although a smaller chief, nominally at any rate under him, called Maiero, was. The reason being, that the former was not a hereditary chief of a ruling family, whilst the latter was. Majanja was succeeded by his son Sudi; but Sudi is not permitted either to wear such a cloak. In Uganda a similar custom prevails (or did prevail), only juniors of Royal blood being allowed to wear a leopard or cut skin round the waist.

(e) Beads of this description are strung on the hair from an elephant's tail and worn round the neck.

(f) Owing to the custom so many Europeans have of offering "Wazee" and others chairs to sit on, when they come into their camps or houses, a custom largely due to the inability of Europeans to distinguish between big men and little men, all natives being equal in their eyes, this rule is now scarcely ever observed.

Generally the white man's influence has caused much of the old etiquette to disappear, and the chiefs are no longer regarded by the common people with anything like the awe and reverence of former days.

A parallel to this custom of not allowing common people to sit on stools or chairs is to be found in Speke's Journal of the discovery of the Nile, in which he describes the difficulties he experienced in obtaining Mtesa's permission to sit on a chair he brought with him; no one being permitted to sit in the king's presence on anything raised above the ground.

(g) I cannot sufficiently regret that I was unable to inquire more closely into the magical or priestly character of the Wawanga kingship.

That the king is a semi-divine personage there cannot, I think, be very much doubt; further, there cannot be the smallest doubt that he is, first and foremost, a priest or medicine-man and that he exercises authority not by virtue of the kingship, but by virtue of his priesthood; to what extent he is a medicine-man and what his functions as such are I cannot very well say. We have seen that the fertility of some of the crops, at any rate, appears to depend upon certain sacrifices but ceremonies performed by him, in which also the chief wife or his mother play an important part; on the other hand, he does not appear to exercise control over the weather, for he is, so far as my information goes, not a rainmaker.

I believe one of the king's chief functions in olden time was to make the war medicine, and on this account alone he would be a very important personage amongst tribes that were constantly at war with each other.¹

¹ All sorts and kinds of tribes resorted to Skiundu and Mumia in time past for war medicine; even the E'Uasn-Gishu Masai, I believe.

From the account I have given of him I think we are safe in assuming that the king is in some vague way a reincarnation of the late king, and through him he stands in very close communion with the whole band of tribal ancestral spirits and possibly even with the tribal deity himself. The custom of strangling the king before death throws a good deal of light on the question.

Another interesting point with regard to the Wawanga kings is the apparently dual nature of the kingship.

In considering the question we are apt to be led astray by the shadowy part this other king appears to play; but for all that it might, were the real truth to be known, be none the less real and important; at any rate we need not conclude that, because he is to us a mere figure somewhere in the background, he is of no account; on the contrary, although as king he may exercise but small authority, he may in his character of priest be all powerful; in other words one may possibly here have a division of labour; and whilst the one, with certain exceptions, confines himself to duties of a purely temporal nature, the other may be responsible for the spiritual welfare of the tribe.

(h) The Kavirondo customs relating to burials and marriages are so extremely complicated that it is most difficult to avoid confusion in the recording of them or to put them down on paper in proper chronological order. I think, however, that my account of them will be found substantially correct; points on which I am doubtful I have omitted.

It should be borne in mind that my description is intended to be a record, though not an absolutely concise one, of every little detail of ceremonial that takes place on such occasions; but it is more than probable that, as amongst ourselves, many of these may, and probably are, very frequently omitted.

(i) For some reason the Wakhitsetse have of late years come to look upon themselves as Mohamedans. A good deal of proselytizing is carried on by the Mohamedans in and about Mumias, and I think there can be no doubt that by laying stress upon the importance the Wakhitsetse attach to circumcision they have gradually succeeded in convincing Mumia and his brothers that they belong to the Mohamedan faith.

The fact must not be lost sight of that, in the vast majority of cases where an up-country native embraces Islam, his conversion begins and ends with the rite of circumcision.

The importance to Mohamedans proselytizing in these parts of being able to claim the ruling family as belonging to their faith cannot be over estimated.

(j) Unfortunately my list of sacred groves is not complete. I suggest it would be well worth the trouble to compile such a list; since the intrusion of askaris and others into these places might easily give rise to trouble with the people.

