
BY
AKELLO CHRISTINE
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DECLARATION

I Akello Christine declare that this research is original and has never been published or submitted to this or any other university.

Sign........................................Date........................................

20th 01 2010
APPROVAL.

This work is submitted with my approval as supervisor.

Dr. N. Sewanyana Senkomago.
Sign.................................. Date............................

2010
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

I would like to thank the Lord for giving me strength to see this work accomplished. Great thanks go to the staff of the Uganda museum who were a tremendous help to me during my research and also those who helped me type this work.

I would like to acknowledge Associate Prof. John Enyaru for his encouragement and advice and most of all the tireless work of my supervisor Dr. N. Sewanyana Senkomago who took time guiding me in my research and gave me confidence to complete.

To those others who helped me and I have not mentioned, thank you and many the good Lord bless you
DEDICATION.

I dedicate this book to my son Alvin, my husband Mr. Ojepa Dennis, sisters, brothers and most of all to my parents Associate Prof. John C. K Enyaru and his wife Rachael Enyaru for the immense financial and material contribution throughout my education up to this level and have provided unflinching guidance and support.
This research intended to find out the history of the Kumam clans and with emphasis being put on Igoria clan.

Chapter One covers the background of the study, the history of the Kumam and Igoria clan, statement of the problem, scope of the study, objectives and significance of the study. It also contains the hypothesis, literature review and ends with research methodology.

Chapter two deals with the Igoria clan, their political, social and economic institutions.

Chapter three discusses the impact of colonial rule on the Igoria clan system, the importance of clan organization to the development of the Kumam people and how to become a member of Igoria clan.

Lastly chapter four concludes and gives recommendations of what has been discovered during the process of the research.

The data collected also showed that the Igoria clan members have a rich heritage with a lot of history.
CHAPTER ONE:
BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.

HISTORY OF THE KUMAM.
The Kumam are an ethnic group of people who are found in Kaberamaido district, which is a new district in Eastern Uganda. Originally they shared the district of Soroti with the Iteso and some parts of Lira district with the Langi. In Lira district the Kumam are also found in areas like Dokolo, the shores of Lake Kyoga (Namasale). In Soroti district, they are found in Serere Asuret, Soroti town as well as the outskirts of Soroti district bordering Kaberamaido. The Kumam are also found in some parts of Buganda and Busoga especially in Namasagali and Kamuli, along the shores of Lake Kyoga in Kamuli district. Gray contends that, the Kumam were twice defeated by the Baganda who drove them out of Buruli.

There are several views surrounding the origin of the Kumam. Kitching believed the Kumam were a small section of the Langi tribe which had moved southwards and became affiliated to the Iteso. However, Driberg believed that the Kumam are Iteso who had adopted a Nilotic language from the Langi, and says the adoption of a Nilotic language had occurred recently. Driberg further explains that the name Akum is more correct because it is a name of an actual division of tribe in Lango culture. However, Rev. Father Walshe says that the name Akum or Kumam was a nickname given to the Kumam by the Mira (Langi) and it is because the Kumam used to grieve over their cattle which were stolen by the Mira. It therefore, appears the name Kumam was derived from the word Kumo which means to mourn or grieve in Lango language (Luo).

Driberg states further that, the Kumam and Langi fought over the name Lango, and it seems It was a name of one big tribe/family living in the East, which later split up into Lango dyang
(Karamojong), Lango olok (Jiwe), Lango Miro (present Langi and were called so by the Kumam and Acholi) and lastly the Lango - Ikokolemu (Kumam).” This implies that the Kumam share the same origin with the Langi and the Iteso speaking people and this is noticed by the words that the three tribes share for instance the word "Ateker" means clan in all three groups; and also many of their clans share the same names. Walshe says that Ateker is used too by the Karamojong and Turukana and that their clans too share the same names for example Ikarwok, Atek, Irarak, Itengor, among others, therefore an indication of a common origin.

The Kumam came to their present country from Soroti and met the Jower (chopi) or Jo pa wirJo pa Luo and learnt the Nilotic language from them at Bululu where they lived. According to Mulwano, the Kumam fishermen came from Kamoda and Lale (Soroti) and made friends with the Chopi. Many of them begun to settle down at Bululu amongst the Chopi and picked up the ilotic language of their hosts?

An old Kumam living at Agora, Soroti, states that his grandfather told him that their ancestors came from Angodingodi, Kapujan, and Kokorio, near Toroma and some of the ancestors spoke 'Lale' - present Kumam language while others spoke 'Dum'- Ateso.

The first Kumam speakers were from a clan of two famous elders - Angati and Wonayera. This group was called Ilalei and the Dum speaking people moved towards Amuria and Orungo, while the Ilalei moved towards Gweri, Soroti, the present Lale and Kamoda and after sometime crossed to Obur (Alomet)."

The Kumam are also referred to as Ikokolemu and according to Father Walshe, 7 it is told that long ago in karamoja, a certain member of the Langi family stole a head-dress of honour (Alem), and with some other relatives fled towards lake Kyoga where they settled down among the Jower (Chopi) and learnt their Nilotic language, and were called 'Ikokolemu' by the rest of
the Lango family. This therefore makes the Kumam the 'head-dress thieves' and the stories told about this may explain why the Kumam abandoned the language of their ancestors and adopted new names for their children. To steal a head-dress was a very grave offence, so the thief had every reason to make a complete break and settle down among other folk. However, in comparison, Kagolo\(^8\) says that it is a common belief among the Iteso, that when their great-great-grandfathers, whose descendants now speak the Kumam language migrated from Kakolyo, a sub-county in Usuku county, one of them stole an alem and fled with it to Soroti county and that on account of this act, they are all nicknamed Ikokolem. Further still, Kagolo says that the Kumam try to disguise the real meaning of the name Ikokolem and say that it is a combination of two words: Ikoku - a child and Olem - a famous old man in Usuku County and the Kumam wish to be regarded as his children.

Oral tradition indicates that the Kumam came from Northeast and by about 1600 the movements of migrants from northeast must have started.\(^9\) Odada further says that there are differing views about the origin of the Kumam, however the existing literature and the oral tradition of the Kumam present various views about their origin. There are apparently two schools of thought and the predominant one is that advanced by writers such as Reverend Israel E. Ekadu, I. H Driberg, J. C. D. Lawrence and Reverend Father C. I. Walshe. These have the weight of oral tradition in their favour. The view they express is that, the Kumam derived from people who were originally Iteso speakers and later learnt Lwo, a new language. This school of thought argues that due to contact with Lwo speaking peoples, beginning from around the mountains of Otuke and Wila, in modern Karamoja, Dum (Ate so) was gradually abandoned and Lwo took over. It further asserts that the Kumam claim Lango as their former name, just because
Of the presence of phrases such as yo lango (path), pale lango (home) and yat lango (medicine) in the Kumam language.

The logical conclusion therefore is that the Langi and Iteso belong to the "Lango family" of people, which is no different from the Itunga generalization, to which Professor Webster and Reverend Israel E. Ekadu refer.

The other (second) contrary school of thought is represented by the proposal of Bishop A. L. Kitching that, the Kumam were a small group of Langi who separated from the main body due to a quarrel and went towards Lake Kyoga and later learnt Ateso. However the majority of Kumam elders were quite ignorant about this view and some of them contradicted it. However some elders interviewed amongst the three ethnic groups - Lango, Iteso, and Kumam agree that the three ethnic groups must have been one in the distant past. The evidence brought forward to support the above, varies from the similarities in birth ceremonies, certain social customs and hunting practices.

The Kumam - Lwo contacts seems to have taken place on several fronts. The first was around Karamoja before the dispersal of the Atekerin. The second contacts continued with the Lwo elements on the northern frontier right from Karamoja to Kaberamaido, Dokolo and Kyoga counties. The third were the pioneers of Solot (Soroti), Amuda and Lale, this group met the Jo Aweria Lwo people of the Pawir clan. And fourthly it is becoming evident that some Lwo were living in the Kumam region especially along the L. Kyoga northern shores.

However, it should be noted that by this time the Langi had not yet emerged and the same Lwo influence that affected the other Atekerin sections applied to the Langi too, they like the Kumam found the present Lango district dotted with shards and fire places, thus indicating that other people, possibly the Lwo had lived in the area prior to their coming.
The uses of these words such as Lango, Ikumama are the names used by the Karamojong to describe the Iteso, Lango, and the Kumam. This therefore adds weight on Driberg's view that the Kumam belong to the Lango family, which is here equated to the Atekerin family.

Odada states that, the people who later developed as the Kumam were those on the peripheral zone between the Lwo and the Atekerin sub-groupings; the Lango and the Iteso. The people from whom the Kumam were formed were partly the people edging the Atekerin and the Lwo in the vicinity of Karamoja. The very geographical location of these people made it very possible for them to learn both Lwo and Atekerin languages. He explains further by saying that the traditions of the Kumam stresses the fact that the Kumam are the off-shoots of the Atekerin and Lwo who due to separation from and isolation with the parent bodies emerged as a distinct people over the years.

Odada also states that the Langi, Iteso and Kumam claim to have migrated from the northeast and the period of migration seems to have been about the same c. 1400 - c. 1600 and that it is quite possible that the three peoples must have been one and the same then, but that they separated later and the result of the separation caused the differences in language, customs and traditions. And says further that for the emergence of the Kumam and Langi, the mixing with the Lwo elements did a lot to affect the linguistic alteration.

According to Odada, "Kumam" seems to mean three things;

1. A people whose social structure places them as people of Iteso origin.
2. The language ranks them as Lwo.
3. The geographical area occupied by the Kumam especially Kaberamaido seems to have been a corridor area where different ethnic groups converged.

However, today the Kumam regard themselves as a distinct community.
Lawrence says that the Kumam traditions only date back to the time when they were living in the original Teso focus at Magoro. He further says that evidence from an elderly chopi informant living by then at Bululu, indicates that the Kumam first came into contact with the chopi in about 1840. The Kumam by then were known to the chopi as Lango and the Lango were called Miro and that the Kumam had come from the direction of Kamoda and Lale. Lawrence agrees with Driberg, that the change in language among the Kumam took place in the period 1870 - 1920 and it was not uncommon to find old men in the Kumam villages who spoke their original Teso mother - tongue.

