Christian enculturation in Karamoja, Uganda.

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The thesis aims to clear the ground for a Christian, local theology in Karamoja, the remote, north-eastern corner of Uganda. The cloud of reluctance to articulate the spiritual in local tradition to strangers has been penetrated by gathering the disclosures given to a wide variety of observers. These are considered within the whole history and culture of the Karamojong, so as to perceive the sacred in, as well as beyond, the profane. Thus, the belief system encountered by Christian mission is exposed.

Part I introduces 'culture', as an organizing category, and defines 'enculturation', as both, the appropriation, and the variation, of a culture, by those in its compass. Part II outlines a history of Karamoja and the Karamojong, highlighting contacts with other peoples. Part III surveys ethnographic treatment of Karamoja, and sets out Karamojong culture with the emphasis on religion. Part IV relates cross-cultural attempts at communication in Karamoja, concentrating upon Anglican mission and seeking to explain its lack of obvious impact. Part V concludes, that Christian mission in Karamoja has tried to replace the traditional culture, and, in the attempt, has enculturated a few converts into a Western lifestyle, who are, in the eyes of ordinary people, no longer Karamojong. The analysis calls for a reappraisal of Christian mission and its relationship to a traditional African people. A full bibliography for Karamoja is attempted.
CHRISTIAN ENCULTURATION

IN KARAMOJA, UGANDA

by

BENJAMIN PAUL KNIGHTON

A thesis in two volumes submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Durham.

Volume I

Department of Theology, University of Durham

1990
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A DECLARATION

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In January 1984, I found myself crossing the Uganda border into Karamoja. On coming to Moroto, we heard that there had been shooting by soldiers in the town. The equally new VSO volunteers were huddled, bemused, in a bungalow, but our reception was in a community centre, where the Anglican pastors, for whom these kinds of troubles were nothing new, gave us a rousing welcome. The next day, travelling north to Kotido, which was to be my home for over 2 years, our lorry driver stopped half-way to inspect, what the vultures and jackals had left at the side of the road: 2 human jaw-bones and a few empty cartridge cases, which the army had brought out specially. This set the scene for my work for the Church of Uganda in the Diocese of Karamoja, where we survived, by grace, not only the gun law of Karamoja, but also the genocide of part of the Baganda, the torturous methods of NASA, Obote's secret police, and 2 violent changes of government.

And this was, as has been said ad nauseam, Churchill's 'pearl of Africa', blessed with an abundance of natural resources and potentialities. One of these, many would have said, was her willing adherence to the Christian faith. No other country in Africa, embraced so quickly and so fervently both the Anglican and Roman forms of the Christian faith. 'In missionary circles, Uganda became a symbol of all that the nineteenth century hoped for and prayed for.' (Hewitt 1971:205) In the 20th century, it has
been highly churched, as 'One of the most vigorous examples of Christianity existing anywhere in Africa' (Barrett 1982: 686f.).

The Baganda people has always been noted in this country for its adroitness in taking to, and on, things British, even bureaucracy. Few others have received so lovingly the Anglican formularies into their bosom. Go to a little mud-brick building on a Sunday morning in Buganda, whether in a quiet village or in city slums, and you will find the rite of 'Morning Prayer', Bible Readings, a sermon and 'Hymns Ancient and Modern' sung warmly, reverently, beautifully: the only difference from the original being, that it is all in Luganda and the middle of Africa. Is not this how the missionary intended things to be? Translated into the local language, of course, but, nevertheless, quintessentially proper: the ideals of the Church of England (or Rome, or Constantinople, or Mecca, or Alabama) sown, germinated, and blossoming in a foreign land. But this is to ignore the state of the nation.

The transplant of one organ does not translate the whole body and mind of the patient into something else. Yet a country's religion must be extraordinarily curtailed, if it does not influence, and is not influenced by, every facet of social life. Although its relegation to one of the poorer countries of the world can be put down to patently non-Christian forces, notably Idi Amin himself, the recent state of Uganda must be due, at least partly, either to the inherent destructiveness of its majority religion, or else its complete ineffectiveness to promote the things that really matter: unity, beauty, truth and goodness in society.
Having maintained a large degree of independence and so their traditional culture, the Karamojong provide a good example, if a changing one of what has been called 'old Africa'. Here we may find, with a little less 'noise', some of the elements, that have bedevilled the attempted assimilation of African culture to Western. From an analysis of their response to modernity may emerge the conditions for achieving a just and peaceful African society in the 21st century (Mazrui 1988:358).

Without wanting to over-estimate the power of knowledge, for over-confidence in the human and natural sciences to build a nation preceded Uganda's fall, it is when one goes to the heart of a culture, that one begins to understand. A culture is unified, or not, by the mechanisms, which hold together the tension between the ideal and the actual. Universally, this is the sphere, though not exclusively, of credence and religion. In the case of the Karamojong, it is the sphere of theology, if of a different kind to that of Christian missions, which, in turn, are trying to express the quintessence of their sending cultures. Perhaps, it is the human cultures, which prevent one and all seeing, that they are praying to the one God. If so, there is much to be learned on all sides.
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I. INTRODUCTION

A. SCOPE

1. AIM

The aim of this thesis is to clear the ground, and state the case, for a Christian, local theology in Karamoja, so that the Karamojong may participate in the revelation of the universal God given in Jesus of Nazareth. By definition, such a local theology cannot be constructed by an individual working on his own in a foreign university. Neither can it be done unilaterally by the church in Karamoja, but only in dialogue with those Karamojong, who symbolize 'the many' there, for whom Christ died (Is.53:12; Mk.10:45).

We missionaries must not apologize for, but repent of, opening a church tradition:

through the monocultural lenses of expatriate leadership in a community without reflection on how much they might have been westernizing a people as they Christianized them.

In many of the younger churches, which had sacrificed much to take on the local theology of its missionaries, the challenge to develop a local theology of its own has proved paradoxical, puzzling, and painful.

Leaders from within a culture have become so alienated from the roots of their own culture and so socialized into the invading culture, that the situation is often much worse than it was under expatriate leadership.

(Schreiter 1985:32,26f.,39)

What is common to many mission churches will be found to apply also in Karamoja. The church, and other alien institutions in Karamoja, still need to face the actual situation, as it has unfolded through time, instead of
dismissing it, and carrying on regardless. We all see enigmatically by means of a mirror (I Cor.13:12) but that should not prevent us from walking in the light of God's truth, as He reveals it. This aim will govern the selection of material, though it is not intended to condemn the missions in Karamoja, or undermine the value of mission as such, but rather to offer a sound and healthy footing to one and all.

2. LIMITS

If theology does indeed treat the God of the universe, the trinitarian scope of culture is as broad, as broad can be. This introduction is intended to set the cultures of Karamoja in a world, from which God has not absconded. The bulk of the thesis will be particular. There is no fundamental contradiction here, for the universal is in the particular, and the particular in the universal, so the escape from abstract generalities is a justifiable one. However, the geographical limitation to Karamoja is still a long way from being sufficiently narrow to be neatly encompassed.

It has become an anthropological truism, that no culture can be encompassed by any student; that the way of life can ever be probed deeper and deeper to reveal new facets, or show new values. (Herskovits 1950:643) This is still more so, when a trinitarian scope allows no discipline's knowledge, not even that of the degrading science of elephant hunting, to be written off. There has to be drastic selection, while acknowledging, that no evidence is inadmissible.
a. Historical Background

Scope here depends much on sources, for there are few Karamojong ones that have been committed to writing. Lamphear's collection of historical traditions affords some excellent insights, but no professional anthropologist did detailed work in Karamoja until the 1950s. Before then the only written material was by British hunters and soldiers, some of which has been well catalogued, mainly by Barber. Space has been allocated to setting up either original or central interpretations. Fresh, detailed, historical consideration is essential for examining culture-clash, especially as it involved mission, rather than political history, though this is vital for placing Karamoja in world history. The interrelations are more far-reaching than appear on the ground without a historical perspective, which is invaluable in avoiding analytical howlers and practical blunders. Of these Karamoja is not in short supply, precisely because most planners and observers going into Karamoja are ignorant of what has gone before. Both romanticism and polemic must fade into critical realism.

b. The Pattern of Culture

Obviously, there is room here only for a brief overview of the cultural structure, which is greatly complicated by the presence of at least ten local tribes. The focus will be on the Karamojong, that is, the Karimojong, the Jie, and the Dodos, the latter two accepting the generic use of the name for their southern neighbours by outsiders, like the author (see Appendix A.1). The Jie, Karimojong, and Abwor have been well served by anthropologists but many gaps remain, especially in the
religious aspect, in which only the local sages are very knowledgeable and about which nobody is very forthcoming. It is connected with the very considerable staying power of these cultures. Yet many ceremonies are acted in public and so are observable though the observer's interpretation should be checked against local ones. The other tribes cannot be wholly ignored and the occasional wider comparison is drawn.

Before the professional anthropologists much sundry ethnographic detail was recorded by hunters and soldiers in the hey-day of the all-round amateur and later by missionaries. This helps to see what is relatively common or permanent in the cultures. Selection will gravitate around what is germane to theology, especially missiology.

c. Communication between Church and Culture

The focus will be on the cultural issues impinging on both the missionary and his Karamojan hearers. The personal material, gathered by the author, will be used mostly here but it largely relates to the Anglican church, while information regarding the Roman Catholics is more of a secondary nature, though Frs. Cisternino and Novelli have been very helpful in our common task. The course of Anglican mission will thus be followed, but not exclusively.

3. TRINITARIAN SCOPE

If as the Reformers believed in continuity with the Medieval philosophers, that all truth is God's truth, then every discipline of knowledge has some piece to contribute. The problem for modern academic inquiry is seeing the whole, but there arise three basic distinctions in the mass of
learning which not all disciplines straddle. Habermas finds three dimensions of human existence, reflected by the Historical, Empirical, and Critical disciplines (Bernstein 1985). Luhmann (1984) has a General Theory with three sub-theories of Evolution, Systems, and Communication. The Moscow-Tartu school of semiotics finds the totality of signifying systems comprises: established methods, by which a community preserves its memory and sense of identity; social activities and behaviour patterns; the arts (Sebeok 1987:166). Westcott (1902:169) said that John records how God's 'character is shewn to us in His action in' History (11:4; 19:11), Nature (5:17), and Grace (6:44f.).

Theology retains its unique importance because only the language of faith in search of truth can raise back to the one God the worldly affairs of history, pattern and communication. In the Holy Spirit we have God's history, creation, and redemption in time, dynamically empowering the truth in the dialectical raising of man to God, or deification, at the eschaton. In Christ there is the Logos of God, the pattern of creation, the divine ordering, Emmanuel, God being with man. There is also the son of God, who in His divine wisdom suffered the cross, because of man's depraved theology, to correct human culture for its restoration, that it might be raised whole, spotless, and good to God. In the Father, there is the ungenerate source of all things, and so the only source of unity, the really real meaning, revealed by him, for the cosmos, which He raises into His bosom.

History, pattern, and communication interpenetrate one another. There can be no pattern without growth, no
history without systems to change. Both wither in sterile isolation if there be no communication which itself depends utterly on an ultimate unity. Viewed apart from Trinity, culture fragments and has no future, for both freedom and identity are assured in God.

B. METHOD

1. SOURCES

Material has been drawn from as wide a range of sources as possible, little of which would have made much sense, without the author’s experience of living in Kotido in Najie from 1984-6, some of which was recorded in notes, letters, and a journal. Contact has been kept by correspondence, and the missionary circulars and grapevine. Unhappily, Uganda since Amin has been a sorry place for any kind of research or communication. Expatriate access to archives is not easy, but Dr. Barber has made available his copies of sources to me.

Traceable former missionaries were sent a questionnaire (Appendix B.1-2), more than a third of which were returned, and letters or material, such as old prayer letters were sent. Some have been interviewed, as have former Protectorate Government officers, others of whom corresponded. All the details are listed in the bibliography, including a comprehensive list of works relating to Karamoja and its cultures, classified broadly according to discipline in the secondary material.

It is a feat to receive a letter from Uganda, letter-writing having been formerly discouraged by bonfires
in the Post Office, and the activities of the secret police. Undaunted, letters were sent to secretaries of Ugandan dioceses, who had sent missionaries to Karamoja, and questionnaires (Appendix B.3) to clergy and others in Karamoja, in order to give them a chance to contribute their views. Postage, stationery, confusion as to what was wanted or why, and reluctance to write on these matters have meant very little response, which is itself a matter of note.

2. KNOWLEDGE INTEGRATED IN WISDOM

It is not, that knowledge about the culture and its history is secret; rather, it is that those who have fully entered into it, are in a position to appreciate and make sense of it. Even adults must acknowledge that the elders know better than they, for it is those with long experience, who hold society together, value it more, and have time to reflect on all features of their culture. ‘Am I an elder, do you think, that I can just sit under a tree and talk about these things of the past?’ (Lamphear 1976:55) The standard answer for not writing was ‘Too busy’ -- a strange answer for Africa. The elders are the qualified people to talk about their culture, and they will only do so, often in short epithets, to those who show proper obeisance to them. Those skilled in ritual matters impart their knowledge to those who will share their rôles.

Others seem unauthorized to speak beyond their interest in the culture, so men under 30 have most to say on cattle or the early stages of marriage. Though many sacrifices are public ceremonies, there are others, beyond those connected with security, which are not for the
outsider to see. Certainly, the elders like to keep some places hidden from the inquisitive stranger: several Jie refused to guide Pazzaglia (1982:27) to Daidai, where the tribal angola ceremony is performed annually. Turkana denied there was a forest on Moruasigar (MM 10/117:120).

Even pastors show a marked reticence, which could be for any of a number of reasons: being long educated into a Western world view, and never knowing, or not being able to return to, the traditional way of thinking; not wishing to appear uneducated by showing an interest in ‘backward’ superstitions; fearing that faith or church are inadequate to deal with the natal culture and therefore blocking it out; believing that the conversion means that the old way of life should be systematically repudiated and ignored; fear of expounding matters they have no business to treat and reaping the whirlwind of spiritual forces.

3. DISCLOSURES

If little religious knowledge, readily meaningful to the outsider observer, can be creamed off by straightforward inquiry, it would be folly to conclude, that there be none, when it is integrated in the wisdom of the elders. Gulliver and Dyson-Hudson (D-H) found little historical material, being dismissed by the bald statement, ‘It was long ago’, but Lamphear, having used the key of the age groups to unlock the elders’ memories, opened up a very different picture. Even he did not tease out their religious beliefs, though this was not his purpose.

Faced with the inability, or unwillingness, of educated people to explain much and the concern of the
elders to guard jealously their religious traditions, there is only one avenue open: to gather the occasional disclosures of the numinous or the sacred to give meaning to the observed ritual behaviour, which is undeniably at the core of Karamojong culture. Each observer has only been given one or two such disclosures, which on their own are sidelights but when carefully collated illuminate the cosmological scene surprisingly well. Even a lifetime's painstaking fieldwork might not uncover what has been written in many disparate sources. Yet these isolated disclosures are almost meaningless outside of the context of the culture in all its aspects.

The material has been digested inductively, each new factor adjusting interpretation of the data accordingly and amending the synthesis of thought, producing more fruit than was initially thought possible. As implied by the aim, the task remains an unfinished one but the case may be put.
C. TERMINOLOGY

Theology, mission, church, academia, Karamoja and its cultures, Uganda, are all parts of this world, and have no monopoly in or over it. Communication is sought here between theology and anthropology, church and culture, Europe and Africa. In such a dialogue ultimate solutions are not required for life and thought in the borderlands is generally provisional and does not demand the unyielding speciality of being on one side of the border, or both, of being an anthropologist and a Karamojongait.

Communication does, however, require, that those who would communicate, speak one another's language even if this be not very intelligible to the people back home. Such is both the incentive for a new concentration of understanding and the cost of its dispersal, yet the drive for success achieved by cornering knowledge should give way to 'communicative action' (Bernstein 1985), in which church meets culture for the liberation of all. Thus, when a word like 'enculturation' is used, it is not intended to obfuscate, but to key in to a discourse, which has already begun in the area of interest: culture and its continuity. If the term is strange to theologians so interested, then the obligation is on them to become acquainted with it: to speak the language or remain isolated from the discussion.

1. ENCULTURATION

The fullest exposition of the term 'enculturation' has been given by the American cultural anthropologist, M.J.Herskovits.
The aspects of the learning experience, which mark off man from other creatures, and by means of which, initially, and in later life, he achieves competence in his culture, may be called enculturation. This is in essence a process of conscious or unconscious conditioning, exercised within the limits sanctioned by a given body of custom. From this process not only is all adjustment to social living achieved, but also, those satisfactions that, though they are of course a part of social experience, derive from individual expression rather than association with others in the group.

Every human being goes through a process of enculturation, for without the adaptations it describes he could not live as a member of society.

(Herskovits 1950:39f.)

One of the main dangers in borrowing from another discipline is becoming wedded to a particular hypothesis within it, to the extent, that everything stands or falls on the continued success of that hypothesis in its own field. For some, particularly social anthropologists, who, in their preference for Durkheim's 'social transcendental', do not embrace the concept of culture and, therefore, use 'socialization' rather than 'enculturation'. However, the terms are standard in America, which has always had to live in sharp contrast to the Indian way of life (Rosman & Rubel 1985:7f.; Sills 1968:Vol.14:545). If there were not a term for the transmission, or handing on, of culture, it would have to be invented, and it is sufficiently self-evident, that to enculture somebody is to envelop that body in a culture. The verb also has middle and passive forms: someone, or some innovation, can enculturate, or be enculturated, into a culture.

a. Personal
i. Becoming

In sociology and social psychology, the concept of enculturation, or the conditioning of members of society to the fundamentals of that society, has usually focussed on
child learning. Thus it has been acknowledged, that the inculcation of breast-feeding, weaning, eating, sleeping, speaking, and defecating habits, has special significance in the forming of personality and adult habits. The wider approach of comparative anthropology is interested in the differences in adult belief and behaviour across societies. Therefore, the socialization of the child into its own society is not the end of the story. There is the stage of the adolescent rebellion against maturity, as defined by the status quo, combined with its search for its own maturity, and then the stage, which is only closed with death, where the dialectic between the continued incorporation of responsible members of society and their modification of it, becomes the stuff of historical change. Thus, enculturation is not only a common process, but also a life-long one (Hunter & Whitten 1976:143; Seymour-Smith 1986:92f.).

ii. Leadership

While much social conditioning -- more than we like to think, if we pride ourselves as autonomous individuals -- occurs at the level of the unconscious and unreflected, the adult members who are increasingly sure of their way round society and of how it ticks are faced with degrees of choice which vary according to the possibilities for change presented by new factors arising within or without the society. Such individuals then have to make up their minds as to whether the new factor should be enculturated into their way of life or excluded, thus playing their role in leading, guiding and reorienting their society.

b. Social

However, it is the prevalent atomic view of society
and the interests of psychology, which present enculturation as a process involving the individual and bestowing him with personal choice. Conditioning is unconscious precisely because its content does not require personal decision: it is generally accepted as 'the way things are'. It makes sense, because it is common sense, and needs no reflection, as the unwritten and unspoken premises of life. There is an intersubjective dimension of common understandings which also invades the conscious mind. So the apprehension of the meaning of symbolic forms is itself a social event, just as marriage is, for instance (Geertz 1966:5). If we have difficulty in seeing beyond the personal events in marriage to the inherently social, that is our loss as Westerners, but is certainly not Karamoja's.

Furthermore, the later stages of the enculturation of the individual are not just the personal events, which they appear to be in the West. The age-set and generation system in Karamoja which classifies all men, and so their families, into an order of group seniority, and confers political, legal and moral authority on a consensus of elders, preserves the society from any individual interest or decision. In fact, the position of elder is attained regardless of personal merit by ceremonies of initiation, which are demonstrably social events.

Only in libraries is learning a non-relational business, and even there the isolated reader may be learning how human beings relate in society. Education is only part of the enculturative experience that, through the learning process, equips an individual to take his place in society. For enculturation also includes assimilating elements, in
and into, his culture without tuition, such as new music, dialect, or the habits of younger or older generation.

Thus the personal and the social are firmly held together in the meaning of enculturation (Bernardi 1977: 76f., 85).

c. Christian Enculturation

The term 'Christian enculturation' is used for the relationship of those who come as Christian missionaries to a culture. The contact with the culture has an effect on both the invading and receiving cultures. To a greater or lesser degree, usually in quite subtle ways, the missionaries enculturate and, according to the receiving culture's acceptance, or enculturation, of the culture traits or texts that the missionaries bring which are inevitably far wider than their gospel message, the host culture will be changed. The whole issue of 'culture' can be deferred no longer.

2. CULTURE

a. Environment and Habitat

Not all thinkers admit to a concept of culture but the alternative is to see cultures as 'superficially different representations of one abstract culture, human culture' (Sebeok 1987:165). Though it is important to keep hold of the unity of human experience, the Karamojong are an apt reminder of its diversity. Culture is no abstraction, even if no thorough-going agreement can be expected, since definitions vary according to philosophical predilection, whether mentalist or behaviourist, idealist or materialist. Thus, some expositions of culture focus on linguistic
concepts, others physical objects. Somehow this opposition must be taken up.

Culture is here taken to be man’s accumulated response to his environment, where ‘environment’ is given its widest possible sense as the aggregate of all the external conditions and influences affecting life. It combines both ‘habitat’, the natural setting of human existence with its physical features and primary resources, and ‘culture’, which varies in form according to the different societies that share the same habitat and whose very plurality goes to show that culture is the immediate conditioning factor behind human belief and behaviour.

Man, through the expression of his culture, works on his habitat and so, to a certain extent, moulds his own environment. English culture cannot be abstracted from the network of towns, villages, hedgerows, fields and copses, into which, and out of which, the Englishman has fashioned England. Culture is not determined by any completely independent variable, for the genetic characteristics of race never specify culture: ‘black’ skin does not make black a colour signifying holiness. Yet, however closely semiotics and hermeneutics abut the theological task, there is no excuse for ignoring environment: take a Karamojongait out of his habitat and his culture will lose some of its meaningfulness. Take a Western Christian out of his and the same might be said. Culture is inside and outside man. The concern for super-organic elements should not repeat the theological error of retreat into a purely metaphysical, spiritual world.
b. **Configuration**

Gestalt, or field-theory, psychology emphasizes the unity of human experience which cannot be carved up into the physical and the metaphysical. Similarly the individual must be perceived in his total setting, thus lending great importance to the place of culture. Here the chreode is a useful illustration. It is, as it were, a web which gradually, but surely, channels the course of change which will be disturbed by various events but will still head down towards the mainstream. Culture is that part of the environment which gives direction and intensity to human life.

To borrow the language of the biologist, Rupert Sheldrake (1981), culture can be seen as the morphogenetic field particular to humanity. The gravitational field in the general theory of relativity is space-time, which is curved in the presence of matter. Electromagnetic fields are the setting in which electrical charges take place and through which electromagnetic radiations propagate as vibrational disturbances. Both are spatial and yet immeasurable. Both are structures which are only traceable by their effects. They are not material but are known by their effects on matter. Similarly, the morphogenetic field has no energy and yet is formatively causative.

Culture, then, is neither physical, nor is it just the force of individual human minds, yet it is their context which is omnipresent to shape human belief and behaviour and so, the whole environment. One cannot pick up a chair and say, 'This is culture.', but it has been designed, created, preserved, and used under the influence of culture, even if
man, not culture, is the agent in those activities. Yet, 'all cultural behaviour is patterned', so that the beliefs and behaviour of members of a society are directed towards broad channels, whose courses are implicitly known to all (Herskovits 1950:212f.).

c. Continuity and Complexity

Culture is not what one group in a society has and another lacks for paucity of wealth, education, or leisure. In one shape or form, for instance, as a collective memory it is the inheritance of all human beings, born into the world and, indeed, it is precisely this legacy which distinguishes mankind from the animal kingdom, with which genetically, there is overwhelming continuity. The human polypeptide is more than 99% identical to the chimpanzee counterpart. Animals have started down the road of learning, remembering, speaking, discriminating, conceptualizing, using tools, counting, and moralizing, but there is a difference on both the social and personal sides.

In society, the inhuman creature has nothing to match the organized and increasing complexity of man's consciousness and behaviour as seen in the pursuit of institutional or national goals. It is this growth in form, or negentropy, which can be set against the loss of physical energy in the universe, or entropy. Man also identifies himself with a certain group or as a certain kind of person by selectively focussing his life in a certain direction (Hardy 1977). Complexity is inherent in culture; identity in enculturation.

d. Culture and Society Distinguished

Man is not the only social animal which lives in
space-time, for many live in aggregates, continually adjusting to the demands and behaviour of their fellows, but they are not cultured in that they do not culture their way of life, preserve, enhance, complicate, and accumulate it. ‘A culture is the way of life of a people; while a society is the organized aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life.’ (Herskovits 1950:29). An animal society can have social institutions but there is significant discontinuity with human culture.

While animal behaviour is governed by instinct, imitation, and experience, humans also learn by instruction, inference, and symbolic communication the general patterns of their culture. They are enculturated so that, when they encounter novel situations, they are not only equipped to deal with them but can add the experience so gained to the collective knowledge, building up territorial, social, economic, political, legal, moral, personal, intellectual, aesthetic, ritual, and linguistic traditions. To select sociality as the organizing category raises a false dichotomy between the social and the economic, while the category of culture eclipses this.

In that culture gives unity in diversity to the human life which God has created in His own likeness, it indicates His providential presence. Immanently speaking, where culture is, there is God. Culture is a concept peculiarly close to the human condition and one that has too rarely been addressed explicitly by theologians. Yet, if a Euromerican goes to Karamoja, it smacks him in the face, unless, like the indigenous ostrich, he hides it in the sand.
3. ACCULTURATION

This term denotes the transmission of culture, but is associated with Malinowski's one-way view of African culture contact. \cite{malinowski1944}\textsuperscript{15} 'an impact of a higher, active culture upon a simpler, more passive one... the conception of culture change as the impact of Western civilization and the reaction thereto of the indigenous cultures is the only fruitful approach'. Today, the term 'only fruitful' may be replaced by the adjective 'ethnocentric', which describes the view, that all cultures can be considered from the perspective of one's own. It is the view that everyone takes until they learn to see their own culture from a different perspective.

4. TRANSCULTURATION

This was the term invented to express the now accepted fact that acculturation is a two-way process. Assimilation of a weaker culture by a stronger is not the sole possibility of culture contact. Even if domination is assured by advantage in one aspect, such as population, technology, or warfare, it is no guarantee that the dominating culture will not be changed in any aspect. Disraeli found the Zulus to be a remarkable people, 'they defeat our armies and convert our bishops'.

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5. INCULTURATION

a. Etymology

This term was popularized by the Jesuits, its very first recorded use in a theological context being in 1962 by a professor at the Gregorian University of Rome in French. Today there is a more urgent need for a Catholicism that is inculturated in a variety of forms. (Shorter 1988:10)

Whether he was coining a word, translating into French, or mis-spelling 'enculturated' is arguable. However, this was the word that took off in Catholic theology from 1974, when the first assembly of the Federation of Asian Episcopal Conferences spoke of 'an indigenous and inculturated Church' and then the 32nd Congregation of the Society of Jesus gave a decree on inculturation.

b. Definition

In 1988, Aylward Shorter W.F. published 'Toward a Theology of Inculturation', which defined the term as:

the on-going dialogue between faith and culture or cultures. More fully, it is the creative and dynamic relationship between the Christian message and a culture or cultures.

He readily recognizes,

that the Christian Faith cannot exist except in cultural form. When we speak of Christian faith or Christian life, we are necessarily speaking of a cultural phenomenon. It is a distinctive way of life, which can only operate culturally.

Plug the qualification back into the definition, and

we are really speaking of a dialogue between a culture and the faith in cultural form, in the first instance a dialogue between the Christianized culture of the missionary and the hitherto un-Christianized culture to which he comes.

(ibid.:11f.)

The second instance is the continuing dialogue between Faith and culture following 'the first insertion of the Faith' but, since faith only comes in cultural forms, it becomes a
continuing dialogue between the local 'Christianized', but often alien, culture and the, as yet, 'un-Christianized culture' (Kasper 1975:202-5). There will also be a continuing dialogue between the former and the missionary's culture, unless contact has been severed, which is seldom the practical result of mission. These dialogues are examples of acculturation: culture contact between different world-views, social identities with their integrating symbols, and corresponding lifestyles, fraught with the dangerous temptation of force majeure by the culture with the greater financial and technical resources.

Katoke (1984) complains of the inherent contradiction and confrontation of sub-cultures, created by the imposition of European customs which were neither European nor African. Newbigin (1978) assumes that the ecumenical, Christian community is homogeneous, as the 'invading culture' and that the local, or 'receptor culture', encounters this in a triangular field where tradition, inspired by Scripture, makes up the threesome. Yet Scripture is a sacred book, a cultural text, not a culture, and the invading culture is the vehicle for biblical hermeneutics. Thus, the triangle is often formed by the invading culture of the missionaries which, increasingly in the modern age, speaks with a forked, secular and Christian, tongue, the local, traditional culture, and a hybrid one of converts, which may, where modernization forces culture-change, displace, but not eradicate, its ancestral culture. The zone of culture change becomes, for Malinowski, 'a third cultural reality' which is explicable neither by European culture nor by
African (Battle 1970:2-8).

Shorter is being candidly realistic when he asserts that much church evangelization has neither succeeded, nor even sought, to do more than enter the acculturation process. Yet he still tries to maintain that inculturation is more than acculturation, but he only does this by slipping back to the use of terms like 'the Christian message', 'the Faith', and 'Christianity' as if they were substantive entities that stand apart, alongside, or over, culture in order to Christianize or convert it. This concept of cultural domination is softened by the incorporation of 'interculturation' which is the ecclesiastical equivalent of 'transculturation', emphasizing what should be the 2-way character of mission. That the receiving culture affects the local Christianized culture or church is inevitable but its influence over the wide communication gap to the sending culture or church in another continent is muffled and delayed. It is this intermediate cultural state, which makes mission so problematic.

c. The Absoluteness of Christianity

To conclude that 'the Christian Faith' is like a package which can be posted from one culture to the next, converting those who do not return it unopened, is somewhat idealistic. That Christianity is a substantive entity as the absolute religion, which can be happily imposed on the world in the sure knowledge, that it will be the world's religion, when absolute knowledge is attained, is the contribution of German Idealism. Yet historicism, eventually imbued in the theology of Troeltsch and the anthropology of Boas, found it impossible to reach a position, from where any religion or
culture could be evaluated. The consequent pluralism has been recognized by Vatican II to the extent that Walter Kasper could not advance an absolute claim 'on behalf of a particular religious body, but on behalf of the gospel of grace.'

When we say, then, that Christianity is an absolute religion, we mean that grace has been absolutely promised to all, and that it demands of all an absolute decision. (Kasper 1975:202-5)

Can the Christian message be self-enclosed or pre-packaged at all? The gift relationship is entirely different for the Karamojong who look for security by making alliances with the largest possible number of people through the exchange of gifts. To refuse to give the essentials of life, such as water or hospitality, to the one who asks, without good, i.e. traditional, reason, risks starting a catastrophic chain of negative reactions. The relationship of a rich benefactor to a mass of beneficiaries is unknown to Karamojong traditions (Novelli 1988:105-13). The Barthian notion of grace, dispensed unilaterally by a bountiful, but autonomous, God to men who are too conscious of their sin even to ask, would take some explaining in Karamoja. It is arguable whether most Christians have a clear idea of the absolute promise of grace to all, let alone 'that it demands of all an absolute decision'. Inculturation cannot rid itself of the problems of acculturation or of Christology from above, while it is wed to absoluteness.

d. The Church and Cultural Absolutes

Absolutes are not confined to idealism. For most of the church's history she has viewed the world with a monocultural, ethnocentric eye, forgetting the profound challenge that the teaching of Jesus throws out to all such
comfortable embeddedness in culture or tradition (Mt.5-7; Mk.3:31-5, 10:29f.; Lk.13:34).

i. Peter and Paul

At first, it was assumed, that conversion to Christ ipso facto involved conversion to Judaic culture, at least to some extent. This threatened Paul’s Gentile mission to the core, explaining his heated reaction at Antioch.

But when I saw that they were not straightforward about the truth of the gospel, I said to Cephas before them all, 'If you, though a Jew, live like a Gentile, and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?’ (Gal.3:14)

Peter’s mediating approach assumed that the way forward was a gentlemanly process of acculturation, whether a one-way inculcation of covenantal nomism (inculturation), or a two-way exchange (interculturation). Paul’s approach, which would certainly antagonize ethnocentric Jews, was one of Christian enculturation, encouraging Gentiles into distinctive ways of life, which could not be predetermined by Judaism and were therefore Christian Gentiles: foreign, but reformed by the revelation of Jesus Christ.

Current scholarly opinion holds that no Roman, Lutheran, or Anglican bishop would have acted differently from Peter. But neither Peter nor Paul were bishops: they were missionaries, one to the circumcised, and the other to the uncircumcised (Gal.2:7f.). The problem was that they were squeezed in the 3-cornered cultural tension of Antioch, trying to reconcile the Gentile culture with that of the mother church in Jerusalem in a hybrid culture of Christian Gentiles and Jews. Since Antioch was not only the third city of the Roman Empire but also home to a large Jewish community, who attracted numerous God-fearing Gentiles, it
was inevitable that they became entangled (Dunn 1983).

The Judaizers had no time for the Gentile *hamartoloi* (sinners) until they were properly converted, which meant keeping the conditions of God’s covenant, or the works of the *Torah*, but Paul thought that all Christians knew, ‘that a man is not justified by works of the law, but through faith in Jesus Christ’ (Gal. 3:14). The law is, of course, the written code of the Jewish culture. Nothing could be clearer than that faith transcends culture but it does not absolutely replace culture, because for Paul, Christianity is Christ (Phil. 3:7-16). Paul’s success as a missionary was recognized in the formation of the Christian canon, yet the later church reified its own reformed Hellenistic culture and increasingly alienated the Jews who were now the sinners, who had to be Hellenized, before being accepted by the church.

ii. Christendom

In general, and ignoring, its rather different expressions in the east, the church has retained its monocultural view of the world ever since, with the Reformation using Paul to remove the holy blinkers of Rome, but not those of European culture, even if it was acknowledged that, within it, different places had different ways. Ironically, it was the overflow of Europe’s supreme self-confidence in the 19th century, when nothing could prevent its domination of the world, that led to the establishment of European denominations in quite different cultures and eventually to a cultural pluralism within the European communions.
iii. Christianity Reigns?

However, until the focus of unity has been worked out in diversity, ethnocentrism will naturally tend to fill the vacancy.

If an almost hazardous attempt is risked here to formulate a brief synthesis, it obviously can only have "Western" (European and American) civilization in mind. For other cultures a different standpoint would have to be chosen, because the rationalized technical one-world civilization has not yet produced such a unified concept of man for this to be yet capable of providing a possible universal basis, and a universal public, for a statement about the nature of Christianity.  (Rahner 1975:190)

As Westerners, cushioned by all the printing and publishing facilities at our disposal to drown the words of very different cultures, we tend to assume too easily, that 'the rationalized technical one-world civilization' is here for everybody and, if not yet, then we will do our best to fulfil our own, self-inspired prophecy.

It is theologically possible to suppose that just as the whole Graeco-Roman culture of Christ's day (what Karl Jaspers calls the pivotal period) was a praeparatio evangelica, so the powerful modern trend towards the amalgamation of mankind in the fields of technology, economics, and science may be paving the way, under God, for a response of all the human race to the increasingly actual universality of the Christian religion which technical advances will have made possible. Not that we are preaching a foolish optimism and naively assume all secular progress to be the equivalent of religious progress. Secular progress, we must realize, makes it possible for mankind to react to the gospel with a collective Yes or a collective No.  (Kasper 1975:205f.)

If humanity is going to unite round technology, economics, and science then the stories of Babel and the Apocalypse assure us that the answer will be a collective 'No!'. Perhaps the church should take a lead in affirming diversity rather than secularization but she naturally tends to be ecclesiocentric.

Christianity is itself enriched upon entering new cultural phases and regions, acquiring surplus meaning in loyalty and conformity to its tradition. (Shorter 1988:13)
Substitute 'multinational company' for 'Christianity,' and 'profits' for 'meaning,' and it can be seen how patronizing interculturalization can be. The 'surplus' is neither necessary to the tradition nor can it be distinct from monolithic Christianity. It is an optional extra for the acquisitive collector at the world's curiosity shop. The cultures of the world were not created to serve the church, but the church redeemed to serve (Mk.10:42-5).

e. The Church as Centre of Mission

What weighs down the use of inculturation is the residual notion that the church is the centre of mission, from which all good things flow. But if Christianity is Christ then there is the possibility that he has gone before, the possibility that he has already given himself in the creation of culture, before the missionaries of the church arrive to lisp his name. The Karamojong have no word for Christianity. Neither do they know the name, Christ, except as the one, to whom Christians pray. Christianity to them is no more than an ekristayot, an individual Christian, or an atukot a ngikristo, a gathering of Christians. Once the church accepts their quite justifiable zero-rating of Christianity as a precious thing in itself, then she might be able to show them Christ. 'Christianity' is not a biblical term, being coined by the bishop-maker, Ignatius of Antioch (Westcott 1902:128). As Coleridge has well said (1905:89),

He who begins by loving Christianity, better than truth, will proceed by loving his own Sect or Church better than Christianity, and end in loving himself better than all.
f. Christianity and Inculture

Christianity is often used as the proper name for a religious tradition, but the Christian faith is a response in culture to God's self-communication. He is the source of mission, truth, and church. It is the deistic notion of God which leaves Him trailing distantly behind the missionary Land Rover. 'Christianity', as a monolithic weight, cannot only displace the appreciation of truth and its source but can also depreciate culture even though 'Christianity' cannot appear apart from culture. Still it is 'a higher religion which includes elements which are only possible on a higher level of civilization'. Rahner (1975:15) further claims, that though it supersedes other religions, it can never be superseded.

The very word 'inculture' originated to describe the lack of a 'higher' sort of culture. Feltham (1627-77) reflected that, 'the Inculture of the world would perish it into a wilderness, should not the activeness of Commerce make it an Universal City'. The court of Chancery noted, in 1653, 'The Smallnesse of Commerce, paucity, poverty, and inculture of people'. This is a testimony to the persistent prevalence of a distinctly bourgeois, European world-view, which Christian Africans associate with the collective European missionary aim to Christianize, commercialize, and civilize Africans as being void of civilization, culture, or religion.

It cannot be argued, that the pejorative use of inculture was confined to secular spheres in the 17th century. First, there were none, and second, the hymn-writing Bishop of Lincoln, Christopher Wordsworth (1807-85)
said of the anti-establishment, German hymn-writer, Joachim Neander, that 'his appearance was very inculture' (Oxford English Dictionary 1972). For Bernardi (1977:4), the qualification of anthropology as a science lies in the premise that every human is the active and creative carrier of culture.

Even without knowing this, the educated African may balk at the concept of inculturation, understandabley chafing at the put-down of the Westerner, who teaches him the 'higher level', and then tells him, he must return to the 'lower' one of his unredeemed culture, so articulately attacked by many Westerners. But is Christ related only to 'Christianized' culture?

f. Inculturation or Enculturation?

Starting with an ecclesiastical history of mission and an ecclesiastical word, inculturation which, if it appears in the social sciences, appears as a misspelling of enculturation for inculturation is not mentioned in the standard works, Shorter is bound to the very tradition, which he is trying to amend. His definitions fall foul of his own arguments but he tries to have the definitions and keep the arguments. If the church is now to attend to the issue of culture she needs to tune to the language of those who have long been concentrating on it. Then she will not only communicate more effectively, not least with herself, but will also have a say in the future study of man. 'Christian enculturation' can be intelligible to others besides interested Christians.
II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Little is written about culture or religion without at least implicit historical assumptions being made. When nothing is written issues of temporal continuity are more likely to be ignored for in the literature about Karamoja, the past is frequently claimed in support of one view or another. However, without research, this can often be the extrapolation of prejudice into the past, finding what was wished or expected. Yet history is full of surprises and if 'his eyes keep watch among the nations' (Ps. 66:7) we should learn from what He continuously sees before we comment on the ways of 'the judge of all the earth' (Gen. 18:25).

A. THE PREHISTORY AND SETTLEMENT OF KARAMOJA

The difficulty in researching East African history is, of course, the lack of written documents, before outsiders started making them which, for Karamoja, has only been for the last 100 years. This alone has caused people to write tribal history off as unknowable and, therefore, irrelevant. Such dogma has been used to denigrate all materials for a non-colonial history of Africa, which is then conveniently presupposed to have no effect on the present day. The result is that Karamoja is thought to be in a strange, unreal time-warp, that its people have always been there, having been fossilized in an Early Iron Age culture for millennia. It is a museum of quaint freaks, dropped into the middle of unknown Africa from nowhere. Its
display has nothing to tell of world history, because it is quite unrelated to real events. The fossils should bestir themselves, if they want to participate. Such a view is the intellectual blindfold of cultural imperialism.

Happily, university departments of African studies are not oriented thus and attempt history by using the laborious techniques of archaeology, linguistics, and cultural anthropology as well as the arts and sciences. Their results will be brought together for Karamoja and summarized here. The etics of material culture, which the archaeologist has dug up, though not often enough in the pertinent areas, must be combined with the emics of the social and linguistic life of people poorly understood in academia. What is written now must, perforce, be highly tentative and a simplification of complex happenings over a long period, but to write nothing is to give the impression, that nothing happened, which would certainly be farther from the truth.

1. EAST AFRICAN MAN

a. Proconsuls

Over 20,000,000 years ago on Mounts Napak and Moroto, hominoids of the *Dryopithecus* genus were learning to stand on two feet, in order to cope with thinning forests and observe other animals in the long grass, which partly replaced the trees, both as environment and source of food (Posnansky 1974:53). They were able to turn its hands to functions other than perambulation, and hunting and walking led to the acquisition of social skills which overcame aggressive and sexual impulses so as to combine against
other animals and protect the defenceless young. Ideas had to be communicated.

b. Homo Sapiens

Perhaps the first human beings, who can be dated in East Africa from 150,000 years ago, to wander over Karamoja were the hunting and gathering groups of the indigenous African stock of Bushmen, leaving their Stillbay stone points and their lanceheads, behind them, notably in a cistern on the eastern escarpment of central Karamoja.

i. Magosi

The well at Magosi was first chipped out of the rotting granite beneath an overhanging rock as long as 40,000 years ago in East Africa's Middle Stone Age by the first community to leave interpreted remains. Magosi once gave its name to an intermediate culture, thought to extend as far south as Zimbabwe. There was no hiatus between succeeding cultures, rather a continual process of transition into the Late Stone Age. The cistern was redug as the water level dropped in time of drought and stone tools of different millennia rubbed shoulders at the bottom (Cole 1963:54; Clark, J.D. 1982:283f.).

The finely knapped microliths of the later community were used on the plains of Karamoja and Turkana below. A little agriculture may also have been practised using digging sticks weighted by bored stones to break the hard earth. As rock paintings in South Africa show them being used thus, a Bushmanoid community is hinted at. Rock paintings are to be found in Karamoja of animals in dark red or white, and of geometric designs, such as concentric circles (Lamphear 1976:62f.). These are experienced in the
physical extremes produced by some dances and drugs. One site lends a dramatic focus, and a deep religious significance is altogether likely.

The stone-flaking techniques, however, resembled the industries of the Sahara Neolithic and the Doian of southern Somalia, also around granite inselbergs. Over 17,000 years ago a people, physically similar to the Caucasoids of south-west Asia and North Africa, entered East Africa bringing an advanced technology in making fine stone tools. Microliths distinguished the Late Stone Age, permitting the use of barbs, and so poison. Bows were also used to drill holes in seeds and ostrich eggshell for beads. If there were no sudden cultural change, it is likely that the Afroasiatics gradually absorbed the local Bushmen.

ii. Rainfall Changes

Man's habitat was not static. The uniformly high rainfall in East, North, and Central Africa was reduced by global warming leading to a dry period between 12,000 and 10,000 years ago, when Lakes Turkana and Victoria began to rise again. This wet period, when rainfall was 165% of modern levels, and south-west Karamoja was under water (Tothill 1940:60ff.) and Lake Turkana overflowed seasonally through the Lotagipi swamp into the Sobat River, lasted until 7,000 years ago, when another dry period ensued for a millennium (David 1983:43). A final wet period prevailed 6-3,000 years ago, during which more Afroasiatics changed their location.

iii. Southern Cushites

'Hamitic', or Cushitic, speakers with a Caucasoid physique spread rapidly into East Africa from the north 3-
5,000 years ago, with their domestic animals and new agriculture. The earliest, sure date for domestic animals in East Africa is 4,000 years ago east of Lake Turkana (Robertshaw & Collett 1983:295). Archaeological research at different sites in Karamoja found deep-basin grinding stones for milling millet, and deep-grooved pottery have been found at the rock sites in Karamoja, as have Cushitic burial cairns. The Wiltonian microlithic industries may have continued into this millennium, but the population certainly changed. The SC were absorbed by Eastern Cushites, ancestors of the Dasanec, spreading to Karamoja from north of Lake Turkana 3–2,000 years ago (Ambrose 1982:111–3).

2. NEGROID CIVILIZATION ON THE NILE

a. Nilo-Saharan

The Mesolithic industry at Khartoum used the microlithic tools found in Europe as well as Neolithic and Dynastic Egypt. The oldest known representatives of Negroid stock in East Africa come from Mesolithic Khartoum. About 10,000 years ago, pottery and bone harpoons were invented on the Upper Nile and spread to the Sahara and the Mediterranean. Yet the Negroid peoples on the Nile maintained languages distinct from the Afroasiatic ones that spread across North Africa and to the Horn. The Nilo-Saharan (N-S) phylum of languages has an organic relationship with a common, ancient, mother tongue, which the linguists term a proto-language, ‘P’. PN-S had its own root for cow, (*de/*te) quite different from the Afroasiatic *lo or *sa. Thus, the native, wild, long-horned, Bos primigenius cattle (and sheep) were known to the
Nilo-Saharans from the beginning, spreading down from the west or north-west, so were not a later diffusion from expert pastoralists in the Ethiopian Highlands (Clark 1982:497; Ehret 1983).

However, there is evidence to suggest that the Negroids were only just coming to terms with cattle products for food. In order to stomach cow's milk, the human race must build up a genetic tolerance to lactose. The Bushmen of Angola have not begun to do this, while the pastoralists of the Horn have up to 100% tolerance. One of the most cattle dependent members of the N-S phylum, the Maasai, still have as low as 40% tolerance (Vossen & Bechhaus-Gerst 1983b:562). Ultimately, then, the domestication of the cow for milking may have derived from Asia, but the Negroids were responsible for introducing cows to Central Africa. Their very success in the semi-pastoral life, which also involved experimentation with wild grains, was encouraged, even to the extent that they spread from the Niger River to Lake Turkana by the progressive dessication of the Sahara in the 6th millennium BC. In the process languages and customs diversified.

b. Chari-Nile

The Chari-Nile (C-N) sub-phylum brought cattle into Central Sudan over 7,000 years ago, being the first people there to produce their own food rather than garner it. As peoples pass from a hunter-gatherer to a food-producing way of life, the robustness of the skull reduces (David 1983:72). The Teso even recall their primal generation as tadpoles, men who were of short stature with large heads dwelling among swamps and on lake sides (Lawrance 1955:12).
They also took with them the common N-S discovery of the cultivation of sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*) and bulrush millet, (*Pennisetum americanum*, David 1982:79). The existence of C-N representing the original unity of Central Sudanic (CS) and Eastern Sudanic (ES) speakers has been disputed, but they were neighbours in Central Sudan, with the latter just north of the former.

c. Eastern Sudanic

The ES family, which was begotten 7,000 years ago near the Blue Nile, south of its confluence with the White Nile, slowly started spreading over the next millennium in different directions with its mobile stock of sustenance. The drier environment of 4-3,000 years ago, opened up the Sudd grasslands for expansion, and the following millennium the dessication of vast areas of the Sahara and Nubia created a pressure to move on (ibid.:559). How people responded is unclear. Some went south up the Nile on the west to the Nuba Hills and along the margin of the Ethiopian Highlands on the east, where large parts were occupied by Negroids over 3,000 years ago, and millet and sorghum were being grown.

Others went north to the Egyptian borderlands, despite the strong New Kingdom. In 1,400 BC, there were 2 main groups involved: the N-S Eastern Sudanic, as evidenced by Egyptian loanwords in Nubian, and the Afroasiatic Northern Cushites. It might have been this contact, which resulted in the NC Beja sharing the root for goat (*na*) with Eastern Sudanic (Ehret 1983:392). Apart from language, Nilotes and Nubians are also linked by the use of lip-plugs, and 'Nubi' is even named by a Jie elder as the origin of the

i. Kuliak Settle Karamoja

About 5,000 years ago, a small, marginal branch of the family pioneered their way into Karamoja, assimilating and being influenced by any Late Stone Age inhabitants. This branch shares 3% of its vocabulary with the largely Khoisan (Bushmanoid) language of the Sandawe of Tanzania. The number is insignificant but the meanings are not, indicating the possibly new techniques of making knives, throwing spears, hoe cultivation, grinding grains, and milking stock, which the new settlers passed on to wandering Bushmen.²

The ES speakers are called the Kuliak (K), who are now represented by the hill tribes, the Ik, the Nyangiya, and the Sor, or Tepes, who still go hunting and gathering as well as tilling gardens, but whose present poverty, apart from modern agriculture in Nyangiya, does not reflect their previous dominance of the country. Probable memorials to the Tepes, the first Kuliak offshoot, range from the Tepes Hills in Dongiro (Tornay 1979:310f.), through the Dopes River in Najie, over Mount Kadam, called by the Kalenjin, Tabasiat or Debasien (Weatherby 1962:201), to Endebess, east of Mount Elgon, which again became their home for a while in the 19th century. The Ik even have an oral tradition, that 'long ago', they were one people with the Nyangiya at Lomej (Gulliver, P. & P. H. 1953:98), which is midway between their separate destinations in the Nyangiya and Morungole hills.

The Jie remembered former residents of their new land as Ngikuliak, and, in 1916, the Turkana called the Teuso (the Itunga name for the Ik), Giluak (cf. ibid.:10 Lamphear 1976:69n.; EA 4325:29.2.16 Turpin's Report). They
had cattle at some stage, but it might have been their very loss that drove them south so early. Whatever the reason they use the Afroasiatic cattle terms (lo, sa), not N-S/ES, though they do employ the latters’ root for many or riches (*bol) to describe their cattle corral (bor) but this might have been borrowed later from Ngakaramojong (Fleming 1983a: 435).

ii. Kuliak and Cushitic Contacts

The use of cattle and other terms poses the question of Cushitic links (Tucker 1967b). To this day travellers of the pass up the north-east escarpment to Kamion add to the little cairns on the path to quieten the spirits of the rocks. Even so it is a notorious place for travellers to go missing. Up here passed an old Eastern Cushitic people who also surged west into south-east Sudan, introducing loanwords there to ES Dodinga, and to Kuliak, ensuring the latter’s continual bilingual position. According to Wilson’s oral tradition (1970:130f.), which is substantiated by Turpin’s 1916 report that many EC Marille (Dasanec) climbed the escarpment even from Lake Turkana to visit the Ik, the ‘Maliri’ were settled in North Karamoja until forced out by the Itunga. Because of the common use of the word, kut, for the hide of large animals, it has been surmised, that a trade in skins existed between Maji in modern Ethiopia and Nyangiya (Fleming 1983a:463; 1983b:551).
d. **Nilotes**

i. **Language**

The only sure trace we have of the original Nilotes is some of the vocabulary which they passed down to their modern descendants who tended to preserve those derivative words which were closer to their continued identity and way of life. Fire (*imak*) and rain (*ru*) were important elements. Hunting was still important for animals, such as the crocodile (*nyang*), were trapped (*lok*), speared (*rem*), skinned (*yeng*), and their meat (*ring*) roasted (*cuny*). Cows (*itang*) and their udders (*nyaw*) were vital, for milk could be stored in the form of oil (*myet*) as ghee, a technique learnt, perhaps, from Afroasiatics (cf. Hausa *may*). Smoke (*pur*) would rid their huts of flies and gnats.

