

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL SERVICES IN KOOKI

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Summary

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The thesis gives a detailed description of the development of various customs and traditions of the people of Kooki, and the conditions under which they live.

It underlines the need for health services, an adequate water supply, improved techniques of and machinery for food production, better roads and education.

Report

The Country

Kooki is literally a part of Buganda region since 1896,¹ a county in Masaka District, about 150 miles from Kampala due south towards Tanzania. It is bounded by Kabula county on the north-west, Ankole district on the west, Kyotera county (which was part of Buddu county until 1967) both on the north and east and Tanzania on the south.

The county is administered by the Ssaza chief whose headquarters are at Rakai. The county is divided into five sub-counties "Gombolola" namely Ssabaddu, at Lwamaggwa, 22 miles from Rakai on the way to Kabula/ Ankole; Ssabagabo at Buyamba, 7 miles from Rakai; Ssabawali at Byakabanda, 3 miles; Musaale at Kibanda, 16 miles from Rakai on the way to Tanzania; and Mumyuka at Lwanda, 9 miles from Rakai on the way to Masaka town. The county is sub-divided into 23 parishes "Miluka". The grand population according to 1967 figures was 40,223 of whom 19,645 were men, and 20,578 women. All roads in the county are covered with murram; there is not a single petrol station in the county, the nearest one is at Kyotera about 20 miles from Rakai the Ssaza headquarters on the way to Masaka.

Kooki is a hilly country except for the depression in which lies Lake 'Kijanebalola' and along the river Kibale; Lake Kachera, L. Karunga on the boundary with Ankole, and the swampy strip which stretches into Kooki from Ankole through which runs R. Ruizi. These low lying areas are swampy with thickets, bamboo and small forests growing in valleys between hills, and along rivers especially in the south.

Most of the hills in Kooki are used for ritual purposes - and are said to possess supernatural beings and objects.

Besides the hilly and swampy area, there is a stretch of plains of woodland, shrub, scattered trees and palms. The soil is clayish, dries hard, and cracks during the dry seasons. During rainy seasons many areas get flooded, the soil is slippery,² and movement especially by vehicles is almost impossible. Until the 1940's² Kooki was renowned for having swarms of mosquitoes which bred in swamps, and along the banks of the few rivers, such as Namunnengo and Kakindu during the rainy seasons.

Kooki is supposed to enjoy the same seasons as the rest of Buganda, i.e.

Toggo rains - Feb - half of May

Dry season - June - August

Ddumbi rains - September - October

Dry season - November - January

But rainy times are not very reliable. There are longer periods of dry seasons and shorter rainy periods than expected; therefore rain making is one of the main, prevalent ceremonies done all over the country.

During droughts, the grass dries up, food becomes very scarce, water becomes very difficult to get, and herds of cattle are moved either nearer to the lakes or by River Kibale or across to Buddu county. In September/October 1969 many people lost their calves on account of the shortage of water and grass. Otherwise the country is good for herding and cultivation and a reasonable percentage of male inhabitants do fishing on L. Kijanebalola, L. Kachera, and R. Kibale. Almost every woman "worth the name" can make pots and other types of vessels from the clay³ obtainable around the home.

People

The Mukooki (a Kookian) has four main sources of origin - he might have ancestors say, in Kiziba, Ankole, Bunyoro or Buddu (Buganda). The exception will be the Kookian who claims to be the original inhabitant of the country.

The Bunyoro came to Kooki about the first half of the 16th century during the reign of Lukaga I the Omukama of Bunyoro. His brother Bwhoe (Bwowe) who was settling in Bugangazi (near Bukuumi) decided to find a better area for grazing. He came through Buddu county, fought and conquered the indigenous rulers of Lugala, Buyamba and Gombe and settled at Kooki⁴ hill. The Bunyoro conquered the whole country even Lwakaloolo area which was part of Ankole. The Bunyoro brought cattle with them and attracted Bahima from Ankole to come and graze their cattle. The Bunyoro became the members of royal blood, consequently, the ruling lineage. They intermarried with the Bahima and acquired the Bahima customs and language rather than that of the indigenous Bakooki or the Baziba, who, as the result of Bunyoro's conquest, had lost both power and influence. Ruhima language was and is the language spoken among the upper class gentry and by members of the Royal Family. Both men and women servants in the palace learnt Ruhima as the language for official communication. Today a reasonably big percentage of the inhabitants of Ssabaddu and Musaale Ggombololas are of Ankole origin and move with their cattle to and fro according to seasons.

The Baganda, in the first instance, entered Kooki in large numbers immediately after the signing of the agreement between Kamuswaga (Kooki) and Mwanga (Buganda) (1896). Sir Apolo Kaggwa, who was the Katikiro (Prime Minister) of Buganda at the time, sent a number of Baganda chiefs and clerks to help with organizing administration, running councils' meetings and taking records. Chiefs took their families with them; and relatives went to settle. They cultivated like the original inhabitants, intermarried with the natives, and through marital relations influenced the Kookians to take on Baganda customs and behaviour. Luganda became the language for everybody, even for the members of the Royal Family (who then spoke Ruhima as a domestic language) and big chiefs (who spoke a mixture of Ruhaya and Rukooki as a domestic language).

The Baganda also went to Kooki as missionaries in the 20th century. The C.M.S. made Rakai the headquarters for missionary work in Ankole and Kigezi. Many Baganda missionaries collected at Kajuna⁵ Mission station before they were taken to Rakai for preparation after which they left for Ankole, Kigezi and Kiziba areas.

Kooki has been receiving immigrants from Ruanda, Burindi⁶; and Kigezi as well. They have opened plots (Ebibanja) in places which have been left unattended by the natives. Their customs and patterns of behaviour have not yet been well assimilated into Kooki culture, however, the immigrants are adapting themselves to the Kooki life and customs, and the Luganda language. The Baganda influence on the Kooki society is noted in the modifications made in the marriage ceremony.

