

KYAMBOGO UNIVERSITY

**CHIEFS AND EXTERNAL CONTACTS AMONG THE LUGBARA COMMUNITIES IN
YUMBE DISTRICT 1820-1962**

BY

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DECLARATION

I Vicko Paskolin, declare that the work submitted in this dissertation is my original work and as far as I am aware it has never been submitted to any other university or similar institution of higher learning for the award of a degree or any other academic award

Signature Date

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APPROVAL

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to all people in academia committed to extending the frontier of knowledge to make this world a better place for our children and their grandchildren.

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation examines the interaction between Indigenous chiefs and the foreigners who set foot in the present-day Yumbe district among the Lugbara community from 1820 to 1962. The study's main objective was to investigate why colonial administrators never used indigenous chiefs. The specific objectives of the study were; to establish the organization of the Aringa people and the role of their chiefs before external contacts; to examine the early contacts with the outsiders and how this affected the roles of the indigenous chiefs among the Lugbara, the criteria used in choosing colonial chiefs and examine the activities and impacts of external contacts among the Lugbara communities in Yumbe district from 1820 to 1962. To achieve these objectives, the study adopted a qualitative approach using a historical research design, involving identification, synthesis and analysis of pieces of information from the past which were collected through in-depth interviews and document analysis. Findings indicated that; before the coming of foreigners in Lugbaraland, there were many clans in this area of study with diverse origins. Each clan had its traditional leaders called chiefs. They were primarily responsible for all activities in the clan politically, socially, and economically. However, this phenomenon changed with the coming of different groups of foreigners who had other motives leading to a loss of interest among traditional chiefs as they were always in hiding for fear of foreign tyranny. The ordinary people who collaborated were made the new chiefs, nicknamed “Mundu bayii” literally meaning people of the whites. The study concluded that; the Aringa, the rest of Lugbara, and Madi have been under the influence of foreign contact for a long period, from 1820 - 1962 making up to 142 years of foreign contact. The relationship of these new chiefs to the locals also called for negative reactions in that the chiefs possessed unique, responsibility and power that prompted them to perform their duties with a high degree of loyalty to colonial rulers but not to their fellow Africans as it was the case for the rest of Africa. The study was limited to the Lugbara of Aringa currently in Yumbe District but the rest of Lugbara, Madi, and Alur who also went through the same scenario were not researched, this calls for further studies in the rest of West Nile.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the function of chiefs and outside interactions in Yumbe District's Lugbara communities between 1982 and 1962. The Nile-Congo divide, which defines the international border between Uganda, Zaire (the modern-day Democratic Republic of Congo), and Sudan, is home to the Lugbara, a group of people who speak Eastern Sudanic. The region is made up of wide, nearly treeless rolling plains that are between 4,000 and 5,000 feet above sea level. In the far north of present-day Yumbe, near the borders of Sudan, are the Midigo mountain ranges, and in the center are the Wati, Luku, and Liru mountain massifs¹. Currently the Lugbara occupy the districts of Arua, Yumbe, Maracha and parts of Koboko district. In Lugbara, the main rivers from the north to the south are river Kochi, Enyao, Eru, Asa, Ala and Ora in the south.

The Lugbaras' geographical description of their division took the following sections; - Andraleba (lowland people), Oruleba (highland people), Ba-ayia (western people), and Ba-bea (people of the northern mountains)²

As for the case study area-Yumbe district, the main geographical features are; in north there exist three mountain ranges of Lobe, Kei, and Midigo. These mountains are near the international border of Uganda and Sudan. The district is located in these areas; in the west is Koboko district, East-Moyo district, south-Terego district, Obongi to the south-east, Maracha to the south-west and in the north is South Sudan. River Kochi is the major river that runs across the district. The area of

¹ Middleton John and Tait David (ED); Tribes without rulers (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd 1958) page 203

² Ibid

The Yumbe district has a population of 253,325 and a land area of 2,403 square kilometers, as per the 2002 population census. Arua District became Yumbe District in November 2000. The district has a total area of 2,411 km², of which 80.01% is arable, 17.08% is wooded, and 9.9% is made up of wetlands and water bodies³.

According to the Lugbara tradition as told by the elders from Aringa and other elders from Lugbara societies at large, that the majority of the people living in what is now Yumbe district were Bari-speakers in 1780. These same traditions showed that between 1790 and 1850 most of these people had been assimilated to Lugbara. It seems that Lugbara -speakers near this area that is the Aupi, Yiba and other chiefs in the Omugo, Otumbari area practiced a systematic process of assimilation of the Aringa group⁴.

The Lugbara were primarily a chiefdom-based community in the past. Unlike other ethnic groups in Uganda, they did not have kingdoms and monarchs ruling over territory. Their leaders were chiefs, for the most part. To guard against incursions by other ethnic groups, they established cordial partnerships with chiefdoms nearby. There were no soldiers or armies in the chiefdoms of the former Lugbara. The area suffered greatly as a result of outside influences like Arabs and colonists, according to the records. Warlords and tribes were financially motivated to trade in slaves, which created an environment of anarchy, violence, and even fear among the native leaders to comply with colonialist demands. In most of Africa, depopulation and a persistent fear of being taken into captivity made agricultural and economic progress nearly impossible⁵. In West Nile the trade in ivory, gold and slaves started by 1820s. These traders were Turkish locally referred to as "Tukuria" or Tukutuku and Egyptian Arabs from the north. Their main route was along the Nile

³ Yumbe district Local government 2021 report.

⁴ Interview with group of elders from Yumbe district and Lodonga parish 11/05/2015 and 12/05/2015 respectively

⁵ Lewis Thomas trans-atlantic slave trade and slavery Encyclopædia Britannica.

valley with Gondokoro and Dufile as transit centers. Their motive of traveling south was to raid locals for slaves and hunt elephants for ivory, there was no trade transaction with the locals. But during the reign of Mohammed Ali of Egypt, he monopolized trade and no private expeditions were allowed, later, after his death in 1849 the trade intensified and private adventures begun to come up the Nile valley for ivory, gold and slaves. By the 1850s, the Muslim adventure had reached Atiak in current Amuru district. They established a camp in Kajo-keji (a town in Kuku territory) and used it as a base to mount attacks on the people across the Nile especially Aringa, Madi and Acholi were the most affected with this activity⁶.

The African continent was subjected to armed invasions, diplomatic pressure, conquest, and colonization by European powers between the 1870s and 1900. A large portion of Africa had been colonized by European powers by the early 1900s. The nations of Europe had to come up with a strategy for managing their recently acquired lands. African colonies were administered by European powers in a variety of ways. Every one of these approaches varied based on the particular circumstances in each location⁷.

It is claimed that because most of Africa was ruled by Europeans for two generations, the intense experience severely slowed down the development of cultural heritage throughout the continent. Ikechi and Crowder also point out that it is conceptually incorrect to assess the effect of colonialism on African development by focusing only on results from the colonial era. Africans were arranged into "tribes," each headed by a chief. But in reality, Africa had a wide variety of political structures, from highly centralized nations to decentralized communities. In this scheme, the few educated

⁶Kasozi B. Abdu (1986).The spread of Islam in Uganda, Nairobi Oxford University press

⁷Ikechi (2002). The Consolidation of Colonial Rule, 1885-1914 in Colonial Africa, 1885-1939, Vol. 3 of Africa, Ed. Toyin Falola. Durham, Carolina Academic Press

elites in the earlier period of colonial rule were sidelined and rendered redundant⁸. This resulted into loss of culture and chieftaincy in communities like Lugbara.

According to Geller, S., the British colonial state was forced to rely significantly on traditional African rulers, chiefs, and religious authorities to assist in administration due to a shortage of administrative labor. Thus, traditional chiefs and rulers were able to participate in governance under the indirect rule system, albeit under the close control of European authority. Nevertheless, it is unclear from this observation how chiefs were chosen, how they entered local government, and what difficulties they faced. Based on this, the study intends to investigate how outside interactions have impacted the function of Lugbara's indigenous chiefs in Yumbe district.

Related literature was reviewed and gaps which needed to be filled identified. The study contributed the historical information for the young generation in Lugbara community to learn more about their colonial history and the kind of chiefs used by colonialists. It has added to the existing stock of knowledge about chiefs and colonial rule in Uganda, more so can also act as a related literature for further research work in related field. And lastly the research design and methodology were also discussed.

1.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.

Uganda like other countries in Africa is an amalgamation of different ethnic groups and the people were at different stages of development. According to Kefa M. Otiso there are 19 major ethnic groups in Uganda. In order of national population size, these are Baganda, Banyankole, Basoga, Iteso, Bakiga, Langi, Banyarwanda, Bagisu, Acholi, Lugbara, Batoro, Banyoro, Alur, Bagwere,

⁸Ikechi (2002). *The Consolidation of Colonial Rule, 1885-1914 in Colonial Africa, 1885-1939*, Vol. 3 of Africa, Ed. Toyin Falola. Durham, Carolina Academic Press.

Bakonjo, Jopadhola, Karamojong, Rundi, non-native groups, for example, European, Asian, and Arab, and others. The native ethnic groups fall into four major categories: the Bantu (Baganda, Banyankole, Basoga, Bakiga, Banyarwanda, Bagisu, Batoro, Banyoro, Bagwere, and Bakonjo); the Nilotes (Langi, Alur, Acholi, and Jopadhola); the Nilo-Hamites (Karimojong, Iteso); and the Sudanic (Lugbara and Kakwa). In general, these groups live in mutually exclusive parts of the country: most of the Bantu groups in the south, the Nilotes in north central, the Nilo-Hamites in the northeast, and the Sudanic in the northwest⁹.

Prior to the arrival of British colonization, Uganda's many civilizations had established a variety of governmental structures. Based on a monarchical framework, extremely centralized political regimes have emerged in southern Uganda.¹⁰ Among the kingdoms were Buganda, Bunyoro, Nkore, and Tooro, which were notable. In the latter part of the 18th century, Bunyoro lost its position as the strongest kingdom to Buganda.

Lugbara were a small, decentralized political group. There were no paramount chiefs in the Lugbara indigenous group. According to John Middleton's account, those that were there were established by the Belgian administration institution in 1900¹¹. There were several chieftainships among the Lugbara people. A chief with the title of Opi presided over each chieftainship. He decided military and political matters for the community while seated in council with the elders to resolve conflicts within the clan. When there were disagreements between clans or chieftains, he met with his opponents in the chieftain that was in opposition to him. Opii (plural) were also

⁹Kefa M. Otiso,(2006), culture and customs of Uganda, westpoet, conn: greenwood press.

¹⁰ Gakwandi, (1997), kosiya kifefe, east African education publishers.

¹¹John Middleton and David Tait (nd) page 203

pursued advice from Ojoo (witch doctor) who was reputedly a priest, physician, fore-teller and diviner, and medicine man, particularly during national crises such as war, famine, or epidemics. As noted earlier, the Lugbara had a decentralized system of government. The Lugbara people were mostly chiefdom-based. Unlike other ethnic groups in Uganda, they were not ruled by kingdoms and kings. Their leaders were chiefs, for the most part. All physically fit males were automatically regarded as soldiers because it was their responsibility to defend their town, even though this was a temporary obligation¹². Political developments in Aringa, Maracha, and Terego deserve to be mentioned for instance in Aringa (Yumbe) all Opii were rainmakers. This was a necessity and requirement to qualify for holding this position. The influence of rainmaking in Maracha and Aringa originates from Kakwa culture because among the latter rainmaking was very closely associated with both political and military leadership¹³.

The position of the chief [opi] was not hereditary. Anyone with skills, experience and ability could be appointed by the elders among them. The opi had no absolute powers but ruled with the help of the council of elders as told by the interviewed elders. Opi also consulted other opi [plural] in case of any problem that affected a larger society¹⁴.

It is therefore hard to properly identify a portion of the entire social structure and designate it as "political" in a community as small and dispersed as the Lugbara. The manner in which the application of sanctioned, organized force gives way to the application of mystical and/or religious sanctions in an indication of this. When the foreigners landed foot on Lugbara land, they found it

¹²<https://www.govisitkenya.com/lugbara-people.html>

¹³Ahmed Idha Salim; State formation in East Africa. (Heinemann Educational books, Nairobi, 1984), page 199.

¹⁴Group of Elders from Lodonga Parish interviewed on 12/05/2015.

difficult to use any traditional leader because it was difficult to identify who has the authority in the area.

Beginning in the 18th century, traders and slave hunters from Egypt and Sudan were the first outsiders to settle in northern Uganda. They brought Islam to the region and constructed the Khartoumer or Nile Valley Trade Route, a major commercial route that leads all the way to Khartoum. Their sway appeared to be restricted to Aringa territory and the eastern bank of the Nile. While the slave hunters from the direction of the present-day Central African Republic had an impact on the Kakwa¹⁵.

Due in significant part to the River Nile's strategic significance, the region that is now West Nile became contentious during the European powers' colonization of Africa. The West Nile region was a part of the Lado Enclave, which the British leased to Congo in 1894, prior to the division of Africa. The Belgians took control of the area in 1894 and established various garrison stations, including Yumbe, Wandu, and Ofude. Agents, or "chiefs" (literally, "King of the Village"), were established by the Belgian government with more authority than had previously been the case in the native community.¹⁶

Administration seems to have been restricted to exacting tax in kind mainly for the support of the troops. In order to facilitate collection, the administrator appointed chiefs, at first at Ofude and later in neighboring areas. The first chiefs from other parts of Lugbara were leaders of the Yakani cult except in Aringa a cult introduced from the Sudan a few years earlier. It was based on the drinking of magic water as protection against meningitis and also against the effects of European

¹⁵ John Middleton and David Tait (ED) Tribes without rulers, page 204

¹⁶History of Arua and West Nile", last modified January 14, 2013, www.aruatoday.com/site/history.html.

9."Google History of Arua and West Nile"IO.Ibid

bullets. Because they were cult leaders, they were put forward to the Belgians as responsible men as noted by Andrey Richard¹⁷.

Leopold II was born in 1835, became king of Belgium in 1865. He captured Congo during the Berlin Conference in 1885, gave it up to Belgium in 1908, and passed away in 1909. Following King Leopold's passing, the Lado enclave came to be a point of contention for the various colonial powers. There was no governance or supervision during this period, and there was widespread elephant poaching with the ivory being transported to other countries. As per the terms of the treaty, this land was transferred from Belgium to Sudan in June of 1910¹⁸.

When it came to the Lugbara, the Sudanese government was essentially symbolic. Mr. A.E. Weatherhead, also known as "Ajerekede," arrived as the district commissioner from Uganda on May 29, 1914, following the official proclamation of the West Nile district by Sir Frederick Jackson, the governor of Uganda. Mr. Ashton Werner, also known as "Bwana Wana," served as his assistant district commissioner. In June 1914, he established district headquarters at Arua and started putting an administration in place as a mere tax collection mechanism. Indian rupees, often referred to as "robia" locally, were used to collect this tax and were a prevalent currency throughout East Africa. He took over the chiefs already appointed by the Belgians and Sudan governments with the help of Adu.

In 1914 the district commissioner embarked on establishing a firm administration in the area. With the help of Adu, boundaries between counties were established. There were twelve counties in West Nile. These were Jonam, Padyere, Ukuru, Ayivu, Vura, Okolo, Terego, Aringa, Maracha, Koboko, East Moyo and West Moyo.

¹⁷Andrey I Richards (Ed) East African Chiefs; A study of political development in some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes 1959 page 329

¹⁸<https://www.govisitkenya.com/lugbara-people.html>

In exchange for their struggle against the Mahdi, the British administration installed Nubian ex-soldiers as chiefs throughout the West Nile. For example, Amula, the traditional chief of Alur, was ousted by the British commissioner. Weatherhead replaced him with two former Nubian troops, Tama serving as Orusi's sub-county chief and Hamisi as the county chief¹⁹. Other chiefs included Ajayi for Madi Okollo, Abiriga Rajab for Vura, Borulu for Ayivu, Babua Fadi Mula for Terego, Aliga for Maracha, Kenyi for Koboko and the Sultan for the whole of West Nile district was Adu who doubled as chief of Aringa when Odriga who was the appointed chief stepped down in favour of Adu²⁰.

In keeping with the British strategy of indirect authority, Weatherhead designated agents or chiefs to administer the region. For example, the appointed chief of Aringa took part in the Odupi insurrection in 1919, which was Uganda's final indigenous rebellion against colonization. After that, Weatherhead inserted the so-called "native agents," who were primarily Sudanese soldiers who had remained after Emin Pasha's conquest and had made their way across Uganda²¹. They coordinated activities between the district commissioner, the chiefs and the natives of the area. They were not withdrawn until mid 1920s when the administration was handed over to the chiefs ("native administration system")

The spread of Christianity and western education coincided with colonial control. Regarding the West Nile, in 1917–1918, African missionaries (Protestants) from the Congo and Verona fathers (Catholics) from the Sudan arrived there²². They provided only western education in the area until

¹⁹Kasozi. B. Abdul (1986) *the Spread of Islam in Uganda*", Nairobi, Oxford university press

²⁰Google History of Arua and West Nile. Last modified in January 14 2016.

²¹Fage, J. D. *A History of Africa*. Routledge, 4th edition, 2001, p. 261.

²²Gwin P. Robert Swanson Charles and Goetz W. Philip (1768); *The New Encyclopedia Britannica Volume 2*

15 Edition, Chicago page 222.

independence. Their schools generally excluded non-Christians children. This primarily impacted the Aringa (Yumbe) community, which is predominantly Muslim. As a result, Muslim youngsters were unable to acquire the abilities needed to advance within the colonial system. As a result, they fostered trade in the area in an effort to achieve material progress.

The colonial secretary in London and the Nyapara, or village head, were in charge of the common man under the colonial administration. These chiefs were viewed by the Lugbara as either white men's spies or puppets. They were dubbed "munduba" or "ogaraba" (people of the whites). They worked with the new order as spies and collaborators. The populace has limited options for changing the course of events. They were eventually forced to surrender to and accept the modifications of the new order. When Omugo gained independence in 1962, Mariko Boroa became the district's "Agofe," or overall leader²³. This study presents a systematic investigation of how the indigenous chiefs interacted with foreigners and how it distorted Lugbara traditional organization up to 1962

1.3. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Many studies have shown how the colonial officials perceived the bases of authority of their subordinate African officials, whom they called chiefs, during the years of colonial rule. Gartrell and Apter pointed out that, the British used a hierarchy of appointed Africans to carry out day to day administration²⁴. Depending on where in the protectorate individuals had previously managed their affairs without overarching overlords, there was a greater or lesser degree of continuity between the pre-colonial political systems and this imposed colonial organization²⁵. This disjunction has

²³ Lulua Odu, *A short History of the Lugbara- Madi*, published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996

²⁴ Gartrell (1979) and Apter (1965)

²⁵ *African Studies Review*, vol 1, march 1983

created a rift between the indigenous chiefs and those appointed by the foreigner is up to date leading to fragmentation within Lugbara society. However, it was unclear how these chiefs and elders functioned and what obstacles they had to face, let alone the total effect of their actions throughout Lugbara country. It is against the above background and description that this study sought to investigate the existence and role of indigenous chiefs before external contacts and thereafter, the changes brought by foreigners in their appointments, distinct duties of the chiefs, and its impacts on the institution of chieftdom among Lugbara society. It is this problem, which underlies the rationale for this study.

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to investigate why colonial rulers never used indigenous chiefs, the criteria used by the colonial rulers in choosing colonial agents, and the effects of colonial rule on the indigenous setup focusing on Yumbe district.

1.5. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study are;

- i. To establish the organization of Aringa and the role of their chiefs before external contacts.
- ii. To examine the early contacts with the outsiders and the criteria used in choosing chiefs in Yumbe district.
- iii. To identify the colonial chiefs and their activities in Yumbe district.
- iv. To establish the impact of external contacts in the Lugbara communities in Yumbe district 1820-1962

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- i. What was the organization of Aringa and the role of their chiefs before external contacts?
- ii. What were criteria used by the external contacts in choosing chiefs in the Yumbe district?
- iii. Who were the colonial chiefs and their activities in Yumbe district?
- iv. What is the impact of external contacts in the Lugbara communities in the Yumbe district 1820-1962?

1.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will examine the function of chiefs and outside relationships in Yumbe District, Lugbara Communities, 1820–1962. This helps in providing information to bridge the rifts that exist between the two antagonist groups. These external contacts affected the ways of leadership among Lugbara communities. The study also provides opportunities for us to improve on the scholarly information on the activities that were introduced by the new contacts on the Lugbara community. In addition, the study will help other researchers who may wish to carry out studies on the issues related to ‘chiefs and external contacts. Therefore, the study will help to add more information on the existing stock of knowledge.

1.8. SCOPE OF THE STUDY.

With a particular emphasis on the Aringa community in the Yumbe district, the study concentrated on the chiefs and outside relationships inside the Lugbara group. It included the years 1820–1962. Since the Arabs arrived in the Aringa village in 1820 and the colonialists arrived in 1894 to establish colonial rule in the region, that year was selected as the study's beginning point. 1962 was chosen as the end point of the study because it was the time when colonial rule ended and self-rule was restored in Uganda.

In-depth background of Lugbara community is reflected in order to analyze the situation before the coming of the colonialist in Aringa. The study also focused on the chiefs created from the time colonial rule was established up to the independence time.

The study was conducted in Yumbe district. Yumbe district was taken as a case study because of its historical records, that the first appointed paramount chief-Fadel El MullaAli Addu was a person from Yumbe and he was the one who fixed the borders both international and county borders together with the British commissioner Weatherhead. The district was also chosen because scanty information is recorded about its history yet it seemed to be very rich with historical facts, hence the rationale for the study.

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION

This study about chiefs and external contacts among the Lugbara communities in Yumbe district was inspired by other studies, carried out by other scholars on the colonial rule and establishment of colonial chiefs in Africa. However, most of the available literature has scanty information about Lugbara and Aringa in particular. The available information appears in a fragmented and outlined form, which could not give a clear picture of how colonial chiefs and their administration influenced the social, economic and political lives of the people of Arua and Yumbe in particular. Therefore, this section analyses what authors are raising in relation to the study. The review has helped to identify the gaps that need to be filled, additions or for emphasis.

ORGANISATION OF LUGBARA BEFORE EXTERNAL CONTACT.