Exploration (*rot*) helped in finding pasture, when oxen, castrated by crushing (*dong*) the testicles, could be exploited by drawing blood to be whisked or shaken (*pir*) for eating clotted. Their urine (*ulak*) could then wash out the gourds. Dogs (*ngok*) were kept for hunting in packs. Eggs were used, for beads as well as food. The Nilotes had a quinary numeral system, based on the fingers (*angwan*, 4) and hand (*kan*, 5). Aesthetic interest was given to feathers (*oper*) and colours (*kweng*, *ere*). The heart (*tau*) of Nilotic man had a more emotional, psychological, and spiritual meaning than belly. Social problems were caused by theft (*koko*) and drunkardness (*mere*) from a surfeit of bulrush millet beer (Dimmendaal 1983:289ff.; Hieda 1983:17ff.).
ii. Cradleland

Descended from the ES Family 5-6,000 years ago, the likely cradleland of the Nilotes was immediately south of Gezira between the White and Blue Niles (Ehret 1983:392). Over 5,000 years ago, Neolithic Sudan paralleled predynastic Egypt in pottery. Sandstone ochre grinders were used to make red pigment. Within the next 2,000 years, the Gezira economy was built upon humpless cattle, operating transhumance with dry-season cattle camps near the rivers, and the cultivation of sorghum and bulrush millet. Just north of Khartoum, finger millet (Eleusine spp.) imported to Africa by Semites near the Red Sea, was being grown. Then Gezira came within Meroe's sphere of influence, to be subject to perpetual acculturation from the north.

iii. Kush

Between 4,000 and 3,700 years ago Egypt had occupied Nubia and Meroe, which adopted Egyptian culture, building a temple to Amun, cemeteries with graves facing east, and pyramids. Having already been recognized by the Greek geographer, Eratosthenes, the Kingdom of Kush came into its own 3,000 years ago, adopting more African traits into its culture. After 850 BC it was ruled by black ES Nubians, originally from west of the White Nile, with the state's government and institutions closely modelled on those of Pharaonic Egypt. They used the Egyptian language exclusively for monumental proclamations and religious dedications, though Nubians, or Noba, continued to live in grass huts in the rural areas. From 751-664 BC, Kush ruled Egypt in the 25th Dynasty, rashly fighting Sennacherib's Assyrians who attacked Judah in 701 BC (Is:37.9; II Kings 19:9). Isaiah
noted that the tall and smooth-skinned people of Kush 'in
the land that the rivers divide' were feared near and far
(Is.18:2).

One of Kush's southern outposts was Jebel Moya. Here
were tall, heavily-built Negroid people with 'extremely
massive skulls and jaws' (David 1983:64f.; Shinnie 1971;
Wainwright 1954:119). The two central, lower incisors had
been extracted from 13% of the males and 18% of females.
Quartz lip-plugs and iron bracelets with razor-sharp outer
guides encircling the wrist were worn. The continuity of
these cultural traits to the present Karamojong and other
Nilotes does not establish them as Nilotes who already
extended over a broader area, probably to the east.

Very different was the Roman influence, which
reached Meroe but by 350 AD Meroitic power was over. Around
this time Jebel Moya served as an entrepôt between the
Afroasiatics to the north and east and the Nilo-Saharans to
the south and west mediating, above all, the use of iron.
About 550 AD Christian missionaries came up the Nile in the
wake of literate Copts to Nubia and Meroe where their faith
was established for 800 years in the new kingdoms of
Nobatia, Makouria, and Alwa, having a profound effect in the
Nile Valley and beyond, until the Arabs invaded (Adams
1982:17).
3. THE SPREAD OF THE NILOTES

a. Migration South

The Nilotes had begun to shift south over a millennium before any Christian influence, though at different rates, and changing in the process but there is very little archaeological knowledge available of this time when the Nilotes began to split up into their Southern (SN), Eastern (EN), and Western (WN) divisions. Each inherited the Nilotic initiatory rite of dental evulsion and pastoral values. The Southern Nilotes have usually been east of their 'Eastern' brethren and it was their contact with the Cushites of the Ethiopian Highlands which gave them the social organisation, especially the warrior age-sets, to overcome rivals in drier environments, and drought resistant varieties of finger millet to cope (David 1983:93f.). They were the first Nilotic division to invade East Africa (Ehret 1971:6).

South-east Sudan was drying out 3–2,000 years ago, possibly leading to conflict with the fishermen cultures. The humpless (Bos taurus) cow had obliged a more farm-based economy and so more social ties with other locals (Vossen & Bechhaus-Gerst 1983b:566) but gradually a more nomadic exploitation of grazing became necessary as cattle became more populous in Central Sudan. They also lacked a ready supply of iron spears to give them a superiority over the aboriginals to the south who were soon fortified by SN dominance. Thus the other 2 divisions of Nilotes only entered East Africa in the last 500 years.
b. The First Nilotes in Karamoja

Less than 3,000 years ago the first bands of pre-SN began filtering south from their cradleland, north of Lake Turkana, along the Rift Valley, but no mention has been made of them traversing Karamoja also. That they did is testified by the number of SN loanwords in the Sorat language. These Kuliak people, now confined exclusively to the mountains of south Karamoja, have been associated by modern travellers with the modern SN Kalenjin tribes neighbouring Karamoja, the Pokot and the Sapiny, but there is no common descent. The most likely answer is that a group of pre/proto-SN took over the plains of south Karamoja, leaving the mountains to the Tepes, so that they continued to influence one another.

i. The Oropom

The Karimojong certainly knew of a cattle-keeping people, who lived north of Mount Elgon and west of the Turkwel,

which was similar to us in habits, customs and language. The Oropom had nothing in common with the Suk [Pokot] group; they did not circumcise and the language of the latter was not understood by them. (Turpin 1948:162)

The Oropom were remembered in the last 25 years to have lived west of Mount Kadam, until dispersed or absorbed by the Pian after 1923 (Pazzaglia 1982:71f.), and east of Kadam in 1927 before being scattered by the Pokot (Wilson 1970b:126f.). Descendants absorbed into the Karimojong claimed to Wilson that in the distant past, the Oropom had spread over all of the south-east tip of Sudan, Karamoja, Teso, and Turkana, as far east as Lake Baringo and as far south as Mount Elgon and the Nandi Hills. Some substantiation is given by the place-names of Moru-aropian
in Dodos, Ongoropon in Najie, Oropoi in north-west Turkana and Najie, and Rupa in Maseniko. The similarity with the marginal SN Dorobo (or Torrobo) people of Kenya and Tanzania might also be noted.

Their customs were largely Nilotic. They planted crops and kept humpless cattle, longer in the horn than Karamojong breeds, which they would milk and bleed for food. Bridewealth consisted of cows, goat, and sheep, all of which had their horns reprofiled. The lower, central incisors were removed, and a stone, or perhaps, wooden lip-plug was worn. Men and women daubed themselves all over with red ochre and, like many Kalenjin, associated God with the sun, but neither sex practised circumcision, unlike SN, who had been much influenced by Cushites. They had an age-set cycle, but no knowledge of iron-smelting, depending on small iron-working peoples.

Wilson has listed a small vocabulary, which tends to omit Nilotic words, but still contains at least 18% resemblances to SN words, notably:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oropom</th>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Kuliak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>emaa</td>
<td>ma (Pokot,Nandi,ES)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iyoo</td>
<td>iyo (Pokot)</td>
<td>iya (Sor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meri</td>
<td>meril</td>
<td>merihl (Nyang.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muto</td>
<td>mondo (Pokot muno = son)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More could be found by a full search, which, when done for Ngakarimojong, yields 21% resemblances. Though clearly a member of the N-S phylum, 10% of this Oropom list possibly resembles the largely Khoisan language of Hadza, without considering the latter’s click vocabulary on the presupposition, that there could be no borrowing. This
contact could be explained by the the pioneer Oropom finding wandering Bushmen in Karamoja, some of whom migrated south, others being integrated into the newcomers to give the physiognomic features, which Wilson describes (1970:133f., 144; Elderkin 1983:506f.).

ii. Southern Nilotes

Linguists have already established a contact relationship between PK (Proto-Kuliak) and PSN with borrowing in both directions (Fleming 1983a:426). When the PSN, who dominated the plains from the Kidepo River in the north to the River Mara near the modern Tanzanian border in the south until 1,000 years ago, began to split up, the strongest group, the Kalenjin, lost contact with the Ik to the north. Perhaps the placename for the Ik territory, Timu Forest, was given by SN since they, unlike the Karamojong, used the Nilotic root *tim, meaning bush. It would appear, then, that the Oropom were the last identifiable descendants from the midst of the static PSN who dwelt west of the Rift Valley. Thus, they would be cognate with, but not readily intelligible, to the modern Kalenjin who had inherited their Kuliak loanwords besides adopting EC words and customs like circumcision and clitoridectomy.

That the Oropom were connected to the Kalenjin is indicated by the Kalenjin stem, *rop, which, as in EC Somali, means, ‘rain’, and the word the Pokot gave to H.H. Johnston (1902:II,907) was Karobon, while the Nandi gave Macdonald (1899b:245), Torot, cognate with the Pokot High God, Tororut. The word for ‘rain’ in Africa is often cognate with the word for God and, sometimes, His people’s name. It could be that the Oropom, like the later Dorobo,
were named after their rain-god whose own name was supplied by prolonged contact the SN had, because of their early arrival in East Africa, with Cushites (Ehret 1971:xi).

That the Oropom were not EN is indicated by their long-horned cattle and their device of hiding them in great holes in the ground covered by soil, which are reminiscent of the numerous Sirikwa holes found on the lower slopes of Mount Elgon already known to be PSN stock-pens. The Sirikwa, as they are called by their supplanters, the Kalenjin Sapiny, are another submerged people who did not circumcise. Also like the Oropom, they had more than one room to their houses of stone foundations. Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, who collected oral traditions, believed the Kalenjin 'to be broken fragments of a powerful and widespread people' prior to the advent of the EN and the Bantu. According to another tradition of the Kalenjin Nandi, they used to live on Mount Napak (Gulliver P. & P.H. 1953:96). The Kalenjin were chipped off a block, which modern scholarship knows, as the SN. It is suggested, therefore, that they were well represented in Karamoja by the Oropom.
4. EASTERN NILOTES

a. Cradleland

The PEN had trailed the PSN south, along the west side of the Ethiopian Highlands to the no-man’s land where Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda, and Kenya now meet. Bari, Lotuko, Maasai, Teso, and Lango traditions recalled their peoples coming from north of Lake Turkana, remembering coming ‘together from a place called “Dongiro” which is far to the north’ (Herring 1979a:56-8; 1979b:286f.). Today the Dongiro, or Nyangatom, live immediately north of Lake Turkana and the Lotagipi swamp. It is not known when the PEN emerged as a distinct body from the PN for, while the PSN went south again, the PEN remained in contact with Central Sudanic (CS) speakers for over 1,000 years. Archaeological finds yield evidence for the presence of a pastoral people from 3,000 to 1,000 years ago (David 1982:84). PSN were dominant still for at least the first half of the period. After they spread out they may have been succeeded by PEN, who remained on the verge of East Africa until the present millennium.

The ‘topogenetic method’ uses the criterion of the greatest linguistic differentiation within the relatively smallest geographical area to locate the point of dispersion (Ehret et al. 1974). In the Itunga group this happens in central Karamoja where the different dialects of Ngadodoso, Nguyen, Ngaturkana, Ngajie, Ngakarimojong converge with the bilingual Nyakwai and Abwor, while Ateso is spoken just forty miles away. Oral tradition is available to pinpoint the home of the Tunga, but to find the home of the PEN the Bari and Lotuko groups, which account for eleven languages either side of the Nile as far north as
Bor, pull the centre of gravity north and west to near where Sudan, Uganda and Kenya now meet, perhaps in the Dodinga Hills or, more likely, in the plains to the north round modern Kapoeta (Huntingford 1953:10), itself named after the PT Poet, which settled in central Karamoja.

Kapoeta is now in the land of the Toposa, which again is remembered as a cradleland (Herring 1979b:286; Lampheiar 1976:81,97). This may have been the point of dispersal after previous centuries spent north of Lake Turkana were interrupted by the movement from Southern Ethiopia to the Nile of the EC Oyima, reputed to be the ancestors of the western Ugandan Bahuma and Bahima. Their incursion might have occasioned the PEN's move from the Lake to Kapoeta where the population grew after 1370 in a climate which could make only a pastoral people prosper. It was not until the 14th or 15th centuries that humpless cattle were replaced in the far south of Sudan by the Sanga breed which was a cross of the *Bos taurus* with the Asian Zebu (*Bos indicus*) from Egypt. Its better storage of nutrients and water in its hump, regulation of body heat, greater resistance to ectoparasites and diseases, harder hooves and lighter bones, and its capacity to digest inferior plants led to transhumance outdating concentrated mound villages, in favour of a freer existence on savanna and steppe (David 1982:85).

b. Language

The PEN developed their Nilotic traditions, holding a clear distinction between the rocks and mountains (*meor*) which they had encountered, and the open grasslands (*waka*) which they preferred, but flooded rivers (*kare*), rain
(*kudyu), drizzle (*lilim), and thunderbolts (*kipiat) may have stimulated them to seek drier lands. Well-drained land suited their humped (*rruk), shorter-horned Sanga cattle, which lent a new emphasis half a millennium ago on cattle-herding (*yok cf. Indo-European yoga, yoke). Here we find the modern roots for heifer-calf (*tago), milk (*le), and cow-dung (*wor), which found, with sheep dung (*kileleng), usefulness in plastering floors and walls, which they built (*duk) with doorways (*kat) for a place to sleep (*dyot). The nanny-goat (*kin) found a new name.

PEN society was not purely nomadic. They had footpaths (*koty), fences (*maring), and boundaries (*kor) giving a concept of territoriality. They dug (*bok) gardens and planted a new finger millet (*kimaty) as well as the old bulrush millet (*marua) and sesame (*kinyom) which they reaped (*nger). The roots and fruits of the bush were also grubbed up (*rut), harvested (*deng), picked (*de), and plucked (*dot). Porridge (*tapa) was cooked on charcoal (*kuk) and meat on a spit (*dyepit). Shoes (*kamuk) were stitched.

Servants from a subject people, probably the Oropom, were rewarded (*rop) for their help (*ngar). From them, they learned to cicatrize (*ger) their skin, for they had their own ritual body mutilations (*murun) linked with sacrifice. Life was directed by dreams (*rudy) or devilry (*dem) while the dead (*tuan) were buried (*nuk). Covetousness, or a grudge, could lead to someone being speared to death (*ar, Vossen 1981 & 2).
c. Division and Expansion

The first schism was caused by the Bari moving west to the Kidepo Valley 500 years ago according to oral tradition which Ehret (Letter 10.7.90) suspects of telescoping chronology. Their migration may have been precipitated by the wars of the Funj, often identified with the WN Shilluk, in the north from 1490 to 1530. The Bari missed the cultural transitions which gave the PT their distinctive characteristics and linguistic morphemes, the most important of which divided all verbs into 2 classes, strong and weak, and introduced 3 different gender prefixes for all nouns. The former reflected, but overrode, the archaic N-S distinction between intransitive and increasingly common transitive verbs, but the latter made the more manageable world personal by categorising it according to sex or maturity (Heine & Vossen 1983; Dimmendaal 1983).

Only the Bari of the EN have not borrowed the Afroasiatic word for 10, and presumably the decimal system, from EC toban/tammam. Either this was mediated to the EN by the Ik tomin, or by the PSN *tommon, if not directly lent through contact with the EC. Evidence for the former is suggested by the Karamojong working out their word for hundred by logic (*ngatomoniton), while those, like the SN Pokot (pokol) or the Turkana (pokol), who had direct contact, before or after, with the EC around the Rift Valley, borrowed the EC word, eg. Somali, bogol.
The Salvation History of the Tunga

Why did the PT move on, many going south to still drier climes, to found the present Itunga tribes? Drought and disease have, in the recorded history of the Karamojong, not impelled permanent migration, while Lebensraum remained. The Jie version of the 'parting of the waters' story, also told among the Tunga Maasai, Samburú, and Turkana, may provide a clue.

The reason why the Jie and the other people came to Koten was because an old woman called Napeikisina [she of one breast] came from a long way off, crossing many rivers, to the land, where they lived. She had a long knife with which she slew many people. The Jie and the others fled till they came to a large body of water, which was too wide to cross. One of the women begged God to make a path in the water, and the waters opened and the people crossed. Napeikisina followed them, but the waters closed and Napeikisina was swept away.

In a place where rivers are dry one day, a raging torrent the next, and placid the day after, the story, given the axiomatic belief in a prayer-answering, Saviour God, is quite credible. The form of this Wandersage has been diffused to many parts of Africa. Occurring also in the OT, it is redolent of a Jungian archetypal myth that accords deeply with the human psyche (Jung 1977:657-9). It is thus more than a colourful, story-telling device but impresses a society's consciousness with the disagreeable past event which threatened its culture.

The presence of God is also an overdue reminder that African history is not merely a succession of deterministic events, such as the drought and population pressures, which have been detailed here, but a continuum, in which God is mysteriously at work. Disasters are attributed to an inadequate response by a society and frequently to the technically superior entreaties of the Almighty by rival
societies yet God is still present to save that society. Though the divinity may be tribally defined, he, or she, can never be tribally confined, because a God who shapes and intervenes in natural forces cannot help but bless one society and judge another.

Being a primal event for the Karamojong, a few ancient memories have been attached to it: they had no iron, only sticks to fight with; the women had no clothes but grew ashamed ‘on the way’ so the women slaughtered goats to provide them with skins; they discovered gourds and their cultivation ‘on the way’. Since the Pastoral Iron Age had begun in East Africa by 700 AD, since the Karamojong have a traditional taboo against female nudity so strong that it is applied to toddlers or women washing, and since gourds have been grown with cereals for millennia, ‘on the way’ appears to be an eternal pilgrimage. However, it is possible that: they did not have access to blacksmiths until after the Bari absorbed their dupi; they shared female nudity with WN; they learned about wide-necked (abolokoki) and narrow-mouthed gourds (eboolo) and stoppers (abole) from the Ik who decorate their gourds (polo), but it might be a common ES word (cf. Murle buru).

The factual nugget in this salvation history -- which should be seen as an historical interpretation rather than as pure legend -- may be the ‘long knife’ which could represent the scimitar of the Arabs who had conquered the kingdom of Alwa by 1500, with its spacious Christian cathedral at the capital Soba but had lost power to the cattle-herding, nomadic Funj. These now ruled over a large proportion of Nilotic Sudan but, although they adopted and
fostered Islam, Christian churches carried on, boasting 'crucifixes and effigies of Our Lady'. Since she was represented fully dressed, could she have given rise to Napeikisina among the enemies of Alwa? Contacts are indicated by the WN Northern Lwo clan, Alwa, which passed through Karamoja, providing a constituent of the Kumam, who were in Soroti by 1580, and the Lango (Herring 1979b; Ogot 1967:50; Kropacek 1984:406-8).

A Bokora tradition may refer back to this time, when their forebears lived north-east of Karamoja.

But there they fought over grazing and cattle with unnamed neighbours who, over a period of time, inflicted many defeats on them. So they decided to move away in search of peaceful grazing areas. (D-H,N. 1966:262)

Another possible clue to the identity of these aggressors is that the 'long knife' could be equated with the 90 centimetre sword of the EC Galla from southern Abyssinia, who raided the Lwo settlements in the Agoro Mountains c.1517-44. Though the Lwo repulsed them, their presence was unsettling and led to bands moving south. The EC name, Oromo, crops up at the River Oromo near Mount Lonyili, Mount (O)Rom, and in the Jie and Lango Orom(o) clans. The Ober clan of Lira claim descent from the (Semitic) Abac, and the Bako people of the North Omo River, whose namesakes lived west of Mount Toror in Najie until the 18th century, do indeed have an Ober clan. Moreover, the Kareu, or Karewok, clan, though taking their name from the Lotuko Oghoriuk (Bari: Kuriak) clan, which absorbed CS speakers on formation, was also associated with the Oromo. Not only does this demonstrate the intermixing and complexity of racial and ethnic groups in north-east Uganda, it also helps explain the presence of Cushitic, Semitic, and
CS lexemes in the language that their integrated descendants speak (Herring 1979b:287,313; Buxton,D. 1970:51).

ii. The Forefathers of the Tunga

Vocabulary attributable to PT testifies to further concern with livestock. A new method of castrating (*gelem) oxen (*emongo) was introduced. Even the verb ‘to milk’, (*lep) is not traceable beyond this time though *le is very ancient. Names for the he-goat (*kor) and the ram (*merekeky) make an entrance here (Vossen 1981:54f.). Attempts have been made to show that, through the mediation of EC by SN, the Proto-Ongamo-Maa (POM) were more sophisticated stock-herders, but nearly all the words adduced have Ngakaramojong equivalents: arrow (for bleeding cattle) (*emal), bullock (edonge), bull-calf (emanangit), calf-pen (*anok), lamb (*mesek/ikale), branding-iron (*emacar), and donkey (*esigiria), of which at least 1 is derived from PEN, and 2 from PSN. If PKa. did not have these technical terms initially and it is difficult to imagine any Iron Age semi-pastoral society that would not have most, then they were supplied directly by EC or from PSN before or after entry into Karamoja.

The bow (*kauw cf. Khoisan, *k’o) is used for the first time and a new kind of pot (*moti). A new colour was identified with PSN assistance: blue-grey (*pus). This was a time of diffusion from neighbours, particularly the PSN who mediated a breed of goat (*qoroi) which they may have shared with the Ik (*kol). They may have discovered Lake Turkana and its soda ashes (*makat) though since this is unknown to Ngakaramojong, it may be restricted to the POM and the Turkana. Rather, this was a time of trouble and disputes.
preceding the widespread expansion to come. They fought each other (*ara) and raided (*jore) cattle. Spearshafts (*morok) and shields became important. Sacrificial experts (*muro-ni) were needed to divine propitious moments for attack and defence. The conflicting interests produced new ideas of what it was to be a person or a people (*tungan).

iii. Further Division

Soon, from the 1530s, the Lotuko split off, replacing the Bari in the Kidepo Valley, as they migrated further west. It was a time of drought so, in the opposite direction, the POM made for the west bank of Lake Turkana. The only people left, were the ancestors of the Itunga, PI, who coined gender prefixes, 'a', 'e', and 'i' for all common nouns. However, the PI were already dividing on lines of occupation.
d. Eastern Nilotes Invade Karamoja

Adverse conditions necessitated a choice between old cow-dung (ngasike) and beer dregs (ngasinge), pastoralists and agriculturalists (Lamphear 1976:87). The period 1587-1623 which, due to gaps in the data of the Nile levels may have started earlier for all we know, had consistently below average rainfall, with as many as 2 major droughts and famines. The first, in the 1580s, evoked these words from an oral historian, 'The stark spectre of starvation leaps from the traditions of this period as never before or since.' Communities were shattered, instanced by an uncharacteristic outbreak of cannibalism. The splinters went south.

i. The Ngikatapa

The agriculturalists, at least in the making, who would become known as Ngikatapa, 'the bread people', moved west after 1500 AD to plant sorghum. In the wetter Kidepo Valley, they renewed contact with the Lotuko, and the Bari, with whom clan names were shared, before entering Karamoja by way of Mount Rom. Their southward migration was coincidental to that of WN, from whom they began to learn Lwo language and customs.

For instance, the NL Jimos were in Najie, with their fire-making traditions by 1570. The Bari/Lotuko Ngiminito merged with some of the WN (Ngik)Omolo, who had probably come south from the Agoro Mountains in the 16th century, and mediated the Lwo 'drum complex' and bushbuck totem to the Tepes on Mounts Moroto and Kadam. The (Ngi)Kilipa or (Ng)Erepo of Bari origin went to the east side of Karamoja, fusing with the Tepes and the Oropom to form the Kilipa clan.
on absorption by the Karimojong. The Ariama crossed to south-east Karamoja; the Miro carried on south, followed by the Pur; the Sera went west followed by the Poet, while the Yen returned to stay on Mount Rom. These, with others, such as the Bako, would be the foundational clans for the Itesyo, Teso, Nyakwai, Pore, and 2 tribes, whose language has become dominated by the Lwo with whom they mixed: the Abwor, Kumam, and Lango (Cohen 1974:142; Herring 1979b; Weatherby 1979).

The ethnic mix was given a thorough stir by the disastrous famine in the 1580s and again in 1617-21. Under such pressure, adherence to the land and social identities were broken, both necessitating and permitting most societies in northern Uganda to enter a crucible, wherein each would be fused with its neighbours. Out of it crystallized the tribes known today.

ii. The Herdsmen

The impoverished pastoralists, finally uprooted perhaps by the 1617-21 famine, passed east of Mount Zulia and paused at a hill they named Koten (cf. akiten, to go ahead, lead). They wandered further south-east along the escarpment of Karamoja, until they settled round a well at Lotisan, a position between the hills of another Koten to the north and Magos to the south which afforded vistas of grazing lands to east and west. All Karamojong and Turkana traditions agree that this was the first base of their forebears in Karamoja and the point from which they later diverged. They were there long enough to foster an ethnic identity but oral tradition, unlike the genealogical memories of their Lwo neighbours, does not penetrate into or before this time with any chronological sense whatsoever.
Karamojong chronology, apart from a few catastrophic events, is dependent on their generation system (asapana). That this was functioning before they dispersed is testified by unanimous agreement that the Ngipalajam generation was in power, when they went their separate ways.

e. The Beginning of Generations

i. Karamojong Time

There is no agreement between the sages of the tribes as to the name of the previous generation-set, which might only represent all the generations before their system and so began their chronology. The names, Ngisir and Ngikorio (the giraffes), might just be poorly remembered Ngikatapa groups, Ser(a) and Korio. In other words the Tunga concept of history which is mainly circular, grandfathers having already lived the generation of the grandsons, rolls back three revolutions and then promptly disappears into a misty blur in which the world or men began and heaven and earth were one. Since generations are a perpetual source of interest and stories, it is surprising they should end so soon and abruptly. The Jie claim that their leader in the Ngipalajam generation, Orwakol, invented the generation system (Lamphear 1989:243; 1976:36). The obvious explanation is that the system only solidified before Ngipalajam, that is, 1680-1720. This fits well with a date of migration to Koten-Magos after 1620.

ii. Borrowed or Invented?

The corollary is that asapana, not being a PEN trait, was borrowed from people who had long had it, notably ECs. The Upe (Pokot) are mentioned as living in the vicinity, possibly becoming the Pei (wild dog) section
or else it was their PSN forerunners, the Oropom, now living as part of the Karimojong 45 kilometres south at Rupa. Yet Koten-Magos itself was inhabited by EC Maliri (Marille = Dasanec), who were only pushed back north of Lake Turkana by the Turkana in their 19th century expansion. Some were absorbed at Koten-Magos as the Karimojong sections, Muno (snakes or secret ones) and Mogos (those from Mogos), as both claim Maliri descent (Wilson 1970b:132; Novelli 1988:33f.). There is also a Magos clan among the Jie and amagwoikin means to be distorted, literally, to go to the Magos.

iii. Cushitic Influence

The evidence, then, points to the Dasanec at Koten-Magos, introducing the ritual organization of moieties, revolving every 40 years and dividing the men into the formal categories of fathers and sons. In contrast, Lamphear (1989:241) believes the generation system to be foundational for the EN:

the Nilotic systems were originally based on generational principles, with biological age principles stressed by those societies, whose dynamic processes of migration carried them farther and farther from the ancestral homeland.

Yet WN societies which have travelled far less from the Nilotic cradleland do not show residual signs of a generation system as a unifying principle but 'The structural affinity of Jie and Pokot systems with that of the Galla is immediately obvious.' (Gulliver 1953c:165-7). As the Pokot system was copied from the Karimojong, this leaves the Karamojong in a unique relationship with the EC.

There are considerable differences with Galla systems (Baxter 1978) but the Karamojong do seem to have
enculturated a single, basic principle of the Dasanec, that a person belongs to the opposite generation moiety of his parents and children (Almagor 1989:145,148f.). The most conservative tribe of the Karamojong, the Jie, have adhered to the genealogical principle with the strictest rigour, but it is not original. It should be seen, with simple monotheism, as the result of EC contact, impressed upon age-grading and initiation customs, going back to hunting times and associated with segmentary clan systems which were characterized by the belief in a range of gods or spirits, as found among the SN and WN (see Part III).
5. COLONIES OF THE NGIRO

a. Famine Re-unites and Divides

The two branches of the Itunga, both having fused with other groups, renewed contact only after 150 years. The Ngipalajam initiations which began about 1720 were followed from 1725 to 1729, according to the Nilometer, by a drought, which caused the great Nyamdere famine (Herring 1979a:59). Again oral history permits us to see that it is the Western scientific mind which sees such events as the inexorable effects of macrocosmic laws of matter. To the African mind they are contingent, even upon human, microsocial activity, and have far more than a physical cause. Science is just beginning to rehabilitate this ancient, theological idea (Barrow & Tipler 1986). Thus, a mortal dispute between small bands of WN Lwo and EN Ngikatapa in Labwor upset the harmony of all life in northern Uganda.

'So the Labwor dug up an ebele plant [from which sticks and stools are cut?] and turned it to face those, who had done wrong, and the sun shone for seven years with no rain. This caused the great famine, and all the people of the area were forced to disperse. Some went to Acholi and they are the present Payira. Others went to Lango and settled along the Ganotoro River. Others, including those, who had a few cattle, went to the east...

(Lamphear 1976:111)

The Ngikatapa who went east included some Lwo-speaking blacksmiths and were led by a certain Opio, contacted the settlement at Koten-Magos, where they brought news of bountiful game east of Lokatap (place of atap) Rock. The drought was also beginning to have its effect on the pastoral people on the escarpment, as there were disputes over water-holes, with the Proto-Jie concentrated to the north of Lotisan well around Koten Hill, and the Proto-Karimojong around Magos to the south. As the drought
continued more space was needed so the latter moved further south to the Apule River, still regarded by the Karimojong as their sacred, formative home. They pushed the newly integrated Mogos, Muno, and Pei sections before them to the Natoo River, while the Proto-Jie joined with the Ngikatapa to go hunting and trapping.

b. Traditional Ethnic Histories

Naturally, these derivations of immediate ethnic identity are shrouded in myths. A pair in particular recur, thus constituting what is called a 'central cliché', a simple statement of meaning, which refers to a more complex reality (Lamphear 1983 & 1989:241). Since all myths do this, the term, 'archetypal myth', standing at the head and source of a society's consciousness and reflecting the psychological concerns of the elders, is preferred (Jung 1977:657-9).

i. The Bull is Found

The first myth is common among the EN, having a Nilotic origin (Huntingford 1953:12). The Itunga version focuses on a bull, 'the father of the herd', of particular blue-grey markings, denoted by the word engiro. The place where it is providentially, if cunningly, appropriated, becomes the tribal home of its new proprietors. Men do not own land; they own cattle, and the land is held in common for the cattle with whom the herders identify their lives. The wet-season grazing of the cattle defines the area in which relatively permanent homes are built; the dry-season grazing defines the outer boundaries of the people's territory. The location of the bull sets up the ethnic land, livelihood, and continuity. In the myth, engiro
is the symbol of identity and security.

ii. The Herdsmen have Gone

The perpetual fear of the elders which prevents them from often using their authority to have miscreant age-sets punished, is that they will lose patience. The next generation must wait to inherit cattle from their niggly fathers who take all the major decisions and own most of the cattle with which they furnish themselves with more wives, while the herdsmen live a spartan, dangerous life defending the families’ cattle.

When personal relationships with fathers are strained, as is usually the case when fathers beget and employ many sons, the sons are tempted, when the cattle are ‘freed for dry-season grazing, to take them and settle out of reach, where their cows will fetch them wives and they will decide their own destiny. The elders are physically powerless to retrieve this dire situation, in which the present livelihood of the family is at once threatened and hopes of future prosperity shattered. The rebellious herdsmen in the myth symbolize the ever-present, fundamental tensions within society with the concomitant anxiety and insecurity that spoil the feeling of well-being. Dislocating disharmony results from disobedience to God’s anointed elders. They can only make it religiously anathema but they cannot assert that it is without precedent. So the precedents are identified with enemies.

The Karimojong myth makes the Jie the disobedient, young men, who ran off with the cattle from Koten-Magos, leaving the withered, old men (aki-kari-t, to be thin; e-mojong, old man) behind. Legitimation is also given by the
myth to any attempt which involves the return of the cattle to their rightful (by implication) owners and so the subjugation of the Jie. 'Its value is clearly less as origin charter than as political myth that projects Jie and Turkana enmity into the past and so justifies action against them in the present.' (D-H,N. 1966:263) However, only the Karimojong accept the soundness of their version and even they in the next breath insist that the Jie are not Karimojong and never have been (D-H,N. 1963:401), while the other Itunga acknowledge the substance of the Jie story which does not see a rebellion of young men but the emigration of the whole Koten community.

c. Entry into the Land

The Proto-Jie took up the suggestion of the 'bread people', and explored what was to become Najie.

'So the people at Koten decided to go to the west with the Ekatapit to hunt those animals. They killed many of the wild animals, and then they captured the bull (engiro) which was also there, some grabbing its head and others its tail. The people saw that the place was good.' (Lamphear 1976:115)

They marked out family plots and, as there was no resolution of the Koten-Magos disputes, moved there permanently to make up their famine diet by hunting. Their centre was at Daidai, bounded by the current, tribal ritual grove of Looi on the west with its hidden, long, rock sanctuary and slaughter-place and on the east by the River Longiro, from whose banks is dug the blue-grey kaolin used for ritual decoration, healing, or exorcism.

At first this river was not called Longiro -- it had no name. It was named after the light grey bull (engiro) which the people found grazing there with the wild animals. (loc.cit.; cf. angiro, dark, Gourlay 1971b:C293; emong ngolo ngiro Pazzaglia 1982:26-9)

This picture is akin to the lion laying down with
the lamb; cattle are always tended by humans, in this case, the former residents of the place, who might have had their name for the river but were driven off by raiders who renamed it, as the EN were wont to do with hills and rivers. Since *ngiro is an unlikely stem, it is possible that, in the light of the N-S use of a syntactic plural for a name, the people were called the Ngiro whose sacred colour was blue-grey. ‘At first our people were called "Ngiro" because we lived here in the land near the Longiro River.’ (ibid.:211; Jie logic may see "Ngiro" as prior). It is the people who are prior to the place and the colour for this river was named, as was the Lo-ngiro River in the EN cradleland of south-east Sudan, after the people who lived by it. Engiro is a bovine personification of the Proto-Jie themselves.

The evidence points to Ngiro as an ethnic name, which has been lost in the closed circle of its derivatives, Longiro and engiro. If the name is indeed ancient it might be expected to occur in the other Itunga tribes yet it never appears as a clan name.

i. The Turkana

Najie very soon proved to be overstated as a land of milk and honey and, with the social bonds established at Koten loosened by the move, groups of young men did make off with the cattle. The first is remembered in the usual symbolic form by Turkana traditions.

After the people settled in Najie, two bulls strayed away to the east. The grandfather of my grandfather, Angirokol [A-ngiro-kol, where ‘-kol’ means — patches on white] whose generation-set was Ngipalajam, was the owner of one of those bulls, whose name was Engiro. My ancestors told me there is some connection between the name of that bull and the river called ‘Longiro’ in Najie. People tracked those lost bulls to the east and found them living with
Nayece who was drying wild fruits at Moru Anayece near the Tarash.....
They saw the place was good, with fertile soil, good grass, and many wild fruit. They carried the news back to Najie and many young people decided to move to the east to the place of Nayece. All of this happened in the time of the Ngipalajam.

The other bull probably stands for another group from Koten-Magos which went directly east in the wake of Nayece, the effeminate (because agricultural) Ngikatapa, who formed the Curo section of the Turkana. The engiro bull symbolized the dominant Ngiro, who formed the present nomadic and fiercely independent section, the Monia, whose elders nevertheless regard the Jie as their fathers in a spiritual and historical sense.

It might be this Jie association which gave rise to the Karimojong myth. Those who returned east were still identified with the band which had gone west to Najie. Having rebelled there, they appear to have taken men too from the Ngiro who remained at Magos, the Proto-Karimojong, for there is a Turkana tradition of forebears who never went west (ibid.:91). Hence, the first schism could have promoted a second, leaving both the Jie and the Karimojong with indignant memories of recusant herdsmen.

ii. The Toposa and Nyangatom

The next group to diverge from the political centre at Daidai was one which settled slightly to the north at Losilang, where it mingled with the Ngikatapa Posa to form the Proto-Toposa. They drifted north in search of grazing. At Loyoro, a band splintered off, leaving a hill named after it, Nyangatom. Continuing north, the Mosingo and the Kor sections of the Toposa turned westward, under pressure from the Turkana, to settle in Kapoeta by 1830, while the
Nyangatom turned eastward towards the River Omo where a century ago there were 2 sections: the agricultural and fishing Purna and the pastoral Do-ngiro (Pazzaglia 1982:29-34; Tornay 1979:311; 1989; Vossen 1982:64f.).

The Toposa regularly return to the Longiro River for blue-grey kaolin and to be reminded in the traditions of the elders.

iii. The Jiye

The ancestors of this small tribe were most likely members of a far-flung Proto-Jie cattle-camp which, hearing of a cattle disease at Daidai, refused the elders’ messages to return when the rains finally came. Tradition makes the original leader a woman, Nacere (she of the stars), who was either an extraordinary amuron or a mythical figure like Nayece. Later, from 1770-90, their wealth in cattle proved an easy target for the Toposa and the Nyangatom, making the Jiye fight (ajie) for their lives. Their 2 sections finally settled north of the Toposa. Their name does not derive from the Jie, which was a 19th century appellation for the Ngiro on the Longiro River, but their language and customs do. They claim to have the closest possible inter-tribal relationship, sons of the same mother.

iv. The Karimojong

Although Lobbor (Labwor) and ‘Aje’ (Najie) are mentioned, the reports gleaned to the west in the 1870s-80s by Samuel Baker (1874:II,118f.) and Emin Pasha (Casati 1891:263; Schweinfurth 1888:251f.), who intended to visit, never refer to the Karimojong or words akin. Rather the inhabitants are called Lango, the Lwo for ‘people’. As they were related to the Ngikatapa who went west to modern Lango,
this makes sense. All local traditions agree that the name 'Karimojong' does not date back before the Koten-Magos days yet the popular etymologies attached to the myth of origin are not only suspect but deficient in explaining what is primarily a place name. Unlike Jie, which needs the locative pronominal prefix, 'Na-', to define the place, Najie, Karimojong needs none, for it already has one in 'Ka-' or 'Ko-'.

The place name, Karamoja, was coined by outsiders, whether Abyssinian or Swahili (Persse 1934:110). Macdonald's expedition first mapped it as Karamojo, which was either a variant, or derived from the Sapiny name for their enemies, Karamoj (Weatherby 1962), as his base camp was in their territory. Despite this precedent 3 other early writers who had repeated contact with the people called them the Koromojo (Hobley 1897:183; Purvis 1909:260-2; Leeke 1917:206), and 1 the Karomojong (Wayland 1931:187); 3 called the place Koromoja (EA 1667:12.12.07 Cubitt to Dep.Commissioner; Lawrance 1955:29; Leeke 1917:204), while 2 called it Karomoja (EA 2957:31.11.13 Leeke's Report; Wayland 1931:191), but all 6 used the *ro stem. Further evidence is supplied by the Koromoic River near Moruita and by an Abwor informants of Lamphear's (1976:90), who referred to a place called Koromoc, distinct from Karimojong, in the Koten-Magos area.

The riddle is best solved by taking Koromojong as the original form with the emphasis on the third syllable, and the first 2 vowels neutral, which were heightened over time to 'Kara-', and then the modern 'Kari-'. The velar 'ng' is frequently voiced rather than sounded: hence, emong
(steer) is shortened to emo and the (Ng)Atesot plural prefix is 'i-' rather than 'ngi-'. What then is the etymology? Either Ko-ro-mo-jong meant, where the Oromo stopped (a-jong), which is unlikely though there is a hill named Rom 8 kilometres east of Magosi or, where the (Ngi)ro ox stopped, which would 'explain' why the herdsmen settled in Koten-Magos and would be an apt name for the last branch of the Ngiro to leave the area.

''God himself gave Apule to the Karimojong'' (Pazzaglia 1982:38). Captain Leeke (1917:206) met a senior elder around 1914, who had lived as a boy on the Apule River, from whose banks they did not begin to move until the Turkana, supplied by the Jie with spears from Labwor, pushed the Maseniko back up the escarpment. The Maseniko, who are still regarded as less than 'true Karimojong', share the name of their Monia section with the Turkana so were possibly part of the herdsmen's secession east from the Ngiro. However, these chose to settle, not in the plains as the Turkana, but on Moruasigar with an ethnic mix of refugees from the plains, including Oropom, only to be overrun by the Monia Turkana in search of grazing and water. As usual some were absorbed by the Turkana as the Sigeere division while others fled 'up to Apule where they joined again with the Bokora' (Lamphere 1976:198) to form the Sigar clan.

The Karimojong were so pressurized that they occupied the lands to the west being vacated, due to the Laparanat famine 1780-1800, by Ngikatapa, such as the Riama, Sera, and Miro, who were to found leading communities in Teso and Lango. The Pei and the Magos settled south of
Najie, the Bokora, the former Ngiro nucleus at Magos went west, as far as Nyakwai, building homes near Matany Hill. As 'the trunk of the Karimojong', with a coterminous history (D-H,N. 1966:144), the Bokora should be of special interest, but no-one is sure of the meaning of their name. Their emblem is the swamp tortoise or turtle (abokok) but no attempt is made to relate this to their name, which might have been Bokoro, the Ro who dug, reflecting their more sedentary tendency at Magos. As such an agricultural meaning was not complimentary among herdsmen, it was conveniently forgotten.

The Mosingo section captured large numbers of the previous inhabitants, Ruba, later known as Oropom. The Pian, an offshoot of the Maseniko, went south to Lorengidwat. The dry years of 1825-40 saw them conquer the Oropom, spared by the Turkana, crossing the Turkwel River, as far as Kapenguria. The Karimojong also began to raid the Sapiny at this time but they did not make permanent settlements any distance south of the Akinyo, or Omanimani, River until the next century. As a result of this continued expansion only 2.5 of the present 19 clans of the Karimojong: the Ribo, Lobal, and Ngikilipa ngulumacarakejen, 'the clans, who are important' (D-H,N. 1966:89) but not the first to dwell in the land as they claim, were patrilineally descended from the Ro community.

v. The Dodos

On the initial journey to Koten-Magos, some pastoralists had broken off and crossed west to live by the Nyangiya. After 1760 they crossed back to Loyoro as the Lokorikituk, seeing off the Toposa and separating them from
their Proto-Jie brothers, while a party brought up some Proto-Karimojong from the Apule River who settled around Kaabong before 1800 as the Lomeris section. A third section was formed at Kopus after the Dodos captured large numbers of Ngikatapa Poet in 1840. The Dodos have the weakest sense of tradition and pride in warrior herdsmanship. For their ritual system, they look to the Karimojong, though their generation-sets have different names, and are uncertain. This makes sense if only a minority underwent the formative social experiences at Koten-Magos.

The reason why Ngiro gave way to other names was not only the need to differentiate the newly emerging tribes, but also because at root, *ro may have meant, as it does in C-N and N-S languages, 'self' and only secondarily, 'to explore' as in aki-ro which, as a noun, means 'name'. The archaic meaning may be reflected in the Ngakaramojong elope which, if 'lo-' has derived from *ro and 'pe' from e-pei, one. They are the people of the forgotten name, who have lost, and found, themselves in their new land.
d. Karamoja Colonized by the Ngiro

i. Clan History

The formation of the present societies was never an absolute replacement of one clearly defined ethnic group by another, even when the demands of clarity and brevity inevitably leave a simplified account. It has been a story of one part of a group moving on and another part staying. Nor is this dynamic usually so pacific as it sounds for the broad trends and even oral traditions conceal that the land really belonged to others who had no wish to move out or be overrun. Conflicts were resolved by violence though numbers normally killed in spear battles were small. Moreover, captives were welcomed to bolster the incomers' strength in a new ethnic group.

There was not the slightest concern for racial purity, even among the endogamous Kuliak. What mattered was cultural domination, which the vanquished could only resist by emigration. However, if they stayed they were soon given a full part in the religious and social life of the community. Marriage between the clans which were the rumps of different ethnic groups meant that they became fully integrated. This was possible because local differences were retained by the clans, each of which perpetuated its own traditional history. Indeed, with careful manoeuvring a previously alien custom could be enculturated by the elders for the whole people. Such a process would be inconceivable for white colonists, especially with their taboo on intermarriage and their sense of absolute, 'civilized' superiority.

Thus, the Sera-Miro peoples did not just happen to
be migrating west, so creating a timely vacuum for the Ngiro to fill in the 1720s. In fact, the population of central Karamoja was remembered as being larger than at present. Rather, they were forcibly driven out or captured, an event made explicit in the traditions of those who fled and not in the memories of the victors or those who stayed to be absorbed. The lacuna served the need of tribal unity, perhaps, yet it does not make oral tradition worthless.

Thus the Jie contact and dispersal of the Isera Omiro has been dated to the 1720s by an age-set date, five regnal lists and one clan genealogy plus associated, drought references from five royal genealogies and a Nilometer reading, a demonstration of the accumulative process of precision dating in oral tradition. (Herring 1979b:307f.)

That the Proto-Jie expanded west from Koten, 'would require massive evidence to challenge'.

ii. Tribal Formation

However, it would be wrong to cast one group as active in the determination of history and the rest as passive. The Ngiro, though imposing their particular, pastoral way of life with its gerontocratic, political structure on the plains of Karamoja, were themselves moulded into a new culture by their move there. For instance, the Proto-Jie learnt to build more permanent huts and to extend their agriculture, for the seeds of the west were also found to be suited to Karamoja. The honey-badger (ekor) was adopted as a tribal totem, while Lwo-derived clans retained the bushbuck (akoloba) as a clan totem. One of the 2 sections of the Jie, the Rengen (Rangyen, the red Ngiyen?), was not Ngiro at all, but mainly Ngikatapa grouped around the band of famine refugees who had gone to Koten.

The Rengen firemaker, who did not fit into the generational leadership structure, took on the Lotuko office
of rain-maker and the judicial function and ritual trappings, such as the symbolic axe or spear (akwaara) and the tribute of the first-fruits, which the Lwo associated with their hereditary king (Rwot). Only the Rengen firemaker is accorded burial rites, which may imply an after-life. He is buried with his clothing, sleeping hides, gourds of milk, ornaments, and other possessions. People bring milk to pour on the grave and also leave food there. More than any other his spirit must be honoured to ensure well-being for the whole section. That such a ‘royal’ institution could have been integrated into the rule of elders, shows a religious inclusivism born of a sense of need for unity.

The unity of disparate elements was tested and thereby proved in battle. If an alien (emoit) befriended the Ngiro to the extent of joining them on cattle-raids, he could build up his own herd and with it marry Jie wives. Though enemies were assumed to be a fact of life no hard and fast, exclusive definitions were made as to their beliefs and behaviour. For instance, the Kuliak, acknowledged as autochthonous, were ridiculed for their circumcision and despised for their inability to defend, and so keep, cattle. Yet even these ngikulyak, who were synonymous with lack of cows, were thoroughly integrated into Jie society and granted the right to own stock.

iii. Incorporating Enemies

Even declared enemies like the Poet were not beyond redemption, even if it were by way of enslavement. Poet was the generic name given to groups of unassimilated Ngikatapa, who dwelt to the north-west of Daidai from Kaceri onwards. When they were forced west by the Laparanat famine the
Rengen spread out occupying the inselberg called Poet at Kaceri. While some groups, like the Gule, stayed around Mount Rom after the famine, others like the Titi came back east. Kaceri was retaken, causing a major confrontation between the Poet and the Rengen, that threatened the existence of both. The war which raged in the 1830s was decided by the Rengen's allies of the Lokorwakol section and the opportunistic intervention of the Dodos.

As the Karimojong were doing with the Oropom, the Dodos and the Jie bound their captives with ropes and filed them home. Though enslaved they were not drafted into an underclass of bondsmen, if only because pastoralists had no effective means of imprisonment. Anyway, kindness could achieve more for the Ngiro than any amount of co-ercion as the members of incorporated Poet clans are aware.

'They married the daughters of our people and gave them cattle for bride-wealth so that they could become rich. In time, our people also married the daughters of the Losogot [clan of Kotido].' (Lamphear 1976:190,164)

Other movements, both within, and into, Karamoja meant, that the culture was never static. Chickens, fat-tailed sheep, sesame, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, and cow-peas were introduced to the Ngiro by Lwo speakers.

The ethnic response over a very long period to an unstable environment has been to move and to settle, to separate and to integrate, to fight and to unify, to mix and to merge, until the unique peoples who inhabit Karamoja emerged in the last 150 years.
6. RACIAL AND LINGUISTIC ORIGINS

Now that the evidence has been surveyed, the more far-reaching hypotheses can be treated.

a. The Nilo-Hamitic Hypothesis

i. Geistesgeschichte

The idea, that the SN and EN were racial crosses between Negroid Nilotes and (Afroasiatic) 'Hamites', which held sway for the first half of this century, became indelibly tainted with racist assumptions from Europe, especially Germany, that 'the Negro exhibits natural man in his completely wild and untamed state' (Hegel 1956:85ff.). This could be written down to the observation, that 'the knowledge of an Absolute Being, an Other, and a Higher than himself is entirely wanting' leading to a 'perfect contempt for humanity, which in its bearing on Justice and Morality is the fundamental characteristic of the race'. African history had not begun. It had yet to find any place in world history, for 'Christian Aryans' were the harbingers of 'Objective Progress', wherein God was at work.

A Progress of Religious consciousness in particular Races confers upon such Races sooner or later the leadership in the civilization of mankind, and this issues ultimately in Universal empire. (Bunsen 1868:III,305-9)

While this dangerous ethnocentricity collapses in its own ignorance it must be acknowledged that the Karamojong's neighbours do now accuse the raiders, who cross its borders, of having a perfect contempt for humanity.

Anthropologists, educated in the 'Enlightenment' tradition, tended to assume that as nothing good stemmed from Africa such tokens of 'civilization' as there were must have been brought in by Semites and Hamites from Asia, including even the 'aristocratic' demeanour of pastoralists
such as the Nilo-Hamites (Johnston 1902:11,763f.; Seligman 1932:3f.). The worth of a culture cannot be assessed by its approximation to English aristocratic values. Although the domestication of cattle may have taken place first in Asia, the practice was adopted in African culture many millennia ago, so that recent pastoralist systems which, in fact tend to be deeply anti-aristocratic, cannot simply be ascribed to superior imports.

ii. The Classification of Ngakaramojong

What can be measured is linguistic affinity and Greenberg and Ehret have shown satisfactorily that, to use the consequent terms, EN is distinct from SN, but that both have more in common with WN than with Afroasiatic languages. Comparing the Ngakaramojong lexicon with Greenberg's comparative word lists reveals the likely cognates, after matching sound and meaning, with his hypothesized language families (Greenberg 1970:49-51,89ff.). Looking for resemblances between clusters of words from different languages and the alternative words in use in Ngakaramojong is likely to give higher results than tracing the history of discreet roots or the comparison of 100 or 200 word lists. At least the relative percentages are instructive and it is a fuller treatment than normally given to particular languages with limited vocabularies on record (Sutton 1974:95-7; Ehret 1974 & 1983; Nadiket Seminary 1985).
Language Family          Correspondence with Ngakaramojong
Eastern Sudanic (ES)       53%
Chari-Nile (C-N)           48%
Nilo-Saharan (N-S)         43%
Afroasiatic               28%
Khoisan                   8%

The figures support Greenberg's genealogy of language as against Bender's, though both classify EN as a descendant of Nilo-Saharan rather than Afroasiatic. That Ngakaramojong belongs to the EN division is substantiated by 73% of Vossen's PEN roots surviving into the modern language. As might be expected a consistent pattern emerges: the larger the family and so the older the proto-language of that family the less the correspondence but no attempt is made here to date the proto-language and so the unity of the family. The partial evidence here suggests that Ngakaramojong is a member of the ES family which itself is part of the C-N sub-phylum, thus spoiling Bender's hypothesis that Nilotic hangs loose in N-S. Ehret (1983:381), insisting that the presence of shared innovations prove a common linguistic ancestry, finds that Nilotic is ES in origin.