The Kooki clans emerged with the Buganda clans in 1896, and the heads of the clans in Buganda took the responsibility over similar clans in Kooki; and, consequently, clan affairs and confirmation of both the Kamuswaga and the sub-heads of clans in Kooki came under the powers of the Kabaka of Buganda. Like the rest of Buganda (considering that the Bakooki are Baganda also) the Bakooki had and still do have their loyalty in both the Kabaka and the Kamuswaga as the source of stability, and wealth. Much of what goes wrong in Kooki at present is believed to be a result of the abolition of both the Kabakaship in Buganda and Kamuswagaship in Kooki.

The 1966 uprising left the country in terror. 11 people were shot dead at Byakabanda, some other terrifying instances took place in Kooki and in the immediate neighbourhood in Kooki. This situation made research in Kooki a difficult exercise. Strange people were regarded as detectives; people driving unknown cars in the area were taken to be members of the forces who could shoot at anybody; so people would hide, and unless one got some people who were well known in the area, it was next to impossible to see a person or talk with anyone until this year 1971.

Social Services

The Bakooki like other human beings in other societies catered for the basic human needs, namely, food, shelter, and health. To maintain services was a responsibility of the family, the community, the society and the Omukama (the king) as the last resort.

Traditional Education

The education of a child first began when a baby was able to see things and hear voices; then the mother, the girl or boy nurse⁷ or any person holding it could talk to it, make expressions, vary intonation, show it things, and say words to make an impression on the baby. Gradually the child knew what sort of things to avoid, such as, insects or any creeping objects, hot and/or dirty things; for example, a pulled face, the words "Luma" (bite) and "kooko" (animal) implied danger. A smile, words in a smooth, gentle tone, and throwing up the baby in the air and catching it as it came down implied happiness, pleasure and joy.

When a child began to walk and speak he joined older children in going places and playing. He was made to act as a baby to a married couple in a marriage play, or made to sit looking after objects like seeds, stones, leaves which had been collected and put away until the right time when they would be needed in play. Much of the play between the ages of three and eight were a reproduction of adult activities, functions and ceremonies, such as, a marriage occasion, building a house, making bark-clothing, or attending to babies which were in toy forms of maize cobs, sticks, and other improvisations. By the age of eight a girl had been introduced to feminine domestic duties like preparing food, gathering greens, pieces of food and water for cooking and washing up utensils; a boy had been going about with father and older boys and had been introduced to rearing goats.

Up to the age of eight, the education of a child was mainly through instructions by elders, participating in work done, and in group work-play in the jungle caring for goats. If a homestead did not have boys of the right age, girls undertook to grazing goats with boys from the neighbourhood, and joined with them in games and sport; the girl continued to do this until she was about fifteen and ready to get married; then she concentrated on domestic work. At times, once a week or so, particularly on occasions when a girl returned from a visit, she was inspected by her mother to see if she were still a virgin, for a deflowered girl lost her family respect; she had become a shame and her parents could not prepare a wedding ceremony for her at her marriage. Above all her action caused blame on her mother who was accused of having neglected her daughter.⁸

The education by instructions and participation enabled both the boy and girl to learn how to provide for basic human needs - food, shelter and health; to share with the community the opportunities and occasions of rendering communal services such as building a house, gathering in a ready crop, and even collecting leaves, roots, bark of trees, etc.... as medicine for a patient.

The second type of education was through "Childplay". I talked about child play between the ages of 3 and 8. At about the age of six to eight, depending upon the home, a boy (or a girl if there was no boy in the home) began to take goats to the jungle and join other boys in looking after them. As boys led their goats away from home, they made musical sounds for the others to hear and make haste to meet at the ground that had been decided upon the previous evening at the close of the grazing day. When they came together, they voted upon the leader for the day. The leader selected some boys to watch the goats in turn while the others played; if they neglected their job and the goats strayed, the rest stopped playing, gathered the goats back, and then punished the defaulters. Such treatment was kept a secret from people at home, and if any boy reported it the offender could either have a

bigger beating from the group or he was expelled temporarily.

Most of the games they played were a modification of those played by the Baganda children, such as, playing with wheels made of either twigs or runners, throwing pieces of stick to see whose stick went farthest, throwing bananas in battle-like play, spearing or shooting at running objects with sharpened reeds, sliding down steep slopes or plantain tree logs, climbing trees at speed and jumping from branch to branch, (mainly girls), hide and seek, wrestling and marriage games, including such things as bride wealth, building huts and playing some music for the wedding party and organizing a wedding reception on the pattern of a formal wedding. The play at Kamuswagaship included dressing the Kamuswaga with a crown made of leaves, giving him a stick for a spear, appointing guards who wrapped their legs with fibre, and Kamuswaga in turn appointing chiefs for various positions.

The youth learnt tactics of organisation, social control; applied positive and negative sanctions according to established codes of behaviour; were encouraged to initiate ideas and plans; made visual imitation of adult functions and social activities, and without being exact, they practised various roles played by adults. When a girl had her first menstruation, she stopped playing with boys. She did not climb trees anymore, and left off looking after goats. She had become a woman.

Looking after goats, the new and less experienced children learnt about diseases, colours and appearances of goats and grass and medicines required for making goats healthy. They helped she goats to deliver, removed ticks, and were trained in slaughtering without either destroying the skin or making the meat dirty. When a boy became sixteen or older, he left rearing goats to younger brothers and sisters, and he, like his sister who joined her mother at her first menstruation, joined his father for post primary traditional education which was intended to prepare both for mature and adult life.