Clan.	Totem.	Sub-Clan.	Origin or Descent.
Wakhitsetse; descended from Wanga.	Bushbuck...	1. Wamuchechere 2. Watende ... 3. Wamidchi ... 4. Wambule ... 5. Waiundo ... 6. Wamukalalo ... 7. Wakitechi ... 8. Waakomachi ... 9. Waafukho ...	Nanyanya S/O Musui. Banya S/O Musui. — — Skiaggi S/O Musui. Mukalalo S/O Musui. Kitechi S/O Musui. Akomachi S/O Musui. Afukho S/O Nedia.
Wanamagwa	Bushbuck...	... ..	Namagwa S/O Wanga.
Wamunyafu	Bushbuck...	... ..	Munyafu S/O Wanga.
Wamurono ¹ ; descended from Murono S/O Wanga.	Bushbuck...	1. Musanda ... 2. Wachevve ... 3. Waioma ...	Tavuche S/O Murono. — —
Wambatsa	Bushbuck...	... ..	Wambatsa, a chief of the Wamanga tribe; lived formerly at Lorele.
Wakholue; descended from Kwendakhusuma, belonged to Wanga's tribe.	Bushbuck...	1. Wamurumba ... 2. Wamale ... 3. Wakhamare ...	Osakho S/O Kwendakhusuma. Waskikumba S/O Ndualé, who was of same family as Kwendakhusuma. Came from Maratch.
Wareka	Ivechi ...	1. Watalita ... 2. Wasangalo ...	Came from Sangalo in Kitosh and are descended originally from the Tatchoni tribe.
Wamuima ²	Fish ...	... ..	Are the ruling clan amongst the Wamanga, and are said to have come from Mwali.
Watove	Fish ...	1. Lungassi ... 2. Wamasingira ...	Are said to have belonged originally to the Kabras tribe. ³
Wamuika	Bushbuck...	... ..	Descended from the Wamakoya clan of the Wanyifa tribe. ⁴
Wachero	Dove ...	... ..	Descended from Muchero, a slave of Wanga; belonged originally to a tribe called Wakisa. ⁵

¹ This section is sometimes known as the Ndangalessia; the name is a purely geographical one, and is derived from the name of the place where Murono built his village, and signifies a waterless place. Musanda is the family name of the Wamurono chiefs.

² In my list of Wawanga clans I am including the Wamanga clans, since for all practical purposes the two tribes are by now one.

³ Wanga is said to have found these people in a swamp or island in the Nzaea called Chekhonessi; he saw their fires and invited them to join him; at that time the family is said to have comprised four male members only.

⁴ They migrated from their homes to an island in the Nzaea called Michinga, where they were discovered by Wanga.

⁵ The Wakisa lived near a hill called Kisa, on the Yala.

Clan.	Totem.	Sub-Clan.	Origin or Descent.
Wakhalivu ; descended from Mwandume. ¹	Roasted mwimbi.	1. Wamatora ... 2. Watavuiche ...	Mkhonso S/O Khalivu. ² Tavuche S/O Khalivu.
Wawesia... 	A new pot ³	... ...	Wamakoya clan of the Wanyifa tribe. ⁴
Wakhami 	A milk pot ⁵	... ...	Umani in Gem ; came in after Wanga.
Washikava 	Waterbuck	... ...	Came with Wanga ; were his serfs.
Wanashieni ⁶	Khatietie ⁷	1. Waskiundo ... 2. Waluta ...	Original clan. Came from Kitosh.
Wamulembua ⁸	Two water jars. ⁹	... ...	Came from Mwali.

Note.—The Wamurono used formerly not to intermarry with the Wakhitsetse, the elder branch of the family ; but may do so now. The Wakhitsetse, Wambatsa, and Wamale may not intermarry ; but the Wamale, Wakholue, and Wamurono are said to be allowed to do so.

THE WALAGO.

The real name of the Walago is El Bawgek ; Walago is the name given them by the Wamoni.

The tribe appears, in part at least, to be of Nandi extraction ; they are probably a mixture of several different tribes. They are divided into three political groups ; each group under its own chief as under :—

- I. *The Venyandet*, under Kepsteddi.
- II. *The Neketet*, under Chebukuto.
- III. *The Kaviemit*, under Werakai.

¹ Mwandume came here with Wanga ; he belonged to the Mwassi tribe in Terriki ; they are now said to be living in Gem.

² They take their name from Khalivu's village Matora.

³ May not eat food cooked in a new pot.

⁴ Migrated in from somewhere near Usoga some time after Wanga's arrival.

⁵ May not drink out of a milk gourd.

⁶ Lived formerly in Uchifi, on the right bank of the Lusumu River, and were the hereditary enemies of the Wamanga.

⁷ A species of small bird.

⁸ This clan was the "Wakhalivu" clan of the Wamanga.

⁹ If a member of this clan meet a person coming from the river with two water jars, it is considered a sign of ill-luck ; and as an antidote he must return to the village and kill a goat or a fowl ; if the latter, the ceremony is very similar to that described in my notes under "remedies against sickness" (*vide* p. 44) ; the beak is worn round the neck for one or two days. A man performs this ceremony himself, but a woman must have it done for her. If a goat is killed instead of a fowl, dung is rubbed on the chest, and a strip of skin is tied round the two little fingers of the right hand.

They live at the foot of Mount Elgon on the right bank of the Malikisi River and call their country Bawgek.

The tribe is divided into the following clans:—

I.—*The Venyandet Section.*

1. *Vanjoose*.—Totem leopard; came from Kamwaeye Hill in Uganda; may not kill leopards or wear a leopard skin. If a leopard attack their cattle, they must get the members of some other clan to kill it.

2. *Kabinjose*.—Totem leopard; same origin and totemistic customs as the Vanjoose, with whom they may not intermarry.