A remote ES language is Kuliak. Ngakaramojong has correspondences with 41.6% of Fleming's list (1983a), which sharply poses the problem of distinguishing true cognates from borrowings subsequent to the dispersal of ES speakers. Clearly, the latter has been taking place in both directions ever since the Proto-Karamojong arrived in Karamoja, masking the common core which they both inherited from ES. The problem is compounded by the knowledge that Kuliak bands,
with at least part of their mother tongue, have been integrated into the Karamojong. Only mass comparison of many languages can overcome this (Vossen 1982).

The mainstream genealogical relationship is clearly shown in the morphology of Ngakaramojong. Personal pronouns and verbal prefixes are derived from Nilotic, C-N, and N-S sources. The verbal suffixes, ‘-un’ or ‘-ar’ denoting motion towards, or away from, the speaker and ‘-an’ meaning ‘to become’, are Nilotic. The verbal dative suffix, ‘-kin’ is an ES, C-N, and N-S characteristic. The prefixes for strong verbs in the narrative tense and for the imperative mood is related to the ES, C-N, N-S causative in ‘t’, as is the passive voice in ‘o’, and the verbal negative mam. The C-N abstract prefix ‘a-‘ the N-S abstract, and singular, suffix, ‘-t’ and the C-N/N-S singular suffixes, ‘-a’, ‘-n’, ‘-o’, ‘-t’ and plural suffixes, ‘-k’, ‘-t’, ‘-n’, ‘-i’ all figure in Ngakaramojong nouns which, when derived from verbs, are prefixed by the N-S, ‘-k-‘. Word formation belongs primarily to the N-S phylum.

Ngakaramojong has obvious linguistic affinities with the Nilotic branch. Of the 19 verb stems identified by Dimmendaal (1983:289ff.) as PN, all have cognate forms in Ngakaramojong, though this result is made likely from the start by the use Turkana and Pokot as 2 of his source languages. Hieda (1983:317ff.), using Teso and Turkana inter alia, identified 25 PN stems, of which 80% have left cognate forms in Ngakaramojong. Of the Nilotic roots used by Ehret (1983:398ff.), 90% are evidenced by Ngakaramojong. This high degree of cognation identifies not only its origin in PN but also that it has developed in the Nilotic fold.
until relatively recent times.

Little linguistic support is left for the Nilo-Hamitic hypothesis: the derivation of personal forms and the obviously later decimal numbers. Yet inasmuch as the hypothesis merely tried to show an interface between the autochthonous peoples of Africa and those which originated in Asia it retains support, not only in the 28% lexical correspondence due to word borrowing, but also in the physiognomy, culture, and the history elaborated above, which shows both indirect and direct contact even to the point of inter-marriage with Cushitic peoples. This should not occasion much surprise, bearing in mind the continual mixing of ethnic groups to be observed in East Africa. That there should be more than a chance trace in modern Ngakaramojong, is quite plausible, without having to make extravagant claims about racial superiority.

iii. The Diffusion of Iron

The diffusion of culture traits across ethnic boundaries has been discredited as a total explanation of why cultural similarities should appear in far-flung places. However, certain practices have been observed to diffuse over wide areas. Iron-working is one such, which originated outside Africa, and was often assumed to be a trait of the more 'sophisticated' Nilo-Hamites. Despite the usefulness of spears the specialist lifestyles of the herdsman and the smith do not marry. So, though the EN knew of iron from Gezira over 2,000 years ago and used it to some extent, there is no evidence that they themselves, brought the oft guarded knowledge of smelting south, despite the association, now and in ancient times, between wrist-knives,
lip-plugs, and C-N speakers, Nilotic in particular.

The iron of the EN in recorded times has come from smithing castes, despised by herdsmen, but of great benefit. Their ancestors were first absorbed, perhaps, from the CS Madi by the Bari, as they moved west in the 16th century. It was these 'serfs' (dupi) who became the more esteemed smiths of the Lotuko as they too moved west and so of the Ngikatapa also. The Yen and the Kalanga could work iron, but one clan, the Pur or Pwor, is of special note for Karamoja. A popular etymology is epur, referring to the rock cisterns of central Karamoja round which sedentary peoples would gather but this might be connected with the most prominent symbol of smelters to plainsmen, apuru from the PN root, *pur (smoke, vapour). The Ngakaramojong for smelting tube is eporoto; the WN Abwor for smelted iron is apuru (Wayland 1931:211; Lamphear 1972:511).

The Kapwor, who were centred around the blancmange-shaped inselberg named Rwot in Lwo (Katipus in Ngajie) as western neighbours of the Ngiro, when they were settling in Najie, remembered being 'one people with the Lotuko', and having migrated south with others from the Kidepo Valley, stopping at Apore. The Pore of the Napore Hills were famed for being smiths to the Dodinga. The Kapwor were dispersed by the Laparanat famine and Ngiro raids and ended as the Kapwo clan of the Karimojong, the Kapwor clan of the Jie, the Paibwor clan of Acoli, and the Abwor clans of Kopwor at Kanu and Paibwor, and Kapuru at Alerek beneath Katipus, which marks the entrance to Labwor.

Labwor has always been the local source of spears, axes, hoes, and chain-mail aprons for the Turkana and Jie,
who allowed them to mine the rich ore on Mount Toror. The smiths could trade their products for livestock to eat and friendships and alliances grew between the Abwor and the Jie. It seems that the Jie were unaware of Leeke's information (1917:202) that the Nyakwai, another small tribe of residue Ngikatapa but with no Pur clan, did not work iron but were agents for the Tobur amongst the Jie's Karimojong enemies (Lamphear 1976:96f.,148f.,164-8)!

The Bari connection is still evident in the symbol of the iron rod (anywil) which is used in times of stress by Jie clans and in the Ngakaramojong verbs, akidup (to plant or fix a handle to a tool) and akidupor (to betray, cause trouble to), which well describe how the herdsmen related to a specialist clan of Ngikatapa smiths. The verb, akityek (to forge; Ik, itiak) could be derived from CS Madi di. There was a CS clan called Bura (Herring 1979b:297).

EN smiths used bowl-bellows in the last century, which strongly indicates that their techniques came from Meroe and not from Asia. The Abwor used bowl-bellows in the 1920s (Wayland 1931:199) but like many iron-smelters in Central Africa they have now adopted the bag-bellows technique from the east coast. They call their smiths, botho, clearly derived from bodh, the name given to smiths in the 16th century, whom the WN Shilluk, coming from the east, found on the Bahr el Zeraf (Wainwright 1954:125/8; Haaland & Shinnie 1985:22,89). Again there is a mixture of influences, to which Afroasiatic speakers have contributed with the use of bag-bellows and the Abwor name for anvil, mini kidi (the mother of the stone = hammer), where *min is the Afroasiatic root for woman (Lamphear 1972:511).
In sum, the distinctive features of the semi-pastoral life of the Karamojong, historically, cannot be attributed to the racial attributes of Afroasiatic speakers but, nevertheless, many parts of life in Karamoja, particularly through the generation system as a principle of unity, have been subject, if usually at the margin, to Cushitic and Semitic cultural influences.
b. The Impact of Ancient Egypt

Bowl-bellows go back to Ancient Egyptian culture which, since publicized by archaeology, led Western observers of Africa to remark on the parallels that struck them, such as the pyramid called after the ox-name, Kur of the mighty spirit, Deng who possessed the great WN Nuer prophet, Ngundeng and told him to build it out of baked earth and the ashes from cattle camps (Seligman 1932:231; E-P 1956:305f.; Lienhardt 1961:95,261). Other parallels include: the definition of the month, ivory armlets, or the peculiar circumcision of the Maasai; the WN Acoli delivering the severed hands of their enemies to their ruler, as the Egyptians did for Rameses III; or the custom of extinguishing all fires for the leader to kindle, ritually, new fire to rejuvenate life (Wainwright 1956:123f.; Bell 1946:143; Shinnie 1971:447; Lurker 1984:12).

Even an African historian could assert without offering evidence that the WN Shilluk had an 'inheritance from Ancient Egypt' (Ogot 1967:50) but Wilson's attempts to place the origin of Karamojan customs in Ancient Egypt have been dismissed. Striking though the similarities may appear they do not constitute evidence of causation which should be established by the historian tracing effects through time and space. If he depends solely on documentary evidence, he will soon conclude that such traits are independent inventions but a people's language, as well as the artifacts and institutions of a culture, do provide traces of past encounters.
i. Contacts

The possibility that East African tribes could at all have been affected significantly by Egypt, or vice versa for causation can work in two directions, is allowed by the ancient history outlined above. Their N-S ancestors lived directly south of Egypt. ES speakers invaded Egypt and from 1450 BC a strikingly new physical type of negro (resembling WN Shilluk and Dinka of today) is depicted on tombs and monuments. Egypt began to import through the Nubians (whose language used to be closely related to Nilotic), gold, grain, armlets of bone, ebony, ivory, incense, oils, cattle, leopards, ostrich eggs and feathers, panther skins, giraffe-tail fly-whisks, greyhounds, and baboons from the wilder regions. Shields and stools which doubled as headrests were sent to Tutankhamun, perhaps as part of the tribute which Africans made to the Pharaohs (Adam 1981:242; Sherif 1984:244). Through Meroe, Egyptian culture is known to have reached as far as the River Toumat on the Blue Nile and the River Sobat on the White Nile (Wainwright 1956:122,136). The EN were not assuredly south of these points before the rise of Hellenist culture after 332 BC.

Karamoja is not even vaguely reminiscent of Pharaonic Egypt, yet before then, over 3,600 years ago the Egyptians, though predominantly Semites from Asia, shared common cultural traits with their African neighbours, exemplified by basketry, garments of softened animal skin, ivory armlets, ostrich-shell beads, pottery, cosmetic paint palettes, combs of ivory and bone, grain ground and boiled into porridge, dogs, cattle, sheep, and goats. Rainmakers were their leaders and they worshipped sky and star deities
which were closely identified with their human clans (Aldred 1963:66-9). Thus, the names of some of the gods which came to be seen as the founding family of the Pharaohs, are also to be found with related meaning in Ngakaramojong.

ii. The Divine Family Likeness

The rays of the composite sun-god, Atum-Ra/Re, brought life or death. The large, broad-bladed spear still used for sacrificing oxen in Karamoja, is called atum (Wilson 1972:63). The common spear is akwaara, and the verb to throw a spear is akirem. After 1600 BC, the sovereign god was Amun-Ra; ostrich feathers and cobras adorn the crowns of his son, Tutankhamun and his queen, Ankhesenamun. Snake, naturally masculine in Ngakaramojong, is emun, and famous forefathers revisit the sacred places in the form of an Egyptian cobra, its hooded head complete with the saintly white ostrich feather. Happy was the Egyptian who came to die at Thebes, the holy city of Amon, for he would be a divine and righteous soul. The funeral banquet (amon) is still held in Karamoja. The kings of Kush used to be strict and orthodox devotees of Amon/Amun-Ra/Re, when their marginalization by the Assyrians after 664 BC pushed them back into the black African orbit (Moret 1972:331; Aldred 1963:152). Akira is to bear fruit.

Shu, the god of the air who begat earth and sky (Nut), had the divine capacities of creation and providence, while akisub means today, to create, repair, charm and akicud means to practise witchcraft. Nut, the sky goddess pictured as the cow or queen of heaven, may be represented by the intimate akinu (to kiss, embrace), while a believer is ekanupan. Nu was the contrasting god of primordial
waters, echoed by the strong verb, akinu (to overpower by weight), akinuk (to bury, fill up), and the swamp mole (enukunuk). Isis, signifying the soil fertilized by the Nile god, her husband Osiris, may have issued in esisik, (damp, wet) and asisi? (to smell, stink). She learnt (akisisa) the power of God by eliciting from him his secret name, Ra.

Upuat was the divine watchdog, the wolf-god (cf. epeot, wild dog, wolf). Mut was the vulture goddess; motol, derived from the PSN root, *moto, still means vulture. Min, the thunderbolt god of the desert nomads, whose image with a feather took form as the ensign of one of the old nomes, or territorial divisions, of Upper Egypt, granted fertility and so life through the phallic symbol (James 1971:151), just as akimin means to be, akiminimin to masturbate, fondle, amina to love, and its derivative form indicating motion away (from existence and love), aminar to be very ill. Egyptians also worshipped trees, which concealed under their foliage the great cow/mother goddesses of the sky, Nut and Hathor (cf. Ka. Akujë).

iii. Divine Quality

Not only are there meanings parallel to the names of Egyptian gods, but also to their very spirituality. Ma’at, sometimes familiarized as the Queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, was created by God as the order (logos), truth, and righteousness, that kept the cosmos in balance. At death, a person’s heart is weighed on the scales against Ma’at and if ‘his heart is as Ma’at’, then he is saved as Osiris justified (maa-kheru) from the ‘Devourer’, represented by a hyena. Karamojong who die not having reached a senior
position in society are taken outside the homestead for the hyena to consume, while the heart is the dominant word to describe every aspect of the inner man. The verb, akima, means to praise, revere, please and amaa, to be friendly, love each other. When a woman becomes due for reverence, by dint of her age which takes her closer to God, she becomes akimat (an old lady).

Moreover, the Karamojong greeting for old friends (maata?) which is applied to home, wife, children, cattle, etc. not only inquires after their well-being but, in doing so, blesses them with the harmony, that good relationships bring. As such, the maata greeting sequence is, despite problems of famine pressing on the family, in itself, an occasion of great pleasure inducing the feeling that 'All is right with the world'.

The divine and celestial element of the Egyptian gods was Ka, the primordial and universal substance, the source of life and nourishment, the bestower of physical and intellectual powers, creating and protecting society and the individual. The feminine form (ka-t) was used for the female sexual organ and also the cow, while the plural (kau) meant the foodstuffs, which maintain life (Moret 1972:357f.). The basic, if irregular, Ngakarimojong verb, to be or to have (ayakau) reverses the C-N meaning of *ya (to die) to the sense of, to be there, exist, so is used in the common call or greeting, yaiya? (Are you there?) or in the sense, to be with, (with ka; ES/N-S *ka). Ayakau is conjugated according to the number of possessions, so that 'I have many cattle' is construed, 'Many cattle are with me'. The similar verb, to be (araakau cf.araakan cow,
sheep, or goat still in milk, \textit{akirakar} to faint) is used of quality. In all, 14 qualities, such as strength, intelligence, and stability, were hypostasized in the Old Kingdom as Kas.

\textit{Ka} was one of the most ancient ensigns, being represented by a pair of raised arms. With a phallos, the \textit{Ka} used to write the name of the bull which symbolized generation, conveying the power of life. Sacred buildings, 5,000 years ago, were decorated with ox-heads bearing reprofiled horns to ward off evil (Lurker 1984:36). As a symbol of defiance till death in the face of his enemy, a Karamojongait will make the 'sign of his ox' after which he is named and from which he draws his strength, courage, and inspiration, by raising his arms above his head or according to the horn profile of his beloved ox.

As no continuous link has been definitively traced to Ancient Egyptian beliefs, it is possible that some of the lexical similarities above could be due to sheer coincidence. However, the quantity and quality of them -- more tenuous ones could be advanced -- suggest that they are not isolated parallels nor even a consequence of a shared proto-African culture, for many names in the later Egyptian pantheon appear to have contributed to the Karamojong language. Of course, the Karamojong have moved on from the ancient influences of forgotten cultures, so that they believe, unlike their western neighbours, in a unitive High God (\textit{Akujo}) perhaps as the result of the simple monotheism of Cushitic contacts (see above, 4.e). Yet the Karamojong acknowledge that divinity may have a plural form (\textit{ngakujo}).
iv. The High God

There is, though, only one sky, one firmament of heaven (Ka. kakuja) which is up, or north (kuju) in direction, removed from the earth. The Egyptian divinity of most ancient authority was the god embodying the whole sky (cp. Job. 37:15-18, II Sam. 22:10-15 = Ps. 18:9-14; Pss. 19:1-5, 104: 1-4, 84:10f., 97., 136:4-8). Like a falcon he inhabits the celestial kingdom, for the supernatural must live above the earth. His name was Hru, Horus of the Gods.

The word hr, with the adjectival inflexion, hrj, means "upper", "that which is above". As a substantive, hrt, it is the "sky"—a further reason for mentally placing the Falcon God, Hru, in the sky. Another word, hr, means the upper part of a man, "the human face", "the head", and so "the chief"; by association and pun, the god Hr becomes the heavenly face, the divine head whose Two Eyes, the sun and the moon, light the universe, and as they open and shut, give day and night to living things.

(Moret 1972:66)

The N-S/C-N/ES noun for sky is *aru, the Nilotic, *koro. Ngakaramojong has the same relation between the supernatural sky (kakuja) and man in terms of head (akou). 'Eyai akolonq nakyes' means, 'The sun is in the place of the heads'. While sun is associated with antiquity (kolong), a coeval girl (akyas) is one of the heads of the same age.

Unlike many Bantu and SN tribes, the PEN did not attribute the name of the sun to their sky deity, for they found they could have too much of that. Rather, as with the Nuer divinity (Kwoth/Kot E-P 1956:124,141; Greenberg 1970:143; Mbiti 1970:129-39), the Maasai God (Engai), the Pokot (Ilat), the Dodinga (Tamukujen), and the ES Bodi (Tuma), He was identified with the more precious source of life, rain (akiru). God waters the earth (cf. Ps. 65:9f., Ps. 104:10-16 Akhenaten's great hymn to Aten; Gen. 2:5f.) as man waters (akiru) his cattle. The ES Proto-Kuliak for rain
and God (*war) came from the same N-S source, that produced the C-N *ro/ru/ra (rain). There is evidence (Vossen 1981:48) to show that, in EN linguistic history, *rj has diverged to ‘j’ and ‘r’ and indeed, the PEN root for rain was *kudyu. Ngakaramojong, which has no ‘h’, has retained 2 derivations from the same source, Akuja and akiru (rain). Indeed, Johnston’s Turkana informants (1902:II,906) gave Akiru as the name for God.

From his heavenly firmament, God sees all that is done on the face of the earth. Thus the verb, to observe from a platform or a mirror (aroun) has the suffix ‘-un’, indicating action closely associated with the speaker. The word for mirror (aroet) has been applied to binoculars and akiro(t) means to observe, explore, spy, go and see. The Pharaoh from Kush, who reigned in Thebes from 716 to 701 BC, was, like all his family, a pious enthusiast for ancient theology, namely, the working of creative thought which incessantly animates the world. What the eyes see rises up to the Heart which, as the organ of Thought, is personified by the god of intelligence (Thoth). Without being named in speech, a mental concept in Ancient Egyptian thought does not exist; it has no external being. This applies to the whole of Creation and even to the Creator, who had neither mother to ‘make’ his name nor father to utter it. So, nothing exists, until it receives its name (ekiro, which derives from the N-S/C-N/CS root for self or name, *ro/ru, rather then the more immediate ES/N/EN, *arin).

Creation actually occurred by the Word (akirot) of the Creator at the beginning of the universe (cf. Gen:1; Jn:1.1-3). By a continual creation, of which the Word,
played by the god of active realization, Horus, is agent, the universal life is constantly being supplied with provisions. Men and things are born and come to be (auruun) out of the black soil (aro) which he fertilizes annually (ekaru year, season). Though the Creator is alone on the back of the sky, he creates, as the divine parent (ekaurunan), by communicating, by speaking (akirwor). In Karamojong cosmology, all life, whether bird or beast, participates in creation by making its noise (akirwo cf. Pss. 98.7f., 148; Is. 55.12). The heavenly and earthly worlds are also joined together (akiruc) when dreaming (akiruj cf. SN *ru sleep, Dan:7., Joel 2:28, Acts 2:17). In that the head of creaturely man points toward the skies, humanity takes the name of its maker and sustainer; they are the people of God, Ngiro.

v. Cattle on a Thousand Hills

As with the Tepes, the sky is envisaged as the bosom of God; the vault of heaven is the underbelly of God (Weatherby 1988:214). The common Egyptian belief was, that the sky (Nut) immediately descended from the Demiurge, was a woman or cow from whose belly there issued every day a child or 'milk calf with pure mouth' who was the Sun. The sun-disc image was frequently held between the horns of a bull or cow which was itself an incarnation of divine power (Ka) revered in pre-dynastic Egypt. The 10th-12th Nomes, founded by clans of herdsmen in the east, had for their ensigns the Great Black Bull, the Heseb Bull, and the Calf. Three different bulls Apis, Mnevis, and Bakha later came to be the living image of the High God at Memphis, Heliopolis, and Hermomthis, south of Thebes (Moret 1972:78, 364, 370). Though
submerged by the Nile fertility cult, cattle continued to be valued by the Egyptians, whose hieroglyphs for the internal organs of humans were derived from cattle (Harris 1971:116). Their beds had legs carved in imitation of a bull. The Hyksos brought hump-backed bulls with them from Asia in the 17th century BC (Aldred 1963:127).

Veneration of cattle is also found in equally ancient Hindu cultures (Smith 1901:299). There are indications of a trans-continental, cattle-herding way of life with a vocabulary of its own, such as yoke (cf. akiyoki to herd), curd (cf. ekurdo the foam of milk), and 'Whoa!' (cf. akiwo to stand, stop), though the latter 2 have not been traced back to an Indo-European root (Onions 1966). The ancient art of horn profiling occurs not only among EN and WN, but also in the Isle of Skye and could account for the many finds of ground and polished stone celts from the Kordofan to Zambia, which the Karamojong still use to loosen the horns of their beloved oxen (Durham University, Sudan Archives, Appendix 3: Archaeology 577/3/11; Bishop & Clark 1967:618-20; Wilson 1972; Clark 1982:772).

Pastoralists' conceptions of God, whether in Ancient Egypt or not, are likely to be drawn from cattle as the immediate and perpetual source of vitality, as may be the case with the Hebrews' El Shaddai, God of the breasts/udders, and idol of the Golden Calf (Ex.32). Cattle entered the strivings of the Egyptians with the deity.

"Your sins are forgiven," said the Creator to his creatures. Killing does away with killing; thence come sacrifices. (Moret 1972:373)

The offering of slaughtered cattle was, and is, in Africa vital to the peace of the world. The cosmos is cow-shaped.
vi. Personal Decorations

Man, if he believes, seeks the image of his maker. In any case his dress expresses his values. The Egyptians adorned themselves with talismans of bangles, anklets, belts, and head ornaments, which took the form of, or were used by, gods to give a protective armour of sympathetic force against all destructive influences in life (Moret 1972:404). Apart from female skirts and aprons the Karamojong traditionally wear little else, yet feel naked and unprotected without them. In fact, it is the naked male who attaches more importance to his appearance which, in its niceties, reveals how he stands before man and God. Thus, a junior generation may be forbidden to wear ivory bracelets when they are an ornament of its senior.

The black granite statue of Ammenames III, Pharaoh 1835-1785 BC, portrays the priestly garb of a leopard skin on the shoulders, a heavy wig perhaps originally surrounded by a feather, and a receptacle suspended around his neck. He bears two hawk-headed staves (Aldred 1963:251/4). All of these form the ceremonial attire of a Karamojong elder.

In the colossal sandstone statue at the Karnak temple to Aten, King Akhenaten carries sceptres, bracelets and armlets inscribed with the name of Aten and a long wig more appropriate for a god. Up to the first half of this century the elders 'grew' with the aid of clay and the hair of their forefathers a periwig (pelekwa) which could reach the waist. But in those days:

It was the elders who were important. They were like gods. (Lamphear 1976:156 cf. Ps.82:6, Jn.10:34f.)

Karamojong culture shares a few lexemes, symbols, and ideas with Ancient Egypt.
Footnotes to II.A.

1. Greenberg's (1970) overall classification is basic to this discussion, though the caveat must be borne in mind, that the history of languages is not identical to the history of ethnic groups -- which, like the Lango, may adopt a 'foreign' language. For a counter-classification see Bender 1976 or Thelwall 1982:42, and Ehret 1983


4. Lamphere 1976:75; Dyson-Hudson,N. 1962:786 gives the Karimojong version; EA 4325:1.1.20 Chidlaw-Roberts 'Compendium of Intelligence Reports',26 lists it as a legend; Vansina 1965:73

5. Webster,J.B. quoted in Herring 1979a:57; Lamphere 1976:87
   This fundamental, though not final, parting of the ways must have happened before entry into Karamoja to permit the different traditions of entry and settlement. For this period covered by oral history, Lamphere 1976: Chs.III-V, Herring, and Weatherby are the best sources, but such traditions need careful interpretation, and must be checked against other available information, primarily linguistic but dating by glottochronology is suspect.

6. Ngiro does appear in personal names: Ngiro (Karimojongait, Pazzaglia 1982:144); Nyro (Jiot, Wayland 1931:226); Nangiro (Dodoso, Jie, Gourlay 1971:52;
in East Africa have similar names: Nyero, near Ngora, in Teso; Mount Nyiru and the Nyiru River in Samburu; Naro Moru, near Mount Kenya; Ewaso Ngiro and the Nyiru River feeding Lake Natron, and Ngorongoro, in Maasai country. Two Ugandan kingdoms, Bu-nyoro and To-ro were subject to WN domination (Cohen 1974:144). Ro/Ru might be an ancient name for Nilotic peoples, derived from N-S, C-N *ro/ru, name, or self.

7. Shorter 1975:63; Peristiany 1975 The SN Nandi, Marakwet, and Pokot have Asis for a god, whose attribute is the sun, the 'Child of Whiteness'.

8. The suffix, '-or', indicates motion away from the speaker, '-un', to become. Here is a likely derivation of the SN Pokot sky-god, To-ror-ut, who listens (Peristiany 1975), and the WN Lwo Rwot, chief or king, as 'one, who speaks' (cf. arwonit a famous person). It is the King of kings, who stretches out (arwaar) the heavens, who marks out times and days (ngarwa) and who moulds the future (rwanu). The vocally interchangeable (cf. akirwat to sprinkle, akilwat to urinate). 'Lwo' could be linked, as people to their king or god, hence elwana, (it is distant) akilwar = akiro (to wander, roam).

Moret (1972:375f.); The OT also pictures its high god as riding on the back of the sky, though modern translations have tried to attenuate the anthropomorphism with prepositions, but 'the heavens' is a direct object, which God rides, as a man does an animal: Thompson 1974:317 (Dt.33:26-9, Pss.18:10, 68:33, Is 19:1, Ezek.1.)
B. EXPOSURE TO FOREIGN CULTURES

For many observers of modern Africa, Karamoja seems a relic preserved from a lost age in some time-capsule. This is not the case for migrations in and out of Karamoja were still happening throughout the 19th century. At no time was the culture fixed for it had continually to respond to the economic and military pressures which the unpredictable climate levied. Yet the competitors, whether Cushitic or Nilotic, were tribes belonging for half a millennium to that part of east-central Africa between the Nile and Lake Turkana.

Although relatively small differences in culture were for them crucial for identity, so that others using the same resources could always be marked off as a potential threat and as strangers and potential enemies (ngimoe), their sustenance was limited to the products of their livestock and subsistence agriculture, or else to hunting and gathering; their defence, to the spear, the arrow and the knife; and their land tenure, to repeated occupation. Urbanization was unknown -- as were specialization and division of labour beyond the basic differences marked by age and gender. The arrival of clothed strangers from highly complex, literate societies, influenced by other continents and the Christian or Islamic faith, with a dependence on manufacture and commerce which had learned to control nature physically rather than be physically dependent on it, can be said to mark the coming of foreigners.

Only when thus defined could Karamoja be said to be
unusually removed from foreign influence, being away from the great lakes, the explorers' fascination for the Nile and the man-made trade route of the Ugandan Railway.

1. THE ARABS

On his 'Expedition to Central Africa for the Suppression of the Slave Trade', Baker came across the immense but divided tribe of the 'Langgos', which extended over unexplored, unnamed Karamoja (1874:II,118f.). Emin Pasha noted some visitors 'of the Lango type' from east of Lobbor, 'with oval faces, flapped head-dresses and cowrie ornaments' (Schweinfurth 1888:251f.; cf.Casati 1891:II,263). The latter is evidence of previous Arab contact. Since *lango* is a Lwo word for 'people', it was quite natural for Lwo informants to apply it to their easterly neighbours who were 'a people exceedingly large and powerful and esteemed as great warriors'. Since they seldom ate flour but 'lived upon the milk and flesh of innumerable herds' of large cattle, which could not survive the wet environment by the Nile, it is likely Baker is referring to the Karamojong. If so, he gives details of the first recorded cattle raid on Karamoja by a foreigner, a fellow-travelling Arab, Wat el Mek, who seized 3-4,000 head. Arabs from the north traded muskets with the Acoli for ivory and slaves, some of whom, the Jie knew, were their children captured in raids.

2. THE ABYSSINIANS

According to Jie oral traditions the first traders to come to them were the 'Abaci' and they not before 1880 (Lamphear 1976:50). The Abyssinians were Amharans and
Tigreans, who took their name from an ancient, Semitic tribe of southern Arabia, the Habashat who had formed the ruling caste among the indigenous Cushites of Tigré.  

In their baggy cloth garments, mounted on strange four-footed creatures, and carrying for weapons sticks which made a fearful noise and gave off a terrible odour, they presented an exceedingly weird spectacle to the astonished Jie. Jie traditions maintain that at first there was little intercourse with these Habaci. Each group seems to have been rather distrustful of the other, and while the strangers invariably came with an interpreter, most could not speak a single word of Ajie [sic] and there were clearly considerable problems of communication: 'When the first Habaci came here, the Jie thought they were very strange people indeed. We had not seen red people like them before. We didn't understand why they had come here and at first the people were afraid they had come to kill us.' (ibid.:221)

Initially this contact was sporadic, trading cattle for the ivory from elephants trapped or speared by the Jie, but since their neighbours, being enemies, had instilled in them the knowledge they were untrustworthy, the Abaci kept their stays in Jie as brief as possible, but their visits provided the Jie with a golden opportunity to replenish their vital cattle-holdings which had been ravaged by Loongoripoko (the dark soup -- which suggests anthrax). The Abaci, however, made themselves at home among the Dodos with whom they traded bullets for grain, and rifles for the cattle, which they needed for the ivory. Though the Jie were well aware that they provided information to both sides, they did not know that their neutrality was compromised by their aiding, and probably abetting, of the Dodos against them (ibid.:252; MT 1966:43).

a. The Arms Trade

As the years passed, so the trade increased to the point, where ammunition became the first mineral currency of Karamoja.  This was the first example of European "dumping"
on East Africa. When the European powers re-armed their forces in the 1870s after the Franco-Prussian War with breech-loading rifles, they cleared their old muskets out onto the East African market; in 1888, 80-100,000 arms were imported through Zanzibar. Similarly, in the late 1880s they re-armed with the new magazine rifles, and threw on the market all their black powder and their modern steel breech-loaders: Martini-Henry, Mauser, and Gras (Collins 1961:32). The most enterprising gun-runner to Uganda was a former CMS transport driver, Charles Stokes, but firearms found their way to Karamoja not from Uganda, but the north.

i. The Arming of Abyssinia

When Great Britain and Italy signed their treaty in 1891, they divided Abyssinian territory between them along the line of latitude 6° north, treating Abyssinia, like every other African kingdom, as a non-power. Not surprisingly, this infuriated the Abyssinian Negus negast (Emperor), Menelik who sent a circular to the European powers proclaiming that he intended to extend his empire to its imagined traditional limits: the Nile in the west, and Lake Victoria in the south (Barber 1968:45).

'I shall endeavour, if God grants me life and strength, to re-establish the ancient frontiers of Ethiopia, as far as Khartoum and up to the Nyanza Lake, with the country of the Gallas.' (Darley 1935:xii)

The ancestral kingdom of Axum conquered Meroe once but, until Menelik II, Abyssinia was not even in possession of Maji, let alone the steppes north of Elgon.

More of a shock for Europe was his trouncing in 1896 at Adowa of the Italians, who had already appealed to the British for help on the grounds that a victory for African troops would put all Europeans on the continent in danger.
Menelik agreed with the Mahdi Khalifa, that 'all whites were the enemies of God'.

'Now an enemy much worse than any we have had before comes against us. He comes to make slaves of you and me. I am dark-skinned and you are dark-skinned. Let us unite therefore and throw out this common enemy.'

(Bates 1984:48,78)

During his reign (1889-1908), using a series of treaties and occupations by his semi-autonomous provincial governors, he acquired an empire larger than that of any other Abyssinian ruler. France was arming Menelik against her colonial rival, Italy, with Gras rifles made at St. Etienne around 1874. In March 1897 Lagarde was sent with 100,000 rifles and orders to make a treaty and encourage Menelik to occupy the east bank of the Nile. To make sure a further consignment followed the next month (Robinson & Gallagher 1963:360).

Munitions were the most valuable import into Abyssinia in 1902 when in August 5 ships (3 French, 1 Belgian, and 1 British) docked in Jibouti, French Somalia, with 19,700 rifles and 1,000,000 cartridges. The same quantity of cartridges had been ordered from Messrs. Paterson of Birmingham. Also in 1902, the Jibouti railway reached inland as far as Harar, and the British negotiated a commercial treaty to construct a railway through Abyssinia to connect Sudan with Uganda (Beachey 1962:453-61; Darley 1935:vii). Yet Western technology is a dangerous enough force in its proper context; in Africa, it can be calamitous. Captain M.S. Wellby (1901:109) commented on his 1898-9 tour, 'Arm a primitive [sic] people with guns and what must be the inevitable fate of their less fortunately armed neighbours?' The indirect effects of European politics
were cataclysmic for many an African tribe.

ii. Consequences of Abyssinian Rifles

In March 1898, Menelik sent a 3-pronged occupying force or, rather, a mass movement south and west. Each man under arms was accompanied by up to 10 women, according to rank and before one of the prongs left Gore, they were seen to go to church to be blessed and assured that disembowelling the infidels and pagans were holy acts attracting their due reward in heaven. When Menelik heard of Macdonald's expedition coming up from the south, he sent another prong in its direction, saying, 'I'll send out Ras Waldo Giorgis [governor of south-west Abyssinia] with 20,000 men -- they can check his passport.' (Barber 1968:45; Bates 1984:105).

Although Menelik's forces, which were only 'official' when it suited him, never penetrated south of Mount Elgon, Karamoja was the subject of sustained Abyssinian interest for 4 decades, their visitations not being effectively challenged for the first 3. What attracted the Abyssinians over burning hot wastes and up the 3,000 foot escarpment to the warrior tribes of Karamoja? Was it slaves as elsewhere? 'The Abyssinia of today, despite the nominal law against slavery, is a strong hold of what is far worse than any slavery namely slave raiding.' (EA 70/1911:24.8.11 Doughty Wylie to Sir E. Grey) The Jie emphatically denied that even a single Jiot was ever carried off into slavery and Lamphear (1976:252ff.) goes to some length to show that the Jie did not rely much on firearms.

However, the Abaci, while not camping with the Jie, were in league with the Dodos, and might have enslaved
captives from the frequent, inter-tribal raiding though the Jie gained the upper hand by the turn of the century. In 1901 'the Abyssinians raided all through the Suk [Pokot] territory' (Powell-Cotton 1904:309). They made permanent camps on Moru Akipi, Lobur, Mogilla, and Singote, and at Chudi Chudi in Dodos*. An Abyssinian chief, Gemiti, hoped to open a shop at Manimani where he would sell mules, horses, cattle, and Mauser cartridges. An expedition of 50 soldiers was known to have reached Manimani in 1901-2. Mounted on mules and horses and armed with Mauser and Martini rifles, sabres, and shields, they would use camels and donkeys for transport but what did they carry on them?* Gras rifles on the outward journey, but what on the return?
b. The Slave Trade

i. Abomination

In October 1903, 415 regular Abyssinian soldiers were seen with 600 camp followers, 20,000 cattle, and 100 Turkana in chains, several children dying of thirst. They thought Dodos belonged to them. Meanwhile the Ugandan Sub-Commissioner of Naivasha, C.W. Hobley, lamented it was 'most galling to find that these semi-savage neighbours should have reintroduced all the honours of the slave trade into British territory' (EA A24:2.3.04 Hobley to Commissioner, Entebbe). His Majesty's Commissioner for Uganda complained to the Marquess of Lansdowne at the Foreign Office (FO),

It seems more than doubtful whether we can ever expect Menelek [sic] at Addis Ababa to exercise sufficient authority over the border to restrain his Chiefs from raiding for cattle and slaves in the northernmost parts of the Protectorate, where we have not a vestige of control. (EA A24:15.3.04 Hayes-Sadler to Lord Lansdowne)

Early in 1905 10 companies of Abyssinians carried off Dodinga women, cattle, sheep, and goats. Slaves, then, were part and parcel of business; men were taught to fight or work and women, if they survived the parched journey, were taken as wives.

ii. Abyssinian Faith

The life of faith was not uppermost in the minds of these traders in life and death but, as Gemiti's party spoke a language like Somali, they were probably Gallas, the largest tribe in southern Abyssinia, which was conquered in the 16th century by Mohammed Grany and therefore Muslim. Yet the Gallas were black and so classed as Shangallas, fit for menial work in the eyes of Semitic-speaking Abyssinians who arrogated to themselves the honour of military endeavour. 'The ordinary Abyssinian knows nothing beyond
tej, shooting and raiding.' (Darley 1935:15,116; Athill 1920) Though there was a mixture of races, despite the antipathy on safari, the regular soldiers, enrolled by Ras Giorgis in Addis Ababa, were Abyssinians from Tigré, Shoa, and Gojan, who held a different faith.

In the petty Abyssinian merchant’s house would hang his rifle, his cartridge belt, and in a cloth bag, his Bible. It was only in Europe, primarily Evangelical Britain, that the Christian faith came to be identified with an abhorrence of slavery. Ethiopic Christianity lived in an OT world (Lev.25:4-6). Mitigating factors can be urged for the institution of slavery but even where it is well-regulated as in the Pentateuchal codes membership of the free people or master-race is contrasted with the ‘ruthlessly’ exploited life of alien slaves.

Some of the Abyssinian raiders were certainly Ethiopic Christians, for after the shoot-out with the Muslim Sudanese of the King’s African Rifles (KAR) on Nakot Pass, soldiers of the British Empire prayed to Allah in their dying breath, while their enemies prayed to Miriam, that is, Mary, and the women and children they had just captured from Dodos made good their escape. As Captain Wellby observed (1901:40,96,331,334), ‘Though the Abyssinians are a Christian people, it is no guarantee at all, that they will not sometimes behave like their neighbours.’ Adherents to the Christian faith, as of others, seldom pass over the main chance of quick riches, as permitted and valued by the culture, even if these be at the expense of God’s creatures and creation.
iii. Suffering

Since they had camels and donkeys for transport, slaves were not so necessary for carrying ivory but W.D.M. Bell's drawing captures the Abyssinian slavers in a typical Karamoja scene, as do his words:

Slaves were raided from the tribes, which could not or would not provide ivory. We gathered that these raids were extremely brutal affairs, for which the Abyssinian habits of eating raw meat and drinking rawer alcohol seemed peculiarly to fit them, and that just before our arrival at Goré a raid had resulted in the capture of 10,000 men, women and children. This figure is probably an exaggeration, but it was evident from the accounts of witnesses whom we questioned that the numbers must have been very considerable. They said that the mules, with the children lashed on them like faggots, required half the day to pass through the town. The only sign of slaving that we ourselves saw was when we met a body of mounted Abyssinians guarding some wild-looking natives from some distant land. Even if their patient phlegm and air of despair had not drawn our attention to them, the fact that they were completely nude, very black, and wore ornaments such as necklaces made up of countless little round discs of ostrich eggshell, otherwise unseen in Abyssinia, would have done so. We were spared the sight of children. (Bell 1958:79f.)

Karamojong and Turkana, in the process of marriage, wore ostrich eggshell necklaces, but girls never voluntarily go without their egg-shell bead strings, iron beads, or at least a black fibre fringe, in front of their pubenda (Powell-Cotton 1904:404; Bell 1923:33).

iv. Markets

There was indeed a slave market at Maji, 18 days march south-west of Addis Ababa and 20 days north-east of Morungole in Dodos where captives from various tribes were bought and sold. Major Gwynn, RE, who took part in the inconclusive Abyssinian Boundary Commission 1908-9, found black serfs cultivating round Maji whose normal garrison, he thought consisted of several thousand men, but many detachments and raiding parties were away in the country to
the south and west (EA 1/1906:27.3.10 Gwynn to CO; 4933/1917:Ocela 1909). Captain (and hon. Major) Darley RA, who had retired from the KAR, went privateering in these stateless lands, spending 1907 in Karamoja. He earned the tag ‘unreliable’ from the British authorities: ‘I am an ivory poacher of the worst sort, whom every game warden in British East Africa and Uganda must have longed to lay his hand on.’ (1935:151, cf.61,84-7,130f.). He claimed from Maji, where he spent some of his illicit gains on freeing slaves, that ‘Every native prays every day for the arrival of the whiteman.’

The shangallas or negros are called Gubbur [sic] or serfs and are treated as slaves all roped together. Little children unable to walk three or four on a mule together. $10 a head and take your choice...now slave dealing has become the chief asset of a chief...The taxes also of the Abyssinian government are very high... The government tells the Ras [provincial ruler] ‘Go to such and such a country and eat!’ The Abyssinians must eat and when they have devoured the whole country behind them, they must go ahead to fresh fields and pastures new until stopped. (EA 145/09:4.7.11 Darley’s Report:3)

Slaves could be sold in north-west Abyssinia where the price was good due to the disdain of Ethiopic Christian Abyssinians for manual labour. The flow northwards was not regular, but every time the outgoing Dejazmac (governor) of Maji left he would take all his own tribesmen and as many slaves and goods as they could lay their hands on. When the news of Menelik’s death eventually filtered out in 1909 custom required Dejazmac Dumti retire from his post, which led to ‘unbroken strings of slaves for four days’ -- some 6,000 -- trudging north, and be replaced by the new government’s appointee, Dejazmac Beru. Here was an ‘educated’ Abyssinian, who had been to Italy, Paris, and St.Petersburg with the notorious Count Leontieff, had a low
view of the British Government, was deeply in debt, and enticed followers with promises of unlimited loot, which they immediately began to fulfil on arrival. As little wealth remained locally, the impetus for repeated expansion was great.

v. Slave Raiding

Would Karamoja become one of 'the slave producing areas of Abyssinia', known to extend over 100 miles past her borders? A public proclamation soon made this clear:

'Oh, you people of Turkana, Karamoja and Suk. I left Addis Ababa [sic] in daytime, not at night [i.e. by orders of the government]. Bring me my taxes. If you do not bring them in one month, I will come and take them. And you my soldiers, get your food ready. In one month, we will go down to these countries and occupy them!'

(Darley 1935:90)

Beru said that he had been sent to Maji by the new Ras with orders to take over the whole country as far as Elgon and Pokot where the Kenya colonists were settling. This was no obstacle, rather a rare opportunity, for 'What power has the King of England now?'. Beru had heard of Edward VII's death and assumed all would be in confusion in the outlying parts of the British Empire as it had been in the Abyssinian.

Henry Darley managed to send a frantic letter with a trader to Mbale, revealing that Beru had 2,200 men, mostly armed with Gras rifles, ready to leave in a fortnight. He intended to make Manimani in south Karamoja his main camp. 'Please God you are ready.' (EA 145/09:2.8.10). In March 1911 a strong mounted force of 1,000 men, armed with magazine rifles, was alleged to be established at Lokuta's (Kopus) in southern Dodos (EA 145/09:26.3.11 PC, NP to Chief Sec., Entebbe). However, they did not make their occupation
any more effective than it had been before. In 1907, Lieutenant Fishbourne had marched south through Karamoja and reported that ‘all the country lying west of Lake Rudolf and for some distance south of it is continuously swept by bands of raiding Abyssinians’ (Moyse-Bartlett 1956:234, May 1908 Military Intelligence Report 33).

The arrest of 30 Abyssinian gun-runners under Beru’s agent, Dasta Lece, at Chudi Chudi in 1910 had, at last, given proof to the British representative at Addis Ababa, and Beru was recalled, only to be supported in his claim (the 1907 Anglo-Abyssinian Agreement notwithstanding) that ‘all Turkana and Dodosi were Abyssinian’. He wanted ‘to sweep the country for slaves and ivory before any settlement’ (Barber 1964b:19). Even when British patrols became more continuous after 1912 the Abyssinians, urged on by a German agent at Maji, combined with the Turkana to raid Dodosi (Collins 1961:21; EA 3706:Letter OC, Sultan Ikatos to Acting DC, Kitgum).

By 1917 Beru’s son, Dasta was Dejazmach in Maji, and in May his subordinate, Ato Apara (a Karamojong nickname, meaning ‘dandy’) raided Dodosi with a Maxim gun, over 400 riflemen, and 300 Turkana spearmen. They seized the livestock from many homesteads in Dodosi, killed 97 men and women, and captured at least 4. However, they suffered heavy casualties inflicted by tiny police and KAR patrols, so that Ato Apara had to exchange his loot for the stocks in Maji and go in chains to Addis Ababa, an act, which gave a decisive, if unintentional, disincentive to further raiding in Karamoja, despite the premium put on slaves by the 1919 influenza epidemic. Yet in 1926 slaves were still being
shipped to Arabia and in 1935 there was still an Abyssinian base inside British territory on Lake Turkana, despite the Consular golf course at Maji (Barber 1968:181-3; Darley 1935:ix Intro. by C.W.Hobley; Rayne 1923:81f; Moyse-Bartlett 1956:441f).

None of the tribes of Karamoja were 'virtually exterminated' by the Abyssinian slave trade. If any numbers were taken, then they were a spin-off from cattle raiding, a local institution, in which women were often taken to bear more children for their captors. The Toposa traded slaves, presumably pressed from their neighbours in Dodinga, Turkana, and Karamoja, in return for cattle. Lost cows would be sought before lost wives and daughters (Bell 1923: 65). At least one Bokorait, born c. 1905, and a younger Jiot, retained the Abyssinian name of Dengel (Lamphear 1972:470,482). Without European intervention, however, Karamoja would have been humbled by ruthless Abyssinian fortune-hunters for whom human lives were just another commodity and not a precious one. If, in 1910, a slave in Maji was worth 10 Maria Theresa dollars (£45.86 at 1990 prices), then an ordinary elephant tusk could buy at least 50 or 60, an interesting valuation of human life.7

c. The Ivory Trade

i. Exploiting Elephants

Who put the value on ivory? The opening up of Central Africa coincided with an increased demand for ivory in America and Europe. Bombay was, at first, the main entrepôt for the markets of London, New York, and Hamburg. In 1899 soft ivory on the London market was £7-9 (15-20%) dearer per hundredweight than the year before. Vast
quantities went to England for inlay work, umbrella and cutlery handles, snuff boxes, and chessmen. Female tusks were softer and suited the production of American billiard balls. Unlike slaves, there was no loss in transit through perishing and it became East Africa's most valuable export. The best ivory was white, opaque, smooth, gently curved with a spring to it and easily carved. Such ivory was soft and this was found, where water was scarce, so it followed that the Lake Rudolf area was reputed to be 'the richest in all Africa' (Beachey 1967:269-85). In December 1909 19 tons were landed, but a year later, after traders had been expelled from Karamoja, Abyssinian ivory was reported to be in small supply (The Times 5.1.1900, 5.1.10, 13.1.11).

Here a fortune could be made. Elephant cemeteries and local methods of hunting, which snared the immensely strong animal (Karamoja elephants were noted for their size) with a rawhide noose, hidden beneath the track under a wheel of sharp spikes and tied to a log which wore down the mighty beast, until he was weak enough to be speared, yielded insufficient supplies. The Abyssinians shot at them indiscriminately with 20 or more firing at one animal. 'An Abyssinian, who has killed an elephant -- that is of course, with the assistance of a large body of armed attendants -- is looked upon as a man of some standing in the country, and a man, who has killed more than 1, is so much elated at his own skill, that he will not deign to talk to anybody.' (Wellby 1901:205). If the tusks were large they could not be strapped adequately to a donkey, so were carried by porters.
ii. Outlets

Until 1910 the ivory collecting business was never controlled inside Karamoja. In 1907 5 Abyssinians came right through with their male ivory to the western foothills of Elgon where British duty was less than the 50% demanded by Addis Ababa. Of these, 4 claimed to be Christians and begged the missionary at the CMS station ‘to go back with them and see the many peoples by the way in need of a missionary’. Let the reader judge whether the Abyssinians were ‘in this instance, an example to the more enlightened professors of the Christian religion’ (Purvis 1909:262)!

Enlightenment is a culture-specific word, so it is a function of religion only insofar as religion has illuminated culture.

It was the ivory trade, which primarily accounted for the growth of Maji, which in 1900 was little more than a camp for a limited number of Abyssinian traders, but by 1914 had grown into a sprawling town inhabited by traders, poachers and desperadoes (Rayne 1923:55; Collins 1961:219). There the Abyssinians taxed and bought it to send to Addis Ababa. In 1910-1, the British police in Dodos estimated, that between Rupees 250,000 (£10,013,700) and £20,000 (£10580,400) left Chudi Chudi every year, each tusk having been bought for 1 Gras rifle and 40 rounds of ammunition equivalent to 3 oxen or 1 slave. As a rifle could be bought at the coast for 13/-, this meant a gross margin of £32 to £47 (£1990.929) per tusk, but passing the Maji officials was another matter (EA 19/1911:25.11.10 Capt.C.Riddich to Chief Sec.; Darley 1935:19). Such a prospect of gain appealed to others besides the Abyssinians.
3. THE SWAHILIS

a. Influence on Uganda

These were an assortment of Arabs, Baluchis, Egyptians, Somalis, and those Africans who had been brought, usually by their own enslavement, into the commercial culture that had evolved in Zanzibar and Mombasa. They were united by their common experience on safari, desire for profit, Islamic religion, and a lingua franca, a Portuguese and largely Arabic vocabulary, that never ceased to borrow words in transit, cast into African forms and called Kiswahili, ‘the language of the East Coast’.

The first man born in another continent to reach Uganda was an Arab trader, perhaps Ahmad bin Abraham in 1844 or Zanzibar’s bellicose slaver, Snay bin Amir in 1852, who raised an army of 400 in an attempt to quell a defiant African chief. They brought firearms, gunpowder diluted with sand, sodomy, and Islam and took slaves (Gray 1947:80ff.; Kasozi 1976:105; Miller 1971:55,135f.). Any hopes of domination in Buganda were ended in 1893 at the battle of Rubaga where, despite fighting each other the previous year, Catholics and Protestants united: ‘the young Christian chief of Brussi greatly distinguished himself, dashing into the midst of the enemy, where he fell fighting’. The Mohammedans were given no rest with ‘the Protestants following up their advantage and charging into the fugitives’ (Macdonald 1897:257).

b. Traders and their Activities

i. South of Elgon

Caravans had long traded in the Kavirondo and Kitosh areas the other side of Mount Elgon, ‘where [in 1890]
numerous ruined, burned and abandoned villages bore testimony to the handiwork and treachery of the Mombasa slaver, Abdulla bin Hamid, and that prince of rogues, fat Sudi of Pangani [on the German coast near Zanzibar], according to Frederick Jackson (1930:230f.). He was the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA Co.) agent, himself part of the British presence along the route of the proposed railway to Uganda which pushed them farther afield.

dii. North of Elgon

Yet the search for ivory had already taken them north. ‘For many years past, Ketosh [sic] had been the happy hunting ground of Swahili and Arab traders, particularly on those occasions, when they arrived from Karamoja via Baringo after an unsuccessful quest for ivory’, widened any breach between local clans and filled, by deception or devastation, their returning caravans with slaves instead. In 1894-5, camps were established for more than 3 years east of Elgon and north of it, in Sebei, to barter ivory in Karamoja.