Speaking Sudanic, the Lugbara people live in northeastern Congo and northwest Uganda. They live in the Kango Division of Zombo District's three parishes Paduba, Oliri, and Angar—as well as the districts of Yumbe, Arua, and Maracha in Uganda (Haruna Ndema & Jackson Abiria, 2014, pointed the above areas occupied Lugbara ethnic group)²⁶. Following the migration and colonization of the Moru-Ma'di in eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo and Uganda in the latter part of the nineteenth century, they became recognized as an ethnic group. It is thought that the Lugbara originated in what is now Bari territory, which is the Rejaf-Juba region of South Sudan.²⁷

Roberts gave a brief meaning of a chief and roles he played, he stated that: "A chief is a political leader of a social group such as a band, tribe, or confederacy of tribes, among more advanced pre-

²⁶ Interview with Abiria and Ndema(2014).

²⁷Shiroya, 1972: 23-34.

literate people; there may be a single paramount tribal chief with coercive authority or deferent chiefs for each tribe"²⁸This information was helpful in finding out if this was the case among Lugbara people and how their powers were like before the coming of the foreigners in the area²⁹.

Middleton (1958); gave a brief historical background of Lugbara people being politically decentralized and small in number except for the Lugbara seriously affected by the Arab slavers of the 19th century. In the indigenous organization of the Lugbara, there were no paramount chiefs but the ones created by the Belgian administration in 1900 were the ones used by the British in their administration. They were generally in-charge of groupings larger than any of traditional political significance. It is clear from government reports that it is only since the mid-1920s that in fact the indigenous system had been seriously affected by administration³⁰.This piece of work was used to debate other sources which argue that Lugbara communities though numerous, had their own indigenous chiefs before the coming of foreign rule in the area. The same information has been used to establish the reason as to why colonialists never considered indigenous chiefs of Lugbara.

In another literature that was so controversial to the above writing by O.J.E Shiroya (1983) which states that;

"The period eighteenth century (18th Century) is referred to in Lugbara history as a period of expansion and settlement among the Lugbara and by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century (19th) the whole of Lugbara land as we know it today had virtually been occupied by

²⁸Middleton John (1958);Tribes without rulers, studies in African Segmentary system, London, Rutledge and Kegan Paul Ltd page 203

²⁹Roberts (1768)

³⁰O.J.E Shiroya(1984);"The Lugbara states in the eighteenth and Centuries", stateformation in Eastern Africa, Ahmed Idha Salim, Heinemann Educatinal books Nairobi 1984, 198.

various Lugbara chief lets³¹. This statement argued that Lugbara had chiefdoms headed by chiefs but it has not given the reason why these chiefs were not used by the colonialists. This creates a gap that the study attempts to fill.

In addition, according to Shiroya, Political development in Maraca, Aringa and Terego deserves special mention. In Maraca each chief let had its own Opi (chief) but during the major crisis all the Opii (plural for chiefs) would seek advice from the most outstanding and powerful rainmaker in the region, whose title was "Opi ozooni "(the chief of rain). At such time, opi ozooni wielded much power, both militarily and politically by the virtue of being the sole advisor to all the opii in the area³². It was on this basis that some informants had a conviction that this area had paramount chiefs. This study has found the contravercy; each chiefdom was independent of others.

Shiroya futher explained that among Aringa, all Opii were rainmakers, in fact this was a necessary and required qualification for holding this position. The largest political entity among the Lugbara was Terego .It included the clans of Katrini, Aiiyu, Ombaci and Ewadri with the ruling family coming from the Bileafe clan. Throughout Lugbara land, the office of the Opi was succeeded by the first son of the chief.³³

All the above shows that there existed chiefs in Lugbara land, therefore this study has gone ahead to show that the chiefs who were used by the colonialists had any political influence at all.

The above discussion can further be backed by Mbiti (1975) who states that: "rainmakers are like medicine men thus great friends of society". In some countries the office of the rain-maker is

³¹Ibid, 199

³²John S.Mbiti. Introduction to African Religion East African Educational Publishers, Nairobi 1975, page 160

³³O.J.E Shiroya(1984); "The Lugbara states in the eighteenth and Centuries", stateformation in Eastern Africa, Ahmed Idha Salim, Heinemann Educatinal books Nairobi 1984

hereditary .The son or daughter of the rainmaker takes up the profession of his or her parent and begins to train at an early age. These positions were often highly respected and they may combine it with other forms of leadership such as being rulers or priests at the same time"³⁴.despite all these, the information about rainmakers is given in general terms. It does not specifically give us details about chiefs who were appointed by the British colonial administration among Lugbara. This particular study fills that scholarly gap.

The senior man of the senior descending line was the rainmaker for each subclan. It is said that he can manipulate rain stones that are kept in a pot buried in his rain grove to control the amount of rain that falls. He was supposed to put an end to inter-lineage conflicts in the past by bringing impotence upon the opponents if they crossed a boundary he had set between their domains. He notifies his community about the best seasons to grow and harvest. And he is thought to be able to end epidemics and famines by beseeching the deity. In summary, he has the ability to mark moral and territorial boundaries, govern crop and human fertility, maintain the orderly flow of time, and regulate the rain that unites the sky and the land. He is said to be a storehouse of some of the deity's cosmic category knowledge and secret truth. When a rainmaker is initiated, other rainmakers bury him symbolically. Later, when he passes away, he is buried discreetly at night in a manner that is different from that of regular people.³⁵.

³⁴Joan Vincent; "Colonial chiefs and the making of class: A case study from Teso, Eastern Uganda" *Africa*, 47(2), 1977, page 140.

³⁵ Middleton, John. *Lugbara Religion: Religion and Authority among an East African People*. New ed., Oxford, England, 1999.

The Lugbara community lacks a king or chief and is acephalous. According to Abiria and Avutia in an interview, a council of elders who were the guardians of the law handled their business. The Lugbara, as a social group, created their own systems of law and order that have been passed down through the years to the current generation³⁶. The Lugbara society comprises about 60 clans whose members had agnatic relations, claiming historical origin to a common ancestry³⁷. Even though they were acephalous, every clan maintained a sense of peace and social order through its own corpus of indigenous law. This is not to suggest that the Lugbara lead a completely peaceful life. They frequently deal with skirmishes that were deemed to be legitimate battles. Indigenous knowledge and customs were then used to resolve these issues, thereby containing social chaos and preserving law in a more collective manner. All of them were altered when British chiefs were chosen, and they proceeded to base their decisions about these cases on the British legal system.

EARLY CONTACTS WITH OUTSIDERS AND THE COMING OF COLONIALIST.

Vincent(1977)stated that; “In Teso districts, eastern Uganda, during the period of colonial administration from 1896 to 1927, a group of appointed chiefs were brought into being and maintained within local political environment in which neither traditional rulers nor a principle of hereditary succession to political office were recognized”³⁸. The British colonial rulers in Teso did this kind of appointment. Such information has been useful in analyzing the case of appointed chiefs among the Lugbara. The situation was not different.

Kasozi (1986) also brought a brief historical background as to when northern Uganda received the first foreigners. He stated that; "The trade in the ivory, gold and slaves started in the areas of

³⁶Interview, Jackson Abiria, 2014 & Jason Avutia 2014

³⁷Jaki and Dribidu (Middleton, 1992)

³⁸Ibid.

northern Uganda as early as 1820s, but during the reign of Muhammad Ali of Egypt, there was trade monopoly and no private expeditions were allowed. But after his death in 1849 the trade intensified and private adventures began to come up the Nile and by 1850s these adventures had reached Atiak"³⁹. His analysis has provided the research with a framework to understand the beginning of contact with foreign intruders of the research area.

Kazosi further explain how Khedive Ismail of Egypt decided to annex all the lands of upper Nile under the British rule in Egypt, this area was called the equatorial province where part of northern Uganda was inclusive. Three European officials administered the area one after another i.e Baker, Gordon, and Emin Pasha. But the area was very large and no enough personnel, these European agents used the former slave traders and slaves as soldiers and administrators in the area⁴⁰This information shows the first colonial administrators in the area but it does not show whether slaves used as soldiers or administrators were the indigenous slaves taken from the area or they used any capable person. This study has provided this missing information as discussed in chapter three of this research.

In relation to the above, the early European contacts in West Nile came with the Austrian Emin Pasha (1885-1889), former governor of equatorial province under the Anglo-Egyptian Sudanese government. He came in with an army of some 9, 000 Sudanese Muslims and settled in Wadelai. His soldiers were to play an important role not only in the colonial army, but even more so in spreading Islam in Arua⁴¹. This information is useful as it explain the fact that colonial

³⁹ Abdul .B. Kasozi (1986); "The spread of Islam in Uganda", Nairobi Oxford University press page 67-69

⁴⁰Ibid, page 69

⁴¹Google History of Arua and West Nile"last modified in Jan. 14th 2013. www.aruatoday.com/site/history.html
[cched.](http://www.aruatoday.com/site/history.html)

administration was only in people (soldiers or administrators) who would promote their interest. They bothered less about the tradition and customs of the Lugbara society.

According to Steinhart, the British were originally hoping to take over Buganda and intended for that to be the extent of their authority. For that reason, the history of their participation in Uganda can be traced back to the Kingdom of Buganda. In spite of this, they later covered further territory outside of Buganda for reasons of economic and territorial security⁴². In 1900, the Lugbara were a part of the Congo Free State and were subject to colonial control. During the nineteenth century, Lugbara survived true slave raids due to their topography and military might, although Arab slavers were active to the north and west. The administration of Belgium was minimal and came to an end with King Leopold II's passing. Following the Lugbara's migration to Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, European elephant hunters persecuted the Lugbara nation until 1914, when it was incorporated into the newly established West Nile District under British rule in Uganda⁴³.

According to Dalfovo (1998), "Followers of a prophet called Rembe of Yakani cult, a Kakwa living about 40 miles north of Lugbara was subsequently entrusted by the colonial administration with over-seeing the relationship between the Lugbara and the colonial authorities creating powerful chiefs that have never existed before in Lugbara"⁴⁴. However, Dalfovo had not clearly showed how the followers of Rembe had influence the Lugbara, this study has filled this gap.

⁴² Steinhart (1999) and Karugire (1980)

⁴³ Middleton, John (1987). *Lugbara Religion*. Rev. ed. London: Oxford University Press for International African Institute.

⁴⁴ Dalfovo Albert T. "The religion among Lugbara" in *Journal of Religion in Africa*. page. 32
guide.com/Lugbara.html.

The policy of indirect rule was applied in Buganda but was partially introduced elsewhere in the protectorate of Uganda. The provincial commissioners and district officers were the real rulers of the colonized people⁴⁵. The chiefs were appointed, paid their meager salary and told what to tell their people, if they did not they would be sacked. Thus, the appointed chiefs were mere employees or servants of colonial rule⁴⁶. This information is useful to this study in that it has aided the research to find out what kind of authority the appointed chiefs among the Lugbara had over their subjects.

Furthermore, Acemah claims that the Lugbara lacked traditional rulers and that the county or saza chiefs were established by the British colonial government to assist them in ruling the indigenous and managing the then-West Nile provinces. As mentioned by Acemah, the Lugbara hold that all men are created equal and have the same rights and obligations from birth. They had non-hereditary clan heads who were selected by the elders based on their merit to serve as speakers during difficult times. Sincerity, morality, and diligence have always been the Lugbara people's core values⁴⁷. This information has helped this particular study to understand the criteria that was used by the council of elders to appoint a chief in the indigenous Lugbara which was different from what the British did when appointing chiefs during the colonial period.

According to Vincent, the exploitative nature of the appointed chiefs (clients) in Teso between 1896 and 1927 raised concerns. Regardless of whether the chiefs were indeed a class in their own right, in the eyes of the peasantry they were certainly a class of oppressors against whom there was little appeal as explained by Vincent. However, it is also a matter of record that perceiving the problem some how differently, the British administration began the third decade of the 20th Century

⁴⁵Mutibwa (1992)Uganda since independence"page 1-2.

⁴⁶Mutibwa Phares."Uganda since independence"page 1-2.

⁴⁷Title, "quest for Lugbara chieftdom is nothing but a selfish venture"www.monitor.co.ug June 23 2013.

as they had begun first - searching for Iteso leaders who might be promoted to positions of authority as the true representatives of the Teso people⁴⁸.

As Vincent noted that the appointed chiefs became more authoritative towards the native peasants making the British to look for alternative leaders to the traditional Iteso chiefs. Such situation might have occurred among the Lugbara appointed chiefs thus an area of interest for this research. Vincent further noted that, there came a problem of local administration involving defining the criteria on which membership in the political community rested and fixing its boundaries, the next task was the control of its inhabitants. In the early days many opted out of the Teso system by choosing to reside beyond its borders where taxes were lower or non-existent. This problem was resolved by discouraging migrations. A chief who encouraged migrations was not fit for his post and would not retain it after such conduct had come to the notice of colonial authorities⁴⁹.

This study attempted to find out whether the same happened among the Lugbara.

On rare times, prophets have come among the Lugbara as messengers of the Deity, offering advice on how to change society in the face of calamities. The most well-known was Rembe, a member of the Kakwa tribe who lived nearby. The Lugbara came to Rembe in the 1890s and asked him to give them holy water. The purpose of this water was to eradicate the diseases that were killing animals and people, as well as the Arabs and Europeans who were simultaneously encroaching on the area. In 1916, Rembe arrived in Lugbaraland after being invited by the elders to assist in eliminating more outbreaks and European settlers. His creation, Yakan (from the root "ya," which means "to tremble"), or Dede (grandmother, because it protected people), became a cult. Adherents drank water from a sacred pool in which dwelt the power of the Deity; this would drive away the

⁴⁸Joan Vincent; Colonial chiefs and the making of class; A case study from Teso, Eastern Uganda Africa, 1977, page 144.

⁴⁹ Ibid, page 47

Europeans and bring back ancestors and dead cattle. Members of the cult abandoned distinctions based on sex, age, or origin in an effort to create a new, egalitarian society. Following the insurrectionary threat, Rembe was hung in Sudan after being deported by the British colonial authority. He is still revered today and bestowed with the mythopoeia qualities of holiness and inversion; rumors persist that he will eventually make a comeback and will never die.⁵⁰ This information put more emphasis on the reaction of Lugbara society towards colonial rule in West Nile and Yumbe district in particular.

The political systems of the inter-lacustrine region were as a whole compatible with the early ideas of the British administration as noted by Andrey Richards⁵¹. A practical and mediocly effective foundation for governance was created by the presence of authoritarian rulers with a hierarchy of subordinates over their territory. People obeyed the orders of their chiefs and the commands of their kings were never questioned. Territorial officials at all levels had plenty of personnel to help them. Peasants were used to paying tribute to their superiors and in Buganda to a fixed tax, they seem to have accepted calmly the poll tax and organized communal labour and introduced cotton or coffee as cash crops. The people were also used to the officials appointed at will by the superiors and it seemed natural that the new administration should approve the selection of men whom they considered to be loyal and efficient to act as their subordinates⁵². This information is useful as it tried to explain how the colonialist appointed their new chiefs.

⁵⁰Joan Vincent; Colonial chiefs and the making of class; A case study from Teso, Eastern Uganda Africa, 1977.

⁵¹ Andrey I Tichards (Ed) "East African Chiefs A Study of Political Development in Some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes". Published for the E. African institute of social research by Faber Limited 1999

⁵²Andrey I Tichards (Ed) "East African Chiefs A Study of Political Development in Some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes". Published for the E. African institute of social research by Faber Limited 1999 page 355

According to Odu (1996), the ordinary Lugbara looked at the British and the Belgians as "Ariba"(enemies) instead of "oriba"(allies) because of their bitter experiences with the previous administrators, as noted by O'du, that the "Tukutuku" or African soldiers from Congo who killed many people. The British agents and chiefs were referred to as "ogara'ba" or "mundu'ba" (people of the Europeans), signifying their role as spies and collaborators with the new order⁵³. This information helped to ascertain the reality on ground whether that was the case or not.

Ocheni and Nwankwo(2012), analysed the impact of colonialism as they stated that;

“The major impact of colonialism in African is that it brought about the under-development of African territories in many different ways. It is usually argued in favour of colonialism that it brought western education and hence western civilization to the shores of Africa which by implication is a positive contribution towards African development. This argument will appear to be true on the surface level or superficially, but if it is subjected to critical analysis, it will reveal the hollowness or emptiness of colonial education which is partially responsible for the present African underdevelopment. The colonial education was not rooted in African culture and therefore could not foster any meaningful development within the African environment because it had no organic linkage. Furthermore, colonial education was essentially literary; it had no technological base and therefore antithetical to real or industrial development”⁵⁴. This statement helped the study to analyse the reasons as to why many Aringa people did not embrace formal education during colonial period.

⁵³Lulua Odu: A Short History of the Lugbara-Madi, Published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996 Kisubi - Kampala page 20.

⁵⁴ Ochen Stephen and Nwankwo (2012); Analysis of colonialism and its impacts in Africa; cross- cultural communication, volume 8 page 46-54.

The two authors further observed that, African territories were grouped into different categories by colonial masters. There were territories that were sources of minerals, territories for plantation crops, others for European settlement, territories for peasant production while others were meant for labour reserves and trading areas. This was so because different colonial masters applied different policies and also the geographical location of each territory. This analysis has aided the study to find out why British used west Nile as labour reserve and how this impacted on the people of the area, particularly Yumbe District⁵⁵.

It is evident from the data presented by several academics that British colonial control had a lasting effect on Uganda's political, economic, and social developments. The British emphasized already-existing geographic divisions through their imperialist strategies of divide and conquer in order to consolidate authority and compel slavery. This impact had particularly damaging effects upon the unit of the country and constructing a sense of national identity becomes much harder.

In conclusion, according to the literature, African cultures were all somewhat organized, whether they were centralized or decentralized. According to Niebuhr, "... no community can exist without institutions that give it form, boundaries, discipline and the possibilities of expression and common action." Given this assertion made by Niebuhr⁵⁶, The elders argued that a society can only be considered "fully human" if its members coexist peacefully and follow established customs. They acknowledged that the "way of life" of the community had a key role in forming the identities of both the individuals and the group. A certain type of leadership was in place, but with the arrival of colonialists, it was distorted, resulting in a shift in the community of Lugbara's leadership and the establishment of the chieftainship institution. The findings of this review highlight the need for

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Richard Niebuhr, (1956), *The purpose of the church and its ministry*, Harper and Brothers; New York, page 22.

change in attitude among Lugbara to accept a new phase of cultural leaders that may not be able to retrieve the indigenous set up but may not also rely much on what colonialist had instituted. Therefore future researchers should focus on how re-union and unity can be brought among different Lugbara communities for reculturalisation.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section presents the approach, the research design, methods used to collect data on chiefs and external contacts contacts among Lugbara communities in Yumbe District, sources, study population, sampling and data analysis. Research design is the systematic and logical study of the principles controlling the investigation concerned with research questions posed on the issues an individual wants to investigate in a given setting.

1.10.1 Research Approach.

This study used a qualitative approach, which is a research methodology that focuses on gathering and analyzing non-numerical data, such as text, images, and observations, to gain a deeper understanding of a phenomenon. This approach is often used in social sciences, education, and healthcare research to explore people's experiences, perceptions, and behaviors. This qualitative research approach provided a wide range of data with detailed descriptions and explanations of the findings about the key factors under study on chiefs and external contacts among the Lugbara in Yumbe District.

1.10.2 Research Design

In this study, the researcher employed a historical research design using qualitative approach, involving the identification, synthesis, and analysis of pieces of information from the past. This information was collected through in depth interviews and document analysis. The researcher went

beyond mere information collection to establish connections between these historical events and their implications on the relationship between chiefs and foreigners in Lugbara communities in Yumbe District. The same design afforded the researcher the opportunity to collect materials from diverse sources, with a particular emphasis on oral histories. Through narrations by individuals who directly heard it from their grandparents who observed the events under study, the researcher gained valuable insights into historical context of the role of chiefs before and during external contacts in Yumbe District between 1820 and 1962. Lastly, given the historical nature of the subject under examination, the researcher found the historical research design most appropriate.

1.10.3 Study Population and Sample Size.

The study employed a purposive sampling technique where by the participants were purposefully chosen to provide rich, detailed insight into this area of study. These participants have experience in their particular fields. This technique helped to gain a deeper understanding of the research topic.

Table 1. The description of the total population and sample size

CATEGORY OF RESPONDENTS	TOTAL POPULATION	SAMPLE SIZE
Elders' forum from Aringa Community	31	21
-Opinion leaders.	Not established.	06
-Men known in the community	Not established.	03
-Adults from the home of Adu.	Not established.	04
-Religious leaders.	Many	09
-Educated men and women	Many	08
Total		51

In all, 51 respondents participated in the study. These included twenty one (21) elders who were representatives of elders from sub-counties in Aringa or Yumbe elders association, six(6) opinion

leaders who are mostly retired personnel from various offices, three(3) known men in the community, four (4) adult men and women from the home of the former first chief of Aringa county -Adu, nine (9) religious leaders from selected religious institutions in both Arua and Yumbe districts and eight (8) educationists who have related researches in different fields.

1.10.4 Data Sources

The study used both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data was collected directly from selected key informants who witnessed or who stayed with people who had witnessed and experienced colonial rule using interview guides. Secondary data sources included printed and online sources which included relevant historical information got from journals, gezzetes from government offices to mention.

1.10.5 Data Collection Method.

This study used two methods of historical data collection, namely; interview methods and document review.

The interview method was employed to collect data from selected key respondents. These were elders and clan heads of Aringa community. The researcher employed stratified random sampling to select at least two (2) elders from each former five (5) sub-counties of Yumbe district. This was done by inquiring from Yumbe district elders association where by two elders were identified by the association to help in giving suitable data needed. Although the researcher did not get gender balanced respondent, later some opinion leaders who were female were got which tended to balance study results. In all, 12 of Aringa clans participated in the study.

Opinion leaders and retired educationists were selected using snowball technique. This was ideal for locating individuals for the study where the researcher began with few respondents who were

knowledgeable about the problem being investigated; snowball sampling was used to select former heads of institutions like retired head teachers, district (former) local administrators, Former County and sub-county chiefs, homes and descendants of the early chiefs appointed by the British government. In all these, the researcher was selecting carefully taking into consideration people with knowledge from the period of 1820-1962. All these were followed up to their homes since they were elderly.

