THE IMPACT OF BRITISH COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICIES ON THE LUGBARA OF ARUA DISTRICT, 1914-1962

BY

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DECLARATION

I, Acidri Ignatius Omelea, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has never been submitted for the award of a degree in any other University.

Signed ................................ Date ................................

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This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as supervisor.

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DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Ajerekede or Njerekede.................Head of the West Nile district.
Bwana Wana..........................An assistant to a boss.
Robia....................................A local name for the currency that was
the Indian Rupee used between the Periods of 1914 to 1919 in the West Nile
district.
Lugbara..................................A tribe that occupies the districts of Arua.
Tukutuku.................................The local name given to the Belgian
Colonial Master before West Nile was transferred to Uganda in 1914.
Ariba.....................................In Lugbara language means an enemy.
Oriba.....................................Relative of a kinship descent.
Opi........................................Lugbara name for County chiefs
Wakili or Joago..........................Sub-County Chiefs.
Mukungu..................................Parish Chiefs.
Nyapara..................................Village chief.
Andrelicoma..............................Means, the morning dew has washed
you.
Ogara’ba or Mundu’ba..................People working with Europeans
Mukoto...................................Lugbara men appointed to be colonial
agents.
Ojoo......................................A priest, foreteller and a diviner
Barukuza..................................Wealthy people
Ivua.......................................Food basket.
Kuta........................................Food cover.
Kobi........................................Grain Sevier
Ondoa ba................................Clever ones.
Matuta....................................Ridge for planting tobacco.
Busulu....................................Rent for land.
Envujju..................................Tithe.
Looloo....................................People arrested at dawn to work in order
to pay taxes.
Ajiko......................................Saucepan for preparing millet bread
Ba amba/wara/mbaza....................A clan leaders.
FUNCTIONAL DEFINITIONS

Colonial Economic Policies: Are policies that were used by the British colonialists in running the economy of Uganda.

Colonial Economy: This was a project established by colonial government to their colonies.

Colonialism: Is the policy or practice of acquiring full or partial political control.

Underdevelopment: is here defined as a situation in which the majority of a given population live in entire poverty and hence face a low standard of living, low levels of education, health and nutrition, they have a low productivity per person, and there is high degree of non-participation in the generation of the country’s economic surplus so that economic growth benefits a small proportion of the population, which leads to a high income inequality between the haves and have-nots

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

PAR .................................................. Participatory Action Research

KAR .................................................. Kings African Rifles

DRC .................................................. Democratic Republic of Congo

PC .................................................. Providential Commissioner

BAT .................................................. British American Tobacco

EATC ................................................ East African Tobacco Company

EAT .................................................. East African Tobacco
ABSTRACT

The research was prepared on the topic impact of British colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of West Nile from 1914-1962. The objectives of the study were to assess the impact of British colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of West Nile, indentify the various Economic policies used by the British, and find out if the economic policies used by the British were beneficial to the Lugbara. The study also sought to analyze the pre-colonial socio-economic and political organization of the Lugbara and discuss the establishment of British colonial rule among the Lugbara.

The research reviewed related literature from various scholars on British economic policies upon the Lugbara of West Nile. Both Qualitative and Quantitative methods were used in the study based on participatory action (PAR) which was only limited to Arua district. The research problem stated clearly that it was the British economic policies that led to economic underdevelopment of the Lugbara in Arua district. Thirty (30) elders were selected at random from various parts of Arua district like Ayivu, Terigo, Maracha and Vurra counties. Both primary and secondary information was used.

It was found out that the Lugbara before the British colonial rule were organized on clan basis headed by clan heads called Mbaza later Opi. The Lugbara also carried out trade with their neighbors even up to central, southern, northern regions, like salt from Bunyoro. Besides trade, the Lugbara practiced Agriculture.
It was also found out that the British established themselves in West Nile in 1914 and applied their policies on taxation, labor, cash crop growing administrative structure and others, laid the foundation for underdevelopment and caused resistances like Retriko in Maracha and Odupi in Terego counties respectively. However, some people benefited from these policies as it created employment like chiefs, soldiers, administrators etc, which earned income for the Lugbara and later such people who got those chances were able to educate their children in the colonial schools and pay taxes.

Finally the last chapter shows conclusion on the study of the impact of British colonial economic policies in West Nile from 1914-1962. The impacts were positive and negative on the Lugbara in West Nile region which led to under development to a greater extent.
CHAPTER ONE

1.0 General introduction.
This chapter seeks to discuss the nature and impact of colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of West Nile from 1914 to 1962. It focuses on the background of the study, identifies various aspects of the research problem, the scope, objectives, hypothesis, justification significance of the study and related literature review.

1.1 Background to the study
There is a growing emphasis within development economics on the role of history in determining contemporary development outcomes. Much of this research work owes to the seminal influence of Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson who argued that variation in the quality of colonial institutions, have helped to determine contemporary variation in economic development across the post-colonial world. While much of this work has examined the legacies of colonialism, a small but growing literature has discussed the role of the pre-colonial period in determining modern-day outcomes. One important work in this regard is Englebert who argues that the degree of congruence in Africa between the post-colonial and pre-colonial state is an important determinant of both good governance and economic growth. Similarly, Green shows that low pre-colonial population densities in Africa led colonizers to construct large states with artificial straight-line borders, a pattern which persists to the present day, While Huillery has shown that the whatever congruence between pre-

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colonial and post-colonial wealth patterns exist in French West Africa is due to European tendencies to settle in rich yet peaceful areas. In southern Africa Hjort, 6 argues that Botswana’s post-colonial success derives from pre-colonial cultural characteristics that favored good inter-ethnic relations, democratic institutions and individual property rights. Finally, in India, Jha 7 shows a positive correlation between pre-colonial trade and contemporary peaceful Muslim-Hindu relations.

Gennaioli and Rainer 8 argued that pre-colonial centralization is a determinant of post-colonial African development. They claimed that the mechanism linking pre-colonial centralization to modern-day development outcomes is the legitimacy of local government institutions, such that more centralized groups have been able to introduce modern technologies and coordinate government activities better than non-centralized groups.

However, Michalopoulos and Papaioannou 9 examine the impact of pre-colonial centralization; in that the basic unit of observation for pre-colonial centralization is the ethnic group Homeland. These studies show that a robust positive impact of pre-colonial centralization contemporary outcomes [economic growth] can be seen at the ethnic group level and at the sub-ethnic group level.

However, by using the level of pre-colonial centralization for the entire ethnic homeland, one can assume that the level of political centralization was constant across each ethnic homeland, an implausible assumption given the rich

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literature on how even the most centralized pre-colonial African states saw their power trail off as one got closer to their borders. Indeed, the core of 19th-century Lugbara and Madi ethnic groups were under Belgium influence (called ‘Lado Enclave’) while outlying regions were instead ruled over by various colonialists – present Democratic Republic of Congo was ruled by Belgium and Sudan by Anglo-Sudan chiefs. There was no established administration over this region; as a result the 1906 agreement nullified occupation of Lado Enclave by Belgium. This led to transfer of the Lado Enclave to Sudan including West Nile. From June 16, 1910, West Nile became part of Sudan attached to Mongolla Province. But it was only in 1912 when the Sudan and Uganda governments agreed to revise their common frontiers. Odu\textsuperscript{10} writes “on May 29, 1914, the West Nile District was officially proclaimed by the Governor of Uganda Sir Fredrick” and later in the same year 1914 Arua Township was established.

It is from the pre-colonial centralization that the impact of colonialism on post-colonial outcomes on contemporary economic development can be assessed within development economics. Much of the focus for scholars, a smaller but growing field of study has developed linking pre-colonial formations and post-colonial developments in former colonies\textsuperscript{11}. It is from this point of view that the role of pre-colonial centralization where economic policies were made and implemented at local districts in Uganda, including Arua District can be stressed. The district is the highest level of local government, followed by county, sub-county, parishes and villages. It is at these levels that the relationship between indicators of pre-colonial centralization economic policies and development in the district can be clearly analyzed.

\textsuperscript{10}Odu L, \textit{A short History of the Lugbara (Madi)}, (Kampala: Mariamum PressHaramain, 1996)

\textsuperscript{11}Englebert, 3
1.2 Area of study

Arua is De Facto capital of the West Nile Sub-region. Available literature suggests that in the 18th Century, the Ancient Lugbara natives used the area as a residence for enemy troops that they captured during clan clashes. They called the place “Aru”, a Lugbara word which means “prison”\textsuperscript{12} an octogenarian who headed the Association of Arua District Elders for the last two decades, says, with time and the coming of the colonialists, “Aru” was pronounced as “Arua” and the area has been by the name to-date.

In his 1996 publication, titled, The short history of the Lugbara (Madi), Lulua Odu\textsuperscript{13} hinted that had it not been for the 1906 Anglo-Congolese agreement, Arua and West Nile at large would have been part of Congo. This agreement transferred Lado Enclave to Anglo-Egyptian rule which was colonized by British. He stated, “In 1894, the Lugbara and the Madi fell under the Belgium influence. They were placed under what was called the “Lado Enclave,”- an area of 15,000 square miles with a population estimated at 250,000 souls Which was leased to King Leopold for the rest of his life time.

1.3 Problem Statement

Many scholars have written about the colonial economy in Uganda, but not much has been written on the impact of colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of West Nile. Since the colonial period to date, the area has remained comparatively under developed with low per capita income, high mortality rates, wide spread poverty, hunger and unemployment.

Therefore, this study sought to investigate the impact of colonial economic policies on the Lugbara and how it affected the development of the area at the time of the British colonial rule from 1914-1962.

\textsuperscript{12}Avutia J. Oral interview, 2014. (Unpublished)
\textsuperscript{13}Odu L, 10.
1.4 Research questions

The study is about the impact of colonial economic policies among the Lugbara in Arua district. It attempts to answer the following fundamental questions:

- How were the Lugbara organised before the coming of the British in 1914.

- What economic policies were used by the British among the Lugbara in West Nile between 1914-1962?

- Were these economic policies beneficial to the Lugbara in West Nile?

This study further seeks to examine the impacts of colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of West Nile in the period 1914 to 1962. The main focus is to look at the consequences of cash crop growing, migrant labour, forced labour, taxation and industrialisation policies on the Lugbara of West Nile and show how the people responded to these policies.

1.5 The objectives of the study

1.5.0 General Objective.

1. To assess the impact of British colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of West Nile between 1914-1962.

1.5.1 Specific Objective

1. To analyze the pre-colonial socio-economic and political organization of the Lugbara.

2. To discuss the establishment of British colonial rule among the Lugbara from 1914-1962.

3. To identify the various Economic policies used by the British, and find out if these policies were beneficial to the Lugbara of Wes between 1914 and 1962.
1.6 Justification of the study
Colonial economic policies were one of the most crucial problems bedeviled in post-colonial Uganda. It has been responsible for most under developments that Uganda had ever witnessed since 1914–1962. At the centre of under developments in West Nile district 1914-1962 were the colonial economic policies which had an impact on the Lugbara people.

This research is very much important because it provides an insight on how various colonial economic policies made under development in Uganda and more particularly in West Nile region and Arua and how colonialists used the colonial powers to govern the region. The research further magnifies or shows the magnitude of colonial economic policies on present development trends in the region.

The findings of the study provides basis for other researchers and anthropologists to understand the cause of underdevelopment in West Nile particularly the Lugbara of Arua district based on the impact of British colonial economic policies from 1914 to 1962.

1.7 The scope of the study
The study covered Arua district between periods of 1914 to 1962. The period of 1914 had been taken as a starting point because this was the period when West Nile, Arua District in particular became part of British protectorate government and hence Arua town ship established in June. While 1962 is taken as the end period because Uganda got her independence from the British colonial rule. Within this period, Arua district administration introduced government policies including the economic policies to enhance development within the region. For the study to achieve its objectives, Arua district which covered: Terego, Maracha, Ayivu, Lower Madi, Upper Madi, Vurra and Arua Municipality was selected for the study.
The study was limited to economic policies of 1914 – 1962. Some comparison was made to economic policies after independence since the policies before independence provided basic ground for analyzing development trends in the district. It is believed that the impact of colonial economic policies on Arua had far much reaching effects on the development of Arua.

1.8 Significance of the study
The study outcomes will add to the pool of knowledge for economic analysis and policy making so that they can make good economic development policies.

The outcome could help the District and National planners improve their economic development plans to alleviate the lives of the citizens.

The study outcome will act as a reference for scholars/researchers in universities, who are interested in understanding why there is wide disparity in development in some parts of Uganda today.

1.9 Literature review
The chapter presents related literature on the impact of colonial economic policies used from 1914 to 1962 on the Lugbara of West Nile. It provides the theoretical review, the various economic policies used by the British colonial power and the benefits of the economic policies as a prerequisite to economic development of Arua district. The basic concept that underlines this study was that the British colonial economic policies had an impact on the Lugbara of West Nile. It is important to understand how the policies were formulated so that its impact can be assessed on this criterion. In understanding this process the study provides the basis of analyzing the attitude of the British colonialists on the Lugbara of Arua district. In doing this, the study focuses on the relationship between the impact of British colonial economic policy and the Lugbara of West Nile.
A number of studies have been carried out on the impact of colonial economic policies on Africa and Uganda in particular. These studies have generally presented that the colonial economic policies had negative impact on the colonies in Africa, and hence a factor to underdevelopment of the colonies. This Literature review seeks to assess and evaluate the relevance of this assertion in relation to the Lugbara of Arua district.