From the age of eleven, a girl could cook a meal for her homefolk and could be left in charge of her younger brothers and sisters. She joined her mother, other women, or big girls in collecting wood from either the forests or thick bush, fetching water in much bigger pots, cutting grass and covering the floor of the house, making baskets to carry food, and making mats for bedding and sitting on. She learnt to make clay pots, bowls, etc., and did all in her power to learn to cook. She was encouraged to entertain visitors, and to look clean and tidy before strangers. During the following four or more years, all her lessons were inclined to preparing her for marriage.

The boy's communal education included joining his father or adults in doing communal work, i.e., building houses, making roads and constructing bridges, going to meetings with his father and sometimes representing his father at lineage, clan or domestic meetings. During his spare time, he continued with making snares for catching small animals and birds or went to play games like wrestling. At about twenty, he was old enough to marry and qualified as a full member of the society.

The third type of education was nearly occupational. Bark Cloth Making. The Baganda and the Baziba introduced bark-cloth making, hunting and fishing. A boy joined his father or his guardian in the morning to go to make a bark cloth. This work had been started at about 2 p.m. in the previous day when both had scrapped the bark off the tree. In removing the bark, the father used a piece of a plantain tree which

he continually pushed between the bark and the trunk, and cut off a piece at the top and at the bottom end, of a width of about 3 ft. which he beat and stretched out to the right width. The youth helped in holding the knife, holding firm the ladder, and holding the piece when father scrapped the skin off the bark. Some barks were cooked or heated before they were worked on, and the youth helped in collecting wood, making a cave in which the bark was heated, and in covering it tight to stop heat from escaping. He also helped in pulling out the bark after hitting it to the right width and in stretching it out in the sun either at intervals or at the end of the making.

For practical work, small boys were encouraged to make bark clothes from the bark stripped off the big branches; the clothes were their own property, and they could give some to their sisters. If a boy made a really good bark cloth for the first time, he gave it to his mother.¹⁰ From that time on he became a partner to his father in the job.

After the bark was removed from the tree, the trunk was wrapped with banana leaves for three to six days during the rainy period, the very good trees being smeared with either cow-dung or butter. The wrapping stopped both the sun from hitting the tree and the rain from washing off the sap. Cow-dung and butter helped in repairing the tree in such a way that it did not have scars. The individuals who succeeded in making excellent bark-cloths were reported to big chiefs, who consequently recruited them to join the Royal bark cloth maker, "OMUSAACA", who lived at Kamukalo village.

Making of bark-cloth was a collective effort especially from the second stage, "OKUTENGA", and definitely for the third and the final stages, "OKUTTULA".¹¹ Therefore, the group of men who worked together mobilized their wives in turn to bring food to the shade "Omukomago" where men worked. It was taboo for a woman in menstruation to take food to the shade, so women either worked in turns or sent their daughters instead to take food, gravy, greens and water to the shade for lunch. Making bark cloth encouraged the spirit of co-operation.

When a boy grew to be fourteen or older, or particularly when his voice broke, he was told the taboos connected with bark cloth making, such as; that, between the time of cutting a tree which was to be used in the shade and the lying it down in the shade, no man participating in the work was allowed to go to bed with a woman; it was alleged that all bark cloths made over that trunk would split if he did. Also when girls grew breasts, and especially when they began to menstruate, they were strictly forbidden from walking over the lain trunk in the shade, as it too had the same effect.

In addition to bark-cloth being used for dressing, it was also an article of trade. The Kookians traded both in bark-cloth and in beads with Banyankole in exchange for salt, with Toro and Busongola people for elephant tusks, with Baziba (Bunyanyimbe) for shells and beads of various colours.

Hunting - A boy also trained in hunting. He joined the group of hunters who went to the allocated piece of the jungle, and helped in making a noise and beating the bush to frighten the animals out towards the nets where men with spears waited to spear them as they ran into the nets. Bit by bit a boy could become a good experienced hunter as a result of constantly taking part in hunting expeditions.

An expert hunter got up early in the morning at about 5.00 a.m. and went out with his son to track animals - like bush buck, antelopes and pigs.

His son observed signs and marks which interested his father or guardian. Then they made a track around enclosing the animal, and went back to the village. Shortly after lunch time, the father or son sounded a horn calling together all people interested to come and join in the expedition. People came with nets 12 or so feet long and six to eight feet wide, sticks, spears, big knives and dogs. The tracker led them to the enclosed area; he directed the men with nets where to stretch the nets, and the young men to stand well spaced out ready to shout and beat the bush to the best of their ability. The leader of the dogs who wore bells round their waists went in, as the men said the words to encourage dogs, "Eat, the whole animal will be yours if you find it. You will be served in a bowl and I will eat off the banana leaf; you will be made to sit on the mat, and I will sit on the bare floor". The dogs followed the smell of the animal, the man keeping track of them by the help of the bells, and continuing to encourage them by shouting hard and by calling them good names and making promises until the prey came out.

When the dogs found the animal, they would try to catch it, and it would run to the area where there was no noise at all. This was where nets had been stretched. It would run head-long into the net, and the net keepers would spear it. Whoever had his spear into the animal shouted out to enable all to note who was the first, and the subsequent ones. The position of the spearman in spearing the animal determined his share. The skin went to the man who found the animal, the meat was shared among the hunters and the local chief on whose land the animal was killed.

These two occupations, making bark clothing and hunting, in addition to rearing goats and grazing cattle provided the Bakooki with some material to cover their bodies. Traditionally they dressed in grass pads, leaves of grass and skins. The soft hides were for members of the royal family and the big chiefs. In the second half of the 19th century, the Arabs introduced cotton clothing "Malekaani" (from America) and "Japani" (Japan made) in the country, and the inhabitants were enforced by both the missionaries and the Government officials to wear them.