Other respondents like the religious leaders, political administrators of Yumbe local government and some other researchers in the related topics. All these were purposefully selected from whom information was collected. The above group of respondents was presented with questions.

1.10.6 Interview guide.

The study relied mainly on open-ended research study guides to collect data. Some questions in interview guides were formulated to capture information from different targeted respondents such as elders in the community, religious leaders, opinion leaders, and traditional leaders, to mention but a few. The in-depth interview also guarantees immediate feedback. Using this instrument, information about the origin, migration and settlement of the Lugbara before the coming of foreigners, and the political set up of the Lugbara community were collected. More so the information about the early conduct with foreigners and their activities was also collected using this method.

The study also relied on document review in this case, data was collected from written documents of primary source, Internet surfing, libraries at Makerere and Kyambogo, national Archives at Entebbe, Journals in the libraries and archives, documents written by the Italian (Verona fathers) missionaries and Magazines were consulted. Besides written documents like minutes,

speeches of the administrators before independence were also obtained from the local administrative offices of Arua and Yumbe districts. These documents helped the researcher in supporting the primary data obtained. They also appeared authentic as compared to the information given orally where by the memory may fade and forget other information. Further still, the secondary information especially the government documents have systematic arranged work and have pictures of the appointed chiefs.

1.10.7 Data Processing Analysis.

All the data collected from document review and interviews was collected, and compiled together for processing and analysis. Data processing involved sorting by removing inconsistencies, and editing the data according to the main themes of the study as derived from the objectives of the study. Data was analyzed comparatively using the narrative method to evaluate the information and minimize inaccuracy. This method was applied by transcribing interview responses and data collected from document review and edited them for completeness and accuracy.

1.10.8 Ethical Considerations.

The researcher sought permission from respondents by presenting to them an introductory letter from Kyambogo University and told them reasons why she was conducting the interview. They were informed that their honest views were welcome and confidentiality was emphasized which helped to create confidence between respondents and the interviewer.

1.11 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED.

During the study, a number of problems were encountered.

Difficulties in accessibility of literature and written publication on colonial rule in Uganda and particularly Arua district. Most of the documents were burnt down during the war of 1979-1983

that sent almost all the people of West Nile into exile. To solve this problem, the researcher used variety of primary sources and secondary data in big institutions in Uganda like the Uganda archive of Entebbe, National Public library, documents of public speeches of local council V of Yumbe district.

It was hard to contact and trace some of the targeted respondents especially the prominent men in the community, retired opinion leaders and other elders who were all out for their cultural meetings and other commitments. This necessitated the researcher to make several visits to their places of work and homes hence costing time and other resources. However the researcher made sure that appointments were made and thereafter, the necessary information obtained.

Some of the interviewed like elderly people were too old to remember factual information. This was solved by cross checking the information provided by different respondents and also by consulting historical documents obtained from the colonial archives of Arua, Entebbe and Yumbe and some of the books written by various authors on the same subject.

Besides the above, some original documents written by the Italians were in Latin so the researcher found it difficult to get an interpreter. The researcher worked hard to get an Italian White father who made some interpretations. Limited financial resources affected the research process to commence in time. The study required a lot of finances for transport as the location of the area for research is too far from where the researcher works. The researcher worked hard within her limit to overcome this constraint. Another obstacle faced was personal breakdown due to health problem. By the time the researcher was to complete her work, she was operated and lost a child, this delayed her work. Attempts were made to seek medical help and hence there is a lot of improvement by now.

Yet another serious problem faced was that some informants were giving lopsided views and worse still those who experienced colonial rule are very few in existence and their information sometimes contradicts each other. This problem was solved by being critical in data analysis, collecting varied data and use of qualitative and quantitative methods.

CHAPTER TWO

**THE ORGANISATION OF ARINGA AND THE ROLE OF THEIR CHIEFS BEFORE
EXTERNAL CONTACTS.**

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focused on the indigenous set up of Lugbara society before the coming of the foreigners. It traced the general origin, movement and settlement of the Lugbara in general, Aringa in particular. The chapter also traced the meaning of the name "Lugbara", the major clans that settled in Aringa-Yumbe district, their way of life politically, socially, and economically. Lastly the chapter concluded by discussing the role of chiefs in the pre-colonial period.

2.2. OVERVIEW OF THE ORIGIN OF LUGBARA.

According to Odu (1996), the period from AD 1000 to 1600 witnessed a general migration of clans from Juba region in the present South Sudan. He continues to explain that, these waves of southward migration took place at different intervals and in small bands. These general migratory movements affected the Madi as well as the Luo. The Lendu and Kebu came far ahead of the rest as told by Odu. There were various reasons for these migrations such as inter-clan wars and external attacks, drought and famine, outbreak of diseases to mention but a few⁵⁷. This was further explained by the records of the elders association of Yumbe district meeting. They noted that; "the people of Aringa originated from South Sudan Bari which they refer to as Luluwe as their place of origin. They settled in clans separate from others"⁵⁸.

⁵⁷Lulua Odu; A Short History of The Lugbara - Madi. Published by Lugbara literature Association, 1996, Kisubi - Kampala page 18

⁵⁸Record (minutes) of Elders Association of Yumbe District (17/03/2013)

In other related view of Shiroya (1984) Lugbara historical traditions acknowledged three separate groups of people who came to settle in modern Lugbaraland. In the course of time, however, these diverse elements lost their separate identity and united to form the ethnic group known today as the Lugbara⁵⁹. Note that this name "Lugbara" was not in existence; so then how then did Lugbara acquire the name? According to the explanation given by Baba Gabu, the word Lugbara comes from a Madi word "Luku-bara" meaning cousin brothers in Metu dialect⁶⁰. This shows that Madi referred to Lugbara as cousin meaning people from the same origin. In another source, as explained by Sila Mua that; the Belgians were the first to start calling these groups as Lugbara which was a combination of "Logo" and "Bari". The Logo are found in Congo (DRC) and Bari in Sudan, since their languages were similar, the Belgians referred to them as Logo or Bari⁶¹. However, Crazzolaras's view appears to command more respect that the Arabs took the name "Lugbari" a clan in Udipi division in Arua district to refer to all the other people by mistake as he explained. The name was adopted by Belgians and later on by the British⁶², hence the name is artificial and baseless.

Shiroya, went further to explain the migration process using the three historical traditions that; the earliest Lugbara group to arrive in their new home land were the Moru-Madi division (the Madi division). He noted that this division claims to have come directly from Moru in the Sudan most of them stated that their fore-fathers came to Lugbaraland through Mt. Midigo which is situated in the extreme north of modern Aringa county (now Yumbe district). They describe their new homeland as the territory that lay between the Nile river to the east and the highland or the

⁵⁹Shiroya (1984)

⁶⁰O.J.E Shiroya (1984) "The Lugbara states in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries" State formation in Eastern Africa Ahmed Idha Salim, Heinemann Educational books Nairobi 1984 page 199.

⁶¹ Sila Mua (1960) A study of the Lugbara-Madi languages in West Nile.

⁶² Father Crazzolaras, (1960) A study of the Lugbara-Madi languages in West Nile.

mountains to the west. According to tradition as explained by Shiroya, the fore-fathers of this group came to this area in small separate groups and at different times. They, therefore, claim various ancestors as the founding fathers of their group. The Lugbara clans, which belong to this group, are the Aya, Alia, Imvepi, Aripa, Udupi, Oraa, and Ibia⁶³.

The next group to arrive in Lugbaraland was that section which belongs to Jaki division of the Lugbara. The Jaki Lugbara broke away from Bari under their hero ancestor called Jaki, they finally settled near Mt.Liru. The tradition goes on to say that Jaki had several sons whose descendants later split into two main branches; one group moved to the south and south-west and became ancestors of such Lugbara clans as Maracha, Tara, Oleba, and Robu. The other branch, which moved to the North and North West, became the founding fathers of Kakwa and other clans. From this information it becomes quite clear that members of Jaki division might have spread to other parts of Aringa especially clans in Midigo and Kei areas as proved by the information provided by Baba Gabu, who comes from Wandu clan-Midigo division. He explained that about eight clans in the current Yumbe district proudly admit this common origin from an ancestor called Jaki and they still believe that Mt.Liru is their place of dispersal. The Kakwa, on the other hand, admit that certain clans among the Lugbara are descendants of Jakis' sons and that they are their brothers because they share with them a common hero-ancestor⁶⁴.

The third major and latest to arrive in Lugbara land was the Banale division, originally Banales' father Utere lived in Moru-Sudan but later migrated together with the Luo-migration to present-day western Acholi. Banale was born and raised in western Acholi but when he was of age, Banale

⁶³Baba Gabu (11/05/2015) Chairman Yumbe Elders Association.

⁶⁴ Ibid

decided to migrate to western side of the Nile (miri) crossing it near Gimara and settled on Mt.Wati where he met Ofunyaruru and they gave birth to Angundru who became the founding father of the Terego chief lets⁶⁵.

This brings us to the period of the secondary migrations when some of the Lugbara in groups of small parties began to break away from the "parent group" around the mountains and migrated to form new chief lets. This movement appears to have started around the turn of the eighteenth century(18th century) and continued throughout that century. No doubt this was a period of expansion and re-settlement among the Lugbara.

The expansion of the population from the Liru-Wati heartland is explained in tradition by reference to natural growth and the consequence of pressure upon the land. For instance the story of tradition told by Odugo⁶⁶ that; "Their ancestor was one of the numerous children of Banales' son Angundru. Once upon a time, there was famine and food was scarce to get. Their father went to the forest to look for wild food and fortunately, he found some mushrooms and gave it to be prepared. During the time of eating, he told the children to eat only the soup and leave the mushroom so that they could be cooked several times. One of the children (the ancestor of Lenga) decided to take the mushroom and eat it. This brought chaos and fighting among the children and the one who ate the mushroom took off with an axe (in Acholi called Lee) and moved northwards wandering till he found another clan that welcomed him and brought him up as their child. Since he came with "lee"and he told the people hosting him that the tool is called lee, it remained a name for his clan that is Lenga "Lee" is the axe and "Nga" is a phonetic in Aringa dialect used for referring to a small

⁶⁵Silamua and Fr. Crazzolare J.P.A, "A Study of the Lugbara (Madi) language"1960 page 14.

⁶⁶ Odugo Jasinto(09/05/2014 who is from the clan of "Lenga"at Lodonga mission.

thing or person (i.e somebody younger than you, you call the name and add "nga" to the name e.g Vicko will be called "Vickonga")⁶⁷. However, this expansion of population was clearly related to more than natural growth and presumably it was clearly related to more political and social climate favouring an open society which welcomed strangers and condoned their assimilation⁶⁸. By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the whole of the Lugbara-land as we know it today had virtually been occupied by various Lugbara chieflets⁶⁹.

An example of how an open society expanded can be demonstrated in the manner in which the Bari of the Aringa area was brought within the Lugbara community. The Aringa area seems to have been thickly populated by a section of Bari-speaking people, the nucleus of the larger group known today as Aringa. According to the Lugbara tradition as told by the elders from Aringa and other elders from other Lugbara societies, that the majority of the people living in what is now Aringa County were Bari-speakers in C.1780. These same traditions show that between C.1790 and 1850 most of these people had been "Lugbara-ised". It seems that Lugbara -speakers near this area that is the Aupi, Yiba and other chiefs in the Omugo-Otumbari area practiced a systematic process of the "Lugbarisation" of the Aringa group. The influence did not come through territorial conquest or settlement, but seems to have been achieved through cultural domination, starting first with the displacement of the Bari language by the Lugbara language and eventually introducing other Lugbara cultural traits⁷⁰.

What should be noted is the fact that Lugbara culture penetrated Bari communities without the Lugbara people actually settling among them. The process was generally from south to the north

⁶⁷Baba Gabu (11/05/2015) Chairman Yumbe Elders Association.

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹Baba Odugo Jasinto (09/05/2015) an Elder in Lodonga Parish

⁷⁰O.J.E Shiroya (1984). Page 210

and was still in progress when both the Arabs and Europeans invaded the area. The Ludara division in modern Kakwa(Koboko) is a case in point. People in this area are Bari by ethnic origin but speak Lugbara language. They explain the loss of their original language by simply saying that "we lost our language because we live near the Lugbara and we inter-marry with them"⁷¹. This is a classic illustration of how Bari communities in Aringa lost their original culture. The following clans in Aringa were formerly Bari-speaking; Lormujo, Monobu, Kerikula, Teremu etc. Thus the majority of the Lugbara populations in Aringa were originally Bari or Kakwa speakers⁷².

2.3 SETTLEMENT OF CLANS IN ARINGA.

Several clans migrated from different areas and settled in Aringa. All came at different times, but later combined to form Aringa community such as Kemeru, Mocha, Ileke, Robu, Aupi, to mention but a few.

Concerning the name Aringa, there is no clear historical event that explains the origin and meaning of the name 'Aringa'. However, through oral traditions narrated by some clan elders of this community, the researcher tried to analyse how the name came into existence. According to the interview conducted in Lodonga parish, the first clan to settle in Yumbe district was "Orobu" with their leader called "Ira". Ira was believed to have been fierce, strong and courageous man as portrayed by the meaning of his name that is Ira, meaning unbreakable as a stone. When he settled in the area, he made his home accessible to all strangers. He kept on welcoming the lonely travelers and those who were running away from internal wrangles in their area. He would stop them and give them land around his area and also women to marry⁷³. Those who are pursued by enemies

⁷¹Baba Gabu (11/05/2015)

⁷²Group of Elders from Lodonga mission, interviewed on 12/05/2015.

⁷³ ibid

would be assisted by him to fight the enemies and thereafter, he would take them as refugees [Amionga] and give them land for settlement.

The following clans have related story as above to explain how they came to be in Aringa that is, Geya, Aliapi, Teremu, Lomua, Yumbe and Renda. They claimed that their great ancestors were stopped and protected by Ira who gave them wives, giving birth to these clans. With time these clans started to refer to their community as 'Ari-nga' meaning 'obstruction from'.

Another version told by Baba Anguani Moses- secretary of Elders association Odravu sub-county, that the name 'Aringa' was given by a man from Aravu sub clan of Odravu who said that they were persuing their enemies but the clan of Renda obstructed them and lost the track of their enemies. Therefore, they nick-named Renda clan as 'Ari-nga',that is people who obstruct others⁷⁴.

Another mythical story that explained the origin and settlement of Yumbe and Yiba clans as narrated by the group of elders from Odravu, that; the ancestor of Yumbe clan came from Awoo south of Lugbara land with a wife and a child but the wife and the child got lost when the man had run after a wild animal that was threatening them, so he moved the direction of Renda clan where he was welcomed and given a place to settle giving rise to the clan of Yumbe. While the wife and the child moved towards river Kochi where the boy married, giving birth to the Yiba clan⁷⁵.

There are many of these stories told by each clan from one generation to another about how they settled in Aringa. Although there is diverse origin of the clans of Aringa which is openly discussed and freely admitted by all clans, it does not affect the sense of unity which is so obvious among

⁷⁴Baba Anguani Moses - Secretary of Elders Association - Odravu
15/05/2015

⁷⁵ Ibid

the Aringa. This is so because in the course of hundreds of years of close and intimate association, diverse elements have fused together to form one ethnic group- the people we now call the Aringa.

The clan solidarity and inter-relation was and is still expressed in the following activities as noticed by Lulua Odu:

A common ancestral shrine [ori].

A common forum for eating meat [za].

A common hunting expedition [dori].

A common defence system [a'di].

A common leisure forum for drinking 'kpete' or traditional beer [langaa].

Common dancing and composition of funeral songs [ongo]⁷⁶.

Extended family system was/is the order of the day and exogamy was customary and marriage within the clan was/is prohibited.

Leadership was on merit, experience and ability not hereditary and any one from any background might be made a leader.

In Aringa, there are about 100-120 clans, the following are some of the popularly known clans; Yiba, Renda, Geya, Ambala, Koka, Gotri, Odravu, Nyoko, Yumbe, Romogi, Moca, Lomua, Ombaci, Aliapi, Lenga, Awoba, Uwolo, Moli, Kemeru, Nyori, Galaba, Imele, Orogbo, Teremu, Romogi, Adiba, Uluba, Mocha, Rodo, Aupi, Ariwa, Pakayo, Rigbo, Ileke, Mbelia, Robu, Munju, Moli, Gimara, Monobu, Lomorojo, Kerikula etc.

⁷⁶Lulua Odu (1996) a Short History of the Lugbara Madi Page 21

2.4. THE ORGANISATION OF ARINGA AND THE ROLE OF THEIR CHIEFS BEFORE EXTERNAL CONTACTS.

Politically, there is no single over-all political authority and the few traditional functionaries with political power that exist have an authority that is only vaguely defined and is effective only over a very small territory. The Lugbara of Aringa were organized in clans and their supreme leader in a clan was called Opi [chief] who was also known as a clan leader [Ba wara suru ni]. The chief made political and military decisions, settled inter-clan disputes with the help of elders in council. The chief settled disputes, sometimes with advice from Ojoo, particularly during national crises such as war, famine or natural disasters like drought and epidemics. This statement has been reflected by almost all the elders interviewed, particular reference to Baba Sebbi Butiga⁷⁷, who added that when the chief wanted to stop war, he would shout with these words 'Asakasabolo and Gbadagba' (stop the fight and listen) for three to four times and the fighting teams would withdraw to listen and wait from the chief to communicate the next move⁷⁸.

Telling the history of the clan was one of the major duties of the chief and this was one of the merits for appointing a chief among the elders. This history telling is commonly known as 'Awi' in Aringa dialect. Someone who is eloquent and could narrate the history without distorting or telling lies would be the one appointed as chief. The history was usually told in some important public gatherings such as marriage, last funeral rites, and birthrites especially the gathering that involved two to three clans. If it was to teach and educate the young ones within a clan this was told by the elders in the evening around fire places⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015. An Elder of Kemeru clan Yumbe District.

⁷⁹Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015. An Elder of Kemeru clan Yumbe District

The position of the chief [opi] was not hereditary. Anyone with skills, experience and ability could be appointed by the elders among them. The opi had no absolute powers but ruled with the help of the council of elders as told by the interviewed elders. Opi also consulted other opii [plural] in case of any problem that affected a larger society. Tribes are the largest indigenous political units. Within a tribe like Aringa, fighting could be stopped by the joint curses of the elders of groups concerned, but there was no institutionalized way of stopping fighting between units of different tribes. Most fighting in the past was between major sections of the same tribe. This type of war may be called feud.

According to elders Mr. Butiga, Mr. Anguani and Mr. Odugo Jacinto; other major traditional functionaries who possess political significance among Aringa were the rainmakers [opi-ozogo] and men whose names are known ['Ba rukuza]. Rainmakers [opi-ozogo] are the genealogically senior men of the senior decen'lines of sub-clans, and there is one in each clan. Their duties are primarily ritual, but in the past they were able to stop fighting within their clan by cursing the combatants or cause heavy rain. They possess a precious [golden] stone called "Ituke" that was used to make rains as told by Mr. Sebbi Butiga who witnessed it from his father who was the opi of Kemeru⁸⁰

'Men whose names are known'-famous men [Ba ru kuza] were like big trees in the forest and attract 'Ati'bo' [dependants]. Their authority was informal and depended mainly on their wealth. They could also stop fighting, although their curses were not as feared as those of rain-makers. The latest groups of people with some political authorities were the prophets who appeared only during the period of 1900-1920. They organized different tribes to resist the foreign rule and their influence

⁸⁰ Ibid

collapsed around 1919 when the British crushed the Odupi uprising against their rule. They no longer exist because people lost trust in their prophecy⁸¹.

In Aringa, rain-making was a pre-requisite for holding the office of the Opi. Almost all the Opii of Aringa clans were rain-makers. This was an influence from Kakwa, their immediate neighbour. The position of rain-making was hereditary and for life and had political implications but elsewhere in Lugbara land, rain-making had no political impact at all.

The Lugbara particularity Aringa had no standing army but they had at clan level a military commander or war captain whom they called "Ambo Adini"(leader of war).This office was not appointive but was held by any warrior who distinguished himself as the most courageous and the most knowledgeable in military tactics and strategy. However, he had no power to either to declare or to call off a war that was the responsibility of the Opi.

Another remarkable position that deserves mention was the "Ojogo" (traditional medicineman). This position could be held by a man or a woman and such a person got his\her powers from ancestral divinities. The Ojogo played a number of roles such as priest, fore-teller, diviner, and ritual performer as told by Baba Butiga Sebbi. He\she was rewarded with food stuff, animals or birds by those who consulted him or her during difficult times such as sickness, sudden deaths in a clan, epidemics outbreak, death of animals or visions of the dead ancestors⁸².

Economically, the Aringa were agriculturalists. Farming and cattle keeping were the two most important aspects of their economy. They used wooden Hoes for cultivation from the beginning of settled life after migration, thus agricultural development was limited during the pre-colonial

⁸¹John Middleton and David Tait (Ed) Tribes without rulers 1964, page 212

⁸²Group of Elders from Lodonga Parish interviewed on 12/05/2015

times. Later Iron hoes were introduced by the neighbours, Lendus and Okebo. Because of these special skills and services the Lendu became popular in the Lugbara land. The Aringa learnt Iron skills and some intelligent ones started making Iron tools. These people came to be popularly referred to as "Ba oka diipi di" (the iron smith).

The Lugbara grew food crops like millet, sorghum, legumes like groundnuts, simsim, chick peas, muniga and sweet potatoes. Following drought that hit millet and sorghum, cassava was introduced in the 1960s⁸³, as noted by John Middleton (1964).

Among the Lugbara particularly of Aringa, each household was responsible for carrying out all activities related to cultivation. In these societies, age and gender were used for organizing domestic labour, for instance heavy works such as clearing and preparing farmland was done by men and lighter jobs such as weeding the crops was done by women. Planting called for collective effort of the men, women, and children. However, there were some crops which were mainly planted by women, these included vegetables such as dodo, Osubi, Igiribi, kelebi and many others⁸⁴.