3. *Kamwegek*.—Totem wild cat; same origin and totemistic customs as 1 and 2.

4. *Emnagambi*.—Totem a species of small monkey; same origin and totemistic customs as 1, 2, and 3. If this monkey do damage to the crops, they may drive it away but not injure it. Kepsteddi, the chief of this section, is a Wangoma by birth.

II.—*The Neketet Section.*

1. *Kamugek*.—Totem the lion; came from Kamwaega Hill in Uganda.

2. *Kabugonek*.—Totem a species of rodent called Shemuvi; came from Luteka, a hill at the source of the Malaba River.

3. *Kapgoiyek*.—Totem the baboon; same origin as the Kabugonek.

III.—*The Kaviemit Section.*

1. *Kamnimek*.—Totem grey monkey; came from Kabukwess, a hill in Uganda.

2. *Kabanandavek*.—Totem a small animal called Kanaeriek, probably the hyrax; came from Soos in Uganda.

3. *Kamusakek*.—Totem an animal called Olenyet, probably the ural; came from Kamawa in Uganda.

It will be noted that all these clans have moved in from the Uganda Protectorate, and that the different places where they came from are all situated close together round the western foot of Mount Elgon. The migration took place within the last fifty years. I judge them to be mainly of the same origin as the Suk and kindred tribes with an infusion from the same stock as that of the Kitosh, Wamoni, and other similar peoples; possibly they have also a certain amount of Turkana blood in them. They formed probably the advance guard of the Suk invasion, and were pushed westwards by these latter, the greater portion of whom ultimately moved eastwards towards the Sogota and Lake Baringo.

The clans are exogamous; they may not hunt, kill, or wear the skin or any trophy of their totem animal. Circumcision is practised amongst both sexes. As a general rule they do not bury their dead, the only exception to this rule that

I know of is in the case of the father of twins ; this custom, I believe, exists amongst the Elgoni also ; the body is buried in the village near the hut, the village is then abandoned.

THE WANGOMA.

The real name of this tribe is Ngomamek. The country they live in is called Bongoma. They are a tribe very similar to the Walago, who are their near neighbours ; like them they are mainly of Nandi extraction with an infusion of blood from other tribes ; most probably they are largely intermarried with the Wamia. They speak the same dialect as the Walago.

They are divided into the following clans :—

1. *Kaumatep*.—Totem hyæna ; may not hunt their totem animal. Should they, however, kill one, they will slaughter a sheep and leave it by the carcase, for the spirit of the dead beast to eat ; came from a cave called Kapsoma in Kamution, a hill at the foot of Mount Elgon on the Uganda side.
2. *Merinda*.—Totem fish ; are of Nandi extraction and said to be descended from the Kimugun clan ; after leaving Nandi they settled first for a time near a hill called Nalonda in Kitosh.
3. *Kamum*.—Totem rhino ; may not hunt totem animal, not carry trophies, such as a rhino horn knobkerry ; same origin as the Merinda.
4. *Kapchiena*.—Totem baboon ; came from Mbai in Uganda ; are of same extraction as the Kakelelwa.
5. *Kapkeneyu*.—Totem baboon ; came from Nalonda in Kitosh ; may not intermarry with the Kapchiena.
6. *Kaptaka*.—Totem lion ; may not hunt totem animal ; same origin as Kapchiena.
7. *Kaptai*.—Totem giraffe ; same origin as the Kaumatep. Their cave was called Kamution, which is also the name of the hill.

Kaptai is the medicine-man's clan ; Kepsteddi, chief of the Venyandet Walago, is the principal medicine-man of the clan ; when I last visited the Wangoma, their own medicine-man was dead, and they were about to choose another one called Sumburre. Kepsteddi's father was formerly Laibon of the clan. The present chief of the Wangoma is a man called Matete.

Circumcision is practised amongst both sexes. As a general rule corpses are thrown out to the hyænas ; chiefs and the father and mother of twins are, however, buried. Both male and female are buried lying on their right side. Males in the hut, females under the verandah.

THE WAMIA.

The Wamia call themselves Etossio ; they are a branch of the Turkana and migrated originally from the Turko River to Karungu in Uganda, thence to

Torrero and finally settled on the borders of the Elgon district. The tribe is divided into four groups, as under :—

1. The Etanya ; chief Mucharo ; country Angveta.
2. The Ikarubuko ; chief Moin ; country Kollain.
3. The Kawgawei ; chief Iraru ; country Mwalia.
4. The Ikarubuko ; chief Itewa ; country Kabell.

The last two are, nominally at any rate, under chief Moin.

There appear to be two other tribes not included in my list of groups, called Eshorom and Awsawgaini.