Fishing

Boys also learnt fishing. There are twenty four fishing spots on Lake Kijjanabalora. Fishing is also done in rivers during floods for "Emmale" and "Ensonzi". Fishing was a clever occupation. Good fishermen were able to tell times when a particular type of fish was available, based mainly on the height of the water in the rivers. Some fish such as "Ensoonzi" were caught in small baskets "Entukulu" while bigger fish i.e. "Emmale" needed big baskets "Kigomo". Other smaller fish, i.e., "Obuyamba" were forced to run into an enclosed area where a current of water ran. The fish in trying to escape through a narrow outlet ran into a snare, and they were caught in that way. At times, fishermen used hooks and snails on them for catching fish in rivers.

Most fish was consumed in the local market. Every morning women and children took articles of raw food and leaves to the lake side to exchange for fresh fish. River fish "Ensoonzi" were dried up and sent to Buganda either for sale or as a tribute to the king of Buganda. There were no other outlets for fish because people in other neighbouring societies: the Baziba and the Banyankole did not eat fish.

Since 1947, some new fish have been bred in Lake Kakyera and Lake Kijjanabalora, but since 1967 Bakooki complain that lakes do no longer breed as much fish as they used to do; they say that the periodical rituals

which Kamuswaga or his representatives used to perform at an island called "Kensonzi" are no longer carried out. In fact there are two causes for the shortage of fish in Kooki. First during the 1966 political uprising in Buganda, which affected Kooki as well, many local fishermen ran away from the lakes and had not yet fathered courage to go back. There has also been a long drought. (They think that it is because Kamuswagaship was abolished). Because of the drought river water has been too low for efficient fishing. Second, fish which is being caught at some ports are carried to Masaka town or to some other parts of Buganda by taxi drivers and cyclists where there are good markets for them, so the circulation of fish in Kooki has become terribly limited. Fish is at present very expensive though plenty is caught daily from Kagologolo, Nabusozi, Kowororo, Bbale, Rwenswara and Ntovu.

The Present System of Education

Kooki enjoys the system of education as the rest of Uganda. The first two oldest schools, namely, Rakai and Kasozi, were started by the Church of Uganda (C.M.S.) and the Roman Catholic Mission (R.C.M.) respectively. The third school Kamengo was built by a single Moslem's efforts, Mr. Musigire, at Kamengo in the 1920's. In 1964 there were six registered primary schools, and one primary seven schools all making up a total of 1627 boys and girls. The school enrolment for the year 1969 showed twelve Primary Seven schools, namely, Kamengo*, Kakoma*, Mbuya, Kasozi, Kakabagyo, Buyamba, Kimuli*, Rakai, Mannya, Kifamba, Serinnya and Kyakago*, with a total attendance of 1298 girls and 1004¹² boys. The total teaching staff was 73 men and 25 women. There are three Private Senior Secondary Schools (Grade B), two of which, Rakai and Kakoma, belong to the Church of Uganda, and Kasozi to the Roman Catholic Church. Children who do well at Primary Seven Examinations go outside Kooki to either Kako, Kitovu¹³ Bwara or to other schools in the country.

There are no nursery schools in the country. Most children go to school at the age of seven or eight, except those whose parents live near schools, who may go to school between five and seven years of age. Many children still rear goats, still work with their parents at fishing, making bark cloths, and at collecting clay and making pots. Most of those who go to school walk long distances to schools, the longest distance being between five and six miles each way.

Parents complain that children are not as obedient to their parents as was the case in the past. One woman told me that her daughter would not even help her with cooking when she returns from school. A reasonable number of girls have had pre-martial pregnancies, which, according to the Bakooki is something one could never have expected to happen even when girls and boys used to graze goats together.

Teachers have a big problem of travelling to Masaka town to see the District Education Officer. Transport is sometimes very scarce, and roads are really bad. Headmasters tell me that many children stay at home temporarily because their parents cannot afford to pay fees. However, it is impressive to note how keen parents are to keep their children at school with their meagre income based on the sales of coffee, sorghum, and the produce of domestic industries like bark-cloth pots and knives.

* These schools do not appear on the 1964 enrolment.

Health

Life began when a woman fell for a baby. A woman reported her pregnancy to her mother-in-law when she had missed two menstruation periods. The mother-in-law then began to treat the expectant mother: four types of medicine were used. First "Emmumbwa". This is a collection of medicines all embodied in a lump of clay, some six or seven inches long; dried up and ready for use. This is believed to cure a multiple of diseases. Second, leaves which are squeezed out, and the stuff is drunk. Third, medicine particularly prepared for curing syphilis; and fourth, medicine mixed with water for bathing. In the seventh or eighth month, the mother-in-law, friend or relative, tried to put the fetus in the right position by rubbing the stomach "okutenga" twice a day.

In the eighth month of pregnancy, the expectant woman began to use medicine which is supposed to make delivery very easy - this is called "okumenya amagumba" - to break or soften bones. Two things were done. First, a woman was made to sit in medicated water twice a week, increasing to three times a week in the 9th month. Second, she rubbed some medicine mixed with butter or succulent plants over her vagina as often as she was instructed. The mother-in-law took the responsibility over the treatment.

A pregnant woman avoided a number of things, for example,¹⁴ eating fish, shaking hands, walking over the legs of a man except her husband's and above all she did not go to bed with another man. It was believed to cause an illness called "Ebigere" (Feet) implying that she walked to many men's places, and this disease could kill both the mother and the baby.

When the labour began, she was given a root of "Ejjoby", a green vegetable, to chew. If normal delivery could not be achieved either the husband was asked to offer a simple offering such as a hen to the Gods, or the midwife in attendance pushed her hand into the woman "Okugoberere" (to follow) and help in pulling out the baby. Such instances were rare, for women tell me that this situation happened only if the expectant mother had not been well cared for during pregnancy.