According to Ekeru, the correct origin of the Kumam is that they originated from Karamoja down words, through to areas in Soroti district (Gweri and Asuret where they settled for sometime and later on moved to parts of Serere were they reproduced) and because of scarcity of land, they moved to Kaberamaido district and occupied the land. They even moved up to Amolatar where they were stopped by the Langi in a serious battle at Abalang swamp in Ookolo. The Kumam fall under the general classification of segmentary societies - that is, societies that lack centralized political machinery of state control. They also lack a central system of administration, however it should be noted that a clan was the basic social, political and economic unit of the Kumam, it was administrative and judicial in nature - elders called Adwong ma Ateker’ administered justice.

Since the clan is the basic social and political unit among the Kumam, it IS therefore interesting to note that there are several clans among the Kumam as listed below:

• Imugenya.
• Igamtok.
• Irarak.
• Igoria.
• Imodoi.
• Angati.
• Wonayera.
• Jo Agwaya - formerly Lango (Mira).
• Ipiatok.
• Itongera.
• Angorok.
• Awer (lake dwellers).

**Igoria clan:**

It is one of the Kumam clans that occupy various parts of Kaberamaido district today - you can find Igoria clan members in Amuk, Obur, Gwetome, Doya, Opiyai/Atiti, Oturigalin, Omodoi and Odingoi. However, it should be noted that some members are still moving to other places because of various reasons like, scarcity of land due to large families, banishment from the clan, others opt to buy land in different places/areas, among other reasons. They are also found in other parts of Uganda for example, in Soroti district; they are in places like Serere and Asuret the Outskirts of Soroti town. In Kumi district they are found in Kachumbala were they are said to have originated and moved unto the present Kaberamaido district.
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:
People have written little about the Kumam and this is mainly on who the Kumam are and how they came about - their origin. Very little has been written about the Kumam clans and that is, mentioning clan names in brief.

Very little has been written about the Igoria clan and yet the information about the culture of the clan is fading away with the old people/elders, who are dying. The information of the Igoria clan needs to be tapped before it all fades away, it is not documented.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY:
The year 1918 is selected because it is the year when members of the Igoria clan first settled down in Kaberamaido district and the year 1962 is selected as the end point of the study because it is the year when Uganda attained independence and the study will look at how colonial administration affected the clan system of the Igoria people of Kaberamaido district in Eastern Uganda.

The research also covers all categories of people in the clan - Men, Women, and Children.

The Igoria clan members are located / scattered in different parts of Kaberamaido district of Eastern Uganda.

The Igoria clan was chosen because the researcher intended to find out more about the clan, their way of life and system.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY:
1. To find out the origin, movement, and settlements of members of the Igoria clan.

2. To find out how colonial administration affected members of Igoria clan.
3. To find out the importance of clan organization to the development of the Kumam people.
4. To find out the contribution of the Igoria clan to the Kumam people.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:
The study will;
1. Provide information about the Igoria clan.
2. Provide more information about the clan system among the Kumam.
3. Enable the Kumam to get more information about their heritage.

HYPOTHESIS:
The Igoria clan has a history to reckon with.

LITERATURE REVIEW:
Auruku provides material/information of the Iteso clans and enumerates the clans up to forty five. "The information is useful, however since Igoria clan happens to be one of the Iteso clans too, the work does not analyse thoroughly any of the clans mentioned, it gave a fertile reason for this study to explore into detail the history of Kumam clans, with emphasis on Igoria clan.

Atieno Odhiambo, IS discussed about the origin of the Iteso and contend that the society of Iteso was based on clans. The information is valuable and therefore it gave a good starting point for the research on the Igoria clan of the Kumam people.
Karugire, 16 states that the clan was the basic primary nucleus to the Iteso and further discusses the affairs managed by clans and roles played by the clans in the society. His work however talks about the Iteso clans and therefore it gives a good background to this research which aims at examining in detail the activities of Igoria clan of the Kumam.

Ogola, provides good material concerning the duties of clan leaders in Padhola, Tororo district in the area of law, order and morality. Good as his work is, it does not potray the respective clans and where such clan leaders performed their duties hence, a need for further research and mainly on the Igoria clan of the Kumam.

Tumuheirwe states that, the Bafumbira never had an over leader, instead they had clan heads known as elders who were responsible for keeping peace and order in their societies. 18 This is useful information and gives a backbone to the research of the Igoria clan and helps in analyzing if the Igoria clan had the same system, hence it is a background to this study in order to explore into detail the Igoria clan politically, socially, and economically.

Kaberuka states that the right to all clan land was vested in the hands of the bataka - heads of the clans, with the Kabaka being the Sebataka, the supreme head of the clans. 19 This information talks only about the Buganda clans, however it will act as a basis when comparing if the Igoria clan policies on land were the same or different, hence it gave the need for further research and mainly on the Igoria clan.

Kennedy asserts that the Teso clans are merely small kinship groups consisting of from two (2) - four (4) families and not more. 20 He further states that each Ateker had numerous branches and there is no parent root and no inter-relationship. Exogamy is practiced only in the immediate circle of the group forming each particular branch of the Ateker. The information is vital and
therefore it gave a base for the study of Igoria clan of the Kumam and in so doing it will enable the researcher to compare and contrast the Teso clans and the Kumam Igoria clan.

Gray contends that there are over thirty (30) Buganda clans and many of them give very different places as their country of origin, for example the grass hopper clan says they came from Busongola in the western province. 21 This information is important but lacking because it talks only of the Buganda clans and therefore gave basis to the study of the Igoria clan of the Kumam people.

Gray further asserts that each of the Buganda clans were at first an independent tribe owing its own small piece of territory and having it's clan head as it's paramount chief and that the clan chief was at war with all the neighboring clans. He however adds that, clans began to cease to be tribes and combined together to form a single nation about the time that Kintu arrived in the country. This information gives details of only the Buganda clans and therefore left room for the study of the Kumam Igoria clan.

Tarantino states that, many of the Lango clans are of comparatively recent origin, and says in the beginning there were three Lango clans, that is; Arak, Atek and Okarwok, and that all other clans have come to being as sub-divisions of these three clans. 22 He also explains that the people of one clan lived together in one part of the country; however this is no longer the case. These days the clan members are scattered and everyone lives where s/he wishes. This information gave a good foundation for the research of the Igoria clan of the Kumam, since little has been put in writing about them.

Tarantino makes it clearer; that at manage a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan and adopts the taboos of that clan, which is told to her by the old women of the clan, at the time of the ceremony of "tying of the skin" (twyo lao), which in other words is
referred to as "the wife's initiation" (kwere dako). This is vital information because it talks mainly about the Langi and since the Langi and the Kumam share the same common ancestors, it implies that the Kumam ceremonies could be similar and hence a reason for the research on the Igoria clan of the Kumam.

Among the Langi, the government was vested traditionally in the hands of the clan chiefs, who had authority over the people of their clan. This patriarchal system of the Langi is the same as that obtaining among related tribes such as the Kumam, Teso, Karamojong, lie and Toposa. This information encouraged the research in order to explore into detail the Igoria clan system.

The Langi never had a paramount chief who ruled over the whole tribe. The chieftains whom the Langi referred to as leaders of the tribe were military leaders who only lead the Langi against other tribes in times of war. When the war was over, their authority lapsed and they returned to their clans and resumed their ordinary occupation of cultivation and house-building. This is true for the Langi clans and it encouraged further research especially among the Kumam clans and particularly on Igoria clan.

When a clan chief died, the elders chose one of his children to succeed him. If they were unable to find a suitable successor among his children, they would choose someone from the same family. This applies to the Langi clans and since they are similar to the Kumam clans, it gave room for further research into the Kumam clans with the case study of the Igoria clan. It is claimed that in olden days, the clan controlled the disposal of property, including wives. When a man died the council of the clan would select a man to inherit the wives of the deceased. The clan also had control over cattle, although ownership by individuals was acknowledged. If a man wanted to kill or sell his cattle, he would first ask and explain his reasons to his relatives: failure to do so was an offence against the clan. This may be true for
the Langi, and therefore it left out the other tribes and their clans, hence giving more emphasis on the research about the Kumam clans with Igoria clan as a case study.

Lukyn also states that, the Igoria clan of the Iteso was founded in places as far away from each other; for instance in places like, Toroma, Koboi, Ngora, Serere, Bukedea, Kidongole, Tissai, Kokolyo, excetra." This literature proved the research on the Igoria clan of the Kumam because it tackled only the Igoria clan of the Iteso.

According to Erimayo, in Lango every clan had one leader who was known as Adit (chief) and whose duty was to lead his people to war. When such a chief died, his most popular son took his place? 7 The son's seniority was not important; he was elected by the judgement of the people no matter how young he was. He also states that the successor was bound to be one who would lead his clan's team of warriors against other chiefs. These chiefs were first anointed before taking up their chieftainship and the anointing was carried out by old men. Good as this information is it only hints on the Lango clans and therefore provoked the study of the Igoria clan among the Kumam.

Rev. L. Ekadu of the native Anglican Church Kalaki gave information that there is a Kumam clan called "10 Agwaya" who were formerly Miro (Lango) and fled to Soroti to settle down among the Kokolemu. His children married with the Kokolemu - particularly with the family of Wonagwai, hence came the name 10 Agwaya. This literature happens to mention only one clan of the Kumam in passing and hence there was plenty of room for further research in the area of clans among the Kumam, and in this case Igoria clan.
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

Both secondary and primary sources of data collection were used when carrying out research.

The primary sources of data collection included the following: Oral interviews with the elders of the clan, that is the chairman of the clan, the old men and women of the clan. Questionnaires were formulated for the above cross section of people in the clan.

The secondary sources involved so much use of the library - reading Text books, Magazines, Newspapers, Journals and encyclopedia.

Subject selection: The number of people interviewed were 53 in total i.e. 20 women and 33 men from different parts of Kaberamaido district.

The researcher chose Kaberamaido district as the location of the study because the Igoria clan members are scattered all over Kaberamaido district.

Purposive sampling was used and this was because the researcher went to areas were the Igoria clan members were settled.

Data analysis: The researcher used the help of research assistants who helped in the collection of data from respondents in the field i.e. the questionnaires and interview guides, which were then coded. However the researcher re-interviewed the various clan elders and "Ebuku" - overall clan chairmen to justify the findings from the respondents.
ENDNOTES:

3. Ibid. P.101.
5. Ibid. P. 102.
10. Ibid. P.140.
11. Ibid. P.141.
13. Ekeru 60, Gwetom, Gwetom, Kaberamaido County, s” Nov 2008.