There were two types of communal labour to grow crops in large scale among the Lugbara. There was "Uya", this was an arrangement where people in the same clan or at least a group of members would be asked to perform or do some work especially digging in exchange of food and beer. For example, one big cock calls for 4 strong men and the 5th would be the head of the family. The second type was "Kita"(Rotational work) where two or more people would agree to work inturns for each other without any other reward. In-Laws were also required to provide labour and this

⁸³John Middleton and David Tait (Ed) Tribes without rulers 1964, page 212

⁸⁴Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015

would be appreciated with food. This was evidenced by a group of elders from Lodonga who narrated many stories about sons-in-law working for their mothers-in-law.⁸⁵

Another type of labour which also deserves mention was the "Atibo", John Middleton referred to it as clients, non-kin who attach themselves to a member of the host group. These were servants at opi's home. They were strangers looking for land for settlement in times of famine or war or criminals or war captives serving their penalty. Yet some people used to come at will to work at opis' home they were fed and accommodated by the chief and what they produced in the field was for the chief⁸⁶.

Harvesting was another task that called for collective labour of men, women and children. Harvesting of many staple foods like millet, sorghum, groundnuts and simsim deserved faster response or they might get spoiled. After harvest, part of what was harvested would be taken to the chiefs' palace purposely for storage and to maintain the chief. The chief would be having many granaries to store these foodstuffs but in case of famine or drought people would get food from the chief. This statement was reflected by Baba Butiga during the interview. This shows that one of the roles of pre-colonial chiefs was to act as custodian of community food which would be given to the community at times of crisis⁸⁷.

From the above discussion, it can be deduced that all members worked together in all the phases of production except in the clearing of the virgin fields by men. This also shows the difference in labour during the colonial period where men were taken to provide labour in plantations for wages and women were left to care for all family needs which is a pattern up-to-date.

⁸⁵Group of Elders from Lodonga Parish interviewed on 12/05/2015.

⁸⁶Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015

⁸⁷Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015.

Hunting and gathering was also one of the major economic activities of Aringa people. The chiefs (Opii) were the organizers of this activity and some particular land of the clan would be devoted particularly for this purpose and the chief was the custodian. Hunting was done during dry season by men and young boys and there were rituals performed by the chief or rainmaker for successful hunting as narrated by group of elders from Lodonga. They hunted both big and small animals; dangerous animals like lions, leopards and foxes were hunted not for meat but for security purpose. The common method of hunting was by chasing the animals or trapping it using "iba"(ropes with net) and digging of ditches. In case of edible animals, the meat was divided among the chief and those who hunted, but the one who killed the animal took the lion's share⁸⁸.

The Opi used animal horn for communication which they blew in times of joyful moments like hunting or mobilizing to go for hunting or even times of problems such as attacks from enemies, death of a person etc.

There was also trade which was used to acquire what the Lugbara could not produce, for example, the Lugbara could exchange their food crops for iron implements with the 'Nyangilia' clan of the current Koboko district. Salt was also obtained from Bunyoro through the Alur who acted as middle men.

In pre-colonial Aringa Society, wealth was considered very important in determining the status of a person in a community. One of the determining factors to be 'Ba rukuza" in society was the wealth a person owned which was seen through size of herds of cattle or goats or sheep. Some

⁸⁸Ibid

Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015.

⁸⁸Ibid

avenues used to accumulate wealth were agricultural production, trade, special skills and political positions. In addition to that people who had many daughters would accumulate wealth through receiving dowry in case the daughters got married. Though giving birth to girls continuously in a family was seen as misfortune, girls were a source of wealth. Another way of accumulating wealth was through exchange of surplus of agricultural products especially food stuffs would be exchanged with livestock such as goats, sheep or chicken. The wealthy occupied political positions in the society. That is why Lugbara did not have a royal family that would produce chiefs. Chiefs were made not born among Lugbara society⁸⁹.

In socio-cultural set up of the Aringa as quoted by Middleton, "Every person has a culture, and culture is changing all the time, whether slowly or rapidly. The word culture covers many things such as the way people live, behave and act, their physical as well as their intellectual achievements. Culture shows itself in art and literature, dance, music and drama, in the styles of building houses and of peoples' clothing, in social organization and political systems, in religion, ethics, morals and philosophy in the customs and institutions of the people in their values and laws and in their economic life. All these cultural expressions influence and shape the life of each individual in his society, and in turn the individual makes contribution to his community through participating in its life and in some cases through creative work. Every life aspect of Aringa society was guided by their belief in super natural being and that ancestral spirits have direct influence on the living. They attach more respect and fear to those who can invoke spirits than the political leaders. Sanctions for behaviour are mainly religious⁹⁰.

⁸⁹Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015.

⁹⁰John Middleton 1964 page 213.

2.5 CONCLUSION.

Generally, the Lugbara political structure is characterized by highly independent and autonomous institutions; there was no single power over all political authorities and the few traditional functionaries with political power that existed had an authority that is only vaguely defined and is effective only over a very small territory. Although, every Lugbara recognizes that, they are members of one people, distinct from their neighbors, whether these are ethnically related or not, they have little knowledge of groups that live more than a very few miles away on the open plateau. Chiefs, rain makers and "men whose names are known" had rudimentary political authority. They provided a mechanism for the peaceful settlement of disputes when the parties immediately involved were ready to do so. One of these mechanisms was that, relations are sanctioned by the ghost cult and other mystical sanctions within the minimal segment the elder holds strong authority by his power to invoke the ghost against his dependents. Leadership between these groups or elders is provided by the spiritual seniority of the senior elder, expressed in his power of ritual representation, but he has no other authority.

Therefore, in such a small scale and fragmented society such as the Lugbara, it is impossible to isolate clearly a part of the total social system and call it "political". The way in which the use of organized and approved force shades off into the use of the religious and other mystical sanctions in an indication of this. When the foreigners landed foot on Lugbara land, they found it difficult to use any traditional leader because it was difficult to identify who has the authority in the area.

CHAPTER THREE

EARLY EXTERNAL CONTACTS AND CRITERIA USED IN CHOOSING CHIEFS

3.1. EARLY TRAVELERS (TRADERS) IN WEST NILE (1820-1860).

According to Kasozi, the trade in ivory, gold and slaves started in West Nile region by 1820s. These traders were Turkish locally referred to as "Tukuria" or Tukutuku and Egyptian Arabs from the north⁹¹. Their main route was along the Nile valley with Gondokoro and Dufile as transit centers. Their motive of traveling south was to raid locals for slaves and hunt elephants for ivory, there was no trade transaction with the locals. But during the reign of Mohammed Ali of Egypt, he monopolized trade and no private expeditions were allowed, later, after his death in 1849 the trade intensified and private adventures begun to come up the Nile valley for ivory, gold and slaves. By the 1850s, this Muslim adventure had reached Atiak in current Amuru district. They established a camp in Kajo-keji (a town in Kuku territory) and used it as a base to mount attacks on the people across the Nile especially Aringa, Madi and Acholi were the most affected with this activity⁹². The attack forced many natives in this region to flee out of their homeland as narrated by Baba Rajab Atiriko that Ambala clan in Aringa-Yumbe district migrated southwards due to the activities of slave trade raiders but they were originally from South Sudan now they are in the northern part of Yumbe district⁹³.

Most of the interviewed respondents narrated this story with a lot of bitterness calling it "nasty encounter with the outsiders". Actually, some of the elders called this group as killers, which they will live to remember in their history⁹⁴. For example, one of the prominent chiefs of Aringa

⁹¹Kasozi. B. Abdul (1986) "the Spread of Islam in Uganda", Nairobi, Oxford university press. Page 67 - 69

⁹² Ibid

⁹³ Baba Rajab Atiriko; Secretary to Chief Adu 11/01/2007.

⁹⁴ Baba Rajab, Odugo Jasinto and many others.

appointed by the British was once a victim of the Arab slave raiders during his early years as narrated by Amin Opigo

"At the age of about 15 years, Adu and his colleagues encountered an attack from Arabs while grazing, they escaped the first attack but lost herds of cattle. Shortly, after the second attack was made, Adu and other boys were captured by the "Jadia"(local name for Arabs). Among the people taken during that raid were Adu, his uncle Acabo, and Okuni Gbaka among others"⁹⁵.

The slave raiders had their headquarters at Dufile purposely for their slave raid activities. The departure of Arabs from Dufile was when Khedive Ismail of Egypt addressed the motion of abolition of the slave trade as an important issue through the governors of Equatorial provinces like Baker (1868-1874), Gordon (1877-1885) and Emin Pasha (1885-1888) who took complete control of northern⁹⁶

Uganda, used the ex-slaves and Nubians as troops, among which was Adu and others taken from Aringa and later they were used in the administration of the area. This marked the end of the slave trade and raiding in the region. The respondents interviewed about their contacts with the slave traders in the area identified the following effects. In their responses, there was nothing productive from the slavers.

Most respondents claimed that there were no trade activity slavers, they simply raided any trade item they wished to take such as slaves, Ivory, skins, and hides to mention. As a result of this raiding activity, many people were killed and others were taken as slaves. This created a lot of

⁹⁵Amin Opigo (08/08/2007) an Elder from Ambala clan.

⁹⁶Eric Williams, *Capitalism & Slavery* (University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 98–107, 169–177, et passim.

insecurity, displacements, forced migrations, family breakup leading to low productivity in agriculture with its associated problems like famine, death of many people⁹⁷.

3.2 THE REGION UNDER EQUATORIAL PROVINCE 1863-1888.

In 1863 Khedive Ismail became the new ruler of Egypt; he followed in the footsteps of his grandfather Muhammad Ali, taking a keen interest in modernizing and expanding the Egyptian Empire⁹⁸. He was a key figure in expanding Egyptian control and establishing an "equatorial empire" covering the area of southern Sudan and northern Uganda. In 1869, Khedive Ismail hired Sir Samuel Baker, a famous explorer and discoverer of Lake Albert, to establish that "Egyptian Equatorial Empire" at the same time securing the Nile Basin for the water on which Egypt depended and crushing the slave trade that was taking place in this region⁹⁹.

In the mid-1870s, the Egyptian army in Southern Sudan consisted largely of Egyptian officers, northern Sudanese (Fur, Nubia, Bagyana, Danaqla etc) and Southern Sudanese (Dinka, Shilluk) slave soldiers (Nubian) that had been conscripted earlier for the Egyptian Jihadiya¹⁰⁰. In 1872 Baker was at Masindi and annexed Bunyoro but the king of Bunyoro by then forced him to withdraw to Gondokoro. In Gondokoro, heading a small army, Baker formed the equatorial province in the name of the Khedive and the Ottoman Empire¹⁰¹.

Among the slave soldiers (Nubians) who came with these Europeans were the sons of the soil like Adu, Azabo, and Okuni among others from Aringa¹⁰². In 1877, General Charles Gordon became

⁹⁷ All the interviewed Elders in Yumbe District.

⁹⁸ Hunter F. Robert (1999), Egypt under the khedives 1805-1879 , American University Press in Cairo.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Peacock A.C.S. (ed) 2009, The frontiers of the ottoman world oxford university press.

¹⁰¹ Google, "History of Arua and West Nile"; last modified in June 14th 2016

www.aruatoday.com/site/history/html.cched

¹⁰² Amin Opigo (08/08/2007)

the governor of Equatorial and established his headquarters at Lado. He opened forts along the River Nile as far as Lake Albert. Some of the examples of these forts were Dufile, Wadelai and Kawara (Hoima).

In 1881, the Mahdi Revolution led by General Karam Alah broke out in the Sudan. General Gordon was killed at the battle of Amadi in 1885 and was succeeded by Emin Pasha who withdrew south with his troops both Egyptians and Sudanese to the forts along the Nile and when Khartoum fell to the Mahdists, the Egyptian army in Equatorial was completely isolated, cut off from Egypt and confined to their forts in a narrow strip of land along the Nile in Lado, Dufile and Wadelai¹⁰³.

In April 1888, the explorer Stanley arrived at Lake Albert on the famous "Emin Pasha Relief Expedition", bringing a letter from the Egyptian Khedive in which he told the soldiers that he had given up Equatoria and ordered Emin Pasha to come to Egypt, at the same time permitting the soldiers to stay in Equatoria if they so chose to, but then without further assistance from the Khedive¹⁰⁴.

The Mahdist uprising in Sudan destabilized the governing of this Equatorial province. For safety, in 1889, Emin left the equatorial province for Zanzibar without Salim Bey. This marked the end of formal occupation of the equatorial province by the Egyptians and Mahdist forces took over the area. The new ruler Mohammed Ahmed of Sudan for some time controlled northern Uganda and was later followed by the Belgians¹⁰⁵.

On March 26 1889, Salim Bey went back to the north to evacuate all the remaining soldiers and dependents and brought them to Hoima (Kawara), but before he could start, another Nubian officer

¹⁰³E'tal, Google (4)

¹⁰⁴ Hunter F. Robert (1999), *Egypt under the khedives 1805-1879*, American University Press in Cairo.

¹⁰⁵ Leopold Mark, *inside West Nile, violence, history, and representation on an African Frontier*.

by name Fadel el Mula Ali (Adu- an Aringa who was an ex-slave soldier) who had wanted to remain in Equatoria mutinied, stole ammunition and with a large part of the soldiers left for the hills¹⁰⁶.

As a result of the above activities, Aringa and West Nile at large was in a period of tarmoil, panic and suffering as narrated by Opigo. There was no settled life during the period of Mahdist rule in northern Uganda. Many people were displaced from one place to another and that explained why clans in Aringa - Yumbe district got split up in small groups found in different places in Yumbe district as explained by Amin Opigo¹⁰⁷. An example of these tribe that got split up was the Ambala clan which was originally around areas south of Gondokoro. Currently they are found in kuru, lobe, lodonga and other areas, as explained by Opigo.

3.3. THE LADO ENCLAVE TERRITORY UNDER KING LEOPOLD THE SECOND OF BELGIUM (1892-1909)

By the treaty signed in Brussels (Belgium) on 12th May 1894 between Britain and King Leopold II of Belgium, the Lado Enclave was leased to him for the rest of his life time as personal property. This was because the British together with the Egyptians lost the area to Mahdist army in Sudan. So the British decided to lease the area to the so - called Congo Free State. Meanwhile before signing this agreement, a Belgian expedition headed by the Belgian officer Lt.Milz crossed the Nile - divide and a treaty of allegiance with the Nubian officer Fadel-el-Mullah Ali, one of the mutinied ex-soldiers of Emin Pasha at Wadelai in 1892 and they set a camp at Wandu in Aringa near Wollo¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Amin Opigo (08/08/2007)

¹⁰⁸Google "Lugbara community and colonial rule."www.uganda-visit and travel guide.com/Lugbara/html

The Lugbara and Madi fell under Belgian influence. They were placed under what was called the "Lado Enclave", an area of 15, 000 square miles and a population estimated at 250, 000 people. The Lado is the name of a hill situated west of the Nile in southern Sudan. It is the first hill seen when travelling on the river some 1, 000 miles from Khartoum. The ethnic tribes included in this region were Aringa, Lugbara, Madi, Alur, Kakwa, Bari, Mandari, Makaraka, Mora, Avukaya, Kaliko, Liggi, Nyepo, Baka, etc. On May 9th 1906, a new Anglo- Congolese agreement was signed by which the Lado enclave to the Sudan Government¹⁰⁹

The territory called now West Nile region, which stretches along the Albert Nile to Nimule, and Congo was under the direct control of King Leopold II. A monument was erected at Alikua near Ofude in Maracha as a memorial to the Belgium army.

The Belgians set up a small administrative post at Ofude, in North-Central Lugbara (Maracha district) in 1900. One European officer and a small detachment of troops operated it. They set up chiefs in this formally chief-less society as termed them and there developed an administrative system of chiefs and sub-chiefs¹¹⁰. There were other posts set up in what is now the West Nile district such as Loka, Yei, Kajo-Keji, Dufile, Wadelai, Mahagi, Alikua, and Alenjua Yumbe. These were merely fortified military posts.

Administration seems to have been restricted to exacting tax in kind mainly for the support of the troops. In order to facilitate collection, the administrator appointed chiefs, at first at Ofude and later in neighboring areas. The first chiefs from other parts of Lugbara were leaders of the Yakani cult except in Aringa a cult introduced from the Sudan a few years earlier. It was based on the

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Middleton John (1958), Tribes without rulers, studies in African segmentary system, London, Rutledge and Reagan Paul Ltd page 210

drinking of magic water as protection against meningitis and against the effects of European bullets. Because they were cult leaders, they were put forward to the Belgians as responsible men as noted by Andrey Richard¹¹¹.

Anguani Moses narrated a story of Aringa why they never presented their indigenous chief to the Belgians (whom the locals called Barajiki).

That when the Barajiki approached the Renda clan to present their chiefs as an agent for them. The clan decided to hide their chief but instead they appointed Adromva (sisters' son) who was staying in the clan as bastard child called Katria. Their major duty was to collect taxes and maintains the camp. During the collection of taxes, the locals burnt the camp and when the administrator of Belgians was surveying the area, he got the camp burnt and called the agent to explain what had happened, in the process the agent was shot dead¹¹².

This situation made the rest of the other indigenous chiefs to withdraw from administration. Others organized mock funerals to their chiefs in order to rescue them. The other local leaders like rain makers decided not to co-operate with the Belgians in order protect their rain stones (Ituke).

The new chiefs, known as Makoto (a Lingala word) were paid in cattle and grains and used their wealth to acquire large numbers of wives as narrated by Anguani. He They soon became the richest men in the area locally known as "Kureni" in the Aringa dialect. Most of my respondents had no good to say of their chief activities and in case of any dislikes of change, the locals would vent

¹¹¹Andrey I Richards (Ed) East African Chiefs; A study of political development in some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes 1959 page 329

¹¹² Baba Anguani Moses –secretary elders Association- Odravu 15/05/2015.

upon them as the nearest agents and even the Belgian administrators would begin any punishment with them¹¹³.

The African population remained hostile to the Congolese officials and Belgian administrators whose soldiers (Tukutuku) were often a source of insecurity because of their activities of raiding. In the book of Lulu Odu, it was reported that towards the end of their administration, the Belgians had taken many Lugbara to Congo as their workers in the extraction of minerals and exploitation of the forest for timber. Among the people taken, the elders interviewed managed to identify by names and clans about 66 Aringa men and women taken by the Belgians. These people were later brought back to Aringa by Fadel-el-Mula Ali Adu during his term of office as the overall chief of West Nile¹¹⁴.

In 1905, the Belgians took the following people listed below.

Source. From the files of the elders' office in Yumbe district.

¹¹³Baba Anguani.

¹¹⁴ Ibid

Table 2. Ugandan Men taken by the Belgians

S/No	Name	Clan	S/No.	Name	Clan
1	Ata Makelele	Gimre	29	Karanga	Pabura
2	Ata Petro	Gimre	30	Mulai	Kemuru-Marachi
3	Tena falaehu	Gimre	31	Furujala Aba	Kemuru-Marachi
4	Njala	Gimre	32	Telego	Erewa
5	Ajuala	Lomonga	33	Bilali	Terego
6	Yonisi	Micu	34	Fataki	Alarapi
7	Kenyi Nyiri	Rogale	35	Avuwa	Alarapi
8	Nuru Ajuga	Lurujo	36	Abini	Oleba
9	Acu	Joke	37	Anyaku	Aivu
10	Buga	Joke	38	Abini	Oleba
11	Mboli	Koka	39	Surubanba	Awoba
12	Andoga	Awoba	40	Andaku	Geya
13	Anguwate	Yumbe	41	Chabe	Onjini
14	Rima	Yambura	42	Bileyo	Aringa
15	Arwa	Yambura	43	Abouli	Omba
16	Aliga	Moli	44	Musa Ana	Olivu
17	Aboroga	Odravu	45	Amepuja	Ambala
18	Adala	Kuru	46	Ame Kule	Aliba
19	Silimani	Lurojo	47	Bisiri Anda	Mitika
20	Wani Abe	Lurojo	48	Ali Baba	Mitika
21	Jabiri	Lurojo	49	Musa Biyinzila	Yivu
22	Salim Wka	Godia	50	Andwa	Tara
23	Risasi	Yivu	51	Asumani Ingba	Yiba
24	Ezale	Yivu	52	Morofoi	Ambala
25	Banja	Yivu	53	Moga	Morodo
26	Ariya	Yivu	54	Nyoga	Golori
27	Drebwa	Ombia	55	Odiga	Nyori Chaku
28	Amia	Maracha			

Table 3. Women Taken by the Belgians were

S/No.	Name	Clan
1	Dandia	Kerila
2	Juwa	Gichara
3	Ombia	Aupi
4	Yoro	Aliapi
5	Yanga	Ludrara
6	Kuyu	Lolele
7	Alima	Aluru
8	Yofa	Joke
10	Kuyu	Awoba
11	Yiga	Nyori

3.4 THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN 1910-1914.

When the agreement of 1906 was made giving the Sudan government the right to take over the enclave after Leopolds' death, the Belgians began withdrawing in a hurry. The period 1907-1910 saw the territory invaded by European ivory poachers of different nationalities who began shooting down elephants on a big scale. The notorious ivory poachers in the Lado Enclave were named as Banks, Barly, Bennet, Boyes, Selland and Berti, the Italian who set up his base at Wadelai¹¹⁵.

At the death of the king Leopold II on 17th December 1909, the state of Lado enclave ceased to exist, there arose problems relating to administration and ivory poaching because the British were following the agreement which states that the British were not to take over the enclave until six months had elapsed. Therefore, during the period December 17th 1909 to June 16th 1910 the departing Belgians left a big administrative vacuum and chaos in the region.

¹¹⁵ Lulua Odu, A short History of the Lugbara- Madi, published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996. Page 18-21

With this effect from June 16th 1910 the whole of the Lado Enclave was taken over by the Sudan and attached to Mongalla Province. The Sudan was then under a British Governor- General Sir Reginald Wingate who replaced Lord Kitchener. In March 1910 a captain Stigand whom the Aringa referred to as Bwana Aderele Ajiriki had been appointed specifically to acquire the Lado Enclave on behalf of the British Government. Between 1911 and 1913, Stigand made study tours among the Aringa, Madi and Alur. The Kajokeji station was opened by the Sudan Government for administering the southern part of the Enclave. The captain put in place chiefs like Charaka(Renda), Odriga (Yumbe), Aliga Kenyi(Ludara), Adebua(Maraca) and some of the chiefs were from the part now in Sudan like Bangule, Alumai, Bela, Kenyijingo¹¹⁶.