When the baby arrived, the midwife removed the stuff from its mouth and ears, and blew up the nostrils to make it sneeze - a sign of good health. Then she cut the umbilical cord off with a sharp strip of reed, put it on a piece of fibre near the mother's bed "Akaali" for two days. Then the cord was wrapped up in leaves of a castor oil tree and of a thorny tree called "Omuyirikiti". Each clan had a different way of treating the cord "Okubyalira", yet three ways are common: some clans buried "Okubyalira" the cord in the house; others buried it outside near a male plantain tree "Embidde" for the boy and near a female plantain tree "Nakitembe" for the girl. The baby was kept indoors for four or three days, for a girl or a boy respectively. It was believed that a baby would catch diseases if it were taken outside the house sooner.

A baby was and still is bathed in a bowl "Ekyogero" in which a lot of medicine is collected, cooked and given to the baby to drink (in very small quantities) before it is bathed. Medicine to prevent or to cure disease, and some to bring good luck to the baby, especially in the case of girls. It is even said today that a girl who does not attract men to herself, however ugly she may look, might have had a neglective mother.

The Bakooki women breast-fed a child for two or three years, as often as the mother felt a desire to feed it, or when a child cried. In most cases a child was washed, (especially before it was a year old) before a feed.

Children suffered from the following diseases, Skin rash "Ennoga" when it was supposed that the woman had eaten "Ntula".

"Ebbugumu" heat

Syphilis - inherited from parents

Stomach pain - the father or mother committed adultery causing vomiting and quick bowel motions to the child.

Fits - the mother had eaten much cassava

Fevers - caused by either heat or insect bite

Looking pale - worms in the stomach, or mother is pregnant before it is weaned.

Akamiro - "the throat" the child does not get fat, and dislikes to suckle or eat.

The treatment was usually given by old women, especially the husband's mother or co-mothers. There was a specialist woman in child care - A saying "Omukaikuru wahai tomuwera kuwa" implies that "if you do not provide a nearby old person with her needs, she may refuse to treat your children when they fall ill". However, a girl of about fifteen is instructed into preliminary treatments for children's simple complaints.

Old people were, and still are, in most cases, the general practitioner. The patients whom they could not treat were referred to local doctors (medicine men) in the area; if, however, they too found it difficult, it was up to the patient's relatives to remove him to a well-known doctor in the region, or go to a diviner who suggested a cure by giving a sacrifice to gods and to propitiate the spirits. The transporting of patients to native doctors and even to hospitals was until 1967 a communal responsibility. If a patient had no relatives to carry him to the hospital, the local chief selected some men to carry him to hospital. These days the patient hires means of transport to the dispensary "Rakai", or stays in the village under the treatment of a native doctor until he either gets cured or dies.

There is one dispensary in the country at Rakai, and four medical aid posts at Lwamaggwa, Rwanda, Kibanda and Kifamba. Each aid post is visited by a Medical Assistant from Rakai once a week. During the rainy season, he finds it difficult to visit them as scheduled due to very bad roads. Serious patients are referred to Kalisizo sub-hospital, 20 miles, or to Masaka hospital, nearly 50 miles, from Rakai, respectively. There is a maternity wing at Rakai, but many women from Kyotera side go to a Roman Catholic Mission Maternity Centre at Bikira, some thirteen miles away from the Kooki/Kyotera county.

According to the situation, the native doctor is still in active service, and the medical service is available either for those near Rakai or near to the Medical Aid Posts; to those who have easy means of transport, to those who can afford to pay bus fare to the centres, or for the serious patients whom the Medical Assistant gives an ambulance to take them to either Kalisizo or Masaka Hospitals.

Community Work and Organisations

The Community Development is working hard to improve standards for healthy living in Kooki. They have a Community Development Centre at Lwanda which was opened on the 18th August, 1967 by Mr. Katiti, (the then Minister of Culture and Community Development). Three more are being built at Byakabanda, Buyamba and Rwamaggwa, respectively, and one is anticipated at Kibanda. The staff is made up of seven personnel for the county: a Senior Community Development Assistant (Male) a Community Development Assistance (female) and five part-time Community Development workers. During the year 1968 twenty five valley tanks were dug at the rate of one tank in each sub-parish (Omuluka) except in Bugona and Butabago parishes where there were two in each.

There are twenty four women groups in the county. The Community development officers hold classes in handicrafts, child care, cookery and homecraft, in addition to literacy and singing classes twice a week. Periodically, they hold house cleanliness competitions which involve a plastered house with sand or dust, hardened floor; windows and ventilation; a cooking house; a good latrine; pit for waste and rubbish and rakes for drying plates. Clubs which are away from any of the five centres meet either at a place of their choice or at the sub-parish Headquarters, and an officer visits them if she/he is invited.

There are other organizations like the National Union of Youth Organization (NUYO), Mothers' Unions, and Welfare Clubs. They all have a similar curriculum for their activities, such as reading and writing, cleanliness of a homestead, child-care, cookery, agriculture, marriage lessons, needlework, games and singing, and handicrafts. Of course, the day programme may vary from club to club.

Short courses organized at Lwanda, Bikira, Rakai and at Masaka have helped the leaders and members of the organizations to acquire further knowledge which is a great asset in running the clubs.

The one other interesting club is "the neighbourliness" group "MUNNO MY KABI". It is mainly for women in the village, and is a combination of the traditional communal service and the modern welfare club. Members subscribe a shilling to their treasurer. They do not usually have a chairman and a secretary in such a situation, the treasurer seems to do all. They may do exactly what other clubs do, but they are at all times prepared and ready to help any member who is either in difficulty or in material need. For example, if a family is bereaved, group members come to cook and do what may be required in the home for at least a week; if a member's gardens go bushy, members collect and clear the weed; and when the crop is ripe, they will come and harvest it. Men know about these clubs but they do no more about helping them than give their wives membership fee, in addition to allowing them to participate in various activities connected with the club.

The disabled, blind, deaf and dumb were and still are the responsibility of the family. They were encouraged to do as much of what other people did depending upon what they could learn and manage. Provided one was really ill, he worked hard and contributed greatly to the provision of needs in the home. Children who suffered from Polio in most cases developed a diviner's talent and became useful by giving oracles. Very few, if at all, have people under this category or deformity have been brought to the modern centres for rehabilitation.