23 Ibid. P.110.

24 Ibid. P.110.

25 Ibid. P.111.


CHAPTER TWO:

IGORIA CLAN

Igoria clan is one of the many clans of the Kumam who occupy part of Bululu, Kalaki, Amuk, Gwetom, Agaya, Opiyai, Anyara near the rock, Doya, Atiti, Oturigalin, Omodoi, Odingoi and Obur in Kaberamaido district in Eastern Uganda.

However there is also Igoria clan among the Iteso and Jopadhola and whether they have the same totem, clan system or are related to one another remains to be found out by other researchers / scholars.

It is stated by an informant that the Igoria clan derived their name from the word 'Agor' and he further notes that the clan got it is name from the activities of the people. He continues to explain that the word 'Agor' meant creating a depression into something - the people were always doing it and making meaningful objects and that sometimes they call the place where they live Agor and the people Igoria.

Mr. Alango W. (RIP) asserts that his father Yoshua Emoru (RIP) told them that the Igoria clan of the Kumam originated from Mukongoro in Kachumbala and then after some years they moved to Kumi were very few people remained behind. Later on after sometime they moved to Serere were they broke away from the parent body and were influenced by the Ateso language, however they know that they are Kumam. The Igoria eventually moved to Soroti as well as Kalaki and later on to Kaberamaido, and says that the main reason for their movement was because of the scarcity of land and that up to date, they are still moving in search of more land.

He however stressed that he cannot remember the years in which these movements took place. On the other hand informant Olobo states that the Igoria first moved to Kaberamaido before moving to Kalaki and his argument is that the Igoria of Kalaki are the very recent group
movements because the Igoria first settled in Kaberamaido before moving to Bululu which is also in Kalaki.

To bark up the above view, Kagolo asserts that one can find the Kumam people in some parts of the sub-counties of Bugondo and Tira, Serere county and some are also found in the gombololas of Soroti, Kamoda and Katine, Soroti county calling themselves Kumam. This proves that I confirms the view of the informant that the Igoria of the Kumam also settled in Serere before they moved to Kaberamaido.

The Igoria clan people are divided into three groups and these groups are:

- **Igoria' Akwar' (light skinned Igoria):** They are called 'Akwar' (brown) because their skin color was light / brown and they were more polite people compared to the nature of Igoria 'Achol'.

- **Igoria' Achol' (the black Igoria):** They were called 'Achol' because of their skin color - most of them were dark / black and furthermore the people were cruel in nature, that is fierce.

- **Igoria' Atar' (the "white" Igoria):** It is not known where they went or belongs to date because they have disappeared and it seems none knows much about them, save for an informant Mr. Alango (RIP) who believed that the Igoria Atar could be the Igoria people who decided to adapt other names and that though they changed names, they still accept that they are Igoria clan people.

However it is important to note that among the Igoria 'Achol ' and' Akwar', tradition states that Oron and Otebo were brothers. Oron was dark in color and Otebo was light in color and married light skinned women, while Oron had off springs who were dark - taking after his color and therefore that is how the two names came about.
It is also important to note that the names were given in order to divide the house hold heads that had grown big and become independent.

Igoria clan has also settled in many parts of Kaberamaido and Soroti, because of the way they have moved and scattered themselves among the various clan, it is therefore right to conclude that the Igoria clan people live in harmony with other clans and share ideas from time to time and copying some - peacefull co-existance which encouraged other clans to do the same.

POLITICAL INSTITUTION:

Odada states that, the Kumam had a loose political organization which was characterized by the following:

Wegi Atekerin - clan leaders

Wegi Ikodeta eel - leaders of dancing groups

Wegi Cel- leaders of the Asonya homes who are sometimes referred to as - odonge ikekoros or dogolan - heads of part of a clan descending from one man.” However, according to research, it has been found out that the Igoria did have a well-organized political system characterized by the following:

Their main clan leader was and is still called Ebuku. Under the Ebuku were the chairmen and these were many because they had to represent the different areas were the Igoria had settled, for example Mr. A. K. Olobo is the chairman of the Igoria clan people of Amuk as well as Bululu and Mr. Alango is the chairman of the Igoria clan of Opiyai in Kalaki county. All these chairmen would report to the overall clan head - Ebuku.

Mr. Alango, an informant clearly states that the Igoria clan was administered by family units which were called 'Dolekika Obore’ - meaning so and so family unit.
These family units were responsible for a few families of the same descendants – they are ‘Won pacó’, ‘Mukisa’, ‘adwong me ateker’, (head of the family, heir, clan leaders–chairmen).

During evening hours a family gathers in the courtyard (otem) where meals were served and family units were educated, matters / issues were settled and advice was given by elders of the clan.

When people failed to obey the chairman of the clan, the chairman would then call upon the Ebuku, who would in turn sermon the whole clan and solve the problem.

In summary the Igoria clan political system was comprised of the following:

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Ebuku (overall clan chairman )

↓

Zonal chairmen (9 in total)

↓

Vice Chairman

↓

Secretary

↓

Treasurer

↓

Askaris - 3 in total for the Ebuku and each of the zonal chairmen.
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The Ebuku: He was the overall head of the Igoria clan people and had his own executives and committees e.g. Education, Land, Mobilization, Burials, Entertainment, Women and
Compensation, like that of the chairmen and sometimes he chose some of the chairmen to be among his committee members. He was also entitled to 3 askaris.

**The chairmen:** These reported to the Ebuku from time to time in order to inform the Ebuku of their progresses as well as their failures, and the problems which they have failed to solve. The chairmen are 9 in number because they represent different regions. It should be noted that they all join together and are the same people for they serve the same clan but are located in different areas, since the Igoria clan members these days do not stay in the same places and are scattered, for example Opiyai, Obur, Kalaki, Amuk and many other areas have chairmen who all report to the Ebuku, who is the overall head of the Igoria clan.

**Vice chairman:** They deputized in the absence of the chairman and also when there is too much work load, some was delegated to them.

**Secretary:** His / Her work is to write minutes of meetings of 'Ka-too' (death), disputes or any other meeting called by the chairman.

**Treasurer:** His work is to keep money which is collected during ceremonies and also that which is contributed by the clan members for insistence, contributions for feasts and beer parties, repair of a borehole, spring or well, condolence fee, initiation ceremonies exceta.

**Askaris:** They are three in number and their work was to carry out the orders given by the committee - collecting money from clan members for a particular celebration or death, to discipline the culprits of the clan and this may be in form of canning, buying alcohol for the members, fines, digging the road side exceta. The askaris also made sure there was order during clan meetings and no disruptions what so ever.

It should however be noted that this system of the clan has been in existence before 1941 and apart from minor changes like - previously the strongest man became chairman, and he was
graded a strong man if he was a warrior and had fought many battles amongst themselves or with other clans.

Today the Igoria clan has by-laws which govern their administrative system. In the past it was only men who held high positions in the clan and the women were left with the chores of the kitchen and household work.

The clan also had an age sect that is called "Apungai" (the youth). These were a group of girls and boys in the clan, the married women and men and also the elderly.

Where the elders were drinking or discussing matters affecting the clan, the young people were not allowed, that is the youth, children and women. However these days it is different because even the youth, children and women attend these meetings. It is also important to note that all the informants agreed / said that the clan members recognized the 'Adwong me Ateker' and respected him. The people also recognized the clan as a strong institution.

**SOCIAL INSTITUTION:**

The Igoria clan has a basic social institution which governs them on what they should or should not do. Members of Igoria clan in the past used to stay in a big social settlement - in a kraal system fenced with thorns. There were two layers of huts, the first huts were for able men (fighters) and the second layer of huts was comprised of women, children and the old people elders. The animals and property were in the middle of the settlement.

One family unit comprised of great grandparents, grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren and great grandchildren. This was mainly for protection in case of aggression from enemies.
In the early days the Igoria clan members dressed in what was called "Esungu". This was only for men and they used it for covering their chests and lower bottom. The one for women was called "Ibyel" and was used to cover their bottom while the children walked naked. The esungu and ibyel were made from skins of wild animals and cattle. The skin was made soft by applying ghee on it and it was also used for sleeping.

Igoria clan stored food in a place called "opern" which was in the kitchen on top of heaped fire wood. At the basement bottom of this heaped fire wood was the cooking place. However as colonialism set in they started building granaries so as to preserve the food stuff properly and safely. This food stuff included dried potatoes, simsim, pigeon peas and many others.

They also kept food in "choderi". The choderi was made out of three strings which would be fastened together and used to support the food that was being kept; the strings would hang up vertically in the kitchen. The food which was normally kept in the choderi was left over food after a meal and this food was put in a guard.

Igoria clan copied cultures from other clans, apart from the practices of taboos and other beliefs for example "whirii" (smearing of a mother who has given birth in front of the door way) so that she remains fertile and if she's barren she passes under the granary and comes out from the other side of the granary. Lawrence confirms this by sighting that the Kumam dances, ornaments, marriage customs and agriculture are identical with the Teso ones and more so there is an unbroken tradition of peace between the Iteso and the Kumam and that they frequently Inter-marry.

**Initiation Ceremonies:**

**Boys:** This was conducted for all the boys in the clan at a place called 'olep' or 'aputon'. Activities like racing, throwing spears, wrestling and dancing (Ekoso) among the boys where
done up to a certain age and elders would advice that age group to begin handling other responsibilities like building huts for themselves, which meant that the age group had been initiated to a higher rank and that they should start staying in their own huts and not with the parents - they were now mature.

**Girls:** The girls had their own girl child plays for instance Laro, mother child games, hide and seek and at a certain age, they accompany the boys to the Ekoso dance which was conducted in the olep or aputon (place where the dance was held).

This Ekoso dance was strictly for youth and was carried out when they were preparing for marriage that is a place where selection of a wife or husband takes place.

It should be noted that these dances do not take place these days because times have changed and clan members are now living as individual family groups. The dances that do take place these days are the ones for ceremonies and these are performed in rear occasions.

**Married Women:** The initiation ceremony of married women is called "Owira" or "Wir" and the ceremony takes place at a time when a married woman has given birth and it moves her to another level - that is the level of motherhood and an adult in the clan. The married woman is undressed and left with only beads on her waist and the smear her body with cow ghee. These days, however, they leave the woman in a petty coat. The initiation ceremony is carried out in the morning; with the men watching as they sip / drink Kongo ting (beer).