The following is a more or less complete list of their clans (Agetegirri) :—

- | | |
|----------------|----------------|
| 1. Elmaelat. | 14. Ikwata. |
| 2. Isama. | 15. Ikawda. |
| 3. Ilogirr. | 16. Ikarubuko. |
| 4. Ikomolu. | 17. Igara. |
| 5. Ibarsama. | 18. Itengorr. |
| 6. Ikaiyoro. | 19. Irieta. |
| 7. Igoria. | 20. Ikattakak. |
| 8. Ikattigawk. | 21. Igurrok. |
| 9. Inarak. | 22. Kamariam. |
| 10. Igoruk. | 23. Ikarigoko. |
| 11. Ikatala. | 24. Ugawtok. |
| 12. Ikatanyu. | 25. Ekonoma. |
| 13. Ibalang. | |

The Wamia bury all their dead, both male and female, lying on the right side ; the grave is dug in the kraal. They are inveterate hashish smokers and, unlike the Turkana, indulge in fermented liquors. When they left the Turkell they were rich in camels and donkeys, but lost almost the whole of these in a raid by a people called Wakinussu, apparently a branch of the Masai. The clans are exogamous ; they appear to possess two totem animals only, the leopard and the hyæna, and one or other of these animals is the totem of every one of these clans.

Like the Turkana they kill their cattle by spearing ; sheep are smothered.

For further information on the Turkana see my paper on the Turkana of Baringa district.

THE EL KONYI.

The El Konyi are one of the many branches of the Nandi-speaking race. They are closely allied to the Chepcharangain and Sangwir groups, and trace their descent from a Kamasia family called Kapsangurt. The original head of this family was called Sangurt, and from him are descended the El Konyi Laibons.

The real name of the El Konyi is Sabaiyot. The tribe is divided into the following clans (O rtinuek) :—

	Clan.			Totem.			Origin.
I	Ol Kipsartok	...	...	Elephant	...	...	Mavina. ¹
II	Kamatembai	..	...	Buffalo	...	...	Ditto.
III	Il Kiborite	...	...	Ditto	...	...	Ditto.
IV	Chebogus	...	...	Ditto	...	...	?
V	Kapsott	...	...	?	...	...	Sangwir.
VI	Mogogir	...	...	Rat	...	...	Ditto.
VII	Kapsauweleria	...	...	Bushbuck	...	...	Ditto.
VIII	Sawmek	...	...	Baboon	...	...	?
IX	Chemnogosia	...	...	Hartebeeste	...	...	Ditto.

Clans Nos. II and III are branches of one and the same family ; No. II being the elder branch ; to it belong the Laibons. No. VII is now extinct.

The following clans may intermarry, I and II, I and III, I and IV, I and VII, V and VI, IV and VII, II and III, II and IV, II and VII, III and IV, III and VII, II and VI.

The El Konyi used at one time to intermarry with the Sangwir ; but never with the Chepcharangain, the reason being, that the women of this tribe refuse to assist in the work of building huts, etc. ; amongst the Chepcharangain this work being left to the men.

People may not hunt or eat the flesh of their totem animal, nor wear the skin or other trophies. The Kamatembai may not eat any game meat. Children take the totem of the father, both boys and girls are circumcized. They do not bury their dead. Certain of the clans, those possessing cattle, do not eat fowls, eggs, rats or fish. They say that when their cattle died during the great cattle plague they took to eating these things and died in consequence, hence they eschew them now.

The El Konyi used never formerly to cultivate, but are beginning to do so now Hashish has unfortunately taken a strong hold on them, and they grow this weed in enormous quantities. They possess three Laibons, Eramugge, the most important, Eraptaek, and Erachonge ; the latter lives in Walago.

Like their neighbours the Wasauwin, who live on the other side of Elgon in the Uganda Protectorate, the El Konyi live in caves on the side of the mountain. The most important of these are Terrem, Chebbitch, Chevin, Chelelmit, Kipchori,

¹ Mavina is the name given to some caves on the other side of Elgon occupied by the Wasauwin.

Chepkaka, Kosirei, and Chebubutoi, of these Terrem is the largest; it takes its name from the beautiful waterfall close by. The name Terrem is now no longer confined to this one cave, but is used to denote the whole side of the mountain occupied by the El Konyi. Thus when an El Konyi is asked whence he comes from he will reply "from Terrem." Another, but less familiar, name is, I believe, Kebeawnik; but on this point I cannot be quite certain.

The El Konyi have many strange stories and beliefs in connection with their caves. Of Terrem, it is said that a gigantic white cow lives at the back, and that on rare occasions she leaves the cave to graze outside. Her visit to the outer world is heralded by strange rumbling noises, and in the morning the water of the small lake in the cave will be found to have risen above the level of the floor. Putting two and two together I imagine that these caves are ancient steam vents, and that on very rare occasions some inner disturbance in the mountain causes a rush of steam, the white cow of the legend.

I may add that I examined these carefully and could find no evidence for the theory that they are artificial; I am, however, not an expert.

Kabras is the name given to that portion of the Elgon district lying at the foot of the Nandi escarpment between Utsotso on the south and Kitosh on the north; and is a name of foreign origin.

The country may be divided into three sections:—

1. Unyala, lying at the foot of the Nandi escarpment.
2. Wakhusia towards Ambani's portion of Utsotso.
3. Tatsoni on the borders of Kitosh.