The return of Fedel-el-Mula Ali Adu from Bornbo to Aringa in 1909 made administration easy for the British rule in Kajokeji as narrated by the respondents that Adu introduced himself to Charaka who was the chief of this area and was welcomed by the chief to his palace. By then the chief was also facing problems from his local people who were resenting British power over them.

As Adu was physically energetic and with techniques acquired from the army, he intervened in the situation and forced people to take trade items and tributes to Kajokeji as reported by Sadadi that Adu fought with Yega of Geya Clan who proved to be stubborn the chief and defeated him, forced him to go with them to Kajokeji¹¹⁷. When they arrived with the tributes, with the mentality of the army, Adu saluted the British officials and immediately he was identified to be unique. So, he was called by the British officials and interviewed where they realized that Adu could speak Arabic and Kiswahili. Therefore, this erased the fears of the British officials of penetrating further south to make a complete colonization of the Nile Valley. As an Adu was immediately appointed as a

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷Baba Sadadi Boli, elder chairman Yumbe district (25) 13/01/2007

“futafuta” (interpreter) of the British officials of Kajojeji in 1911 to 1913. So, he worked as futafuta with British in the Sudan and in Uganda later on¹¹⁸.

In 1912, the Sudan and Uganda governments agreed in principle to revise their common borders and for Sudan to hand over the southern part of the Lado Enclave to Uganda in exchange for Ugandan territory north of Nimule East of the Nile. As it was his job to interpret, Adu went to welcome the two officials sent specially to study the issue of the boundaries and he established British rule in West Nile. These two whites were locally referred to as 'Ajerekedi and Bwana Wana.' He traveled with them from Ugujabe in Obongi to Mitiri in Jonam, then proceeded to the mouth of Lake Albert, turned northwards till they reached Arua hill in 1912 but the team of Belgians had claimed ownership of the hill with their survey marks dated 1912 but with advice from Adu, the British officials backdated their survey marks to 1911. The two parties sat for agreement when Arua Hill was passed to the British territory. In 1913 the two took the report and by 1914 the southern part of the former Lado Enclave was transferred to Uganda and re-named West Nile district. These areas comprise the land of Aringa, Lugbara, Madi, Alur, and Kakwa. In return, Uganda gave the area North of Nimule-East of the Nile belonging to the Bari, Latuka, and Madi to Sudan. This marked the historical creation of the West Nile region by Adu and his British counterparts¹¹⁹.

In early 1913-1914, Fadel el Mula Ali [Adu] traversed the entire region with Weatherhead and appointed eleven chiefs to support the administration representing different tribes and when he

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Lulua Odu, A short History of the Lugbara- Madi, published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996

reached Aringa, instead Adu unanimously became the sultan of Aringa and West Nile district, therefore, the head of all the eleven local chiefs in West Nile¹²⁰.

3.5. The British Colonial Occupation 1914 -1962.

The Sudan administration was purely nominal as far as the Lugbara were concerned and it was not until 29th May 1914 when the West Nile district was officially proclaimed by the governor of Uganda, Sir Frederick Jackson, that Mr. Arthur Evelyn Weatherhead arrived as the district commissioner from Uganda and nicknamed 'Ajerekede', Mr Ashton Werner (Bwana Wana) was his ADC¹²¹. He set up district headquarters at Arua in June 1914 and began creating an administration in place as a mere tax- collecting machine, as noted by Mark. This tax was collected in form of Indian rupees locally known as 'Robia' which was used as a common currency throughout East Africa. He took over the chiefs already appointed by the Belgians and Sudan governments with the help of Adu¹²².

In 1914 the district commissioner embarked on establishing a firm administration in the area. With the help of Adu, boundaries between counties were established (Mark Leopold). There were twelve counties in West Nile. These were Jonam, Padyere, Ukuru, Ayivu, Vura, Okolo, Terego, Aringa, Maracha, Koboko, East Moyo and West Moyo¹²³. The British government as a reward for war against Mahdi made the Nubian ex-soldiers as chiefs all over West Nile. For-instance the British commissioner removed the traditional chief of Alur - Amula. In his place Weather head put two ex-Nubian soldiers; Hamisi as county chief and Tama as sub-county chief of Orusi¹²⁴. Other chiefs included Ajayi for Madi Okollo, Abiriga Rajab for Vura, Borulu for Ayivu, Babua Fadi Mula for

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Mark Leopold, In side West Nile, violence, history, and representation on an African Frontier.

¹²² Google History of Arua and West Nile. Last modified in January 14 2016

¹²³ Lulua Odu, A short History of the Lugbara- Madi, published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996

¹²⁴ Kasozi. B. Abdul (1986) the Spread of Islam in Uganda", Nairobi, Oxford university press

Terego, Aliga for Maracha, Kenyi for Koboko and the Sultan for the whole of West Nile district was Adu who doubled as chief of Aringa when Odriga who was the appointed chief stepped down infavour of Adu¹²⁵.

According to Andrey, three main problems faced the first administrators in Lugbara ie the state of feuds and warfare between the many small local groups which composed the society; to establish sufficient contact with the people to enable them to collect food to feed their staff and enough labour to build communication lines. Weatherhead stopped serious fighting by a system of policing and making "alliances" with certain tribes which were placed under his protection on condition that they did not initiate hostility. Among these tribes with alliance was Aringa under chief Adu. Communication was not easy, owing largely to difficulties of languages-Lugbara ti,Madi, Alur and Kakwa are so different in every respect from the other languages of the protectorate that interpreters were almost unobtainable. Use was made of the remnants of Emin Pasha's Nubian troops. Some of these were Madi, Kakwa and afew Lugbara who learnt Alur and they were used as 'agents'. Later a single Lugbara agent was appointed from among their number and was not withdrawn until the late 1920s. This was Fadil el Mula Ali Adu.

Another problem was setting up local administrative units. This was perhaps the most difficult. The largest indigenous units were the tribes and there were about 45 of them in Weatherhead's territory. To solve this, several tribes were grouped into chiefdoms. Chiefdom boundaries were drawn on geographical grounds or main cultural and dialectal divisions¹²⁶.

¹²⁵Google History of Arua and West Nile.Last modified in January 14 2016.

¹²⁶Andrey I Richards (Ed) East African Chiefs; A study of political Development in some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes 1959.

By 1920, the situation had attained some degree of stability. There were a dozen of counties, each under a chief (sultan). Each was divided into three or four sub-counties each under a sub-chief (wakil) within the sub-county were parishes under a chief called Mukungu and under him were several headmen or Nyapara. This organization persisted until 1962¹²⁷.

After establishment of local government system, the administrators started to construct roads for easy communication. They started with the road to Mitiri (Jonam) and then the road to Rhino Camp in order to access the Nile. It took a long because they were using manual labour. Most of the people used for construction of these roads were Aringa men and women under the influence and command of Adu. Ayivu, Maracha, and Terego lands were vast land because most people formally ran away due to the harsh rule of the Belgians as noted by Sadadi "some of the labourers for construction of the roads and houses were brought from as far as Bunyoro"¹²⁸

With the help of colonial administrators, the sultan of West Nile-Adu went to various places such as Kajokeji, Luka, Yeyi, and Nimule, Congo. This tour was mainly to return all the Aringa people in particular and Lugbara people who ran away during the early wars of European infiltration and those taken by Belgians to work in Congo. A total of about 70 prominent people of Aringa were returned¹²⁹.

Due to the security situation among the Lugbara and Madi, the West Nile district was declared a "closed district" under the Uganda outlying districts ordinance. Any person wishing to enter West Nile was required to deposit with the district commissioner a sum of money not exceeding 500 rupees as security for his "good behaviour" in the district. The colonial administration was

¹²⁷ Ibid

¹²⁸ Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015. An Elder of Kemeru clan Yumbe district

¹²⁹ Ibid

supported by the various government agencies like the army (K.A.R), police, prisons, courts, church and schools for indoctrinating people in favour of white rule¹³⁰.

In 1919, the governor, Sir Robert Coryndon proclaimed the establishment of "Native courts" in West Nile. County Courts were opened for Aringa, Terego, Maracha, Offude, Koboko, Ayivu, Luku, Adumi, Vurra, Logiri and Bondo. The appointed chiefs (opii) were to handle problems of daily life starting from grass root level. During the courts the defeated party was to pay a form of payment to the people who helped in settling the issue. Literally, "this form of payment was called Andreli coma" meaning "the morning dew has washed me"¹³¹.

Thus under the colonial system, the common man was ruled from the office of the colonial secretary in London down to the Nyapara or village chief. The Lugbara saw these chiefs as agents or puppets of the white men. They were given the nickname of "ogaraba" or "munduba" (people of the whites). They were collaborators and spies of the new order. There was little the people could do to reverse the trend of events. Eventually, they had to submit and accept the changes of the new order. At the time of independence in 1962, Mariko Boroa of Omugo had become "Agofe" (Overall chief) of the West Nile district¹³².

3.6 Conclusion.

This chapter analyzed the historical transformation through which West Nile region at large and Yumbe district in particular has gone through. This period of 1820-1914 can rightly be termed as troubled times in West Nile where the area passed through the hands of very many foreigners

¹³⁰Kasozi.B. Abdul (1986) *the Spread of Islam in Uganda*, Nairobi, Oxford university press.

¹³¹Google History of Arua and West Nile. Last modified in January 14 2016.

¹³² Lulua Odu, *A short History of the Lugbara- Madi*, published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996

among which the following are highlights; Early travelers or traders 1820-1860s, Equatorial province 1863-1888, Mahdist rule of Sudan 1889-1891, Belgian rule 1892 -1909, European poachers 1909-1910 June, The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1910-1914, British colonial occupation 1914-1962.

Right from its formation, West Nile has always been a multi-ethnic district comprising of the following tribes; Aringa, Lugbara, Madi, Kakwa, Alur, Lendu, Okebu, Gimara, Logo and Reli. This collection of various Ethnic groups to form one district also disorganized their traditional set up.

From the above analysis it is clear that Lugbara traditional organization was completely distorted and the appointment of chiefs by colonial rulers could not be able to trace the indigenous chiefs who could not easily show up due to fear, therefore, different groups of people were chosen to act as chiefs in the British indirect system of administration as seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 THE COLONIAL CHIEFS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES IN YUMBE DISTRICT

The political systems of the inter-lacustrine region were as a whole compatible with the early ideas of the British administration as noted by Andrey Richards. The existence of autocratic rulers with chain of territorial subordinates made a convenient and moderately efficient basis of administration. People obeyed the orders of their chiefs and the commands of their kings were never questioned (Andrey Richards). Territorial officials at all levels had plenty of personnel to help them. Peasants were used to pay tribute to their superiors and in Buganda to a fixed tax, they seem to have accepted calmly the poll tax and organized communal labour and introduced cotton or coffee as cash crops. The people were also used to the officials appointed at will by the superiors and it seemed natural that the new administration should approve the selection of men whom they considered to be loyal and efficient to act as their subordinates¹³³.

The political development has naturally been different in the case of tribes organized on a segmentary basis as noted by Andrey Richards. The groups which describe themselves as Lugbara were divided into a number of segments, often at war with each other and sometimes themselves split by internecine feuds (Andrey Richards). The effective political unit was in each case small. The Lugbara were divided into many exogamous clans of which members acknowledged a common ancestry but which were dispersed in the area and without institutionalized leadership¹³⁴.

The maximal lineage group, the "tribe" in Middleton's terminology, was about 4, 000 and each of this had its "chief of the rain" whose curses were feared and who could sometimes stop feuding.

¹³³Andrey I Richards (Ed) "East African Chiefs A Study of Political Development in Some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes". Published for the E. African institute of social research by Faber Limited 1999 page 355

¹³⁴ Ibid

The effective political unit was the major lineage numbering about 1,000 members and the independence of these small lineage sections were most marked. Not only were their differences in dialect between some of them but Middleton reports that members of the homesteads in sight of each other might never meet¹³⁵.

Andrey noted that, in the case of the Lugbara, the initial difficulty of the administration was to set up any kind of authority for a tribal group which would be effective in keeping law and order and which would make possible the building of roads and other basic services. The first central authority was the European officer in charge, the British district commissioner by the name Athur Evelyn Weatherhead with his "Borna" or government post, his soldiers or police as noted by Mark Leopold. It is probably for this reason that in Lugbara this distinction between higher and lower chiefs seems to be the most marked and the top chiefs are known as "Mundu" (Europeans) or those that work with them as against the lower chiefs who are "chifu"¹³⁶.

The second difficulty was the fact that in this group of people's executive authority, as understood for instance in Buganda, hardly existed before the arrival of the Europeans. The genealogical heads of lineage sections had no executive powers but only depended on curses of elders, as reported by Amin Opigo¹³⁷. To solve this difficulty, Weather head used Lugbara agents in 1914 in creating his administration and appointed some Nubian ex-soldiers in top leadership positions like the county chiefs since they had learnt Kiswahili and Arabic, it was easy for the colonialists to communicate with them. So language factor also played a role in choosing chiefs.

¹³⁵John Middleton and David Tait (Ed) "Tribes without Rulers"; 1964 page 220.

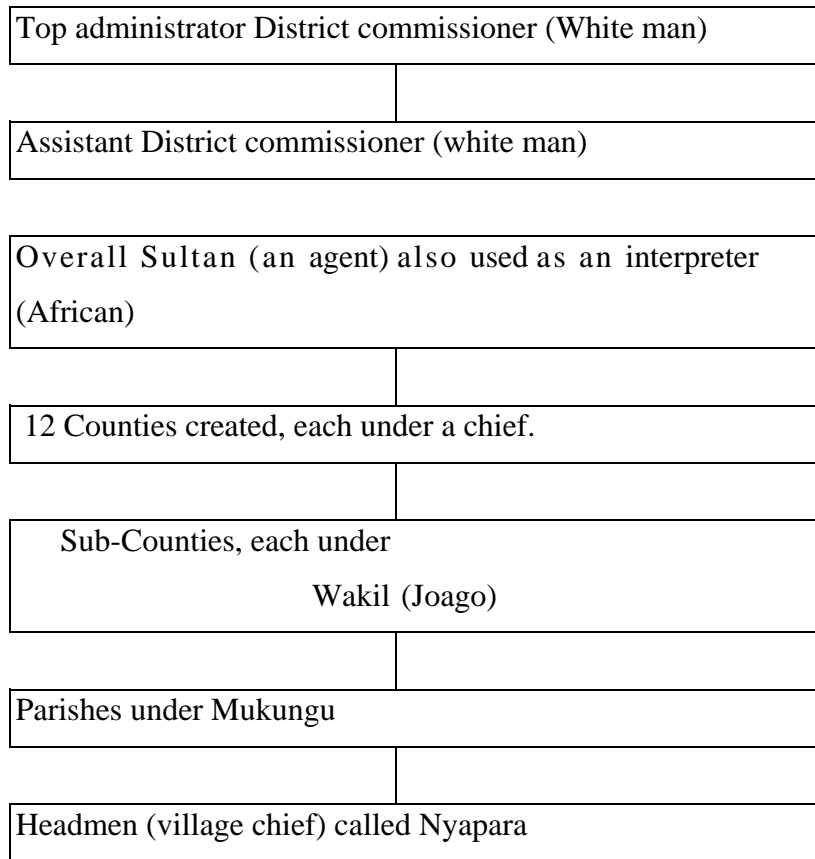
¹³⁶E' tal page 330 -331

¹³⁷Interview with Baba Amin Opigo (82) 14/01/2017

Another difficulty that made the Lugbara people not to trust the colonialist was the long term mistreatments, slavery and torture they had with the early foreigners in the area. This was a fact as noted by almost all the respondents that due to the havoc and damage done by the previous foreigners in the area. The traditional chiefs lost interest in administration, that explains why in Lugbara land the first chiefs appointed by the Belgians were from among the "men whose names are known" and the Yakan cult leaders since the chiefs of the rain fled to hide their magic rain stone. These "men whose names were known" started as wealthy persons and were then paid in cattle which made them wealthier still. As noted earlier, the situation had attained some degree of stability as by 1920, there were 12 counties created, each under a chief, the "sultan". Each was divided into three or four sub-counties, each under a sub-chief called "wakil". Within the sub-county were "parishes" and a chief called "Mukungu", and under him were several headmen or "Nyapara". The sub chiefs were the highest authorities set over indigenous units, in that in most cases a sub-county was coterminous with a tribe. Parishes seem usually to have been coterminous with major sections. This organization persisted up to the time of indigenous administration with a continual process of amalgamation of units at all levels for greater administrative convenience¹³⁸.

¹³⁸Official gazette of Uganda protectorate 30th April 1914 No. 179 from UMI.

Figure 1.The administrative structure set by colonialist administration in West Nile region.



4.2. Why the Traditional Chiefs were not appointed by the Colonialists.

There were several reasons identified by a number of respondents as to why the traditional chiefs were not appointed by the first colonial rulers (Belgians) who tried to set up political administration in the area. This criterion was later followed by the Anglo - Egyptian Sudan administration and the British colonial rule under Uganda Protectorate simply adopted what they found on the ground as noted by Cunningham and Johnston¹³⁹. The Aringa, rest of Lugbara and Madi had been under the influence of the foreign contact for a longer period of time that is from 1820 - 1962 making up

¹³⁹ Cunningham, J,F,A and Johnston, H,H. (1905) Uganda and its peoples, notes on the Protectorate of Uganda ... London: Hutchinson and Company. (pdf) Retrieved from the library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/2021666841/>.

to 142 years of foreign contact¹⁴⁰ (more than any other part of Uganda). This meant a lot in the career histories of tribal authorities of this region leading to negative attitude to any foreigner. The Lugbara lost their traditional chiefs in the process and the few that existed like the chiefs of rain fled to hide their magic rain stone¹⁴¹. Therefore, these are some of the factors put forward by the elders and other respondents interviewed to explain the reason as to why the traditional chiefs were not used by the colonialists; The trauma from the previous foreign contacts, Language problems, Chiefs majorly ruled by spiritual or religious powers, too much democracy used by the chiefs, presence of the ex-soldiers - the Nubians, lack of interest from traditional chiefs, lack of basic ruling skills (Education), the presence of feuds and war fares led by traditional rulers, mistrust and suspicions from traditional leaders.

The above factors are ranked as follows;

Table 4. Why the traditional chiefs were not used by the colonialists.

Factor.	Frequency	Percentage
Trauma from the previous foreign contacts.	10	21.7%
Language problems.	5	10.9%
Chiefs majorly ruled by spiritual or religious powers.	4	8.8%
Too much democracy used by the chiefs	2	4.3%
Presence of the ex-soldiers - the Nubians.	10	21.7%
Low interest from traditional chiefs.	5	10.9%
The presence of feuds and war fares led by the traditional rulers.	2	4.3%
Mistrust and suspicion from traditional leaders.	3	6.5%
Lack of basic ruling skills(Education)	5	10.9%
Total	46	100

¹⁴⁰Interview with group of elders from Yumbe district 11/05/2015 .

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

From the above table, 10 respondents (21.7%) said that the trauma from the previous foreign contacts was one of the major reasons as to why indigenous chiefs shied away from colonial administrative work. For example Charaka and Odriga of Aringa stepped down when they were appointed by the Belgian and the British respectively. Instead Odriga suggested Adu to be the chief of Aringa. 5 respondents (10.8%) said that the indigenous chiefs were not appointed simply because they never knew any language spoken by the foreigners, therefore, the foreigners or colonialists wanted somebody who could be able to communicate with them¹⁴².

04 of the respondents (8.6%) said chiefs in traditional Lugbara ruled by spiritual or religious sanctions. Leadership between these groups was provided by the ritual seniority of senior elders expressed in his power of ritual representation, he has no other authority so it was difficult for the colonialists to use them as their agents since they regarded their leadership as paganism. 2 respondents (4.3%) said that the Lugbara political structure was characterized by highly independent and autonomous a territorial group which means that each group had their own powers that is, rules of majority. More so the existing rainmakers had rudimentary political authority which could not match with the British colonial expectations of a chief¹⁴³.

The presence of the ex-soldiers - the Nubians also contributed a lot in the institution of the chiefs in Lugbara land. It should be recalled that from Emin Pasha's administration in equatorial province to the Anglo- Egyptian Sudan administration, they made use of Nubian soldiers in their administration since they had modern skills of administration and learnt different languages that made it easy to communicate with the foreigners. As Father Toni La Salandra reported; that the

¹⁴² Interview with group of elders from Yumbe district and Lodonga parish 11/05/2015 and 12/05/2015 respectively

¹⁴³ Ibid

English government as a reward of war against Mahdi made these Nubian ex-soldiers chiefs all over West Nile, for instance the British commissioner removed the traditional chief of Alur - Amula and put ex-Nubian soldier Hamisi as county chief and Tama as sub-county chief of Orusi¹⁴⁴.

Some of the respondents argued that the traditional chiefs simply had low interest in European leadership. This was possibly because of mistrust and suspicion. The ordinary Lugbara looked at the British and the Belgians as "Ariba"(enemies) instead of "oriba"(allies) because of their bitter experiences with the previous administrators, as noted by Lulua O'du, that the "Tukutuku"or African soldiers from Congo who killed many people. The British agents and chiefs were given the titles like "ogara'ba"or "mundu'ba" (people of the Europeans), they were collaborators and spies of the new order¹⁴⁵.

Worse still, the traditional chiefs used to organize feuds and war fare among clans (private and public wars) or tribes as stated by Shiroya. According to some Lugbara traditions, such "wars"amounted to mock battles which were aimed at keeping the soldiers fit in case of an outbreak of a major war¹⁴⁶.

With the introduction of "Yakani cult", this was a ritual of drinking the Yakani water to defeat the white men.The history of this water originated from Sudan in 1883. It later spread to Kakwa led by a prophet named Rembe. Some Lugbara chiefs went to buy this water and became followers of Yakani¹⁴⁷.

¹⁴⁴Toni La Salandra: The Histoiy of the Catholic Church in West Nile 1910 - 2000. Unpublished, Omachi Arua 2004 page 30-31.

¹⁴⁵Lulua Odu: A Short History of the Lugbara-Madi, Published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996 Kisubi - Kampala page 20.