The initiated woman is given to hold a stick called 'Eboli' and another curved stick called 'Esas' which is put in front of the door of the house and other women will pass under it. The initiated woman is then told to go to the well. This ceremony enables the woman to give orders of'kwero dako' (initiation of a woman) to other women when another married woman has given birth. 'Oyami toba' is then tied on the child's hands, legs and waist. After this the child is named
and the old women can then start drinking the kongo ting in the small pots first till it is finished, then they give the remaining kongo ting to the rest of the people to share among themselves.

**Ceremony for mother of twins who is not a Kumam**: When twins reach a certain age they are taken to their mothers' place of birth and the rituals of that clan are performed for the twins. It is believed that as long as the ceremony for twins does not take place at the woman's place, the twins are never to enter the compound of their mothers' ancestral home and this is mostly in the case of the Iteso people because according to research they are the majority who get married to Kumam men.

A date is fixed and when the time comes, the twins and their entourage set off for the ancestral home of their mother. They are welcomed a distance from the woman's home by the mother of the woman or an elderly aunty in case the mother to the woman is deceased or the grandmother; it can also be all the three - mother aunty and grandmother, together with other people who accompany them to welcome their daughter home and also for bringing them the twins to see.

The old woman (imata) will be holding a calabash which contains water, creeping plants which are 'Ebomo' and 'Emuria'. Two chickens are carried along; if the twins are boys they will carry two cocks and if they are girls they will carry two hens and if they are fraternal twins, they will carry a cock and a hen.

The water in the calabash is sprinkled on the twins together with their family members all the way till the reach the home, and the old woman will be doing this as she asks the twins to bless them and enter their compound when they are happy and not get annoyed. The chicken will equally be used for blessing (buko bangi) the twins and will be given to them to take.
After all the above the visitors are taken to sit in the 'goga' (built shade) and local beer is served (Ajon) and the twins are encouraged to taste the ajon before the rest of the people proceed to drink it. The animals that are to be slaughtered and cooked for the visitors are shown to the twins. If the family is wealthy they will give the twins gifts of cattle, goats, sheep etc. After all the above people eat, drink and dance to crown the ceremony of welcoming the twins to their mothers' birth place.

It should be noted that this ceremony varies from tribe to tribe and it is only that of the Iteso that was discovered during research.

Marriage Ceremonies: It should be put in mind that the Igoria clan members allowed polygamy and it was promoted in the clan. A man was allowed to marry as many wives as possible as long as he could look after them and also because the more wives a man had the more he boosted of security and earned respect in society, for a man was measured by the number of wives and children he had.

Marriage was exogamic, it was not permitted among members of the same clan and if you tried / married an Igoria woman or man, you were called 'Nyajok' (a wizard). The horns of cow/cows would then be put on top of the roof of the hut of the 'Nyajok' to show that the person made a terrible mistake, sometimes the couple would be burntished from the village. However in a long extended family, if the clan units are traced to the third and fourth generation (Akwar) it was possible and marriages between such persons took place.

The selection of a marriage partner in the Igoria clan was done in several ways for instance; The parents' choice: The father and mother of the boy would see a beautiful girl in certain home and chose the girl for their son, and in doing this they would tie 'emuria' (creeping grass) on the girls' hand and even start paying the dowry (cows). This is done when the girl is about
four years of age and therefore both the girl and the boy would have to wait until they are mature. According to research findings, the exact age of the girls' maturity depends on the girls' people, for instance if the girls' parents are poor they would opt to give the girl in marriage when she was still young, so that they can use the dowry given to sustain themselves, or in the case where the father of the girl wants his son to get married, they will hand over the girl so that the dowry can be used for marrying a wife for the girls' brother. In the case of a well to do family the girl will be given ample time to mature before going to her home and they even take her with gifts from home.

It should be noted that the parents of the boy chose girls for their sons from the families of friends and the cows that were paid in terms of dowry were not less than twenty (20) cattle.

**The man's choice:** At the dance - 'Ekoso' the man would identify the woman of his choice and invite her to his aunt's place, were the girl would be observed by the aunty. During observation the aunty would look for the following qualities in the girl;

- If the girl is active in house hold chores.
- If the girl can fetch water using a big sauce pan called 'Nywal ber' (the biggest size of sauce pans).
- If the girl can make a collection of fire wood (Epem).
- If the girl is trust worthy - does not eat food from the fire place when she is cooking.
- Find out if she can or works hard in the garden - digging, harvesting food and threshing millet, sorghum, simsim or pigeon peas (Lapena).
- To find out if the girl knows how to prepare good 'kongo ting' (local beer) as well as Serving it when it is ready to people.
If the entire above are achieved, the aunty will assess the girl as a good wife and their forth she will recommend the girl for marriage to her nephew, and there after the marriage preparations begin.

**The girl's parents' choice:** This occurs rarely and it is because sometimes the parents of the girl do not approve of the marriage partner for their daughter, most especially if the husband to be is very lazy. Therefore according to research findings the qualities that would make a good husband are:

- The man should be able to accompany hunters during hunting season - was regarded as being strong and could therefore protect his wife.
- Should be able to make a killing during hunting - regarded as a fierce fighter.
- A man who is strong in wrestling.
- A good dancer with admiration.
- Should be hard working - should have a collection of foodstuffs (mono).

If all the above is fulfilled then he makes a good indication to the girls that he can make a good husband.

**How marriage was conducted:**

After the girl had been observed and proved to be good and the right choice for the man, the man and his people would send a message or letter to the girls' father asking for introduction (Nyutere).

The man and his delegation would then go to the girls' place after the father of the girl has agreed to the introduction. In this case the number of people who go does not matter; even the whole clan may go.
Before the introduction can go any further, the committee members of the girl will demand for money for the members - this money only caters for those who organized are chosen to become committee members during the introduction ceremony of the girl. It is the same committee members who discuss the dowry payments of the girl (the committee comprises of elders and the girls' father), they are the ones who meet the future in-laws and discuss the dowry procedures.

However it should be noted that these days it is different because, according to research it depends on the girls' family - in most cases today committee money is not included in most introductions and it still also depends on the kind of family the man is marrying from (if they are poor they will demand that the committee money be paid and if they are average they will ignore the committee money and emphasize on the dowry, as well as other fines, for example late coming, greeting mother of the girl which is not allowed). After the money for the committee has been paid; the in-laws then proceed to discuss the girls' dowry which may include cows, goats and money.

After the above the girl will come out of the house to identify the in-laws and she does this by picking the money which has been placed on a table in front of the in-laws and other invited visitors. If the girl picks this money then the introduction ceremony can go ahead. However if she does not pick the money from the table then the introduction is immediately cancelled and regarded as a bad omen.

The money that the girl picks is taken to her father. The money is not given directly to the father but to one of the committee members or an elder brother of the father who is sited next to him and the girl does this with the help of an escort (a fellow girl).
After the above the future husband is then requested to identify his wife/bride among the girls who come out of the house and sit in front of the in-laws. After this is done the in-laws are then served with food which they must eat first before the home people and later on they are served with 'kongo ting' (local beer) and the party proceeds till the next day.

In the morning of the next day, the girl is handed over to her husband officially and she then organizes herself to leave with her husband and his people. Before they leave the girl is smeared like a bride and she will lead the way to her home as the in-laws follow from behind.

After a grace period of time depending on what was decided (this depends from family to family), the girl's people follow their daughter at her new home, to see how she is catching up with the new life of being a wife and also to collect the dowry.

The dowry - which comprises of mainly cattle, are then brought forward to the girl's people who observe them. They are also given chicken which they use for blessing the cattle (bukoo dock), the chicken is taken along with the cattle and therefore ending the long process of manage.

However it should be noted that today most families do not follow all the procedures, some would prefer to have money in terms of dowry, while others will shorten the marriage process because it is expensive by encouraging the in-laws to come for introduction together with the dowry, so that both ('nyutere' and 'neno dock'- introduction and seeing the cows) take place at the same time.

**Traditional dances:**

The Igoria clan also has traditional dances and there are mainly three which have different purposes.
1. 'Ekoso'; this dance had comprised of youth between the ages of fourteen to twenty years. Once you qualified for this dance, it showed that an individual had moved from one stage to another and were no-longer children but had become adults. The dance took place during dry season when the moon was full and it would be staged in an open place. The songs which were sung during this dance were different from the songs of elders. It is at this very dance that a marriage partner is selected (all the youth who attend were lare single).

During 'Ekoso' dance there were instruments that were used for dancing and these are;

• 'Achwir' - these were pod like metals which had stones or nails in them and was tied on the legs in order to make rhythmic noise when they stamped their feet.
• 'Eula' - it is the hairy part of a cow's tail, which was wove on to a stick and is carried by the men who swing it around as they dance.
• Beads - these were for decoration and they were put on by both the boys and the girls. The girls would tie the beads on their wrists, legs, neck and waist, while the boys would tie them on their neck, legs and chest.
• Skin of wild animal, goat, cattle or sheep - the skins were required to be hairy and were put on by the boys who tied them on their waists.
• 'Apel' - it is a wooden stick which has been engraved to make a hole in the middle so that it is put on like a bangle. It was fixed on the shoulder of the men.

2. Bull: This dance was for all age groups, that is the young and the old. It is during this dance that competitions were held within the clan among members of different areas and also between the clan and other clans. This dance was for pleasure and it is during this time that other clans join the host clan in the dance and display their dancing abilities,
showing off their handsome men and beautiful women. It is during this dance that Igoria clan shows off its strength, sometimes by fierce fighting between each other or making friendship which happens through the exchange of women as marriage partners.

The instruments used for dancing 'bull' dance are the below;

- **'Bull'** - these are drums. There is one big drum and four small ones. Both ends of the drums are covered with animal skin; one end of the drum is big while the other end is small. The drums were dried first before they were used for the occasion so that they would produce good notes.
- **Sticks** - these were used for hitting the drums rhythmically to produce good sound.
- **'Achwir'** - pod like metal which had stones or nails in the pods and were tied on the legs to produce noise as the people danced.
- **Horn of an antelope** - small holes were made on the horn and it produces very good tunes.
- **Beads** - they were tied on the waist of only the women.
- **Skin of animal** - the skin was supposed to be hairy / with a lot of fur.

3. **Dance during beer parties**: These dances were many and did not stress the use of the above instruments. These dances occurred during marriage ceremonies, harvest season, during rituals like 'miyelo bangi' (dancing for twins) and also during feasts which were organized by the clan.