According to Edem Kodjo\(^{14}\), the condition of Africa as “torn away from his past, propelled in to a universe fashioned from outside that suppresses his values, and dumbfounded by cultural invasion that marginalizes him. The Africa is today the deformed image of others”. He argued that Africa is the Mother of Humanity and the cradle of the first human civilization. Therefore in his view, the First Renaissance on this planet was the African Renaissance and that Africa was “the first world” economically and technologically, not the “third world” of paupers robbed of their lands and riches. Before the implementation of the various British colonial economic policies, the Lugbara in West Nile were dumbfounded characterized by use of rudimentary tools for agriculture, wide spread poverty, high mortality rates, wide spread illiteracy and poor means of transport and communication.

Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson\(^{15}\) argued that Africa’s relative poverty at the end of the 20\(^{th}\) century was primarily the result of the form taken by European colonialism on the continent: European settling for extraction rather than settling themselves in overwhelming numbers and introducing the kinds of institution such as private property rights and systems of government was responsible for economic development in Europe and the colonies of European settlement in North America and Australia. The same policies which the Europeans used were transferred to their colonies in African particularly in

\(^{14}\) Edem Kodjo, *Africa Tomorrow.* (Continuum International Publisher Group, 1987)

\(^{15}\) Acemoglu, D eds, 2.
Uganda, and among the Lugbara in West Nile. These polices have resulted in to relative poverty among the Lugbara in West Nile. In addition, it robbed the region of all the useful labor, and created the area as army recruitment. This greatly affected the development of West Nile region and the Lugbara in particular.

According to Leopold 16 who did an extensive study of the West Nile (including Arua) population, the Lugbara were seen as “strong, violent and primitive people” by the population of the rest of Uganda. Since the colonial period up-to-date, this image of the region as marginal and violent has remained the dominant view, partly because post-colonial events have reinforced this image. The Lugbara in West Nile remained comparatively under developed as compared with the rest of the population of Uganda with low per capita income, high mortality rates, wide spread poverty, hunger and unemployment.

Middleton, John’s 17 work found that West Nile region was a closed area, so that no one would penetrate into it without government permission. Instead, the Lugbara in West Nile were regarded as strong and reliable laborers for plantations. Following the outbreak of sleeping sickness in 1930, the Indian entrepreneur R.K. Mehta, owner of one of the largest sugar plantation wrote to the chief secretary that: “For practical work in all the plantations, the number of porters required is available from the West Nile (Lugbara) area and if recruiting in that area is prohibited for anytime, I am afraid it would mean great difficulty to all owners of plantations in Uganda and to me particularly it would mean considerable loss for work of plantations and would be very largely hampered thereby”. Indeed, the largest number of laborers recruited to work in the

plantations in the southern part of Uganda came from West Nile and the greatest were the Lugbara.

John Middleton\(^\text{18}\) added that the British influenced by Lugard’s Myth of the Nubians as the best material for soldiers in Africa; recruited disproportional number of people from West Nile for the lower ranks of the army and police. The Lugbara of West Nile also featured largely in other coercive trades of the colonial state such as policemen, spies, and informers or as prison officers based elsewhere in Uganda during the colonial period. Kabaka of Buganda, who maintained his own prison in Mengo outside the Uganda prisons service of the protectorate, staffed it largely with the people from West Nile because they looked fierce to the Bantu. So, they were used to frighten the Bantu prisoners. This practice of recruiting the Lugbara in to the army, police force and prisons deprived the region of productive labor force necessary for development like increased agricultural production for domestic survival hence there would be no hunger in the region. It also increased family instabilities since the women where left at home alone and at the end get married to other men and others became windows in cases where their hush bands died in the army.

According to Geria\(^\text{19}\) Introduction of poll tax in 1900 and other taxes was meant to enable the British government to stop paying annual contribution towards the Uganda Treasure that originally ran the administration. At first the taxes were paid in kind. But later, the people had to work for rupees to pay their taxes. Failure to pay these taxes meant that people had to be disciplined and punished. Among the Lugbara, poll tax and hut tax were introduced and those who never paid these taxes were forced to provide labor in public works such as road

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\(^{18}\) Middleton (eds), *Black Africa It’s peoples and their cultures Today* (New York: Macmillan), PP. 126-132

\(^{19}\) Geria, *A Traditional History of the North Western Lugbara of Uganda,* (A dissertation, Makerere University, Kampala, 1973, unpublished)
construction and administrative buildings, then others who did not do the work
and were unable to pay this taxes in form of rupees were disciplined and
punished severe. The sketch map (see appendix 7; Map 1.2) shows Arua town
in December 1916, demonstrating the prominence of buildings designed for
discipline and punishment, alongside the sports grounds. They were naturally
built, largely by the forced labor obtained from tax defaulters of West Nile.
Forced labor therefore became more widely available as taxation and alternative
of unpaid work. This was gradually imposed on people with little or no cash to
meet tax obligations. In 1918, Weather head wrote to the Provincial
Commissioner (PC) expressing his desire to bring into West Nile non-tax payers
for work on the station, and these men should be marked up by the chief in the
tax registers of having worked in lieu of tax payment. A.E. Weather head was a
British colonial administrator who served in South Africa, Uganda and the
Seychelles. Arthur Evelyn Weather head became the first District
Commissioner of West Nile district. In 1914, the Southern portion of the Lado
Enclave was assigned from Belgium to Uganda under the British Protectorate.
Weather head took over the administration of the 'New Area' and built a station
in Arua, the present headquarters. He drew the first plan of Arua Town. Locally,
Weather head was nicknamed Njerekede/ Ejerikedi (a brave honest man they
could trust and who trusted them). A road in Arua is named after him. That is
the Weather head Park Lane. It starts from the Main Roundabout adjacent to the
Golf Course and extends east towards the Presidential Suite in Anyafio cell in
Mvara Ward. He waged continued war against Lugbara groups in an attempt to
impose British Colonial Rule. He referred to the Lugbara as “wild and un
attractable”, and as “shy and unorganized”, requiring “severe measures before
submitting to administration”\(^20\). Following the British policy of indirect rule, he

\(^{20}\) Wendy James (eds), \textit{A Centenary Tribute: Methods and History in Anthropology}, (New York, Berghahn
used the chiefs appointed by the Belgians for administration and control. But in West Nile region the Lugbara were not as described by Weather head. The Lugbara were not wild and unattractable neither were they shy and unorganized but did not understand the language of the White men, hence communication barrier made them to be looked at as shy because they could not express themselves. The Lugbara looked unattractive to the White men because the Lugbara were unfamiliar to the Whiteman. They were organized at family level headed by family heads, and at clan level headed by clan heads and council of elders who helped in solving disputes among the people.

According to Victor Turner\(^{21}\) there were various ways in which labor migrated from West Nile. People from West Nile, particularly Arua were taken as slaves to north by Arabs, and later to south to work in the central and southern plantations of coffee and sugar cane, such that they could pay for the taxes levied upon them by the British colonialists. It meant that the Lugbara had to change from subsistence economy to plantation economy with the use of money and the exchange of surplus and consumer goods by market transactions. However, despite this transition, the Lugbara land tenure system could not allow them to practice large scale plantation agriculture.

Taban Lo Liyong\(^{22}\) argued that cotton ginnery in Uganda never employed a young person from present South Sudan-specially Kajo Keji to earn money to buy bicycle or pay dowry, instead the sisal estate had a Kuku on the payroll. He added that his father cut Sisal for an Indian tycoon who had sugar plantation at Kakira and Lugazi. Similarly, many Lugbara in West Nile went to work in the sugar and coffee plantations in the West and central. Cotton ginnery was established at Rhino camp, which employed the local population to work in this ginnery though in the lower ranks. This however was in accordance to one's

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\(^{22}\)Taban Lo Liyong, *Ballads of Under-Development*, (Nairobi: Literature Bureau, 1976)
qualification. It therefore follows that the Lugbara in West Nile indeed worked in the cotton ginnery, sugar and coffee plantations but they did not work as technical personnel.

J.B. Webster\textsuperscript{23} while writing about colonial economy, identified the main features of the colonial economic policies in West Africa as economic exploitation of the colonies by the imperial powers, direction of trade to benefit the imperial powers, absence of modern manufacturing industries, development of new forms of transport, financing, peace-meal development of colonies. These features of colonial economic policies truly existed in West Nile (Arua). Indeed economic exploitation took place especially labor exploitation. This had significant impact on the Lugbara. Moreover some of the features did not apply well in the case of the Lugbara of West Nile especially the development of cash crop economy. Secondly Webster’s explanation of the features of colonial economy was rather biased against the colonialist. He treated the features as having significant benefit to the colonialists than the colonized. However, much of the colonial powers manipulated the main features of the colonial economy to their own benefit. Though the Africans especially the Lugbara of West Nile benefited from the colonial economic policies, it was to a smaller magnitude compared to the benefits got by the British colonialists. For instance, roads were constructed and some People used the money to educate their children and this became an important tool for development of the area.

Cheikh Anta Diop has written: “Africa is the cradle of the first human civilization. The First Renaissance on this planet was the African Renaissance. Africa was “the first world” economically and technologically not the “third world” of paupers robbed of their lands and riches. Our ancestors built the pyramids which even in this 21\textsuperscript{st} century no one can reproduce. Egyptian

\textsuperscript{23} J.B. Webster, \textit{The Revolutionary Years West Africa Since 1800}, (England; Longman Group Ltd, 1967) P. 223
civilization was a Black civilization”. This assertion of Prof. Cheikh was not the case in West Nile among the Lugbara. Before the British colonialism, West Nile was not economically and technologically developed.

Van Zwanenberg with Ann King, stated that up to 1950 cash crop growing and new systems of land tenure had been introduced into limited geographical areas of Uganda and Kenya. In the case of Kenya, it was concentrated in “White Highlands” and Buganda and eastern provinces of Uganda. Whereas West Nile had availability of land, the British colonial government policy did not support the growing of cash crops in West Nile region. This was because the British colonial policy on West Nile was basically to reserve the area for labor and army recruitment. In addition to that, the Lugbara land tenure system did not support large scale plantation agriculture. The Lugbara retained their traditional land ownership which they had inherited from their grandparents.

Zwanenberg further pointed out that, while cash crop production was expanding in the south particularly in Buganda and eastern provinces during the 1920’s and 1930’s no such process was taking place in the outline districts of the protectorate in the northwest and southeast. But in West Nile region cotton and tobacco were also introduced as cash crops in the same period, but not in large scale as compared to other regions of the country.

Michael Tidy said, “Ugandan’s administration aimed to develop the country’s economy in such a way that, it would become self supporting from revenue and finance of its own”. This colonial objective was achieved through the imposition of heavy taxes such as poll tax, hut and gun taxes. However, among the Lugbara in West Nile, it was mainly hut and poll tax that were levied on the

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24 Cheikh Anta Diop, Africa Is the mother of Humility
26 Zwanenberg, 25
people in order to raise revenue to finance the British colonial administration. This greatly affected the social life of the Lugbara. For example, the Lugbara were forced to abandon their families in an attempt to evade taxes. Some migrated to work as migrant laborers in order to raise money. Agriculture was also affected. However, taxes were paid according to one's income level. Those who could not afford to pay the taxes were made to work for the colonial government.

Ade Ajayi28 said "manufacturing which had long been an important part of the economy was less in the nineteenth century. Women everywhere made their own household pots, baskets and clothing. Among the pastoralists, wives and blacksmiths worked with leather, making bags and other trappings necessary for nomadic way of life." In support of this view Michael Tidy stated that," hand ginning was buried, the government bought up hand gins and destroyed them and opened up the modern ginneries to ensure proper cleaning and grading."29 Similarly, manufacturing and industrialization was discouraged among the Lugbara in West Nile. This was usually done by deporting the blacksmith to unknown places. Sometimes the Blacksmith had their arms amputated to discourage them and the rest of the people from making iron tools such as spear heads, knives and arrows that would be used for defending them against their enemies. However, despite the discouragement of industrialization and technological innovations, traditional hand craft continued among the Lugbara of West Nile. For example weaving of baskets, winnows, ropes, spears, arrow heads among others in West Nile

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29 Micheal Tidy,27
Michael Crowder observed that, it would be more correct to talk of economic exploitation rather than economic development during the colonial period. In Africa the countries that were under the British rule were exploited through taxation, forced labor, migrant labor, discouragement of industrialization, cash crop growing and others. In Uganda, among the Lugbara of West Nile, exploitation took the form of taxation, forced labor, migrant labor and recruitment into the army. This greatly contributed to the underdevelopment of the region than economic development.

Phares Butibwa noted that colonial policy on labor recruitment assisted the Buganda by expanding recruitment among the Lugbara of West Nile into Buganda land, rather than expanding production to other regions. He added that laborers came far in particular from Rwanda, Burundi, and Mwanza and Bukoba areas of Tanzania. However, Butibwa ignored West Nile as important labor reserve. Moreover, West Nile, especially the Lugbara were the main source of labor for cotton, tea, sugar and sisal plantations of the south.