The entrepreneurs in the Sebei camp were Mahomadi bin Abdulla and Sheriffu who profited from both law and lawlessness by bartering with the British army and purchasing pack-animals for it in Karamoja. By the end of the expedition they were in Mumia’s arranging for 240 frasilas of ivory to go to the coast, where it was worth Rupees 60,000 (£1151,200), before leaving themselves for Pangani. No British post was established in Karamoja, however, and they returned. Sheriffu became ‘the great trader at Mumia’s’ and Mahomadi ‘the fat Swahili’ set up camp in 1902 on the River Turkwel, where he was joined by
Juma bin Gosh, a Mkamba with filed teeth. They had a camp following of 200 men, women, and children including 40 Karamojong hunters and trappers. In 1907 they were arrested by Captain Rayne for breaches of the firearms and game regulations, which implicated many friends in Mumia’s, Kisumu, and Mbale, as well as their 120 frasilas of ivory, but Juma escaped. For him the Serkali (government) was not greater than Allah (Rayne 1923:1-7,11,15).

iii. Shundi

Not all Swahilis were rogues, but even the old inoffensive trader, Mwenyi Kombo, who was encamped at Kaceliba on the Turkwel, was removed with Mohamadi. One who was not was Shundi, the son of the great Wanga king, Nabongo Shundu, but abducted by Swahili traders and sold to the chief of the Wachagga on Kilimanjaro to become, by turning Muslim to secure his freedom, a leader of the slave and ivory caravans. He made home his base in 1896 at the British post of Mumia’s, where the route to Karamoja was assiduously blocked by ‘a barrage of lies and dissuasion of every sort’ (Bell 1923:22,38). Mumia’s was named after Shundu’s son and heir, Mumia, who was, therefore, Shundi’s brother (Alpers 1974:239).

Having himself been a slave, the suppression of the slave-trade horrified him, and his one idea had always been to find a country, where slavery was permitted. He had a rooted dislike to the British Government for having been instrumental in freeing two of his own slaves.

(Darley 1935:6)

iv. Manimani

Once out of the effective reach of European control beyond the River Turkwel, the peaceful, polite and prosperous trader of Mumia’s became the merciless and rapacious raider of Karamoja. Shundi’s chosen home was
Manimani on the Omanimani River, south of Mount Moroto, and so the up-country base for all caravans. The word mani is Kiswahili for a weight-measure of about three pounds, used with their steelyard scales to weigh ivory and trade goods. The whole river was known to Macdonald (1899a:136) as Akinyo, indicating that it took a new name from the foreign settlement. The Karimojong insistence that it was named after its meanders (cf. akimaniman to roam) is probably the converse of the truth.

Like many another foreigner’s abode in Karamoja, Manimani is very difficult to trace. It was never the centre of ‘50,000 closely distributed warriors’ as the first mapmakers thought. That figure was a wild estimate and soon afterwards the local section, the Pian, largely moved south to Nabilatuk and around Kadam. After careful sifting of the evidence Manimani can be said to have existed at the intersection of the Apeikinyet and Omanimani Rivers at the waterholes of Kabilemong. Some maps mark it above the Omanimani, others below, but the reference should be: 2° 20’ north, 34° 39’ east. Manimani was a Swahili creation ‘of very considerable size’ near the hub of the Karimojong sections, where peaceful relations were essential for co-existence.

Here, Shundi had his harem of over 80 women, many of whom were Maasai from Kilimanjaro. Around him were Arab, Swahili-born, Africanized Goanese, Baluchi and even Persian traders, but he was the lion among the jackals in this particular plain and the recognised chief Tajir (rich man) of them all. His slave killed the elephant on Kilimanjaro, whose record 2361b. tusk resides in the Natural History
Museum. Since large-bore guns using black powder and soft bullets were grossly inefficient, requiring as much as 3 powder-horns and 32 bullets to break a leg, the Swahilis were often content to reward the Karamojong for trapping and spearing them.

Also at Manimani was Gosh, the foster-father (and likely enslaver) of Juma, who joined him there in 1907, preached a doctrine of hatred for the white man, and earned the prestigious Karamojong name of Longatunyemoi, the lion-killer. As Uganda slowly began to come to grips with its northern provinces he removed himself to north Turkana and Maji (Rayne 1923:9,55). On 17.5.17 Captain Rayne again interfered with his ambitions, so he led an Abyssinian charge against the square of what had been 27 Somali soldiers.

'Saraf ngai! [Who is master?] Saraf ngai!' shouts a thin whip-like man, jumping to his feet and sprawling through the aloes, heedless of the bullets that riddle him. The sergeant-major’s bayonet goes through and through him; a great hooked sword falls from the man’s hand and clatters to the ground; he heaves one great sigh and gives up the ghost. His comrades have no heart for more; they are racing off. (ibid.:81-4; EA 4325:6.17 Report by Turpin; Moyse-Bartlett 1956:441f.)

c. Effects of the Ivory Trade
i. Destabilization

W.D.M.Bell (1923:21f.) was well acquainted with the realities of power there, so it is worth quoting in full his view of the changes wrought by the ivory trade in Karamoja.

As time went on and more and more traders flocked to Karamojo to share in the huge profits of the ivory trade, competition became keener. Prices rose higher and higher. Where once beads and iron wire sufficed to buy a tusk, now a cow must be paid. Traders were obliged to go further and further afield to find new territory until they came in violent contact with raiding parties of Abyssinians away in the far North.

When most of the dead ivory had been traded off the only remaining source was the yearly crop of tusks from
the elephants snared and killed by the native Karamojans. For these comparatively few tusks competition became so keen and prices so high, that there was no longer any profit when as much as eight or ten cows had to be paid for a large tusk, and the cows bought down at the base for spot cash and at prices from £2 to £5 each. Hence arose the idea in the brains of two or three of the bolder spirits among the traders to take by force that which they could no longer afford to buy. Instead of traders they became raiders. In order to ensure success to a raid an alliance would be made with some tribe which was already about equal in strength to its neighbours through centuries of inter-tribal warfare. The addition of three or four hundred guns to the tribe’s five or six thousand spearmen rendered the result of this raid by the combined forces almost beyond doubt, and, moreover, conferred upon the raiders such complete domination of the situation that they were able to search out and capture the young girls, the acquisition of which is the great aim and object of all activity in the Mohammedan mind.

Complete and magnificent success attending the first raiding venture changed the whole country magically. The hitherto more or less peaceful looking trading camps gave place to huge armed Bomas surrounded by high thorn fences. Everyone -- trader or native -- went about armed to the teeth. Footsore or sick travellers from caravans disappeared entirely, or their remains were found by the roadside. Native women and cattle were heavily guarded, for no man trusted a stranger.

This vivid description of the impact of the Acumpa foreigners needs some modification. There were only 5,298 adult males in all the Karimojong sections in 1919, 1,869 in Najie and 2,674 in Dodos and seldom were many involved in engagements, when speed was of the essence in order to whisk the stolen cattle away (Gulliver 1953b:185). The most victorious army in the first decade of the century was the 500 strong fighting force of the Jie, supported by several hundred boys to carry shields and water and herd away the bovine booty, and by 250 Acoli and Abwor mercenaries, mostly musketeers, who were rewarded by a share in the loot (Lamphear 1976:239ff.).

Also, guns were not then as decisive as Bell liked to think and, in his own hands, with good reason. The unique Jie war-leader, Loriang, relied on his innovations in
military organization, not primarily on his mercenaries, even if they impressed the enemy.

'Loriang bought no guns from the traders. He did not want them. His men fought with spears. Had not their spears defeated the Acoli guns? A few of the younger men bought guns, but not many.' (ibid.:253f.)

The Abaci and the Acumpa did not invent raiding, for it had occurred before when there were pressures on grazing or easy pickings to be had.

ii. Homicide

The killing of strangers had always been permissible with the practicable exception of the Abwor trading their hardware, since anyone not a member of the tribe was, like a lion, worthy of a memorial of cicatrices on the right shoulder for a male victim and on the left for a female. Emoit means, at once, stranger, foreigner, enemy. 'Good day, Bakora [sic]!', the safari headman would say; 'Good day, strangers!', the Bakora would answer (Bell 1923:37 & 1949:108). The traders, having proved untrustworthy in south Karamoja, left any of their footsore stragglers open to the desire of young warriors to prove their manhood, and become 'entitled to wear a very tall ostrich feather, dyed blood-red, at the dances, and to have their way among the unmarried girls, 'for the girls laugh at men who are not warriors and would never marry an unblooded spear' (Paget Wilkes 1932:9). The traders, who sought not to change the world but to exploit it, never tried to prevent this custom, but rather saw it as a deterrent to deserters and would-be informers to the government, pour encourager les autres.\footnote{11} 

iii. Bargaining Power

In Najie, relationships with the Acumpa were better, probably because they could only be approached through
neighbouring tribes, who emphatically testified to their treacherously violent nature. The strangers, referred to as 'those, who carry the tusks of elephants', trod carefully in Najie, and it is a comment on the nature of commerce, that prices paid for ivory here were higher than those recorded anywhere else north of Elgon, a pair of large tusks fetching 30 cattle. For the trader-raid ers, this may have been a case of robbing the weak of their cattle to pay the strong. With this offer of cattle, the only really motivating incentive in Karamoja, the Jie were drawn into elephant hunting as trappers, guides and porters. A few were lent guns to shoot them, death being effected by the magic of the smoke entering the bullet-hole. Though many went to the trouble of learning Ngajie and even assumed 'ox-names and composed ox-songs of praise, they remained objects of curiosity in the category of 'strangers'.

'The Acumpa came here from the south-east when the Ngikosowas were initiating. They only wanted to shoot elephants and they brought beads, wire, and other things to trade... they had many donkeys to carry their things and herds of goats which they ate. They wore loose, dark cloth on their bodies. They loved to eat meat and ate great quantities of it. They used to wipe their hands and even the oil off their mouths onto their clothes after eating.' (Lamphear 1976:222f.)

iv. Fortunes of War

However, such general assessments either omit events that do not fit or were ignorant of the Swahili manoeuvre to set one tribe against another. On 15.4.17 a raiding party of armed Turkana who had failed in an attempt to raid Dodos went up the escarpment to Najie to raid their ancestral centre (EA 4325:30.4.17 Report by Turpin, "Kariojo"). To the traditional minds of Jie and Turkana elder alike this was sacrilege for the Jie, as the parent tribe and the
origin of ritual authority, was closer to God. This raid, most likely, was not planned by an emuron, or blessed by the mothers, for there were other leaders: two Swahilis, including Juma bin Gosh, and a half-bred Abyssinian, Dasta Lece, known in Karamoja, as Lonyangale. Rayne (1923:69,144) passed through Najie the day before this quiet spot rang 'with the agonised cries of women and little children being put to death'. Disembowelling pregnant women was not beyond Juma's raiders. But the slowly lengthening arm of British law relieved him of the stolen cattle (EA A24 Item 4: 23.2.04 Sub-Commissioner, Jinja to Commissioner, Uganda; Bell 1923:36).

d. Effects of the Slave Trade

i. Traders Slaughtered

Those in Karamoja who were not protected by Loriang's military system or, later, by the rather haphazard and avoidable touring patrols of the British did not always have the luxury of distanced observations. That Karamojong were exposed to enslavement in their own country is attested by the Ngakaramojong for slave (erikot) which is not a loan word, like many other Swahili innovations, but means, the one led away in chains (ngiриko), though this might first have been used of the Ngikatapa or Oropom whom the Karamojong took captive. The Toposa, already sensitized to Abyssinian methods, deterred the Swahilis by killing the larger-than-life Shundi, Chambi bin Musa, and 300 others in their safari. There were 3 similar massacres, including the entire caravan of Jumbi and Agi and 1 of 300 guns and 800 people, perpetrated by the Karimojong.12
ii. Culture Clash

However African, the culture of the Acumpa continued to clash with the local culture. Not only were they mostly Bantu, but they were enculturated into Swahili customs and were immediately demarcated by the symbol of apparel. Nyamwezi 'boys', who hailed from the south-eastern shores of Lake Victoria, considered themselves 'much too civilized to eat with them [Karamojong]. Were they [Swahilis] not clothed!'. This ethnocentrism was reciprocated in exactly the same way as it is today.

Pyjalé and his people always had the greatest contempt for clothing. He used to have great arguments with the boys about it. They would maintain, that no naked person could be other than a pagan, which of course left Pyjale quite cold. What did he know or care about religions? He said that people who wore clothes did so to hide something of which they were ashamed. He said his people had nothing to hide. (Bell 1949:68,112f.)

Clothes, like 'religions', were not appropriate to Karamoja. Swede, the tracker, was unbearable to follow in the bush, for the stench fostered in his clothes. The Karamojong had not kept as wives the women of the caravans they had butchered, because they had 'smelt so'.

iii. Cultural Change

Nevertheless, the continuous Swahili presence centred on Manimani was indirectly associated with cultural change among the Karimojong. Around 1890 the junior generation, Ngitukoi, angered the senior generation, Ngingatunyo, to the drastic extent that the elders laid a collective curse on the junior generation. Though drought, famine, rinderpest, and smallpox raged across much of East Africa in the 1890s, the Karimojong attributed their portion of these calamities (Eron) to the unfaithfulness of their own people (D-H,N. 1966:217). Though the nature of the
disobedience is not related, it is likely that the young men were encouraged in their action by the disorder ignited by the trader-raiders and the consciousness of a wider world outside the sacred authority of their elders. The diseases were directly the consequence of foreign contacts. That section affected most by the freebooters at Manimani and their trade goods is the most radical and least integrated of all \cite{ibid.265-70}, namely the Pian who are currently fighting their Tome neighbours.

iv. Foreign Morality

If anything could be counted upon to arouse the attention of the British, Christian or otherwise, it was the odium of slave trading and atrocities on what they regarded as their territory, no matter how reluctant they were to administer it \cite{Miller 1971:45 \& passim}.
3. THE EUROPEANS
a. 1890-1900: Via Karamoja
i. The Scramble for Uganda

In January 1890 Frederick Jackson (1930:243-5) and Ernest Gedge walked up the Turkwel River through 'a plain covered with bush, aloes and course grass all burnt at this time of year'. They were the first Europeans to encounter the Karamojong, finding them hunting and gathering, disease having deprived them of their cattle. The Englishmen carried on to a 14,170 foot peak of Mt. Elgon, gazing down to the north-west, where they espied what looked like 2 expanses of water. The larger was to enter the RGS maps, as Lake Salisbury, while the smaller became Lake Gedge. Jackson's legacy fell on the head of the hartebeest and the hornbill. Beyond the water was the dry plain of Karamoja, which stretched out before them, interrupted only by the occasional mountain standing guard over the bare flatness. They would have liked to investigate further but were prevented by the very great 'hostility of the natives', the famine everywhere and the lack of water (Austin 1899:153).

In any case the idea of their expedition had been, ostensibly, to explore a new road to Lake Victoria for the IBEA Co., though the reason for their excursion to the southern end of Lake Rudolf was to find ivory, and probably had something to do with the explorations of Count von Teleki and von Höhnel there. There was no Anglo-German Agreement then and Dr. Carl Peters' German Emin Pasha Expedition was bound for Buganda.

After Lord Salisbury had brought the whole Nile valley into the British sphere to secure Egypt by the treaty
of 1.7.1890, a founding director of the IBEA Co. considered that such journeys were now a luxury and that 'our credit on the Stock Exchange might be somewhat affected' by any more. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Church Missionary Society (CMS) Treasurer at the time, and the first committee man to visit Uganda, Liberal MP for Tower Hamlets, Poplar, Governor of the the new, model state of South Australia, board member of the RGS, and in 1899 President of the British and Foreign Slavery Society, laid down the moral mandate of empire for these undigested parts.

'We cannot but believe that any interference whatever from outside, which helps to keep peace, either by a certain degree of force or by introducing habits of communication leading to the habit of buying and selling, so far as it tends to bring about peace, does a great deal towards removing that from which Africa suffers so much; and I am quite sure the desire to introduce peace, where there has been war, is a motive, which has gone a very long way in actuating the men who started the Company.' (Ravenstein 1891:207)13

The IBEA Co. never explored Karamoja, let alone civilized it. By the Brussels Act of July 1890, Great Britain had assumed responsibility for the suppression of the slave trade. It was soon thought that the project of a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria was the most effective way of stopping it at source and Captain J.R.L. Macdonald RE, from the Khyber Pass, was detailed to make a preliminary survey. However, 600 miles of track outstripped the capital of the IBEA Co. and, although the CMS Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, Alfred Tucker, appealed for £15,000 to perpetuate its Ugandan presence and raised it in a fortnight, the rule of the chartered company ended on 1.4.1893, when a Union Jack was raised over Kampala Fort to proclaim a provisional British protectorate (Thomas & Scott 1935:32f.; Austin 1903:292f.; Bates 1984:41-3).14
ii. Racing to Fashoda

If the British position on the far-off Mediterranean had now been assured, Karamoja might have been left alone for another two or three decades but the French plan to send expeditions from opposite sides of Africa in order to meet at Fashoda on the Nile meant attention had to be diverted to the arid lands around it. Lord Salisbury 'wanted an inexpensive and unobtrusive scheme, which would not arouse the Opposition or the Treasury or get to the ears of the French' (Bates 1984:41). It was Macdonald, having been Acting Commissioner for Uganda in 1893, who proposed striking north from Lake Baringo through the Lake Rudolf area and the ill-defined borderlands to the Nile at Fashoda. To conceal the real objective, and explain why it was carrying, like Captain Marchand, sections of steel boats, he proposed to say that the plan was to explore the upper reaches of the River Juba.

The plan suited Salisbury's covert purposes admirably and on 25.4.1897 he wrote in confidence to the Chancellor of the Exchequer asking for £35,000 for 'sending an expedition to the east bank of the Nile to make friends with the tribes before the French get there from the west...the ostensible reason for despatch will be to explore the sources of the Juba'. Clement Hill, at the FO, drafted two despatches to Macdonald (Matson 1965:99). Cabinet and the Commissioner for Uganda were given the ostensible reason, but Macdonald's secret instructions were more than exploratory.

It may be necessary for you to establish posts at intervals in order to effect a practical occupation on behalf of G.B. or it may be sufficient to take the preferable course of retaining the allegiance of the
Chiefs by presents and the grant of the British flag... the main object is to make it clear to the natives that G.B. is the Power to which they must look for support and that they must not enter into any political relations with any other Power.

If he met any other European expedition he would 'be justified in disregarding any claims or pretensions which may be advanced on the ground of prior treaties or occupation'.

So began the largest expedition of Sikhs and Sudanese as yet mounted in East Africa. However, Salisbury had always said that Britain could do nothing on the Upper Nile until the Uganda railway was built. In July 1897 it only reached 109 kilometres inland to the middle of the Taru desert, a line of communication which was immediately broken when a train left the rails. The element of secrecy bedevilled the operation. The overworked and underpaid Sudanese not only had illusions of grandeur for themselves in Uganda but also feared that the undisclosed goal of the expedition was to fight brother Muslims in the Sudan. Macdonald felt unable to put them in the picture. So they mutinied just as the 3 columns were setting out from the Kenyan highlands and rampaged back into Uganda. Macdonald was hard put to save the country from complete Muslim domination and only did so with 835 casualties and the help of the pioneer CMS and Catholic missionaries who tended the wounded in the field and destroyed the enemies' food plantations (Austin 1903:8ff., 34-7, 295-304; Macdonald 1897; Bates 1984:74ff.).

In April 1898 Macdonald, in order to execute Salisbury's recent instructions 'to carry out the objects of his mission', handed over the control of Ugandan forces to
Major C. Martyr D.S.O. who promptly objected to Major Macdonald's taking so many freshly-armed Sudanese. Martyr also diverted 130 Indian troops to pacify Bunyoro and asked in vain for 50 more Sudanese, though within 11 days the rebels had been defeated twice and Commissioner Berkeley was summarizing that 'the situation offers no serious features'.

It was not until 16.7.1898, that the Sebei base was reached by a force so reduced that Macdonald questioned Berkeley about the viability of the original expedition, talking instead of putting posts on Lake Rudolf, perhaps to counter Martyr's pressure for resources and squeeze some reinforcements for his underweight party. If so, the hint badly misfired, for already on 7.7.1898 Berkeley was writing to Martyr on a strictly confidential question which involved his 400 riflemen.

I must inform you that I have no instructions, but I feel convinced that, with foreign expeditions reported to be making for the Upper Nile, and the advance of British and Egyptian troops on Khartoum, it could not fail to be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government that we should obtain closer touch with the Nile to the north.

I am, therefore, requesting you, if you find you can do it with reasonable safety, and can overcome the natural obstacles of the river, to endeavour to reconnoitre and make Treaties with the local Chiefs as far as Fashoda...

Even the recently arrived sections of a new steam-launch were put at his disposal. Martyr seized with alacrity his pre-planned chance of glory. 'I have naturally for some considerable time been carefully studying the subject and do not anticipate any insuperable difficulties or delays.' Just 3 days later, quite ignorant of the Berkeley-Martyr plan, Macdonald was writing to the Prime Minister with the intention of reaching the hinterland of Lado on the Nile,
where,

we should be in a position to frustrate any French attempt south of the great Nile swamps, would prevent Abyssinia from establishing herself on the Nile from Lado southwards, and would, to say the least, be in an equally good position for an advance on Fashoda.\textsuperscript{19}

iii. Karamoja: Invaded or Protected?

So it was that the preparations of the Honourable Algernon Hanbury Tracy of the Royal Horse Guards were not wasted. Under Captain Austin he had founded the base-camp in the northern foothills of Elgon at Sebei in October 1897 and was the first European to enter Karamoja, rather than skirting the perimeter, in order to establish an advance depot at Manimani. He was in Karamoja for 3 weeks in September 1898 buying pack-animals and in December was sufficiently \textit{persona grata} with the Karamojo [sic] natives, amongst whom he had spent considerable time in the last year', to prevail on them to organize a dance for 100 men and women.\textsuperscript{20}

Austin led a column of the expedition to Lake Rudolf to establish treaties with the tribes there, while the 'Headquarters' column under Macdonald addressed itself ostensibly to 'the unknown country west of Turkana...as a base for further exploration' and reached Manimani on 6.8.1898 with 3 British officers, 17 Sikhs, 41 Sudanese, 259 Swahilis, including 162 porters, 23 Sudanese women, and 8 Maasai. Here, Swahili traders reported 300 armed mutineers near Mount Rom, handing over a letter from the Sudanese mutineers to the remnants of Emin Pasha's old soldiery, who had settled in Lotuko near Lado, asking them 'to hasten their assistance against the Christians... This from your brother the poor in God, Bedawee bin Abdullah'. It was
indefinitely answered by Mini Shook bin Nimi bin Keeg el Sherazi Bey. Fear of the mutineers and their potential allies dominated British movements.21

Relationships with the Karimojong were excellent, though Macdonald described them as 'the best fighters in Equatoria'. He took a detailed interest in their customs and language and they nicknamed him Bilic (ox with the broken leg) which might account for his progress being as slow as 10 miles a day (Pazzaglia 1982:55). He thought his position was much facilitated by the fact that they had a tradition that white men would ultimately come to rule the country. As we were the first white men to enter Karamoja, the natives said the tradition had been fulfilled, and that the country was ours.

The Karamojo were a singularly honest people, the most honest savages I had ever met. (Macdonald 1899:236)

The Dodos were found to be equally friendly, while the Jie, who were reported 'to be hostile and treacherous' and ipso facto likely to be on friendly terms with the Sudanese, were circumvented. At Magosi there were a few homesteads and large areas of almost ripe sorghum which the Swahili troops started looting. The Karimojong had their wrath appeased by the culprits being flogged, a ready justice which they appreciate, for they exercise it themselves (Austin 1903: 144f.; Novelli 1988:121).

On the return, though, the Nyakwai, killed Captain H.E. Kirkpatrick after his soldiers mistreated some women who demanded that the strangers be killed. This resulted in the first 'punitive expedition' in Karamoja, which, after an exchange of bullets for rocks, burnt all the granaries and standing crops, leaving only one remote village unravaged and that, because 'the treacherous natives had already been
so severely punished, that they would not readily forget the lesson they had received for their cold-blooded murder of poor Kirkpatrick and his men' (Austin 1903:162-6). Though the Swahilis had been welcomed twice recently, the British (failing to understand their own troops, apparently, let alone the local tribe) put the cause down to 'friendly terms with the mutineers' who 'had circulated stories against Europeans'.

However, the purge had a desired effect. A week later, back amongst the Bokora about forty gigantic chiefs of the Karamojo people, ranging from 6 feet 2 inches to about 6 feet 6 inches in height, visited the camp in a body to assure Macdonald of their lasting friendship, as he was about to leave the country. (ibid.:166f.) Kirkpatrick's 'murder' was reported to Lord Salisbury who was not interested in permanent occupation here.22

iv. Outcome of the Macdonald Expedition

On 11.9.1898, Macdonald had left Manimani for Gule23 and on 17.9.1898, moved camp to Titi (Kopus in Dodos) where the harvest was coming in and neither the Acoli nor the mutineers had contacts. He then set off for the Nile, sending in advance a letter to the 'O.C., British Gunboat, Lado' and making full use of Salisbury's pack of Union Jacks. Macdonald ran out of supplies before reaching Lado where neither Kitchener nor his gunboats were in residence. Since no purpose, other than the privation of his men, would have been achieved by pressing on, Macdonald decided to turn back on 23.10.1898. By 6.11.1898 he was back in Titi where a letter from the Commissioner of Uganda awaited him accusing him of 'having wholly altered your ostensible plans, or else having deliberately withheld your real
The news was that Martyr was going down the Nile to 'perhaps join with those coming south since the fall of Omdurman', where Kitchener had mown down 11,000 Dervishes on 2.9.1898. This rebuke and rebuff merely served to stimulate Macdonald to consider carefully proceeding due north to join hands with the Egyptian troops on the Sobat River, but his end in the intervening deserts and swamps would have been a martyrdom in the spirit of Gordon. Instead, he related his local achievement. 'I have succeeded in securing by Treaty a continuous block of country up to the 6th degree of North latitude, and have enlisted a local force and established posts to keep up communications with the Treaty countries.'

The men and supplies which Macdonald needed lay on the other side of the country in a duplicate mission with Martyr who wanted a 'strong expedition to Fashoda'. While assuring Macdonald that he was on his own, Berkeley told Martyr that he had never had the slightest idea that 6 companies would go via the Nile -- nor that the Sudanese would be reorganized and rearmed for an expedition the FO neither ordered nor authorized. It still took him a year to break through the sudd on the Nile.

v. Effects on Empire in East Africa

The results were unexpected. The strategic matter was settled at the end of October by 2 simultaneous but unconnected events. Marchand, persuaded by Kitchener's gunboats, left Fashoda without the permission of his government and the British sent war orders to the Mediterranean fleet. As the French did 'not fight at sea in
winter', that was the end of their designs on the Upper Nile and Salisbury's worries; 'Uganda is only an interlude' (Matson 1965:101). Yet Macdonald's concern was for Africa, not the Mediterranean. He suggested to the FO that he should lead a new expedition up the Nile from Egypt to renew contact with the treaty areas and meet the remnant of his old forces moving north. He was told, 'It will for the present be impossible to undertake any further responsibilities on the Uganda frontier of a costly character'. An already angry Macdonald stormed home to see the Prime Minister.

Macdonald had written despatches almost weekly to Salisbury but Clement Hill found that, both dated 18.7.1898, contradicted each other.

One says he is going along Lake Rudolf, the other that he is going to Lado: there is no illusion [sic] in either to the other. It looks as if he had written the Rudolf one for the public, the other for private information: but the result was confusion.

Macdonald had played the game consistently, but duplicity in high places rebounded on him and Uganda. He wanted to see direct British control over the 50,000 square miles brought into treaty relations with the Empire, so he supplemented his first scheme of a military patrol costing £18,000 a year with an alternative one at half the price. Either plan, he thought, would be offset by the benefits of the allegiance of the local tribes, their protection against unscrupulous traders, gun runners and slavers, and a good route to the Nile through healthy, dry country, rich in ivory, game, and cattle.

However, Martyr's posts on the Nile protected the symbol of the Suez Canal's security and Parliament was now
exerting itself against these forays into nowhere. Against the very different Liberalism of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, Sir Charles Dilke demanded an independent inquiry into Uganda affairs, while Henry Labouchere was reported in The Times.

As to Major Macdonald’s expedition, it appeared to him to be one of the most absurd and silly expeditions ever dreamt of by the mind of man. He also wanted to clearly understand what it was that Col. Martyr was doing, and further were they at the present moment engaged in any expedition with the view of bringing under the British Protectorate those large tracts of country which they said were within their sphere of influence. The real fact was this Uganda was a sink for the money of England (Radical cheers). The Treasury, from that time on, scrutinized every estimate for these parts. The dream of an Alexandria-Mombasa railway through Karamoja never stood a chance of actualization. Yet if the British government was not interested in Karamoja others had been introduced to it who were and who had less interest in local welfare. The Macdonald expedition had the effect of opening the district up to hunters and freebooters, not only the Swahili camp-followers, but also European hunters, armed with higher powered rifles and the first maps of the area, which Macdonald had helpfully surveyed. Karamoja was to feel first the more destructive products of European culture.
b. 1900-1909: Empire Fails to Rule

i. Harry Johnston and Expansion

In 1899 it had come to the attention of the British government that 'Arabs had come to trade in slaves with the Wasuk', i.e. the Pokot, who were long-standing neighbours and enemies of the Karimojong, and others north of Elgon, disposing of them in German territory (modern Tanzania), or Abyssinia (Barber 1965:28; 1968:22f.). Harry Johnston, the new, and Special, Commissioner to Uganda, himself defined the boundary of the Uganda Protectorate between the Nile and Lake Rudolf by latitude 5° north, taking Macdonald's treaties to establish 'control over all the waste and uncultivated land in the Protectorate' (PP 1900:LVI,86). He felt a French, Russian, Belgian, and Abyssinian consortium north of Turkana would lead to dissatisfaction and anti-white feeling among the tribes. He did not know then that one of his own administrators was sending out his private agents to trade for ivory in Jackson’s name (Oliver 1957:334; Jackson 1930:70-2).

Johnston had no intention of dissipating resources for the benefit of individual enterprise. Everything was to be harnessed to sustainable economic growth.

As regards wealth in animal products, there is firstly, the elephant, from whom profits might be derived by sale of his ivory when dead, and use of his body when living. Using his zoological knowledge of their breeding habits, he thought that without serious danger to the continuation of the elephant species, the bulls with large, heavy tusks might be killed off, but only in the context of very strict Game Regulations (Buxton, E.N. 1902:185-8). The zebra could be domesticated,
and the giraffe exported to zoos. Ostrich farms could be established in Karamoja to provide Edwardian ladies with fine plumes. Economics did not exclude the development of human resources.

We should aim at the establishment of an Administration over the Ugandan Protectorate, economic and yet efficient... Where Muhammadanism has not obtained complete possession of people, however, the Administration, without anything like compulsion or undue pressure, advises native Chiefs to encourage the establishment of Christian missions and schools. In the Eastern part of the Protectorate, natives in some districts are without religion of any kind whatsoever, and, elsewhere, where they still believe in and worship ancestral, earth, air, or water spirits, their primitive religions are so little conducive to kindliness and morality as to be unworthy of any protection at the hands of a civilised Administration, though they be of the greatest interests to students of ethnology.

(PP 1901:XLVII,583-8)

Johnston was a student of ethnology, and Uganda showed him that instead of being 'spoil'd' Africans could be 'greatly improved' by Christianity. He saw that famines and war 'brought about an actual decrease of population in Rudolf and Central Provinces'. Whereas 'no-one can be so cruel to the negro as the negro', Africans, he found, acknowledged that 'the white man is good: we would do anything for him'. For the irreligious, evolutionist Johnston, the welfare of Africa did not include the spread of Islam to which he was 'doggedly opposed'. He aimed to 'thrust Islam as much as possible into the Sudan' and for Uganda to be a 'strong bulwark in Equatorial Africa gradually spreading Christianity to its surroundings' (Kasozi 1976:102).

Following an expansionist line his overall aim was 'to open out the country and devise practical means to make its natural resources available for contributing towards the necessary expenses of government' (Barber 1968:25). This
stood Salisbury's policy on its head. Instead of avoiding commitments, Johnston aimed to reduce grant-in-aid by utilising local resources as far afield as possible. Since this meant not only expansion but also the replacement of the sporting sons of the aristocracy with low-born civil administrators and local police, he incurred the enmity of Clement Hill at the FO and the military. This opposition to 'constant pushing on', whether well or sketchily funded, and its consequent delaying tactics meant that many of Johnston's ideas were never implemented (Moyse-Bartlett 1956:92; Miller 1971:501). King Edward's Town, the new imperial capital, was never built and Karamoja was neither controlled, nor administered, nor farmed, nor Christianized, that it might enter into the blessings of 'civilization'. They were to be reserved for the Kenya colonists.

ii. Scientific Categories

Setting aside the views of Macdonald and Johnston, as only a powerful civil servant could, Clement Hill decided that the commercial watershed between the Nile and the east coast railway lay just west of Lake Rudolf. He had not learnt much from sitting on the Committee of the Uganda Railway which reached Lake Victoria on 21.12.01 after 5.5 years and at a final cost of 5.5 million pounds (Miller 1971:501). On 1.4.02 East Africa was re-partitioned, leaving to Uganda 'all whose population is more akin to Baganda' and to her old Eastern Province (EP) officials the matter of how much more land to take with them into the new East African Protectorate. North of Elgon: 'they concluded the boundary was then "of purely academic interest", since they were not likely to extend effective administration there for some
time to come' (Bennett 1952:69f.; Oliver 1957:336). As Karamoja was left in Bantu Uganda, with the extremely remote northern half of Turkana, while the rest of the pastoralist tribes were allocated to another distant capital, this was a self-fulfilling prophecy, but one reassuring to the British government.

The new Commissioner, Hayes Sadler was instructed to 'bear in mind that in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, it is not desirable to push too quickly amongst tribes in outlying districts who have little to offer at present in the way of commerce and who have not yet become accustomed to the sojourn of the white man in their midst. Such tribes should rather be attracted to larger centres where they will see the work of civilisation in progress and begin to appreciate its advantages.' (Barber 1968:34)

The 'civilization' that Karamojans saw was the sojourn of the white hunters: men in love with their guns. One of the first was Major P.H.G. Powell-Cotton, Fellow of the RGS and the Zoological Society, who named his first new species after his sponsor (Giraffa camelopardis rothschildi) and found a 6-horned one (Giraffa camelopardis cottoni) on Morungole. Its head and neck went to the Natural History Museum. He also found an 'extreme faithfulness to the white man'.

It seemed that in the year 1898 Col. Macdonald had left several huts full of stores at Titi in Dodosi. According to native accounts, before he set on his return southwards, Macdonald gathered the head men of the place together, and made them solemnly swear that they would protect his goods at all costs, promising them rich rewards if they kept faith, and threatening dire vengeance if they broke it. Ever since that time a matter of five years, the Turkana had been making a desperate struggle to take possession of the huts, under the belief that they must hold rich treasure from the native point of view. The Dodosi loyally kept their trust, although to do so they were sacrificing hundreds of lives, and saw village after village of their people wiped off the face of the earth. Meanwhile the stores, which were being guarded at such terrible cost, like so much priceless treasure, must for the most part have mouldered away, and become absolutely useless, for they
consisted of flour and other food supplies. (Powell-Cotton 1904:321f.,387; PP 1899:LXIII,603)

It is more likely that the Turkana were after Dodos cattle, yet the latter's behaviour still contrasts with the Karimojong who wasted no time in looting the depot at Manimani. The faithfulness of foreigners was better known there.

iii. Bwana Bell

Others used science for gain rather than gain for science. W.D.M. 'Karamoja' Bell was a Scotsman, born in 1877, who returned to East Africa in 1902 having sailed round the world, killed man-eating lions on the Uganda Railway, joined the Yukon gold rush but ending by shooting game to supply Dawson City with meat, and, as a Canadian Mounted Rifle, escaped in the Boer War. He went on to win the Military Cross and Bar in the Royal Flying Corps (Kinloch 1955:107).

With nerves of steel and a single-minded hunting imperative, he employed the brain shot to bag as much heavy ivory as possible on 4 safaris to Karamoja. Having seen the Swahilis not observing the regulation which went with the Sportsman's Licence that only 2 elephants could be shot, Bell gleefully followed suit (EA 19/1911: 4.7.11 Jackson to Sec. of State:3f.). Near Mount Napak he killed 27 in 20 days. In half a year he shot 180 yielding 354 tusks, whose average weight was 53 pounds. Probably, he was the 'young fellow' said by an Elgon missionary 'to have cleared £8,000 (£1996367,0001 profit in about nine months' (Purvis 1909:262). When he came in 1902, he found the whole country 'black with them' (Bell 1923:45f.). When he last left in 1909, a small remnant had retreated to the northern hills. Barber (1968:98) came across a witness in Labwor.
'There were many elephants,' said the old man. 'One day Bell came to hunt them.' The old man stood up and clicked his fingers in the imitation of a rifle. 'Then all the elephants were dead,' he said.

As the European who spent most time in Karamoja before 1914, he made a profound impression on the Karamojong. Just as the Bokora were marking his party, ready to spear them all, as they had done some Swahilis, a herd of zebra galloped conveniently past. Using a 10-shot .303, Bell let fire without reloading.

Consequently, the natives thought I might have any number of shots left in this quite new and terrifying weapon. No smoke and such a rapid fire of death — they had never seen the like. Bing! bing! bing! bing! bing! they kept saying to themselves, only much more rapidly than the actual rate of fire. And the zebra, strong brutes, knocked right down one after the other. No! this was something new. They had better be careful in fooling around with this red man. He was different from those red men among the Swahilis, who used to fire great clouds of smoke and hit nothing.

After an episode of this kind one feels somehow that a complete mental transformation has taken place. One is established right above these, in some ways, finer but less scientific people. But knowledge comes to both at the same time. (Bell 1923:45f.)

At once Bell was furnished with a Bokora guide and blood brotherhood, from a wealthy and renowned warrior, who found in him a kindred spirit and called himself and his sons after his name for Bell, Longolenyang (he of the yellow, bald head). Later he turned down offers of blood brotherhood from the Jie, who were also given a spectacular lesson in gunmanship, not having learned it from the Acoli in the Battle of Caicaon shortly before Bell first came in 1902 (1923:63; 1949:137). The Jie remembered him well as Bwana Bell (Lamphear 1976:248), while he treasured his source of power.

Rifle cleaning is a task of love. Thereafter I sit in contemplation, swinging my rifle idly about. The mere feeling of it is a never-ending pleasure: so small, so neat and light, and yet so deadly. I cannot help
thinking how supremely lucky I am. All my troubles are
now well behind me. White men with their ridiculous
situation lie far from me. No longer need I be a slave
to money. Thank goodness all the natives before me are
still quite ignorant of that fearful bondage.

(Bell 1949:65)

Yet even this laissez-faire, unclubbable Scot
launched a moral crusade against the killing of enemy women,
while he was in Najie and more than once returned rustled
cattle (Bell 1923:60; Darley 1935:5). Nor did he leave
behind his European accoutrements, tent, bath, bed, pyjamas,
and his beloved nickel-jacketed bullets that only money can
buy. Man kills what he loves most.

iv. Hunters’ Paradise

There were other killers in Karamoja: an Austrian,
and an Anglo-Greek, Coutlis who had been to the USA and was
thought by some to be South America and in 1902 was in
Manimani and Kumam, where he seized 28 cattle and burnt 30
huts ‘as a punishment for their treachery’; John Kanarakis
at Kilim; Mr. Howitt and his companion Prospecting for the
East African Syndicate; the well-known ‘undesirables’, de
Silva and Major Darley with his associates, the son of Sir
Alfred Cowley of Brisbane and Bwana Bera; Messrs. Marocco,
Angelopoulos, Johnson, and Simon; and the Italian trader,
Mr. Tanfani with his partner, Mr. Petingill.

One of the Greeks, probably Coutlis, who led two
others, was nicknamed by his Swahilis as Bwana Tembo, which,
with delicious Kiswahili innuendo, means master of both
elephant and palm wine. His life was devoted to the
consumption of the life of the one and the spirit of the
other. He shot and shot as long as he could see — with
alcohol to stop him shaking. He loved to hurt and cared not
if he failed to kill his prey, extorting food from the
locals. His servant, who was never paid, said of him, 'The Greek knew the black man: we were his dogs, and like dogs accepted his kicks and abuse.' The river, where they were camped, was named the Greek, or Kilimi, River, kilimi denoting an abusive style of speaking. Bwana Tembo met his final match in a charging elephant (Powell-Cotton 1904:296, 321f.; Rayne 1923:39-46; Darley 1935; EA 145/09; 19/1911). v. Paradise Lost

Such were the various reputations of the first Europeans to dwell in Karamoja, who made a common impression: sharp rifle followed by sharp tongue, posing an unarguable combination. Effectively, they were accountable to no-one, for the extension of Ugandan control had been left to the displaced Muganda prince, Semei Kakunguru, who had established his own kind of order in Lango, Teso, Bukedi, and Bugishu, but whose trading party in Karamoja had been hijacked by the Abyssinians on 18.3.04 (Welbourn 1961; Roberts 1962; Lawrance 1955:20-5).

The British began to think of countering the Abyssinian threat by establishing a post at Manimani and 2 link posts at Kadam and Sebei. On 15.2.04, Hayes Sadler decided to send a full company of troops from the opposite corner of Uganda to do so and to take action against the Karimojong for the murder of Jumbi, telegraphing London and Nairobi the next day. However, on 16.2.04, the FO responded, 'Do not move troops or commit yourself to occupy Manimani pending instructions.' which Lord Lansdowne later cabled:

I cannot sanction occupation of Manimani... I am entirely opposed to occupation more advanced posts. I am addressing protest to King Menelik.
Menelik responded appropriately but, since it was already known that he winked at the Abyssinian raiders’ disobedience of such strictures, the conclusion is that the British government, after the Boer War, was more interested in reducing existing budgets than in imposing peace on unruly tribes (EA A24 Item 4:15.12.03 Cypher Tel. G.Clark to FO; Barber 1968:62). Yet this imperial reluctance did not prevent the European making an impression on Karamoja.
vi. Hesketh Bell and Concentration

On 1.4.05 the responsibility for Uganda was transferred from the FO to the Colonial Office (CO) and at the end of the year Sir Henry Hesketh Bell was appointed Commissioner, being translated to Governor in 1907. From the start he was aware that the King and the CO did 'not know very much about Uganda': 'I conclude that the Commissioner is given very wide discretion powers.... Wonderful!' (Bell 1946:96-8,159,162). He later accepted Lord Elgin's description of his government as 'Despotism tempered by benevolence' but his power did not extend over grant-in-aid, so in order to preserve his autonomy he adopted a policy of 'Uganda for the Baganda', 'to concentrate our efforts in the more favoured localities, where the soil is excellent, the people industrious and the country full of promise'. The implications for Karamoja were immediate.

'The further we go inland the more difficult it will be to keep aloof from the ever recurring petty quarrels and blood feuds of the various tribes... Punitive expeditions and other military operations will be constantly necessary... The further we push our active authority into these wild regions eastwards of the Nile, the more rapidly will our responsibilities grow, and we would probably find ourselves a few years hence, committed to the proper government of a vast territory reaching to the very borders of Abyssinia, the commercial value of which could never pay one tithe of its administration.'

(Barber 1968:57f.)

If Hesketh Bell was to be proved right about the difficulty of administering Karamoja, Johnston rightly foresaw the costs of improper government. Once the flag has been raised, non-government is not an option for empire, only the method.
vii. Mbale Hinterland

The dilemma between the desire to dominate and the reluctance to take responsibility was acute for Karamoja. After a Swahili caravan was annihilated in Toposa the Provincial Commissioner (PC) sought to restore order by closing Karamoja to the 56, or more, ivory-trading concerns on 1.1.08. The road south to Mumia's had been so well trodden that Kakunguru had found it expedient to build a Baganda colony where it passed the western foothills of Elgon, called Mbale, which soon became the new base for Karamoja safaris. Two mosques were built and it became home for headmen and porters, including 8 Karamojong, who had been drawn into this new cash economy. In 1904, Mbale was made a government station and within a year, the Collector had made Kakunguru redundant, in what grew to be the third city of Uganda. Thus, the local officials did everything in their power to prevent their hinterland from being cut off.

By closing Karamoja the loss to the Government Revenue would be enormous — Export Duty alone on Ivory for 1906-7 amounting to nearly Rs 30,000 [£199075,600]. It would also mean the closing down of practically all the trading community... competition for local produce would also cease.

Rather a twice-yearly tour, confiscating all tusks under 30 pounds, would keep in touch with the Karamojans, training their mind to the benefits that accrue with trade and peace...

On the other hand, by closing this District, the people would revert rapidly to the state of savagery and animus against a Foreign element which existed a few years back, and if in the future it became necessary or politic to occupy it, it would then only be done by the use of force and arms.

(EA 1667:12.12.07 Cubitt to Dep.Commissioner,Entebbe)

The ivory would be hunted anyway, ran the argument, and the Abyssinians would take closure as an invitation to occupy
Karamoja. Even though continuing the trade would not 'protect the elephants from indiscriminate slaughter' and would provide 'a market for stolen ammunition and a safe retreat for all the criminal scum of the two Protectorates', the Mbale Collector was even more emphatic about the need to recommence the ivory trade's injection of 'considerable capital' into his area.

I do not think the prosperity of this District should be imperilled in its infancy owing to a sentimental idea on the preservation of game. In 5 years time the increase in cultivation of produce and in tax collections will have placed it on a firm financial basis, and it will then be time enough to consider the question of enforcing the game laws.

(EA 1667:24.2.08 Ormsby to Dep.Commissioner, Entebbe)

Any means could be justified by the end of a capitalist economy, while the problems could be tidied up by a touring officer with an armed escort. Even the Collector's own failure to sight any elephants travelling through Karamoja, when before he had seen herds of 2,000, was explained away. When Hesketh Bell visited Mbale in September 1908 he was impressed by its economic development which fitted exactly his policy of concentration. In order to sustain it, though, he had to extend administration, however sporadic, to Karamoja.

The Collector had claimed, with a little exaggeration, that the Export Duty, quite apart from the additional yield of the Hut Tax, caused by the cattle-ivory trade, was worth £2,000 a year, when the entire revenue of the Ugandan Protectorate was £96,772, and expenditure £191,502. In 1904-5 ivory represented 35.64% of aggregate exports and in 1907-8, when cotton exports had risen by a factor of 40, home-produced ivory still accounted for 20% as against cotton's 35% (Thomas & Scott 1935:343, 505; Barber
1968:60). The resources of Karamoja had to be exploited for the sake of the same Protectorate finances, which denied Karamoja protection from rapacious foreigners.

vii. Externalities of Enterprise

Though it was known that

many of the traders were stirring up strife amongst the natives, and assisting one tribe against the other in order to share the loot, and were also conducting raids on their own account for the same purpose,

(EA 19/1911:4.7.11 Jackson to Sec. of State:5)

permits were still given to this class of trader, 'the inference being that as long as a considerable revenue was derived from the illicitly obtained ivory, it was no one's business to stop it'. In Frederick Jackson's retrospect, it would have been better even to have let the Abyssinians raid and the Karamojong trap a quarter of the elephants actually hunted than

allowing gangs of filibusters to enter by, and overrun the districts within a few day's march of a Government station, and leave us to find ourselves, as we do now, confronted with a very much more difficult and serious problem.

(ibid.:6)

In many ways the British attempt to have their cake and eat it was more deleterious to their interests than to those of the Karamojong, for whom elephant-hunting was not only a source of food in a culture, where famine was endemic, but was also a means of replenishing vital cattle holdings, which were repeatedly ravaged by a series of diseases from 1876 right through to 1920. The culture was only changed at the margin, since the preoccupation for hunting was in inverse proportion to the ability to raid, which always remained the direct route to wealth. Their experience round Manimani submerged their straightforward approach to others in the Swahili art of dissembling and
double-dealing, which did nothing for inter-tribal peace. The travellers might have spread smallpox too, as there were bad epidemics among the Jie in 1894 and at Manimani in 1904, though the latter might be due to direct contact with the Kitosh. The 1899-1903 outbreak amongst the Nyakwai was seen by them as the European inspired punishment for their murder of Kirkpatrick (Lamphear 1976:49f.,224; EA A24 Item 4:12.2.04 Syndicate Report; 1307/1908:9.11.18 Richardson to Chief Sec.; Turpin 1948: 163f.; Barber 1968:83f.; Bell 1949:141).

Karamojong pragmatism in exploiting the elephant, who were a constant menace to their gardens, did not nullify the loss to their cosmology of the existence of an important member of the quasi-spiritual animal kingdom. One section of the Karimojong, every other generation of the Jie, and one of the Dodos are called Ngitome. To be a member of a group called after a species, honoured in song, dance, and story, but heading for extinction by foreigners with guns, is to be identified with a disappearing world. For the British, once the one renewable resource precious to the outside world had been stripped out, they had very little incentive to do anything about Karamoja at all. As the Mbale Collector died of blackwater fever in 1908 after climbing Elgon the ivory trade continued without the attendance of a touring officer. Hesketh Bell’s resources remained concentrated on Mbale.

A CMS missionary there lamented that there was not only ‘no attempt to administer what is a fine and promising district’ but also no church mission in Karamoja.

There seems no difficulty in persuading men to undertake hardships for the purpose of gain.... but how few men
there are—at the present moment none—willing to answer
the call of this vast district, to use the present grand
opportunity, before the Swahili traders have forced
Mohammadanism upon the natives, and before the evils of
civilisation have ruined them, to go in and win the whole
district for Christ!

What a glorious work might be done at Manimani by a
few earnest and practical young fellows—a clergyman, a
Doctor, and a couple of laymen. (Purvis 1909:261f.)

His was a worthy, if unfulfilled hope, but he did not stop
to consider the extent to which both administrators as well
as 'earnest and practical [a euphemism for Evangelical]
young fellows' would be the thin end of the wedge of
civilization, with all its evils. On the other hand he was
right to note the imminence of Islam, because, in the
fluctuating influence of other cultures, history does not
stop still, awaiting the perfect solution, but ceaselessly
moves on in the realm of actual human affairs, where the
choice is often between privations of good. In this case
military administration arrived in a year, excluding, but
for its own troops, the Muslim presence, while the
'practical young fellows' took 20 years and all avoided
living in the previous denizen of foreign culture, Manimani.
Footnotes to II.B.

1. The cattle were 'as large as English' varieties, and 'celebrated for the extreme size of their horns'. Wilson (1970b:126,134) records a tradition that the Oropom had 'pronouncedly longer horns' but the breed was probably wiped out by rinderpest and drought. Now it is the Bahima, who are famous for their humpless, long-horned cattle, though WN have some long-horned beasts with a small hump, which suggests that the hump was an EC innovation among SN and WN cattle, but not the hardier Sanga cattle of the EN.

Oropom females had their foreheads decorated by a cowrie shell (esigir) in the middle. The men bore an indented mark (esigirait) instead, so the senior men Baker saw, need not have been Oropom themselves, but had profited from Arab trade. However, cowrie shells, if not the Arabs who traded them from the east coast, had certainly made their way to Moruasigar, perhaps on the back of a donkey (esigiria) long before.