4. **'Miyel okembe'**: It is also one of the Igoria clan dances (thumb piano) and it is said that it originated from the Iteso, however according to research some informants believe that since the Kumam and the Iteso were once the same family in the distant past, they
therefore claim they did not copy 'ekembe' from the Iteso but learnt it long time ago when they were one and the same people.

**Rituals:**

Igoria clan had rituals and they were performed occasionally for example as a result of death, birth, wars and natural calamities. According to research the following are the most common rituals of the Igoria clan people.

a) **'Wir' or 'Owira':** This is a ritual for smearing fertile married women who have given birth, so that she can cross over to the stage of motherhood as well as becoming an elder who can also advice the newly married women who have joined the clan. The nature of 'wir' has already been fully explained under initiation. It is a ritual as well because it is carried out only on women who have given birth and those who do not give birth do not get the chance to be smeared.

b) **'Miyel Bangi':** This is a dance for twins and the clan members' dance in order to acquire blessings from twins. It is believed that if this dance does not take place, according to research findings that something or an omen will happen to the family members of the twins in question - it is believed that the twins have the power to curse or bring death to the family. The ritual involves the use of 'Elacus' (it is a kind of stick in an oval form), which is placed in front of the door and at the entrance of the home. People then start dancing at dawn till the wee hours of the morning. A sheep is beaten and people head towards the borehole / well, in order to get the well mad which is smeared on the family members and the immediate family relatives. The sheep is killed in the forest and cooked there by the elderly women of the clan and the food is brought home to be eaten. 'Bomo'
is tied on the twins - it is a kind of creeping plant. People then dance till morning while drinking 'kongo ting' (local beer).

c) **Apunya:** This is what is referred to as last funeral rights and it is done in order to commemorate the death of a family member as well as a clan member. The duration in which 'apunya' should take place depends on the people of the clan. It can take either two weeks, one month or a year after the person is long dead. In the past the clan members would remember the dead person on this day and offer sacrifices to bid the person farewell into another world and that the person should not come back to disturb the living but should protect them. These days it is different because instead of offering sacrifices to the dead, people pray for the dead and remember the good deeds of the dead person and it is at this time that the heir of the family is chosen, if it was the man who died and the woman given option to marry again if she so wishes, it is also during this time that the will is read.

d) **'Kiro':** This is done on a clear hard ground far away from the homesteads or at a road junction in order to expel sickness from somebody who is sick.

e) **'Gonojuwogi':** This is done when driving out evil spirits which posses and instill sickness in people and it goes to the extent of people drumming, dancing as well as singing. A sick person is then administered with local drugs which is collected from selected leaves and the herbalists would 'teo' (tattoo) the sick person on the body or on particular parts of the body that is affected.

f) **Child naming ritual:** When a married woman gives birth she is not supposed to eat the food from her marital home. The food she will eat on the day she gives birth is collected from her mother’s birth place and if the mother happens to come from another area which
is far from the daughter's marital home, then the food she that will be cooked for her will be borrowed from the neighbors place. The child was not to be brought out of the house until three days had elapsed. On the fourth day the child was brought out and given to the grandmother / elder aunty in the absence of the grandmother who would proceed with the naming ritual. Local beer (Kongo ting) was placed in front of the grandmother who would then start calling names, one at a time while putting a drop of 'kongo ting' in the child's mouth. If the child sucked the local beer without fuss at the mention of a particular name, then that was the name which would be given to the child. The names that were called depended on the sex of the child - if it was a baby girl, it was only names for women which were called and if the child was a boy, only male names were mentioned during the naming process. A pot of special local beer for only the old women which was known as 'chet atin' was then brought before the old women who would take it until it was finished, that is when other members of the clan were allowed to drink the local beer in the other pots. A hen would then be used for blessing the child and encouraging it to be just like the person whose name it has taken (this does not matter if the person is dead or alive). According to research it was discovered that the Igoria clan people still believe that children follow the characters of the people whose names they have inherited.

**Death:**
Certain procedures were followed when death occurred and this depended much on the person who had died and what had killed the person. In the past according to research it was only the elders who were allowed at the scene and not young people, today it is different in that all categories of people can go and bury the dead person.
In most cases people were buried after three days and people came to the home of the deceased right from the day the person died and stayed with the family members till the deceased was buried. They would bury the person in the afternoon and after that people would eat and drink as they grieve with the family members. The family members would remain at home / village for a month, in order to welcome those who are still coming to pay their last respects / to mourn the person who had died.

Today people leave after burial because of the nature of their jobs - some work in towns; however those who are in the villages still follow the old tradition seriously. However in Buganda, Nsimbi 8 says that the people would stay at the home of the dead person for two days and then go back to their homes and after about a month the official ending of mourning is arranged. A part from the difference in days, the tradition in Buganda is the same as that of the Igoria.

Nsimbi also asserts that the heir among the Baganda must be a son or a nephew, brother, grandson to the deceased and must be of the same clan as of the deceased. He further states that he heir is raised to his seat by an elder in the clan, and is given a spear, shield and gourd with beer in it. In the case of the Igoria, the heir can also be a distant relative in the case were most family members are already dead and also if the wife who has lost a husband gave birth to only girls, if she chooses not to marry again, she would be left to look after her children with the help of a guardian or the children were distributed to the uncles to look after and the mother left in the home with assistance being given once in a while. Rituals were sometimes carried out during death of persons

Who died of the below circumstances;
**Death of a leper:** When a leper dies, she/he is buried in ash - a place where ash in the homestead is hipped, there is in every home a particular place were ash is hipped. Where the leper was buried is called ‘oburu’. A leper was buried in ash because of the belief that when buried in the ash no other person or member of the clan would have contact with the disease in question - leprosy.

**Death by lightening:** Somebody who dies as a result of being struck by lightning is buried in a swamp and the belief is that if lightning strikes again, it would go and strike the water because that is where the person was buried. This belief is still practiced and is very strong among the igoria people today.

If lightning strikes the person and the person does not die, whenever it starts raining, the affected person would be pushed outside so that rain water can touch his / her body before the person is allowed back in the house. This is so because according to research findings the clan members believe that, should the lightning strike again, it will / should not strike the same person or any other member of that particular family again.

According to research findings, it was noted that all the persons who died of lightening were buried facing upwards and in the other Kumam clans the women are buried sideways.

**Death of a young child:** This procedure happens when a married woman loses her first born child, the child is buried under the pot of water in the hut (dud gulu pi), and the belief behind this procedure is that the woman's womb is hot and needs cooling because it can no longer hold a child so as to make the child come out healthy and strong.

This procedure is the same with a miss - carriage child. This procedure still happens Among very few people of the clan, while others have followed the recent ways of burying their dead in family grave yards alongside the other deceased people.
If the child was either one year or two and a half years old and died, the child was buried on the veranda of the hut - a grave would be dug on the side of the hut, towards the entrance were people sit and chat.

**Death of twins:** If twins die when they are still young or if it is a miss-carriage, the twins were placed in a pot which had two heads / two mouths and taken to a swamp, were they would be covered and left there. This happened because of the belief that they would bring misfortune since they had died young - their spirits could easily get angry.

**Drought rituals:** If there is a long drought, the clan members will conduct 'meyel bull' (drum dance) and sing praises, songs concerning rain in order to appease the gods to give them rain. During natural calamities, if it floods or a disease attacks the place and many people die and the clan is puzzled, they would collect items and throw under the trees they worship in order to appease the gods whom they think has gotten annoyed.

Ritual for woman who gives birth to only one sex of children: (Loco nywal me dako). If a woman gives birth to only one sex of children the clan members will take concern when the children are five (5) in number and perform the ritual.

They do this by passing the youngest child under the granary (dero) which will receive the child from the other end of the granary and then lock the child and the mother in the hut. One person will then pick an axe and hit the wall of the hut while saying some words as other people repeat after him. The words the axe holder will be saying are, 'give us a baby boy' or 'give us a baby girl' depending on the sex of the children the woman in question has been giving birth to. The axe holder will hit the walls until he has gone round the hut. After all this the door of the hut is opened and they will give the woman time to conceive again. According to research findings the woman will give birth to the requested sex of the child. This ritual still happens today and
most women confirmed it was done to them and they gave birth to the opposite sex, for example an informant called Anaso Amunyere Veronica (52 years). It should be noted however that these days the number of children has changed, people carry out this ritual after the second or third birth, the number of children these days is changing because of the changing world and it is conditions.

Worship:

The Igoria clan people worshipped in various ways. It should be noted that in the past all the Igoria people were traditional worshippers, because most of them were diverted from their traditional religion to the white man’s religion (Christianity) during colonization of Uganda. Today there are several religions that have come up and some of the clan members have joined them, for instance the born again groups that are cropping up (savedies) and the charismatic group (saved Catholics), while also putting in mind that today there are so far very few Moslems most especially the Igoria women who have married from outside (into Moslem families). Even when colonialism was introduced some of the Igoria people continued to worship traditionally, Some of the most common ways of worship in the past are the following;

Worshipping the dead: Whenever food was harvested or when there were celebrations taking place, eating or drinking, the clan members would pour some food, water, drink (local beer) and tea or porridge on the ground for the ancestors and ask them for blessings as well as to guard them well and not bring death to their children. This was done before any meal was consumed and also before any beer party was considered officially opened - one of the elders would get food (millet bread) and put it in sauce then throw it on the ground, it was the same with beer, an elder would pour beer on the ground for the dead and as they poured each of these items they asked the dead to keep them and give them peaceful coexistence other than disturb them by
coming to attack their children in the night in form of dreams, spirits and making their children fall sick.

According to research it is believed that if the people did not do the above, the dead would get annoyed and start attacking / disturbing adults whom they liked very much before they died and also young children by making them sickly, appearing to them in the form of ghosts, talking to them yet they cannot see them and in dreams when the children are sleeping until they are appeased.