In the article entitled, “Does Tobacco Pay?” The case of Kenya, published in The Economics of Tobacco Control, it was argued that tobacco demand increased particularly the traditional ‘kali’ made from fire – cured tobacco around the shores of Lake Victoria. This made British American Tobacco (BAT) to construct a factory at Jinja in Uganda. But among the Lugbara in West Nile, tobacco was introduced as a cash crop to reduce migration out of the region. However, the people were made to grow tobacco as a raw material, and transported to the tobacco factory which was constructed at Jinja. There was no single tobacco industry constructed in West Nile and yet the Lugbara in West

Nile produced the greatest quantity of tobacco. Perhaps, if the British encouraged tobacco growing as a cash crop together with a manufacturing industry in West Nile, much development would have been realized. Moreover the industries would have created employment opportunities for the people and this would reduce labor out-flow from West Nile.

Another cash crop introduced in West Nile was coffee. According to Kweyu, Arabica coffee was introduced in the beginning of 1900s while Robusta coffee was indigenous in Uganda and has been a part of Ugandan life for centuries. The variety of wild Robusta coffee still grows today in Uganda’s rain forest and is thought to be one of the rarest examples of naturally occurring coffee trees anywhere in the world. West Nile which does not lie in the rainforest did not have this Robusta coffee not until its introduction by the British colonialist together with Arabica coffee. Consequently, farmers in Logiri, Ajia, Vurra, Kango and Paidha in West Nile started planting coffee.

Otom, one of the coffee farmers based in Okavu Parish in Logiri Sub County supported the view that coffee was grown in Vurra county especially Logiri sub county. He said that they were forced to abandon the growing of coffee because of the low prices and exploitation by middlemen. He said that they decided to revive coffee productions because Uganda Coffee Development Authority was able to provide them free seedling and promised to help them find market for their produce. Otoma says that many of them have been encouraged to revive the crop because of improved price. A kilogram of coffee costs between shillings 2000 to 4000. Otoma said that his income has improved since he revived his coffee garden. (Uganda radio net work) Similarly cotton was

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34 Kweyu, 33.
introduced in 1925 as a cash crop to be grown in West Nile. The prices of both cotton and tobacco fluctuated from time to time. Moreover, the prices of these cash crops were determined the British, not by those who grew the crops.

In 1949, BAT acquired the East African Tobacco Company (EATC) based in Tanganyika, now Tanzania, and for the following 15 years EATC became the main operating company of the BAT group in East Africa\textsuperscript{36}. The early memories of tobacco growing in the North West region were associated with the East African Tobacco Company, and the trading centre that sprang up around its headquarters in the region was locally known as Wandi trading centre in West Nile. This was in the early 1960s and the tobacco grown was fire-cured tobacco, grown on a small scale. Then around the middle of 1960s, BAT made its appearance, mainly in the counties of Terego (where Wandi trading centre is located) Ayivu, Maracha and Vurra.

BAT promotion of tobacco growing in Uganda entailed the provision of production inputs including fertilizers and pesticides, assisting with barn construction and provision of field technical staff in the North West region\textsuperscript{37}. With the introduction and promotion of tobacco as cash crop among the Lugbara in West Nile, many of the coffee farmers converted to tobacco growing replacing coffee. This led to the growing of flue-cured tobacco. Cotton growing around Rhino Camp along the Albert Nile was also abandoned as more energy was devoted to tobacco growing. The whole family; wives, children, cousins, and paid workers were involved. The work was very intensive from nursery preparation and tendering to seed – bed preparation, application of chemicals, watering two to four times a day. Weeding, ploughing the land ridging (making ‘Matuta’) as it is termed in the local language, transplanting, pesticides application, suckers removal (topping) three times, harvesting, tying the leaves

\textsuperscript{36} Kweyuh, 33, p248-251
\textsuperscript{37} Kweyuh,36.
for curing, the curing itself, grading and tying for selling, transportation (often on bicycles) to the marketing centre, and leaf-by-leaf inspection.

AB K. Kasozi\textsuperscript{38} affirmed that the colonialists were conditioned by the needs of the economies of industrialized Europe. Uganda as a developing nation was to produce primary products, especially cash crops like cotton, coffee, sugar, rubber and tea, to meet the industrial needs of manufactured goods in Europe. But in West Nile, among the Lugbara, the major cash crops introduced and grown were cotton, tobacco and coffee especially in Vurra County. However, the marketing and prices of these cash crops were determined by the colonialists in the world market, not by the indigenous farmers. This often led to exploitation of the farmers in West Nile.

While talking about labor policy in West Nile, Guerin stated that in most cases, it was the availability of advance payment that was most important to attract people from West Nile to go and provide labor in the plantations in the south and central Uganda. The laborers viewed the advance offered as a necessity. Laborers would not work if no advance was given\textsuperscript{39}Sometimes the advances were taken by laborers before the start of the job, so long as the job would actually be available to them at the end of the migratory journey. As a rule, laborers wanted advance as much as possible although some are careful to avoid advances that would tie them for more seasons. The greater the number of family members, the greater the advances someone got. These advances were common among the Lugbara of West Nile who went to work as labors in the plantations. Many of the Lugbara from West Nile had big families as most of the men were polygamous. This polygamy acted as source of wealth, labor, security and prestige among the Lugbara culture in West Nile.


\textsuperscript{39} Guerin, 2007
Leopold did an extensive study on the people of West Nile. He stated that, the were seen as “strong, violent and primitive people” by the population of the rest of Ugandans. This image of the Lugbara in West Nile as marginal and violent has remained the dominant view until the present day. This was partly because postcolonial events have reinforced Lugbara in West Nile this image. Although this was the general view of the people as stated by Leopold, the Lugbara people are hospitable and accommodative. During the colonial period, the white men could not eat together with them, attend funeral rites and celebrations, and could not intermarry with them. Moreover, the colonialists even tried to interfere with the Lugbara political and social institutions especially the creation of chiefs which was resented by the Lugbara.

According to Victor Turner, West Nile region began to open up for foreign influence around 1920, and in 1925 labor migration became an integral part of Lugbara economy. However, the encounter of the Lugbara with outsiders started much earlier than 1920. This was initially in form of slave trade and ivory poaching by the Arabs from Sudan called ‘khartumours’. Even the Belgian king Leopold ruled over West Nile as part of Congo up to 1910. Also in 1914 West Nile became part of the British protectorate. The Lugbara in West Nile under the British protectorate continued to experience foreign policies which later affected the economic development trend of the region.

The colonial ruler developed unequal economic development policies to develop their colonies. Kasozi argued that the colonial administration in Uganda effectively barred Africans from participating in the higher levels of commerce, industry and agriculture, excluding Africans from processing and marketing stages of production which was the most lucrative in the colony’s

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40 Leopold, 16
41 Turner, 21.
42 Kasozi, 38.
commodity-based economy. This unequal economic development policy continued to be used in West Nile region to develop Britain rather than the colonies. This greatly affected the development of the Lugbara in West Nile.

According to Kasozi⁴³, the British colonial rulers emphasized cash crop agriculture as a way of improving the economy. The success of the colonial agricultural policy rested on taxation and forced labor. But the colonial powers did not actively encourage indigenous farmers from practicing large-scale farming. This denied the Lugbara in West Nile from becoming capitalist farmers. There were several ways of doing this. First, the farmers did not control the processing and marketing of their products, instead the immigrant non-producing people especially the Indians. Secondly, the farmers only received a little fraction of their produce. This of course could not enable the Lugbara in West Nile to accumulate capital for large scale investment.

Kasozi⁴⁴ also asserted that the colonialists were conditioned by the needs of the industrialized Europe. He argued that Uganda was developed to produce primary products, especially cash crops like cotton, coffee, sugar, rubber and tea, and received manufactured goods in turn. But among the Lugbara in West Nile, the only cash crops introduced were cotton, coffee and tobacco. This was because sugar, rubber and tea required large area for plantation. This could not be supported by the land tenure system of the Lugbara.

According to Arthur Lewis⁴⁵, from 1914 West Nile came under the British rule. The area was formerly under the Belgian administration. When West Nile came under the British protectorate, there was improved socio-economic and political development of the area. This is contrary to what is among the Lugbara

⁴³Kasozi, 42.
⁴⁴Kasozi,43
of West Nile. This was witnessed by the way the peoples' culture, tradition and the socio welfare was changed and transformed. This was done through the introduction of Administrative chiefs neglecting family heads and clan leaders. Neglecting traditions like storytelling, songs and traditional dance as a means of communicating an event, and then introducing their new Language (English) and neglecting the local language “Lugbarati”. Even the British colonialists condemned polygamy which was source of labor, wealth, prestige and security among the Lugbara, and encouraged monogamy among the Lugbara of West Nile. Lastly, the Lugbara gods like Adroa and way of worship were all changed and replaced by Christianity.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the future West Nile was simply the southern part of ‘Lado Enclave’. According to Stigand⁴⁶, this name was given after the town of Lado in southern Sudan. At the beginning of this period, it was recognized as the personal property of King Leopold of Belgian and administered as part of the Congo Free State. This was a time which particularly left bitter memories in West Nile region. But later in the 19th century West Nile including Arua district was changed to the British from 1914 to 1962. This bitter memories still remained among the Lugbara of West Nile as the people remained on the same land though under a different colonial administration. Everything remained unchanged, even worse among the Lugbara. For instance, the Lugbara were denied of their activities such as iron working, blacksmithing for defence and making rudimentary tools for agriculture. This was practically seen when a man named Tawua who was a blacksmith in Arua hill had his hand cut off by the British to discourage him and other people from making iron tools. Leather making, basket and weaving by the women were also not wanted by the British.

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⁴⁶ Stigand, Equatorial: The Lado Enclave, (London, 1923)
The year 1920's marked a considerable change in the life of the people in West Nile. The land began to experience outside world influence and with sale of their labor in the plantations and construction works in Buganda land the people were introduced to money economy. With lack of money at home, younger men began to migrate temporarily to work in these plantations and construction works in the South. The labor was mainly recruited in Alur and Madi until 1925, when the situation changed with the inclusion of Lugbara. These persons basically moved to work in the south to earn money for paying their poll tax which was heavily levied on them to develop the Britain. And subsequently the impact of this migration was greatly felt among the Lugbara. There was depopulation. Families remained separated and single, other people died in the plantations and their dead bodies were not seen by family members. There was no manpower/ work force at home as the young energetic men had left and women remained alone thus poverty and famine broke up among the Lugbara in West Nile. Much as Turner recognized the year 1925 as the land mark for labor recruitment, among the Lugbara labor recruitment in West Nile started much earlier than 1925 including slave raiding

1.10 Research methodology

1.10.0 Introduction

This section mainly discusses how the research was carried out on the topic Impact of colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of Arua district 1914-1962. It covers the research design, area of study, subject of study, population of study, data collection and management, research methods used, data analysis. It further discusses the sampling methods used to select the respondents for the study, representation of findings, editing, coding of data and reliability of the research instruments

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47 Turner, 21.
1.10.1 Research design.
The research design adopted was both qualitative and quantitative based on Participatory Action Research (PAR) and historical investigations on the impact of British colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of Arua district from 1914 – 1962. It was a cross-sectional survey design which intended to pick some representative elements of the cross-section of the population over a short period of time which did not necessitate the researcher to make up follow-ups of the participants. Quantitative approach makes the understanding of the numbers while Qualitative gives precise and testable expressions with both Questionnaires and interviews.

1.10.2 Population study.
The population study covered areas of Arua district which are basically Lugbara- speaking people like lower and upper Madi, Vurra, Ayivu and Terego in which the remains of British colonial work can still be seen like the buildings of the colonialisist in Arua hill and in each of the counties as county headquarters.

1.10.3 Sampling method and size
A simple random sampling method was used to select elders from various parts of Arua district to narrate colonial governments work from 1914-1962 as respondents because the researcher wanted to balance the geographical standout of the features and source of education for the data. These persons have historical facts about British colonial rule in Arua district. A total of thirty (30) respondents were selected to represent all the elders in the district both males and females were used. Therefore the elders were above 50 years and should have the ability to narrate the history of the place, clan and culture of the Lugbara and enough knowledge on the British colonial rule in Arua district.
1.10.4 Methods/instruments of Data collection.

These are details of tools and methods used in the research. They are observation, interviews and Questionnaire as seen below;

1.10.4.1 Observation;

This is where field trips were made by the researcher within Arua district, that is to say, upper and lower Madi, Terego, Ayivu and Vurra counties. Direct observation was made and important relevant information was observed, things which are relevant were noted down for reference on the facts to be used in the research writing like the colonial administrative buildings in each county and tombs.

1.10.4.2 Interviews

Oral interview was used to collect information from different respondents individually. Answers to the questions posed during the interview were recorded down and later helped a lot in writing the research as most of the elders and opinion leaders had little time and others could not know how to read and write. The interview was done in local language Lugbara as most of the respondents understand Lugbara better and speak it fluently.

1.10.4.3 Questionnaire.

This data collection method entailed presentation of written questions directed towards elders above 50 years, some surviving county chiefs, various people with British colonial knowledge and historians. The research was done on individual basis, answered by respondents in written and were hand delivered, then collected after they had been filled. The questionnaire contained both open and closed ended questions which either sought for YES or NO responses from the respondents. The questionnaire was constructed to obtain data on the topic; Impact of British colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of Arua district.
from 1914-1962. It permitted anonymity which enabled respondents to feel free when proving information.