2. Ethiopia was a European appellation for most peoples south of Egypt, from the Greek for burnt face (aithiops), which only replaced 'Abyssinia', on the orders of Haile Selassie (Buxton,D.R. 1970:29,35,43).


4. Chudi is a Swahili word, meaning exertion, strong desire or longing; both a very great desire and a very great exertion were needed to reach Kaabong, the Karamojong and
current name for the same place, now administrative centre of Dodos County.


6. This was possibly the Dejazmac 'Biru', who was the new governor of Sidamo in 1928, and the 'special friend' of AFM's Dr. Lambie, whom he asked to choose the site for his 'White House' (Duff 1980:51f.,313).

7. One frasila = 35 lbs. of ivory (36lbs. of other commodities). Before 1902, a £50-60 tusk could be purchased for 2-3/-, but after 1902, the price was 8-10 cattle worth £30. (Bell 1923:21); in 1910, for 1 Gras rifle + 40 rounds of ammunition (Barber 1964b:20f.), which in 1908 was worth 10 head of cattle (EA 145/09); and in 1911 only 3 (Barber 1968:93). The price of first rate ivory in London was 12/- per lb. (£1.00 = 27.49), which meant that traders could not possibly make a profit by buying cattle at the border to barter for ivory, but could do so by raiding for them or exchanging guns for them. In 1989 a 6-foot tusk was worth £5,000, and rising fast.

8. cp. EA 19/1911:4.7.11 Jackson to Sec. of State. Here, Jackson's report, while admitting previous contact suggests that traders only visited the River Turkwel area only every other year in the 1890's, but his memoirs, apparently written up from his journal, suggest a more regular contact. Since he is referring to an area from
Karamoja to Lake Baringo, some 18,000 square miles, it is not surprising, that it was not systematically covered by ivory traders and that he was able to buy ivory spoilt by age, which previous traders may have refused anyway. Ravenstein 1891:199; Austin 1903:70, 72, 76, 123, 133, 135, 137, 142, 232, 247


10. Support for his assertion of Swahili participation in raids is given in EA 19/1911: 4.7.11 Jackson to Secretary of State; and Barber 1968:95 Bwana (bin) Simba killing 15 Karimojong on behalf of the Turkana, who rewarded him with bullocks and sheep.

11. D-H, N. 1958:175f. rejects the whole idea of 'spear-blooding', which is indeed a English term, that is not very close to the Ngakarimojong akiar ngimoe and it is not a requirement for initiation. However, there is a verb (akired) to stain with blood and the action has spiritual effects on the spear, which should never be used as a spear again (Novelli 1988:99f.). The practice was repeatedly reported by the first observers of the Karamojong Cluster, and by the pioneer missionaries, one of whom defined Ngilok, as 'men who blood their spears' Clark & Totty 1953:3, though the root, *lok, refers to hunting.

D-H's view was obscured by 40 years' suppression under the British administration, whose one golden rule was, 'Thou shalt not kill!'. Bell himself had tried to limit its application to men alone. Thus, D-H's explanation of the motive to kill is too functionalist
(though Tornay 1989 emphasizes the value to society of killing an enemy) and forgets the frequency with which stragglers were murdered before the British took control. He also undervalues the symbolic power of cicatrices (ngageran) and the bragging of connected exploits in conversation and song (Bataringaya 1961:12), with which an enemy-name might identify him, eg. Belukamoe (one who killed the Baluchi enemy; Lamphear 1976:474).

12. Bell 1949:111; Darley 1935:5; EA A24 Item 4: 23.2.04 Sub-Commissioner, Jinja to Commissioner, Uganda; 19/1911: 4.7.11 Jackson to Secretary of State:

13. Galbraith 1972: Sir William Mackinnon, the enterprise’s leader, acted like a convert to the religion of imperialism, serving the high national purpose of securing territories for Britain, not personal profit, which could only come in the foreseeable future from Ugandan ivory. Bates 1984:39


15. FO 2/144:9.6.1897 Salisbury to Macdonald: Clement Hill added an enquiry, ‘Should this Dft. be printed or sent to any member of the Cabinet?’ Salisbury: ‘No’.

16. EA A7/4: 2.6.1898 Berkeley, Commissioner of Uganda to Macdonald: ‘You may rest assured no blame by me attributed you for mutiny.’ Through Ternan, Macdonald was later made the scapegoat for the mutiny in London, so that Berkeley was instructed to watch, but evidence is lacking that the new Commissioner was briefed on
Macdonald's secret instructions.

17. FO 2/235 18.4.1899 Memo. by C.Hill; File 2/170 25.5.1898
Hardinge to FO: 'private letter Berkeley suggests Uganda sufficiently tranquil to permit return our troops'; EA A4/11:13.7.1898 Martyr to Berkeley: within 7 weeks he was achieving 'complete success'. Barber 1964a:2

18. FOCP 7400/84:7.7.1898 Kampala, Berkeley to Martyr. EA A5/4:2.10.1898 Berkeley to Martyr: Permission was not in fact granted from London until Septemoer (telegram from FO 7.9.1898: 'the Marquis of Salisbury authorizes me to try to advance down the Nile... I must abstain from incurring expenditure outside the existing Protectorates and also from weakening our force here'. Salisbury had in no way initiated it: FO 2/235:18.4.1899 C.Hill Memo. 'It does not appear that the decision to push Martyr on was taken in consequence your telegrams.'

'It is with the utmost diffidence that I submit to your Lordship the action I have taken, and venture to express hope that it may, at least, not incur your disapproval.' The original miscarried and the FO did not receive the duplicate until 10.2.1899.

20. Austin 1903:70,80,222f.; D-H,N. 1962:771 makes 24.10.1897 the definitive date but this was only the occasion of No.1 Column's march up the Turkwel under Austin, with Tracy, Austin and Ferguson. When they heard of the Ugandan mutiny from Lieutenant Norman Macdonald, Tracy...
was left in command at Sebei.


22. Austin 1903:162-7; Barber 1964a:7f. While these matters are very soon deposited by European consciousness in dusty annals, they remain part of the living memory of Africans and so part of their intuition of all Wazungu. It could be argued that the Nyakwai were only enforcing justice in the first place, using their mode of 'punitive expedition', even if this was in 'cold blood', which is not a Karamojan concept and so undeserving of obloquy; PP Vol.LXIII:595 Report:29

23. FO 2/157:18.12.1898 Berkeley to Salisbury; EA A 7/4: 20.8.1898 Berkeley to Macdonald: Salisbury squashed Macdonald's talk of establishing military posts in Rudolf country, thus requiring him to make for the Nile, but clearly Macdonald saw the former project to be a new cover for the latter.

24. EA A7/4:7.10 1898 Mumia's, Berkeley to Macdonald: 'your 10 Sept caused me extreme surprise'; A5/4:12.10.1898 Berkeley to Martyr: 'allusions to Macdonald in Cairo telegrams suggest they thought Macd resumed original mission.' A4/14:Chua, Macdonald to O.C., British Gunboat, Lado: a treaty was made with the 'Romnangiya' inter alia. The Nyangiya are a tribe in Karamoja. Austin 1903:150-60

25. PP Vol.LXIII:542 1.10.1898 Titi, Macdonald to Salisbury (Received 23.1.1898); 593 Report.
26. PP Vol.LXIII:603 Report: The Commissioner of Uganda had been unable to spare Macdonald an extra European, and his second years's supplies had not even been heard of; EA AS/4:28.9.1898 Berkeley to Martyr.

27. Robinson & Gallagher 1963:372-5: Delcassé was reported as saying on 30.9.1898 'France would, however unwilling, accept war rather than submit'; FOCP 7400/77:19.1.1899 Salisbury to Sub-Commissioner Craufurd; Matson 1965:101

28. FO 2/235:17.4.1899 C.Hill: Memo. 'Macdonald-Berkeley Correspondence'; Only one of those 18.7.1898 despatches, and few of the others, appear in PP House of Commons, Africa No.4, LXIII. Thus, the FO was only partially accountable to Parliament for its operations in Karamoja, and held its cover by banning Macdonald's book, 'Uganda in Revolt', and, but for the latter's passionate objection, would have banned Austin's mild account, too, despite previous assurances (Matson 1970:83). Secrecy was maintained.


30. The Times 11.3.1899:8 Report of the House of Commons proceedings in committee on the vote for £256,000 grants in aid of the expenses of the British Protectorate in Uganda and Central and East Africa. Broderick's answer for the government, that Lord Salisbury 'did not intend until the railway was further advanced to extend their borders and attempt to establish fresh posts', may be compared with the report received a fortnight earlier by the FO on 20.3.1899; PP 1899 Vol.LXIII: 561 10.11.1898 Titi, Macdonald to Berkeley. Salisbury's intentions were
moving with the political wind away from his instructions to Macdonald.

31. FOCP 7400/157:13.12.98 Macdonald to Salisbury; 7402/31: 1.8.1899 Macdonald's Report; Austin 1903:168; Perhaps a would-be hunter cut out the map facing p.240 in the copy of GJ 14,2 Aug.1889, now held by Durham University Library.


33. EA A24 Item 4:13.2.04 Commissioner’s Minute to Commandant; 15.2.04 Tel. Commissioner, Entebbe to Sub-Commissioner, Jinja; 16.2.04 Tel. Commissioner, Entebbe to Commissioner, Nairobi; 16.2.04 Tel. FO to Commissioner, Uganda; 22.2.04 Lansdowne to Commissioner, Uganda

34. Roberts 1962:441; Twaddle 1966; D-H,N. 1958b:s.3,3; Initially Kakunguru’s name was used as an alternative for Mbole, Mubale, Umbale (Kiswahili, far off) until 1904 when he lost the power to appoint the chief, who was originally, it is suggested, Mubali cf. Ordnance Survey 1905.

35. Lamphear 1976:223-5; Jackson 1930:237; Turpin 1948:162-4; Austin 1903:70f. There is no record of them being 'in a very impoverished state'. Austin observed that 'some men were the most magnificent specimens of humanity I had ever seen with grand powerful limbs, chest, and shoulders'. They seemed more successful hunters than hunting and gathering tribes but preferred to trade some game with the Kitosh for flour.
C. BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

1. 1910-1921: MILITARY PRESENCE

a. Encroachment

After a decade of studied indifference to Karamoja, in the face of a series of disturbing reports of fighting and gun-running, even involving an imperial competitor, it is difficult to pinpoint why the British should have made a definite move (Moyse-Bartlett 1956:234). The cumulative effect of this stacking of problems should not be underestimated. The argument of concerned provincial officials, that something should be done, gradually became undeniable, until those in Entebbe and, lastly, in London, could no longer defer action. Britain did not want a military showdown with Abyssinia, but minor officials in districts neighbouring Karamoja did not want their patch disturbed.

A cattle raid on Kumam was punished by a sortie of 1 or 2 European officers and 20 Acoli soldiers who came to Matany in Bokora to confiscate cattle in reparation. Such an act is tantamount to a declaration of war for Tunga peoples, and the Bokora attacked as soon as the small troop was hampered by the cattle they were herding, but the askaris knelt down, back to back, pouring volleys into the Bokora as they charged 3 times. Karamojong bravery does not include senseless self-sacrifice even for the sake of precious cattle so they left the field, strewn with warrior corpses, to the enemy. 'The Karimojong were defeated, and then the European went away with our cattle.' Nothing could be more decisive but, for the British, the incident was not worth recording (Barber 1968:126f.; Lamphear 1976:251).
b. Protection

In fact the Karimojong and the Dodos were very interested in acquiring the protection of this new power in the land. In July 1910 2 visits were made by Karimojong elders to Teso District, first by the Bokora and then by the other sections, complaining of Jie raids and formally requesting protection from the government. The Dodos too, were suffering raids from the Jie, Turkana, and Dodinga. Well they might complain, for the balance of power was changing in Karamoja for the first time in Itunga history.

i. Apetai

The Jie have always been outnumbered, both by the Dodos to the north and at least 2 to 1 by the Karimojong to the south. Until the end of the 19th century this imbalance was reflected in terms of military power.

'In those days the Jie were too few to be an aggressive people. Najie was only a small place, like the testicles of a donkey. The Jie could only sit and wait for their enemies to attack them.' (Lamphear 1976:214)

In the Apetai campaign of the 1860s, successive attacks from north and south were only just repulsed by the Jie who were convinced that their enemies were in league. This the Dodos denied but they did have a common appreciation of their neighbour’s vulnerability which they exploited to the extent of capturing pasture-lands and water-holes around the Kapeta River and Mount Toror, while the Jie had to retrench, pulling back their settlements to the heart of their territory and amalgamating their homes into sprawling, but safer, ngirerya. However, the ferocity of their last-ditch defence led to their enemies giving them what was then a new nickname to describe their stubbornness in denying the grazing rights of their neighbours and kinsmen, Ngijie (they
who fight). Since they saw their action as instrumental to their salvation they all accepted the name with pride. From then on they identified themselves as Ngije.

ii. **Eron**

Warfare, which had only begun with sticks and whips over the use of water-holes, was interrupted in the mid-1870s by the cattle disease, *Loongoripiko* which appears to describe the effects of necrotic anthrax, compared with the emphysematous anthrax (*Logipi*) or blackquarter reported by the Karimojong; in the late 1880s by *Loukoi* (bovine pleuropneumonia); and in the 1894 by *Lopid* (rinderpest), followed by *Loukoi* again, drought, and locusts. It is quite likely that the traders, as well as those who raided the Pokot, introduced infected cattle, especially the disastrous *Lopid*, since there was very little resistance to rinderpest, except by isolating the cattle on Morungole and Moroto mountains. Most Karamojans were reduced to hunting and gathering or throwing themselves, sometimes fatally, at the mercy of surrounding tribes. The 1890s were remembered simply as **Eron** (bad, evil).

iii. **Loriang**

Within a few years, though, fighting had broken out again. Loriang was the young war-leader of the Lokorwakol section of Jie and had an enemy-name, Lorengamoi, which suggests he had killed a red man or foreigner. He implemented changes in battle plan, forming organized battalions from territorial divisions, instead of age-sets with *ad hoc* individualistic leaders (Lamphere 1976:227ff.). Having weathered the full-scale invasions of the Dodos and 2,000 Acoli warriors under 6 kings either side of the turn
of the century at the Battles of Tiira and Caicaon (Lamphear & Webster 1971; Bell 1923:63; 1949:136-9), Loriang decided the best form of defence was attack.

He made alliances with the often well-disposed, if badly mauled, Acoli, Abwor, and Nyakwai, who augmented the 500 Jie warriors by 50%, as well as employing a spy network, runners for messages, and a personal bodyguard. Waving the sacred stick, given him by the senior elders, towards the enemy, he led them into battle, before directing operations from the rear, against the Pei section of the Karimojong at Lopei; the Pei and Bokora at Lokicar River and 5 other sites, closer to Matany Hill; the Maseniko at the foot of Mount Moroto; and the Dodos at Loyoro and near Kaabong.

"Otongomoi! [Rouse the enemies!] Otongomoi!" and from all sides the great, six foot Jie spearmen rush towards the village shouting their war-cry, "Otongomoi! Otongomoi!"... So the children first out and slowest to get away, are butchered first. A woman runs, she is too old and feeble to go far, and the spear finds yet another home as she sinks to the ground.

But now the men are roused and they come out of the village on all sides, crawling from the low, small entrances. The fight begins in earnest. Blows are parried on the oblong hide shields, but the Jie spearmen are too skilled for the Bokora... Fire adds to the terror as flaming sticks are thrown on to the low thatched roofs of the huts within the stockade, and so the last wretched inhabitants are driven into the open. Other attackers creep round the circular palisade, and, with the long shining spears to front and back of them, the desperate villagers make a final stand; but before long the end comes and the last man falls. Some of the girls are kept alive to be taken back to Jie, and the cattle are herded up and driven off... (Paget Wilkes 1932:7-11)

With the attendant transfer of cattle it is not surprising that the Karimojong were looking for protection.

c. The Balance of Power

It was precisely these open-ended commitments which the British were trying to avoid. The Uganda government only decided to investigate the situation when the East
African Protectorate started suggesting that if Uganda would not prevent the Pokot and the Pian from crossing the border to raid the Turkana, then the boundary should be modified to allow East Africa to administer them. A KAR patrol of 103 under T. Grant was sent to look at the border, while a police patrol of 30 under P.S.H. Tanner left Mbale on 4.10.10 'with the intention of surprising the Abyssinian post of gun-trader [sic] between Jiwe and Morongole', as reported of Chudi Chudi by Swahili traders (EA 1049:22.8.10 Governor, BEA to Governor, Uganda; 145/09 9.11.11:PC, Jinja to Chief Sec., Entebbe).

i. Arms Struggle

When he reached Manimani, he heard of a large cattle raid and went to investigate the Battle of Loreapabong. Bokora survivors in 1971 remembered it starting with rolling volleys from the firearms of the Acoli and Abwor contingent.

They kept firing the guns — 'puu! puu!' If anyone even stopped long enough to make the sign of his ox's horns with his hands, he was shot down.

I was a young man when Loriang came to Loreapabong. We ran into our houses to hide. The Jie beat on the houses and when the people came out, they were all speared. I was speared here in my hip — you can still see the scar. The Jie killed everyone in my family, and left me for dead. (Lamphear 1976:243)

Tanner found that the Bokora would not counter-attack, because the gunmen were now making up the rearguard, so they offered Tanner a half-share in any cattle recovered if he would use his guns (Barber 1964b:17). He refused to interfere but was impressed by the opportunity for gain armed traders had in such a situation, an impression confirmed by his belief that Loriang’s army also included Swahilis. He went on to arrest a Swahili caravan and 30 Abyssinians at Chudi Chudi on 27.10.10, seizing 18 rifles
and 328 tusks of mostly female ivory. Not only did this substantiate reports received from hunters since 1902, but it also demonstrated that patrols could be self-financing, as well as impressing upon Addis Ababa that Britain meant business in the Abyssinian borderlands. The British Legation there then told Entebbe, which had been alerted on 11.11.10, of the threat of 2,200 conquering Abyssinians to Tanner's position, by Darley's letter. The only sure way of curbing Dejazmach Beru's designs on Dodos was to station an officer there.

ii. Police Impressions

Later in 1910 Grant entered Karimojong, fining the Pian 200 cattle for raiding the Turkana. The Karimojong told him that the Jie had 'massacred hundreds of them' at Loreapabong, which contrasts with the 40 men and women reported to Tanner on the spot. Certainly, large numbers of women and children were abducted by the Jie to build up their own numbers. Contrary to previous rumours, Tanner found the Jie friendly and intelligent, while the Karimojong were backward and sullen, with 'poor and scanty' cultivation, but depression falls on any people who suffer economic (rinderpest was striking down 50-80% of their cattle, besides more than 5,000 raided by the Jie from as far south as Manimani) and military disaster which meant, that all the ngirerya north of the Lokicar River had to be abandoned with the consequent disruption to agriculture (Lamphear 1976:244,7).

The Dodos were better off but Lokuta, the brave war-leader of the Lokaato section, was no longer enamoured of the people who had given him paper on which to affix his
thumb-print. The Dodos said it would be an excellent thing if the British would not permit indiscriminate killings, but they had heard it all before and thought Tanner simply a large-scale raider who would enrich himself with the Abyssinian ivory (Barber 1964b:21). After all, Major Darley (1935:21), who had recently left an empty whisky bottle hanging up in Chudi Chudi dedicated to all government officers 'and other unfortunates', had passed himself off as 'the authorized Agent of the British Government'!
d. Touring Karamoja

The conclusion was becoming increasingly obvious that control could only be achieved by a consistent presence. The Acting Governor, continuing Hesketh Bell's line, wanted £500 'to put a stop to the state of lawlessness which appears to exist in the Karamoja District' by checking on Swahili and European activities, while preventing illicit Abyssinian entry.

The success of the expedition under Mr. Tanner and the information he has obtained convinces me that it is desirable that the district should be regularly toured by an officer of good administrative experience....He would, however, interfere as little as possible with native customs and methods of government. (EA 19/1911:21.1.11 Despatch No.45, S.C. Tomkins to Sec. of State for the Colonies)

Yet in order to discourage cross-border raiding Grant's patrol had already fined the Pian.

Since the Karamojans have now been punished by the Government, it is now the business of Government to take up their cause if they wish to gain their confidence and show the Karamojans that we have not simply come to these parts to take their cattle and again leave them to be raided by their enemies, expecting them at the same time to in future to keep the peace and not retaliate. ...the mere fact of the Jiwe and their friends having rifles is in itself sufficient reason that the Government should take steps to stop further introduction of such arms and to make them give up what they have already got. (EA 19/1911:11.2.11 'Report on the Situation in Karamoja' Lieut. E.G.M. Thorneycroft)
What was wanted was half a battalion to teach the Jie 'a
good lesson' but a little reflection yielded the very reason
why the politicians had sought to avoid responsibility for
Karamoja:

...when one has heard for some time the never ending
story of raids and counter raids one cannot help thinking
that unless all the offending parties are severally dealt
with in their turn there cannot be a cessation for any
length of time from inter tribal troubles. (loc.cit.)

The Acting Governor did not follow the logic this
far. All he wanted was to prevent either the East African
Protectorate or the Abyssinian arms trade from influencing
Karamoja, so that 'a very considerable revenue would be
gained by the Government, which would far more than pay the
expense of the patrol'. A touring officer from Mbale would
'endeavour to control the tribes' south of 3° north, while
Tanner would patrol with 40-50 police from Nimule on the
Nile to Lake Rudolf in the east, and from 'the centre of
Mount Elgon to the 4th degree of north latitude, a small
matter of 37,000 square miles, to make way for 'civil
control' in the whole of Karamoja (EA 19/1911:13.3.11
Tomkins to Sec. of State).

Lord Harcourt, at the CO, approved, suggesting it
would be better to use the KAR to save increasing Uganda's
police. The FO despaired of a diplomatic solution.

The only remedy which is likely to be effective would be
to appear to patrol the Karamoja and other districts of
the Uganda Protectorate at more frequent intervals.
(EA 19/1911:15.3.11 Harcourt to Governor, Uganda)

When Frederick Jackson at last became Governor he dealt with
all foreigners in Karamoja under the Outlying Districts,
Arms and Ammunition, Game, and other Ordinances. Seidel,
Friedrich & Co. were refused permission to prospect for
minerals. The Chief Secretary decreed in the 'Official Gazette', published in Entebbe on 12.5.11 (ibid.):

Until further notice, no licences for travellers or traders to enter the closed districts of Rudolf Province and the closed districts of Karamoja and Labour [sic] in Eastern Province except by Government's special sanction. All licences hitherto granted or issued before will be withdrawn or cancelled.

Revenue was subordinated to duty. Meanwhile the Governor of East Africa was complaining that the Karimojong had stolen 250 Turkana cattle but as a Ugandan official observed:

Until these remote parts of the country are far more closely administered, I fear we can do very little to stop these Ancient Native Customs.

(EA 19/1911:1.5.11 PC, EP to Chief Sec.)

Foreign cultures could be excluded but local culture could not be occluded.
e. North Karamoja accepts the Pax Britannica

In September 1911 Tanner left Nimule and another policeman, Captain H.M. Tufnell left Kilim to meet at Kopus on 9.10.11, arresting Swahilis en route. Despite their lack of bovine capital both Tanner and Tufnell were remembered throughout Karamoja as Topana, or Tupona, a name, perhaps more accurately shared by their successor, Turpin. All these English were the same! They were not united by their opinions but all had an amazing self-confidence. While Tanner was down with blackwater fever which, a year later, killed him on the Nile, Tufnell went back to Najie to pick up 76 female tusks allegedly buried by a pair of white hunters.

i. Rounding Up Cattle

In order to contact a Rengen leader, Loukwamoi, he had to round up his cattle, which was odd because he had been through this rigmarole on his way north when he had sent for 'the organizer of all the raids' (EA 2012: Lieut. Webb-Bowen’s Journal). On that occasion Tufnell’s patience was stretched for 3 days, before he sent his 30 policemen to round up Loriang’s milking cows. The veteran warriors of his alomar were eager to accept this declaration of war but Lopetum of the northern (Rengen) section of the Jie had been to a Nile fort in Swahili employ.

'The Jie had heard how the Bokora had attacked them at Akalale and how the Europeans had killed many of the Bokora. The Europeans had black soldiers with them at Panyangara and they dug a deep hole all round their camp. But the Ngikwei [a senior age-set -- they of the jackals] were very brave warriors and they said, "Let us go and slaughter these people like goats!". But the man from Rengen who knew most about Europeans came and said, "Brothers! Are you really going to kill these people? You can kill these few very easily, but I have been to the place they come from, and there they are as numerous as black ants! If you kill these, many, many more will come
here until they are enough to kill us all.' And so the Ngikwei, grumbling, went back to their homes and left the Europeans in peace.' (Lamphear 1976:256-8)

ii. Recognizing Power

This history-making piece of enculturation, whereby the Jie leaders agreed to accept the novelty of British presence into their lives, was not due solely to Tufnell's audacity and confidence that the history of Uganda was on his side, but also to Jie wisdom. Had they taken the hawks' advice, the Jie under Loriang could have proved as uncontrollable to the British Empire as the Ngimonia Turkana. However, an emuron who had lived a century earlier in the very place where Tufnell was camped, had prophesied that pale-skinned people would appear one day. The Swahilis, fleeing before Tufnell, had warned the Jie to exercise great caution. In retrospect, Loriang's action in suing for peace and reclaiming his cattle was acutely wise. Though his warriors could have resisted British pacification indefinitely, their centralized homes, their women and children could not, and their cattle would have become vulnerable to their vengeful neighbours. Their protectors could instead be the guarantors of the widest boundaries, which the Jie had ever known. Tufnell assured him, that

the days of raiding must come to an end. I told them I did not want to go into past shauris and that they could keep what they had captured but that the women and children they had taken must be produced and returned to Bakora [sic] in my presence. This they agreed to do and the compact has been carried out.

(EA 2119:11.11.11 Tufnell's Report)

Loriang was indeed especially skilled at reading intestines.
iii. Peace and Rain

Thus it was that the Karamojong were brought under the imperial wing without much dissension, largely as a solution to the dissension among themselves. It was not a question of Britain's little wars being too big for primitive tribes, but that no-one wanted to engage in wasteful attrition. The British never fought a war against the Karamojong and it can be argued that they never emasculated or harnessed their fighting spirit, despite fears that this was happening.

'Before Lokijukwa [he, that pushes, referring to the patrols, which marched steadily along with the baggage] came here, we were constantly fighting. It is true that Loriang led us to many great victories, but many people were becoming tired of the wars. When Lokijukwa told us not to attack the Karimojong and Dodos, we obeyed. He said, that he who killed an enemy would himself be killed. We kept our country and peace came. And the people were happy. Those were good days. Those were days of peace and rain.'

(Lamphear 1976:261)

Tufnell discovered that 4 'sick porters' whom Tanner had left behind the year before in Najie, had been murdered by the Bokora, according to the Jie. Tufnell did not know that their 'sickness' was caused by Tanner having their heels cut off but he was having none of the Jie story. Seizing some very old men, he roped them together by the necks until the Jie had paid a fine of 40 cattle. How Loriang restrained his young bloods from reacting to this arrogant, abominable sacrilege is a mystery. The subsequent refusal of Loukwamoi to meet Tufnell showed an independent inclination, just as much as his coming in to beg for his cattle back acknowledged British firepower.
f. Appointing Chiefs

i. Jie

In order to establish continuous government control, Tufnell appointed chiefs of major sections, and under them, sub-chiefs, who were made responsible for the behaviour of their people by a threat of 'trouble' falling on them. For the chiefs he had little option but to choose men recognized as great by their people, but he was looking for amenability to the British. Thus, Tufnell rewarded Loriang with the white kanzu, beloved of senior Baganda Christians, and the chieftainship of the southern, Lokorwakol section, while that of the Rengen was granted to the conciliatory Lopetum, 'who should be a useful man', speaking Kiswahili and Acoli. The dubious Loukwamoi was only made an sub-chief 9 years later (EA 4325: 16.4.20 Chidlaw-Roberts to Chief Sec.).

ii. Dodos

On Tufnell's arrival at Kopus, Lokuta produced Macdonald's little Union Jack and was made chief for his pains of the Lokaato section of the Dodos, but only alongside the younger Lopaja. Musa was made chief of the Lomeris Section at Chudi Chudi but died there later in a raid. The well-disposed Lokuda was recognized as chief of the Lokorikituk Section, since no-one matched his fantastic wealth in cattle, which he had acquired as the sole survivor of an otherwise successful raid on Toposa! He had one herd of 600 black heifers, one of 400 red oxen, all with one horn pointing down and one up, and so on. He was, of course, the richest man in the world -- until the Dodinga raided him!

(EA 2957:30.8.13 Leeke's Report; Bell 1949:194f.)
iii. Karimojong

The sub-chiefs selected, though elders, were younger and likely to be Kiswahili speakers and responsive to government demands to hand over firearms, for example. Yet he did not try to impose comprehensive control, being primarily concerned to stop killing, as he made plain at a *baraza* in Manimani.

‘All present were thoroughly given to understand that henceforth all raiding must entirely cease, that there must be no more molesting of individuals or small parties passing through their country, and that the custom of settling their differences with spears must be a thing of the past.’

(Barber 1968:143-8)

iv. Enforcing Peace

There was a new power in the land, and those who identified with it and its rewards were thereby distanced from traditional culture, which had a strange way of replicating itself, despite the changed circumstances.

"Like all these people the Morongole [sic; Lokorikituk section of the Dodos] have no chiefs or anyone in authority over them.... With these people, as a rule, the old men, whose fighting days are past and who therefore no longer have the ambition to go raiding, are easy enough to deal with, but these have no authority over the younger men who, to any remonstrance, simply reply 'you did the same thing in your day and now it is our turn'.”

(ibid.:148, 3.12 Tufnell)

According to this, even the elders had not the power to enculture an innovation basic to their society. A generation gap existed where, as in this case, the warriors were more conservative than their fathers. Yet the elders usually both play down their real power and are very careful in exercising it to the full, though it seems that here they did. Turpin and his KAR successor, Captain J.R. Chidlaw-Roberts, thought in 1920 that the Karamojong had not raided other tribes since 1912. They made relatively few complaints about the chiefs although Turpin wrote in 1916, 'A reliable
headman with authority has not yet been found', despite recognizing 31 headmen/sub-chiefs and 7 chiefs (EA 4325: 29.2.16 Turpin’s Report; 26.7.18 Turpin to Commissioner of Police; 16.4.20 Chidlaw-Roberts to Chief Sec.).

v. Turnover of Chiefs

As Loriang, who did not qualify as reliable, died of an infected leg abscess around this time (Lamphear 1976: 260), the willing Lopetum, an ‘especially good chief’, was made the first paramount chief of the whole of Najie but he was one of the 7 chiefs and headmen and 1,500 others who fell to the cerebro-spinal meningitis epidemic of 1917-8. Cowno, an hereditary war-leader, was chief in Najie in 1919 but died in suspicious circumstances in the 1930s (Gulliver 1953b:183; 1955:94f.). The days of proving leadership in raids was past, and so the British increasingly chose chiefs for their ability to comply. Since many were not sufficiently culturally attuned to their requirements, half-educated agents and clerks were placed with them from other tribes who were.

The chief was entitled Ekapolon (‘big’, or important, man) and the sub-chief or headman (Ejakait) and abused as the wife (ajakait) of a very rich man, for the Ejakait was the satellite of a wealthy husband, the government. The least of this threefold order borrowed a title from Luganda; the Ekungut was responsible for raising food and labour in a neighbourhood. Later his patch became the parish and the others’ sub-county and county and another Luganda loanword (ekatikiroit) was introduced for assistant chiefs (D-H,N. 1962:779). With time most chiefs became ever more dependent on the government for status, authority, and
income but during military administration a link was maintained with the democratic assembly of elders.

vi. Local Structures

Each clan [sic; territorial division] is governed by its own representative 'Atuk' or native council which is selected by the clan and controlled by the District Commissioner. Each section is governed by an 'Atuk' consisting of representatives from the clans and controlled by the District Commissioner; its powers are limited to two months' imprisonment without flogging. Each section 'Atuk' has attached a few chiefs, police and district messengers to maintain communications with the District Commissioner. (Chidlaw-Roberts 1920)

Imprisonment was a weird joke to the Karimojong, and quite unrelated to their own swift system of justice run by the elders which, despite the different laws, continued with the approval of the military officers. 'No attempt was made to interfere with the age-old customs and social code' (Shearwood 1921:202).

Brutal punishment was reserved for those who posed a potent threat to British rule. The Karimojong remember, though this has not been found in official records, that around 1919 the last Karimojong prophet to be recognized by the whole tribe was hanged. Despite the real blessings of the Pax britannica, which could be measured by the numerical growth of their people and cattle, the Karimojong felt that their society had never prospered in the same way (D-H,N. 1966:226). Just as the presence of a District Commissioner (DC) ended the dreams of the Kony (Jung 1977:285), so the prophecies of the Karimojong were muted by the presence of a supreme military power. There was no prophet in the land.
g. Commodities and Karamoja

i. Cotton

In the second decade of the 20th century the rest of Uganda was ripening for participation in the international economy through the production and export of high quality cotton which, by 1920, accounted for over 90% of Uganda’s home-produced exports. This expansion was carefully fostered by government, which used enforced labour for the initial transport of cotton, but found ready assistance from other British interests. W.S. Syson, a CMS missionary at Ngora, was the first to introduce the plough to Teso, as CMS had been the first to commercialize cotton, which by 1913/4 comprised a third of the Protectorate crop. Fleets of canoes, owned by the missions, ferried the lint across Lake Salisbury, either side of which the Uganda Company Ltd. had built ginneries at Toroma and Kumi (Lawrance 1955:127f.,38; Hewitt 1971:298,438).

The Company started up in 1903 by buying the CMS Industrial Mission, begun in 1899 by Kristen Borup, who imported 62 bags of cotton seed supplied by the British Cotton Growing Association, and who himself became the first General Manager. The capital was raised in London by ‘the Buxton Group’ (see IV.A.1.c.iii) who hoped to profit on commodities like rubber, coffee, sugar, and grain, but cotton was to be the large-scale export earner, which also built the modern Ugandan economy, and transformed Protectorate finances (Thomas & Scott 1935: 127f.).

The comparison of Teso history is instructive for, although more agricultural from the beginning, they too were naked, EN cattle raiders, organized by age-sets, at
the beginning of their colonial period. One official thought the Karimojong,

almost identical with the Teso. They appeared to be friendly, very ready to accept new ideas and excellent stockmen. I should think they would prove like the Teso to be one of the most industrious tribes of the Protectorate.

(EA 1307/1908:2.2.20 Richardson to Chief Sec.:5)

Yet the Baganda had suppressed Teso rituals. The British imposed the poll tax and the means to pay it in cotton, which revolutionized their society. Though the Toroma ginnery was 30 miles from Mount Napak, Karamojan cotton was grown only in Labwor where social change was also greatest.

ii. No Cash Earners

Officials did plant cotton in Najie and Dodos but were defeated by the unpredictable rainfall which also scotched imported bananas and potatoes. Sesame survived but it soon became clear that the only successful commodities would be indigenous ones, of which ivory was no longer one in 1919, when Turpin reported the absence of elephants, perhaps intending to mislead. The ivory trade had exhausted itself, for in 1911 the Swahili traders at Mbale were convinced 'of the folly of sinking any more money into so speculative a venture as a Karamoja safari.... A legacy of debt is about all that remains of what used to be a flourishing and profitable business'. Lieutenant Hawkins spent 1914 in Karamoja without seeing a single elephant.

iii. Cattle Products

The ivory trade had helped to replenish the cattle herds of Karamoja but contagious diseases reduced their value as a national asset and the Karamojong only traded their steers in order to acquire more heifers from the Teso. Turpin suggested a poll tax of Rupees 7/50 for the
11,000 able-bodied men he had registered in Karamoja, to be paid for the first years in slaughter bullocks and collected from the elder of each ere by the atuk chief.

The visiting veterinary officer proposed cattle isolation camps in Teso for their 5 day trek to Lale port on Lake Kyoga. Worth Rs.30/- of tobacco or salt in Karamoja, they could be at Jinja in a week, where they would fetch Rs.100/- and 2 days later at Kampala or Entebbe, where 'they should arrive in perfect condition and would form a most valuable source of meat supply for the central markets'. A canning factory could be built north of Elgon. If southern Sudan could export to Europe, why could not northern Uganda? (ibid.:11 & 19.5.20; 24.10.19 Acting PC, EP to Chief Sec.; 2.20 Turpin’s Report; EA 2364:28.6.19 Turpin to PC, EP; Barber 1968:100,149)

Turpin also suggested that drying shelters could be erected for every atuk to enhance the local value of cattle hides for export. He thought there was 'a great demand' for trade goods, agricultural implements, and bicycles which, if met, would lead to an improvement in agricultural returns and road surfaces. However, government did not provide the staff to engineer commoditization and even prevented entrepreneurial British army officers, newly settled in the Trans-Nzoia area, from doing so. Instead an Arab trader, Saida bin Abdulla, was given permission to enter Dodos to manage the garrison canteen at Loyoro, reducing his fees by trade in ghee, hides, and goats. (EA 1307/1908:17.3.16 & 4.4.16 Governor, East Africa to Uganda; 26.7.17 Turpin to Chief Sec.; 11.4.18 Guy Eden to Chief Sec.; 15.2.21 & 21.5.21 Brig-Gen. Baker-Carr to Chief Sec.)
2. 1921-1961: CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Turpin had proposed a battery of administrative, veterinary, medical, and police officials to commercialize Karamoja, and Captain J.R. Chidlaw-Roberts, remembered as Ewoyaren, 'the tall and healthy one' (Pazzaglia 1982:157), soon found he was not doing what the KAR employed him for. On 25.4.21, B. Ashton-Warner was informed that the Governor, Sir Robert Coryndon (1917-22), had decided to commence civil administration in Karamoja and he, as Acting District Commissioner, assisted by G.H.M. Lamb, would replace Captain G. King 'at the earliest convenient date', although most of the boundaries were indeterminate. Moroto was to be his HQ, pending his advice, while the 'district' was to remain closed for a year by an establishment of 40 police, and no taxes were to be imposed (EA 1307/1908: 25.4.21 Chief Sec. to Ashton-Warner).

a. Chiefs Undone

i. Chiefs of Government

The concept of civil administration in Uganda revolved around the Muganda chief as the omnicompetent, local, civil servant. However, Ashton-Warner soon observed that, without the elders who were 'the greatest obstacle in the way of progress', the appointed chiefs had no authority, existing 'only in name'. The assemblies listened to what each elder who wanted to speak had to say, and decisions emerged from the consensus, as informed by divination of the future. This gave no individual, or even clique, the leverage with which to force innovation.

Loriang had demonstrated his trustworthiness to the elders in taking military powers to himself because he
acknowledged their status and relied on their traditions, especially the old art of divination. 'Chiefs', whose actual authority could extend no farther than the elders' spokesman (ekeseran, announcer, interpreter), were expected not only to join, but also to propel, the bandwagon of progress. They would have to wear shorts to advertize, as it were, the quality of Lancastrian industry. As soon as they tried to implement decisions made by government with its alien and unilateral imperatives, they became the spokesmen of government policy. They, and it, would be evaluated by elders according to their benefit to society.

British power often depended on the manipulation of existing power structures rather than their erasure, as George Wilson candidly observed to Hayes Sadler, for whom he acted as Commissioner for Uganda.

'It has always been the practice of England to govern her distant dominions, as apart from her colonies, wherever feasible by a system of Protectorates: by which system their administrators are placed under the native Prince who governs by the advice of native Protector. The advantages are obvious: for the people through force of habit, love for person, or prestige of his office, it is natural to submit to the orders of their Prince. The Prince through the instinct of self-preservation if through nothing else, usually willingly obeys the orders of his protector, and those orders are further disguised under the name of advice, and are conveyed in such a manner as to as little as possible destroy his prestige or wound his susceptibilities. By this means, pressure when it is necessary is brought to bear on one person only, the prince, and not the whole population. Even when the prince withholds his ready co-operation, the cases of Egypt, Zanzibar and Uganda tend to prove that the system can still be employed with a full measure of success.'

(Low 1962:11 cf.14)

ii. Spokesmen of Empire

Where this well-tried approach fell down was in a culture maintaining a genuine degree of democracy. In Acholi and Lango, there was the suitable tradition of the Rwodi, while in Teso 'the premise of inequality' was established by
Kakunguru's army which was keen to govern at every level. Yet there were no volunteers in Karamoja where, though a man could rise to greatness through his religious, economic, or military aptitude, he could not dominate in all matters and never without the solid approval of the elders who represented every family. Even less could his status be inherited by his son, for that was determined by his closeness to God, that is, his egalitarian age-set. Without 'notions of subordination and superordination', as D.A. Low puts it, 'the premise of inequality' did not exist to give a handle to British rule.

Having rejected Turpin's atuk system, the civil administrators saw no other way of governing than by investing power in chiefs. Their capacity to control activity and labour for roads and camps was bolstered by a prohibition from 1921 of movement to dry season cattle camps without prior permission from the DC, which would not be given until government labour requirements had been met and each man had contributed 100 pounds of sorghum to the communal granaries, devised to relieve the Protectorate of responsibility for famine relief. It also ensured that there was a ready supply of food for military expeditions or public works but overlooked the fact that women, not men, controlled the use of all grain. Lamb, when he took charge of the district, was convinced, that their approach was working.

'The elders are waking from their ancient lethargy and beginning to take their part in the work of the District. The chiefs are becoming brighter and smarter'.

(Barber 1968:204)

Such adjectives were generally used of those who saw and did things the same way as British officials.
iii. The Fate of Aciya

One who did was the young Pian chief at Nabilatuk, Aciya, nicknamed Toto Kobok (mother of the announcement). He had not only collected the first poll-tax (of 5 shillings) but was also required to build an officer’s rest house there, improve the road, and build a chief's camp at Moroto. When he gathered the people to announce this news, he found that some had already taken their cattle away to dry season pastures, so he took steps to confiscate cattle to establish government authority. Had Aciya not been so keen on the performance of his duties, he might have reflected on the meaning of the ceremony (akiwodokin) which freed the cattle and their herders to find the best pasture. As the grazing near the settlements dries up after the wet season, initiated men press the elders for this ritual, where the elders are feasted before they bless the herds. Their authority to decide when the herds go out is clearly symbolized and enforced in practice. Where they go is a matter for the individual herdsman, who is accountable only to his father, so it constitutes his God-given liberty to exercise all his powers for the increase of his herd.

Aciya’s move threatened the basic role in society of most men, whether young or old. One elder, Loca, thought it unjustifiable and probably plain foolish for undernourished cattle meant hungry people. ‘Why does Achia [sic] keep our cattle here? Kill him and then everyone can herd his stock where he likes.’ That is precisely what they did on 23.10.23. Women celebrated in song and dance, beating the corpse of their compatriot with sticks. Lamb ensured, that 3 of the murderers, including Loca, were hanged at
Nabilatuk. More sad was his analysis, that the basis of the trouble was a ‘dislike of the people for work’, which assumed, that only servile labour counted as work and not the arduous dawn to dusk tasks of stock-keeping for males, or agriculture and house-keeping for females (ibid.:206f.; D-H,N. 1966:15; Pazzaglia 1982:72).

This exhibition of power over life and death had a profound effect on the Karimojong, but perhaps an even profounder one on those who had an undisputed military superiority over them. When the news reached the Governor, Sir Geoffrey Archer (1922-4), he convened a top-level meeting to discuss future policy in Karamoja. It made a very realistic appraisal of the overall conditions, observing that the only hope for commerce was in livestock products, and that was dependent on the control of disease. The people ‘were not agriculturalist, were unlikely to provide useful recruits for the military and police or labourers outside their own areas’. ‘Chiefs in the ordinary sense of the term, were unknown’, but chiefs had been chosen under ‘British occupation’ from the ‘younger and more enlightened Karamojong’ (EA 1307/1908:21.12.23 Notes of a Meeting at Government House).

b. Whither Karamoja?

i. His Excellency’s Opinion

As usual, the Governor came down on the side of peace and order, deciding that Karamoja should be protected and that ‘the elders should be left to control internal administration of the clans’ as well as participate in the appointment of chiefs. For its part, government would have to maintain the use of chiefs and to requisition labour for
transport and buildings.

... It was to be clearly understood, however, that such services should be reduced to a minimum and should in no way be allowed to interfere with the pastoral habits of the natives. Donkeys should be used as often as possible for transport purposes. An elaborate system of roads and camps is not required and should not be initiated.

To sum up the policy to be followed is:

- Internal peace and order.
- Complete freedom of movement.
- An absence of any energetic action calculated to cause resentment amongst the natives.  

(loc.cit.)

In a covering letter the Chief Secretary rubbed the message in for the PC, who tended towards 'close interior administration'. It was realized 'that Karamoja is totally different from other districts' and must be treated as such.

His Excellency most emphatically is of the opinion that an energetic administrative policy is not required and is to be deprecated. You should, therefore, impress on the District Commissioner-in-charge, Karamoja, the necessity of adhering strictly to His Excellency's instructions in this respect.

The aim of the local Administration should be to foster a spirit of complete trust and confidence in the minds of the Karamojong, and to this end they should be afforded every opportunity of following their own semi-nomadic pastoral habits in so far as these are consistent with peace and good order.  

(ibid.:24.12.23 Chief Sec. to PC, EP)

ii. Preservation or Progress?

This event bears examination, not because all governments have followed this line ever since, though that was true for years, but because it was the point more than any other when government faced up to the real issues of incorporating Karamoja into an alien social order. Having done so, it dodged them. After all, no other government or agency there has resolved them, however energetic their policy. Each one has been criticised to the core by detached observers, or their successors, and often rightly, but patently correct and viable alternatives are lacking. Thus,
Barber (1962:124), writing on the eve of independence, considered, that Aciya's murder 'sounded a note of warning that was heard too clearly by the policy makers'. In the context of bringing Karamoja into line with the rest of Uganda, so that she could take her place in the world as a modern nation-state, this is probably true. Yet it fails to recognize that modernization was and is not in general, an aim, an ideal, a hope, nor even a viable option for the Karamojong (D-H,N. 1966:6).

Though the Karamojong accepted 'British occupation', often welcoming it and forgoing their more murderous customs, provided it fulfilled its promise of protection, they did not want to be administered. Moreover, although the British could win any set-piece showdown, they could not enforce social, economic, or political change without the tacit consent of the administered. This was so beyond Karamoja; hence the subterfuge of Protectorates, but the Karamojong would not buy something they did not want: alien values with all the attendant advantages and disadvantages of acculturation to a foreign way of life. There being no prospect of economic gain in the foreseeable future, the British gave up the short-lived attempt to amend Karamojong life. In Karamoja, 'the Empire on which the sun never set', met its unsung match.

So long as the Karamojong did not impinge on the rest of Uganda, nothing was thought to be lost. The cost of administration, which was now no object, would be minimal and perhaps in the very long term they would change of their own accord. Bwana Lamb was moved on to be replaced by the ideal man to conduct *laissez-faire* politics, Captain Tommy
Preston who was nicknamed, Acolimatar (perhaps meaning smoking Acoli as he had been serving in Acholi) and Lojokatau (he of the good heart). The Verona Fathers only saw him lolling on his verandah in Moroto but he perambulated Karamoja with the explicit aim of engendering trust, and slept in their villages, applying their law wherever possible, drinking their sour milk, and (it was rumoured) dancing naked at their feasts. This was one of the rare occasions that an official 'went native' with Entebbe's blessing, for he was posted back to Karamoja after Captain E.H. Rogers ('a very cruel man' in local memory, who sought 'a slightly more virile policy of development) relieved him in 1928.

iii. The Human Zoo

Nevertheless, the negative attributes of non-energetic administration were appreciable. No raids were made in 1925, and the next decade or more, was to be marked by a tranquil atmosphere. In being strict only in the application of the Outlying Districts Ordinances, Preston effectively cocooned Karamoja from all foreign contact, beside the KAR. Such an indulgent paternalism made him the founding father of the 'human zoo' of Karamoja, which Cisternino (1979:36) has emphasized but not elaborated, calling at the same time for 'a reversal of the "developmental" trend' that succeeded it in the 1955s. The policy not to modernize was not the desire of government, Preston apart, so much as of the Karamojong themselves. To that extent N. D-H's conclusion (1958:1.4.1), albeit written for government eyes, is closer to the mark.

It is sometimes asserted that Government has deliberately turned Karamoja into a 'zoo' in which the inhabitants are
encouraged to maintain an age-old primitive state... Rather, the affairs of Karamoja have been in the hands of overburdened men who seem at all times to have struggled with the difficult dual aim of meeting each fresh problem in a way which would be consistent with Protectorate Government's other pre-occupations while yet securing some justice for the people they administered.

British administration was foiled by the dilemma of culturecide (which was not practical) and non-intervention (which was not permissible) for keeping the peace. I have met Karamojans, who served King George VI in London, but it did not spoil their taste for Karamoja life, even nakedness, but the experience of being an askari or a Ejakait has ruined the appetite for European ways.

iv. Christian Civilization

'Progress' was an irreducible plank of Protectorate policy, so Karamoja could never be preserved from it while part of Uganda. Guy Eden, PC, EP, wanted 'to encourage trade, and create a flow of money', so had already decided 11 weeks before Aciya's murderers were hanged on St. Valentine's Day, 1924 on an alternative possibility to promote 'advancement' or 'non-backward movement'. Who better to help the illiterate progress towards civilization as the British knew it than Christian missionaries? From this time the practice of mission was intertwined with the history of Karamoja, which is itself inseparable from the analysis of culture. Now that the historical background which has shaped so much belief and behaviour has been portrayed, it remains to pick over the bones of recent political and military history, before rejoining this story in Part IV.
c. Peace v. Population

i. Growing Numbers

The last few years before Ugandan Independence, despite the stress on 'development', exposed one of the latent tensions in the minimalist approach to governing Karamoja. What little had been done was sufficient to allow an annual growth in the population of Karamoja from 1% in the 1920s to 3-4% over the next 30 years. This was enough to raise it from 49,717 in 1919 to 171,945 in 1959: a 246% increase over 40 years of unprecedented stability. This growth was supported by an annual increase in the herds of 2%, followed by 5% through the 1940s, falling off to 3.5% in the 1950s (see Vol.II:117). With a 300% increase in cattle over the same period, encouraged by government who made water available through boreholes and dams, there had to be serious pressures on grazing, evident both in sheet erosion of the soil and an upsurge of violence. (Gulliver 1953b:181; Bataringaya 1961:12; Eggeling 1938b:3)

ii. Raids

Between 1958 and 31.10.61, a total of 727 raids (cf. 48 in the previous 3 years) were recorded, all involving the Karimojong, the fastest growing tribe whose pastures were being restricted rather than expanded by tsetse fly control further north, and nearly a third involving the Pokot (D-H,N. 1966:247-9). On average, only 2 men were prosecuted for every 3 raids, yet 201 people were killed. Only a quarter of the 81,394 stolen cattle were recovered. British rule, after its self-confidence in using public violence had been sapped by Gandhi, Nasser, and the economic force of American morality, had become 'a woman'.
iii. The Force of Law

Tufnell’s principle was enculturated by some elders: ‘He has taken life so his should be taken’. In that light, even Lamb’s law should run: ‘the killer should be hanged publicly for all to see’. But, they observed in 1961, ‘even if you kill a person nothing was done to you’, since uppermost in their minds was that, 8 years on, the slaughter of Lorika and Nangiro by the Pokot had gone unavenged. ‘I think the Europeans in Karamoja are encouraging people to fight. How could these people [the raiders] defeat them and they are the Government.’ (Bataringaya 1961:14) The former peace was contrasted with the present ‘uselessness’ of an administration which forsook the simple justice of the traditional ameto (Abrahams 1978:49ff.) by which the elders sent an age-set to bring in and punish offenders, for the arcane judicial system, which required tedious procedures that resulted in a homicide being released or, at most, fed and dressed out of taxes, before being released to re-offend. Communal fines punished the innocent, stimulating them to raid in order to replenish their herds.