**Worshipping small gods:** The Igoria people did this by offering sacrifices to the various small gods e.g. the sacrifices were mainly goats, cows and chicken; their blood was sprinkled on the ground and the meat would be cooked and before people eat some would be served and given to the gods as well. It should be observed that the small gods had their own small huts which were built especially for them and in some homesteads they were put in an open place while in other homesteads they were kept and it was only the family members who knew were the gods were kept and no other person was allowed to reach the place for it was considered a holy place. The small gods were represented by the following:

a) They worshipped "Abila". (It was a grass thatched small hut that was built). Inside this hut they would put "Tukuk" (it was in the shape of the 3 cooking stones), however it was a special type of cooking stone which had a small hut on its top and it was smooth. The people would cook for it food e.g. meat, chicken and beer. They would also take the first harvested foods for the god, this first harvest was called "Agwe". All the above items were taken to the hut when cooked, so that the gods would eat before them.
b) "Eteka". This was a tree which was respected and nobody was allowed to cut the tree or use it for cooking or its wood because they believed that the gods were sitting at the bottom of the tree and around it.

The sacrifices offered meant allegiance and obedience to the gods and also to ask for protection of the family and the clan as a whole. If these sacrifices did not take place it was believed that the gods would start killing the domesticated birds first then the goats, sheep, cattle and lastly the young children and finally adults in that particular home were the sacrifices were not carried out. The gods would kill their victims by sucking their blood till they died and left their bodies untouched.

**names of Igoria clan:**

The names of new born babies were chosen strictly from the clan names and among the names of those who had already died. In rear cases they would give a child the name of its mother depending on the occasion or if the mother was a genuine and very good person to the clan members and also if the mother died during child birth/labor.

Different clans among the Kumam have names that bind them and make them unique amongst other clans and these names had meanings. In the case of Igoria clan some names have been listed to show their meanings;

Erenyu - It means a child who was born during the hot season 'kare me cheng'.

Olobo - It is a name given to a child whom they assume will die just like all the other children

He / she followed and it means back to the soil/from soil.

Opio - It is the name given to the first twin boy.

Apio - It is the name given to the first twin girl.

Ocen - It is the name given to the second twin boy.
Acen - It is the name given to the second twin girl.

Akello - It is the name given to the follower of twins who is a boy.
OKello - It is a name given to the follower of twins who is a girl.
Odongo - It is given to the second follower of twins who is a boy.
Adongo - It is given to the second follower of twins who is a girl.

There are other names that were discovered during the course of research, however most people contacted had no idea of the meanings of these names but accepted that each name had a meaning. Some of these names that were mentioned, which make Igoria clan unique among other umam clans are listed below;

Enyaru
Engoku
Ewaku
Emoru
Elubu
Obura
Omara
Odeke
Ongom
Alango
Alwayo
Arayo
Apeso
Ajibo
Agole
Olule

Oron
Orango
Ekwaru
Ejau
Ibko
Achola
Aninyo
Atago
Agudo
Apidi
Akeri

You will find that in every Igoria clan members home, at least one or more of the above mentioned names exist.

It is also interesting to note that according to research, it has been discovered that the names listed below are shared by all the Kumam clans because they are special names given automatically to twins and their followers. These names are;

Opio (boy) / Apio (girl) - first twin.
Ocen (boy) / Acen (girl) - second twin.
Okello (boy) / Akello (girl) - followers of twins.

It was also noted that these days' clan members are naming their children after different people for example friends, relatives from the wife's side, other clans and neighbors. They do not
mind so much about how the child gets the name / whom the child is taking after. It is only the clan members who stay in the village who practice the customs properly and in the right manner. It was also discovered according to research that the names of the women who were married into the clan were absorbed and given to children, for the woman was an official member of the clan. For example if a man married three wives, his children or grandchildren would name their daughters after the old women (the three wives of their grandfather). These women were part of the clan and therefore their names had to continue existing in the new clan they had joined / were incorporated into.

**Totem:**

The Igoria clan regard "Aderit" as their totem and it is believed that if you eat it, you will get a disease which leaves your skin patched with some parts red, white or black as though you have been burnt and this occurs on any part of the body.

**Taboos / customs:**

Most of the taboos of the Igoria are applicable to the women or centered around the women, just like Williams states that almost every taboo in Teso is applicable only to the women’s ' According to research these were some of the taboos that were recited:

- Married women and those who are pregnant are not supposed / allowed to sit on the skin of 'Amori' (an antelope) and also not to eat it is meat. If a pregnant woman ate the meat, she would miss-carry her baby and those who are not pregnant would become barren.

- Women are not supposed to eat 'Etida' (pancreas).

- Children were not supposed to sit on a pounding motor (apanyi). If they sat on it then they would not grow tall but remain short people in future.
• Women were not allowed to eat eggs and chicken when they had grown up, for it was believed to be bad for the women, that they would not give birth. It was only men who were allowed to eat eggs and chicken throughout their life.

• A man / men were not allowed to enter the wife's kitchen when she was cooking, because it would earn him the title of 'nya woro', that is a greedy person / man.

• It was taboo for a woman to approach a man of her choice first, asking for marriage before the man did so. This would tarnish the name of the family members and the woman would be branded a prostitute.

• It is said that if you play 'ele' (mweso) at night, an animal will come to eat you and in order to survive you have to take each seed of 'ele' at a time to the lake until you finish all of them. The reason behind this taboo was that they never wanted the children to play the game in the night when they were supposed to be sleeping.

• It was said that if children or adults sat on a winnower (oderu), fire would burn you.

• If a pregnant woman finds 'akatalang' (black safari ants) on the way / road, she will have to kill the first one and wait till all have passed that is when she can pass or jump over. If she does not kill the ant, then she is most likely to get a miss-carriage.

• Married women are not allowed to eat 'aboyi' (intestines). This is only possible if / when her people carry intestines of a cow and the thigh meat from their home to the girls' new home, together with 'agune me kongo' (pots of local beer). The number of these pots of local beer depends on the in-laws. A pot of special local beer known as 'chet atin' was also carried for only the old women who would drink it first before the other clan members could start drinking 'kongo ting' from the other pots. It is only the old men and women of the Igoria clan (were the girl is married) who eat the thigh meat, simsim, mad
fish (lutu), peas (ngor) and millet figures a half a sack which have been brought by the in-laws. After all the above has taken place, the woman is then allowed to eat intestines whenever cooked at her husband's place.

• If a man sits on 'apanyi' (pounding motor) he will develop a hydro cell (longo).

• If you are inside the granary (dero) collecting food or storing food, people are not supposed to call your name or peep at you. This is for the case of women, for if they do so you will become barren / will not give birth.

• If they blow you with a winnower (buki kede oderu), you will become a thief.

• When somebody is sweeping the house and your feet are swept in the process, it means that they do not want you in that home.

• A dog is not supposed to be beaten using a broom. If you do so, the dog develops a disease similar to hiccups (elemun).

• Women (married or not married) and children are not supposed to sit on 'dero' (a granary) or under its shade. If you did so, the child who sat on the granary will die, or if it is a lady, the child she has given birth to will die and if she has not given birth, the child will be a still birth.

• It was believed that if you went to the kraal to collect cow dung, you were not supposed to enter with the container inside the kraal for fear that the calves would die.

• It was believed that if the sticks / logs used for fencing the kraal were used for cooking the cattle would all die.

• It was taboo for a married woman to keep begging for food from her paternal home instead of digging. However if she did so, they would give her the food on the first and second time she begs but on the third time, they would give her very little food with a
stone 'nyar kidi' in the basket of food. This was to send a message to her that her people were tired of her begging and to encourage her to dig and be a hard working woman.

- It is believed that whenever people are seated and there is a fire nearby, the smoke will always follow the person who helps himself / herself (defecate) at the road side.
- It is wrong for a man to open saucepans of food early in the morning, for when he goes to the garden, it is believed that soil will enter / sprinkle in his eyes.
- A chameleon was not supposed to be killed. It was believed that if you killed a Chameleon' agogou', the breasts of your mother would turn / go to her back.
- If a dog licks your feet' ka ogwok onango tieni', you become somebody who moves a lot or roams around.
- Millet which is bought from elsewhere and is made into millet bread was not supposed to be blown when eating it. It was believed that if you blow the millet bread your mouth would become red 'dogi bokere'. This was because children of those days used to blow the millet bread 'kwori' while eating because it was hot.
- There is a small rat known as 'asirany'. This rat was not supposed to cross the road; if it did then it would die. It was supposed to pass on the every side of the road were it was until it reached its destination.
- In a home were there are very many women, if there is a woman who likes quarrelling all the time she is called 'acogodoi'.
- It was not right for a man to stay alone with no wife. However if he stayed alone and does the cooking himself, he was called 'onango alek'.
- In those days when ever there was harvesting of new millet, children were not allowed to eat until the day when they would buy meat or 'Iut' (mad fish) and make 'kwon' (millet
bread) out of the new millet and cook for everybody. After the new millet bread was prepared and ready they would make all the children and women sit in front of the door and an elder would then pinch part of the millet bread and put it on their foreheads, chest, both shoulders, legs and lastly they would put part of the millet bread in their mouth. After this, everybody is then allowed to eat the near millet bread officially and it was believed that if you eat much of it, you would fall sick.

• It was believed that if you drink water or eat food that a dog has already tested, you will find people talking about you (backbiting).

• It is believed that if a married woman leaves her marital home for another marriage elsewhere, when she starts having problems in that marriage she will come back to her first marital home, with the saying that, 'those days in my marital home, I did not kill a dog' (riki liame aneko ogwok itura). Meaning that even if she went back to her first marital home, she will be welcomed back. The reason for this is that if she had killed a dog, she would be ashamed to go back to her home.

• It was believed that if you produced when you were still young, when you are going for a visit you will be stopping on the way and telling the child that, 'today we have reached here, let as sleep well, do not cry'. It is believed that if you do not do this the child will cry the whole night.

• People those days used to hunt for birds called' Atie'. They would kill this bird and dry it, people would then be called to come and dig. As the people were digging they would cook this bird meat with simsim sauce and millet bread. When the people start eating, it was taboo to pick the meat before you were told. This would earn you the title or be
called 'inya keu' meaning you are meat minded and they would make you pay for the
bird meat with a goat.

• It is said that a child who is cry some will make people in the home fight in the near
future (atin ni waru mio jo mako amontena). This is because the owners of the child will
believe that their child is being beaten / mistreated that is why the child cries all the time.
• Married women who are pregnant are not allowed to enter their mother's huts until they
give birth; they were supposed to sleep in the hut of a young brother. This was because it
was feared that if she entered her mother's hut she would get a miss-carriage.

ECONOMIC LIFE OF THE IGORIA:

Igoria clan members had economic activities which surrounded them. According to
findings from research, the Igoria people were nomadic and kept animals like goats, cattle
and sheep and stayed in a group with only one out let.