1.10.5 Representation of findings
The research findings were represented in tables, graphs and words on the topic impact of British colonial economic policies on the Lugbara of Arua district from 1914 to 1962.

1.10.6 Validity of the research instruments
The researcher compared the work of other researchers who carried out research on the same field. The researcher also sought views of the expert researchers to see whether his instruments measured accurately with what they were supposed to measure.

1.10.7 Reliability of data analysis.
The reliability of data was determined by comparison to other data whose reliability was verified. The reliability of the data was increased by review of the experienced people and field tests on appropriate population.

1.10.8 Coding of data.
Here various responses were used and grouped into meaningful and manageable categories according to the responses which are obtained, like colonial economic policies such as taxation, administrative structures.

1.10.9 Data analysis.
Before any detailed data from the field was analyzed, raw data was checked first for errors, inconsistencies, incompleteness and revisit to the field was done. The various responses were coded and put in numerical form then fed into the excel program on a computer. Both descriptive and inference statistics was developed from which summaries and conclusions are drawn to have meaningful results.
for the study. The result was presented with the help of tables and words indicating frequency counts, and percentages.

1.10.10 Limitations to the study

The researcher encountered a number of problems in the study, which included:

The difficulties in getting respondents who had first-hand experience with the colonialists in Arua district. Not many of the respondents were born before the colonial period. As a result the researcher relied on respondents born within the colonial period.

Facilitation of the researcher during the data collection was difficult. Since these respondents were elders scattered in various counties in the district. Therefore, transport was a problem.

Not much has been done on the history of Lugbara in West Nile. As such, the researcher relied mostly on oral information from the respondents and the few scanty reference texts obtained from few research work done in other areas with little reference to Lugbara in West Nile.

The researcher had motor accident that made him hospitalized several months in the hospital that crippled the research work.
CHAPTER TWO
PRE-COLONIAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LUGBARA

2.0 Introduction
Uganda is divided into districts, spread across four administrative regions: northern, eastern, central and western in which Arua lies in the northern region where the Lugbara are found. Arua district is divided into counties, sub counties, parishes and villages. The district is predominately occupied by the Lugbara-speaking people. But there were other tribes such as the Madi, Kebu, Alur and the Kakwa with whom the Lugbara of Arua district lived. The Lugbara in Arua district constitutes 4.2% of the total population of Uganda as compared to other ethnic groups.\(^{48}\) The chapter seeks to analyze the pre-colonial socio-economic and political organization of the Lugbara in West Nile.

2.1 Pre-colonial social organization of the Lugbara
2.1.1 Language
Until the 1900s, each ancestral group identified itself by the names of its clan of origin. There was no common or general name by which the Lugbara in West Nile knew themselves as one people except that they spoke more or less a common language which had developed mainly from Keliko and they shared certain cultural practices in common. As noted earlier they were the Sudanic-speaking people whose language developed from languages that were spoken by their founding fathers who were the Keliko, Logo, Madi-Moru, the Bari and the Kebu\(^ {49}\). As the various Lugbara sub groups interacted through intermarriage, they developed a common language which is spoken with varying dialects. For example, the dialects of Terego vary from the ones of Ayivu and Vurra. This

\(^{48}\) UBOS, 2002.
variation continues up to the present although the British introduced English later as a common language in schools.

2.1.2 Marriage
The Lugbara of West Nile mainly practiced exogamy and polygamy. This meant that the Lugbara were not supposed to marry from the same clan as this was believed to have a misfortune to the clan.

According to Kali\textsuperscript{50}, the rule of Exogamy prohibited marriage within the persons Father’s or mother’s clan. Polygamy was also practiced. A man could marry as many wives as his wealth could permit. In fact, among the Lugbara, it was a prestige to have many wives and children. Additionally, marriage alliance brought different clans in to a relationship.

Among the Lugbara, payment of dowry (\textit{Oku aje/Kai}) was a very important practice. It was paid to the family and relatives of the bride. The number of animals paid varied from individual families depending on the wealth status of the family. According to Buni\textsuperscript{51}, the average number of cattle was twelve cattle. But a poor man could offer his labor to the family of the bride in exchange for a wife. This meant hard working people could easily get a wife while a lazy person often found it difficult to get a marriage partner.

2.1.3 Birth rites and Naming of children.
According to Drabua\textsuperscript{52}, Lugbara in West Nile used to perform functions whenever a child was born. Birth rites (\textit{A’bi}) and (\textit{ru daza}) naming of children were very important. This was characterized by the cutting of umbilical cord of a new child. This depended on the sex of the child whether female or males but the one of \textit{Agupi} (baby boy) was cut using \textit{E-jeke} (a sharp blade made from a

\textsuperscript{50} Kali A, Oral Interview, Aliyu sub county Terego county.
\textsuperscript{51} Buni- An oral interview in Orlama sub county, Terego county.
\textsuperscript{52} Drabua, An Oral Interview in invepi Ombavu, Terego county.
type of reed used as arrow handle) while that of Zamva (baby girl) was cut using Ejirice, (a blade from sorghum stock which was used for making winnow). This signified that the boy would be a great hunter while the girl would make winnow (Kobi). Child naming was done after three or four days depending on the sex of the child whether female or male respectively. A boy would be named after four days while a girl, after three days. This was called A’bi. Names were given according to the prevailing circumstances, either during the parent’s marriage or some event in the clan or at the moment of the Child’s birth. This practice of child naming and birth rites has continued to exist in some families up to date.

2.1.4. Dressing and Ornaments.

According to many elders, the Lugbara in West Nile originally had no clothes. Most of the people put on leaves and animal skin not until the coming of the White men especially the missionaries and the British Colonialists who introduced clothes. Skins were also used by women to carry their babies on their back (Obuka).

The Lugbara men and women also had various kinds of ornaments known as Jufu which included Oce (scars made on the face and other parts of the body). Ancestors from each ethnic group developed their own type of Oce for socio-cultural identification. Other forms of ornaments (Jufu) included iron rings.

According to Eretia. The Aya of Bileafe learned blacksmith or iron works (Oka) from the Ndu (Kebu). Such items made of blacksmith were used to make

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54. Amaku S. 53
55. Eretia, An Oral Interview in Olevu, Bileafe sub-county, Terego county.
holes on body parts such as on the nose, ear, and lips (jufu). Iron rings were also put or worn on various parts of the body such as on the ear, nose, wrist etc.

Also Eretria had ointments made from tree fruits and seeds like shear batter (Kamura). This were sometimes mixed with Eraka, a yellowish-red subsistence obtained from river banks or streams which was used to protect the body against skin cracks. It was also used for smearing babies; decorate men and women for functions such as marriage celebrations and traditional dance.

2.1.5 Songs and dance.
The Lugbara had traditional songs and dance which were used to communicate or send messages. These songs were learnt at fire places in the evenings. They were performed when somebody had died or during joyful celebrations. People were mobilized for the traditional dance by yelling (Cere), for the men and Cirili or Lulu for women. The Cere of men and Lulu of women were to communicate an event of sorrow or happiness. Traditionally, funeral songs and dance accompanied the death and burial of a person. The songs were categorized in to three types namely Mutre, Baiko, Yali and Kijio. The Bayiko recalled the past with a lot of sadness. According to Leopold the Baiko songs were expression of a bitter nostalgia, sad emotional songs as they recalled and compared the dead with other great dead of the past.

2.1.6 Beliefs, Rites and Rituals.
According to many traditions, the Lugbara believed in a creator god called Adroa. They believed in ancestral spirits called O’ri. There was also a belief in the ancestral world after death. This was known as Ba ‘bua. Rites and rituals were performed for such people (O’ri ‘owi) by specialized elders in the

56 Kazimoto, Oral interview in onzoro parish, Aii-vu sub county Terego County.
57 Leopard, 40.
The Lugbara viewed the spirit of the dead as dangerous to the living. These were lower spirits than the greater god *Adroa*, believed to be living in places like streams, big trees, rivers, caves and mountains. They were believed to be operating at night, and belonged to the world of the *Ba bua*. The Lugbaras believed in hidden powers called *Adra, Bendu, Yakani* and *Siria*. *Adra* was a power for protection against thieves or vandalizes. It was symbolized by sharp objects such as piece of bones, iron or knife. Its main symbol was an old pot kept under a tree called *Maza*. While *Siria* was symbolized by thorn sticks and other objects such as bones of different animals been kept together. There were so many other beliefs, but the origin of these beliefs was not certain. However, according to the traditions of the Lugbara, Angundru the son of Banale had the powers of *Adra* and *Siria*, which he distributed to two of his sons as their inheritance before his death. His third son Kabea inherited the *Adra* while the Siria powers were inherited by Benu his last son.

The *Yakani, Dedeyi* or *Abea* was last to be introduced from the Sudan around the period of Arab and European penetration. It was brought by Azibo of Orivu clan and his brother-in-law from the Luruja clan.

### 2.2 Pre-colonial Economic Organization.

Under this section, the researcher talks about trade, agriculture which will include livestock keeping and crop farming, land tenure, handcrafts of the people, labor organization, hunting and gathering, transport and communication, and accumulation of wealth.

#### 2.2.1 Trade

The Lugbara in West Nile traditional participated in both internal and external trade the media of exchange used was barter since there was no currency.

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58. Amabua D, Orogbo, Arripia Parish, Alii-vu sub county, Terego county.
59. Amabua, 56.
60. Luluu Odu, 13.
introduced among the Lugbara during the pre-colonial period. Internal trade involved within and between clans. In this trade items such as livestock were exchanged for greens especially during famine. For example goats were exchanged for cassava, Groundnuts for goats, and others. Livestock or grains could also be exchanged for farm implements such as knives, hoes, axes and security weapons such as spears and arrows. Women also exchanged baskets and pots for grains and other kinds of foodstuff. Other items of internal trade included traditional minerals such as Iraka for lotion and A’ddu for decoration of pots.

According to Avutia\textsuperscript{61}, it was mainly the southern Lugbara clans in Ayivu and Vurra that engaged in external trade with the Kebu (Ndu) clan farther south. For instance, the Ndu blacksmiths received livestock, foodstuff, iron ore, or services from the clans in Ayivu and Vurra, in exchange for their manufactured iron implements. Meanwhile Atama\textsuperscript{62} said that the Lugbara clans in Aringa traded with their Eastern neighbors, the Madi, with whom they exchanged grains, peas and iron tools in return for fish, meat and traditional beads (Ijibi) from the Nile valley.

Another elder also reported that the Lugbara participated in long-distance trade with the Banyoro through the Alur\textsuperscript{63}. The Lugbara in West Nile were attracted to trade in iron and salt with the Bunyoro along Lake Kyoga. In part this was facilitated by the arrival of traders from the East African coast in Buganda in 1844 that focused Buganda’s attention on the trading networks of the Victoria Nyanza basin. The main commodities exported from West Nile included simsim, ivory, iron ore and livestock. These commodities were exchanged for salt from Bunyoro through the Alur. This long distance trade led

\textsuperscript{61} Avutia. An Oral Interview; Anyavu Parish, Logiri Sub County, Vurra County.
\textsuperscript{62} Atama. An Oral Interview, Bura Parish, Omugo Sub county, Terengo county.
\textsuperscript{63} Nguma., An Oral Interview; Anyavu Parish, Logiri Sub county, Vurra county.
to the establishment of a market known as Adraka market in the present Anyavu parish, Logiri Sub County in Arua district. Consequently, the economy of both groups begun to develop with the Alur bringing in salt, from Bunyoro in exchange of food stuff, cattle and iron ore from Lugbara. The Alur therefore became the middlemen in the long distance trade.

2.2.2 Agriculture.

According to the traditions, the Lugbara were predominantly agriculturalists. Farming and cattle keeping were the two most important aspects of the Lugbara economy. The tradition further shows that the earliest tools used by the ancestors of Lugbara to till and cultivate the soil included a stick called golika. Later, iron hoes were introduced by the neighbors who were the Ndu. The Ndu came from Sudan a head of the Lugbara, and today they are called the Kebu. They live in the southern part of Arua district (Logiri Sub County). However during the period of iron working, the Lugbara acquired the skills and knowledge of iron working from the Ndu. That the fathers of the Lugbara clans used iron tools known as Budra for tilting the soil⁶⁴.

The main crops grown are black simsim (Mania) millets (Anyaa), sorghum, (O'ndu) legumes and root crops such as sweet potatoes (Maku) and later cassava⁶⁵ African yams (Likina) and Pumpkins (Ago) became common traditional foods that were cultivated among the Lugbara, although the origin of these crops was not clear⁶⁶.

Traditionally, among the Lugbara, men and women were involved in cultivation, although women did much of the work of harrowing and harvesting. Work was done communally by what some clans term as Kitaa, a Bari word meaning work. Here, two or three family heads worked alternatively each day in

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⁶⁴ Andabati, An Oral Interview, Maraju Parish, Oriama Sub County, Terego County.
⁶⁵ Middleton, 17.
⁶⁶ Amvea, An Oral Interview, Omuugo Sub County, Terego County.
each other’s field or constructions. Meanwhile, *Oya* was a type of communal work where many people were called upon to do a one day’s work for food and drinks\(^67\).