Nos. 1 and 2, with the exception of headman Sikolia's sub-district, are inhabited by the Kamalamba, the true Kabras. No. 3 and Sikolia's sub-district by the Tatsoni section of the Kitosh.

The reason why these latter have come to be classed with the Kabras instead of with the Kitosh is probably because they occupy the country on the left bank of the Nzoia River, which has always been considered as the boundary between Kitosh and Kabras. There can, however, I think, be no doubt that they are identical with Kifumo's Kitosh across the Nzoia River; and the name Tatsoni includes the country on both banks of this river.

I append a table showing details of Shitanda's and Lambassi's districts. I cannot supply information regarding the other chiefs' districts as I have not visited them yet.

CUSTOMS, ETC.¹

Totemism.

The tribes are divided into clans; the clans are exogamous; children are of the father's totem; a man may not marry into his mother's clan.

When the totem is an animal or vegetable, its consumption by members of the clan is, as a rule, forbidden.

¹ Unless expressly stated the following applies to the Kamalamba only.

If this prohibition be disregarded, they believe that they will break out in sores all over the body. Members of the Muhini clan (Watobo and Wachezi) may not allow a jembe handle (their totem) to touch their sleeping skins. Should this occur, the handle, after detaching the jembe, must be taken outside the hut and burnt (it may not be burnt inside the hut); and a goat, a black one for preference, must immediately be slaughtered.

Members of the Ibaka (python) totem (Walu and Wasamu), when they find a python, proceed to the spot with a pot of “uji” and a white fowl; and after presenting the snake with the “uji,” pluck out a few feathers from the fowl, and sticking them upright in the ground before the snake, thus address it: “O snake! see we have brought you food, a pot of ‘uji’; do not therefore become angry with us and shield us from all sickness and ill-luck.”

After this they return to the village leaving the pot of “uji” behind, and let loose the fowl, which henceforth is a sacred bird, and if any member of the clan falls ill, they bring it to the sick person and calling out to the fowl the name of the patient ask it to cure him. This bird is specially efficacious in curing blindness.¹ The same custom exists amongst the Wawanga, but with them it is not confined to any particular clan.

Amongst the Omajina, whose totem is the malt utilized in making beer, it is a great offence for anyone to spit this stuff out on a member of the clan.

The following is a list of totems ; this list is, however, probably not complete ; but contains all those I was able to collect in the short time at my disposal :—

A.—*Kamalamba Tribe.*

No.	Clan.	Totem.	Remarks.
1	Watari ...	Chiroko ² ...	Said to be of E'uasn-Gishu origin.
2	Washiu ...	White ant ...	Came from Marama.
3	Watobo ...	Jembe handle (Muhini)...	„ „ the Konyi.
4	Wachuuna ...	Dove (Situkha) ...	„ „ Marama.
5	Musonje ...	Murere ...	A native vegetable. Members of this clan perform the circumcision operation.
6	Washibika ...	?	
7	Omudgi ...	?	Of Wanyifa origin.
8	Wasogo ...	?	Came from Emache in Kavirondo.

¹ I cannot say for certain whether this fowl can cure all diseases or only blindness ; I think, however, the version given above is correct.

² The prohibition against eating chiroko does not apply to all members.

No.	Clan.		Totem.			Remarks.
9	Wachezi	...	Jembe handle (Muhini)...			Came from Kakumega ; may inter-marry with the Watobo.
10	Wamusaga	...	?			Nziwa ; situkha.
11	Washegus	...	?			Chircho.
12	Wakhusia	...	Guinea fowl	...	...	Came from Wawanga (Tomia's).

B.—*Lebonjess Tribe.*

1	Watobo	...	Jembe handle (Muhini)...			Came from Konyi.
2	Omajina	...	Obwanga (malt for brewing beer).			„ „ Kilelwa.
3	Wasoko...	...	?			„ „ Utieri (Kilelwa).
4	Walu	...	Ibaka (python)	...	...	„ „ Terem (Mt. Elgon).

C.—*Sangalo Tribe.*

1	Muminam	...	Zebra (Sirgoit)	...	...	Came from Ukhaio.
2	Matoiwa	...	Kongoni	...	...	„ „ „
3	Wasamu	...	Python (ibaka)	...	...	„ „ Niwale, a hill in Kitosh.

Births.

1. When a woman gives birth to twins, certain purification ceremonies must be performed before the mother may leave the hut, otherwise ill-luck will dog their footsteps through life. A day or two before it is proposed that they shall leave the hut for the first time, a sheep is killed, a black one if obtainable, if not, then a white one; the question of colour is, however, not of special importance. Next the husband proceeds to catch alive a small animal called Ifukho, which I take to be a mole, and which he deposits, together with a little food to keep it alive, in an earthen pot, where it remains for a day or so.

On the appointed day the mole is killed by driving a wooden spike into the back of its neck; the belly is split open and the contents of the stomach removed, and some of this is rubbed on the children's and mother's chest.