¹⁴⁶O.J.E. Shiroya (1984) "The Lugbara states the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries States Formation in Eastern Africa". Ahmed Idha Salim, 1984

¹⁴⁷The Yakan Culf and Lugbara Response to Colonial Rule"by Annie King Azania; Archeology Research in Afric. Vois Issue 1970 published online 26th February 2010

One well known chief with this, water was Kamure of Maracha - Yivu. This chief was later arrested and deported to Arua- Muni where the descendants are currently called Ofude clan in Muni Parish. These chiefs who organized wars against other clans and later against the British were not appointed.

4.3. COLONIAL CHIEFS ESTABLISHED IN ARINGA (YUMBE DISTRICT) UP TO 1962.

The Belgians had set up an Administration in the area by 1900. They created their own chiefs in this society and there developed an Administrative system of Chiefs and Sub-chiefs as noted by Middleton¹⁴⁸. Since then, more chiefs have been created. Chiefs of Aringa appointed by the Belgians were Katria of Renda, Ambauga of Yumbe, Ariiga of Lomunga and Kialu of Mijale. The Belgian Administration in the area was very brutal, they were killing people even chiefs who did not work according to their expectations and one time, the Belgians convened a meeting only to kill the created Chiefs because they were not working to their expectations. So the killing of chiefs and taking other people with them scared the people of Aringa, reminding them of slavery. As a result most people ran away from their Administration to places like Adjumani, Obongi, Kajojeji and other parts.

From 1910-1914, Aringa and other parts of Lugbara land were transferred to the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The British Headquarters in Sudan that controlled this part of Lugbara land was Kajikeji under the leadership of Bwana Aderele (local nickname) for captain Stigand¹⁴⁹. Under his administration, captain Stigand put in place chiefs like the Charaka of Renda, Odriga of Yumbe, two on Aringa land and others like Aliga Kenyi (Ludara) Adebua (Maracha), Humai, Bela, Kenyi,

¹⁴⁸John Middleton and David Tait (Ed) "Tribes without Rulers"1964

¹⁴⁹Official gazette of Uganda protectorate 30April 1914 No. 179 from UMI.

Jingo, Bangule all from Sudan. During this time Fadel el mula Ali (Adu) arrived and introduced himself to Charaka who was the chief of his area and soon, the chiefs sent him with tributes to KejiKeji where the British immediately identified him because of many languages spoken by him. Later he was appointed as "Futafuta"(interpreter) in 1911 up to 1913 where he worked and moved with the British in touring the place to study the issue of boundaries and establishing British rule in West Nile.

In 1914, when West Nile was transferred to Uganda from Sudan the British colonial government in Uganda appointed chiefs all over West Nile¹⁵⁰ and for Aringa at first Odriga was appointed but he stepped down in favour of Adu. He then became the first chief of Aringa under the British rule in Uganda. He was then appointed as the first "Agofe"(overall chief) of West Nile district but still maintained his role as interpreter for some time¹⁵¹.

As the chief of Aringa, Adu appointed the Sub-chiefs (Joago) in Aringa like Charaka who was appointed by the Belgians as chief of Aringa was now put as Sub-chief of Renda, Ukudringa for Yumbe, Adruga for Romogi Gbagbe for Odravu, Gumbiri for Gimara, Ucitia for Odupi and Baba for Ludara¹⁵².

The Odupi uprising against British rule, which was commonly known as "Adu Adi," meaning the war of Adu, by the Lugbara because he collaborated with the British to fight the uprising using his Aringa men and colonial policemen. This conflict eventually led to the rearrangement of Aringa chiefdom to the current map of Aringa where Adu transferred Odupi that formerly belonged to Aringa to Terego County and small portion of Mungoyo parish remained in Aringa because they

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Interview with group of Elders from Yumbe district

¹⁵² Ibid.

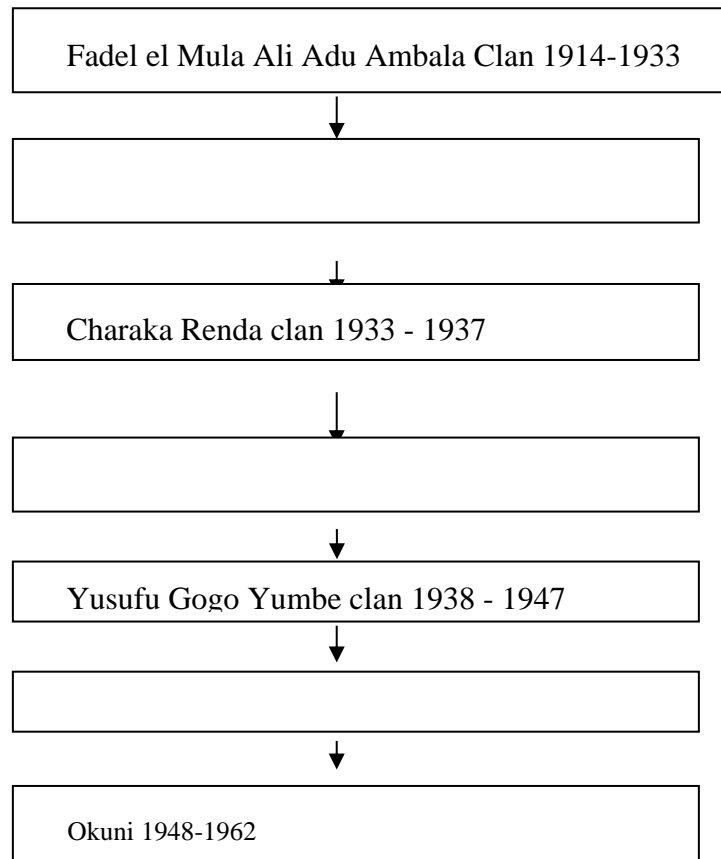
were loyal to Adu and showed him hiding places. By 1962 Aringa County had only five sub-counties of Yumbe, Odravu, Romogi, Kei and Kuru. Obongi was transferred to Moyo in 1919 due to language factor because this place was inhabited by Madi (Gimara)¹⁵³.

Adu worked with the British as chief of Aringa and interpreter for 25 years and after his retirement in 1933 and eventually died in 1937 then Yusufu Gogo of Yumbe clan ruled from 1938 to 1947 and others like Okuni, Juma Bondo, Levi Andama and Ramadanani Mudundu were chiefs of Aringa by the time of independence 1962. However among all these chiefs who came after Adu, no one from Ambala clan rose to power. This shows that chieftainship of Aringa was not made hereditary unlike other parts of Lugbara as noted by Andrey Richards, that from the past districts records (Arua district) that there has been a general tendency to make the senior chiefs' posts hereditary. This was obviously the desire of other chiefs that this should be so. This was not the case in Aringa-Yumbe district¹⁵⁴.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴Andrey I Tichards ' (Ed) "East African chiefs A study of political Development in some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes"page 358.

Figure 2.Chiefs of Aringa up to 1962



Adopted from minutes of Elders association Yumbe district

4.4. THE ROLES/DUTIES OF THE CHIEFS DURING COLONIAL PERIOD IN ARINGA.

The political structure has changed during the past 50 years as a result of the creation of a centralised administrative system with the district commissioner at the apex of the Administrative pyramid. Chiefs play new roles for which the Lugbara have no place in their own conception of their own society. On the whole they considered their chiefs to be on the side of the Europeans in any conflict of interest that may arise between the central government and the people as told by the elders interviewed. In this context it is the Headmen who were thought to be their

representatives, while the chiefs are considered rather as the agents of a government set above the people. This was because the chiefs from sub-county level and above have attributes that emphasize their difference from and opposition to traditional functionaries and Headmen. Chiefs, their clerks and senior police are literate members of a bureaucracy. They are representatives of the "Ba Odiru" (New people) the educated and semi-educated protégés of the Europeans. New people were becoming a distinct group found in every Lugbara chiefdom and they regard themselves as members of class and distinct from the local inhabitants¹⁵⁵.

They tend to regard their own clan and lineage ties as comparatively important; their families intermarry, they attend the same schools and they are even becoming conscious of having ties with similar people outside the borders of Lugbara. They are moved from one area to another in the course of their work. They provided the lower administrative officials of the central government. Beneath the levels of the county and sub-county chiefs, parish chiefs and Headmen were the last positions of administrative hierarchy. They are relatively uneducated and traditional "members of the administrative system"(Andrey Richerds). They have local ties with local groups which rarely extend outside traditional limits and they are associated with traditional Lugbara groupings and not with a single class which spreads across them. In contrast to the new people, they are often referred to as our people "Ba Amani"¹⁵⁶.

The roles of these various chiefs differ considerably. County Chiefs and sub-county chiefs have officially recognized courts and only they can award officially recognized punishments of fines and imprisonments as noted by Shiroya. Above them are district courts, which are primarily,

¹⁵⁵O.J.E Shiroya(1984) "The Lugbara states the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries States Formation in Eastern Africa". Ahmed Idha Salim, 1984

¹⁵⁶Andrey Richards (ed)(1999) "East Afrcan chiefs, A study of politicaldevelopment in some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes", Published for the E. African institute of social research by Faber limited.

appeal courts, but with sole jurisdiction in respect of certain offences that cannot be dealt with by Chief Courts, which meet regularly usually once a week. Chiefs at both levels have lock-ups in which to incarcerate, remand and keep short term prisoners¹⁵⁷.

The Chiefs and Sub-chiefs were responsible to the protectorate government and to the African local government at the district level for Administrative measures such measures included; tax collection, inspection and collection of famine crops, sleeping sickness inspection and bush clearing, latrine and water hole digging etc.; it was due to such duties assigned to the chiefs and sub-chiefs that the Lugbara referred to this category of the Chiefs as "Mundu ba" the term used for Europeans with authority and status in the present government system¹⁵⁸.

Chiefs and Sub-chiefs were salaried officials and liable to promotion, demotion and transfer from one area to another, within Lugbara and West Nile district. For instance in 1923 Okuni of Romogi Aringa was transferred to Logiri (Lulura) as a chief by the permission from Chief Adu¹⁵⁹.

The lower Administrative functionaries were different in that they appeared to the people to be directly responsible to them. In most cases, they were appointed by chiefs¹⁶⁰. They had neither institutionalized courts nor the power of fining. They held informal meetings or moots, at which matters of Judicial or Administrative importance were discussed.

Parish Chiefs and Headmen were responsible to the county chiefs for apprehending criminals, for ensuring that tax payers remit their obligations and labourers, of public works appear at the proper

¹⁵⁷ Etal.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with Baba Amin OPigo 14/01/2017

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ Andrey Richards (ed)(1999) "East Afrcan chiefs, A study of political development in some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes", Published for the E. African institute of social research by Faber limited.

time and for acting as the people's general representative to the higher Chiefs. Much of the work was done at beer parties and on their informal occasions¹⁶¹.

There were two components to the new judicial apparatus. The Chiefs' courts, as well as the District Commissioner's and District Judges' courts, were included in one; headmen's moots, which local elders and councilors attended, were included in the other. Moots were used to discuss civil cases initially, even in circumstances when the parties belonged to separate administrative divisions. Before the parties proceeded to court and the conflicts became legitimate cases at law, headmen attempted to resolve as many problems as they could. Although moots did not keep records, I believe that around half were settled at this point. Administrative offenses were not discussed at moots courts; instead, they were handled by direct summons to a chief's court¹⁶².

Depending on the lineage relationship between the individuals involved, the indigenous system used either religious sanction or the use of force to settle conflicts. These days, government courts are backed by penalties imposed by the government to try situations that would have traditionally been resolved by the use of socially acceptable force. Adultery, divorce, seduction, and other matters involving bride riches and women's rights were among the customarily settled cases¹⁶³.

There were other roles which were played by some individual chiefs among which were Fadel el Mula Ali of the Aringa who assisted the British Administrators in drawing the boundaries between the three countries of Uganda, Congo and Sudan in 1914 when he became the local administrator of West Nile. This responsibility was given to him because Adu could speak Arabic, Kiswahili

¹⁶¹ Etal.

¹⁶²Andrey Richards (Ed) (1999) "East African chiefs, A study of political development in some Uganda and Tanganyika Tribes", Published for the E. African institute of social research by Faber limited.

¹⁶³ Ibid

and a bit of English. As a result Adu was appointed as a "futafuta" with the British first in Sudan and then in Uganda.

In 1912 a treaty was made to exchange districts between Khartoum and Entebbe as noted by Tibrichu that, Fadel el mula Ali, an ex-mutinied soldier played historical and significant role during the shift to protectorate (West Nile district) from Khartoum to Entebbe. He made this possible by changing the survey stone label date from 1912 as labeled by the Belgians to 1911. Following the disagreement between Belgium and British over ownership of West Nile district, they two parties had to go to check on the survey marks, which finally provided evidence that British were the first to enter West Nile as early as 1911. This marked the historical creation of West Nile region by Fedel el mula Ali and his British counter-parts¹⁶⁴.

In January, 1914 West Nile passed to Entebbe meanwhile Nimule and Gondokoro passed to Khartoum. In 1914 the British established Uganda Protectorate in West Nile. The first District Commissioner (DC) of West Nile was Alfred Evelyn Weatherhead (1914 to 1922). Jack H. Driberg, was the Assistant District Commissioner (ADC), as well as academic analyst and anthropologist. Fadel el mula Ali became the local Administrator and together with the British administrators started to draw boundaries and establish local government system supported by local chiefs¹⁶⁵.

In early 1913-1914, Fedel el mula Ali traversed the entire region with Evelyn A. Weatherhead and appointed 11 local chiefs to support the administration representing different tribes and when he reached Aringa County, instead Fedel el mula unanimously became the Sultan of Aringa Chiefdom and therefore, the head of all the eleven local chiefs in West Nile. The size of the British territory expanded constantly comprised of the former kingdoms Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro at

¹⁶⁴The forgotten History of West Nile (The men who created West Nile in Uganda (@ Habib Tibrichu 2010)

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

the end of the 19th Century. In 1913 and 1914 the British protectorate reached its maximum size by connecting of the Acholi and Karamoja as well as the former Belgian West Nile Province¹⁶⁶.

Arua town was the centre for central prison which was locally known as "Aruu". The tax defaulters and wrong doers were imprisoned in "Aruu jo" (cell), which came to be known as Arua. Sultan Fedel el mula Ali together with District Commissioner established local administration to sustain operations of the government¹⁶⁷.

Sultan established local government based on cultural governance system in Aringa county assisted by 4 Joagos, 20 Mukungus' and 40 Nyaparas and the entire West Nile using his experience of Buganda Kingdom¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid

¹⁶⁷ Interview with Baba Amin Opigo 14/01/2017.

¹⁶⁸ The forgotten History of West Nile (The men who created West Nile in Uganda (@ Habib Tibrichu 2010)

ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

Figure 3. Picture of colonial chiefs and the district commissioner weatherhead



AUGUSTO AGAALI
County Chief of Ayivu



MARKO BOROA
AGOFE/OBIMO OF WEST NILE



OBIFRE ONYOLO



County chief of vurre ELISA ODU and his wife



Source: A short history of the lugbara-Madi 1996¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ Lulua Odu: A Short History of the Lugbara-Madi, Published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996 Kisubi - Kampala

The Lugbara had a hostile attitude towards the British government as narrated by Odu Lulua. Twice the Lugbara of Udipi attempted to kill the Commissioner Weatherhead, who established himself in Arua in 1915. The Lugbara believed to guard themselves against the army in using the spell (magic charm), which could change the bullets in un hurtful little stones as echoed by Amin Opigo who further said that, Sultan Fadel el mula and his brother Ibrahim Taaha Amgbaka, siding with the new government of A. E. Weatherhead, feared to have been killed by his own people, asked protection from the Commissioner, who sent seven soldiers to protect him and in the course of the war, Udipi chief was killed (Amin Opigo). In 1919 the Commissioner sent reinforcement and about three hundred people died in Udipi. Others escaped to Congo and others were arrested¹⁷⁰.

Another role played by chiefs in Aringa was noticed in the spread of Islam in Aringa. In 1850, an army from Egypt led by Emin Pasha came to rule the Equatorial Province. (At that time the territory, West Nile was under Belgian power)¹⁷¹. These young men who had already converted to Islam when they were in slavery, later joined Emina Pasha's army. These included Adu, Akutre, Annule, from Ambala clan, Okuni Diba from Anyifira, Azabo Uruta from Aliapi, Geriga Ondoga from Langi, Abiyo Longira from Romogi and Andi as noted by Toni.

By January 1916, the first Muslims were circumcised in the first mosque called "Alelinga" in the clan of Renda. The experts circumcised about 19 people, Toni noted. The conversion of these people to Islam had a remarkable event in Aringa. Sultan Fadel el mula Ali Adu had to ask his fellow army men, with whom he had been together in Khartoum, to come and teach these people

¹⁷⁰ Interview with Baba Amin Opigo 14/01/2017.

¹⁷¹ Toni La Salandra;(2004) The history of the catholic Church in West Nile. Unpublished Ombachi Arua

Islam. Ramadan Abiria, from Ayivu, was well versed in Islam; he became the first "Sheikh" of the Muslims of Aringa¹⁷².

After this, Adu went to various places such as Kajokeji, Luka, Yeyi and Nimule. This tour was mainly to return all the Aringa people who ran away during the early wars of European infiltration accompanied by Sudanese soldiers as narrated by Amin Opigo. Besides, Adu together with the British administrators started on construction of roads for easy communication. They started with the road to Mitiri (Jonam) then the road to Rhino camp in order to access the Nile. This work took too long because they were using manual labour. Most of the people used for the construction of roads were Aringa men and women. Arua was a vast land. As noted by Butiga Sebbi, the people formerly ran away because of harsh rule of the Belgians¹⁷³.

In 1914, Adu also played the role of demarcating boundaries between counties in West Nile. There were twelve counties in West Nile and twelve chiefs were created that is Jonam, Padyere, Ukuru, Ayivu, Vura, Okolo, Terego, Maracha, Aringa, Adumi, Omugo and Koboko as noted by Lulua Odu. The British as a reward of war against Mahdi made the Nubian ex-soldiers as Chiefs all over West Nile for instance the British Commissioner removed the traditional chief of the Alur(Lulua)¹⁷⁴. In his place, Weatherhead put two Nubian soldiers, Hamisi as county chief and Tarn as sub-chief of orusi. As the chief of Aringa, Adu also appointed the sub chiefs (Jiago) in Aringa like Charaka for Renda, Ukudringa from Yumbe, Adruga for Romogi, Gbagbe for Odravu, Ucitia for Odupi etc¹⁷⁵.

¹⁷²Lulua Odu: A Short History of the Lugbara-Madi, Published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996 Kisubi - Kampala

¹⁷³Butiga Sebbi, an Elder of Kemeru clan Yumbe District

¹⁷⁴ Etal.

¹⁷⁵ Rajab Atiriko, secretary to chief Adu 11/01/2017.

As interpreter, Adu made the work of the British colonization of West Nile easy. He took the officials, sent to look into the problems of the boundaries to all the chiefs in West Nile as narrated by Rajab. He even tricked the Belgians who had already taken Arua area for Congo to claim it back and made it as the Headquarters of West Nile¹⁷⁶.

The chiefs also aided the spread of the new religions in Yumbe district. For instance the location of Lodonga mission was granted by Chief Adu after displacement of Mikungu Abdaramani to Okpo as noted by Toni. He continued to narrate that the “Padre” cut down the tree called Okuranga and asked the chief to give it the name Lodonga to replace Okuranga. For the case of Protestants in Lodonga, Toni noted that the teachers Mr. Izra and his wife Irina were sent to come and teach Adu's children. With time they opened a church at Lodonga in 1925. So the chief played a role in spreading of new religions in Yumbe. Adu also assigned Bilali the duty of spreading Islam in Yumbe district and that explains why most of the people in Yumbe district are Muslims¹⁷⁷.

4.5. CONCLUSION.

In conclusion the above chapter has analysed the political developments during the colonial rule in West Nile, particularly in Yumbe district. It clearly indicated the intention of the colonial masters in appointment of their agents in the region, sidelining the indigenous chiefs simply because they had got the ex sevice men of Emin Pasha who had some exposure with foreigners and had a language to communicate with them. It also identified the first chiefs appointed by the British colonialists and the roles they played during colonial period in Yumbe district. Therefore, the chapter puts it clear that the British assigned duties in the on marit, not considering African set

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Toni La Salandra. Lulua Odu: A Short History of the Lugbara-Madi, Published by Lugbara Literature Association 1996 Kisubi – Kampala

up. This particularly applied in West Nile region. The next chapter reveals the reaction of the Aringa people towards colonial rule and legacy of colonialism in Yumbe district to place the entire picture in perspective.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACT OF EXTERNAL CONTACTS IN THE LUGBARA COMMUNITIES IN 1820-1962

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The political developments during the colonial rule in West Nile, particularly in the Yumbe district as discussed in the previous chapter have brought a lot of changes in the institution of chiefs and the political setup of Lugbara communities as well as the social and economic structures of these communities. Therefore in this chapter study examines the reaction of the people of Yumbe towards the introduction of foreign rule and administration of the colonialists up to 1962.

It also examines the effects of colonial authority and their legacy on the Yumbe district's population. A number of hypotheses have been put out to explain colonialism's effects and reaction on Africa. Some historians see European activities in Africa as exploitative laying the foundation for negative reactions and also as an impact on the under-development of African economies. Contrary to the aforementioned argument, colonialists view their work in Africa as very lucrative and beneficial to the advancement of African states. During colonialism or imperialism, native people and their way of life were frequently drastically altered, and colonial artifacts were frequently killed or destroyed. It also entailed giving legitimacy to a foreign country's economic dominance, political hegemony, and occupation of the region. In light of this, this chapter looks at how the people living in the Aringa community responded to colonialism and how the inhabitants in the Aringa-Yumbe district were affected by it.

5.2. REACTIONS TO COLONIAL RULE AMONG ARINGA-YUMBE DISTRICT.

After the establishment of colonial rule in Aringa, the people in this region never showed any open reaction towards the British rule but silently they opposed the administration and activities of the colonialists as noted by the elders interviewed, particularly Group of elders from Yumbe and Lodonga that;

"we did not accept them and we did not reject them but we used our wisdom (Akiri) to deal with them. Our chief Adu also helped them fight the Odupi uprising."¹⁷⁸

Such statements showed that the Aringa silently or passively rejected the colonial rule. Their reactions to colonial rule are viewed in the areas like Taxation, economy, education, Religion, Administration policies and developmental programmes.