### 2.2.3 Livestock keeping

The Lugbara also claimed in their tradition that they had once owned a lot of cattle which were decimated by rinder pest. During the period of their early migration, they brought with them simple possessions such as cattle, sheep, goats and fowl. In general, the domestic residential groups of animals were economical self supporting in terms of food staff\(^68\). These animals had various uses to the Lugbara people: for dowry, sacrifices (rituals) and others. They also got food by hunting buffaloes, bushbuck, antelopes, rabbits, squirrels and several other animals.

### 2.2.4 Fishing

In addition to livestock keeping, the Lugbara also carried out fishing using traditional herbs called ‘*A’yangu*’ and with baskets designed for fishing called ‘*O’curu*’. Fish was mainly caught to supplement their diet from the rivers of ‘*Enyau, Oru, Ocea, Ala*’ all tributaries of the river Nile (‘*Miri*’). They preserved this fish by sun drying and smoking method\(^69\).

### 2.2.5 Land tenure

The land among the Lugbara was categorized into virgin land, fallow and land under cultivation. All land within a clan was communally owned and at least theoretically individuals could lay claim to any part of the virgin land. The same applied to the fallow land but in this case, the consent of the former owner was sought before carrying out any cultivation on it. However, theoretically, the land was said to belong to the whole clan and *O’pi* in particular as the chief

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\(^{67}\) Candia, An Oral Interview, Azaapi-Andiku, Odupi Sub county, Terago.

\(^{68}\) Middleton, 65.

\(^{69}\) Amabua, 59.
custodian. The wealthy people (‘Ba rukuza’) had a lot of food, cattle and many wives. For this reason, they wielded much power and influence next to the O’pi\textsuperscript{70}.

A married woman could not claim independent ownership of property. This was because she was customarily reared as the husband’s property and all that she had was counted as her husband’s possession. A woman could only control food. Here she was free and she could even deliberately starve her husband and he would not put up a fight\textsuperscript{71}.

Children like women were not allowed independent ownership of property. The only exception in this case was a boy of marriageable age. If his father died, he would automatically claim his father’s property as there would be no need for it to be taken care of by the lineage or clan heads or Opi.

2.2.6 Handcrafts of the Lugbara People

Women produced various articles of handcraft including various types of baskets and pots. The most common were Ivua (food basket), Kuta (food cover), Kobi (winnow), and Ajiko (sausagepan for preparing millet bread). These handcrafts were made out of water, clay, firewood, thatching grass, calabash and other necessary raw materials found almost everywhere in Lugbara society. Traditionally, there was little exchange of these materials, and men had no need to go far from their own neighborhood for economic reasons\textsuperscript{72}. In addition to handcraft making, the Lugbara also did some iron smelting and the O’ndo ‘ba (clever ones) made iron implements for the rest of the population.

There was also among the Lugbara, another ethnic group known as Kebu who specialized in iron smelting. Odu\textsuperscript{73} argued that a certain black smith called

\textsuperscript{70} Langa, An Oral Interview, Omugo Sub county, Terego County.
\textsuperscript{71} Oyaa, An Oral Interview, Oluko Subcounty, Ayivu County.
\textsuperscript{72} Middleton, 68.
\textsuperscript{73} Odu, 13.
Tawua son of Omba of Ogai clan, who was promoted as government agent lost the business of making Arrows, hoes and sickles. This indigenous technology lost its meaning, and had further impact on industrialization among the Lugbara.

2.2.7 Labor
According to Swindell\textsuperscript{74}, access to labor and not land was the basis of economic and political power in the African continent where population densities were low and land was frequently vested in communities rather than individuals.

Among the Lugbara, each household was responsible for carrying out all activities related to provision of labor. In the society, age and gender were used for organizing domestic labor. For instance, heavy work such as clearing and preparing farmlands was done by men and lighter jobs such as weeding the crops was done by women. Men would clear large virgin fields for cultivation while the women would break the clods, gather the grass and put them in piles to be burnt\textsuperscript{75}. Planting was done by men, women together with children. However, there were some crops which were mainly planted by women with the help of children. These included vegetables such as 'Dodo', 'Osubi', 'Igiribi' and many others.

Harvesting was another task that caused labor problems. The harvesting of many staple foods millet, sorghum, groundnuts and simsim, required cooperation of women, men and children.

From the above discussions, it can be deduced that all members worked together in all phases of production except in the clearing of virgin fields by men.

\textsuperscript{74} Michael Twaddle, \textit{Religion And Politics In East Africa}(London; East African Educational Publishers, 1995)
\textsuperscript{75} Leeti, An Oral Interview, Ewadri, Mani be Sub county, Ayivu County.
2.2.8 Hunting and gathering

Some Lugbara communities also participated in hunting of wild animals, birds and gathering of fruits\textsuperscript{76}. Food obtained from this system included wild animal meat, berries, wild vegetables and roots. Gathered fruits like "Ociki", "Odu", "Obakua" among others. Much of the gathering was done by women and children except honey which was to be collected by men. Honey was a product of bee keeping. Bee hives were prepared and kept on particular trees in the forest. Honey was used as food and as medicine\textsuperscript{77}.

Hunting was done by men and young boys who were taken to be taught. The Lugbara hunted both small and big animals. Among the Terego, children and men hunted rats which was the traditional source and insect for the Maracha as traditional dish like grasshopper\textsuperscript{78}. Bigger animals such as Elephants, Leopards, Foxes, Hare and Buffaloes were the common animals hunted.

Some of the animals which were not eaten were hunted and killed for security reasons such as Lions, Leopards, and Foxes\textsuperscript{79}. Hunting was organized with the help of dogs, ditches and ropes which were used for making nets for trapping the animals. The common method of hunting was by chasing the animal or trapping it using rope and digging of ditches. In case of edible animals, the meat was divided among those who were present. But the one who killed the animal always took the lion share.

2.2.9 Transport and communication

In pre-colonial Lugbara, there were no established roads for travels. The people travelled by foot and all loads were carried on peoples’ heads or shoulders\textsuperscript{80}. Women mostly carried heavy loads on their heads while men carried loads on

\textsuperscript{76} Andabati, 64.
\textsuperscript{77} Eretia, An Oral interview, Olevu, Bileafe Subcounty, Terego county.
\textsuperscript{78} Geria, 19.
\textsuperscript{79} Andabati, 76.
\textsuperscript{80} Andama, An Oral Interview, Odupi Subcounty, Terego County.
their shoulders. When carrying a heavy load a woman used a circular pad or ring called 'Itisiku' to ease pressure on their heads. There were narrow foot paths which were created as a result of continued passage of people along these routes. The Lugbara also made bridges out of poles on small running waters and swamps could be crossed by treading down reeds and walking over them.

The Lugbara used animal horn for communication which they blew in times of problems such as attacks from enemies’ and accidents like burning of a hut and death of a person. Additionally, people were mobilized to go for hunting using this media of communication.\(^1\)

2.2.10 Accumulation of wealth

In pre-colonial Lugbara society, wealth was considered very important in determining the status of a person in a community. People lived according to the wealth accumulated. Agricultural production, trade, special skills and political positions were some of the avenues used to accumulate wealth. In Lugbara society wealth was also determined by the numbers of one’s herds of cattle, goats or sheep.

Those with special skills, such as blacksmithing also became wealthy in Lugbara society. The black smiths produced implements and weapon such as arrow heads, knives, spears which they exchanged mainly with livestock. In addition to that, people who had many daughters would accumulate wealth through receiving dowry, in case the daughters got married to families that had already accumulated wealth. Though continuous production of female sex in a family was seen as misfortune, girls were a source of wealth.\(^2\)

Another way of accumulating wealth was through exchange of surplus production. When a house hold produced excess or more than the domestic

\(^1\) Obiga, An Oral Interview, Odupi Sub County, Terego County.
\(^2\) Drakani, An Oral Interview, Bileafe Sub county, Terego County.
need, the surplus would usual be exchanged with livestock such as goats, sheep or chicken. These would then be owned by the man as his private property. This accumulation of wealth created inequality in pre-colonial Lugbara society. For example, the wealthy, occupied political positions in society. Even from the basic political, social and economic unit (the homestead), the man had a bigger say on the accumulated wealth than the woman.

2.3 Pre-colonial political Organization

This sub-section looks at the way the Lugbara ruled their society, their judicial systems and the military organization before the British colonial rule. It seeks to establish the relationship between the political structures and economic systems.

2.3.1 Pre-colonial Administrative structure.

Traditionally, the Lugbara had no established political system but had a King called Opi or chief. This means that the Lugbara were organized in clans and their supreme-leader was called Opi (chief) who was known as a clan leader ('Ba amb'a/Wara/Mbaza). The chief made political and military decisions, settled inter-clan disputes with the help of elders in council. Where Opi is defeated in settling the disputes, he often sought advice from the O'joo, particularly during national crisis such as war, famine or epidemics. The O'joo played a number of roles such as priest, fore-teller and diviner. Land and livestock were appropriated to him (O'joo). He decided on rituals and time of harvest. Jurisdiction was only valid when several clan leaders agreed upon the decision. It was further possible to pay off one's guilt in the pre-colonial Lugbara society.

83 Drakani, 82.
84 Odu, 73.
The first half of the nineteenth century was a period of remarkable changes, but the changes were essentially endogenous, resulting from expanding systems of trade, migration, military and administrative innovations. The control of labor, trade goods, and military might became increasingly centralized, while state structures became increasingly institutional. Unlike Kings Kamanya and Suna, who made Buganda the most powerful state in Uganda in this period, are remembered for their ferocity at home and their aggression abroad, the Lugbara did not have such Kings. Within Buganda, kings employed the new institution of the Bitongole, administrative departments with military functions, to ensure that products of the royal court system dominated Buganda’s peripheries. The transformation of the Ganda state appears to have been a reaction to the devastating series of princely rebellions in the late eighteenth century.

2.3.2 Military Organization.

The Lugbara had no standing army but they had at the chief let level, a military commander or war captain whom they called ‘Ambo’. This office was not appointive but was held by any warrior who distinguished himself as the most courageous and the most knowledgeable in military tactics and strategy. However, he had no power either to declare or to call off a war; that was the responsibility of the Opri. The Lugbara fought both private and public wars. The former were mainly inter-clan, while the later were both inter-chief let and inter-ethnic. The wars aimed at consolidating the Lugbara political power.

The tradition has it that attempt to occupy the Lugbara territory by the Alur proved futile because each time they (Alur) made attempts, they (Alur) were badly defeated. In the end, the Alur were forced to recognize the River Odrua in the present Anyavu Parish as the boundary between the two groups.

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85 Candia, 67.
86 Avutia, 12.
After the peace agreement, the economy of both groups begun developed; with the Alur bringing salt, from Bunyoro in exchange of food stuff, cattle and iron ore from Lugbara. The Alur therefore became the middlemen in the long distance trade.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, it is been argued that the Lugbara pre-colonial society was economically self-sufficient, dynamic and innovative. They produced surplus which they exchanged in order to create more wealth and acquired what they did not produce through trade.

In the society, all production was inter-related. For instances, craft and industry provided implements used for cultivation. It was this dynamic economy which was later affected by the introduction of foreign economic policies which incorporated it into the British capitalism especially with the introduction of money economy.
CHAPTER THREE
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH COLONIAL RULE
AMONG THE LUGBARA

3.0 Introduction
This chapter seeks to explain the British colonial rule among the Lugbara of West Nile from 1914-1962. It shows the creation of British colonial administrative structures that were used to enforce policies among the Lugbara, including the economic policies. It also highlights on the response of the Lugbara towards the establishment of the British colonial rule.

The creation of west Nile region where the Lugbara are found was from 1914 when the southern portion of the Lado Enclave was transferred to Uganda in exchange for a territory north of Nimule. On May 29th 1914 the west Nile district was officially proclaimed by the British governor of Uganda, Sir Frederick Jackson. Mr. A.E Wheatherhead became the first district commissioner and was Nick named locally Njerekede or Ajerekede. Ashton Werner (Bwana Wane) was his A.D.C (Assistant District commissioner). Therefore Arua town ship was established in June 1914.

3.1 Early contacts of Lugbara with outsiders.
According to Odu, the West Nile Region before 1914 was under the foreign influence of the Egyptians and the Turks from the north. These invaders were either Ivory hunters or slave raiders. Their main route was along the Nile valley with Dufile as the transit centre.

But In 1862, the two British Explorers Speke and Grant visited the Lugbara land on their home. They were coming from Buganda where they discovered the source of the Nile. They observed that the Madi particularly did not seem happy

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87. Alioni, How West Nile become part of Uganda; Arua as administrative center.
88. Alioni, 87.
89. Odu, 84.
under the Yoke of the Turks. This led to the first White man to visit the Interior of west Nile region where the Lugbara are found. The white man was locally known as Simea or Simia. He was a Russian traveler, Dr Junker. This Doctor left Lado Enclave (Southern Sudan) in 1877 and traveled with a large Caravan through Kaliko and Kakina counties to near mount Wati on the borders of present Terego county and Maracha district.\textsuperscript{90} Junker was a leisurely traveler and a careful observer. His main objective was to study the people with whom he came into contact, and to collect specimens of plants and animals.