The skin is next cut up and a strip tied round the right wrist of each twin and round the mother's neck, and worn thus for five days, after which the mother proceeds to the river and, after washing, throws all three pieces of skin into the water. The flesh of the mole is deposited in a hole under the verandah of the hut,

before the door, and a pot, with a hole knocked in the bottom, is placed upside down over it; the hole is then filled in with earth. After this the mother may leave the hut.

Next a medicine-man is called in to make up a concoction composed of the remaining contents of the mole's stomach, the undigested food from the sheep's stomach (?) and of certain herbs. Some of this mixture he rubs on the hoes and then proceeds alone with the husband and wife to the plantations, where he sprinkles the remainder on the ground. After this the mother may leave her children alone in the hut, without fear of any harm coming to them.

The medicine-man receives a goat or a spear for his services; and if it be harvest time, when he performs the ceremony in the shambas, all those he passes on the road must make him a present of grain, and for this purpose the woman takes with her a basket.

2. If a cow gives birth to twins, fresh green grass is tied round the necks of all three beasts; a beer drinking feast is next prepared, and the calves are led out and tied up to one of the grain huts; a sheep is slaughtered and the company, after singing several songs, retires.

Deaths.

1. All dead are buried; the grave is dug in the kraal and is made very deep (about 4 feet 6 inches).

If the deceased was a man of much importance, the village moves to another site three or four months after the death; his grave is covered over with stones, and from time to time food and a lighted pipe of tobacco are placed upon the mound.

A man is buried lying on his right side, a woman lying on her left.

Nothing is deposited with the corpse in the grave (?); but before burial, whilst deceased is still lying in the hut, the relatives come and pour grain, tobacco and beer over the body. This is afterwards swept up and thrown outside, where it is picked up by the fowls.

After the grave is filled in, a fowl is killed by striking its head on the ground, and then consumed by fire.

If the dead man was sufficiently wealthy to allow his relatives to do so, a goat is eaten at the funeral and the following day a bullock is killed.

If a woman die in childbirth, a black sheep is killed, and the meat is given to the man or woman who assisted at the birth.

2. A chief of the Washiu clan is buried in a sitting position, wrapped in a raw bullock hide and with his head above ground. An earthen pot is placed over the head and the whole covered over with cow dung.

3. Dead persons' ornaments are given to their children after the funeral.

Marriages.

Formerly the price of a wife was about fourteen head of cattle. In these days, owing to scarcity of cattle, it has been reduced to from three to five cows, two

bullocks and four goats. This is given to the father of the girl and is usually passed on by him to his sons, to enable each to buy a wife, full brothers being given a larger share than half-brothers. The mother-in-law is given a present of two hoes and a knife, and the father further receives a spear. The bride on her part brings her husband a very large quantity of grain and beer.

Before the marriage takes place the father invites the son-in-law and his brothers to a beer drinking feast, after which the bridegroom takes his wife home with him, and a few days later, in his turn, gives a great feast, to which he invites the bride's relatives.

Divorce.

A wife cannot be returned to her parents, and the return of the marriage price demanded, unless she leave her husband and go to live with some one else: this is the case even though she prove barren. When the marriage price is returned, due deduction is made for the value of the grain and beer the wife brought her husband on their marriage.

Circumcision.

Amongst the Kamalamba boys only are circumcized. The Lebonjess and Sangalo circumcize both boys and girls. The ceremony takes place annually in the month Mukavukhanue, and if a boy wish to be circumcized, he must first obtain his father's consent; should he fail to do so, he is liable to the most serious consequences. A large hut for the accommodation of the boys is built in the village of the chief, and here they remain for the next three or four months after the operation.

As soon as they are circumcized, the front door of the hut is closed up, and henceforth exit by the back door only is permitted; the idea being that they must not be seen by strangers, or the healing up of the wound will be retarded. No married women or young boys are allowed near them during this time, but a number of unmarried girls live in the same hut with them to look after them and to cook their food.

No prohibition on the consumption of food exists except in regard to vegetables or meat requiring to be cooked with salt.

A boy may marry before being circumcized; and if after undergoing the operation he wishes to meet his wife, he may do so by secret assignation.

A member of the Musonje clan performs the operation.

Laws.

1. If a man put a girl in the family way, he pays the father of the girl a cow, if, however, he marry her, the purchase price is reduced accordingly.

2. The price for committing adultery is one bullock; the offender is tied up until he pays; if he have no bullock, he pays a cow, and failing that, grain and fowls; if he possess nothing at all, he is usually set free again.

3. *Rape*: fine, one cow.

4. *Murder*: Blood money, which was formerly thirty head of cattle, has now been reduced to twenty head. Unless the murderer pay compensation, he is liable to be killed by the relatives of the murdered man.

5. *Spear wound*: one head of cattle.

6. Causing loss of an *eye*: one cow and one bull.

7. Causing loss of a *finger*: one head of cattle.

8. Causing loss of a *hand*: one cow.

9. Causing loss of a *leg*: two cows.

10. Causing loss of an *ear*: one cow.

11. Breaking an *arm*: one bull.

12. Breaking a *leg*: one cow.

13. Striking a man with a knobkerry: one goat or sheep.

14. *Theft* from a *shamba*: from one fowl to a cow, according to the amount stolen.