However times have changed and to date the Igoria are farmers as well as cattle keepers.
One's being in the clan was measured by the number of granaries in the homestead and the
number of cattle, goats and sheep and not forgetting the number of wives, children and
servants he had, these influenced economic life.

The cultivated traditional crops like millet, sorghum, groundnuts, pigeon peas (Apena),
simsim (Ebalo), yams, Esuk and later in life started growing potatoes which they copied from
the Iteso.
Apart from Agriculture and cattle keeping, hunting was also practiced and carried out
during the dry seasons, while collective hunting was carried out once a year. The animals and
birds that were hunted include the below; Antelope
Buffalos
'Elan' (Ederit) - stays in water.
Rabbits
'Eputir' (wild pigs)
Squirrels
Kobs
'Atapenyi' (guinea folks)
'Awele' (wild doves)

In some homes the guinea folks and wild doves were reared as domestic birds. These animals and birds were hunted in a communal search known as 'Eriga', with the help of spears, clubs, nets, cutter pulls, 'obek' (small metallic traps) and dogs. When a catch was made, the group of people hunting share the kill.

**Trade:** The Igoria traded with other clans and tribes in items that they did not have for example during research it was found out that they traded their items with the Awer clan (lake dwellers) for fish which they lucked.

They also bartered their items as the need arose, for instance some families exchanged food stuff for what one lucked in the home like goats, cattle, hides and skins, locally made salt (Emusala).

They bought 'bongu' (backcloth) from the Baganda who crossed lake Kyoga. It should also be noted that the Kumam in general, that is all clans participated in trade and it is not stated which clan actually contributed more towards trade.

Odada elaborates that the Kumam had contact with the foreigners (Bantu or Ongeng) who included the Banyoro, Baruli, Basoga and Baganda and that these contacts took place at
the lake shores of Kyoga. He further states that the Banyoro sold red Iron and beads to the
Kumam, Langi and Iteso people. This trade expanded during the second half of the
nineteenth century (the period of Kabalega) which the Kumam refer to as "Kure k kamlega". Trading posts were also set up in Kumam as the trade between the 'Bukedi' and the
Bantu intensified. The Kumam bought hoes from the Langi at an inflated price of a heifer or
bull per hoe and that towards the end of the nineteenth century the Baruli and Baganda
exchanged goods such as beads and girls with the Kumam for cattle and goats. 14 Lawrence
too contends that the Lango would retail their surplus hoes to the Kumam amongst whom
they would exchange the hoes for cattle - three (3) hoes would get you one (1) heifer.
Lawrence explains that backcloth and beads were much welcomed trade goods and the
Kumam even in the early part of the twentieth century wore backcloth stripes, the most
important import was the sweet potatoes and groundnuts which were previously unknown.
The Kumam bartered goods with the Iteso who sold kidnapped people to them for food
and goats. In Kumam it is known as 'wilo ingoratok kede ting' - buying the people of Ngora
or Iteso of southern Teso with millet dregs." It should therefore be noted that much as the
Igoria participated in trade, it is hard to tell how much they really contributed because even
the written literature talks about the Kumam in general and does not specify which particular
clan contributed most, therefore making it a known fact that they did participate in trade.
EDNOTES:

1. Olobo Anthony, 60+ years Obur parish, Kalaki County, 18th Nov. 2003.


3. Opicit.


Alango William, 45 years Opiyai parish, Kalaki County, 2ih Nov. 2003.


CHAPTER THREE:

THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE ON THE IGORIA CLAN SYSTEM.

Uganda is one among the many examples of African countries that were colonized and colonialism had various effects on both the citizens and country as a whole. Colonial rule is a situation were a super power takes control of an inferior / weak Country (ies) and monopolizes the political, economic and social aspects of the colonized country. According to research, it is said by informant Olobo that colonialism destroyed the kraal system which the Igoria clan had and the old men started ruling their homes with only their wives / wife and children and abandoned the other family members because it was now hard to look after all of them, not with all the conditions that were put forward for instance buying clothes for all the members in the home became very costly, let alone feeding them since they now had to work for money to enable them take care of all the family members. It was also discovered from the same informant that the system of counties, sub-counties and parishes was introduced by the colonial masters through their colonial agent Kakungulu. The Igoria clan people started calling sub-counties "Etem" and parishes "Itela". A village chief was called "Erony" and it is said that the Kumam had clan heads and not village chiefs. It should be noted that these village chiefs were chosen by the colonial administration and because of this system the 'Ateker'(clan) was divided into smaller groups and the colonial administration appointed for them village chiefs from any area and this affected the clan system because clan members were scattered and had to obey the village chiefs who were appointed by the colonial agent Kakungulu instead of their clan leaders whom they were used to. According to informants, as a result of colonialism the children who used to move naked were subjected to putting on 'Esungu' like their fathers although bare chested. The men who
used to put on 'Esungu' were given underpants and gradually shorts. The women who used to put on 'Ibiyel' were given skirts and with time everybody in the village had something to put on the people were fair dressed and the people gradually forgot about their original dressing but retained the name of their dressing in the olden days merely because they were caught up in the colonial ways of dressing to date.

The clan became very weak as a result of the colonial system which disrupted the clan system. The village chiefs who were appointed became more powerful than the clan leaders and the clan system as a whole.' There were orders that were given to the clan members which were to be taken very seriously, for example the appointed chiefs wanted any person who killed / slaughtered either a cow or goat to cut it into twelve (12) big pieces and the pieces had to be cut from twelve different parts of the body of the animal. After this the pieces would then be taken to the chief of the area where the animal has been slaughtered. It was made worse when the chiefs demanded that whoever brewed local beer had to take a pot of local beer to the chief of that area. This clearly exploited the people and made life very difficult because they were more familiar with the demands of the clan elders and not the extravagant ways of the village chiefs which were exploitative.

Furthermore if a bigger chief (Ebuku) came to a particular village, people were supposed to collect meat, chicken, eggs and many other items for that visiting chief. Girls were also taken to dance for the visiting village chief and he would pick one of the girls from the group of dancers and stay with her until his visit is / was over or came to an end. If the chief liked the girl, he would go with her and make her one of his many wives, and if he did not like her or got tired of her very fast the girl would return home to her parents. The chief could also admire one's wife and demand that the lady in question be taken to him. This seriously affected the clan system
because there was none following the orders of the clan elders because the 'Ebuku' was feared
and had support from the colonial administrators.

According to Anaso," the Igoria as well as the Kumam population as a whole were
originally nomadic people. The Igoria clan members were ordered to grow food stuff for
themselves and those who did not comply were beaten by the colonial administrators and that is
how the granary system of keeping food stuff emerged. It was compulsory that each home had to
have a granary for keeping food for future use during dry spell. The Igoria clan members as well
as other Kumam clans were able to preserve food stuff for a longer period of time and they have
retained this system to date.

With the arrival of colonialism, the Igoria as well as the other Kumam people started
staying in semi - permanent huts which were grass thatched and they were not as big as the ones
of today. Informant Omara also stresses that children were forced to go to school, however at
fast emphasis was placed on the children of the appointed chiefs before it was broadly forced on
all children in the area. This affected the Igoria clan social life for example; the people were used
to drinking their crab beer (mato diira) after communal work. This group of youth was affected
because they had no interest in going to school and yet the colonial administration wanted
children to go to school and they were beaten in order to achieve their goal of children going to
school. Furthermore when some parents reacted to this call of education, the colonial
administration reacted by setting ablaze the herds of cattle the people cherished so much, which
made the boy child a herdsman when he became an adult.

According to an informant (Mr. Alango W.), 6 when the colonial administrators arrived in
the area of Bululu in Kalaki County, there was need for routes to be opened from Serere to Lira
through Kumam land, from Bululu, Kaberamaido via Dokolo. These were referred to as
Kakungulu’s roads to Lira. This affected the Igoria clan just like the rest of the Kumam clans because there was forced labour on the work of building the roads. People were beaten so that they would work on the road construction, for example the people built Omabor bridge with their hands (the bridge is almost one (1) Kilometer according to informant Olobo- Olyanai is another example of a bridge that was built by the people.

The forced labour on the roads made cultivation very difficult, keeping of cattle was equally impossible since all the men were required to build the bridges. This made many people move to safer areas which were distant from the places were the bridges were being constructed, that is people left their homesteads for fear of hard labor and little work on their own fields / gardens. This is also one of the reasons why the Igoria clan members are scattered in different parts of Kaberamaido.

There are areas that were affected by this forced labour which disorganized the settlement in areas like Amuk / Kamuk, Gwetom and Omodoi in Kaberamaido county. People from these areas split and went to places like Olwelai in Katine sub --county and Orungo sub - county in Katakwi district.

After independence the Igoria clan begun to realize their weaknesses and begun to re-group themselves, which they did not manage very well due to some internal wrangles that emerged within the clan - many members upheld the new colonial administration system. Others were already settled in other areas like Olwelai in Katine Sub County and Orungo in Katakwi district because of the hardships of colonialism for example building bridges. These people were not ready to move away from the areas they had settled in and started calling it home.8

Informant Alango further emphases that colonial rule also introduced the system of taxation which had not existed among the Igoria people before, let alone the whole of Uganda. Through
the colonial agent called Kakungulu, the various forms of taxation reached Kaberamaido for example poll tax is well known among the old people in the clan and majority say it was 50 cents. It is also through the introduction of money as a means of trade that the Kumam called the rupees, "rupia" and later on the shilling "abola", which enabled the Igoria people to buy and sell things using the modern methods of trade.

Christianity was introduced to the Igoria people and this had vast effects on the Igoria clan system. According to informants, the traditional gods were discouraged and in some instances the missionaries burnt down the huts of the gods which the people had believed in so much. This move affected the faith of most of the clan members, some chose to become Christians while others could not do away with their gods till to date. The clan members who were converted to Christianity begun to look at their colleagues who still believed in the traditional gods as "jo Juwogi" (people who believe in spirits / use them for their own gain). This made people look at the traditional gods as tools for witch hunting people who wronged them.