Junker who was a Russian traveler found the mountainous area (Watian ranges) suitable for settlement within the border with Maracha and Terego. He moved slightly westward on the foot of the mountain and settled there in the present Alikua area in the present Maracha district. While the people at the foot of Mount Wati were named “Tegot,” present Terego County by colonial agents or laborers who came from Bunyoro-Babito during the British colonial administration of West Nile under Weather head from 1914-1922\textsuperscript{91}.

In the north western region of West Nile, especially in Maracha county (now Maracha district), the first British camps were found in Alija (Named after the chief of the area). The second one was in Yivu (Alikua). Alija was the son of Akusa, a Belgian appointed “Mokoto” and Kamure also a Belgian appointed “Mokoto”. It can therefore be seen that the British as much as possible kept the family lines of the chiefs appointed by the Belgians\textsuperscript{92}. However, the chiefs appointed by the British were Ex-service men who had mainly served in Sudan.

The first White men commonly known as “Mundu” or “Ogaraba” were the Belgians who camped at Alikua. When they left the place, people can still recall their activities because of pyramid tomb at Alikua trading centre in Yivu

\textsuperscript{90} From Free Wikipedia Arua In Uganda. April 16, 2014.
\textsuperscript{91} Haruna, Brief History of Lugbara presentation to Elders Forum 2010.( un published).
\textsuperscript{92} Odu, 89.
Sub-County in the present Maracha district. Other accounts by elders of Ayivu indicated that the first British White man to reach the area camped at Arua Hill because they found a blacksmith named Tawua Son of Omba of Ogayi clan who was appointed as the first Lugbara chief or government agent\textsuperscript{93}.

Most of the Lugbara people found by the Whites had low income per capita, lack of job and leaving totally in utter poverty. This implied that, they could not afford better medical services in time and a better standard of living\textsuperscript{94}.

### 3.2 The British colonial administration on Lugbara in West Nile (Arua district).

The British were the colonial powers of Uganda since 1894 when Uganda was declared a British protectorate. However, West Nile became part of Uganda in 1914\textsuperscript{95}. The origin of Arua Town as a district was directly linked with the time of the establishment of colonial rule in Uganda. In 1894 as a result of the Anglo-Belgian Agreement of that year, west Nile District (by then) fell under Belgian control as part of the Lado Enclave.

In January, 1914, however, the area passed to Uganda upon the transfer of Gondokoro and Nimule District to Sudan. An organized local Administration was then commenced in west Nile. Arua Town in West Nile region became established in 1914 as an administrative center under the charge of A.E. Weather head, who was the first District commissioner of west Nile region. By 1919, the British colonial administration had taken root despite wide spread discontent and suspicion\textsuperscript{96}.

\textsuperscript{93} Oya, 71.
\textsuperscript{94} Oya,93.
\textsuperscript{95} Alloni, 87.
\textsuperscript{96} Alloni, 95.
The West Nile region was declared a closed district, under the Uganda outlying districts ordinance. Any person wishing to enter the West Nile was required to deposit with the District Commissioner a sum of money not exceeding 500 Rupees for his good behavior in the district.

The colonial administration was supported by the various government agencies such as the army, police, prisons, courts, church and schools for indoctrinating people in favour of the British rule. In 1919, the governor Sir Robert Corydon proclaimed the establishment of Native Courts in West Nile. County courts were opened in Aringa, Terego, Maracha, Offude, Koboko, Ayivu, Luku, Adumi, Vurra, Logiri and Bondo. Local chiefs were appointed at various levels to handle problems of daily life.97

Immediately below the District Commissioners office, there were appointed county chiefs (Sultan or Opi). Under the Sultan, there were sub-county chiefs (Wakil or Joago). Below the Wakili were the Wakungu (Singular, Mukungu) or Parish Chief.

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97 Alioni, 96.
The establishment of Arua Hill and Alikua residence was as result of Colonial administration set up to indoctrinate the people with colonial rule. Under the Colonial system the common man was ruled from the office of the Colonial Secretary to Village Chief. These chiefs were seen as collaborators or spies of the new order in Lugbara community. Semakula Kiwanuka argued that these collaborators “jumped on the colonial bandwagon and reaped the fruits of collaboration. With the colonial administration they established a partnership which lasted until decolonization.” The collaborators known as Colonial chiefs or Sultans in Lugbara community worked until the time of independence in 1962, where Marko Boroo became the Agofe / Obimo of West Nile District. Many of the collaborators became chiefs, tax collectors, law enforcement officers and thereby became the backbone of colonial rule.

The district settled at Alikua in the present Maracha district; where they built a tomb in 1911- as a sign of their presence in the area and also they had burial site along Egamara road said by a respondents in Terego. Those who lived in Arua municipality were commonly called “Agaraba”- meaning British while those who lived in Alikua were commonly known as “Barajiki” meaning Belgians.

Former West Nile District were colonialists who came from North of the district settled at Alikua in the present Maracha district; built a tomb in 1911- as sign of their presence in the area and also they had burial site along Egamara road.

Some scholars argued that “imperialism benefitted the colonial people, but others have disputed it”. According to Arthur Lewis in Will Kaberuka, colonialist had no interest in developing colonies. Where by the imperialist

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98 Odu, 92.
100 Odu, 98.
101 Odu, 100.
102 Kali, An Oral Interview, Ali-vu Sub county, Terego County.
103 Kaberuka, 1.
104 Kaberuka, 103.
invested capital and hire workers; to their advantage to keep wages low and even in the cases where they do not go out of their way to impoverish the subsistence economy, they would at least seldom doing anything to make it more productive. The record of imperial power in African modern times is impoverishing the subsistence economy, either by taking away the people’s land, or by demanding forced labor in the capitalist sector, or by imposing taxes to drive people to work for capitalist employers. Compared with what they have spent on providing facilities from European agriculture or mining, their expenditure on the improvement of African agriculture has been negligible.\textsuperscript{105}

It can be argued that penury of the subsistence sector lies in the colonial authority in order to subsidize their economy. This was done either directly through forced labor, indirectly by levying cash tax, or by keeping low wage for the laborers. This situation is not far from Arua District that suffered from peasant economy.

3.3 Creation of colonial administrative structures in Lugbara,
Lugbara people had no organized system of governance, but their disputes were settled within the family or clan basis under leadership of clan elders called ‘Baamba’ or ‘Ba ‘war or Mbaza, who were assisted by a council of elders of the sub-clans. These elders had supreme authority under council of elders to handle what clan failed to settle. The council was by large, the political unit of the people. It is assumed that colonial power penetrated Lugbara people through “Opi” (royal powers) who controlled one or more clans

During the Belgian and then British in West Nile, some Lugbara men were appointed as colonial agents with the title ‘Makoto’ or Sultans who came to be known as “Opi” or “Opii” or Chief(s).

\textsuperscript{105} Arthur, 45.
These were the county chiefs under whom the Lugbara were organized according to counties, sub-counties, parishes and villages.

Nyapara were also known as ‘Adrelicoma’ - someone who takes letters in the early morning. “Adrelicoma” means “the morning dew has washed me”. But the system ended in 1920’s and resurfaced in 1950’s. Thus, under the British colonial system, the common man was ruled from the office of the colonial secretary in London down to the Nyapara or village chief. This was the system popularly known as the policy of” indirect rule. ”The Lugbara saw those chiefs or agents as the puppets of the white men. They were given the title of Ogaraba or ‘Mundu ba’ (people of the Europeans). They were collaborators and spies of the new order.

According to Odu, the best known of these colonial chiefs or sultans were the following:-

Juma Bondo of Aringa
Mariko Boroa of Terego
Nua Fadhimulla Ajikoa of Terego
Augusto Agaali of Madi
Obitre-Onyolo of Madi
Yereemia Buzu of Vurra
Maskini Adua.

At the time of independence in 1962, Mariko Boroa became the Agofe/Obim of the West Nile district. In 1963, this office was abolished and replaced by the

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106 Haruna, 91.
107 Odu, 101
secretary general, an office which was occupied by Nikonora Abanya also from Terego\textsuperscript{108}.

These structures helped the colonialists to implement their harsh economic policies: poll tax, forced labor and others. They (\textit{Ogara}’\textit{ba} or \textit{‘Mundu}’\textit{ba}) were considered as collaborators and spies of the new administrative organ.

People could do little to reverse the trend of events and as a result they had to submit to the British rule until independence in 1962 when the trend changed. This kind of governance had little to do with the development of the people instead it robbed the society from hard working people being send to work in the sugar plantation and construction works in other parts of the country.

3.4 Resistance to colonial rule:

3.4.1 The Odupi resistance to the British rule, 1914-1919

From 1914 to 1919, Lugbara and Madi people of Arua rioted against the British colonial administration unlike in Alur land where British had a peaceful entry. The Lugbara clans organized themselves into bands of fighting groups and fought the British officials and their agents\textsuperscript{109}. The resistance was a surprise to the British who could not understand the causes. But to the Lugbara, the British came to finish their elephants which were their glory and wealth. The colonists were looked at as a glorified band of ivory poachers. The District Commissioner Mr. Weather head organized a meeting with the elders of Lugbara to end the resistance that emerged as result of malicious propaganda against the whites who were purported to have come to rob Lugbara of their glory i.e. Elephants.

The meeting alone did not solve the various Lugbara problems because they had a bitter experience from the Belgian administration with its army “\textit{Tukutuku}” or African soldiers from Congo. The army killed many Orivu clan members under

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Nikonora , An Oral Interview, Bileafe Sub county, Terego County.
\item Odu, 101.
\end{enumerate}
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chief Nyaku of Alenjua\textsuperscript{110}. The Lugbara social relations and traditions based on kinship ties and intermarriages were not related to whites in any way during this period 1914 – 1962. The coming of the British and their stay permanently was not well understood within the Lugbara World view. The Lugbara could have understood the colonialists if they were involved in their cultural activities. For instance the Queen of England ever sent envoys to attend Lugbara funeral ceremonies, nor even shed crocodile tears over the Lugbara dead body.

Furthermore, the Lugbara never ate meat together with the British. This Lugbara community asked this question, “In what capacities is the British coming to stay permanently here with them? For a Lugbara person someone who does not associate him/her with anyone is an enemy. It was on this basis that an ordinary Lugbara looked at the British and the Belgians as ‘\textit{Ariba}’ (enemy), instead of ‘\textit{Oriba}’ (relative).

\subsection*{3.4.2 The Retriko revolt, 1919}

According to Amagule S \textsuperscript{111}of Bongilo-Ombaci sub-clan in Oleba sub-county in Maracha, the Revolt at Retriko-Bongo clan broke in early 1919, when a man called Rajab Acialu was the Joago (Mwakili) of Maracha. This is confirmed by Leopold\textsuperscript{112} who writes that the Retriko upraising broke out from 5\textsuperscript{th}February,1919 when the chief of Maracha was a man he called “Aliga” (for Alija).

The elders of Retriko-Banga, the clan in which the Retriko upraising broke out in early February in 1919, still vividly recount the events of their war with the Weather head administration. According to Geria\textsuperscript{113}, Ajerekede (Weather head), the first British District commissioner (CD) of Arua and his Assistant (ADC)

\textsuperscript{110}Odu, 109.
\textsuperscript{111}Amagule S. An Oral Interview in Omugo Sub-county Terego county.
\textsuperscript{112}Leopard, 57.
\textsuperscript{113}Geria, 78.
Dereba (Driberg) had passed a law abolishing all Yakani dance in the area. The two white men passed this law because; the local people too believed that the Yakani dance could weaken the power of their European guns. While among the Retriko-Bango clansmen, Ayua had returned from the Sudan with the Yakani cult.

The Retriko elders further recount that, on the fate full day of the outbreak of the revolt, Ceyega (Ceyiga) the Mukungu of Nyatika sub-clan of Retiko-Bango had organized a traditional prayer celebration known as ‘Awi lau’ which involved eating and drinking of ‘Kpete’ (traditional bear) because his brother had recovered from an illness. This function was, however misunderstood by Joago Rajab Acialu and Opi Alija, who were at the Nyarakua camp expecting Driberg to arrive from Arua the following day for some official duty in Oleba. They thought Ceyaga had organized a Yakani dance rebellion against the colonial ruling. They sent Yonus Oduga, their local Askari to stop the function at Nyaticka. This sparked off the revolt.

In an attempt to arrest Cayuga’s men Yaya (Yahiya) Ojo of Lamila-Dumuru and Adiga of Nyatika, Yonus Oduga scuffled with Almas Anyufi, the traditional chief (Opi) of the royal throne of Bongo at Nyatik. Yonas Oduga’s disrespect for the celebration, the royal throne and direct insult to Anyufi, led to the revolt, as Anyufi laid ambush and arrowed Yonus Oduga on the leg as he ran back to the camp. Oduga however, survived and reached Rajab and Alija, who immediately alarmed and mobilized colonial agents that evening from Opi Kenyi of Koboko, Kamure of Ofude (Yivu) and Joago Odriko of Oluvu.