15. *Theft of cattle*: from one cow or bull to ten head of cattle, according to the number stolen, and the return of the stolen property.

16. *Theft from a beehive*: one fowl¹ for every beehive robbed.

17. *Theft of a fowl*: one fowl for every one stolen.

Property.

1. The population to the square mile being small, there is ample land for all, and hence land tenure does not exist; a man may cultivate in one place one season and in another place two miles away next season; that is to say, the fact of a man clearing a patch of ground one season gives him no particular rights to that same patch next season.

2. Property at a man's death is divided between his brothers and sons. If he die possessed of much stock and he have only few brothers, these will as a rule be given five or six head of cattle each. If, however, there be a large number of both brothers and sons, the former will probably not receive more than one or two head at most; elder sons inherit a greater proportion of the father's wealth than younger sons.

Widows have the option of passing into the possession of their brothers-in-law or of remaining with their children.

The purchase price of a sister, if the father be dead, is divided amongst her brothers, full brothers receiving a larger share than half-brothers.

Calendar.

The following is the Kamalamba calendar; but I cannot guarantee its strict accuracy, as the time at my disposal was too short to allow me to check it very carefully.

¹ It is recognized that this punishment is inadequate; recently a man robbed four hives and was sentenced to pay six fowls, but he claimed that this was in excess of the amount he would be fined according to law.

Morotso Season, January–June.

1	Jan.	...	Omusano	...	...	Sow wimbi ; chiroko harvest.
2	Feb.	...	Omunye	...	...	Weeding wimbi shambas.
3	Mar.	...	Omuzaro	...	...	” ” ”
4	April	...	Omsasaba	...	}	Breaking ground for sim-sim cultivation.
5	May	...	Omusafue	...		
6	June	...	Omunane or Mukavukhanue	...	...	Wimbi harvest ; circumcision month.

Mulumbi Season, July–December.

7	July	...	Muchesero	...	}	Harvest time ; grinding wimbi.
8	Aug.	...	Mukhuero	...		
9	Sept.	...	Milimiro	...	...	Commence mtama cultivation.
10	Oct.	...	Murachiro	...	...	Sow mtama.
11	Nov.	...	Musirasire	...	...	Weeding mtama shambas.
12	Dec.	...	Mukhalesie	..	...	Sow chiroko.

The white mtama is cultivated in the Morotso season, the red mtama in the Mulumbi season.

Conclusions.

I conclude from the information I have given above, that the Kabras are of the same stock as the Wawanga, Waisukha, Watakho, Watsotso and other similar tribes, and that they are in no way akin to the Nandi-speaking people. Their calendar, totems and customs are akin to those of the Bantu Kavirondo and quite dissimilar from those of the Nandi.

There is, it is true, a certain superficial resemblance to the Nandi to be met with in individuals of the tribe, but this resemblance is not a physical resemblance, but mainly due to the adoption of the Nandi style of dressing the head and of Nandi ornaments.

There is, no doubt, a small infusion of Nilotic blood in the Kabras, but this is mainly derived from the E'Uasn-Gishu Masai and Konyi.

Chief.	District.	Tribe.	Headman.	Sub-District.	Clan.
Shitanda ...	Unyala ...	Kamalamba	1. Shitanda ...	Kabatar ...	Watari.
			2. Malanda ...	Ukamalamba (?) ...	Wasonje.
			3. Sikolia ...	Umajina ...	Lebonjess. ¹
Lambassi ...	Tatsoni ...	Sangalo ...	1. Lambassi ...	Kipsai ⁴ ...	Sangalo. ²
			2. Mukonohambi	Kulumbeni ⁵ ...	Mutamoyo. ³

THE FATAL TSETSE-FLY.

All over Baringo District small patches of fly-infected bush are to be found; for instance, one such patch exists about two miles south-east of the south-eastern corner of Lake Baringo.

The two danger zones, however, are the foothills of Loroghi and the bush on the Upper Kerio and Weiwei Rivers.

On two occasions I camped for a night at the foot of Loroghi; on both occasions I had with me dogs, camels, donkeys and a few sheep and goats, and on both occasions several of the donkeys subsequently died of fly bite, but none of the other animals. The natives tell me that camels will live almost indefinitely in this region and that cattle and sheep and goats can be kept there several weeks without danger, but that it is very fatal indeed for donkeys.

The Kerio and Weiwei River zone is less infected with fly than the Loroghi foothills, but this region also proves very fatal to donkeys. Until recently the Suk kept large numbers of donkeys on the Kerio, but within a single year almost every one of these died of fly bite, although scarcely a single head of cattle became infected. Since that time it has become impossible to keep donkeys on the Upper Kerio, but cattle, sheep and goats do very well indeed.

ELEPHANTS.

The country lying between the River Kerio and the foot of the Suk Hills is a vast expanse of dense and very thorny scrub; through the centre of this flows the River Krut, more familiarly known by its Swahili name, Weiwei, on its way to its junction with the Tirkwel at Ngabotok.