What should be done is to help relatives, financially, who are caring for those who are utterly incapacitated or too disabled to do any productive work.

Old People

Old people usually were in care of their daughters, sons usually helped in providing for their needs. A married woman invited her mother or father to her home, the husband built a small house for him or her and the grand children moved in to stay with him/her. A son could also send some of his children to stay with their grandparents in order to help them with collecting wood, fetching water, and cooking food. If sons neglected the aged, a member of the lineage could accuse them to the head of the clan, who had the authority of giving them orders as to what to do. A neighbour to the aged could accuse the children of the aged to the local chief, who if they did not heed his instructions or advice, could take them to the Ggombolola chief for neglect of the aged. These measures were consonant with the saying that "What grows old depends upon the young for livelihood" 'OLUKULA KUYONKA ABAANA BAALWO'.

Labour

Most of what is done in the way of labour may be regarded as "Communal activity". Firth's term "Simple and complex combinations of labour" is more relevant to the labour situation in Kooki than the distinction made by both Durkheim and Malinowski between Communal labour and organized labour. Of course, in some activities such as building a house, there is supposed to be a division of labour. In Kooki the ritual part is done by the father or his brother who stands the first pole on the site selected. The rest of the work does not strictly follow the normal sex division of labour, such as, men cutting poles and women collecting grass for thatching. Women may carry or even cut down trees needed for building, and men may help in getting grass if there are not enough women to accomplish the work in time, or if grass were a long distance from the site, and/or that the task was too much for women alone. When the house is completed, the man is responsible for repairs while the women's duty is keeping the house clean by removing the grass cover on the floor periodically, making mats and smearing with cow-dung those parts which are not covered with grass.

However, close observation of various activities done in the country indicate that hunting of big game such as antelopes, bush bark, pigs and the like; making bark-clothing, fishing and smelting ore are done by men. Clay crafts such as making pots and jugs, are done by both male and female. Making mats, baskets which are used for serving food, cultivation and cookery were, and still are, predominantly done by women. Since the introduction of cash crops as cotton, coffee, millet (sorghum) in 1900's and the developing market for food crops such as ground nuts, plantain (matoke) potatoes, etc. men have been attracted to cultivation. The order of things now is that men have bigger, and more extensive cash crop fields. Women grow both cash and food crops on much smaller gardens than men do. The growing of food crops is still the women's major family responsibility.

Cultivation is closely connected with rain making. The ritual authority for rainmaking originates from Kamuswaga, who alone could delegate this right to a priest to hold the service. Of course, some rain makers claim to have inherited this ritual power from their ancestors who might have got the right from Kamuswaga's ancestors or had the power as an indigenous

ritual right descending from the lineage long before the first Omukama "Bwohe" came to Kooki (from Bunyoro). Any rain-maker is socially respected as a servant to god "Mukasa" (God of plenty). The procedure taken in praying for rain differs slightly between the Royal and the Indigenous rain makers.

Royal rain making under the direction of Kamuswaga (Omukama) was done at two places: Kyettaka and Kooki Hill. When the whole country suffered a long period of drought, grass dried, people hardly had food, water became scarce and domestic animals began to die of both hunger and thirst, then people close to the "Omukama" reported the situation to him and asked him to make rain for his subjects. The Omukama (Kamuswaga) sent for the priest of Mukasa - God and instructed him to arrange the service. The priest informed priests of the following Gods "Plague" (Kawumpuli), Muleguza (God concerned with extreme in stomach), and Muggala and Nabuzana (God concerned with midwifery) to come together to conduct the service. The Omukama sent a delegate with a spear to represent him. He was accompanied by many people taking with them a white cock which was thrown into the lake at Kyettaka or left in the bush at Kooki Hill; four pots of beer, eight bundles of cooked coffee, a white goat (intended for the sacrifice) and a bunch of "Nakitembe" plantain, which was roasted and some other type of banana for cooking. When they reached the spot, the Omukama's representative handed the spear to God Mukasa's priest, a symbol authorising him/her to conduct the service. The service started at about 4 p.m. and went on until about 8 p.m. when they all returned home. While some men and women participated in the service, some other men and women were busy cooking food, and roasting both meat and Nakitembe banana, all of which must be completely eaten up, and the beer drunk. The priests called upon the Gods, and when they were possessed, the Priest of God Mukasa said "Oh God of Plenty (Mukasa) who gives and takes away, Who has power to draw things nearer from afar, Thy people are dying of thirst and hunger, Give them rain." Then the congregation sang and at times answered in chorus "Listen the God of Plenty". It is said that it almost always rained shortly after the service. Many elderly people told me that it often rained even before the group got back home.

A service taken at Kooki hill differed in some ways from the one at Kyettaka, though both were authorised by the "Omukama", and the Priest of God Mukasa was the chief official at the service. At Kooki the chief priest was a woman. She alone entered the bush, covered herself with a bark cloth until she was possessed. Her attendant brought the following things: one calabash full of beer, four ten cent pieces, four one cent pieces and a spotless white cock. The congregation sat all round the bush quietly, patiently, waiting to hear the instructions. She at times started a song (Hymn) to be joined by other priests and the congregation. She let the cock go, supplied the attendants and priests with coffee, and ordered food and beer to be eaten up. After communal eating and drinking, she instructed the people to return home leaving utensils on the hill until the following day when one of the attendants fetched them. In either case, the coming of rain was assured.