According to the Retriko elders, local Askaris were sent against the Retriko who was forced through Paranga in to Congo that very night. The following day, Weather head and Driberg arrived and took part in the hot pursuit after the
Retriko. Leopard\textsuperscript{114} noted that Wearherhead sent six policemen to reinforce the local Askaris. In the process Ceyega, the \textit{Mukungu} of Nyatika and a local askari were killed. According to Geria,\textsuperscript{115} from the Congo, Ceyega returned to check his property and in the process he was shot with a gun. Before he died he shot a local askari with an arrow and other people got wounded.

According to the elders, on the third day of the fight, a man called Debo of Itoko, made peace between the colonial agents and the retriko by waving a white cloth which made the people of weather head to retreat. According to weather head’s original dairy which is quoted by Leopold,\textsuperscript{116} the revolt was suppressed with in 6\textsuperscript{th} and 8\textsuperscript{th} February 1919. Later the Retriko returned from the Congo to Oleba after about one week.

From the testimonies of the elders, it is certain that the Retriko were not influenced by a cult to wage war. It was prejudice and the misconception on the side of the colonial administration that sparked off the reactions from the local people of Nyatika which led to the Retriko revolt in Oleba sub-county of Maracha in February 1919.

\textbf{3.5 Conclusion}

The British colonial administration in Uganda basically used the policy of indirect rule to administer the Lugbara in West Nile. This was mainly through the creation of Chiefs. The created chiefs were used to enforce the economic policies among the Lugbara. For instance, the chiefs were used to collect taxes, recruit the people as workers in the plantations in the south and central Uganda, organizing the people to work in public works such as road construction and construction of administrative headquarters, as well as recruiting people in to the colonial army.

\textsuperscript{114} Leopard, 111.
\textsuperscript{115} Geria , 78.
\textsuperscript{116} Leopold, 113.
The chapter further revealed that colonial rule among the Lugbara was received with some degree of resistance. For instance, the Odupi resistance to the British rule which took place in 1918 led by the Azapi clan. The resistance took place in the present Odupi Sub-County in Terego County, Arua District. As a matter of fact, the elders in Odupi Sub-County, Terego County, reported that immediate cause of the revolt was the imposition of colonial chief, Adu, an Aringa from Drajini (the present Drajini Sub-County) in the present Yumbe District as a colonial chief of the Odupi people. The other revolt took place in 1919 in the present Oleba sub county in the present Maracha district. This was the Retriko revolt. These resistances had negative social and economic consequences on the Lugbara. For instance, many people were killed, others displaced, and agricultural production declined. Many blacksmiths were either killed or arrested and deported. This discouraged the skills of iron making among the Lugbara. In this respect the creation of administrative structures to enforce colonial policies and subsequent resistance to colonial rule contributed to under development of the region.
CHAPTER FOUR
BRITISH COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICIES AND ITS IMPACT ON THE LUGBARA OF ARUA DISTRICT, 1914-1962

4.0 Introduction.
This chapter focuses on the various colonial economic policies applied by the British on the Lugbara in West Nile. It provides an assessment of the policies and shows how they became a factor in the under development of the region. The policies considered in this chapter included; Taxation, Cash crop growing, Forced Labor, Migrant labor and Army recruitment Area which were tested according to the objectives of the study.

Table 1: showing different British colonial economic policies (n=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policies</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taxation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cash crop growing</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced labor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialization</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce and trade</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative structure</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: primary Data from Arua district.

According to the research findings, the British introduced taxes 33% by 10 respondents, Forced Labor 17% by 5 respondents, cash crop growing 23% by 7 respondents but they had little interest in industrial development 3.3% by 1
respondent, had administrative structures 13.3% by 4 respondents even commerce and trade was done mostly on the cash crops 10% according to 3 respondents. This is illustrated below.

**Figure 1: Showing the British colonial economic policies used among the Lugbara.**

![Diagram showing economic policies used among the Lugbara](image)

**Source: Primary data, 2014**

From figure 2, 10 respondents (33.3%) said taxes formed the gist of the colonial economic policy in the region, and it forced men above 18 years of age to leave their homes to look for work in the plantation of south and as soldiers to earn money to pay for these taxes imposed on them. Seven (7) respondents (23.3%) said cash crop was introduced to help people earn money, 5 respondents (16.7%) said forced labor was done by the colonialist because the Lugbara looked strong and energetic to work in plantations and as soldiers. Four (4) respondents (13.3%) said administrative structure was set as centre where colonialist implement their policies, while 3 respondents (10%) said because of commerce and trade, they were able to receive manufactured goods, and one (1) respondent (3.3%) said the industrialization was not much introduced because the colonialists had little interest in the industrialization in West Nile. From the
same figure 2, it was reported that the British economic policies had more impacts on taxes followed by cash crop growing, forced labor, administrative structure, commerce and trade, but did little in the industrialization sector on the Lugbara in West Nile.

4.1 Taxation
The British colonial economic policy among the Lugbara in West Nile, like any other British colonies in Africa was that the Lugbara were to be economically self sufficient. This meant that all public works such as roads, railways, schools, hospitals had to be paid for using local revenue from customs duties and taxes\textsuperscript{117}.

According to the various respondents, the British colonial government introduced a policy of taxation on the Lugbara of Arua District. The respondents reported that both poll tax and hut taxes were introduced by the British among the Lugbara. The entire adult male above the age of 18 years were required to pay these taxes. The introduction of taxes greatly affected the Lugbara social life.

From the research findings, tax use was ranked the highest among the benefits people received from the economic policies introduced by the British. The respondents said taxes were used to build schools, health centers and even for infrastructure developments such as roads. The construction of schools enabled people to acquire reading and writing skills. Such people were also able to get employment opportunities as clerks and technical assistants to run the government and commerce in the colonial setting. This greatly improved the livelihood of some Lugbara in West Nile.

\textsuperscript{117}Michael Crowder, A History of West Africa AD 1000-To The Present(London, Longman Group Ltd, 1979)
The introduction of taxes made people to work hard in order to meet their tax obligations and also improve their household livelihood. For example, many people accepted to grow cash crops in order to raise money to pay the taxes. Others were forced to go to work in the sugar and tea plantations in the southern Uganda while some moved to work in the Kilembe copper mines in Western Uganda.

Another benefit of the British colonial economic policies was that it led to development of infrastructure and creation of employment opportunities for the people. The respondents said roads and bridges were constructed using the tax revenue. It also led to the construction of towns especially Arua town as the administrative headquarters of West Nile.

However, despite some of the benefits, the respondents gave a number of disadvantages of taxation among the Lugbara in West Nile.

The introduction of taxes caused hatred and division among the Lugbara. The colonial agents who were in charge of tax collection were not liked by their own people. This divided the Lugbara society into two; the Mundu ba and Ori 'ba.\textsuperscript{118}

The harsh and ruthless method of tax collection made some people abandon their homes and resort to hiding. During tax collection, people were flogged, beaten, tied and then taken to prison. Sometimes cooking utensils such as saucepans were confiscated. Such treatment brought suffering and misery in the families. Men could not settle for agriculture as they were always on the run. This affected production, and subsequent under development.

Taxation further killed indigenous technology among the Lugbara in West Nile. The introduction of poll tax made some people with special skills such as Medicine men and traditional blacksmiths to abandon these technologies in

\textsuperscript{118} Odu, 109.
order to avoid tax payment. This greatly killed innovation among the Lugbara. The discouragement of industrialization through taxation laid the foundation of underdevelopment among the Lugbara in West Nile.

4.2 Cash crop growing

A Cash crop is a crop grown particularly for sale according to the 30 respondents. They said, the Lugbara used to grow tobacco, cotton and coffee as cash crops in West Nile. This cash crop production varied by the Agro-ecological zones and cropping system, Land degradation, soil nutrient depletion, soil erosion and agricultural commercialization. Even these crops were integrated with other crops like banana, simsim and others as seen below;

Coffee was mostly produced in the southern end of West Nile region particularly in Vurra Sub-county. It was intercropped with Banana and on plots with organic inputs. Mostly Arabic, Robusta and colonel coffee was grown. It had both Mono cropped and mixed coffee plots which had lower soil erosion than other plots in coffee producing zones. This was because of greater soil cover. Coffee growing in West Nile also led to soil nutrient depletion. For instance potassium depletion was greater on mixed banana-coffee plots.

Cotton was mostly grown in Rhino camp, Terego, Ayivu and some parts of Maracha in West Nile. In this cotton production zones, few land management practices or investments were used especial on the cotton plots. However, soil erosion and soil nutrient depletion were lower in the cotton zone than in the coffee producing zones because of flatter terrain and lower crop yields. Therefore promotion of cash crop production worsened land degradation in West Nile.
Tobacco was the major cash crop grown in West Nile mostly in Terego, Maracha, and Ayivu. According to Kali,\textsuperscript{119} both Air cured and Flue cured tobacco were introduced and grown in West Nile. The tobacco growing required a lot of domestic labor from the period of preparation of Nursery bed, planting, harvesting, curing, sorting and finally selling. This tobacco was cured either using air cured method or smoking method in buildings called “\textit{Ban}”. According to Acema\textsuperscript{120} the romantic notion that proceeds from the sale of tobacco paid and continued to pay school fees for children is hag wash and short sighted because tobacco has colossal damages to our lives and environment as follows:

- Tobacco is the greatest cause of preventable diseases and deaths in the world today like it causes heart attack, stroke, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and cancer especially of the lung, throat and mouth.
- Tobacco smoking causes impotence as it promotes arterial narrowing and incidence of impotence is approximately 85\% in male smoker than non smokers.
- Smoking is a key cause of erectile dysfunction.
- Tobacco kills food production as it spoils land nutrients.
- It also increases cost of production.
- Causes health hazards and drain public resources.
- Causes Environmental disaster through depletion of forests (deforestation) which arises from the wholesale cutting of trees as wood fuel for curing tobacco in the region.

According to Acema\textsuperscript{121}, World Health Organization reported that tobacco has caused approximately 5.4 million deaths worldwide in 2004 and during the 20\textsuperscript{th} century a staggering of 100 million lives was lost due to the use of tobacco. This

\textsuperscript{119} Kali, 50.

\textsuperscript{120} Acema, An Oral Interview, Katrini Sub county, Terego County.

\textsuperscript{121} Acema, 120.
avoidable and preventable mass suicide is sinful and totally unacceptable. So there are many alternatives to tobacco such as Coffee, Rice, Bans, Ground nuts, simsim and other food crops, vegetables and fruits which fetch higher prices than tobacco on the world market. Even they less demanding in terms of inputs. Therefore, if the Lugbara concentrated in the production of these other crops for sale during the British colonial period, perhaps much more development would have been realized.

4.3 Labour policy (Forced Labour)
The colonial administration policy introduced a policy of public works whereby every able-bodied man was required to offer labor for the construction of infrastructure in road construction, building schools, hospitals and others were to work in headquarters of the "Opi" at various levels. This was a compulsory scheme for all adult males among the Lugbara in West Nile.

The Mwakili was instructed to monitor whereas the Mukungu at parish level in-turn was instructed to implement the scheme. People were arrested at dawn to work in order to get money to pay taxes. This was called Looloo and the people were taken to work at the headquarters of "Opi" as a way of people paying taxes to Opi.

In this labor policy, there existed the master and servants ordinance contract of service. This ordinance stated the relationship between the laborers (Employees) and the employer, such that the employees serve the employer for a given period of time, and be paid for aforesaid wage per month. And employee was given an opportunity to visit his home on the last day of each month. The employer pays for the employee passage from the employees home area to work area, give food daily, free and adequate accommodation for the employee. The Provincial Commissioner was instructed to inspect the labor on private estates and gainers to make sure conditions are followed.
This administrative structure set by the colonist created enmity between the leaders and their subject. Furthermore, it instilled sense of insecurity among the people. People especially men would not stay at home and do productive work for fear of being arrested and punished for non-payment of taxes.

### 4.4 Migrant labor policy

Migrant labor had social-economic impact among the Lugbara in West Nile between 1914 and 1962 and even beyond. However the researcher’s major focus was the period up to independence.

First and foremost, migrant labor resulted into development of caste system in the areas where the Lugbara went to work. The majority of the Lugbara who went to work as laborers in the plantations owned by the foreigners either in the central or western Uganda, lived as the lowest human beings in dignity, degraded, and often over worked hence, they were the worst caste group in Uganda. This view is held by some people even up to today. The political powerlessness, social oppression of the laborers was common in the plantations and mines where the Lugbara worked. Under such conditions, the Lugbara in Arua district were able to develop as this was source of employment to support the families.

**Table 2: showing whether people from Arua district went to work in the mines and plantations of coffee, tea, or sugar.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: primary data from Arua district,
From table 7 above; 60% of the respondents 18 in number strongly agreed that the Lugbara migrated to work in the mines and plantations of tea, coffee and sugar because people wanted to get exposure to other places, go learn new language, build new houses and others as seen in the table below whereas small percentage of respondents (40%) 12 in number disagreed that Lugbara did not migrate to work in the mines and plantations because people often come bare handed, strikes occur and people lose their lives, no holidays, no promotions at work place, people are over worked with little pay poor accommodation, no saving, far distant from home mistreatment by employers poor medical care, marginalization, and illiteracy. But according to the findings many Lugbara people have to work there which was beneficial because it provided employment for them which improved their livelihood.