Apart from the elephant, very little game is to be met with in this scrub; here and there a few Thompsoni or a stray oryx are to be seen, and occasionally a

¹ This tribe is further divided into Walu and Omajina, and is of Kitosh origin and does not belong to the Kamalamba.

² They take their name from the hill Sangalo in Kitosh, from whence they migrated to their present location when Lambassi was a small boy.

³ The Mutamoyo are a subdivision of the Sangalo.

⁴ Kipsai lies towards the north-east corner of Kabras.

⁵ Kulumbeni in the open country towards Mumias.

solitary rhinoceros or buffalo may be heard crashing through the bush. It is probable, too, that Greater and Lesser Kudu, and even Bongo are to be found, and I have no doubt that were the traveller to proceed northwards across the Weiwei and down on to the Lower Kerio, into practically unknown and uninhabited country, he might come upon game in very considerable quantities.

The great glory, however, of this region is the magnificent great herd of elephant that throughout the year is to be found roaming over it.

I should be afraid to say how many elephant live in this bush; but I should think that a thousand head would not be a very exaggerated estimate.

I myself have on two occasions met with a great herd that covered three or four square miles of country. We viewed this herd from the top of a tree, and the whole country seemed to be enveloped in one vast cloud of dust. The following day we passed through the centre of the herd; and the great beasts, getting our wind, first formed up into groups and then presently stampeded. Battalion after battalion of cows and young bulls first moved off, and then file after file of old bulls, many of them carrying enormous great tusks, crashed past us into the bush. It would be no exaggeration, I think, to say that we saw fully three hundred elephant that day.

Contrary to our expectations, not a single beast made any attempt to charge, although all round us was alive with elephants, and they kept bearing down on us from all points of the compass. Finally at the very end of the herd, long after all the rest had fled, came one immense great tusker making his way in a slow, leisurely fashion, apparently utterly ignorant of the smallest danger threatening him.

The Suk Hills are a continuation of the Elgeyo Escarpment. The inhabitants are for the most part very poor, and the farther northwards one proceeds the poorer they become. The only cultivation known to them is that of millet and eleusine grain, and scarcely a season passes without bringing with it, at any rate a partial, failure of the crops. They are thus driven to seek their living in the forest, and many of them subsist throughout the year almost entirely on honey, roots, wild berries, rats, mice, and other lesser mammals, and last, but not least, on the flesh of elephants. Necessity has thus driven them to kill game, and they are without exception the most fearless and daring elephant hunters I have ever met with.

The tribe is split into sections, each occupying its own piece of hillside, and for purposes of hunting they have divided the country at the foot of the hill into preserves, each section having its tract of bush, in which it has the exclusive right of killing game.

Should a native of one section wound an elephant, and it die, or be despatched in the domain of another section, the ivory becomes the property of the man who first wounded it, the meat the property of the section in whose preserve it died. This is the tribal law regarding the slaying of elephants.

The sections that kill most game and are also the poorest, are the Kaptakau, Ngrrorr, Maerich and Sekerr.

The Kaptakau hunt on the right bank of the Krut, the Ngorror in the country lying between the Krut and Maerich Rivers, the Maerich across these rivers to within three miles of a small stream forming the southern boundary of Sekerr.

The Kaptakau use mostly poisoned arrows, the other three sections the ordinary Suk throwing spear ; whilst, however, the Maerich and Sekerr hunt on foot, the Ngorror build platforms in the trees, from which, lying in wait for the elephants, they stab them on their way down to water.

During the wet season, when pools of water are to be found here and there in the bush, the elephant split up into small herds. In the dry season they gather into one or two great herds and water at the Krut. Very old bulls, however, keep apart from the rest, and during the heat of the day they may be found lying up under the shade of the great trees that line the banks of this river, and being especially easy to kill, many of them fall victims to the native hunters.

The elephants are not easily secured, but if they have been badly hunted, they make for Ngabotok, a hill at the junction of the Tirkwel and Weiwei Rivers ; and on such occasions their departure is signalled to the inhabitants for many miles along the hillside by the great pillar of dust that follows their tempestuous rush through the bush.

At Ngabotok is a colony of Turkana Toropo, who, as soon as the herd makes its appearance, turn out and spear as many as they possibly can ; they will follow after them for mile after mile, engaged in a kind of running fight with the great beasts, and I am told that upon such occasions they will often account for as many as ten or twelve head. The elephants do not stop here, therefore, but move on to Masol and Laterok, where they remain for a time watering at the Kerio, and then gradually work their way back to their old grazing grounds.

I have said that the Hill Suk are absolutely fearless hunters ; they tell me that they can only remember one instance where one of them was killed by an elephant, and on that occasion the man met his death because he lost his head and attempted to run away from a charging cow. They maintain that no matter how fierce a charge an elephant may make, it is always possible to turn the beast by throwing spears at its head, and that so long as a man has courage to face the enraged animal, it will never charge home.