When colonial currency was created and taxes were imposed on the populace, this was one of the main responses. The colonial state, represented by the Chiefs, and the local populace continued to clash over tax assessment and collection. During the period of colonial rule, one of the main ways the colonial state generated revenue for spending was through taxes. People's wealth was measured against a variety of factors, including as the number of wives, land, and domestic animals as well as commercial properties like stores. The education tax and poll tax levied by the government were not a part of the assessment structures and were always automatically applied to everyone. The whole system of colonial taxation was resented by the people of Aringa because there were in many cases of corruption, brutality, unfairness and malice on the side of the chief, which is why they were called "Mundu bayii"(people of the whites) though they were merely implementing orders from the colonial masters. The taxation was arbitrarily imposed without considering the material

¹⁷⁸Group of elders from Yumbe interviewed on 16th/05/2015

circumstance of individual tax payers. By this act, the chiefs demonstrated that they were no longer representing the interests of their people, but rather, their own interest and those of their employers. This made them very distant from the indigenous chiefs who refused to associate with them as narrated by (Moses 2015)¹⁷⁹. As such, many men above 18 years of age started evading taxes by running out of the country or go into hiding.

In order to encourage economic development in the area, the colonial government through the created chiefs encouraged cheap labour to be offered by the natives. There were two aspects of labour demanded by the colonialists' that is voluntary labour and involuntary service as explained by Berry Davidson. He explained voluntary labour as constituting a free movement of people from their areas of origin to other places in order to sell their labour for cash and most of them moved south to offer their labour in sugarcane and tea plantations in Lugazi, Kakira, Kinyara and Bugerere especially beginning from 1940s¹⁸⁰. This was confirmed by Jasinto, Moses and Sebbi that many Aringa men were ferried to south to work in this plantation. Some of their brothers now settled in Bugerere, Lugazi and Jinja¹⁸¹. Most of these were running away from colonial policies in their area and due to defaulting on payment of tax.

There was also compulsory labour which demanded all able-bodied men and women to render labour or pay some amount' to the chiefs. Butiga Sebbi (2015) expressed bitterness about the way they were made to work in the gardens of their chiefs, in the construction of roads, planting and harvesting of food for chiefs and laying bricks to build administrative offices from morning up to late evening¹⁸². This compulsory labour was fairly reluctant in the areas where missionaries settled

¹⁷⁹Baba Anguani moses secretary of elders association - Odravu 15th /05/2015

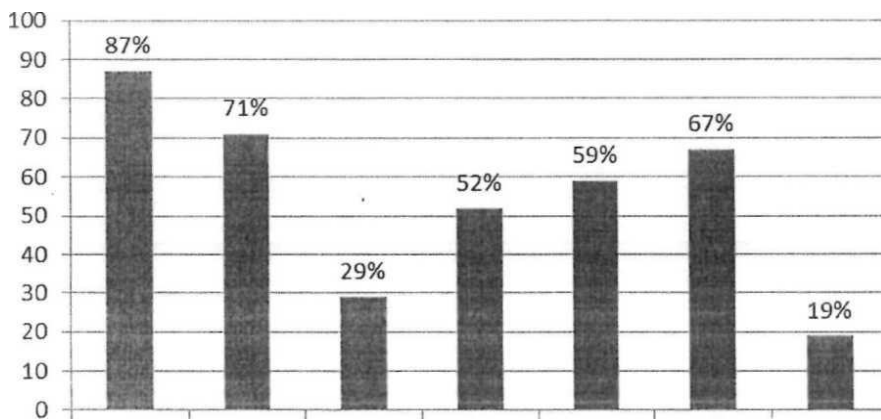
¹⁸⁰Berry Davidson (1986), "economic change in contemporary Africa" oxford university.

¹⁸¹Baba Odugo Jasinto, an elder in lodonga parish 09th/05/2015

¹⁸²Baba Sebbi Butiga 16th/05/2015. An elder of Kemeru clan Yumbe district

therefore, those who accepted Christianity were exempted from this labour and Jasinto (2015) explained that the reason why his father left their original home and migrated to lodonga mission was because he experienced harsh treatment in the hands of the chiefs and colonial rulers¹⁸³. This forced labour also made many Aringa to run into Arua town which had fairly developed roads and not much was done at the chief's place. Worse was the paramount chief Adu an Aringa who had to be carried by people from Yumbe to Arua whenever he wanted to attend an administrative meeting.

Figure 4: People's views on factors that forced the Aringa to move to various areas of Uganda from 1930s to 1962. (Percentages)



Source: Field Data 2013

The figure indicates that the highest number of people run away from taxation policies followed by forced labour and voluntary cheap labour elsewhere. This clearly indicated the Aringa reaction to colonial rule was negative but they showed it by moving away from their area. That explains why the area has failed to develop as other parts of Uganda.

¹⁸³E'tal 09th/05/2015

According to Berry (1986:310), white farmers in East and Central Africa were allowed to occupy some of the richest agricultural land by colonial rulers. They made it easier for these farms to have a consistent supply of inexpensive labor by preventing Africans from selling their own produce on the international market or by increasing taxes to compel them to look for wage work. This assertion corroborated the elders' prior claims that the majority of their brothers moved south (to Uganda) in search of paying jobs.

The decentralized authority and responsibility over the locals, which encouraged them to carry out their responsibilities with a high degree of devotion and confidence, their relationship with the chiefs also called for unfavorable reaction. Unlike in the traditional set-up where the chiefs and "Baru Kuza"(Famous men in society) were respected and they even attracted dependants (Atibo) as servants as noted by Middleton¹⁸⁴. The "Baru Kuza dii" during colonial time were coercive, repellent and were regarded as "Mundu ba". Therefore, local people never liked them because they were more despotic and brutal towards them.

We noted earlier that those Aringa who managed to come near missionary areas and got converted to Christianity were exempt from compulsory forced labour in the area. This situation made the majority Muslims in Yumbe to begin the habit of beating the Christian converts by waylaying them on roads. They also sometimes robbed or stole property from missionaries as noted by the elders from Lodonga parish¹⁸⁵. The colonial authorities, however, reacted to such situations by arresting the culprits. Those who escaped did only so by running away to another district.

Education, since education was placed in the hands of the missionaries from its own set and was majorly to teach the 3Rs that is reading, writing, and Arithmetic. The missionaries also used

¹⁸⁴ John Middleton and David taut (Ed) (1964). "Tribes without rules".

¹⁸⁵Group of elders from Lodonga parish interviewed on 12/05/2015

education to get more converts because religion was the prerequisite to join their education, so many Aringa people reacted by simply rejecting the education system for them and their children. This situation made Aringa especially the Muslim brothers remain illiterate for a long time. The prophets who appeared in the periods of 1900 - 1920 also influenced the reaction of the Aringa people although they did not involve themselves in the 1919 Odupi riot. This Yakani cult or Allah's magic water also made Aringa to have courage to resist colonial rule.

Although the general reaction of the people of Aringa to colonial rule was negative, but some of their influential leaders like Adu collaborated with the colonial masters in bringing the whole of the west Nile under British rule as discussed earlier in the duties of the colonial chiefs. However, he silently pushed them far from his land which explains why the headquarters were put in Arua and not Yumbe yet the colonial masters had suggested Yumbe.

5.3 LEGACY OF COLONIALISM IN YUMBE DISTRICT.

Yumbe experienced under-development and disorganized political set up due to the colonial social and political subordination perpetrated by the colonial powers. As noted by Odu that West Nile including Yumbe was first part of present Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), later it became part of the present South Sudan, finally in 1914 it was transferred to Uganda in exchange for the territory North of Nimule. The scramble for and partition of Africa indicated that DRC was under Belgian rule. Although former Sudan especially Northern Sudan is predominantly occupied by Arabs, they had their influence in South Sudan which extended to Northern Uganda including Yumbe. This kind of phenomena indicates that the district suffered under different colonial rulers¹⁸⁶.

¹⁸⁶Lulua Odu; a short history of the Lugbara - madi. Published by Lugbara literature association, 1996, kisubi - kmapala page 20

According to various accounts as discussed before, the first contacts between the people of Yumbe and outsiders came in terms of raiding (Turko-Egyptians) around early nineteenth century. Children and adults were either taken to the north to join slave armies or be sold off, or they were ransomed for ivory. The first European to reach this area was Emin Pasha who in 1888 was rescued from the area by Henry Morton Stanley who by then was working for the New York Herald newspaper and this exposure made the area to draw more attention than any part of central Africa (Stigand)¹⁸⁷.

Emin's legacy in the mindset of Europeans' fantasies of Africa was both material and ideological. He also left behind a considerable number of troops and slaves who subsequently settled in the area to form a new ethnic group; the Nubians. Nubians who formed the core of Emin Pasha's troops were believed by the British to be "the best material for soldiers in Africa" as noted by Moyses Bartleff¹⁸⁸ who were used by Captain Frederick Lugard of the Imperial British East African Company to enable the Buganda kingdom to subjugate neighbouring rival kingdoms and in the formation and maintenance of the British Protectorate. The same troops left behind by Emin Pasha were also used by the British administration in West Nile, as their agents or chiefs, ignoring the indigenous chiefs of the Lugbara. This situation persists to the present-day with the modern day Lugbara tracing the lineage of their rulers to the chiefs appointed by the British. A case in point is the family of Boroa claiming to have been the legitimate traditional paramount chiefs of the Lugbara.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the future of West Nile was simply the southern part of the "Lado Enclave" named after the town of Lado in southern Sudan an anomalous that

¹⁸⁷John Middleton and David taut (Ed). "Tribes without rules"page 250

¹⁸⁸ Ibid

changed imperial hands three times between 1894 and 1914. At the beginning of this period it was recognized as the personal property of King Leopold of Belgium and administered as part of the Congo Free State. This was a time which particularly left bitter memories in West Nile region in general, and Yumbe in particular for destroying their Lado state and also scattering their people whereby up to now about fifteen (15) clans in Yumbe still talk of their people taken by the Belgians to Congo but never returned. Only a few were returned by Adu (chief appointed by the British)¹⁸⁹. One respondent Obigo Bileyo confirmed this statement by saying this in his own words that; "...one of my Great Uncles, my father's brother by then called Azubu was taken by the Belgians, has never been seen up to date..."¹⁹⁰

The European scramble for Africa ensued. On Leopold's death, the enclave came under British control as part of the Sudan condominium and Belgian interests in the area eventually faded over the first decade of the 20th century. It was majorly used for poaching elephants for ivory. This activity dis-organized the Lugbara in particular and Lado enclave state's way of life, leaving them in a state of fear and panic whenever the natives encountered a white man. This explains why the Aringa diplomatically rejected the building of the British colonial administrative structure in Yumbe but rather the chief gave them present day Arua town for their residency¹⁹¹.

After the death of Leopold, a few months later the Lado Enclave was duly transferred to the Anglo-Egyptian condominium of Sudan, as part of its most southern provinces. Four years later just after the outbreak of the First World War, the southern tip of the Enclave was transferred to the protectorate of Uganda in a territorial swap between these neighbouring components of the British

¹⁸⁹Lanning EC 1954

¹⁹⁰Obigo Bileyo 11/05/2015.

¹⁹¹Original articles: the Yakan cult and Lugbara response to colonial rule by Anne king, Azania journal of British institute of history and archeology in Z. A P.I - 25 published online 26th/02/2010

Empire. This complex imperial history explains why the area appears in the Cambridge History of Africa as part of western equatorial Africa. This explains why the indigenous chiefs also shied away from offering services to their subjects and abandoned their duties so easily.

Economic benefits given to the appointed chiefs brought abuse of power at all levels. For instance, the new chiefs were paid in cattle and grains but unfortunately, they used their wealth to acquire large numbers of wives. They soon became the richest men in the area and started putting their sons, brothers, and sisters' sons in other administrative positions. By 1908 there were some half a dozen chiefs, each with assistance. Because of their wealth, they soon came to be regarded by people as up-starts and oppressors as noted by Audrey Richards¹⁹².

The colonial administration introduced a policy of public works whereby all able bodied men were required to offer labour for the construction, building of schools, hospitals and others were to work in the Headquarters of the "Oprii" at various levels. This was the compulsory scheme for all adult males in Lugbara land as narrated by elders and the Mukungu at parish level implemented it. People were rounded up at dawn to work in public works but those around mission stations were exempted. A number of interviewees confirmed this. One key informant had the following to say.

"...due to this forceful public work, families and clans got separated and scattered all over the region. For example the clan of Lenga split into two i.e. the Lenga of Romogi and the one of the Lodonga. The later came to Lodonga due to presence of the missionaries who were not brutal as administrators of colonial rule. Therefore they remained divided. "¹⁹³

¹⁹²Audrey Richards

¹⁹³Odong Jasinto 09/05/2015

The system of administration set by the colonialists in Yumbe created enmity between the leaders and their subjects, more so it installed a sense of insecurity among the people whereby people especially men would not stay at home and do productive work for non-payment of taxes. Indeed poll tax and hut tax were introduced to force people to offer their labour on plantations. But many of the Lugbara who were unwilling to follow these colonial orders evaded taxes by hiding and this remained a social trait (or behaviour) among men of Aringa that domestic activities are done by women while men hide away up to-date, as noted by most of the opinion leaders and also views of the elders reflected that.

West Nile during the colonial period became a province that was ignored in the protectorate colonial scheme of development partly because of the belief by the protectorate officials that the province had no economic viability. Instead the West Nile and Madi were considered labour reserve for the cash crop economy of the south, where adult males went to acquire money for paying poll tax. Instead of encouraging the cash crop to be grown in their own area. In one of the daily news paper article, Mahmood Mamdan elaborated this;

"...in 1925, the director of Agriculture informed the agricultural officer in West Nile that the discouragement of cash-crop production in West Nile was a policy to be adhered to as labour - was to be available for the support of essential services in the 'producing districts'¹⁹⁴.

This still has an impact up to date in the population of West Nile and Aringa in particular. For instance large numbers of Aringa people are found in Lugazi, Kayunga, Mayuge, Kakira and many other places in the south. This separation affected their political set up greatly. This was also echoed by the elders interviewed that;

¹⁹⁴ New vision by prof. Mahmood Mamdani Makerere university on 18th/july/2012

"There is a difference in labour during the colonial period where men were taken to provide labour in plantations in the south for wages and women were left to care for all the family needs which is a pattern that has persisted up to date where men always think that their job is to work for wages and any other work for the family is done by women, that is why you find men at the roadside early in the morning

Social development in Northern Uganda before independence equally demonstrated the subservient position of the province in relation to others in Uganda. By 1921, for example, the report of the colonial office reflected so very few schools that statistics for Northern Uganda were simply blank. By 1938, the situation had not significantly changed, and according to the report of A. Warner, the provincial commissioner of elementary schools West Nile, Acholi, Madi and Lango no secondary school was fully enrolled and institutes that offered vocational education were absent. It was not until the 1950s that the first properly set up secondary school was built to absorb products of the taught 3Rs as established by the missionaries. Worse still these schools were sectarian and segregated against non-Christians and only converts could successfully enroll in them. That explains why most people of Aringa remained uneducated up to the 1980s. A negative attitude towards western education persists to the present day.

The colonial invasion and foreign intrusion in West Nile and Aringa in particular brought serious blow to Aringa's political structure as noted by the Elders. They not only blocked further political development but the indirect rule system made the local ruling elite less accountable to their citizens because of feeling inferior in the face of the colonial master. Even the new chiefs made the old mistakes such as brutal arrests, unfair assessment of taxes and corrupt tendencies continued. The cumulative effect of all these was exploitation of both mental and physical resources of the area. Oral interviewers further agreed that indeed colonialism blocked further political

development in Yumbe district, for example, the Rain maker's authorities were neglected and their religious sovereignty was destroyed and social relations were reduced, as noted by elders from Yumbe town council¹⁹⁵.

The opinions expressed in this chapter, however, are in line with those of dependency theorists, like Gunder, Fanon, and Sedar Senghor. These academics emphasize the idea that colonization caused harm to the colonized on a political, psychological, and moral level. According to the study, this was the situation in the Aringa-Yumbe district, where the colonial local government structure, which was headed by chiefs, was vastly superior to and obedient to the clan leadership that persisted in flourishing. The legal system gave these chiefs the freedom to carry out their responsibilities without fear of reprisal or favoritism from higher authorities. In all these activities, traditional rulers were rendered powerless to intervene, lest they were rendered victims and receive the same treatment.

5.4 CONCLUSION

The focus of the chapter has been on Yumbe district residents' responses to colonial control and the effects of colonial administration on the Aringa community between 1900 and 1962. Despite the fact that colonialists believed their efforts in Africa would mostly benefit Africans, the study concluded that their rule in Africa in general and Yumbe district in particular brought havoc rendering the natives dependent and possessing an inferiority complex. What made matters worse for Yumbe is that their area fell under the control of different foreigners. The past has continued to impact the present and the fore-seeable future.

¹⁹⁵Elders association of Yumbe 16th/05/2015

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter covers summary and conclusion of the study as detailed below.

6.1. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS.

6.1.1. The Organisation of Aringa and The role of their chiefs before external contacts.

Finding revealed that there is no single over-all political authority and the few traditional functionaries with political power that exist have an authority that is only vaguely defined and is effective only over a very small territory. The Lugbara of Aringa were organized in clans and their supreme leaders in a clan were called Opi [chief] who was also known as a clan leader [Ba wara suru nii]. The chief made political and military decisions, settled inter-clan disputes with the help of elders in council.

The chief settled disputes, sometimes with advice from Ojoo, particularly during national crises such as war, famine or natural disasters like drought and epidemics. This statement has been reflected by almost all the elders interviewed, particular reference to Baba Sebbi Butiga¹⁹⁶, who added that when the chief wanted to stop war, he would shout with these words 'Asakasabolo and Gbadagba' (stop the fight and listen) for three to four times and the fighting teams would withdraw to listen and wait from the chief to communicate the next move¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁶E'tal(l) 12/05/2015

¹⁹⁷Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015. An Elder of Kemeru clan Yumbe District.

The study found that the first clan to settle in Yumbe district was “Orobu” with their leader called “Ira”. Ira was believed to have been fierce, strong and courageous man as portrayed by the meaning of his name that is Ira, meaning unbreakable as a stone. When he settled in the area, he made his home accessible to all strangers. He kept on welcoming the lonely travelers and those who were running away from internal wrangles in their area. He would stop them and give them land around his area and also women to marry¹⁹⁸. It was also established that those who are pursued by enemies would be assisted by him to fight the enemies and thereafter, he would take them as refugees [Amionga] and give them land for settlement.

The position of the chief [opi] was not hereditary. Anyone with skills, experience and ability could be appointed by the elders among them. The opi had no absolute powers but ruled with the help of the council of elders as told by the interviewed elders. Opi also consulted other opii [plural] in case of any problem that affected a larger society.

6.1.2. Early External Contacts and Criteria used in Choosing Chiefs

The study established that the trade in ivory, gold, and slaves started in the West Nile region by the 1820s. These traders were Turkish locally referred to as "Tukuria" or Tukutuku and Egyptian Arabs from the north. Their main route was along the Nile valley with Gondokoro and Dufile as transit centers. Their motive of traveling south was to raid locals for slaves and hunt elephants for ivory, there was no trade transaction with the locals nor any trade relations with the chiefs, this made chiefs been left out in activities concerning their territory.

The slave raiders had their headquarters at Dufile purposely for their slave raid activities. The departure of Arabs from Dufile was when the motion of abolition of slave trade was addressed as

¹⁹⁸Baba Sebbi Butiga 16/05/2015. An Elder of Kemeru clan Yumbe District

an important issue by Khedive Ismail of Egypt through the governors of Equatorial province like Baker (1868-1874), Gordon (1877-1885) and Emin Pasha (1885-1888) who took complete control of northern

The study found that communication was not easy, owing largely to difficulties of languages- Lugbara ti, Madi, Alur and Kakwa are so different in every respect from the other languages of the protectorate that interpreters were almost unobtainable. Use was made of the remnants of Emin Pasha's Nubian troops. Some of these were Madi, Kakwa and a few Lugbara who learnt Alur and they were used as 'agents'. Later a single Lugbara agent was appointed from among their number and was not withdrawn until the late 1920s. This was Fadil el Mula Ali Adu.

6.1.3. The Colonial Chiefs and their Activities in Yumbe District.

The traditional chiefs lost interest in administration that explains why in Lugbara land the first chiefs appointed by the Belgians were from among the "men whose names are known" and the Yakan cult leaders since the chiefs of the rain fled to hide their magic rainstone. These "men whose names were known" started as wealthy persons and were then paid in cattle which made them wealthier still.

Some of the respondents argued that the traditional chiefs simply had low interest in European leadership. This was possibly because of mistrust and suspicion. The ordinary Lugbara looked at the British and the Belgians as "Ariba" (enemies) instead of "oriba" (allies) because of their bitter experiences with the previous administrators, as noted by Lulua O'du, that the "Tukutuku" or African soldiers from Congo who killed many people. The British agents and chiefs were given the titles like "ogara'ba" or "mundu'ba" (people of the Europeans), they were collaborators and spies of the new order.

The study found that the traditional chiefs were not appointed by the first colonial rulers (Belgians) who tried to set up political administration in the area. This criterion was later followed by the Anglo - Egyptian Sudan administration and the British colonial rule under Uganda Protectorate simply adopted what they found on the ground.

The Aringa, rest of Lugbara and Madi have been under the influence of the foreign contact for a longer period of time that is from 1820 - 1962 making up to 142 years of foreign contact (more than any other part of Uganda). This meant a lot in the career histories of tribal authorities of this region leading to negative attitude to any foreigner. The Lugbara lost their traditional chiefs in the process and the few that existed like the chiefs of rain fled to hide their magic rain stone.

The Lugbara have no room for the new duties that chiefs fulfill. When it came to any potential dispute between the people and the central government, they generally believed that their leaders were siding with the Europeans. Within this particular environment, the Headmen were regarded as their spokesmen, but the chiefs are viewed more as the representatives of a government that is superior to the people. This was due to the fact that headmen and traditional officials were opposed by and differentiable from the chiefs at the sub-county level and higher.