Cash crop growing was introduced in Uganda and in some parts of Kaberamaido district, it was cotton growing which was practiced. In Bululu County an informant Mr. Omara, says during their days they had to grow cotton in order to acquire money which they used for school fees. Even after he completed school, they still had to grow cotton because it was the only item that would earn an individual fairly enough money to sustain the family and pay school fees for their children. This affected the clan system in that most adults started growing cotton in bulk and forgot to grow food crops at the same time and they were subjected to famine during dry seasons and droughts. People were always thinking of how their children would go to school the coming term and most of all about how they would pay their taxes, this made them ignore most of the time the clan meetings and would attend only if they have at least settled part or most of their
family problems. This made the clan members lag behind because they did not know what was happening among clan members since they were disorganized most of the time. He goes ahead to state that cash crop growing enabled them acquire new skills in farming such as the ox plough which was put on bulls in order to plough the gardens, hence they became more knowledgeable in agriculture than before and opened up more land for farming.

The issue of marriage was another factor that created disruption in the clan according to informant Anaso. In Africa were used to the idea of marrying as many wives as they pleased (polygamy). However the Igoria were surprised to hear that the colonialists and their Christian teachings emphasized on one wife (monogamy). The colonialists also questioned the payment of high dowry to in-laws, the reason being that the dowry charge was so high and should be reduced. The clan members were against it but gradually as time went on, they accepted the idea.

It is also stressed that in the past people prayed / worshipped during particular events like during harvest season, feasts, death and natural calamities like draught, floods and earthquakes. This worshipping was carried out on any day, however the missionaries discouraged traditional worshipping and rituals, instead they encouraged the fear and respect of the holy book (the bible)."

There was no more free time for hunting during the colonial period because the men who carried out hunting had to build bridges and open up roads in their areas for easy movement of the colonial administrators and this led to death in the spirit of hunting, to date very few people still carry out the hunting practice in the clan.

According to an informant Asemo, the Igoria people did not face any oppression like it was the case in other areas, save for when the colonial masters wanted them to build bridges so that they
could have access roads. The people especially the men opposed monogamy but in a silent
manner and even today most of them are polygamous, also that they realized that the colonial
masters were more powerful than them and since they were peace loving people, they
Complained among themselves but did not go violent.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CLAN ORGANISATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
KUMAM PEOPLE.

For the Kumams, the clan organization was important in the following ways;

1. It enabled all the clan members to be known and this was through registration.

2. Some clans e.g. the Igoria clan, have a constitution which they follow.

3. Ages of clan members are known, for instance children, youth and adults hence easy to
identify and monitor people of the clan.

4. Unity in the clan is also developed, since people have the sense of belonging e.g. all clan
members have to attend burial ceremonies and failure to do so results into a fine of 1,000/=.

During this time women collect firewood and cook.

5. Nobody can sell clan land without the consent of the clan members and reporting is from up
words - down words and down words - up words.

6. A fee of 500/= is charge for all members regardless of age, those who stay with the clan for
over 10 years and no the ways of the clan pay 10,000/= and 1,000/= is for burial from all the clan
members. This monies collected are used by the clan to educate their bright children who come
from poor backgrounds.

HOW TO BECOME A MEMBER OF IGORIA CLAN:

1. By birth. If the father of the child is an Egorait.
2. **By marriage.** This applies to women who marry Igoria men.

3. **Children who are born at home "atin amo onywalo i ott".** These are children produced by the Igoria women who are not married and the fathers of these children do not come to claim for them or accept they are responsible for the pregnancies.

4. **Igoria men who produce children with women they have not married.**

5. **If someone stays in the clan for over 10 years and known the ways of the clan, a fee of** 10,001= will be charged for the person to join the clan.
ENDNOTES:


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.


9. Ibid.


12. Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CONCLUSION.

The study covered the history of the Kumam clans with emphasis on the Igoria clan of Kaberamaido district. The Igoria clan is scattered in different parts of Kaberamaido district because of various reasons but still follow the same clan system. It should also be noted that the movement of Igoria clan members from Toroma to their present areas of occupation was not because of war, but as a result of land coupled with all the problems and activities associated with it being the main reason for their movements and other factors like appointing of chiefs in different areas, forced labor during colonial rule which forced people to move to different places.

The research was meant to examine the clan system, its contribution to society and the Kumam people as a whole. It also aimed at finding out the results of colonial rule on the clan activities - both positive and negative in the social, political and economic areas of the clan system.

Igoria clan members have managed to remain in their areas of occupation because of the social ties as a result of the practice of blood brotherhood, marriage institutions and ritual implementation, not forgetting religion also kept the people under one umbrella because of its customs, beliefs and sacred places.

Political elements in a way tied the Igoria people together as a result of the governing laws that were put in place. This led to discipline and reconciliation among the clan members which characterized togetherness in the community.

The duties performed by clan members lead to unity and oneness, for example hunting, cultivation and exchange of commodities through barter system led to unity and collaboration.
Therefore their social, political and social institutions are very instrumental in guaranteeing the stability and co-existence among the Igoria clan members.

The contribution of Igoria clan to the history of the Kumam should be recognized. This contribution has been seen in the areas of their political, social and economic institutions.

**RECOMMENDATIONS.**

From the findings of the study the following recommendations can be drawn;

Historians and researchers should look into clan histories at length and not just mention them in passing because clan organizations have very useful information and are very important to society.

Different clans were affected in various ways by colonial rule, therefore research should be encouraged on the impact of colonial rule on other clans and their clan system.

Most of the forefathers have died with vital information and elderly men and women are aging, therefore government should come out and support the clan systems because they are useful in society and will be useful too in the near future. Therefore researchers should endeavor to utilize and extract the useful information, document it so that the information can benefit the future generations in as far as history is concerned.

It has been discovered that the writing of history about the Kumam in general and Igoria clan in particular is very scanty. Few inscriptions can be found in other majority studied areas where they are either incidentally or coincidentally recorded. Therefore need for more research to be carried out on clans that make up the Kumam.
Clans have their history which they need to know, mainly their origin, relationships and movements up to where they are presently. All these are attainable only if the researchers take initiative and endeavor to carry out research about these clans. The research should reflect the past, present and direction of what is likely to happen in the future. Also an attempt should be made to set up archives for safe guarding the researched materials that are written for future use and references.
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APPENDIX A:
DEFINITION OF TERMS:

Agent - one who acts for or in place of.
Barter - exchange of commodities without the intervention of money.
Calamity - any great misfortune or can mean cause of misery.
Cease - to stop something from happening or existing.
Ceremony - a formal arrangement often of a symbolic nature.
Clan - a group of people who claim descent from a common ancestor.
Dowry - money and/or property that in some societies a husband must pay to his wife's Family when they get married.
Education - the acquisition of knowledge, skills or discipline of a character.

Elders - an aged person or one belonging to a mature time.
Enumerate - to name things on a list one by one.
Exogamy - Initiation - a process of being introduced.
Institution - an establishment.
Marriage - the legal relationship between a husband and wife.
Nucleus - the central part of something around which other parts are situated or Collected.

Paramount - more important than anything else or can mean having the highest position or the greatest power.
Parish - a small country area that has its own elected local government.
Patriarchal- ruled or controlled by men; giving power and importance only to men.
Ritual - a series of actions that are always carried out in the same way, especially as part of a religious ceremony: religious/pegan rituals.

Smear - to spread an oily or soft substance over a surface in a rough or careless way.

Tradition - a belief, custom or way of doing something that has existed for a long time among a particular group of people.

Vicinity - the area around a particular place.
APPENDIX B:

QUESTIONNAIRE(S):

1. Give a brief history of the Kumam people.

2. It is said the Kumam are either Iteso or Langi, in your view who are the Kumam.

3. Name other major Kumam clans.

4. What does the name Igoria mean?

5. How did the name Igoria come about?

6. Name the other areas/places where the Igoria clan people are settled in Kaberamaido District.
7. Briefly explain how the Igoria clan people moved and settled down in Kaperamaido District.

8. What do the following mean to the Igoria people?
   a) Igoria ‘achol’
   b) Igoria ‘akwar’
   c) Igoria ‘atar’

9. Do the above categories of Igoria clan still exist today?

10. What was the political organization of the Igoria clan like?

11. How is the Igoria clan system administered?

12. How were the Igoria people dressed in the past?
13. Name and explain the initiation ceremonies of the Igoria people.

14. Did the clan have age sects?

15 a) Is marriage permitted among clan members?

b) If ‘No’ give reason(s) why it was not permitted among members.

16. What methods did Igoria clan use for choosing marriage partners?

17. Explain how marriage is conducted among the Igoria people.
8 a) Do the Igoria people have traditional dances?

b) If ‘yes’, name them and explain the meaning or reason for these dances.

c) Name the instruments that were used during these dances.

19. Name and explain the rituals of the Igoria people.

20. How did the Igoria people worship?

21 a) Do the Igoria people have names which are unique and do not belong to any other clan?
b) If ‘yes’, name them and explain their meanings.

22 a) Does the clan have a totem?

b) If ‘yes’, what is it called and why do they call it a totem?

23. Name the taboos /customs of the Igoria people.

24 a) What was the economic life of the Igoria people like?

b) Did they grow any crops?

c) Name the crops that were grown.

25 a) Did the Igoria people practice hunting?
b) Name the wild animals and birds that were hunted.


c) How did they hunt for the wild animals and birds?


26 a) Did the Igoria people participate in trade? ..............................

b) What did they buy during trade markets?


27 a) Did colonial rule affect the way of life of the Igoria clan members?

b) How did colonial rule affect the way of life of the clan members?


28 a) Did colonial rule interrupt the political and administrative system of the Igoria clan?

b) How did colonial rule change the political and administrative system of the Igoria clan? ..............................
c) Are there any useful changes that colonial rule introduced to Igoria clan?


d) How did the Igoria clan members react to colonial rule?


29. Did the clan remain strong after independence?


30. Did other clans learn anything from the Igoria clan?


APPENDIX C:

ORAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name...................................Age.................Sex.....................

Village................................Parish........................................

Sub-county..............................County....................................

1. Give the history of the Kumam people.

2. Explain the history, movement and settlement of the Igoria clan.

3. Do other clans exist among the Kumam,
   a) If yes, name them.
   b) If no, state reasons.

4. What does the name Igoria mean?

5. Explain the Igoria clan system according to the below;
   a) Political Organisation.
   b) Social Organisation.
   c) Economic Organisation.
   d) Religious Beliefs.

6. How does one become an Igoria clan member?

7. How did colonial rule affect the Igoria clan members?

8. How did the Igoria clan members react to colonial rule?

9. Explain how clan organizations have enabled the Kumam to develop.