Ineffective law enforcement served not to establish the chiefs but to undermine the traditional punishments, as chiefs, often for personal gain, would make a charge of assault against the agent of ameto which a court would uphold. The chiefs feared to assert authority over raiding, sometimes participating in them or, in the case of 4 chiefs of Maseniko and Pokot against the Tepes, organizing raids. The best cattle levied in fines would be exchanged for the chief’s scrub cattle or just added to his herd. After all, if he has lost the chance of being a man of standing in the
assembly (akiriket) it is the responsibility of his employers to create the status outside it on which they depend. Thus, chiefs, often converted to an individualistic outlook, were tempted to look upon resources introduced by government as their own property.

Karamojong testified to the Karamoja Security Committee that the command system was strange to the people and imposed from above, that the people had a double loyalty, to the tribal elders and to the new hierarchy of chiefs, and that the former was stronger than the latter. They also said that the new system weakened the old and that the chains of custom were loosened too much and the knot of the new administration not tightened hard enough, thus giving the young Karamojong an opportunity of defying the old without obeying the new. (Bataringaya 1961:18f.)

This mingling of two value-systems led to dissatisfaction from both the Karamojans and the British with the chiefs who were often reshuffled or dismissed. Even Ekapolon Yakobo Lowok, County Chief of Bokora, who in 1954 had been awarded a medallion by the Queen in person for his services as Chairman of the District Council in controlling the Karimojong-Pokot unrest, was the target the next year of widespread popular demonstrations which required police reinforcements from Gulu, after his attempt to monopolize the use of a dam. His resignation was immediately accepted. Such is the result of dual legal systems (Annual Report NP 1955:129; Letter 8.5.90 Field).

The Special Regions Ordinance 1958 demarcated boundaries, restricted livestock movement, and impounded cattle to enforce the measures. The Karamojong perceived this with unreserved condemnation as the principal cause, not the cure, of the breakdown in law and order. The British saw that raiding was a function of grazing shortage and that
the way to prevent the loss of pasture from erosion was to control it (Leach 1960). The larger point, which neither side took with adequate clarity, was that, given the traditional dependence of Karamojong and Pokot on cattle, there were too many mouths to feed. The only well-tried solution, failing unwelcome modern alternatives, was bellicose migration. In Karamoja the Pax britannica increased the pressure to raid.

iv. Turkana Raids

The same might be said in baking Turkana, where sheep and goats wrestled with every last trace of greenery. Their only hope of extra Lebensraum was in Karamoja. In the rifles they acquired from Ethiopia they had the perfect means. Within a year of an administrative order being passed, banning the carrying of spears in Karamoja, the Turkana annihilated in 1960 3 villages 10 miles east of Loyoro. The KAR were only able to collect a few rifles, even after a massacre of Turkana raiders near the River Dropoi by Lieutenant Amin whom the British and Obote excused (MT 1966:230-6; Kyemba 1977). Large areas of north-east Dodos were evacuated. Any number of police planes, landing strips, radios, Land Rovers, and security tracks were inadequate to protect unarmed Karamojans from undefeated nomads. In the 20 months to October 1961, 254 people were killed and 17,666 cattle stolen with only 15% being recovered (Bataringaya 1961:37).

There continued to be few signs of the building-up of a public opinion against raiding and the accumulation of a mounting backlog of vendetta on so many fronts is ominous for the future. Meanwhile the underlying causes of friction are becoming exacerbated as the human and stock population grow and the available grazing and watering are reduced. (Annual Report, NP 1960:8)
e. Law and Disorder in North-East Uganda

In the annual provincial reports the phrase, 'except for Karamoja' recurs. Only in that District was raiding a serious problem; only there were none of the functions of a modern economy being successfully planted; but only there were none of the social problems of a modern society. The authors of the 1939-46 report had hoped that the return of tens of thousands soldiers from the wide horizons, 'proper diet', and the work ethic induced by war service would leaven the lump of Uganda but they could only bemoan the propensity of the new African,

for indulging in beer parties on every and any excuse. Thieving both in towns and rural areas is on the increase, as also is prostitution. General standards of honesty are everywhere on the decline. A sense of civic or communal responsibility is generally lacking.

Most of these tendencies are due to the breakdown of tribal and clan discipline, with the inevitable consequence that social sanctions have weakened and moral standards have disappeared.


In Lango the number of court cases per annum for every thousand of the population increased between 1945 and 1955 by 67% to 78, while the other Nilotic districts of West Nile, Acholi, and Teso were all rising above 20. Court Returns were no longer published for EP after 1953 and for the rest of the country after 1956. In Karamoja, it did not rise above (see Vol.II:118), Docherty (1957:34) observed that 'drunkenness as encountered in other parts of Uganda is almost unknown. Alcoholic spirits are quite unknown to both the Suk and the Karamojong.'

As a Karamojong Member of the Legislative Council, J. Lokolimoi (an enemy-name) observed in a speech opposing the second reading of the Special Regions Bill in 1959, cattle raiding was in the same league as 'swindling,
burglaries, and gang robberies' elsewhere (Africa Digest 1958:55). Therefore, although raids in Karamoja were seen as a greater threat to government's monopoly of public violence, social cohesion ensured, by prevention more than cure, that aberrant behaviour was curbed, requiring far less intervention by the Protectorate judiciary than in more 'developed' and 'educated' tribes. Like all occidental institutions it remained marginal to the Karamojong, whose independent communal life sustained a moral order, which could never be bettered by alien law, except perhaps, in intertribal cases.

e. Interference Scorned, not Justice

Thus, the Karamojong resisted colonialism not by outright opposition, but by deliberately ignoring its inappropriate demands, which were not wanted and could not be imposed without the tacit consent that was resolutely withheld. As one official wrote later, 'The Karamojong have spurned most of the appurtenances of British colonialism, administrative and educational as well as economic' (Twaddle 1969:203). This was not stone-wall conservatism, for the Karamojans were good taxpayers. They appreciated the British as a neutral, supertribal umpire, who limited fighting and, latterly, gave some hope for stopping epidemics. Despite the British presiding, apparently partially, over Pokot expansion the Munster Commission found the Karamojong did not want Ugandan Independence.

Native spokesmen emphasized their loyalty to Britain and their appreciation of the services which government had brought to them, which they were apprehensive that they might lose. (Report: Uganda Relations Committee 1961:156)
D. INDEPENDENCE

1. CATCHING UP WITH UGANDA

a. Parliamentary Democracy

If the Karamojong suspected, that the independent government, which took office on 9.10.62, would not be so deferential to their way of life, then they were right. Karamoja had its MPs, and more Ministers than its 2% of the population warranted. In the 1961 elections, 8.897% of the Karamoja’s population were on the electoral register and, as Maximilian L. Choudry later to become Minister of Mineral and Water Resources, was elected unopposed in North Karamoja, less than 1% of Karamojans actually voted. In 1962, the turnout of registered electors had dropped to under 30% (Nsibambi & Byaraguba 1980:85). A newspaper editorial had already noticed, that

the basic framework of education and development does not exist. But it is true that the whole of Uganda has an interest in development and maintaining law and order in Karamoja. (Uganda Argus 24.10.58)

Education and ‘the provision of incentives’ to acquire cash were ‘the ready panacea’, but not for Karamoja. Naturally, MPs tended to be the sons of county chiefs or government agents and educated in mission schools. If William Naburri, one Lotome schooled son of Lorika, the Toposa-born agent at Nabilatuk who was murdered by the Pokot, was not in the Cabinet, then another, Edward Asiyo was. His desk was replete with an incongruous model Boeing when he was Minister of Transport in 1985.

Though holding Karamoja’s corner, in terms of the allocation of resources and permitting aid agencies to work, they did not represent Karamojong politics, economics, or, beyond polygamy and family interests, society. Rather, they
were members of Uganda’s élite, living a totally different lifestyle, even sending their family to Europe for hospital treatment. Inevitably, these are agents of modernization, if they have any effect. Government policy was no longer determined in Entebbe, but in Kampala where other tribal issues dominated affairs. The official attitude to this embarrassing piece of ‘old Africa’ had already been set by the Karamoja Security Committee.

b. The Karamoja Problem

Composed of the Member for Central Karamoja, J.P. Loruk and members of other tribes who were conscious of Kakunguru’s ‘“civilising influence” which did so much to subdue and settle their own peoples and to establish close administration so essential to the maintenance of law and order’, they took for granted the importance of chiefs. They not only recommended retaining the threefold order of chiefs, but added another, that of village headman (enyamparait, one who eats the spirit of the dead, cf. Kiswahili mnyapara, guide) intending to fortify the whole with councils. Chiefs, who were too old, ignorant, inefficient, or obviously corrupt to be effective, were to be replaced ‘by the younger and more educated Karamojong’. The old ways were not just a cause of ‘the problem’; they constituted it.

In comparison with conditions now obtaining in and standards achieved by other parts of Uganda, and using the generally accepted yardstick of Western civilisation to measure development, Karamoja is, as we have mentioned earlier on in this report, anything between twenty and fifty years behind other parts of Uganda. This backwardness is social, cultural, ethical, and economic.

(Bataringaya 1961:10)

If ‘Western civilization’ is the norm, then Karamoja will never compete. The people in general disown it as a
goal, so why start towards it? Being the antidote to progress, Karamoja is the skeleton in the national cupboard, which must be laid to rest. Therefore, Karamoja must be developed, not for its own benefit, but for the perceived welfare of Uganda. 'Karamoja is a running sore which, if not scraped and properly dressed now, will cost the country a limb in the future.' It should be regarded as an emergency, for which no expense should be spared, not least on police armed with automatic rifles and roads. 'Karamoja is a special problem.'

If Karamoja is to cease to be the problem that it is now, the pace of development must be forced and forced hard, and if this is to be done, it should be NOW or NEVER! Our aim is therefore to make recommendations that will not only cover the short-term policy of establishing law and order in Karamoja but will also bring about an accelerated progress of the Karamojong and enable them to catch up with the rest of Uganda in the shortest possible time. (ibid.:15)

The minority report was more impatient still, attacking the recommended limitation of village councils to elders. Nakedness was 'one of the social evils to be overcome.... in order to streamline the Karamoja society with the rest of the country as quickly as possible from all aspects' (ibid.:iii-v). That was a time, when it could be said, 'The assumption in a scientific age is that it must be possible to find a solution to all social problems' (Uganda Argus, 24.10.58). Even then it was questionable, whether that age applied to Karamoja.
2. DEVELOPING KARIMOJA

a. Building and Multiplying

Though not every expense was spared, there were unprecedented increases in resources for education, of which government took control on 1.1.64. The first Senior Secondary School was built in Moroto, as was a large barracks and the roads were improved. Local government departments proliferated. Famine relief was distributed, amounting once to 248,000 lbs. of posho a day. UNICEF fed malnourished children.

The population grew in the 1960s at 5.1% per annum. In half a century, it had increased by a factor of over 4 to 284,067. The populations of Dodos, Jie, Maseniko, and Bokora counties had tripled, while the Pian had multiplied over 8 times, indicating that there had been spare grazing in the south. This helps explain why they yielded before the Pokot invasion, which in itself stimulated the Pian to spread and grow. However, this level of population, let alone the rate of growth, was unsustainable. The long run effects of overgrazing which turned savanna and steppe into bushland and dry thicket meant that the cattle population, also reduced by Turkana raiders, rose by only 0.5% per annum in the 1960s. As Wilson wrote, 'The cattle population of the district must be close to the maximum for present conditions' (Langdale-Brown, Osmaston & Wilson 1964:92). In 1970, with the Pokot issue unresolved, Kenya took back the administered area of Karapokot, with an eye on the copper in the hills, thus leaving Pokot on both sides of the border.
b. Assimilating to Modern Uganda

More sorghum was grown and a taste developed for maize. Men held cash and more wore cotton shorts and shirts. In April 1971 3 months after seizing power, Amin tried to absolutize the trend by a decree, banning all traditional attire such as skins, bangles, head-dresses, and nudity, in favour of trousers and shirts. People seen disobeying were shot. The Jie, facing an unprecedented alliance between the Dodos and the Turkana (Gourlay 1971b:90), went along with the government and its Acoli army to the extent that Kotido was given the new District HQ for North Karamoja. However, Amin’s demoralized forces of law and order failed to repel the Turkana.

c. Preparing to do Battle

When Amin’s soldiers fled before the Tanzanian liberation army in 1979, the Maseniko emptied the armoury in Moroto barracks by the donkey-load. The consequent re-arming of Karamoja has been a turning point in its history. The Maseniko soon turned the tables on the Turkana through superior firepower. Their fellow Karimojong, the Bokora and the Pian were next, even having their houses looted. Then the Dodos suffered, being attacked by the Jie as well who had managed to obtain arms by trading with the Maseniko. The Dodos have still not recovered from their loss of cattle.
3. FAMINE AND FAME

a. Dearth & Disaster

Drought and famine have always been endemic in Karamoja. Hunger (akoro) is the experience of all but some small children. In 1978, sorghum midge began a succession of poor harvests succeeding uncontrolled raiding and cattle diseases. The Tanzanian liberation force indiscriminately shot the game. Cattle raiding concentrated vast herds in the hands of the well-armed, leaving 80-90% of Karamojans without access to their main source of nutrients, milk and blood. The pumps were dry on 80% of boreholes. Hospitals and health centres were looted and insecurity prevented traders importing food. Within a year the tender shoot of Western civilization was blighted. In November 1979, the Verona Fathers (VF), who had been giving out food at their church centres, reported an emergency situation but were not taken seriously.

In Kampala, the Ugandan government, shorn of their gospel of progress and wallowing in low morale and instability had no interest left for 'the Karamoja problem'. 'The Karomojong have been primitive for a long time. Let them starve.' (Obbo 1988:208) In 1980, all United Nations staff were withdrawn from Uganda for their safety. The World Food Programme did supply 10,000 tons of wheat but it was adjudged unsuitable for unsophisticated Karamojans to eat, so was given to Kenyan millers in exchange for maize, which did not reach Karamoja. The 1980 'wet' season saw a drought from April to August. Those who had depended on feeding centres for food simply starved when the food supplies failed. In the bush, the warriors stewed and ate
their giraffe-hide shields, now useless in warfare. A cholera epidemic broke out among the Ik and the Dodos who died in front of the cameras of a freelance Kenyan Asian.

b. Karamoja Aids the Relief Agencies

With the ensuing world publicity on television, aid agencies fell over one another to establish themselves in Karamoja. Schemes were set up by 24 organizations, often in ignorance of, and in competition with, each other and without the knowledge of government or the necessary logistics. In Kadam County, not the worst affected, the infant mortality rate for the last 9 months of 1980 was calculated at 600 per 1,000 of the population, compared with 139 in 1969, while it was estimated that 21% of the County's population died in the year. The 1980 census was inaccurate, so it will never be known how many scores of thousands died or how many were saved by relief food. Once the aid machine was engineered, it would not stop, however, fuelling dependency, passivity, and corruption. (Biellik & Henderson 1985; Alnwick 1985; Wilson 1985; Knutsson 1985)

c. Collapse of a Culture?

It might have been thought, as Colin Turnbull wrongly had for the Ik, that there would be no return to the old communal values. Gun law reigned, both within and between tribes. Ameto could not be exercised on headstrong men, who initiated banditry on their own account. Some had sufficient education to stimulate within them a desire for cash and manufactured goods. Elders felt a loss of authority. As in the last decade of disorder, the Acoli invaded Jie. In April 1982, a motorized, uniformed force reached Lokitelebu in sight of Kotido. Despite minor losses.
the Acoli were beaten off, leaving behind a munitions lorry, which answered the Jie’s desperate need for ammunition. The Dodos have only recently been able to acquire arms. The other warriors learned to conserve their ammunition and became better shots than any subsequent Uganda army, whose only effective weapon has been the helicopter gunship, which has been used to mow down cattle, if not men.

Famine recurred in 1984–6, when the same mistakes were made by World Food Programme, with the chief beneficiaries being unprincipled government officers and outsiders, and in 1988, when for the first time since Amin government made a concerted effort to co-ordinate famine relief, while the Karamojong raided the tribes opposed to government.

Mamdani (1981:19), a Marxist, points out that those who see major famine ‘as an internally-generated affair…. look to philanthropic organisations from imperialist countries as the agents who will deliver the people of Karamoja’, without accepting that ‘the Karamoja problem was created in the first place by imperialism’. Though his analysis may be faulty, he does raise the most basic question. Karamoja is a problem for the liberal perspective, though Mamdani must admit that it embraces Africans who may be even more imperialistic in the imposition of their values.

Karamoja is far less of a problem to its traditional inhabitants and to a pre-Enlightenment world-view, where famines are acts of God and no-one eats, except of His creation and providence. If there is competition for the same resources, none has an inalienable right to life,
liberty, and happiness, because these are from God. Thus, the Marxist and the Karimojong, coming from the most diverse backgrounds, could agree that 'for a society, unlike for an individual, there is never a dead end'. The Marxist, like the imperialist or the liberal in Karamoja, has not been so good at 'returning the initiative to the people themselves'.

d. Fighting a Way Out

An alien government continued to be 'steeped in Western values and with a pronounced disregard for traditional aspects of life, which equate, in their value system, with primitiveness and savagery' (Baker 1974:3). Other tribes in Uganda, especially those within 60 miles of Karamoja's boundary, even the Abwor inside it, have had every reason for protesting against the Karimojong savagery. Raiding parties 1,000 strong have removed their cattle and many domestic goods, causing frequent atrocities. In 1982 the Karamojong elders had been able to establish an internal peace by an agreement, which has lasted up to the present, so that Jie and Bokora go raiding together outside Karamoja.

General Tito Okello, whose mother was a Jiot famine refugee from Nakapelimoru, took Kampala from Obote but neither his soldiers, nor Museveni’s who lost over 100 at Panyangara on 10.7.87, were a match in battle for the Karimojong. In this scenario local government barely functions, for Karamoja is ungovernable. Few taxes are paid; cash has become increasingly worthless, the currency being replaced twice. Cotton clothes are in rags. Male nudity has resumed; as much care as ever is taken over hairstyles. Spears and Russian AK 47 automatic rifles are carried as the means to continue ancient traditions in the modern world.
1. DISCONTINUITY

Karamojong culture is neither timeless nor immutable. It has always been changing, often in far-reaching ways. Indeed, the traditional cultures of the present communities only date from the 1830s, when different ethnic groups and customs were irrevocably amalgamated. The Jie did not receive their name until after the attempt to conquer them in the 1860s. The life of all societies in Karamoja was considerably interrupted by Eron and, to an extent, disrupted by the arrival of Abyssinian and Swahili adventurers as well as the more insidious effects of the British Empire. Throughout, there have been times of dispersal and times of absorption. Though considerable hostility has been shown towards rivals for the grazing rights of the land, a large degree of tolerance has nearly always been shown to those who wished to settle with the herdsmen under their political system.

2. CONTINUITY

The identity of the Karamojong has not been completely subject to the vicissitudes of famine and foreigners. The remarkable effect of the Spirit in this 'odd corner of Africa' is the tenacity with which people have adhered to traditional values and have survived as an entity in an uncertain environment. If death has been an ever-present threat, life has continually revolved round the keeping of livestock from time immemorial. This economic choice has affected life in whatever social structure, for
both the occupation of Karamoja and the current system of
generations do not go back beyond the 17th century.

The economic factor is not an absolute determinant
nor even an independent variable. Some EN became Ngikatapa
and grew less willing to die for the sake of their cattle
and more willing to move to where there was rain. The Ngiro
and those they have absorbed have spurned this option,
despite the ravages of cattle disease and raiders and
despite the pressure of Protectorate and national
governments to develop agriculture and restrict grazing as
the economic means of sustaining a growing population.

Yet the Karamojong have achieved a military
dominance over agricultural peoples in, and even outside,
Karamoja and have no intention of enculturating commerce and
the priorities of modernity or of renouncing their
traditional pastoral values. These are perpetuated, not
merely by the economics of living in Karamoja, but by their
Weltanschauung, their cosmology of a cow-shaped universe.
This, in turn, is upheld by a theology whose continuity with
antiquity is a tribute to their enduring faith in God.

Any approach to the Karamojong, which ignores their
faith in Akuja, effectively dismisses not only their
culture, but their history also, for the all-seeing Creator
led them through the river into the land. The arrival of
the British was not the beginning of the subjugation of
peoples or the introduction of different ideas and customs.
These had been occurring from the prehistory of Karamoja.
The effect of Europe was felt before a European was seen,
for Karamoja has never been isolated from world history.
Europe's technology more than its ideology affects Karamoja.
III. THE PATTERN OF CULTURE

A. THE STUDY OF GOD AND MAN IN CULTURE

1. IN SOME FOREIGN FIELD

To whom does one go to learn about culture? In their respective spheres there is not a single discipline, which does not contribute to the study and indeed, the creation of culture. Man in his social formation breathes and exudes culture. Yet there is a discipline that claims a special, integrative knowledge: cultural anthropology, though the overlap with sociology is hardly to be denied, especially in the history of social science. Anthropology has first call, arguably, because of a displacement in the object of study. As the new human sciences burgeoned after the 1860s, societies or cultures were studied, which could be mastered, it was thought, by a single mind. What the researcher was often, really interested in was the origin and authority of his own culture and his place in it. Academic man goes to the farthest corners of the globe in order to understand himself at home.

a. Misplaced Studies

Karamoja has provided grist for this Western mill. An analysis of Karimojong politics has been used to understand authority in modern business organizations (Greenwald 1972). More seriously, the competence and ethics of anthropological method were called into question, when Colin Turnbull, after unsuccessful research among the Ik, vented his intellectual frustration at the people he
observed (Turnbull 1973a; Barth, F. 1974). This may have marked a disillusionment from a romantic view of the 'noble savage' to a bitter taste of human sin and evil, yet his own boast in participatory observation clangs badly, if his interest is less in the Ik for their own sake and more in his own existential experience. His fellow anthropologists judge him:

I do not believe that it is really Turnbull's intention to tell us about the Ik. His publication was a morality tale written largely for North American and perhaps other European suburbanities. His intimate acquaintance with New York City played as decisive a role in his interpretation of Ik life as did his African tour.

It is not entirely accidental that the Mbuti pygmies in his earlier (and also successful book) *The Forest People* (Turnbull 1961) resembled a joyous gathering of hippies in Central Park, during the hopeful '60s. If the Ituri Forest was Turnbull's Woodstock, then Morungole is his Altamont Speedway. (Wilson, Turnbull et al 1975:345)

An important lesson is quickly learned, if it be realized that a foreigner takes his own culture with him, to varying degrees, into Karamoja, be he missionary or anthropologist. Neither is equipped to play the social engineer and call for the government to relocate by force a tribe away from its homeland in the name of social values, as Turnbull did for the Ik — 'the ultimate in intellectual imperialism' (Barth, F. 1974) despite Turnbull's admitted 'inherent ethnographic inadequacy'. Worse, he refused to learn, continuing to maintain that the Ik had 'no culture to kill', which is odd when in 1985 it appeared in my eyes to show more continuity and cohesion than many in Uganda, while the favoured Mbuti remained for Turnbull 'the antithesis of everything the Ik were'. Moreover, he defends himself on moral grounds:

But one loyalty and one obligation that are all too frequently overlooked are the loyalty and obligation to our own society — which is where, as I see anthropology,
we started, with the moral philosophers of the Enlightenment. It is here we belong, and here that we have a prime obligation, be it for "applied" or theoretical action. Nobody relishes the prospect of social engineering, but that hardly seems an excuse for taking refuge in an ivory tower and doing nothing. (Wilson, Turnbull et al. 1975:355-7)

Sometimes the Church Scientific hath more zeal than the Church Militant. Faith in the scientist’s judgment can override reason. Thus, a sociologist uses Turnbull’s study of the Ik uncritically to help him arrive at this confident conclusion:

Whatever the outcome of further study, however, we can safely assert, that, contrary to Freud, the survival of society is not tied exclusively to sexual repression and the renunciation of the sex impulse. (Becker, G. 1984:66)

Turnbull himself, used his experience to infer a speculation about 'human nature' itself, seeing human being as infinitely plastic to external powers-that-be:

What is not biologically determined about man and constitutes his specifically human 'nature' is variable and relative, because as the context changes so does culture, and with it our 'nature'. (Turnbull 1973b:66)

The displacement of Western man's search for self-understanding to other peoples in distant lands possesses a latent threat, not only to dislocate the cultures he seeks out, but also his own.

b. Enlightened Consciousness

The Enlightenment promised new certainties but because it radically changed European culture it brought, in the words of Ernst Becker (1971:111),

...
for all, had the solution of this moral crisis as its
central and abiding purpose. Why build a science of man
in society? In order to have a sound basis for a new
moral creed, an agreed factual body of knowledge that men
of good will could use to lay down laws for a new social
order.

The West has exported its problems in a vain attempt to
solve them. A well-funded examination of the Sacred in
obscure societies succeeds mainly in eroding the sense of it
in the sponsoring nations.

...the decline of the sacred is intimately connected with
the changes in society and human psychology. It cannot be
considered as merely a contingent fact: it is associated
with the collapse, whether temporally or finally of
traditions, cultures, and values.

From the religious point of view, humanity has
entered a long night that will become darker and darker
with the passing of the generations, and of which no end
can yet be seen. (Acquaviva 1979:201)

How naive the optimism was in the 1950s and '60s of both
colonialists and Ugandans, that a new nation could be built
on the back of social science! It behoves all who need the
findings of anthropologists, to check carefully the
paradigms of their interpretations.

2. NEW CERTAINTIES

a. Positivism

Anthropology was the quintessence of the scientific
endeavour by modern man to work out his own salvation
through self-knowledge. Church and theology were relegated
to the ancien régime while, for Comte, Protestantism shaded
into Deism, and Deism into agnosticism, bequeathing to the
Roman Catholic anthropologist, Evans-Pritchard (E-P), an all
or nothing 'choice which allows of no compromise between a
Church which has stood its ground and made no concessions,
and no religion at all' (E-P 1962). Perhaps it is for this
reason that E-P is now given a low profile in the history of
his science, despite his fame in Britain.

For the 'enlightened' student of the human race, God is something in which primitives believe, when really the divine is a metonymy for the social order which it serves. Culture is man's preserve rather than God's, or in the words of Max Weber, taken up as foundational by Geertz, 'man is an animal suspended in the webs of significance he himself has spun' (Geertz 1975:5). Culture is those man-made webs, in which God is seen by the scientist to be another thread. Through its positivist roots, anthropology has filtered wholly terrestrial realities but, despite the optimism for explanatory power, those realities have not, in their respective complexities, yielded a general theory.

b. Progress

E.B. Tylor (1903) made the first English language definition of culture in 1871.

Culture or civilization taken in its widest ethnographic sense is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Even in the age of Thomas Huxley, he knew of no contemporary men without religion, since all confronted two fundamental, if biological, experiences: death and dreams. These were no bar to an objective science: it was only the savage barbarian who had 'never learnt to make that rigid distinction between subject and object, to enforce which is one of the main results of scientific education' -- itself only to be had in the 'civilized' world. Against the unrivalled institutions of mid-19th century Britain and North America, all other customs could be precisely ranked in the secure knowledge that they were already on the
straight and narrow path of unilinear evolution that led ineluctably to monogamy and Westminster. Such notions had obvious appeal to the amateur ethnologists of empire, like Harry Johnston, and to the diffusionists who saw 'improved' techniques or beliefs as having spread from other, generally 'superior', cultures.

c. Marxism

Modern evolutionary theory has divested itself of Victorian self-belief in preference for a basically Marxist analysis of social and economic change, if in a multilinear evolution.

i. Materialism

Marxists pride themselves on the degree of sophistication of their materialism. One of the two most popular schools in cultural anthropology is Marvin Harris's 'cultural materialism', whereby cultural institutions are explained in terms of the contribution they make to the culture's adaptation to its environment. Systems of ideas can be effects, but not causes. The change from 'simple' to complex societies can be explained by the mechanisms of adaptation to the environment, whether subsistence methods, or the technological capture of energy.

ii. Neo-Marxism

The belated discovery of Marx's Grundrisse of 1857-8 (1973), in which he rehabilitated some of Hegel's totalism, gave Neo-Marxist anthropologists the platform to tackle the uncongenial, because pre-industrial, pastoral societies of Africa. Thus the work of Bonté and Rigby, who have even analysed nomadic religious issues according to their tradition, provides a useful counterweight to the
bourgeois assumption, that the development desired for pastoralists necessarily involves capitalism and commoditization.

d. Reactions to Evolutionism

i. American Historicism

Boas, emigrating to the United States with a German historicism, changed the concept of culture from singular to plural. All cultures and languages were unique and complex in different ways. They were symbolic systems of ideas more than entities adapting to environments, so art, mythology, and language were subjected to greater interest, reflecting a people's mental processes and Boas's idealist reaction to social determinism. His school propounded cultural relativism, a principle that became an absolute for American anthropology, which tended to organize all human activity around the central concept of culture.

ii. British Functionalism

The functionalist school reacted to evolutionism by going back to its positivist roots in biology, a step designed to preserve anthropology as a respectable and reliable science. As such, it was applied in London by Malinowski to the rigorous exclusion of other approaches. Even when a society had a known history, which was impossible without documentary evidence, it was irrelevant to a functional study of it. Society which, as in Durkheim's 'social transcendental', was seen as the organizing category rather than the more nebulous one of culture, was treated, in meticulous detail, as a living organism in biology. Cultural institutions functioned in complex interrelationships for society to meet basic, human, biological needs,
which existed for all people in all societies.

iii. Structural-Functionalism

A less materialist approach was adopted by Radcliffe-Brown, who indulged in the anatomy of societies to construct a Weberian typology of common cultural organs considered essential to the ongoing life of the society, such as politics, land tenure, and religion. However, in the tradition of positivism (and Augustine) he opposed all conjectural history. It was an ahistorical view, reflecting the equilibrium of a British Empire which often sought and salaried the studies of anthropologists in order to govern.

The 2 anthropologists to have made the most detailed and systematic analyses of Karamojong culture, Philip Gulliver and Neville D-H belong here, both being commissioned by perplexed colonial authorities for works about peoples who did not want to be civilized. Social science, as a purveyor of verifiable predictions, sought such utility. Gulliver emphasized the adaptation of Jie social order to its environment, while D-H reacted against the tightly-knit typologies of structural-functionalism in favour of English empiricism. The observed behaviour of aggregated individuals he has, on reflection, preferred to ethnic value systems as the guide to social realities. When he criticizes structural-functionalism for ignoring history and social change (D-H,N. 1980:35), he is, in effect, criticizing the tradition behind his own work, *Karimojong Politics* (1966).
e. History

These two were preceded by E-P, who found in functionalism split-thinking which, on the one hand, was completely relativist: each society has come to be what it is through a succession of unique events but on the other hand, was determinist in that no custom can be other than it is because culture is statable in terms of natural law. His reaction was to put aside scientific law and welcome substantive religion (1956:313,320) and contingent history — blasphemy for Malinowski and the power of his science to predict all phenomena. E-P argued that all history was reconstruction, seeking to understand the overt features of a culture and to translate them into terms of his own, then seeking the latent, underlying form, and comparing social structures, if only implicitly. This was precisely what the cultural anthropologist did in his fieldwork (E-P 1962).

Lamphear, in his oral history of the Jie, which depends on ethnology to gain an understanding, largely missed by his teacher, Gulliver, fulfils the possibility of an ethnohistory promised by E-P and the compatibility of cultural anthropology and history in method and aim.

f. Cultural Idealism

i. Culture and Personality

Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead (to whom the title of this Part is not indebted), and Melford Spiro embraced Freud’s psycho-analysis, issuing in the Whorf-Sapir hypothesis that the language, or other cultural aspect, a person internalizes affects the way he perceives the whole world. Thus, culture, like an individual is a contiguous pattern of thought and action. It is the very personality of
its members writ large and could be defined to exclude material objects.

ii. Structuralism

Lévi-Strauss took Durkheim's 'collective or common conscience' to the study of child development and found culture to be the expression of the 'fundamental structures of the mind', found in polarities, like the male-female opposition, that generate a network of systems.

Linguistics thus presents us with a dialectical and totalizing entity, but one outside (or beneath) consciousness and will. Language, an unreflecting totalization, is human reason which has its reasons and of which man knows nothing. (Lévi-Strauss 1966:252)

This approach has been profoundly influential, especially in French circles, but it has not been applied to Karamoja, and having three genders, it is not a likely candidate, although it is accepted here that Ngakaramojong contains clues to the identity (and history) of the Karamojong, of which they may be no longer explicitly conscious. Paul Ricoeur (1974:40f.) thinks structuralism only fits the unconscious order of 'savage thought, which orders, but does not think itself'. Though it produces a system, stilted by its derivation from linguistic laws, its synchronic point of view reaches only the current social function of a myth. Diachrony is a problem and, again, history is jilted. Ricoeur himself needs correction, when he assumes that, compared with the OT, 'savage' society is ahistorical and undifferentiated in consciousness. In Karamoja this assumption is countered by the interest in previous age-sets, the generation moieties which divide up time, and the strong sense, if well contained, of individual initiative.
iii. Ethnoscience

This minor approach focuses on a people's science and how it organizes and labels the world around in order to find the underlying principles. The classification of cattle and ox-names in Karamoja might be quite revealing.

iv. Semiotics

Symbolic anthropologists see culture as a vast communication network of elaborate, interconnected pathways, which together create systems of meanings, through shared sets of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic rules. The latter are metaphors, as is the 'text', the basic cultural unit, for the approach is indebted to the Prague Linguistic Circle and the emphasis of language as the supreme aspect of culture (Sebeok 1987). Its ambition is to achieve a reconciliation of the static and synchronic with the dynamic and diachronic within cultural systems, thereby attaining a unity of intellectual endeavour, not seen since the medieval synthesis (Schreiter 1985:56).

Also under the sign of semiotics are the Moscow-Tartu school and the Anglo-Americans, Mary Douglas, Victor Turner, and Clifford Geertz who believes culture is analysable, because meaning is, on the assumption that Wittgenstein was right to attack privacy theories of meaning (Geertz 1975). Culture, as the interworked system of construable signs, is a context, something in which social events can be intelligibly, or 'thickly', described.

However, it is precisely this 'thick' description of language or culture, to which Paul Ricoeur objects. The essential dimension of language begins beyond the closure of signs. Immersing oneself in the thickness, in the direction
of sublexical units, or, in Geertz’s terms, (1975:10), ‘transient examples of shaped behaviour’, makes us realize the closure of language. ‘The greatest opening out belongs to language in celebration’ — in praise of the sacred (Ricoeur 1974:96f.).
3. ANTHROPOLOGICAL UNITY

Any approach may be a way of entering a culture because of culture's pervasiveness, but some are more applicable than others to particular cultures. All are in danger of falling into their respective philosophical traps which enclose them in a reductive, transcendental exclusiveness that shuns contributions from other disciplines. In its search for academic respectability anthropology has tried to wed itself to one established discipline or another but any study that seeks to understand man in the whole of his culture must draw from the various disciplines which cover the many aspects of culture.

What, in practice, unites anthropologists and prevents them dispersing into those disciplines for which they have a philosophical predilection, is a common emphasis on field research. As Geertz has said (1975:10), 'If you want to understand a science, look at what its practitioners do -- in social anthropology it is ethnography'. It has been this in-depth, first-hand observation, which has made anthropology useful to others, not least missiologists, and it was Turnbull's publication of questionable fieldwork method that brought him such opprobrium from a profession so liberal, or relativist, in tradition.

a. Multi-Disciplinary Approaches

i. Ecosystems

Ecological anthropologists have sought to understand the functioning of East African pastoral societies by the scientific study of the complex interactions between people, animals, plants, and environment. Even such an inclusive approach has to content itself with models of sub-systems,
rather than pretend to a single model of the total ecosystem. It is difficult to imagine a full study of a pastoral ecosystem being successfully accomplished. Rada Dyson-Hudson has advanced this approach after research among the Karimojong, but has not surpassed hypothetical models. Despite the apparent simplicity of the stockherding life, she finds even the components are in fact very complex, so she calls for a team of specialists: hydrologists, soil scientists, plant ecologists, animal ecologists, demographers, human biologists, anthropologists, modelers, and systems theorists (D-H,V.R. 1983:8).

Such an exercise may be useful for science, qua science, but represents a cultural invasion for those under the microscope. Funding for such grandiose projects comes much easier, when they promise the possibility for the planning and control of 'difficult' pastoral peoples. When science achieves precise prediction by atomizing in order to analyze, the very process of division and sub-division undermines the practical possibility of seeing the wood for the trees. Important insights may arise, but these are often of the order: what the locals knew all along but were afraid to tell the clever wazungu. Totalist explanations tend to be contingent and lack the precision sought by scientists.

The ecosystems approach is highly functionalist and materialist, having little use for religion or history. 'Self-image' is held to be a distortion of the 'true' picture of behavioural reality yielding misleading conclusions, so can be written off the scientific agenda (D-H,V.R.1972). The conclusions are the observers' own, not
the people's. Matters of faith generally involve a distance between belief and actual behaviour, yet can still have a potent influence in the ordering of society. Platonists are not alone in acting on the premise, 'Now faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen.' (Heb. 11:1). Karimojong men do work more on the land, than their emphasis on cattle herding would suggest, but it does not follow that as a people, they would be content to have their behaviour shifted towards agriculture and away from pastoralism.

Yet positivism has within it an imperative to direct people according to the present state of the fruit on the tree of knowledge. Ultimately, it is the relative strength in a given situation of embodied beliefs, whether nomadism or modernism, which wins the day.

ii. Development Studies

Many anthropologists would dissociate themselves from an applied science with such a potential for introducing culture conflict. Economy rather than sociality is the guiding star here, though sociology is welcomed to restore the rationality of conventional economic principles. Tradition is rejected as an independent variable, or cause of behaviour, but is replaced by economic considerations (Baker 1974:11). Development is primarily an economic aim and it is difficult for its practitioners to envisage any other telos (end) than the developed economies of the West.

Randall Baker has published a number of studies with a view to planning the economic future of Karamoja. He asserted, rightly, on the basis of the experience of ad hoc imperial measures, that there is 'no middle road' between
the traditional pastoral system and a planned alteration of ‘the whole basic strategy’, executed on the back of detailed research (Baker 1977:155).

What we are witnessing now are the painful death throes of a traditional order, and it is no longer of any value to continue treating symptoms. It is necessary now to build a whole new system: nothing less will do.

(Baker 1974:17)

Capitalism, 16 years on, not the traditional order, is struggling to survive in Karamoja. Successions of development projects have come and gone. In less than 20 years, $625,000,000 have been ‘invested in sub-Saharan black African livestock development...and more often than not, the effect has been disappointing’ (D–H,N. 1985:158).

If a loan for a scheme devised by outside experts is underwritten by the national government, it can expect to contribute to both the incomes of the outside experts and ‘Third World Debt’ at once. One Protectorate official, now a farmer, praised his superior for keeping all visiting boffins, such as the one we had who suggested that we had the place "white with sheep", right on the borders of the district so that they did not waste his time.

... I find that when visiting East Africa today an awful lot of work has been wasted. Young and keen expatriots [sic] are starting experiments and schemes which have been done several times before but about which they know nothing because of the loss of continuity of staff, money or government.

(Letter 1.3.89 Leach)

Perhaps, more than the British empire, ‘development’ is, in the end, more for the personal fulfilment of the developers, than for the ‘underdeveloped’. The same criticisms apply as for the ecosystems approach.

For of the last stage of this cultural development, it might be truly said: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved."

(Weber 1930:182)
b. The Culture of the Western Mind

The academic world, no less than empire or church, has the greatest of difficulty in bridging its cultural distance from nomadic peoples successfully. It can analyze them in a way that far surpasses local knowledge but it struggles to theorize, let alone to prescribe or plan. Even the category, 'nomadic pastoralists', is unsatisfactory for a science which confesses its inability to comprehend, even in a reductionist way, this particular subject.

Moving herds to seasonal pastures is a widespread response and represents a way of producing human food which does not demand large capital investment, does not entail huge inputs of fuel energy and does not require a heavy dependence on foods suitable for human consumption to support livestock during periods when plant growth is limited. However, it is clear from this review of studies published during the last decade that anthropologists have not been able to develop any coherent body of theory relating to nomadic pastoralism...

(D-H, V.R. & N. 1980:51)

i. Homo Religiosus

Cultural Anthropology is only one branch of the whole discipline which, with Physical Anthropology, shades into Archaeology and Anthropological Linguistics. They share the single concept of culture (Rosman & Rubel 1985). To solve their problems, disciplines need to co-operate rather than cling to their fetishes. Cultures, like disciplines, need integrating factors. Oddly, it was Malinowski (1948: 53), who observed, that religion 'bestows on man the gift of mental integrity'. The encyclopedic knowledge of Mircea Eliade needs to be recovered to show that the sacred is an irreducible and universal occurrence in human life and that religious experiences lie at the base of culture itself.
ii. A Theological Approach

Theology was the integrating factor, as the queen of the sciences, in the medieval synthesis. God was even Descartes' guarantor against isolation by his own radical doubt. It is a by-word of modernity that theology is no longer a central discipline. Such is the very achievement of the Enlightenment but the stubborn fact of religion may yet prove that it was not so alien to real human freedom, as was then (and is now) supposed. If theology will let go some of its precious fetishes (Eboussi Boulaga 1984:11), its transcendental exclusiveness she too, can address once again the sacred in culture, wherein she will recognize that semiotics, science, and history need not be antagonistic to trinitarian faith.

There is a distinction between religion and theology, which will become apparent in a theological study of Karamojong religion, but at least it will not be a partial or one-sided approach. The integrity of a trinitarian theology can be brought to bear on the integral base of the culture. Since systematic fieldwork with the aim of elucidating Karamojong religion has not yet been done -- if it had, it would warrant a thesis on its own -- such sources as there are, mainly missionary and anthropological will be used to outline, albeit provisionally, the Karamojong pattern of culture from its base upwards, that is, from the sky downwards.

This approach is not designed to exclude the findings of behavioural studies or the force of social and economic realities. Rather it seeks to co-ordinate these on the matrix of the cultural cohesion afforded by extant
tribal religion. Naturally, the space allowed here permits anything but an exhaustive rendering of Karamojong culture, and the interested reader is commended to refer to the often excellent, and usually fascinating, sources. The Karamojong represent a small series of closely related tribes, so detailed accuracy in every respect will not be possible. Something that is true for the Jie may not be for the Pian, and so on. This does not disqualify the broader brush, for the tribal studies of the anthropologists themselves skate over conglomerations of clans, sections, and generations, which all have their differences, and which all are changing through time. Culturally, life on the plains of Karamoja has more in common than with anything outside it, even if there is not always political unity.

Footnote to III.A.

1. 'The assumption in a scientific age is that it must be possible to find a solution to all social problems.' Uganda Argus 24.9.58 Editorial. Its leading question, 'Is this so in Karamoja?' now hangs over all Uganda.
B. AKUJM

1. CREATION

The Karamojong world has a beginning: it is not timeless. It began in the above (kidyama cf. PEN *kudyo, rain), when heaven (nakuja cf. kuju, north) and earth (akwap cf. kwap, beneath, south) were one. The common substance was water (*kwai is a universal root for water eg. kwe, Sorat for rain, cf. aki-kwa-ar, to stop raining, aki-kwang, to swim). Thus, creation occurred by a firmament (akuja) dividing the waters into the rain-bearing sky (adis) and the earth which brings forth water when a well (akuja, akare) is sunk into its heart. Time was divided as well as space. Year and season (ekaru) are divided by rain (akiru). Day (akwar) and night (akwaare) are differentiations of the same thing.

No Karamojong creation myth has been recorded, but the Toposa have a version of the common WN myth that heaven and earth used to be joined by a rope which, as a result of sin, folly, or the malice of wild animals, was cut, leaving a permanent, wider separation. The Toposa believe that 'men originally lived with Nakwuge [sic] in the sky' but many came down to earth by sliding down a rope which then broke (Gulliver, P. & P. H. 1953:92). In Karimojong thought a theology of creation is more implicit than verbalized or explicit.

2. THE CREATOR

Everything known to man has a simple, unitary, ultimate source (Akuja) who is acknowledged in all the significant occasions of Karamojong life. That 'God is One'
is the surest assertion that can be made about the divinity even though there is a plural term (ngakujo). He is the Creator (Ekasuban) of everything that is, however manifold and distant from the divine. He makes the sky change its appearance, the wind to blow, the rain to fall, and the earth to quake. He determines a person’s lifespan. Everything comes from God in the end.
a. Deus Absconditus
i. Theodicy

For Westerners there is the immediate problem of theodicy with a Creator who provides a harsh and capricious environment in which famine, disease, and death are a common hazard, but there is no basic problem for the Karamojong. Firstly, they do not see their environment as menacing, for they love their land, only moving their homestead after the gravest social crisis, and often returning to the same locality. Disaster has a remarkably high degree of acceptance and it is a fundamental, undisputed tenet of faith that God is good.

Yet finally, it must be God who ties up (akikujukuj) the rain. The blame for drought is not laid at His door, but at the feet of the efficient cause: the enemy, or sorcerer who is successful in his malicious magic, or intercessions for rain have been nullified by ritual incompetence or sins which have 'wronged the country' (akwap). The created world, as distinct from the creator, is a perpetual conflict of wills and God cannot be faulted for asserting His in order to bless some of them.
ii. Impassibility

Akujä is not like a man that He should behave like a man. The person who is most like God is not passionate, angry, noisy, violent, troublesome, proud, ambitious, greedy, or lustful, but is gentle, kind, humble, wise, impassive, and, supremely, quiet -- the traits of benevolent old age. Caprice is not in God's nature but He may show, just as old people may show, indifference and disinterest to the point of apathy. Akujä is not apathetic, however, for He regularly responds in the interest of those who pray aright.

iii. Inscrutability

God is, above all, inscrutable. Akujä can be entreated, His will can be divined, but God may neither be questioned nor cursed. This unaccountable power makes something like bereavement in cases of untimely death a lonely and inconsolable experience, in which the world of the bereaved temporarily collapses around him to the brink of suicide. Life is complex (emaditana) and the judgment of God is to allow it to be reduced to confusion -- for the order (akiciket) to become chaos (akinyalinyalakinet).

iv. Transcendence

The otherness of God is a basic theological premise of the Karamojong. Akujä is radically transcendent, being above all in every sense. 'God is above the sky' ('Eyau Akujä kidyama nadis' Letter 1.8.90 Rowland cf. Gulliver, P. & P.H. 1953:47). Although the name of God is Akujä, it is wrong to suppose an identity with the firmanent (akuje). Akujä is invisible and abides above the blue firmament, riding on the back of the clouds. The distinction with the material world is brought out by referring to the heavens
(nakujë, kakujë) as the place where God is, the dwelling-place of Akuja. Speculative or experimental theology is unknown, for Akuja needs neither introduction, explanation, nor justification. God is simply there, not just as part of the Karamojong universe, but over and beyond, forming it.

b. Presence
i. Immanence

Since 'God is great and powerful' (etyono ka epol cf. ekujwana, skilful, powerful, mysterious), He cannot be confined to heaven or anywhere. Just as He affects the world, so theophanies cannot be ruled out. In Karamojong belief, his presence can be assured, whenever the elders hold their ritual assembly. He will often manifest His existence by an isolated flurry of wind in the top branches of the sacred tree, beneath which they meet.

All the attributes of the sky: sun, moon, stars, and clouds may occasion the presence of God. Their movements divide up time into day and night, lunar month, season, and solar year, as well as offering irregular signs. An eclipse is 'when the sun died; when the moon died' (MT 1966:254). A new, young sun or moon will live, just as old people are replaced by their children. The causation is the same, for the heavens are in communication with the earth. Eclipses are a celestial sign to those beneath of the disaster that God is sending. Similarly, a meteor (etop ngolo eremonor) is a spear thrown down to earth, a dynamic equivalent of 'shooting star' but there is agency. Heaven hurls the star at a point on earth, from which will issue a disease or the spears of a raiding party and the people are warned.
ii. Spirit

Spirit is an involution of God in the form of wind (ekuwam), rain (akiru), thunder (agiro), lightning (ekipyed cf. akipyed, to call down death or misfortune), rainbow (alokakinet, a 'trap' of vapours encircling the sun, moon, or earth), a certain tree (epyre), grass (nga-nya), the crocodile (aki-nyang cf. akinyang, to avenge), flood (akalele cf. alel, to flow), and spring (elelya cf. alelyakin, to love greatly), as the active agents of His will in the world (D-H,N. 1966:212; Clark,D. 1952a:70; Pazzaglia 1982:82n.). There is a multitude of ungraded, unnamed intermediary beings, or spirits (ngipian) directly responsible for each. Thus, 'The rain is ekile apolon' (MT 1966:187): it has autonomous personality. The common element associated with all these created features and beings is water (ngakipi) whose source is Akuja.

God's presence is denser in high places, especially on a dominant mountain (emoru) which reaches into the heavens above the clouds and so therefore closer to His abode. Mountain people, particularly the Ik and Sor, inevitably have a spiritual potency denied to the plains people, at least so long as the former are in their mountain homeland. Water sprites (ngipian) dwell in the mountains and the hills, after which they are named. They are believed to be responsible for bringing rain, being sent by God for that purpose, so in prayers for rain, generally addressed to Akuja, the spirits may be entreated: '"You, Toror, come! You, Moroto, come! You, Maru, come!' etc.' (Lamphear 1972: 340n.).

God in Spirit is 'in the rocks' and stones (ngamoru)
of many places, though some clans descended from other traditions may speak of the 'god of that rock'. The word used here may be akujé or ngakujo, which some Karamojong translate into English as 'charms', or 'magic'. In either case, God is felt to be present, indirectly, in the world, through divine Spirit or spirits and can have a deleterious effect on those who transgress upon the divine locus, whether a fall, an illness or an absence of blessing. Whenever a bit of the physical world 'hits back' at a person when, for instance, he stubs his toe on a stump, the phenomenon is always explicable by divine judgment for some minor violation of the world order of Akuje, for which and to whom atonement must be made to ensure good health (Paget Wilkes 1932:22).

Rowland (1983:11) observed a Jiot boy fall on the rocks so badly that his injuries endangered his life. After he had been to hospital and recovered he was ritually beaten for his misdemeanour in disturbing the deity. Some small accidents may even be beyond redemption. Wayland (1931:222) came across a casualty who literally gave up the ghost and died of no natural cause.

They [Dodos] told me that when a man is "called" [by an ancestor] he first loses power over his legs, then his belly swells, and in three days from the moment of being called he expires. Three days, almost to the minute, Wayland asks us to believe, from his initial fall into a ditch, he 'vomited a large quantity of clear liquid, turned over and expired'. For that period his companions thought him, 'for all practical purposes, dead already'. This concept of a spiritual creation with everything in its place, and man in his, also helps account for Karamojong disinterest in major
building and engineering works. Apart from grass, bushes, and the odd wild animal, they are innate conservationists.

iii. Omnipresence

Akujé is not as 'otiose' as most observers tend to conclude when their enquiries meet with evasive answers about a shadowy, impersonal, remote figure. These are governed by the need to preserve the transcendence of a God who has never descended to inhomination and so cannot be ascribed human personality or actions in any direct way. Since the normal response of a European to the thought that God should sit in the tops of trees is an inward chuckle, the African cannot be blamed for keeping his counsel. Though it is simple for him to state the transcendence of Akujé, it is too complicated to explain how He is present in the manifold, without undermining the prior assertion of transcendence. Thus, Akujé is not an identity with the god (akuje) of a rock, for there is a necessary distinction between the Creator and the the created world. Yet there is no separation for the created order is imbued throughout with God as Spirit, with akuje.