6.1.4. The Impact of External Contacts in the Lugbara Communities in 1820-1962

Colonialists see their work in Africa as highly fulfilling and as contributing to the advancement of African states. Indigenous people and their culture have frequently been killed or subjected to colonialism or imperialism. It also entailed giving legitimacy to a foreign country's economic dominance, political hegemony, and occupation of the region.

Finding revealed that after the establishment of colonial rule in Aringa, the people in this region never showed any reaction towards the British rule but silently they opposed the administration and activities of the colonialists very much as noted by the elders interviewed.

The tax assessment was made against people's wealth which included domestic animals, land, number of wives; business premises like shops etc. government poll tax and education tax were always automatic for all the people and were not included during the assessment structures.

The relationship of the chiefs to the locals also called for negative reaction in that the chiefs possessed unique, de-centralized responsibility and power that prompted them to perform their duties with high degree of loyalty and confidence. Unlike the traditional set-up, the chiefs and "Baru Kuza"(Famous men in society) were respected and they even attracted dependents (Atibo) as servants. The Baru Kuza during colonial time was coercive, repellent and was regarded as "Mundu ba". Therefore, local people never liked them because they were more despotic and brutal towards them.

It was revealed earlier that those Aringa who managed to come near missionary areas and got converted to Christianity were exempt from compulsory forced labour in the area. This situation made the majority Muslims in Yumbe to begin the habit of beating the Christian converts by way laying them on roads. They also sometimes robbed or stole property from missionaries as noted by the elders from Lodonga parish⁷. The colonial authorities, however, reacted to such situations by arresting the culprits. Those who escaped did only so by running away to another district.

6.2. CONCLUSION

This study has attributed the post-colonial instability and conflicts in Aringa-Yumbe district to the legacy of British colonialism in Uganda, especially the effects of the British colonial policy of

"divide and rule". This study further observes and concludes that "the colonial state's strategy of fragmentation and isolation of distinct tribal units promoted ethnic competition and conflict. This conclusion is consistent with that arrived at by Bruce Berman¹⁹⁹.

A further observation and conclusion arrived at by this study was that during the colonial period, the problems of ethnicity were compounded by economic distortions. British colonialism created regional imbalances and ethnic specialization. For instance Southern areas and to some extent, eastern Uganda became regions of peasant production of cotton and coffee, others such as, Acholi, Teso and to some extent West Nile became catchment areas for the armed forces and source of labour.²⁰⁰

The study further concludes that ethnic incompatibility and polarization is basically a product of British colonialism and enabled the British to dominate and economically exploit the Aringa-Yumbe community.

The study further concludes that the administrative boundaries enacted by the British were to reproduce ethnicity where policies provided for the institutionalization of parochial tribally-oriented local government. This conclusion is consistent with that arrived at by Samwiri Lwanga-Lunyigo. He contends that "this constitutional division made the unity of Uganda in general and Aringa-Yumbe in particular extremely difficult to achieve, and was to be a potential cause of conflict in the post-independence decade"²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁹B. Berman, "Ethnicity, Patronage and the African State: The Politics of Uncivil Nationalism", *Africa Affairs*, 97 388 (1998), 328.

²⁰⁰J. Mugaju, *Uganda's Age of Reform: A Critical Overview*, (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1999), 14-15. See also M. Doornbos, "The Uganda Crisis and the National Question", in H. Holdger and M. Twaddle, (Eds.), *Uganda Now*, (Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 1988).

²⁰¹ S. Lwanga-Lunyigo, "The Colonial Roots of Internal Conflicts" in K. Rupensinghe (Ed.), *Conflict Resolution in Uganda*, 24-41.

According to the study's findings, the British-engineered uneven growth turned the northern region and the West Nile into a labor pool for colonial workers, resulting in the current regional economic discrepancy that fuels conflict and grievances. A legacy of the colonial regime that concentrated military recruitment on the West Nile in the North, including Aringa-Yumbe, away from the country's administrative, educational, and economic center, according to Martin Doornbos, "had the aim of creating a power balance, divide and rule model"²⁰².

6.4. AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.

The study was limited to why colonial rulers never used indigenous chiefs, the criteria used by the colonial rulers in choosing colonial agents and the effects of colonial rule on the indigenous set-up focused on Aringa community as the case study. There is need for an independent study to adopt other themes such as the relationship between the kartumer slave traders and the indigenous chiefs that may be influencing why colonial rulers never used indigenous chiefs.

The study was also restricted to Aringa community. There is need for future research to supplement the study while considering other communities and factors because it is likely that conditions exclusive to Aringa community may change in other tribes and communities.

²⁰² M. Doornbos, "The Uganda Crisis and the National Question", 265.

The activities of external contacts and the entire colonisation had far reaching effects in the West Nile regions which was not a focus of this research, there is need to minimise these effects such as slavery, labour force and its negative impacts especially among the male children who have negative attitude towards work because of the habit that developed among the youth and it has become character that work supposed to be done out by women calls for further detailed research hence an area for study.

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Yumbe district Local Governement Report, 2021

GLOSSARY OF HISTORICAL TERMS

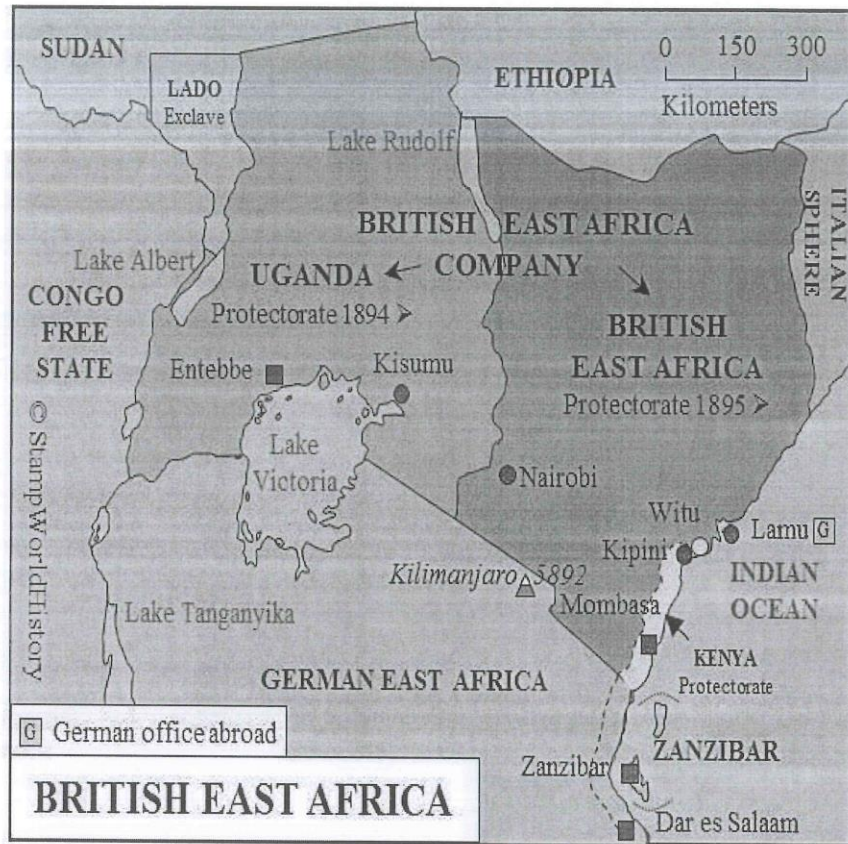
Agrerian	
Ancestors	People of ancient times from whom our parents have come
Colonialism	The practice of keeping colonies abroad
Cult	Believe in a particular fashion or system of religious worship that most people consider strange or dangerous.
Culture	A system of arts, beliefs and costumes of a social group OR a society that has its own set of ideas, beliefs and ways of behaving
Dialect	A fairly different form of the same language
Enclave	A state or group of people completely surrounded by other groups
Ethnic	Relating to a group of people who have the culture and traditions
Ritual	A ceremony or customary act repeated in the same manner.
Shrines	A place for worship or other religious rituals. OR a religious place built to remember a particular event or person
Taboo	A social customer or rule forbidding an act of the use of a certain thing.
Tradition	Opinion, belief or custom passed down from the past to the present generation
Treaty	An agreement between national or heads of state
Tribe	A social group of persons who claim a common ancestor and speak a common language
alienation	Making one look foreign or feeling of not belonging

	to or being part of one's surroundings
Amalgamation	A process in which two organizations join and make one large one.
Chief	A leader of a tribe
Chieftain	A group of people who have the same customs, beliefs and language and live in a particular area led by the chief.
Lado enclave	Was an exclave of the Congo Free State and later of Belgian Congo that existed from 1894 to 1910 situated on the west Bank of the upper Nile in what is now in South Sudan and North West Uganda - Wikipedia
Equatorial province	Originally was a province of Egypt which contained most parts of Northern Uganda. Is a region of Southern Sudan along the upper reaches of the white Nile.
Nubians	They are Ethno linguistic group of African indigenous found in Sudan and Southern Egypt who originate from the early inhabitants of the central Nile Valley, believed to be one of the earliest place of civilization.
Lease	To have legal agreement in which someone pays money to use a building or land for a specific period of time.
Indigenous	Are people who live in a place for a very long time before other people came to live there.
Poacher	Someone who is illegally catching or kills animals, birds, or fish on someone else's property.
Feud	An angry disagreement between two people or group that continues for a long time.
Trauma	A bad experience that makes you feel very upset,

	afraid or shocked.
Protégés	A young person who receives help or training from older experience person.
Lineage	The people in your family who live in the past.
Mutiny	A refusal by a group to accept someone's authority especially a group of soldiers.
Paramount	More important than anything else.

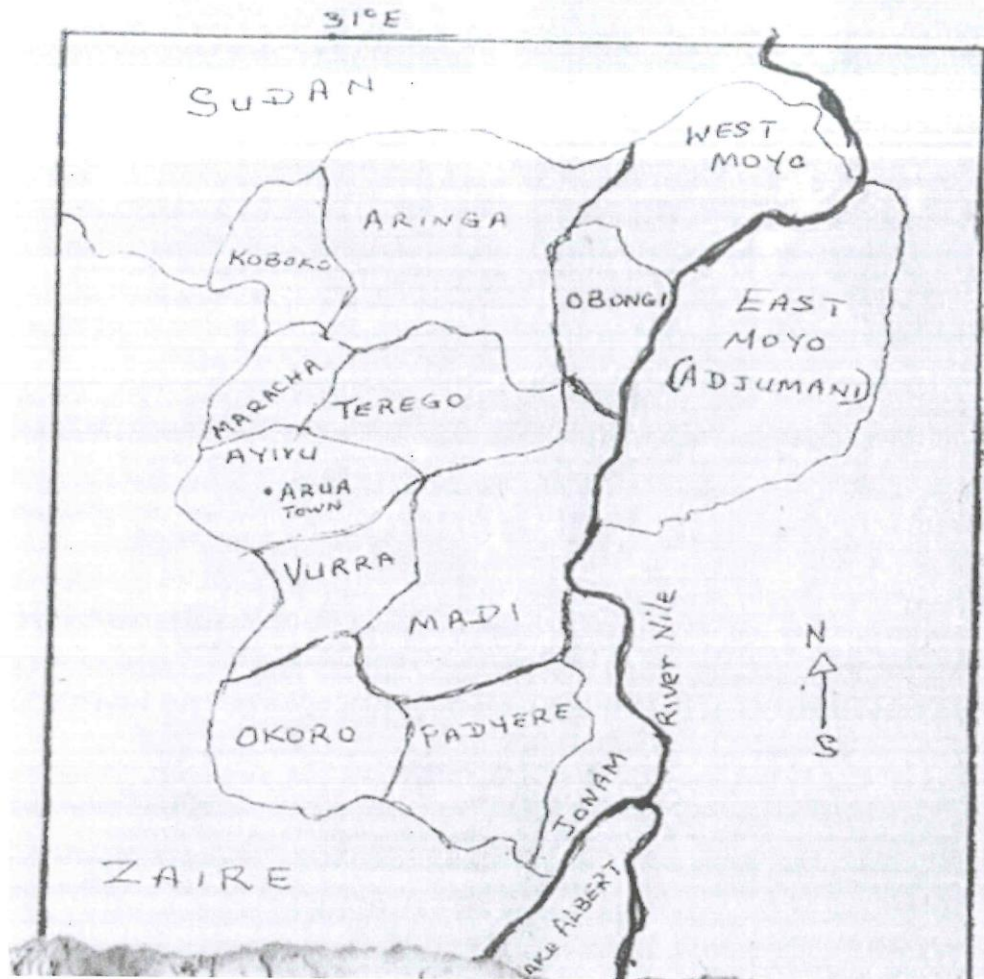
THE TERRITORIAL LOCATION OF THE FORMER LADO STATE WHERE LUGBARA BELONGED.

THE MAP OF EAST AFRICA SHOWING THE BRITISH COLONIES AND THE LADO ENCLAVE

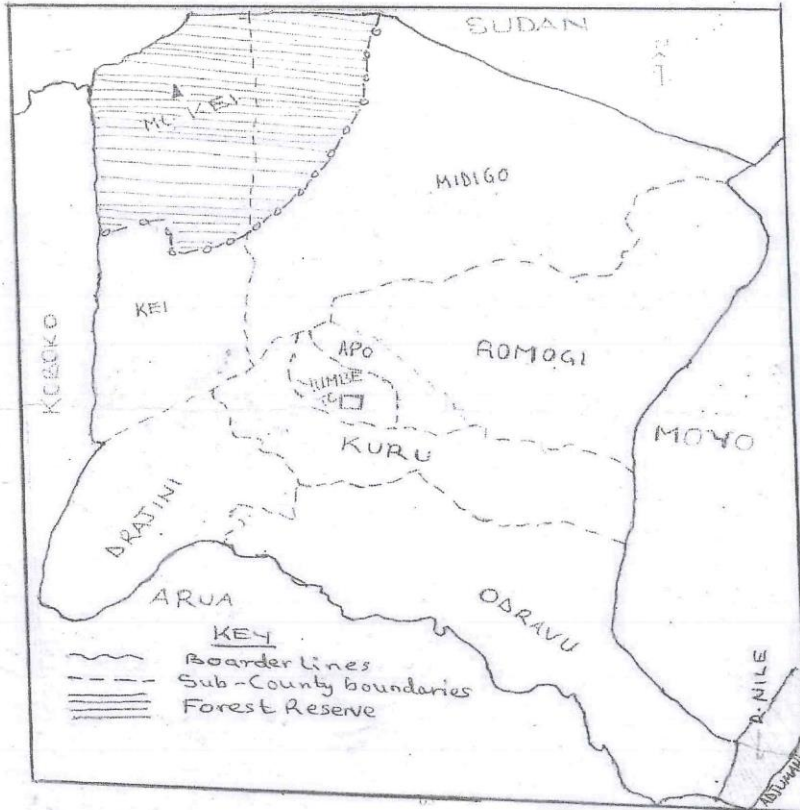


THE LUGBARA STATES AND ITS NEIGHBOURING ETHNIC GROUPS

THE MAP OF WEST NILE SHOWING THE DISTRICT OF YUMBE



THE MAP OF YUMBE DISTRICT SHOWING THE CURRENT SUB COUNTIES



APENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE ANSWERED BY THE ELDERS IN ARINGA-YUMBE DISTRICT, POLITICAL LEADERS AND ELDERLY LEARNERED GROUP OF PEOPLE IN YUMBE AND ARUA DISTRICTS.

Dear Informant,

I have the pleasure to inform you that you have been selected to assist in this study about 'Chiefs and colonial rule among Lugbara communities 1900-1962; 'The case study of Yumbe district'. Please give a detailed information you have or know about chiefs and colonial rule in your area.

This information is for academic purpose and will be kept confidential.

Name (optional).....

Date and place of birth.....

Age:.....

Sex.....

Your position or status in your community.....

1(a) What is the name of your clan?

.....

(b) Where is it found in Yumbe district?

.....

(c) How many clans made up the current Aringa community?

.....

Name them:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....
(d) Among these clans, which ones were more organized politically, socially and economically?
.....
.....
.....

(e) Where did your clan originate from?
.....
.....

2. How was your community organized politically, socially and economically before the coming of the foreigners?

Politically

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.....
.....

Socially

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.....
.....

Economically

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.....

(b) What were the roles of chiefs (opii) in your community before the coming of the foreigners?
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.....

(c) What good things do you remember about your traditional chiefs?

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.....
(d) What do you know about Rembe a leader of Yakani cult?

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.....
3 (a) Who were the first foreign intruders in your community?

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.....
(b) What were the major reasons for the coming of these foreigners?

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.....
(c) What do you know about the following in your area?

.Arabs:

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.Belgian rule:

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.....
.Emin Pasha:

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.....
.British colonial rule;

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.....
4. (a) How did the coming of these foreigners affect the traditional set up of Lugbara?

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.....
(b)(i) Did your community welcome all these foreigners or not?

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(ii) Give reasons for your answer.

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.....
5(a) Which were the counties created by the British colonial administrators?

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.....
(b) Who was the first chief in your area appointed by the British colonial rulers?

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.....
6(a). Which categories of people were appointed by colonialists as chiefs or colonial agents in your area?

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.....
(b) Do you know some traditional chiefs who did not work during colonial era but maintained their authority over the people they were ruling?

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.....
(c) What were the major duties of these appointed chiefs?

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.....
7. How was the relationship between the appointed colonial chiefs and the indigenous Lugbara chiefs like?

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.....
8(a) Did the colonialists consider the indigenous chiefs? If no give reasons to support your answer?

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.....
(b) What is your opinion about the appointed chiefs of colonialists during their rule in West Nile?

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.....
9. What were the reactions of your community towards the colonial rule and colonial chiefs?

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.....
10(a) What developments took place in your district during colonial rule?

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(b) Did your community respond to the developments brought by the colonialists positively or not ?

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(c) Particularly, what was the reaction of your community towards western Education?

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11. How did the colonial rule affect the Lugbara political or traditional setup up to 1962?

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12. Do you wish for the revival of the traditional setup of Lugbara? Why?

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APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE TO BE ANSWERED BY THE WHITE MISSIONARIES IN ARUA AND YUMBE DISTRICTS

Dear Informant,

I have the pleasure to inform you that you have been selected to assist in this study about 'Chiefs and colonial rule among Lugbara communities 1900-1962; 'The case study of Yumbe district'. Please give a detailed information you have or know about chiefs and colonial rule in your area.

This information is for academic purpose and will be kept confidential.

1. When did your community arrive in Uganda and in particular West Nile?

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2. Who were the first in your community to arrive in Lugbara land and what were their observations about Lugbara?

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3. Who was the first political leader in West Nile during colonial time?

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4. How was Lugbara organized politically, socially and economically by the time of your arrival?

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LIST OF RESPONDENTS

No.	Names	Age	Positions/Responsibility	Village	Year interterved
1.	Abele John	69	Famous elder in the village	Kei	2014
2.	Abiria Jackson	78	Elder	Iyiba	2014
3.	Abiriga Nogina	71	Elder	Iyiba	2014
4.	Adiba Alberita	78	Elder's Councilor	Lodonga	2018
5.	Adrabo Petiro	74	Retired public servant	Romogi	2014
6.	Adriko James	72	Elder	Iyiba	2014
7.	Adriko Moses	72	Elder	Iyiba	2014
8.	Agondunga John	78	Elder	Rigbo	2015
9.	Aluma Richard	65	Elder's Councilor	Mengo	2018
10.	Amaguru Martha	73	Elderly mother	Mengo	2014
11.	Andrutiru Satina	79	Retired public servant	Iyiba	2014
12.	Anguani Lino	72	Religious leader	Lodonga	2018
13.	Anguani Moses	74	Secretary Elder's association Yumbe	Odravu	2014
14.	Anule Zacharia	86	Elder	Odravu	2014
15.	Anule Zakaria Ania	88	Retired teacher	Iyiba	2014
16.	Apangu David	62	Opinion leader	Adravu	2018
17.	Avutia Jason	82	Retired teacher	Nyori	2015
18.	Ayekiru Gloria	69	Elder	Romogi	2018
19.	Baba Gabu	81	Elder	Kei	2018
20.	Bako Angelina	73	Elders councilor	Galaba	2018
21.	Bako Grace	70	Famous elder in the village	Romogi	2018
22.	Bakole Albano	83	Church elder	Odravu	2018
23.	Bileyo Ambrozio	79	Elder	Iyiba	2014
24.	Butiga Sebbi	81	Chairperson Elder's Association Yumbe	Kuru	2014
25.	Cabe Anderiya	80	Elder	Kei	2018

26.	Chandiru Grace	67	Elder	Iyiba	2014
27.	Delu Luka	86	LC1 chairman	Mengo	2014
28.	Goliga Juma	83	Clan leader	Lenga	2014
29.	Haruna ndema	83	Elder	Gotri	2014
30.	Isa Poru	C	Elder's Councilor	Galaba	2018
31.	Itole Biajo	71	Religious leader	Lodonga	2018
32.	Kazimero Onalia	71	Elder	Romogi	2014
33.	Kubi Carilo	75	Elder's Councilor	Nigo	2018
34.	Muhamood Gotri	77	Famous elder in the village	Iyiba	2014
35.	Obia Tereza	72	Religious leader	Lodonga	2014
36.	Obitre Richard	78	Elder	Romogi	2018
37.	Ocile Richard	78	Church leader	Lodonga	2014
38.	Odipio Federiko	76	Elder	Romogi	2018
39.	Odugo Jasinto	83	Elder	Mengo	2014
40.	Opigo Amin	102	Elder Ambala clan	Kuru	2014
41.	Rahuman Midi	76	Elder	Romogi	2018
42.	Rajab Atiriko	77	Elder	Romogi	2018
43.	Ssebi Gotri	76	Famous elder in the village	Iyiba	2014
44.	Ukuonziga Elia	76	Elder	Rigbo	2015
45.	Una John	84	Famous elder in the village	Kei	2014
46.	Unoku Mary	73	Elderly Mother	Mengo	2014

FIELD PHOTOS

THE ELDERS OF LODONGA PARISH DURING THE INTERVIEW





LC 1 of Lodonga Village and respondents





Mama Amaguru Martha, one of the respondents in Mengo village, Lodonga Parish, drajini Sub County