Besides rain making under the instruction of the Omukama, people in a village could ask a priest to conduct a service of prayers for rain to God "Mukasa". The village chief instructed the village tenants to collect food, make beer, and meet on an appointed day sometime between 1 - 4 p.m. The chief offered a white hen (which in all cases is never eaten). On the appointed day, the priest and his attendant brought an oar which is said to belong to God Mukasa. When they met in an open place (it was usually on a hill or by a wall), they began to sing hymns, cooked and roasted food, and

then the priest held the oar and waved it on both his sides (as if driving a canoe). People sang louder and louder calling upon "MUKASA" the God of Plenty, who abides in the lakes. Then at a climax he shouted out "being possessed" saying:

My Children, be calmed
NANZIRI and Lule don't dry
I will surely give you the rain
I will make it come and
You will eat and drink

Then the priest sprinkled medicated water on all the people present saying

Come down rain
Clouds form and quick come rain.

Then the people continued singing worshipping the god of plenty. After all the congregation ate and drank leaving nothing behind (except the white cock which was let free). Then they all left for home late in the evening hoping that it would rain soon.

There were some people in the county who were known to be rain makers. They moved up and down the country attending to people's needs concerning water, say, for example, lack of rain or dried up water holes. Even as recent as the 1930's a man called, Bunywera, from Kibumbiro and Jakira, living at Kimuli, used to serve the country in this way. Rain making may be regarded as a service rendered by an expert to the community, a communal service for public benefit, and an organized institution for public welfare.

Smelting

Smelting ore was a heavy manual labour. A man experienced in selecting the right type of stones (male stones) from the wrong ones (female stones) went about picking up and collecting the right type of the required stones for smelting. Two places are well known: Nsozibbiri for male stones, and Kabukala near Bitabago for female ones. When the expert had collected enough stones, he built them in a heap with twelve tunnels running to the centre; each tunnel was filled with coal and dry wood and manned by a strong person who kept the fire burning by blowing at it. The two sets of men (12 men in each set) met in the evening at the blacksmith's shade, had their meal and set off to the place to start work at about 6 p.m. Each man sat at a bellow and worked at it until midnight when he was replaced by the man who was serving him during his time, the first man becomes a serving man in turn. It was possible for a man to drop breathless due to heat and tiredness. The work took the whole night. The metal produced belonged to them all, except that the head smelter took a bigger piece than each of the rest. Some chiefs had their smelters in service.

The metal was sold to blacksmiths at -/50 cents or at Sh.1/- a piece, or for a number of shells or strings of beads. The blacksmiths made knives hoes, hammers, spears, spikes and needles (used for repairing barkclothes) for mainly the local market. Some spears were exported to Ankole, spears and big knives to Buganda and Kiziba, and a reasonably big quantity of them were given to chiefs in tribute. Kumaswaga, like the Kabaka of Buganda, had his own blacksmiths who made royal utensils which were collected from chiefs

for tribute or as presents and were passed on to the Kamuswaga's (or Kabaka's) friends as gifts.

One smelter commenting on this manual labour said to me that smelting was a very friendly, fully co-operative activity; that quarreling among the group, or slackening on the part of the participant resulted in failure to produce the metal. Women did not have any part to play. Men kept handy all the provision of wood, water and food which they wanted during the night. They too avoided going to bed with women for a day or possibly two days before the work was done.

Almost all blacksmiths in the country have disappeared, especially since the abolition of Kamuswagaship (1967). However, some Kooki made utensils, such as knives, are still available in public markets for sale, though much of home craft products have lost market, being replaced by imported articles.

Agriculture

Agriculture as food producing labour was a major responsibility for the women folk, helped by boys up to the age of about twelve, and girls until they were old enough to marry. At the age of twelve onwards a boy spent most of his time with either his father or men groups participating in fishing, hunting, and learning what was regarded as a man's role in the society. Groups of boys helped in harvesting crops, such as Simsim and groundnuts, and in helping to collect banana from neighbouring homes for brewing beet. When either a boy's voice broke or the girl menstruated for the first time, they were both regarded as mature individuals, and were supposed to observe conditions concerning agricultural productivity for the sustenance of the home.

Marriage and Institution

Dr. J.H. Beattie's definition (Other Culture, p.117) of marriage institution as (a) a union between a man and a woman such that the children born to the woman are the recognized, legitimate off-spring of both partners, and that (b) "it confers acknowledged social status on the offspring" apply well to the Kooki society. The Kooki society acknowledges particular types of marriage systems, and the children born as a result are recognized as legitimate. Marriage was done under one of the following systems.

First: The formal marriage. This was connected with the first wife known both as "Kaddu Lubale" (Servant to the family of God) and "Ssabaddu" (Head in charge of servants). If a boy, sister, relative or parents saw a girl admirable for marriage, and she was acceptable to the family circle (in appearance, shape and form), the parents individually approached the parents of the girl and expressed their intention for a marriage. Then a bigger concern of finding out about both the individual's behaviour, and the type of the family on both sides (boy's and girl's) began. The boy's side wanted to know whether or not the girl was hard working (digs and cooks), that she entertained visitors, could make things like mats, baskets, make the floor covering of grass, make pots and clean the cooking house. The girl's side looked for the boy's ability in participating in male activities such as hunting, fishing, making bark-cloth, smelting and building houses. On both sides (boy's and girl's) each tried to avoid marriage with an individual from a family which practised either wizardry or witchcraft. This applied to all forms of marriage.

If a boy was found to be quarrelsome or had a tendency to fighting at beer parties (usually boys went to drink with their fathers who regulated how much drink (boys) should have) his chances of marrying the girl was almost nil, for fear that he could beat the girl unreasonably. When the reports were satisfactory on both sides, the boy and the girl were allowed to meet at either the girl's father's sister, or at her grand parents home, There they could talk freely without any restrictions at all. After that date, the dialogue between fathers began:

S/F. He asked one or two of his sincere friends to accompany him to the girl's father's homestead. They took one or two calabash(es) of beer with them. On an appointed day they found the girl's father and his relative (could be a brother, the grand father, or a friend) waiting for them. When they saw the visitors reaching the yard, the hosts shouted out -

Host - (including girl's father)

It is a pleasure to see you. The town dweller likes to welcome a visitor carrying something (implying anything edible). Please come in.