Is this concept of Spirit a mere theological construct? The sin of omission committed by Wayland's unfortunate porter was, though chasing a hare, knowingly failing to contribute to a stone cairn (asenorit). In this, he disobeyed the spirit world, provoking it into retaliatory action in order to restore the continued harmony, briefly threatened, of Spirit and the created order. It was at this point that Wayland (1931:222) discovered the deeper meaning of the extremely common word of greeting or approval. Ejoka?, 'How are you?' (literally, 'Is it good?'); Ejok,
'Fine!' ('It is good!')... 'but the deeper significance attached to it in less profane affairs is that of "The Dead" as a community of spirits'.

The incident provided a happy disclosure for Wayland (1931:188), which no amount of rigorous research or interviewing would have thrown up of necessity. Educated Karamojong can be questioned minutely but not a shred of an insight will they impart concerning traditional religious views. If the spirit world does not wish to be disturbed, neither does it wish to be disclosed, to be distilled from what patently exists, for consciousness to be differentiated from the unconscious, so that the given world order be rent asunder.

Wayland's discovery establishes what is already strongly suggested by the obvious derivation of ejok from the WN central concept of the sacred, jok (Spirit or spirits eg. E-P 1956:160; Lienhardt 1961), which does not feature so generally among EN and SN. For the WN Lango, jok is an omnipresent, creative presence, but invisible 'like moving air' dwelling in rocks and hills, springs and pools (Gresford Jones 1926:133; Butt 1952:179; p'Bitek 1963:27f.) Thus, it is not that ejok has a common, profane meaning overwhelming a rarified, sacred one, so much as the spiritual infusing the ordinary and commonplace. To say, Ejok, as is done many times a day, is to say that the world is in its cosmic order as normal. There is no great polarity, or opposition between the divine and the mundane, for the transcendent God cannot be confined, even to the above: He is everywhere.
iv. Ancestral Spirits

The Karamojong only make stone cairns, as a funeral rite, for hereditary firemakers (Wayland 1931:208; Lamphear 1976:187). However, when travelling along a steep and rocky path, each still makes his contribution to cairns on the way, picking up a stone, a twig or two, or a handful of grass, imparting a blessing by spitting on it, exclaiming, Ejok, and adding it to the pile. This minor rite functions as travel insurance against mishap on the journey, not to ensure compensation but to prevent death by the hand of strangers, mysterious disappearance, theft, bad health, and hunger, lending weight to the hope of hospitality at the end of the road. The spirits of the place are appeased, and afford their protection to those who have acknowledged them. Some cairns may be dedicated to particular men of renown. It is then the spirits (ngipara or ngawiyenito) of the departed, who give mind to matter.

The cairn is but one example of how ancestral spirits are seen to affect later generations. Should an unwelcome, uncontrollable event, or above all a series of events, occur to a person, family, or clan, the cause will be sought in a malevolent will, whether alive or ‘dead’, or in ancestral spirits, male or female, singular or plural, who have been annoyed by a wrong attitude, a breach of tradition, or an omission in ritual. The ancestors try to have the wrong put right by penalizing their errant descendants. The appropriate response of the living is to ensure that everything they do is done precisely according to the traditions of their forefathers, especially all the prescriptions and proscriptions involved in ritual.
In times of trouble, sickness or perplexity, it is not unusual for some clans to gather at the old man's grave, with his children and grandchildren, and there milk the cows, bring out the tobacco, kill the ox, smearing the stomach contents over themselves and over the burial stone, and crying out, "Oh father, help us. What shall we do? Are our cattle to die? Are our children to die? We never disobeyed you. O father hear us. Give us life." By thus honouring the memory of the elder, they trust that God will hear their prayers and remove their trouble.

(Clark, D. 1953:76)

If this fails to turn the tide of misfortune, then its cause will be assumed to be a malevolent will.

East African pastoralists are taken to be free of spirit veneration (e.g. Goldschmidt 1979:24-7) and anthropologists in Karamoja have assumed this to be so for the Karamojong. Relative to mountain and agricultural tribes, there is indeed very little recognition of spirits in public worship but it would be wrong to go on to excise them from Karamojong cosmology. In certain, seemingly unthreatening, situations, I have found self-confident, educated, nominally RC, young men to be petrified. They still live in a world surrounded by terrible, unseen forces, which man can only cross at dire peril.

Nevertheless, these ever-present powers have their master, for the spiritual world is not chaos. It is as orderly as the visible world which it infuses. The spirits of the dead are different from the spirits, or hearts, (ngitain cf. WN Nuer tie, soul) of the living. The proper abode of ancestral spirits is Kakuju, distinct from the earth (akwap) but there is no separation, for 'God is One', the guarantor of ultimate unity in the spiritual universe. To Akuja must prayers be addressed.
Akuje is anything, but a local god amongst others. 'God created the Tepes on their mountain, Moroto' (Lamphear 1976:65). The Tepes, or Sor, have a very different religion, being attributed magical powers that can bring famine on those who attack them, and they call God, Belgen. Yet this does not disturb the Karamojong belief in a High God who divided the whole world into territories for the peoples He had made.
c. Evil

i. No Dualism

Though deeply feared at times, evil is not felt to be dominant in society, except by aliens. The greatest expression of evil (karononi lit. bad things) is not so much an overbearing, personal, spiritual force (akapil) as hard times, for there is no distinction between spiritual and material oppression; both are bad, evil (erono); both the evidence of malicious will, whether within or without. Thus to sin (akisec) is not just to commit a moral offence but to spoil the order of things. The PEN root *dem (to bewitch) becomes akidem (to rob). The problems and deficiencies (ngican cf. N *can, lack), of everyday life, though causally untraceable, are not due to blind chance but, somewhere along the line, may have a connection with the spirits (ngicen) of those who died with vengeance in their hearts (cf. WN cien, ghostly vengeance). The evil spirit (elilat) is like the cold (alilimu) depriving man of warm vitality.

There are two ways a man grows quiet: when he becomes resentful or covetous (alilat) or when he becomes conciliatory or peaceful (akisil). One way leads to evil, the other to good -- the fundamental choice of created beings in society, but not a cosmic causality, for the goodness of the Creator is prior. Rather, evil can be ascertained in the activities of rival societies, such as a Kuliak dance (elilya) or the Teso God (Edeke) whose name was given by Karamojong, for whom it means disease, to Johnston (1902:II, 905) when he sought a name for the devil.
ii. Devil

Apart from elilat, which also refers to a small, dark snake the only word, the Karamojong have for devil is the Afroasiatic Sitan. As might be expected with a loanword, this is used by peoples adjacent to Karamoja and not uniformly within. The use of bored stones by the ancestral Sapiny, or the Oropom, for divination or sun rites, is called setanik (D-H,V.R. 1962; Wilson 1970:138-142). However, the root is not new, for it has found Ngakaramojong form in akitakian (to accuse somebody) and isitana (he is an habitual accuser). There is no evidence for a preoccupation with the devil.

iii. Sorcery

It appears that all the terms for evil are secondary, being cognate with mundane words. There is only one pair which commonly arouses fear and hatred: akapil (to practise sorcery) and ekapilan (sorcerer cf. kapeli, spotted, as the hyena). The sorcerer is typically embittered and malevolent, a social dissident who has evil designs on his enemies and those who arouse his jealousy. A few families may have a tradition for producing ngikapilak, and will intermarry, but they may be enemies within. They prowl around at night like the hyenas on which they are reputed to ride, seeking whom they may devour, by disinterring the recently buried or using fingernails or hair from their intended victim to gain power over the essence of his life (cf. akicud, to remove hair, bewitch). Disease and death are often attributed to his spells and, if found around another’s home at night, a sorcerer can be lawfully killed (MT 1966:176-8). A successful, public accusation leads to
the ekapilan being stoned, or bound and beaten, to death.

iv. Evil Eye

In the day-time malicious people with sinister powers can cause sickness by staring at an individual. Someone caught casting an evil eye (akibem) with unwelcome results will be accused of being a witch (ekabeman). Especially vulnerable are infants and anyone while they are ingesting, which may explain why the sexes normally eat apart. A serious offence may attract ostracism or death.

d. Gender

Grammatically, Akujja is a feminine form, but since verbs, pronouns, and adjectives do not distinguish gender, it is reinforced little. Nevertheless, that the only name for God should be feminine in a strongly patriarchal society might surprise structural-functionalists.

There is a measure of sexual ambivalence; the father of a bride, as a part of the ritual process of marriage, dresses in the clothes of his wife. Women play a prominent part in mythology (Lamphear 1976:75). A widow in mourning wears her husbands sandals, even at night, and carries his stick and his gourd (Clark,D.1953:76). People of both sexes may be given names of the opposite gender. Of Lamphear's 262 male Karamojong informants (1972:466-83), 23.3% bore names of feminine form, 52.7% masculine, 4.2% diminutive, 3.8% collective, and 16% were unmarked as to gender. Of 20 Jie women named by Wayland (1931:228), 50% had names with a masculine gender marker, 40% with a feminine, and 5% each with a collective and a diminutive. Names of males and females are interchangeable. This ambiguity is reflected in that both the collective and feminine forms of the locative
prefix ('ka-' and 'na-') are used for 'the place of God' (ibid.:221), and in the adjective, ekujwana which is set with a masculine gender marker.

It is possible that the word, Akuja, takes its gender from the root meaning of *kudyu (rain) as liquids are generally given feminine form, but they are also generally plural. Akuja is not diminutive or neuter in gender, rather, He transcends gender. If the name, and some of its import, is derived from Horus, then He is masculine, as many other sky-gods, for the concept of Akuja has nothing in common with the Earth Mother type. Men are the sons of Akuja, who is called Father, though in the sense of an impersonal Creator and so in a figurative way that does not pin God into the male type which pronouns never reiterate. Given the monopoly of the Akuja tradition, and its linguistic affinity to the WN *kot/kwoth association of rain, Spirit, and God (cf. Indo-European *ghut: Onions 1966), it can be said that belief in this divinity pre-dated the attribution of a gender marker less than 500 years ago by at least two millennia.

Until such time as a collective gender pronoun is coined for English, 'He, Him, His' will be used to refer to Akuja on the understanding that this does not have an exclusively male connotation, but reflecting the fact that, if pressed on the gender of God, the Karamojong would opt for male.
3. WORLDS BEYOND

a. The World Above

Above the sky in kakuja is situated a vast homestead (ere apolon) with enormous herds (Gulliver 1965: 187). The stars might be represented as the little fires of the inhabitants.

i. Death

Death is the irreversible event, when Akuja calls a person to be with himself. Someone far removed from death has been 'refused' by God (Lamphear 1972:523). This refusal is a blessing of this life, but implies its transience. All men die, irrevocably. Close relatives will be disconsolate for a time, with a brother immediately seeking blind revenge in cases of homicide, and a wife, or a mother, going into hysterics, self-abuse, and uncontrollable wailing. Women used to keep a cord in their granary for hanging themselves in just such an eventuality (Clark,D.1953:75). Yet death is not quite so tragic for the dead, especially when they die at a ripe old age, having spent a lifetime gradually drawing closer to God and withdrawing from the passions of the human struggle for existence.

ii. Heaven

When a Karimojongait dies,

he finds a ladder which leads him to a great village in heaven (ere apolon) where all the other Karimojong who died before him are living.

He announces himself to the others who will tell him to enter. He will receive food, shelter and he will stay with the others talking and, from time to time, looking down at the other Karimojong who are still on earth.

(Letter 8.2.89 Novelli)

However, there is no expectation of seeing Akuja face to face, or in his glory, nor of a personal judgment. Divine judgment happens on earth through the curses, penalties, and
retributions of his own people or through 'natural' calamities.

iii. After-life

Those elders who on earth were known to be in especially good communication with heaven may return posthumously to their sacred sites in the guise of a black Egyptian cobra with a white feather rising from its hood. Such snakes must not be killed and snakes in general are not eaten.* Death is not the end. Akuja is responsible for the death even of children and babies, more than starvation, disease, wild animals, enemies, or witches. Their mortal bodies may be fit for the agent of death, the hyena, but no-one can deny them continued, if marginal, life as spirits (ngipara).

b. The World Below

i. Water Sprites

Ethereal, as opposed to ancestral, spirits (ngipian) are dependent on water, whether as a liquid (ngakipi) or as a vapour, characteristic of the rainy season (akiporo). Where there is a spirit (ekipyé), there is H₂O. So related are the spiritual and the physical, the ethereal and the real, that the the converse might also be true, so that the spirits are the masculine form which constitutes the empirical feminine substance, water. Thus, the spirits can fly (akipor) being seen in lightning and in the mist below the clouds (cf. ES *pur, smoke). 'Sometimes they roam the earth, following the rivers, and appear above wet places early in the morning like wraiths.' They are not devoid of form, and the angrier ones are predominantly russet in colour, as is water after a storm in Karamoja, more like
soup than aqua-vitae.

And as Lopore described the spirits, they seemed like water, for they are transparent, iridescent creatures, human in form, with billowing, many-coloured hair. "They have hair like Europeans," Lopore once told me.

(MT 1966:180f.)

The housegirl of a missionary doctor, and so well-used to Europeans, was once confronted by a Briton, remarkably round in shape and red in hair and beard. She shrieked and fled in terror for safety. With my sun-reddened skin and my beard comprised of black, brown, and ginger hairs, my appearance has often sent children screaming from my fearful appearance. No doubt, we seemed to be veritable incarnations of ngipian.

ii. Water Babies

Spirits normally dwell below the surface of the earth for, as any Karamojong boy or girl knows, water does not only exist above the earth in a river or a pool (ekipwor) but extends down into it.

They keep their cattle under the rivers, letting their cattle come to the surface at night to walk in the grass. When you hear the spirit cowbells ringing in the darkness, you know, say the Dodoth, that the little magic cattle are grazing near.

In their homes below the rivers, the ngipian have spirit wives, who grow up, grow old and die as people do. When an ekipi [sic] dies, the ngipian family abandons its pool and moves elsewhere and the pool goes dry. The ngipian control the rain, the rainbows, the mist, the clouds, the water level in the pools, and must be treated with respect. If you displease them, they can make your cows stick in the mud or catch you in the whirlwind, ekumam ngolo ipiripiri, which will drive you mad. If you throw your stones in the water, the ngipian will think you are stoning them and will want you to die.

To please the ngipian, you can throw the chyme of a goat in the water. It also pleases the ngipian to see the lips of cattle drinking far above them at the surface of the pool or to see calabashes dipping as people fill their jars with water. (loc.cit.)

Despite being subterranean creatures, ngipian, in their spiritual and watery nature, are close to God. Humans
similarly close to God, such as one with the gift of making rain, are related and are welcome in their deep homes underwater to talk, rest, and drink milk from the little spirit cows.

c. A Spiritual Universe

The spirits of the underworld are thus distinct from those above the firmament but they are not absolutely separate. Just as ancestral spirits can return to their old haunts, so can ethereal spirits float (akilemilemo) with the clouds. As the individual identities of ancestral spirits fade into obscurity, so they blur into an enveloping haze of spirits which surrounds the world of men. This need not be frightening, unless man transgresses or he encounters mad or bad spirits. The spiritual is not a host of external forces pressing upon and threatening to suffocate little, transient islands of humanity, for man is not only supported by spirits, but he also partakes of the spiritual. He drinks the water, he eats food succoured by the rain and the water which is the very stuff of spirit. In any event, above all spirits, rules Akuja.

4. REVELATION

The Karamojong have no scripture, though the remembrance of God’s past works is held in the salvation histories attached to generations and to clans, which may be retold by elders reminiscing in their daily gathering outside the homestead or, where pertinent, in ceremonial speeches; in song by herdsmen in the cattle camp, or by girls at the dances. These will recount the deeds of brave men and the overthrow of enemies. Mythology recounts God’s
guidance in the unchronicled past, but is limited, because relatively few have a common history. The Tesiyo and Loser clans of the Jie even subscribe to the Teso name for God, Edeke (Lamphear 1976:84), which in Ngakaramojong means disease or pestilence, though in public ritual prayers are made to Akuja and unity maintained. This shows the connection between suffering and the diverse revelation of the divine to enemy tribes, whose capacity to intercede is grudgingly recognized.

Certain individuals become the mortal instruments of Akuja for the function of making known his specific instructions (Gulliver 1953c:161). Akuja gives words (ngakiro) directly and in his own timing to those with charismatic gifts, which are the preserve of no office. Each charismatic is as good as his last revelation and only remarkably accurate ones will gain standing outside his neighbourhood.

a. Dreamers

Any vivid message in a dream might be from Akuja, but they are only important when they bear on the welfare of a whole community or its ritual procedures. Thus a dream might reveal the propitious day for a raid, or a ceremony, pointing out the appropriate sacred grove and the colour and markings of the sacrificial ox for it. Such understanding requires the dreamer (ekerujan) to be an elder. He is able to warn of misfortune but is himself unable to do anything about it. That is the corporate responsibility of the leaders of the community who may consider a particular dream as only one factor in their decision-making, overruling it to avoid a greater evil (D-
b. Prophets

i. Qualifications

The conscious contact of a prophet (ekadwaran) with the divine enable him to predict (akidwar) not only some future events but also to avoid or precipitate them for the people's protection. God speaks to him in the bush (namoni), a place on the borders of the world of men and so close to God. Such a one will usually have long experience of life, and outlived mundane family responsibilities to grow closer to God by reason of his proximity to death. His age and his powers make him a greatly revered man in society, whom nobody would choose to cross, but his greatness depends on his prophecies.

Alternatively, those males or females marginal to society, usually the physically or mentally handicapped, who forego sexual relations and are freed from normal social responsibilities, are candidates for the prophetic vocation. As unmarrieds (ngikadwarunak) they have the time and the incentive to acquaint themselves with history, mystery, or religion, otherwise the province of old people. Even the mad who have a superfluity of spirits (ngikerep) may have a word from God, if it comes to pass.

ii. Ikwaibong

A Lotuko prophet, Ikwaibong, whose home was diversely reported to be a mountain in Sudan, Dodos, or Acholi, which argues for the vicinity of Mount Lonyili where the borders of all three intersect, was much sought. He travelled all over Karamoja throughout the 1950s, for his ability to make rain with his rainstones and to bring
prosperity wherever he dwelt lent great value to this prophet. He was said never to grow old, could not be injured by a spear or a bullet, and could make sticks go into rocks (D-H,N. 1966:225; MT 1966:162). He even had a group of disciples, each of whom 'could make rain simply by pulling up a tuft of grass'. A popular Jie story relates that his last visit to Najie ended being locked up in a windowless room by a government chief. During the night he vanished from the room, never to be seen there again, although in the morning the lock on the door was found to be intact (Lamphear 1972:342fn.).

iii. Prophecy

Yet the function of a prophet is not to arouse wonderment but serve as God's oracle in order that rain may be brought or stopped, and otherwise unpredictable threats to a people's well-being, such as raiders, diseases, locusts, stem-borers, and army-worm be averted by the people responding in accordance with the prophet's prescription.

When North Karamoja was catastrophically hit by cholera in the 1979-81 famine, a prophecy was given that the epidemic would not spread to Kotido, if two giraffes, never normally seen in that centre of population, were seen to come from the west and to go away to the north. Such an event was observed and no Kotido inhabitant died of cholera, despite drought, malnutrition, and starvation. The story was recounted by a Mumukufu strongly predisposed to reject the 'superstitions' of traditional religion.

The prophet can only speak from God, as He chooses, so cannot direct day-to-day affairs, for there will be
times when he has nothing to reveal. Instead, leaders and even senior government officials will not neglect to consult him as an oracle.

c. Diviners

Most elders are likely to try their hand at divination, though only some will emerge as skilled.

i. Haruspication

The will of God is particularly manifest in the bowels of a sacrificed animal and a handful of the more senior or skilled men present will crouch round to interpret them. The rumen is put on the ground and the intestines in their integument are laid on top, providing an uneven surface representing the countryside. Various irregular features like tumours, ulcers, capillaries, are taken to be fires, raiders, live or dead people, the colour of the ox for the next sacrifice and so on. Black spots, for instance, may be read as threatening raiders. The bowels are read like a book by those able to read it, who will discuss together what they have learned before coming to a conclusion (MT 1966:143f.). The best place in which to graze cattle can be ascertained. Warnings are usually seen as conditional, so if the community employs the correct ritual or other prescribed response, the danger may be averted. He who performs this function accurately is a haruspex (ekesiemon), who can see beyond the distinction between human and divine affairs.

ii. Sandals

A pair of elephant, buffalo, or giraffe-hide ceremonial sandals (ngakaloro) may be cast down (akilamilam cf. akilam, to curse) on the ground several times in
succession and their position on landing interpreted in order to infer the shape of things to come. So the future of a young married couple may be foretold or the best means to prosecute a raid. More often assistance will be sought by men making their intricate and manifold decisions regarding herds, families, and journeys. Youths may idle their time away in this fashion.

Akuja also occasionally manifests his action in the world by miracle (akuwanjut cf. akiwan, to spoil, break) and by works of power (ngatyoniso). This is when God, himself, intervenes in the created order, but human functionaries are not necessarily ruled out where there is no clear boundary between the supernatural and the natural. What, to me, was a good case of a miraculous cure of a dying lad, when neither local ritual nor Western medicine had the answer, evoked no wonderment among his people. To them a miracle is more immediate to God than normal preternatural events.
5. MEDIATION

Akuja does not just occasionally reveal the transcendent to some individuals but He also mediates the transcendent continually to the entire community. This mediation has prescribed ritual channels in order to condense the medium, so as to make the transcendent known in the particular but this mediation extends to all aspects of the culture which draw together and build up the whole life of the community. Thus the transcendent is mediated in, not to, Karamojong territoriality, sociality, economy, polity, legality, morality, personality, mentality, and musicality, as well as its rituality and language.

a. Medium

The locus of the spiritual medium in the mundane, day-to-day life of the Karamojong is unavoidable. It is cattle. Karamojong culture is not alone in having cattle mediate 'between man and the spiritual world' (Gourlay 1972b:245).

i. Territoriality

Long before the Nilotes emerged as a distinct ethnic group, their forefathers kept cattle which constituted the main reason why Ngiro were able to colonize, and abide in, Karamoja, when Ngikatapa were being forced out by drought.

ii. Sociality

Without cattle, no new Karamojong family can come into being, for until bridewealth has been handed over in cattle, neither the bride nor her children leave her extant family. When a man raises the bridewealth from his kin (ngiyeneta) and his bondfriends to give it to his affines, a whole network of stock associates (ngiyenet a ngaatuk) is
created and 2 clans are linked by common interest. The
closeness of each relationship is precisely expressed by the
relative number of cattle given. So the man likes to express
his love and his willingness to provide for his bride by
raising the highest practicable bridewealth and she is
suitably impressed. A person without cattle, who is not a
client dependent on a herdowner, is not a member of
Karamojong society. "A Man is a Man in Cattle" (MT
1966:146).

iii. Economy

Cattle are not just bridewealth, but wealth in its
fullest possible sense. A Karamojongait cannot be poor with
cattle, nor rich without them. The milk, blood, meat, fat,
and marrow of cattle are vital to Karamojong subsistence.
Hides are used as sleeping mats, working surfaces, capes,
skirts, bell collars, sandals, armlets, and anklets. Horns
and hooves are carved into snuff boxes (ngigilita) feather
boxes, food containers, and musical horns. Urine is the
washing-up liquid for all food and water utensils, and it
also curdles milk. Faeces make fertilizer, pargeg, and floor
surfaces. The scrotum is used to store seeds for the next
growing season.

Cattle are in great demand by neighbouring peoples
to the extent that no one item of other goods are
equivalent, with the notable exception of the gun, so that
smallstock, or ghee, make a more flexible means of exchange.
If a Karamojongait wishes, he can trade cattle for
ammunition, spears, wrist- and finger-knives, ox- and knee-
bells, metal waist- and neck-bands, anklets and armlets,
decorative chains, removable head-dresses (ngitim ngulu

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buburak) leopard- or baboon-skin cloaks, giraffe- or zebra-tail elbow whisks, grain, tobacco, or even money but that is only necessary for town beer, lengths of cloth (ngasukai) poll-tax receipts, and school fees.

iv. Polity

The most self-sufficient member of society is the herdowner (elope) who is the head, or big man (ekapolon), of his extended family, whose membership is defined by shares in the collective herd in his gift. Such men are those most entrusted with political influence, since their policies are most likely to promote the common good, precisely because of their interest in cattle as a fund for social relations and welfare. If a man wishes to increase his influence, he must add to his herds in order to provide slaughter oxen for his local community in times of famine or to marry more wives and gain in affinal support. Thus political affairs often revolve around the protection of cattle or the planning of raids to acquire more from enemies. Attacking battle formation is in the shape of a ox’s head.

v. Legality

To steal cattle is tantamount to a declaration of war, unless the thief is a member of the same tribe, in which case it is a heinous crime. Compensation in all crimes and civil actions is in terms of cattle, as are any additional penalties.

vi. Morality

In the Karamojong scale of values, cattle are the ‘greatest’ (D-H,N. 1966:94). They are the highest good. Given a mutually exclusive choice between the worst possible of evils, the loss of one’s cattle or one’s wives, many men
would opt for the loss of wives, since the possession of cattle soon brings wives, while the converse is not so true. This ranking is displayed by the behaviour of herdsmen in living far away from the *eré* over long periods for the sake of cattle, which he will be most reluctant to slaughter for his family in the harshest of famines. ‘A Karimojong loves his cattle above all other things, and for these cattle he will give his life.’ (A Karimojong Statement, ibid.:102)

vii. Personality

A boy grows up with a ‘four-legged brother’ (Wilson 1988:1), a bull-calf, of the hide markings of the beloved ox of his grandfather or great uncle after whom he was named. It is given to him when he is 3 or 4 to herd with the other calves and sleep with. He may beg other oxen of the same hide markings from family or friends, so that most men have about 5 (Gulliver 1952b:72-4).

As it grows older, he will witness the reprofiling of its horns into a shape of his choice and its branding with the clan brand which parallels his own haircut. He composes songs for it. It is his beloved ox (*emong ngulu aminat*) and he weaves for it a succession of bell collars, making first a bell of a tortoise shell with a wooden clanger, until he can beg an iron one. School terms, if they come round at all, are usually mere interludes in this most intimate of a boy’s relationships. He will see it castrated when its testicles are crushed with a stone, or wooden, hammer (*aramet*). Then, the beast is a bullock or steer (*edonge/eutut*). By the age of initiation, his peers will call him by a name (*ekiro emong*) describing his beloved ox, of which he is said to be father.
He will lay down his life to defend his beloved ox, and if he needs supernatural strength to do so will cry out its name (*akiwonga*) for inspiration. If he kills an enemy or a fierce, wild animal he will make slits (*ngamunyen* cf. *emunyen*, sacred clay) in its ears and his beloved ox 'becomes happy' (D-H, N. 1966:100), contrasting with the ox who 'despises' the man unable to kill. If it dies, he goes into mourning, occasionally to the point of suicide. Most pragmatically look for another ox of the same markings to carry on the name by which his stock associates know him. If he dies and is buried, they will usually wrap him in the hide of his beloved ox which must be sacrificed. Such an enculturation cannot but leave all men with the profoundest emotional attachment to cattle, whose responsibility to herd constitutes his personal freedom. He will even swear by the ox of his naming: *abere ngolotimong atuman* (I swear by my fat ox). Beloved oxen 'are more highly esteemed than parents, wife, children, or any other possession, and the relationship becomes a religious one, as of a man to his guardian angel' (Clark, D. 1952a:69).

viii. Mentality

Karamojong language and science both corroborate the primacy of cattle. Whereas there is a disappointingly undifferentiated vocabulary for birds, that for different descriptions of cattle has infinite permutations. Each beast is named according to its colour, markings, shape, size, horn profile or size, decorations, sounds, similitude to other things in the created order, or any detail characteristic of it (Gulliver 1952b:73f.). The number of different names so far counted is 327 (Gourlay 1972b:247).
A man neither numbers nor counts the herd in his charge, butcatalogues each beast in the mind. As the herd returns tothecorral, he leafs through his mental file, ticking each,as the animal it represents presents itself to him. Whereas theKaramojong have not developed mathematics as a science, theWest has not developed mental catalogy.

Descriptions of cattle are the source of manypersonal and social names. Every man is distinguished fromhis beloved ox, by prefixing his ekiro emong with 'Apa-'(father) but mutuality is not lost, for as he fathers theox, causing it to be what it is by naming it and exalting itabove its fellows, so does the beloved ox help create theman by conferring upon him a new name. Age-sets, too, lookto cattle names in a few cases: Ngirionomong (they of theblack ox), Ngiyangamong (they of the light brown ox Lamphear1976:36f.), Ngimerimong (they of the spotted ox D-H,N.1966:119). One section, Ngimaseniko, is supposed by them tobe derived from bulls (ngimaniko).

ix. Musicality

Bourlay (1972b:247) recorded over 200 song-texts among the Karamojong. The names of cattle occurred 673 times and in 84% of songs, while the majority of the remainder either referred to a ox without naming it or were too short to permit inclusion. This empirical finding substantiates the local assertion that 'all Karimojong songs are about cattle' (D-H,N. 1966:99) and some are sung to cattle.

In one song the singer calls to his ox, 'Answer to your name!'; in another people are described as 'feasting off the ox'; a whole series related to either tying or knocking the ox's horns into the prescribed shape; in recounting the events of a cattle raid, the singer names his friends, adding 'We protected the ox, Losiangole.'; a further group relate to the begging and giving of oxen: 'Some friends talked Kakuro into giving me Lopusimedo',

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'I admired Apalogolokongu's herd; he gave me Locuba'; 'I begged a man to give me an ox; he gave me Lokorilima.' (loc.cit.)

The generic term for these is ox-songs (ngieosyo ngimongin) and they are sung (akiruk) at beer parties and dances.

Communal dancing starts with 'traditional songs' which praise the cow as the epitome of cattle and the common interest of the group whose traditions are being rehearsed. 'The cow mooed and we were excited.' (D-H,N. 1966:100) The Maseniko, when they sing the traditional songs about their own section, will also perform the cattle dance 'leaping and frisking like young cattle, shaking heads like bulls or staring' (Clark,D. 1952a:70).

Individual men compose a short ox-song (eete emong) to which he has exclusive copyright as his own solo (eete elope, Gourlay 1972a:242) to which the rest of the men and girls will sing a chorus.

Solo: When I kept company with Loyaale, people said that the 'Father of Loluk [Apaloluk] was becoming bad.'

Chorus: O the curses given me for my bad ways! O Loluk, now that Lomagol has been slaughtered, you are free from blame. (Gourlay 1972b:248)

The song relates how the soloist, Apaloluk, fell into bad company and so into transgression, as a consequence of which he had to sacrifice an ox, Lomagol, in order to atone for his disobedience to the elders but it is his beloved ox, Loluk who is said to be free from blame. Though they are distinct, Apaloluk is the man and Loluk is the ox, they clearly share the same experience and stand in the same social position. The ox stands for the man, as all the singers know. The two are inseparable and identical in song, and the same applies to his other beloved oxen, which are
the subject for further solos. Thus a man parades his self-identification in public. In, and after, a beer party he sings (aporojan) the praises of his beloved ox, however discordantly.

x. Rituality

At all ritual ceremonies involving the elders as the representative leaders of the community an ox, at least, is sacrificed and herds of the participants are massed. Unless the family is too poor to afford more than a goat, which is still ineligible for initiation, an ox is ritually slaughtered at all rites of passage: initiation, after a wedding, after the birth of the first-born, divorce, when a man dies his beloved ox is sacrificed, after the period of mourning for any parent an 'ox of mourning' is speared in the usual way.

At the public, as distinct from the clan, rituals the colour and markings of the ox are critical. A black ox may be unusually efficacious. Thus, someone's beloved ox may be required by the elders as fitting the specification but refusal to part with it will result in its forcible seizure by herdsmen executing the elders' order. The owner does not lose wealth, for he is compensated with a heifer by the slaughterer, as it is a great privilege to be chosen to spear the ox, but bad omens will be suspected if it is not speared in the heart through the first ribs.

After the intestines have been read the iliac gland is carefully removed to be buried. Then the surrounding perineal flesh (elamacar, the sacred brand) is carefully cut out to be eaten by the elders. The junior initiated men slice up the carcass to braze on an open fire but the joined
hind legs (amuro) representing the sacrifice of the strength of the ox are left in the horse-shoe shaped assembly of elders, while they invoke Akuje with an antiphonal litany concerning cattle, people, and God. The amuro is the sacred meat of the ox and can only be eaten by elders.

The stomach sac is also highly symbolic. It is cooked for the final stage of the initiation ceremony. The number of the slits is symbolic, for instance, of the sections in the tribe and the chyme is squeezed out. This too is sacred. After all, it is Akuje who sent the rain, and his Spirit, who made the grass to grow and constituted the water, which the life-sustaining cattle eat and drink. The stomach is the source of the ox’s strength that turns what it eats into an offering fit for God and man. Thus it is smeared (akijuk?) on fellow elders, on their juniors, on initiands, and on their herds as an effectual sign of God’s blessing. ‘It is the outward symbol of men, who are in a state of grace because the deity has heard their prayers and taken note of their need.’ (D-H,N. 1966:94) Akuje is mediated spiritually to men by the chyme (ngikujit) of cattle.
6. CHURCH

a. Ecclesia

Elizabeth Marshall Thomas (MT 1966:139,141) likened the sacred places of the Dodos to ‘ancient churches’, and a ceremonial sacrifice to ‘an important church service’. No-one else has used the word, church, of the Karamojong, probably because assemblies have been analysed as functions of society rather than religion and, in any case, nothing would seem more foreign than either Western or Eastern traditions of the Christian church. Yet that is to stand at the end of two millennia of continuous church history which separates the current referent from what was originally a borrowed concept. The Hebrew qahal, meant a summons to an assembly which in Israel’s history was variously composed of the ʿedah, ie. the elders, clan-heads, and princes representing the covenant people of Israel.

It was, then, a congregation, not just in a religious sense but also in a political and military one.

Qahal is translated in the Septuagint either as synagoge, used in the Hellenistic world of bringing together things, troops, or people, and from the 2nd century, cultic fellowships round sacrificial meals, or as ekklesia. Ekklesia was primarily a political term, being a city assembly of full citizens, in which fundamental political and judicial decisions were taken (Brown 1980:I,291-5). Though the NT churches were not seen like this, so much as in religious, Christocentric terms, there is at least the possibility of examining Karamojong assemblies in an ecclesial paradigm, if not an ecclesiastical one.
b. **Place and People**

Do the Karamojong have an ecclesial concept of a church? They have 3 words for their ritual assemblies.

i. **Atukot**

Both people and their cattle (*ngaatuk*) gather (*atuko*) primarily for political purposes, that is, to make a corporate decision about community policy or action. All political meetings involving the elders, and therefore concerning the community as a whole, involve ritual sacrifices, and are manifestly religious events. To see *atukot* as church, however, would be to assume an ecclesiology of the gathered elect, for only those present participate and not everyone attends. The meeting is called for a particular political purpose, so is better called a council, though its authority is, in part, ecclesial in that God’s will is sought for decisions to benefit the life of the community.

ii. **Akero**

Each tribal section has one or more ceremonial grounds, which are religious, social, and political assembly points for the whole section. *Ngakeron*, therefore, can be seen as council meeting-places or dancing grounds, but firstly they are sacred sites (cf. *akerit/akiker*, to be afraid, revere, honour). Thus, the largest, normal social and political assemblies are for the annual ceremonies, opening a new season with its appropriate corporate activities. These are ecclesial occasions of the first importance, but *akero* refers to the place, not the people. To see church as a closed-off, holy piece of land, like *akero*, falls short of ecclesiality.
iii. Akiriket

Akiriket means both the sacred grove in which ceremonies are performed, and whose trees must never be cut, and the assembly which meets there. Initiated men, having stacked their spears against a tree, sit in the shape of a horseshoe, opening in the direction of the commonly accepted tribal cradleland. The Karimojong open out to the north-east towards Nakadanya by the Apule river and the Jie and Dodos east towards Koten and Loyoro. The senior elder sits facing out of the opening with the largest tree, often an old fig, or tamarind, behind him, flanked by the other elders. Members of the junior generation compose the sides, and behind them uninitiated men are sometimes permitted to sit, watch, and learn.

This ritual formation is adopted at every level of community above the family, for all religious ceremonies and for political and legal decision-making by the elders, who conduct the discussions and have the last word (Pazzaglia 1982:98f.). Quarrellers may be reconciled at the assembly which is the hub of all public action. The essential act, without which a gathering would not be akiriket, is sacrifice to Akuja, to whom prayers are made, that the community might be blessed. Akiriket is, then, the Karamojong church.

C. Constitution

How is the church constituted? Akiriket provides a living record. First, its full members are men. They are not there merely to exclude women from power in society, nor even as representatives of their families or clans. They are there to summate society before God and, under his guidance,
to take responsibility for that society and act on its behalf for its common welfare. Secondly, the men are strictly ranked in order of seniority. Uninitiated men have no proper voice in the assembly and have a status relative to it similar to that of women, as ngikaracuna (they of the apron) or boys (ngidyain). The initiates are divided twice: into generations and into age-sets contained within the generations, but all initiates have an equal right to speak in the assembly, if different voices carry different weight.

The whole system, or part of it, is called asapane (initiation) from asapan (to initiate) derived from 'si-apana' (to make a father). 'Apa-' is not the normal word for father (papa) as in Nilotic, but that used for the ox-name, which a young man acquires. It is thus a ritual appellation, and may well have been borrowed, with the generation system, from EC who use abba. On the other hand, it could be a throwback to PN-S/C-N times, when *aba was used for man. Initiation is not just a matter of man being father to an ox, but it enfranchises him, and gives him the proper status for fathering children. Herd and family go together.

i. Generation

The sons of the generation of fathers will be formed by initiation into a new, separate, formal generation. All the sons will therefore be of one generation (ka apei alungura). Since the generations are formed on the strictest possible genealogical principles, and there is only one group for each generation, the term, generation-set, is superfluous. Depending on the relative generation, other men, whether relatives or not, are addressed as grandfathers, fathers, sons, grandsons, and even brothers. A
generation is said by the Karimojong to "re-enter the place of the grandfathers"; "They will take the ornaments of their grandfathers; they will be named after the animal of their grandfathers." (D-H, N. 1963:361). D-H has ignored this last statement in constructing a cycle of 4 generations with separate names. Lamphear (1976:36-42) has shown for the Jie, that two names, Ngitome (they of the elephants) and Ngikoria (they of the honey-badgers) alternate, but that each generation is given its own distinguishing name. He has rightly identified a 2-stage cycle, with each stage lasting a generation of 40 years.

The generation system cuts across the kinship system, recognizing only the vertical relationships of males, though Gulliver (1953c:164) goes too far when he says, 'The age organization serves the supernatural side of life; kinship and other relations expressed through rights in stock serve the secular side.' The supernatural and the secular are not so opposed but it is through asapana that the life of the whole community, not just clans and families with their limited economic co-operation, is uplifted before God.

Asapana has 'the effect of linking men into a wider structure and thus of upholding an active, extensive society'. Thus, it is a:

permanent principle of the organization of adult male activities and relationships at all ages, and which through some medium or other has the structural function of integrating the tribe into a single social unit, or into a number of related large-scale units.

(Gulliver 1953c:166)

ii. Age-set

A man is initiated not only into a generation but also into an age-section which is a constituent of a
generation, and into an age-set which is a constituent of an age-section. Because these group men who were initiated over the same period, they may be known as ngasapaneta or, because they determine who eats together at the assembly, nganyameta (cf. akinyam, to eat, apeinyamet, a group eating as one). They are identified by a name decided by their elders, and often held by their grandfathers, denoting a material object, usually an animal. The name of an age-section is the same as its first age-set. Though the age-sets are contained within the generation system they operate on an entirely different basis: a principle of age rather than a principle of genealogy. Age-sets, unlike generations, tend to be groups of co-evals. Since polygyny, and the custom of widow inheritance whereby her sons by his heir are imputed to her first husband, allow a man to have sons as much as 60 years apart, there is a wide span of ages to be encompassed by any generation.

The first age-sets which quickly form an age-section are comprised of the overaged men who had to wait many years for the generation to be opened before they could be initiated. The middle age-sets in a generation will be formed by those in their 20s, the proper age for initiation, whose fathers can spare an ox for them to spear on the occasion. This privilege is allocated by rank which is determined by age except where the son of an earlier wife of the legal father is less than 5 years younger than a son of the same order (first, second, third, etc.) of a later wife. In such a case the son of the earlier wife takes precedence. The later age-sets are filled by younger than normal boys who nevertheless are members of the same generation, which
needs to be closed in order to maintain its coherence. Thus, age-sets and age-sections give order within a generation by organizing each into a series of cohesive units which, it is accepted, ranks seniority.

That age confers seniority is axiomatic for the Karamojong. Less natural is the still observed requirement that a mature man, especially if he is the head of a household, call a boy ‘father’ because the youth happens to be in a senior generation which bestows on him politico-religious power as well as social status. As for the older man, ‘Such persons are unhappy themselves and visibly a source of embarrassment to others for their several appropriate roles are in conflict’ (D-H,N. 1966:389). A system can only take a measure of this reversal of values before it loses validity.

d. Disequilibrium
i. Applying Ideals

Brothers whose ages differ by 60 years could conceivably have sons, whose ages differ by 120 years. Though extremely overaged or underaged misfits tend to be small minorities of the population, if there are no self-righting mechanisms, the whole system will lurch uncontrollably out of kilter. Spencer (1978:141) has shown for the Samburú that the optimal generation span to minimize overaging and underaging is about 55 years. Yet new Karamojong generations have been opened, historically, every 40 years plus or minus 3 (Lamphear 1972:496-501). Moreover, the Jie are quite prepared to break one of the norms of age-group systems elsewhere by making overaged men wait until they have long passed the minimum age of initiation in
order to preserve the genealogical principle (Stewart 1977: 28,44).

‘When a child is born, people know immediately what generation-set he is to belong to. A son can be initiated only into that generation-set following his father’s. We consider the second generation-set after the father’s to be the same as the father’s. Could a child be initiated, then, into the same generation-set as his own father? That is foolish.’ (Lamphear 1976:35)

The Karimojong, on the other hand, will allow the underaged to be initiated into the next generation after their proper one has been closed.

i. Underaging

Both Jie and Karimojong have an important slip mechanism in allowing the underaged to be initiated into the senior generation, while the remainder of the retired generation is still alive, even though a new generation has been opened. Though this brings the recruiting span of the generation closer to the optimal there is an unresolved problem. Suppose a 10 year-old is squeezed into the last age-set of the senior generation, 13 years after the junior generation was opened, and lives for another 78 years. In 27 years his generation will be retired but he will have another 41 years to live, at the end of which 4 generations could be recruiting simultaneously instead of 2! Yet the Jie deliberately try to limit simultaneous recruitment so as not to allow the alternation of power between clearly demarcated generations to cease, as has happened with the Turkana. This slip mechanism, as others if overused, will be counter-productive.

When the Ngikosowa handed power on, the Jie said, that only one man was left in that generation. The senior elder has a prominent, ceremonial part to play but that
there was only one invested elder left in the whole of Najie is so unlikely, both demographically and on the ground of practical politics, as to be incredible. What is being stated is an ideal: that asapana works perfectly for the Jie. Much as though fieldworkers dislike Oxford academics from declaring what must, of necessity, be the case, without having been near the field, Stewart (1977:59f.,220f.) has a point, when he suspects the Jie of 'structural amnesia'. It is potentially valid, because it is based on Gulliver's finding (1955:113-7) that all the members of an extended family were said to be descended from one grandfather, even when that stretched the genealogical facts. Abrahams (1978:49) found that the 'dogma' of the unity of the Abwor system covered serious and widening local discrepancies. No-one has yet disproved Jie assertions about their asapana.

Lamphear (1976:35) lifted the second sentence out of his quotation above and set it down as 'the basic and irrevocable principle, on which the Jie system is based', but it does not encompass what his 'father' informant was saying. If the second generation after the father's is the same as the father's, then also according to the alternation rationale, whereby grandsons replace their grandfathers, the second generation after the son's is the same as the son's.

Take a father who was initiated direct into the closing senior generation, when he was 15. When he is 60 the junior generation, having been promoted 10 years before, is closed but then he sires a son. The son has irremediably missed his proper generation and, if the alternation rationale is actually applied, he may not be initiated into the next one, being the same as his father's. Not only may
he, but he also should be initiated into the succeeding
generation, being reckoned the same as his proper one, when
it is opened after he is 30. Underaging, therefore, even
including widow inheritance need never threaten the system;
it has a long-run solution which is not a slip-mechanism but
in fact a strict application of the alternate generations
principle.

ii. Overaging

Overaging, as Lamphear (1989:240) says, is a
"protuberance" which the Jie make no attempt to "tuck
in". In letting a few unfortunates grow old, or even die,
before their initiation the Jie take some satisfaction in
proving that their system, unlike the Karimojong and the
Turkana, is inviolate and sacrosanct. There is no evidence,
contrary to academic prophecies, that it is currently
degenerating.

There is another slip mechanism, which has not been
noticed in 1956 that older uninitiated men drifted into
raiding. Those, denied the normal path of ritual seniority
to social status and political authority, are allowed
another way. Raiding is the quick route to acquiring wealth
in cattle, with its attendant prestige and influence. The
prospect of becoming another Lokuda who, after a single
raid, achieved fame and fortune, perhaps never equalled in
Karamoja, is a strong enticement for any in society with
little to lose. Raiding is a dangerous activity, so it
might be expected that those keenest to raid would suffer a
higher than average mortality rate, thus depleting the ranks
of the overaged. Empirical support is needed here.
The generation system, except in Labwor where it was probably borrowed from the Jie in the 19th century, still gives signs that it is functioning well, defining the very membership of section and tribe. It excludes, generally, only non-integrated foreigners and those highly educated Karamojong whose income is funded from outside Karamoja. Fighting with guns or spears or stealing cattle would be sacrilegious inside the community constituted by a common generation system. Lamphear (1989:240,253) finds, 'that the Jie system is deeply rooted in fundamental cosmological concerns', but when those are stated as a 'profound historical sense of being at the centre of their universe' it is clear that deeper cosmological concerns have yet to be expounded, for self-belief only extends so far.
e. Dualism

Its generation system has classed the Karamojong among the societies that believe the cosmos is structured by the interaction of opposing ultimate principles (Maybury-Lewis & Almagor 1989:2). Their cosmologies embrace the age-old oppositions between agriculture and livestock, light and dark, male and female, life and death. The 2 generations or moieties are indeed an opposition, a duality, for they divide all initiates into fathers and sons.

i. Father and Son

The fathers hold wives and cattle while restricting the ambitions of their sons in the same direction. The sons must spend spartan lives caring for the herds of their fathers and defending the nation. When, at ceremonies, the junior generation makes a mock charge at the senior generation, their spears stabbing the air within centimetres of the elders faces, it is not merely a display of their ability to defend their people but also contains the latent threat of the younger wishing to displace the older. Unflinching, the elders look them in the eye with the moral courage that comes from acting for the summum bonum and not for personal aggrandisement.

The opposition is more marked among the Karimojong, for both generations vie to initiate the underaged, seeking to bolster and prolong its power against the other in the knowledge that, once retired, they will be dumped into ignominy (D-H,N. 1966:203f.). Every akiwodokin ceremony is a potential crisis, for the juniors have every opportunity to go off with the cattle to form a new society with themselves as elders. That this is a rare event is a
testimony to the unifying factor of asapana.

ii. Dynamics Resolve Contradictions

Maybury-Lewis (ibid. 1989:13) claims that dualistic theories offer equilibrium by the harmonious interaction of contradictory principles because they are in a cosmic scheme. Almagor's (ibid.:144) fifth component of dual organization states: 'the commitment to social and symbolic dualism includes the sense, that the whole is more important than any of its parts'. Yet this indicates an ultimate monism not utter dualism.

Moreover, the generation system is not connected with any of the usual oppositions; neither generation is characterized as evil. Nor is the Karamojong cosmic scheme fundamentally dualist, whilst acknowledging evil. It is in the generation system itself that the interpenetration of the divine and the mundane is seen, though it might be fair to add that the fathers represent the more spiritual side of a scale, and the sons the more worldly. There is no fundamental dichotomy if asapan meant to make a young man a father. Rather, there is a progression from the passions of youth to the wisdoms of age in which the growing seniority of age-sets and generations provide perceptible steps. In due time the sons are destined to become the fathers, likewise to guard the traditions, if they will only be patient.

If dualistic theories offer harmonious equilibrium, it must be questioned whether they are really dualist. Static, binary oppositions are not fundamental, for they are ever in a process, which produces a dialectical third. Though 2 generations only are formally recognized in the
cycle they are never alone. Elders of the retired generation hang on and sons to be initiated in an unopened one are continually being born. The very old, the young, and women, who have their vocal say in the home, are constant reminders that asapanà functions to serve the whole community, of which the two generations are but a representative part. A synchronic study of asapanà may give a dualist father-son appearance but a diachronic one will yield a triadic movement: grandfather-father-grandson in a rounded whole. Reality is dynamic and its 'deep structure' is trinitarian, not dualistic, neither dangerously idealistic, nor degenerately pragmatic.

iii. Generation v. Age

The main tension in the system is between the ideal of the genealogical principle and the remorseless fact of biological age. The Jie and the Karimojong strike different balances. While the former revere age at the end of the system by not stripping elders in the retired generation of their authority, the latter acknowledge age at the beginning of the system by initiating the underaged into the generation following their proper one. Both imply a relaxation of the alternation of generations, the Jie valuing old age more, the Karimojong maturity. In Labwor and Turkana 'the role of the generations is very much attenuated and young men are initiated into age-groups much more clearly according to their age' (Abrahams 1978:56f.). Thus, the Jie are accurately reflected as the conservative idealists of the group, the Karimojong as the expansionist pragmatists, the unruly Turkana and the divided Abwor as more individualistic (Gulliver 1955:252ff.).
f. Unity

A comparative analysis of the Itunga points to the generation system as one of the chief unifying factors of a people. Naturally, politico-socio-economic considerations enter in here but the mainspring, in proportion to the intensity and persistence of unity, seems to be religious and supernatural, though not removed from the natural. It is the system's task to employ and perpetuate 'the fundamental political and ritual assumptions' of Karamojong life (D-H,N. 1963:367). It is no accident, that initiated men, when they act in accordance with asapana, are not merely concerned with the apparently trivial, personal decorations that specify their status within it, but are acting, whether territorially, politically, or so forth, for the unity of the whole community. The church comprehends all society, because its faith unites all.

Since women are only represented by men at the akiriket, this unity might be less than voluntary, if they do not share the same faith, the same theological and cosmological presuppositions (see C.4.c). From a society-wide view, Abrahams' suggestion (1978:62),

that, notwithstanding the many difficulties involved in actual operation, the model of a system of generation groups succeeding one another has certain formal and substantive properties which make it well-nigh ideal as a conception of the well-ordered progression of a society through time.

is also endorsed by Lamphear (1989:253), as implying the 'transcendence of mortality'. As women, Rada D-H and Elizabeth MT are not derogatory about the communities, with which they lived, the latter (1966:59) perceiving in asapana, 'the order and the immortality of the nation'.

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7. MINISTRY

Certain people are selected to serve Akuja and community on behalf of all.

a. Corporate Office

i. Priests

Asapana is administered by the elders (ngikasikou) who are defined as the senior generation, less its junior age-sets until the senior ones have passed away, plus remaining members of a retired Jie generation, though usage often relaxes this definition of the real elder. As age-sets advance in the cycle they gain in seniority by approximating, through their nearness to death and the world beyond, to Akuja, the supernatural source of all authority and power.

'The age-sets of the oldest men have the most power. That is because they have grown close to God over many years. They can truly bless the people. Even if they become foolish and speak like children, still they are wise, because they are the oldest age-sets. Until they die, they are the most powerful.' (Lamphear 1976:153)

Even the Karimojong called the sole surviving age-set of Ngitukoi in 1957, ngikasikou, after they had been officially retired (D-H,N. 1966:181). The quintessential elder is a member of the seniormost age-set.