Table 3: Showing benefits got by people who worked in the plantations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Got revenue and learned new languges</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure and employment</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ability to pay tax and educate children</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquired developmental ideas and wealth</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquired land for settlement and improved standard of living</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>18</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source: Primary source**

From this table 7, the most ranked benefit was of getting more exposure to other areas and employment opportunities 6 respondents (33.3%); followed by ability
to pay taxes and educate their children 4 respondents (22.2%), similarly got revenue and learned new languages 4 respondents (22.2%), acquired developmental ideas and wealth 2 respondents (11.1%) and also acquired land for settlement and improved standard of living which had 2 respondents (11.1%).

On the other side the reasons why 40% of the respondents said that many people do not move to sugar, tea and coffee plantation include the following as seen in the table below.

**Table 4: showing why some people did not want to go and work in the south and central.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Come home bear handed and over worked</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marginalization and mistreatment</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abandoned families</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor accommodation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No holidays and far distance from home.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source: Primary Data**

From the figure above many said that the Lugbara of Arua district did not go to work in the south because of negative experiences they got from those who went there as analyzed below basing on the above table. The greatest number 4 (33.3%) of the respondents said people came home bear handed and were overworked with little pay, followed by 3 respondents (25%) who were
marginalized and mistreated, two respondents (16.6%) each abandoned families and were poorly accommodated respectively. A respondent (8%) reported that there were no holidays at work places even the distance was far from home. Still according to a respondent Anabatic L 50 an elder in Oriama sub county, Terego County, the places where the plantations and mines existed, employers feared local communities, who could either desert the work or become destructive and the laborers were even over tricked into debt by their employers. Men found themselves entering into such debt bondage due to economic compulsion, and they tend to do so with open eyes, well aware of the pay and conditions that await them as they follow the footsteps of the others from the same village and caste. This was so because in terms of income, there was extremely low pay. And in spite of the conditions of work, this was the best option available to them.

4.5 Reserved area for Army (soldier) recruitment
Many respondents agreed that Arua district was reserved for recruiting army (soldiers) as seen below.

Table 5: showing peoples' response on Arua district as reserved for recruiting soldiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
<th>Number of respondents</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Primary Data.
According to the table above, 25 respondents making 83% strongly agreed that Arua district was reserved as an army recruitment area because the people in the area (Lugbara) were believed to be strong, energetic and could withstand hard conditions. Meanwhile, others 5 making 17% disagreed with the statement because they did not witness people being recruited in to the army.

The disastrous events of the colonial era however had clear roots in the policies of the British administration, and not just the prejudices of the southern Ugandans,

There is little disagreement on the key factors involved in simplifying the economic underdevelopment of the district and its political marginality were instigated and reinforced by its closed status against complaints from commercial primary pressure groups.
Table 6: Showing the effect of Arua as reserved for army (soldier) recruitment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robbed the region of skilled labor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Underdevelopment (economic imbalance)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Tax revenue</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low productivity</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family break ups</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment as soldiers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improved standard of living</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition of new languages</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor social services</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy (learnt how to read and write)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persistent poverty</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquisition of chronic diseases</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creation of intermediate cultures</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure and acquisition of new skills.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure development</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No industrial development</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famine</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source: Primary Data.**

The effect of Arua being reserved for army recruitment brought several effects in the area. From the table above the majority of the respondents 4 for each (13.3%) said that it resulted in to family break ups and poor social services respectively.
Followed by 3 respondents (10%) who said it led to underdevelopment (economic imbalance) as the hard working and able-bodied Lugbara were recruited into the army. This was particularly the youth between the ages of 18-25 who would work for the development of the district.

Another four groups of 2 respondents (6.7%) each said, it robbed the region of skilled labor, low productivity, improved standard of living for those who joined the army and persistent poverty for those left behind as they were unable to support themselves. This was because recruitment into the army did not discriminate anybody with exception of the elderly, women and the sick. The Lugbara with special skills such as rain makers, blacksmith medicine men were all recruited into the army so long as they were able-bodied and within the required age bracket.

Agricultural production was also affected since able bodied Lugbara were conscripted into the army. However, those Lugbara who joined the army improved their standard of living through acquisition of new clothes, shoes, bicycles and other household items like blackest source pans.

Several assorted individuals about 11 making 3.3% each gave different views on the effect of Arua been reserved as an area for army recruitment. They said it led to insecurity, employment as soldiers, acquisition of new languages, exposure and skills development, access to education for children and hence people become literate. The respondents also said that, there was acquisition of chronic illness, famine, no industrial development, low tax revenue but there was development of new languages and skills, creation of intermediate cultures.

Apart from the fact that the tribes resident in the area have been truculent and troublesome up to comparatively recent times, the proximity of the Sudan facilitates the ingress of very undesirable influences, while the long
international frontiers, which forms the western boundary of the District, renders it particularly important that every precaution should be taken to develop the area.

The colonialists allocated many Lugbara as quasi slave careers. As Africans were shipped across the Atlantic to work in sugar and cotton plantations in America, The people of Arua particularly the Lugbara were transported by trucks and river boats as ‘Kasanvu’ to work in coffee, tea and sugar plantations along the fertile shores of Lake Victoria. The southerners were regarded as incompetent and inefficient in these areas.

As noted earlier on, some of them were recruited to military service in the defense of the colonial interests of the British. During the days of the Kings African Rifles (KAR) many Lugbara distinguished themselves in expeditions against Italians in the deserts of Libya, India and Burma to protect allied interests.

On return home, many who totally lacked ambition of their own came home with possessions that were lifted in single trunks, uniforms and medals which they wore. These became their only valued property and they narrated endless tales of their journey in faraway lands. These were their achievements and ultimate possessions until death. Back in their homes, they continued to live the same lives as their predecessors, simple and monetarily unproductive.

This money economy forced people abandon homes to look for work in plantations because all households were taxed. There were virtually no sources of cash income in West Nile, because they believed cotton and other Ugandan cash crops could not grow well in the region. To pay their taxes and escape arrest therefore, the Lugbara in West Nile had to travel to work in the richer
districts of the south, particularly the former kingdoms of Buganda and Bunyoro.

4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, the results suggested a correlation between colonial economic policies and development of the Lugbara in West Nile. The study proposed that structural patterns of wealth and poverty have persisted among the Lugbara in West Nile from the colonial period to the present day. Indeed, the qualitative historical records support this conclusion. This is because the study largely documents negative effect of British colonial economic policies on local welfare. Though some people were able to learn entrepreneurial skills, get jobs in the colonial setting, the imposition of taxes, cash crop growing, labor policy and reservation of West Nile as a place for army recruitment largely affected the Lugbara negatively and laid the foundation of underdevelopment of the region.
CHAPTER FIVE
CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction
This chapter discusses the findings and makes conclusions with respect to the study objectives.

5.1 Discussion
The current study found out that the colonialists used a number of economic policies on the Lugbara. These policies included taxation where each and every adult male was subjected to paying poll and hut taxes. The other policies used included cash crop growing, forced labor, discouragement of industrialization besides commerce and trade. These policies were enforced through the use of the administrative structures especially through the chiefs and village headmen. These findings are similar to those early found by Geria\textsuperscript{122} who indicated that introduction of poll tax in 1900 and other taxes were meant to enable the British government to stop paying annual subvention to the Uganda treasure that originally ran administration in Uganda.

The use of the different economic policies resulted in improved access to education, infrastructure development, increased household incomes, wealth accumulation, modern methods of agriculture especially use of fertilizers. These findings are similar to those early postulated by Odu\textsuperscript{123} who argued that taxation policy resulted in building of schools, hospitals, and dispensaries and the subsequent expansion of educational and health services. It also helped in the construction of towns, roads, bridges, railways and factories among others.

However such policies also resulted in family break ups, poor social services; under development given that the active labor force migrated to the south as target workers, low productivity and persistent poverty respectively. As a

\textsuperscript{122}Geria, 114.
\textsuperscript{123}Odu, 117.
negative consequence there was also limited industrial development, rural-urban migration, and contamination of the traditional cultures and acquisition of chronic illness. These findings are quite similar to those early postulated by Kasazi\textsuperscript{124} who argued that the colonial administration in Uganda effectively barred Africans from participating in the higher levels of commerce, industry and agriculture.

The study found out that the British colonial power greatly influenced the economic development of Arua District from 1914 to 1962. However, before the British colonial rule in the area, the district was largely under the Belgians, and the Arabs. The study also established that the Arab influence was less felt because they had little interest in administrative work, instead expanded their trade and religion. These findings are quite similar to those early found by Odu\textsuperscript{125} that the scramble for and partition of Africa indicated that DRC was under Belgian rule much as the former Sudan especially Northern Sudan is predominantly occupied by Arabs; but they had their influence in South Sudan which extended to Northern Uganda including Arua.

5.2 Conclusion

The major focus of the study was to examine the impacts of colonial economic policies on the Lugbara in West Nile from 1914-1962. The study aimed at identifying the British colonial economic activities that transformed the traditional economic systems of the Lugbara.

From the studies it was evident that the Lugbara were economically self-sufficient and even produced surplus which they exchanged in order to create more wealth. The pre-colonial labor used for production in Lugbara was based on household labor, communal labor and communal ownership of land.

\textsuperscript{124} Kasazi, 44
\textsuperscript{125} Odu, 123
The study also showed that apart from agriculture, the Lugbara also participated in livestock keeping, blacksmithing, hunting and fishing. This meant that food shortages or famine were not common unless natural disasters such as drought existed.

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

The study also revealed that the coming of the foreigners (British) changed and substituted self-sufficient economic systems by introducing cash crop growing, money economy, taxation, migrant labor and creating West Nile as whole as a labor reserve.

The policies introduced among the Lugbara had both positive and negative impacts on the people of the area. For example, positively, roads were constructed, schools were built and some people acquired wealth. Meanwhile some of the impacts affected the people negatively and this caused underdevelopment of the region.

The study of colonial economic policies in this region showed that the capitalist penetration did not completely succeed in uprooting and dislocating all facets of pre-colonial economy of the Lugbara since household units have remained to present day as the basis of production.

And lastly the colonial policy of reserving Arua as a source of migrant labor and the introduction of cash crop growing were the two policies that profoundly affected the Lugbara, which to this day is part of the economic livelihood of the Lugbara.
APPENDIX 1
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APPENDIX 2
RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear respondent

I, Acidri Ignatius, a student of Kyambogo University pursuing a Master’s degree in Arts (History) undertaking a research on the topic: The Impact of British colonial Economic Policies on the Lugbara of Arua District from 1914-1962. I am requesting you kindly to answer the following questions to the best of your knowledge. Your answers will be accorded with maximum confidentiality. Thank you for your cooperation.

Section. A:

Bio data of the respondent

Name ..............................................................

Age: ..............................................................

Sex ..............................................................

Academic qualification:

...................................................................................

Occupation:

...................................................................................

Place/village/town:

...................................................................................
Section B:

IDENTIFYING COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICIES.

1.  (i) Did the British introduce Economic policies in Arua district?  
    YES OR NO. (Tick one)
    (ii) What were these economic policies introduced by the British colonialists on the Lugbara of Arua District? (List them)...

2.  In which particular areas (camps) did the British colonialists settle in Arua District?

Section C:

IMPACTS OF COLONIAL ECONOMIC POLICIES

3.  How did the imposition of taxes affect the people of Arua District? (Choose appropriate answers)

   i. Introduced cash crop
   ii. Created insecurity as people ran away
   iii. Make people abandon their families
   iv. Loss of lives and families
3. What benefits did the people gain in paying these taxes? (List them).

.................................................................
.................................................................

4. Do you think many people from Arua District who went to work as laborers in sugar, tea or coffee plantations in the central or western Uganda benefited? Yes/No

If yes, state the benefits

i. .................................................................

ii. .................................................................

iii. .................................................................

iv. .................................................................

If No, give the reasons

i. .................................................................

ii. .................................................................

iii. .................................................................

iv. .................................................................

5. Arua District was reserved as an area for recruiting soldiers. Do you support this view? YES or NO (Choose one).

6. What were the effects of recruiting soldiers on Arua district? (Mention them

i. .................................................................

ii. .................................................................
7. Were the economic policies beneficial to the people of Arua District? (Give your opinions).

Section D:

Pre-colonial socio economic and political organization even establishment of British colonial rule among the Lugbara.

8 How were the Lugbara of Arua district organized before the coming of the British?

12. Did the Lugbara accept the British rule? YES OR NO (tick one)

If YES, how?

If NO, how?

Thank you.
## APPENDIX 3
THE ESTIMATED BUDGET

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**Key:**  
N = Population size and S = Sample size
APPENDIX 6;
SCANNED TICKETS OF KAMILO DEBOA
APPENDIX 7

MAP 1.1 THE LADO ENCLAVE IN RELATION TO SURROUNDING COUNTRIES, C.1909 (BASED ON STIGAND, 1923)
APPENDIX 8

MAP 1.2: SKETCH PLAN OF ARUA TOWN IN 1916
APPENDIX 9
MAP 1.3 THE LUGBARA AND NEIGHBOURING ETHNICGROUPS
APPENDIX 10

MAP 1.4 CURRENT MAP OF ARUA DISTRICT.