When the visitors had settled, beer was put in the centre of the sitting room, then, greetings were exchanged. Then

S/F I have come here to eat greens (Ensugga N'embooge)

D/F That is irony talk, I do not grow greens, I do not have it.

S/F Sir, there is a girl here whom I would like to take that she may grow greens for my son

This kind of talk went on until they agreed on having the children marry. Then the bride's wealth was settled. This usually included two calabashes of beer, a bull or goat (depending upon the family) called "KYAWENDA" (belonging to the producer - stomach). It was eaten by all members of the father's lineage available. The custom of giving more beers to other members of the father's lineage was introduced by the Baganda, and the bark-cloth for the girl's mother and shs. 4/- (equal to 2000 shells) "Eloyasa". The son's father took them to the girl's family and gave them to her father "OKUJUGA". If all were accepted, arrangements for the wedding ceremony began.¹⁵

There were other recognized forms of marriage. However, no wedding was prepared after elopement or enslavement. Rubbing a girl with butter, and lastly, after taking a bark-cloth with some money and placing them at the door of the house where the girl lived (the father's sister's house) then the girl went into marriage "okuwaira". In all these cases bride-wealth was settled when the girl was already living with the boy. Parents did not like their daughters to take marriage in anyone of these ways, it killed the family pride.

Marriage Education

The education scheme for a girl's marriage education consisted of lessons in general behaviour, domestic work, personal cleanliness, and care for man before and after sexual action, "Okubuuka akasenge", inspection of vaginal organs to see whether or not she has been deflowered.

The boy was instructed as to how to care, feed, dress and protect a woman. He was not allowed to go to a drinking party on his own, and to have nothing to do with a girl before he actually married her. The training was mainly done by his father's sister, and the grands, being helped, in rare cases, by father's younger brothers (boy) mother's sisters (girl) or old women in the home.

Marriage Council

Marriage was supposed to be lasting, both the safety and the security of the girl was entrusted in the hands of her husband's father. Any serious complaint that could not be settled by the couple or by the husband's mother made the wife to move to her husband's father's homestead. He organized the hearing (the group included individuals according to the father's choice based upon the type and weight of complaint). The husband's father could not hear in detail the marital affairs between the couple, it was "shame", but he attended to matters concerning behaviour. Either the husband or wife could be fined if any was found wrong.

If a wrong was repeated by the husband she was asked to report to her father or to her elder brother. They took a sterner step in treating the offender. They could stop the girl from returning to her husband and refunded bride-wealth, or demanded a heavier fine from the husband. In case of a wife they could authorize the husband (if the girl was repeatedly in the wrong) to sell her as a slave.

A man or a woman who failed in marriage for any reason found it hard to marry again. Today, though these marriage councils still exist, they are not as effective as before. The churches, political administration, socio-economic changes etc. have affected marriage a great deal.

Conclusion

In general, Kooki is comparatively less adequately provided with all services: very few schools, one dispensary, bad roads and not a single petrol station, one coffee curing ginnery. The community development workers are too few and scattered to be of any effective value. Political changes have hit the inhabitants very hard.

However, the fishing trade is improving, the country is good for agriculture. If something could be done about water supply and more food production in addition to paying attention to other human needs, Kooki would be a wonderful country to live in.

FOOTNOTES

1. On the 18th November, 1896, the "Omukana" King of Kooki namely "Kamuswaga" and Mwanga, the King of Bugunda signed an agreement, supported by Stanley Tomkins, H.M. Acting Sub.Commissioner making Kooki a Country of Bugunda under Traditional Chiefships. This was abolished by the 1967 Constitution.
2. In 1940's, the Government sent a group of people from the department of health and the Veterinary to spray the country and fumigate houses -

except churches. Houses now bear numbers to show which houses were treated at that time. Mosquitos were destroyed and people were relieved of the menace.

3. Some clay, "Male Clay" is bad for making pots and it is a skill to be able to differentiate between "male" and "female" clay.
4. It is said that Kooki county takes her name from the day Bwohle rested on this hill and said "Abakooki twafa". "We Kookians are tired". Near Bukuumi in Bugangazzi is a small hill called Kooki, where Bwohe was living, so he called himself and his followers "Bakooki" remembering the place where they had originally come from.
5. Kajuna is the oldest C.M.S. station in Masaka District. It is near Lake Victoria and some seven miles on the N.E. of Masaka town. Today there is nothing much except a Primary VII Church of Uganda School.
6. Figures for a period of ten years show an increase of immigrants into Kooki annually; though this trend is interrupted by emmigrants to Buddu during long droughts.
7. A nurse responsible for the care of the baby could have been any older brother or sister of the baby, or a small girl brought from the mother's side to come and help the mother in taking care of the baby.
8. This is similar with the Chagga in Tanzania (Raum) but among the other Baganda this blame went to the father's sister in the first place, and to the mother rather lightly.
9. Only the young ate birds, and cooked them outside. When a boy grew old enough to marry he stopped catching and eating birds including chickens.
10. This custom was copied from Buganda, the Baganda used to have a Thanks Giving Ceremony to the Gods of the family at that occasion.
11. The first and preliminary stage is "OKUSAACA" when the bark is still narrow, and needs only one hammer with big teeth to hit it.
12. The Masaka District (seven counties) school enrolment for 1969 was 21152 boys and 18654 girls.
13. Up to 1960's Kako and Kitovu and Bwara were the centres of high education in Masaka District.
14. In general women avoided eating things which looked ugly in fear that the baby would be ugly too, or look sternly at another man lest the baby resembled him.
15. This ceremony took long and many details to accomplish. It is enough for another paper. It is interesting to note much change has taken place in this institution especially in the aspect of procedure in marriage rituals.