Thus the insignia proper to the senior generation, whether red or black feathers, red or yellow 'iron' (copper or brass), may be necessary but not sufficient to be recognized as an elder, whose badges of office traditionally include a baboon-skin cape, an ivory bracelet, a rectangular belt of chain-metal, a finger-hook, and a certain design of stool-cum-headrest, or anything else they decide upon to declare their exclusive identity. They have power to control the wearing of all personal decoration.
Neville D-H (1966:180n.) was never able to elicit the etymology of ekasikout by questioning, but linguistic analysis makes the answer plain (cf. Pazzaglia 1982:96); 'si-akou-' applies a causative prefix to akou (cf. N-S & Afroasiatic, head). An elder is not just old, but one who has been made head. There are no particular chiefs in Karamojong religion and society, for chieftainship, or oversight, including judicial authority, is exercised by a corporate office, 'a praesidium of elders', as Wilson (1988:4) puts it, 'in fact, those with priestly function and power'.

As the most junior men are thus playing their menial role during rituals, the most senior men demonstrate their supernaturally derived powers and their proximity to God, by leading the prayers and in general supervising the ceremonies upon which the Jie community relies for its well-being. (Lamphear 1976:155)

The elders' 'most important characteristic in Karimojong eyes is an ability to intercede with the deity for assistance ... to control the environment for the benefit of the community as a whole, or for any recognized segment of it gathered together' (D-H,N. 1966:212). In the assembly they sit nearest to God, lead the liturgy, and exhort the people.

The elders (presbuteroi) of ancient Greece had a similarly important social status. 'In the order of society the elders receive respect and authority on the ground of their experience and wisdom.' (Brown 1980:I,192ff.) Likewise, the elders of Israel, translated by presbuteroi, are seen as 'the representatives of all Israel'. In the NT the word denotes the lay, collegiate body, which presides over, and cares for, the life of the church. The Bible ends with the visions of the Apocalypse, where the 24 elders are
They sit around the throne of the Almighty, separated from it only by the four heavenly creatures. They are thereby marked out as the bearers of high heavenly office. They are the ones who utter the praises of God for his saving acts in history Rev.4:10f., 5:6ff., 11:16ff. or are present when his praises are sung Rev.14:3. Occasionally one of them comes forward to say something Rev.5:5, 7:13. (Brown 1980:1,200)

In Judaism, the Early Church, and the larger churches of the Reformation, this conciliar, presbyterian concept of ministry gave way to an autocratic or monarchic cleric, who 'depends on the ranks and rights of the "office" over against the recalcitrant church' (loc. cit.). Since the word, priest, though, is derived from presbuteros, it is fair to reclaim its older meaning -- an elder empowered by religious authority.

ii. Deacons

The primary NT meaning of diakonos is one, who serves at table, centuries before it declined to a brief, transitional stage in a sacerdotal hierarchy (Brown 1980:III,546). In Karamoja, the most recent initiates perform the menial tasks in ritual sacrifices, collecting firewood, sorghum stalks, and grass, on which to roast cuts of the sacrificial meat and lay it before the elders. The latter repeatedly test the obedience of their juniors by imposing petty taboos and demands, such as giving 'the junior age-set minute shreds of meat to roast, the loss of which can cause a punishment to be meted out to the entire age-set' (Lamphear 1976:154).

Older age-sets are employed by the elders to enforce the requisition of the sacrificial ox, proper decorum as regards personal ornaments, which are the tokens of ecclesial office, and the disciplining of offenders. They
serve the elders by imposing the ameto punishments, like beatings or the confiscation of cattle, to maintain order, because they recognize the spiritual power of the elders, demonstrated by their sovereign survival in an inclement and modern world. Their proven wisdom in treating with God will therefore be the deacons’ surest hope for the future, when their turn to be priested comes (Novelli 1988:48).

The usual word for members of the junior generation (ngisorok) is translated adults, but this is not satisfactory, failing to bring out its specific role in the generation system, yet its derivation is not obvious. Since the cognate akiroga (to be about to die, cf. agaa, chameleon, ES *ga, to change) and erokit (supernatural medicine) suggest a link with the cluster of meanings around the root, *ro, there is a case for seeing the causative particle, ‘-si-’, undergoing vowel harmonization, as in esokod, giving the original meaning of esorok as one made sacred or divine.

b. Hereditary Office
i. Ngimurok

Known variously as a wizard, witch, witchdoctor, medicine-man, laibon (Maasai), physician, or diviner, no accurate translation has yet emerged for emuron, or the female, amuron. Certainly, his prime function, except in Turkana where his rôle has been developed, is in the realm of healing. In Africa this is not a confined area. Since the well-being of creation depends upon the Creator, the overlap of the sacred with the created order is considerable. The root meaning is unmistakable: amuro (the sacred, hind legs of a sacrifice, to make a sacrifice).
amuronot (a sacrificial ceremony), amuros (sacrifice). To be consistent with these current meanings, emuron is a sacrificer, which tallies with his tasks as a healer and his prominent part in divination. This basic meaning is made explicit by the saying, 'He inherits the sacrifice' (D-H,N. 1966:120n.).

His role in the public sacrifice of cattle is subordinate to the elders, who must call an assembly for the purpose. He can advise the elders when to assemble or advise a client to ask them to assemble but he may not sacrifice cattle on his own. Even in akiriket he does not necessarily play a fixed, formal role, except in supervising ritual procedures, particularly haruspication, when present. He has no exclusive tasks but because he is a technical specialist, especially if he is known to be a proficient one, his dreams, divination, choice of sacrificial animals, sermons, and prayers will carry greater weight in proportion to his closeness to God. For private healings he can order and perform the sacrifice of smallstock, so becomes well-versed in haruspication.

The emuron is not rootless, but is attached to a community. If he is unavailable and his heir is not ready, a locum tenens must be sought from elsewhere. The rules of inheritance are revealing. The Karimojong seek the first son begotten of the emuron by his first wife, provided she was 'married with cattle' and not inherited and he was conceived after marriage. If these rare conditions are not met, then the first son of the next wife will succeed, if he and his mother qualify (loc.cit.). The Dodos gave MT (1966:167-181) a more functional description of the selection of ngimurok,
Though their's had wives and mothers as ngamurok. God is known to have granted the power to a particular boy or girl, when he or she begins to receive God's messages at night and divines in dreams. All ngimurok are persons thought by the Jie to inherit the soul or shadow (etorobe cf. atorobe, chest, bosom) of a previous emuron.

When an emuron dies, many people believe that his soul passes into a large snake. At other times, the soul of the dead emuron chooses someone else to be an emuron. The soul of the dead emuron enters the body of the chosen person and he becomes an emuron. Ngimurok always have the soul of some dead emuron who went before them. (Israel Lokong in Lamphear 1972:339)

These three perspectives are not totally incompatible.

What emerges is a man apart, imbued with special knowledge that can only be imparted through intimate relationships with parents and spouse. Some clans or subsections become noted for producing skilful ngimurok. MT's privileged association with the renowned Lomotin presents a deeply spiritual man, almost fanatical in his work, carrying his medicine-bag containing curative roots to visit those of whom he dreamed, to warn and heal them. Though apparently careless of his own worldly interests he is benevolently concerned for all aspects of the welfare of his parish, including its defence.

Ngimurok charge 'doctor's fees' for counsel which frequently involves anointing with clay or chyme, small taboos, charms, the sacrifice of dogs instead of the usual goat, and the wearing of specific parts of an animal. This may give him a more than adequate revenue in livestock. Yet the emuron is the nearest the Karamojong come to a holy man and to the sacerdotal concept of priest, since his office is not dependent on asapana. Because ngimurok are generally the
wisest in things sacred, they are best suited by the term, divines.5

Ngimurok vary in quality. The greater the emuron, the more he encompasses skills in all the supernatural functions and it seems that no emuron could be famous without the abilities of a prophet. Such was the case with the Jiot, Loingolem (he who practises divinity?), who prophesied in the mid-19th century that one day pale-skinned people would appear in Najie. Also, ngimurok’s travelling makes them better informed.

Loingolem, the great emuron of Panyangara, was known by all the Jie because he always saw the future clearly. If he said enemies would come, they would really come. If he said the rain would fall, it would really fall. Most other ngimurok were just big liars. The things they said would happen never happened.  


This hereditary office is not only an opportunity for young men to take religious responsibility, but women also, who often function as ngakalemak, sucking out diseases through the skin using a soft sisal ball or an ear of bulrush millet, but the profession is as meritocratic for women as men. An amuron, Lodul, was pre-eminent in early 19th century Najie, foretelling enemy raids and the rain (Lamphear 1972:340f.) and she was not the only effective woman. ‘Before the Dodos attacked the place called Tiira in Nakapelimoru, my own grandmother, Awapawothit, an amuron, had already predicted they would come.’ (Lamphear 1976:228)

Ngimurok are consulted before embarking on a raid, and brave men are they, who ignore the augury given. The activity of certain birds provides omens here.

Since highly dependable ngimurok are a rare and extremely valuable resource for risky operations, they are
sought beyond the borders of the tribe, even amongst enemies in a war -- not that an emuron would betray his own people, but the work of a great one transcends partial interests, even while he deals in them. He tells what he sees but takes measures to protect against consequent hostile action. In this way an emuron enters into widespread influence, though his reputation will always depend on performance. A few are so impressive that they are promoted to the realms of legend and immortality, the only trans-tribal focus.

ii. Firemakers

Ngikeworok are religious leaders whose Nilotic religion, controlling the annual agricultural cycle, atrophied with the concentration on pastoralism and the rise of asapana at Koten-Magos, so it is difficult to judge the weight that should be put upon them. Their influence varies in Karamoja roughly in accordance with the renewed impact of WN Lwo and EN Ngikatapa. Neville D-H (1966:109) seems to be aware of the rite of firemaking but not the office. Each section might have one, assisted by others based in subsections or neighbourhoods. Firemakers extract little obedience but the elders turn to them in times of hardship for the fresh start which New Fire brings, following the extinction of all domestic fires.

Firemakers were responsible too for ceremonial rites, settling disputes, preparing warriors for battle, and rain-making using the yard-long, wedge-shaped stones still erected in the homes of many responsible for bringing rain. They would also bless the people and the sorghum seeds, determining when sowing should begin and being entitled to
the firstfruits of both grain and beer. The elders selected a new one from the sons of the old on the criterion of quiet, kind, gentle humility to the point where they no longer appoint one for the Korwakol section (Lamphear 1976: 27,121-7,156,169-181).
8. SACRAMENTS

The General Secretary of CMS, Rt. Rev. M. Nazir-Ali (1989:132) has called for a greater appreciation of African sacramentality. If it is to be found outside the Christian tradition, there remains the question of recognition. Many, on seeing what Vincent Donovan (1978) saw among the pastoral Maasai, might not perceive the sacrament that he did, even among those who had assented to his presentation of the gospel. Again we must unload the present weight of church history in search of its roots. In Ancient Greece, mysteria were mystery celebrations, in which the initiated attained salvation and deification through their participation in ceremonial and dramatic acts rather than through being instructed by plain words (Brown 1980:III,505). Mystery defied being reduced to words. Even though OT and NT affirm a deus revelatus, God remains hidden, unsearchable, invisible in his revelation, and mystery, though made public, remains. Word and symbol are not mutually exclusive, but belong together in the church to communicate God to man.

Originally one, this symbolic reality of salvific Church life, bestowed by God's grace, to be known and accepted by man in faith, unfolds in various actions which are individually perceptible. (R. Schulte in Rahner 1975:1477)

Since God's grace comes to man in creation and redemption, there is no other platform in the story of man from which the church can arise to deny the anthropology of sacraments, God's created means by which to set forth his salvation for a community and the individuals in it.

The whole point, therefore, is to see the sacraments (once more) as the gloriosa commercia -- in various forms -- between God and man....This leads to the theologically fundamental truth that all the reality of created being -- "natural" and "supernatural" -- is ipso facto constituted as coming from the Father through the Word of God and as ordained to the Father in the Holy Spirit.
Since, therefore, it exists through the Word and in the Word, it is itself -- by participation -- word and, as such each creature "symbolizes" and "proclaims" both itself and others (persons and things) in various particular ways, ultimately symbolizing and proclaiming God himself (cf. Ps. 8; 19; etc.). (ibid.:1483)

There is no barrier here to seeing the ceremonies of the Karamojong church as sacraments. How Christocentric and how salvific they are should be judged a posteriori.

a. Initiation

i. Conditions

A good year is required, in order to hold initiations (ngasapan) so that there are sufficient surplus oxen and grain for the ceremonies which are held after the sorghum has ripened from July to November to be real feasts. This means that they may be held only one year in three (Gulliver 1953c:153), an average which was borne out by the lack of initiations in 1984-5, when drought and famine were endemic. The would-be initiate (esapat) must find a fat ox to spear from a friend or his father's herd, and secure permission from his father or whoever is head of his house, and the local elders, to hold a ceremony which will include as many young men whose ranking allows them to be initiated. They will fix the time and the place. It is best to initiate in the first quarter of the moon, and worst when there is an eclipse of the moon (Pazzaglia 1982:104).

Initiation is not just of ritual importance, for it has social and political ramifications. Normally, it is the rite of passage for adulthood, and candidates must be at least 18, except when a generation is about to be closed. Though sexual relations are not forbidden to the uninitiated, who can start the marriage process, he may not pass the stage when he takes his betrothed from her father's
home to his own until he is initiated and has paid the bridewealth. Since his father, or head of house, controls the latter, he has an effective veto in the matter, so that the uninitiated never has the right to found a family of his own without the connivance of his affines. If he manages to take a girl to his own home, he faces possible judgment before initiation, in that, 'if the wife should die, the man would die as well', (ani etwani aberu, totwan ekile dang, loc.cit. cf. Persse 1934:110). While initiation will usually take place in a man's 20s, he will not be a married man until nearer 40.

ii. Preliminaries

The initiand (ekasapanan) may shave his head or pluck out his pubic hair. He has his obedience to his ritual seniors tested by their begging from him his more precious personal possessions, such as his sandals, or sheet (asuka). He must comply, as he relies on them for the gift of the symbols of his initiation. Personal finery is meticulously prepared by all who attend. The men prepare their leopard skins, head-dresses, and ostrich feathers; the women soften their goat or gazelle-skin skirts with ghee, which they may also use as ointment for their skin, and shine their bead, iron, copper, or brass necklaces, bracelets, and anklets. On the eve of the sacrificial opening of the ceremonies proper, his kin, friends, and co-initiands gather to sing and dance the night away (ibid.:105).

Contrary to Gulliver's dictum (1953c:153) that there was no 'school of instruction in matters of tribal lore', Lamphear (1972:512) was tutored, as any initiand, by his legal father in the observances he would have to keep after
he was initiated, eg. 'not to look directly into a cooking pot, not to sit on the stool of a member of a senior asapanu [sic], and...which parts of the sacrificial ox it was proper to eat'. A Karimojong initiand is told on the morning of the sacrifice by his father or maternal uncle, with all solemnity, the history of the generations and age-sets and the symbols of that he is about to enter (Pazzaglia 1982: 106).

iii. Spearing the Ox

The Karimojong seem to make more of the ceremonials than do the Jie, who may be making a concession to their overaged uninitiated by not publicizing the event too much. The Karimojong hold their initiation sacrifice (amuronot asapan) at the neighbourhood akero, the Jie in the cattle corral at the home of the brothers or cousins being initiated.

The victim must be a bullock (edonge) except that a younger uterine brother is covered by the ox of his older brother if he spears a he-goat at the same event. The object is to spear the victim, using the right hand, behind the first ribs/its right flank. If the initiand fails, his sponsoring seniors will take over to ensure, that it falls on its left side. It is a bad omen if it does not, but a very good one if its head points towards the tribal cradle-land.

Normal procedure for sacrifices is observed, the purpose of the haruspication, being to discover and assure good living for the initiand. This is no immaterial rite but one which is potent to bring down God’s blessing on a man’s substance. If the augury is ill fortune, other animals
should be sacrificed until the omens are propitious. Only then will the stomach be slit, for a senior in the initiand’s own generation to anoint (akijuk, akitujuk) him with the steaming chyme taken from it, chiefly on the initiand’s forehead, chest, or back and shoulders, and toes, all his clothes, if any, and ornaments having been removed. ‘Smear’ is the word used by English observers, but this is to focus on the material being used, rather than on the profound significance of a sacred act.

To be anointed with chyme (ngikujit) is to be given God’s blessing for your life and any evil spirit is driven away. The anointer may add his own by spitting in the anointed’s face. ‘Tobar, togogonyar! Toruko ka ngikonei ngula [sic] alalak: Toruka ka ngaberu ngulu alalak. Tomojong.’ (Pazzaglia 1982:110; cf. D-H,N. 1966:165; Be rich! Be strong! Be together with many friends! Be together with many wives! Become old!) The Karimojong elders also bless themselves by self-anointing and return the blessing of the chyme to Him who gave it by splattering the sacred tree with it in order to propitiate God on behalf of those who will sit in the tree’s shade, including the initiands, as their age-set rises to a more exalted position in the assembly.

Clearly, this is the critical moment of initiation, the point of transition from youth to ritual adulthood; from relative anonymity to incorporation into generation and age-set names, which will be etched on his people’s oral history for ever; from the generality of people to God’s holy orders. The implications of the change are immediately brought home by a ritual beating by the initiands’ seniors.
with a switch (akali from the ekali tree) which sends them running from the place, only to sing an initiation song extolling (the spearing of) an animal, from which their generation takes its name.

Iyaa, ooo, o imiliakial
Imilia elosia
Kiremo inyakapolon
Kiremo nyetome tigor imilia
ngikial

Iyaa, oh! The tusks glitter
It glitters when it is going
We speared the big one
We speared the big elephant
with glittering tusks
(Lamphear 1972:515)

It is not that the ox represents the elephant, though in the distant hunting past it could well have been a requirement of initiation to kill a dangerous animal instead of an ox. Rather, the elephant and the ox stand for the initiand. He is now Etomait (he of the elephant). The ox, part and parcel of his life hitherto, he has speared. He has sacrificed part of himself to God, but he does not die. Instead, he is born into a new and better life in the order of creation, as an Elephant, and has taken a leap along the road which leads to the time when he must give all of himself to God at death.

Elal nyikore kicaki ne, iii That which trod here was big
Papakothi kicaki ne, iii Our father trod here, eee
Lokolimoe, nyetome kicaki ne Lokolimoe, the elephant trod here
Lomeako, nyetome kicaki ne. Loomakol, the elephant trod here
(loc.cit.)

Names of ‘fathers’ are applied to elephants but, taken literally, the fathers’ generation is Ngikoria (they of the honey-badgers). The grandfathers were Ngitome and this would have been explicit had they sung papaakosi (our grandfather). The grandfather, or each alternate forefather, comes alive again in the new generation of grandsons, in that their names are revived, and their memory hallowed.
As members of the junior generation they must be subordinate to their seniors in it, symbolized by their control over personal decorations and the ritual beating, but the initiands are now fully entitled to place at the sacrifice. For the first time at an ox sacrifice the initiand is allowed to kneel down at the carcass and, with his face in the stomach cavity, to drink deeply from the pool of blood collecting there. 'Italeo akimat ngaokot ngitunga ngulu eroko nyesapana.' (Pazzaglia 1982:109n.; Drinking blood is forbidden to people, who are not yet initiated.) After fetching firewood and delivering the empty stomach sacs to their mothers they must braize cuts of meat for the elders who are not slow to tell them the intricacies of their new duties. Different sections and clans have different ngitalyo (taboos or sacred customs). For instance, the whole Jie ceremony is based more on the clan, with elders of other clans arriving later, and sitting in their clans under the leadership of the host, ie. the initiating, clan (Lamphear 1972:512,520).

Before others eat the senior elder present will rise with his spear to speak and then pray, declaring the presence of the tribe and, in parallel with its people, its cattle also. The assembly replies in unison to give hearty voice to a regular, antiphonal liturgy, which is yet spontaneous and dramatic, when well led. Then the goodness, the spiritual harmony, of the land is affirmed, dismissing anything which threatens it.

I:[Invocation]There is well-being in our country, is there not?
R:[Response] There is!
I: It is here.
R: It is!
I: Yes. Evil is going away.
R: It has gone!
I: It is leaving.
R: It has gone!
I: Well-being is with us.
R: It is!
I: It will always be with us, will it not?
R: It will!
I: It will.
R: It will!
I: Will it not?
R: It will!
I: God has heard.
R: He has heard!
I: He has heard.
R: He has heard!
I: The sky, the cloud-spotted sky here, it has heard.
R: It has heard! (D-H,N. 1966:167)

iv. Eating the Tongue

Some ribs, the lungs, bronchia, and tongue are given to the intiand’s mother to boil in a pot for the evening meal. The elders’ portion this time is the tongue, so this ceremony is called, akinyam angajep (eating the tongue). The hostess passes pieces of the meat and a gourd of the broth between the men of the senior generation, who pass a little to their juniors until it is finished. More prayers may be said. The bare bones are flung into the cattle corral with the wish that they would multiply into oxen for the grandsons to use at their initiation. The young people begin to dance.

v. Anointing with Clay

Initiation confers the right to begin to wear adult headdresses. A tuft of hair, left to grow at the back of the head, is worked up with blue clay into a bun. Plaits of ox tendons tied there after the sacrifice are replaced by 2 small chains, and the clay allowed to dry hard. This becomes the basis for the aloket (the wire frame which supports a ring of ostrich feathers). The tendon strings and chains may both be echoes of the hunting past when they were useful
for trapping (akilok) and snares (ngaloketa). To the sedentary Teso, the Karamojong tribesman is eloket. Now it is the permanent anointing with the sacred blue clay (ajukot ke emunyen) which carries meaning. The wearer shows to all that he bears the holy traditions of his tribe.

vi. Feast of the Stomach

In the initiand's home the stomach is boiled, pulped, and mixed with sorghum flour, pumpkin, beans, roasted cucumber seeds, and ghee into a consistent mash. His mother, or wife, or in absentia his brother's wife, present him with this rich food, kneeling, as Abwor women traditionally do for serving all meals, on the ground of the calf-pen where his age-set have eaten apart. After visiting elders and friends have finished the fellowship meal and left the cattle corral the initiand is consecrated as an adult member of his grandfather's homestead. A father has no place of his own in the ere, so it is his mother, or surrogate, who kneels before her son in the calf-pen. She oils her brass necklets, the symbols of her entry, as a proven wife, i.e. a mother, into family and clan, with ghee, and puts a handful to his mouth, and after he has drunk it, anoints him on the neck, shoulders, back and chest. She does likewise for his asapana brothers, graciously conferring a womanly blessing on a church, whose initiated members are all male. The happy father exchanges snuff with his cronies, while the young go to dance and sing (D-H,N. 1966:168; Pazzaglia 1982:117).
vii. Cold Dripping

The ox’s fat has been fried in strips and on the last morning of the feast, after dawn, the initiand’s agnatic kin and his betrothed gather before his mother’s hut. The women and girls eat pieces of roasted skin, the married women, starting with the mother also consume roasted pumpkin seeds. Then the mother raises the dripping (akuring) to her son’s lips to taste. When he has eaten, all eat. Visiting relatives return finally to their own homes, for the feast is over. The young man (esapat) is an initiate (esapanit).

viii. Significance

The initiate’s new place in the ritual strata is apparent at all times to those who can read the signs. Apart from the obvious head-dress he is now entitled to a particular design of one- or two-legged stool-cum-headrest, which is carried at all times, if not in use. Uninitiated men are not allowed to eat atap with the long wooden spoon (abolokoc). It is as if on spearing his ox a man grows up to dissociate himself from agricultural produce. He may help produce it and will certainly eat it for the rest of his life but he is still distanced from it. Anointing with chyme has changed his orientation. As a youth he would sit with the women at home during a rainmaking sacrifice and eat (army-?) worm (ngikukur) an unwelcome manifestation of spirit, in that it eats the crops. 'Nyepedori tokona akimuj ekukurit, nyisub nabo amok.’ (Pazzaglia 1982:122; Now, you are not authorized to eat the worm, nor perform the rite any more.) Responsibility for the crops, and the spirituality involved in safeguarding them, belongs to women. Good
churchmen derive their spiritual sustenance from cattle.

Initiation is not merely, or mainly, a personal event. It is a familial, communal, creational focus, in God's sight, of the values held by the whole society and embodied in the ritual and political structure of asapanë. Thus, the initiate's new status and its symbols are not just of psychological importance to him. His incorporation into the customary way of organizing and preserving unity, because it is ultimately dependent on the one God, is an effectual sign of hope for the future. Another generation is being willingly enlisted to uphold the traditions for another cycle. He, too, will bring his sons to initiation.
b. Promotion

Once every 40 years the junior generation become perturbed at being continually put down by an ever decreasing number of increasingly senile seniors who find it more difficult in practice to have their decisions implemented, as they must be enforced by age-sets in the disgruntled junior generation. The juniors seek the advice of the prophets and the senior elders in order to win the authority of age to their side. At last the breakdown in the normal order of things reaches a crisis, perhaps, in the unpermitted and unpunished usurping by a junior age-set of some insignia of their seniors, when the only option left is for the junior generation to be promoted so that order can be restored. This non-violent power contest is sharper in Karimojong because the solution involves the retirement of the senior generation from power, sometimes to the extent that they are verbally abused.

In Najie there is more continuity, with the oldest men continuing to lead prayers and participate in decision-making until they die.

'The ceremony to promote [akitopolor, lit. to make big] the Ngimugeto [our, ie. Ngikosowa’s, sons] was held at about the same time that our grandsons, the Ngitome, began their initiations. The Ngikosowa and Ngimugeto went to Nayan [sic; tribal sacred grove] where many oxen were sacrificed. The Ngikosowa were on one side and the Ngimugeto on the other. Then the Ngikosowa blessed their sons and raised [promoted] them up and told them, 'Come! Sit here on this side with us. Be elders.' But those Ngimugeto were not really able to do anything after this ceremony that they could not do before. The Ngikosowa still have the power [apedor], and we shall have it until we are all dead. The Ngimugeto must still ask our permission before they can do things.'(Lamphear 1976:154)

The deacons are priested by the surviving priests, who in this conservative gerontocracy never lose their God-given authority. The 2 Jie sections hold the ceremony in parallel,
initiating an hereditary leader of the generation first (ibid.:39). Their last promotion in 1963 was 7 years behind the Karimojong who had still waited through 5 poor years until the reasonably prosperous conditions of October 1956.

i. Place of Installation

Promotion is the only tribal-wide ceremony, that the Karimojong normally perform. They have always used Nakadanya near the Apule River, which involves a mass pilgrimage for all those who have the resources to attend.

The succession journey is part of the most specific and important affirmation of tribal values that any of its participants will see in their lifetime.... in intent and symbol it is the tribe which is gathering. (D-H,N. 1966:189)

Men carry 'the things of celebration', musical horns of gazelle, eland, kudu, or oryx (ngaluto), wooden trumpets (ngarupepe), knee-bells (ngitworoi), leopard- or baboon-skin, and cow-hide, capes, and feather head-dresses. The boys herd sacrificial oxen and milking cows, followed by young women. The religious nature of the activity forbids any stealing or quarrelling, which usually breaks out when men who have been avoiding their stock obligations for years are finally confronted by their claimants. Different sections, according to their historical seniority, undertake sundry tasks in building the camp of sacrifice (awi amuros) and preparing for the ceremonies.

ii. Severing the Hind Legs

A specified ox is sacrificed but on this occasion alone the senior elder distributes the sacred perineal flesh (elamacar) to the junior generation. He leads in prayer to God, for him to bless it in its responsibility for the tribal country. All the meat is eaten, save the very sacred
hind-legs (amuro) wherein lies the strength of the ox. The special long spear has been brought from Labwor through all the sections (Pazzaglia 1982:81n.). The senior elder grasps it near the blade and, with as many juniors as can gain hold of the shaft of the spear behind him, he severs the flesh of the hips. He cuts the sacrifice, (akidung amuro). So holy is this act that, if the blade needs sharpening on a rock, another ox must be sacrificed in order to atone for the imperfection.

iii. Unlocking the Age-set

After the sacrifice is consumed the pilgrims return home, now able to do what before was never done: to begin the initiations of those mostly overaged men in the next generation, so that in unlocking the age-set (akurwor asapanet) which had waited many years to be opened, as many as 100 men may be initiated in a single session.

iv. Rock of the Country

Next, some of the retiring generation and that being promoted journey again to Nakadanya, driving older calves into a large ritual enclosure, centred on the rock of the country (emoru a akwap). Oxen are sacrificed and both cattle and people are anointed with their chyme. The participants assemble round a heap of white pebbles, symbolizing calves as in boys' games. The senior elder stands and 'announces the custom' (D-H,N. 1966:192) exhorting the elders designate to live up to their responsibilities. When the sacrificial meat has been eaten the newly initiated scramble for the pebbles and the ashes of the fire that roasted the meat. Precisely 4 calves are selected from particular clans and marked with the clan's brand (emacar). Just as a new
generation of people is brought into being by the grandsons replacing their grandfathers in the constitution so another generation of cattle is given to them on which to live.

v. New Generation

On their return home the newly married women dip grass brushes into water in their milking vessels and spray the pilgrims and their cattle. Both grass and water are symbols of peace and blessing which accord with their spiritual principle. Each man puts the pebbles (ngakookes) from Nakadanya in the milking vessel, from where they are redistributed to every family to be kept in the large churning gourds to clean them. All unbranded stock are branded according to clan.

These renewals are paralleled by New Fire which is kindled with newly cut firesticks being spun in old wood by the new initiates before the assembly. The fastest runners then take embers to the permanent settlements (Pazzaglia 1982:98). The opening of a new generation is the opening of a new age -- literally -- for Karamojong time is divided up into generations. The incipient and decrepit disorder previous to the promotion, provides a vivid contrast to the hopes for the next 40 years of peace, order, and plenty. Mature, vigorous men now occupy senior positions in the assembly to intercede to God for the people, yet still in the alternating current of tradition from time immemorial.

Initiation and promotion are the 2 sacraments which uphold the ecclesio-political constitution of the tribe, and which are held periodically to meet the demands of the system and its individual or corporate members. Another group
of sacraments are annual, and pertain to more local interests.

c. Beseeching

i. Bettering the World

Each section has a ground dedicated to this ceremony, when the section beseeches the elders to intercede to God for the good health of the people and livestock, a bumper harvest, and a wide berth for hunger, disease, and pestilence. It is as close as the Karamojong come to a New Year ritual, for it occurs at the beginning of the wet season (Pazzaglia 1982:80f.) in or after the lunar month called Lodunge (that which cuts, or divides, the wet from the dry season). It comes when dust winds have been blowing, granaries are emptying, and stomachs are rumbling, but the start of a new agricultural year offers the possibility of an end to hunger, or its intensification. Like most feasts in Karamoja it is moveable and will be called when the section faces great stress, perhaps widespread enough to warrant use of the tribal sacred grove.

The Karimojong call the ceremony akitocol (to cause to compensate with cattle). The junior generation offers livestock for a sacrifice in honour of their seniors, for such an act of subordination to age is good for the land.

ii. Rites

The Jie and the Turkana call the same ceremony angola (from akingol, to slaughter). Each territorial division or Karimojong sub-section sacrifices its oxen and rams or he-goats, and the stomach of each is slit as many times as there are sub-sections. The elders, having prayed for their economy, feast on the meat which is supplemented
by gifts of milk and tobacco. They bless the livestock and the fields. All the people file through a makeshift gate constructed out of branches cut from a tree with a ritual axe, for the senior elder to spatter them with a blend of sacred clay and water, also blessing each by calling down God’s favour upon him. Another may sweep the way clean for them. They go through in the acknowledged order in which the territorial divisions were settled (Lampheare 1976:133), or the Karimojong clans were formed (D-H,N. 1966:89). Thus, at a time when divisiveness and accusations of witchcraft may abound in the face of hardship the critical unity of the generations as well as neighbourhoods and clans is maintained by faith in a God-given hope for the future.

iii. Severe Crises

If drought or famine takes a cumulative effect after 2 or more bad years and the normal ritual solutions have had no effect it must be because the people themselves have sinned (ak1sec) against their country, spoiling the world (akwap). The ultimate sacrifice to restore peace with God after this catastrophic disobedience is a human one. So a child may be carried to the highest mountain, Moroto, for sacrifice, to approach nearer to Akuja in order to propitiate His anger (cf. Alan Root’s 1971 film).

In 1985 after 3 poor or bad harvests a Pore emuron in Karenga discovered by dream or divination that 5 Jie youths should die to save their people from an army operation. As with sacrificial oxen, descriptions were put out of the required victims who were ceremonially despatched to their maker. Though folk in Kotido saw this as a terrible thing it was no more than a reflection of the dire straits
of the time. There were no protests from any quarter, yet the killings were apparently not implemented on an order from the elders. If such a thing could effect an improvement, then there was something good about it, and no-one wished to meddle in rites so potent as these, though the elders put a stop to similar human sacrifices in the Moroto area (Letter 1.8.90 Rowland).

The inference is that the response of human sacrifice to severe crises is not historically an EN custom, but is ingrained in some clans with WN or Kuliak origins.

d. Rain-making

The prime condition for healthy herds and a good harvest is rain. The only members of society who can make rain are the elders who have the holy ability to intercede with God successfully. In Najie, if the fire-maker’s ceremony, washing a black goat at a Losilang rock cistern, fails to work the elders can organize a steer sacrifice at Lodukwanit water-hole, or Looi sacred grove (Gulliver, P. & P. H. 1953:48; Lamphear 1976:174). Their prayers, begun by the senior elder with a freshly cut stick or wand, claim that the rain will come. The prayers of senior men who have kept the traditions avail to change the habitat.

i. Seed-time

Once rain has begun to soften the hard ground it is still a lottery to know when to sow and till the fields. After the fields have been cleared of thorns the seed, having been stored by each woman and tied to the ceiling of her hut, in a bag (egogol) made out of a bull’s scrotum to ensure germination, is strewn, and small gangs of women hoe the seed into the soil, away from depredations of ant and
bird. It may germinate but if the rains have reached no consistency, the tiny plants soon wither and die. The labour is in vain and must begin again. Good timing overcomes this curse on agriculture.

'When planting time came, the people of all the Lokorwakol territorial divisions would gather at Lomokura to ask the fire-maker's permission to begin sowing. If he decided the time was right, he would bless them by smearing them with clay.'

'The fire-maker would bless the sorghum seeds and then distribute them to the territorial divisions, saying, "Go now, and plant your gardens."' (Lamphear 1976:172)

The informants speak in the past, perhaps, because the rôle of the fire-maker has lapsed but there is evidence that some such rite continues. Gourlay (1971b:142) writes of blessing hoes and seeds, 'ajulot ngina iwosere ngakutai ngaetin' which, when spelt out, translates thus: an animal sacrifice to anoint with oil the long-handled ace of spades hoes and the seeds. They would be smeared with animal fat to aid the penetration of the sacred soil and the fertility of the crop. Ajulot (cf. akijul, to turn upside down, alter) is not related to the normal vocabulary for sacrifice, but only those concerning crops. It is therefore likely that those sacrifices were brought to Karamoja by Ngikatapa and have been integrated as lesser rites in the Karamojong church.

Their persistence through time and cultural change is indicated by the fact that the seed-growers of Kotido, more capitalists than tribespeople, being involved in trade and local government, still arrive at the Karamoja Seeds Scheme office all on the same day asking for tractor cultivation, despite being requested every year to cultivate earlier, as ploughing and sowing, agronomically, need not be
simultaneous. It is now the emuron who declares the official opening of seed-time (Letter 1.8.90 Rowland).

If rain does not come in sufficient continuity then the people must please the elders again by feeding them in rainmaking ceremonies for the affected locality so that their curses may be eliminated and their strongest blessings effected. The warriors' vigour, yet their obedience to the elders, is dramatized in mock spear charges. A steer, or sometimes a full-grown bull, or a fat cow, may be speared and its chyme spattered on the worshippers and on their fields. Prayers are led by respected elders (Rowland 1983:2) and the emuron, sticking his unsheathed spear upright in the ground. The prayer leader or the congregation may dramatize the source of rain, the east, or the destination of disease, the west, by pointing arms, stick, or spear in the appropriate direction.

Adoba? Ado.
Adoba? Ado.
Emwoko? Emwoko.

(L: Listen! Amen, amen,11 the rain I have prophesied, has it not fallen?
R: It has fallen.
L: Has it fallen?
R: It has fallen.
L: Has it fallen?
R: It has fallen.
L: Amen, amen, the cows have they not been satisfied?
R: They have been satisfied.
L: They have been satisfied?
R: They have been satisfied.
L: They have been satisfied?
R: They have been satisfied.
L: Amen, amen, the sorghum has germinated. Has it not germinated?
R: It has germinated.
L: Amen, amen, the cough of the people, it has flown away,
R: It has flown away.
L: Amen, amen, the evil there has flown away, has it not flown away?
R: It has flown away.

If this is an accurate re-translation of what Persse heard then the verbs are in the perfective aspect, as indicated by the prefixes and the negative particle (pa) while local translations of prayers into English usually adopt the future tense, in order to make the prayers intelligible to empirical Englishmen. In actual fact the rain has not yet fallen and the cattle are far from satiated, which is why the ceremony is being held in the first place but something has already happened that starts a process, which will end ineluctably in rain or welfare, and which the prayers reinforce by verbalizing, in faith. The event which starts the process in such an unpromising environment must be the death of the sacrificial victim, for the meal proper has not yet begun.

ii. Tying up the Rain

Sorcery or antisocial practice can wrong the country and 'tie up' (akikujukuj) the rain.

Such an instance occurred in the summer of 1951 when a man boasted publicly that he had buried "medicine" in a pot to prevent rain. The women of the neighbourhood, who always act in cases where rainfall is threatened, marched to the man's homestead, dug up the offending pot with the medicines inside and broke it into pieces.

(Sulliver, P. & P.H. 1953:49)

Since women are totally responsible for providing water for the home and for managing the fields they take it upon themselves to root out the cause of the crop rains failing. They may visit places where there is water, to pour it as rain, or they address rivers by special, probably spirit names, and sing how they have flooded the land or, if they...
suspect someone, they take a stick in either hand and proceed, singing and swaying, as they walk to his home (Gourlay 1971b:139).

A leading trader in Kotido had consulted an emuron in order to prevent the government from prosecuting him for magendo (making supernormal profits). He advised the sacrifice and burial of a dog near Mount Toror. Years later in 1985 the same emuron pinpointed the dog’s grave as tying up the rains, presumably because they upset the rain-bearing spirits of Toror. So the women of the town stampeded to his shop and looted it. A ceremony, no doubt involving a sacrifice of an animal and a fee for the emuron, was performed to cancel the effect of the previous one. The rich and influential cannot gainsay the power of this world-view, and ignore the local customs that ensure social responsibility at their peril.

ii. Creating Rain

There is a sacrament (ajulot ngina ka akiru, sacrifice for rain) when a dry spell threatens the young crops, which counters selfish or evil practices for the benefit of the whole community (Gourlay 1971b:138). David Burnett, a scientist by training (1988:13f.), chronicled a visit in Najie in June 1983, a month usually given to drought in the middle of crop growth, receiving as little as 15.9 mm. and having at most a 1:6 chance that any rain would fall at all in 24 hours (cf. D–H,N. 1966:32; D–H,V.R.& N. 1970:97). Najie is generally drier than the centres of the south. Rain normally comes from an easterly direction, so much so that I am tempted to say that ‘west’ was wrong.

...I could sense the excitement and the anticipation. It was going to be a great day. Then I looked up to the sky.
It was now about 9am, and the sun was climbing into a clear blue sky. There were only a few wisps of a cloud visible, and it had all the indications of being another hot, dry day in Karamoja.... Did they honestly think that by offering a sacrifice they would cause rain to fall?

The little group of men began to lead the black bull into the open area just on the outside of the village. The bull had to be black, I was informed, because that was symbolic of the clouds which would come from the west .... Eventually one of the old men stood near the remains of the carcass and began to shout his prayers to God, 'Akuj, send rain on your people.' The people in the circle echoed the refrain. All the old men took their place and in turn led the people in the prayers while the meat was being cooked on the fire.

Suddenly the cooked meat was being offered around, and the people began to jump up and dance. I scarcely noticed that the thin clouds had thickened, and from the west the sky slowly began to darken. The dance continued into the afternoon, and the air of anticipation grew. Finally, at about 3pm, a few spots of rain fell, and then the rain began to fall so heavily that everyone had to run for shelter.

The Karamojong believe their sacraments have power to change the course of nature and to redeem the spoliation of creation.
e. Freeing the Cattle

i. Purpose

When the grass around the settled areas begins to dry up, the cattle herdsmen become restless, wanting to move away to the dry-season grazing lands with their herds. Embarking on the nomadic life each year is seen by the herdsmen as liberation for both them and their cattle. They will often be scores of miles away from their paternal herd-owners and the cattle will be able to roam as far afield as they need in order to satisfy their appetites. Together they represent the future well-being of society; the herdsmen are the rising generation and the herds are the social and economic capital. The elders know that if the herdsmen resolutely refuse to return to their families there is little they can do to stop the dissolution of their tribe or section. The most fatal of curses will not undo the damage done, if the threat of it is ignored. Thus, it is of the utmost importance that the herdsmen leave in a sanctioned and amicable way.

The public ceremony of akiwodokin provides for this departure (awosit cf. akiwos, to rub on, anoint) for the cattle camps (ngawiyoi). As with akitocol, the original meaning has changed, at least for the young unenculturated people, to what they see as the function of the ceremony, namely here, freeing the cattle, driving them, or assembling. Also the Karimojong tend to drop their 'w's into 'u's, giving akiudakin (D-H,N. 1966:94) further obscuring the derivation and the more significant meaning. A-dokin means to emigrate, run away, go away in anger (Lamphear 1976:29). That is precisely what the schismatic groups did
who founded the Turkana, Toposa, Nyangatom, and Jiye as independent tribes. The entire intention of akiwodokin is to stop another repetition of these socio-political tragedies. Akiwo means to stand or stop. Akiwodokin is designed to stop the warrior herdsmen going away in anger by turning the event from self-won independence to a happy blessing by the elders, incorporating a reminder of their duty to return.

(ii. Procedure)

As the herdsmen grow restless, one of them, an esorokit, asks for a council (atukot) to decide a date for akiwodokin and the move away. Until this happens it is an act of wilful disobedience, punishable by a beating or the sacrifice of a ox, to take cattle off to the dry-season pastures. Oxen are sacrificed to please the elders, who divine the propitious occasion. A facilitator (ekeseran) is appointed to announce and organize the assembly with the aid of a ludu horn, so that all the males may attend the sacred grove of the section with as many herds as possible -- no mean operation. The elders feast on the sacrificial oxen and gourds of milk. The herdsman and the stock in their care are blessed with the chyme and the elders' prayers. Then the herdsman leave, in the accepted order of clan or locality, through the brushwood gate and are given a clay spray blessing and a token beating with a switch to remind them of their duty to the elders.

'Before the young men go to the cattle camps, an akiwodokin... ceremony is held. It is conducted by the oldest men [senior elders] who beat them and throw clay at them. This is to show that the oldest men have the power. They do this so that the young men will know they must return when the elders call them... Thus, it is the oldest men who decide how cattle should move, even though they remain at the homesteads and do not themselves go to the cattle-camps.'

(Lamphear 1976:155)
The herds are led by the **ekeseran** blowing his horn to a prearranged dry-season water-hole, whence family herdsmen can exercise their precious right within the guidelines set by the family heads who are the herd-owners, to herd where and with whom they will. It is apparent that it is only the shared cattle loyalties, united in the sure belief that Akuya can in fact bless men and herds through the elders’s prayers and execute their curses on the recalcitrant, which prevents the disintegration of society.

### iii. Seasonal Society

Angola and akiwodokin are a pair of sacraments. One is usually held at the beginning of the wet season, the other at the beginning of the dry. Both involve the sectional assembly and blessing of cattle and the orderly dismissal through the symbolic gate, with the anointing of clay and the ritual beating. The gate, perhaps, signifies entry into or exit from settled society with all its regulations on behaviour which stipulate God’s justice. Out in the bush a man can be alone with God in His spiritual creation. The cattle which society has blessed continually mediate God’s providence to him. In such a gracious environment, however hostile and threatening to others, he can work out his own salvation.

There are 2 more sacraments, whose timing is conditioned by the seasons.
f. Harvest Festival

i. Wilting Crops

On average no more than 1 year in 3 will yield a fairly good harvest or better (D-H, V.R. & N. 1970: 116). Since rainfall is highly localized, some neighbourhoods may have little grain on the crop, even though the section as a whole is doing quite well, in which case, or if akitocol/angola has not worked, then all the adult men of the neighbourhood will visit each suffering homestead for one last supplication to God for the welfare of its fields, crops, and livestock in a sacrifice for sorghum (ajulot a ngimomwa; Gourlay 1971b:142; Gulliver 1955:81). Sorghum, unlike maize, has an amazing capacity, given late rain, to produce a crop after having been bleached white by the sun. In this hope the women of the homestead provide blood, milk, and sorghum atap for those who pray.

ii. Thanksgiving

In the 1 good year in 3 each homestead blessed by God takes turns to sacrifice an ox in its cattle corral for all the adult males in the neighbourhood. God’s benificent handiwork is publicly acknowledged and prayers made for next years rains to be just as timely and abundant. Here there is opportunity for the clan traditions of each family, in whose name thanks and petitions are made to God in prayer (ibid.:82). These feasts are called ngasuban, and are genuinely a festival of creation (asubet) with dances by the women to celebrate the fruit of their toil (Pazzaglia 1982:120). They are held around July (Losuban) when the first ears of sorghum can be reaped. A good crop is the prime condition for holding weddings and initiations over
harvest (aet). All these ceremonies are performed (akisub) out of the bounty of the Creator (Ekasuban).

g. War Sacrifices

1. Declaring War

There is a season for going to war, usually starting after akiwodokin. It may continue until the wet season makes travel difficult, brings the herds back home, preoccupies the men with other tasks, or gives sufficient food to damp any Warderlust. Since raiding, even by an enterprising, small group of friends can bring severe repercussions on others, the elders feel a need to control the eagerness of the young men to acquire a herd of their own the quick way, as the elders may lose theirs in a counter-raid. In 1965 the elders were in no mood for war and not only refused the young men this sacrament but also cursed them if they went raiding (Gourlay 1971b:144). All the political ingredients, including spy intelligence, for a decision go into haruspication. An emuron may divine an ox’s entrails for the section’s elders to decide whether to grant permission to raid.

The sacrifice that opens fighting (amuronot nginaangaar ajore) produces extremely shrewd results. The choice of the weakest enemy is anything but arbitrary. Radio news is not disdained, especially as it tends to cover parts of Uganda other than Karamoja, giving an advantage over its neighbours. Internal news travels very fast along the strata of the generation system with many people on the move between the centres and the outlying areas. Certainly, the Jie were waiting for General Okello’s troops to retreat home from Jinja through Kotido in January 1986. Tito Okello,
himself had twice gone to the elders of east Acholi for the
equivalent ritual there to decide whether he should launch a
coup d'etat. The second time, he successfully marched on
Kampala.

ii. Raiding Roasts

The timing and place of a particular attack is
settled at a raiding feast (epheyus ngolo jie). This is held
on the eve of the planned raid and so often at night for the
warriors "to make their hearts fierce" by drinking ox's
blood (Paget Wilkes 1932:8; Docherty 1957:33; cp.D-H,N.
1958:177). If it is held at night the ox cannot be speared
running with the herd as usual but is held by men with a
thong round its hind leg, and another tries to thrust his
spear through the heart at the first attempt to ensure good
fortune. The blood is drunk from the chest cavity, elders
first. Adult warriors are given chyme with which to anoint
themselves, while the elders anoint the uninitiated, uttering
a personal blessing, like, 'Topolor! Tomojong! Tobaru!'. (Be
great! Become old! Be rich!) A diviner uses it to daub on
small stones, making patterns that glisten in the dark,
while muttering incantations over them.

This is most probably the work of an emuron who, in
response to the much greater rôle played by divines in
Turkana and Pokot, has been invited to respond in kind.
Medicine (ekitoi, tree) has always been significant in the
hunt and the raid to 'confuse' the victims, but currently
the Jie have combined their cattle into three great
ngalomarin (cf. alomar, to go in) which each have an emuron
attached to advise the war leader (ekapolon ka ajore) if he
is not 'a high priest' himself (Letter 3.4.90 Banks). His
advice on who to take, the route there and back, or the tactics will weigh as much as his reputation in these matters allows. However, a younger man is chosen to lead the raiding party into action, the bravest and most skilful warrior. As leader (ekadedengan cf. dedeng, fierce) he may be offered the ox's testicles to eat so that its power may be transferred to him.

The young women sing and clap in the background, while the initiated men eat and young men join them for the dance (ememwor) 'to put heart into a man' (Gourlay 1971b:144), whipping themselves up into a drunken frenzy. The songs extol oxen and courage, the very attributes most attractive to girls, not least because they offer the greatest mortal security. Warriors will seldom go to raid, unless their mothers bless them in the home, where they may anoint themselves with ritual clay to prevent harm from bullets, spears, and arrows. Women are very much part of the war effort, also being acknowledged as the producers of warriors to protect the country, so enemy women are also treated as combatants.

iii. Defending a Raid

A community under threat from a small, impending raid holds an ordinary sacrifice at its sacred grove (MT 1966:ch.5). However, in times of full-scale war, the leaders and the warriors gather into an alomar, which becomes a fighting unit on full alert for the defence of their cattle and people. In 1980, Arthur Banks (3.4.90) was present, in the bush, when the Jie were under very real threat of attack, and watched the whole group of several hundred warriors at a 'prayer-meeting', called
to put a curse on the enemy, and it was terrifying in the power of evil or at least pagan vitriol being poured out in the amazing unison of the curses -- the rolled "R's" and exhaled hisses -- no, more deep and sonorous than hisses more like the power of the bottom note on a cathedral organ, or a vicious rumble of thunder close by.

Victory in battle and the restriction of the growth in enemies' human and cattle populations which is essential, ultimately, for the survival of the tribe is in the hands of God who will favour those who have done things well and wisely.

h. Receiving an Enemy Name

1. Purifying Homicide

Though killing a human being is a fairly normal, even necessary thing to do within a lifetime, even for a woman, provided the victim is an alien (emoit), it is not without consequence for the spiritual world (Tornay 1989: 866ff.). Not only may the dead person's family seek vengeance but his spirit may too. Therefore, a killer must purify himself before God, and free himself from the stain of death through the sacrifice of a goat. He eats the goat and cuts the goatskin into strips, which he wears to show that the "enemy blood has been washed away". (MT 1966:119)

Should he not undergo the ritual cleansing symbolized by the white goat-skin thongs (ngarukanes) it is believed he will fall sick (Rowland 1988:10). He may also don a necklace of white beads, also as a charm against avenging spirits whose symbolic colour, being of the world of shades, is black.

If a spear has been used, the user may never use it as a spear again, else its taint will surely cause him to die. He should at once lick the blood off the blade 'to prevent him feeling faint' (Rowland 1983:9). Presumably, this internalizes the victim's life-force, rather than
leaving it over against him. President Amin, an EN Kakwa, is believed to have performed a blood-tasting rite on his dead enemies of state (Kyemba 1977:108f.). Otherwise, the victor can stick the blade into the ground, probably to return the man's spirit from whence it came. Then it must be broken up for other uses, or given away. Since most enemies die by bullets now, this custom must be rare, unless a knife is applied to the corpse, as nothing similar is done with guns.

ii. Validation

In order for his act to meet with public approval, he must submit himself to the elders by sacrificing an ox, white probably being the propitious colour. If satisfied as to the details of the event they will authorize him to take an 'enemy name' which picks up some distinguishing item. So the name 'Lotorgomoi' means 'he of the angry enemy'. It may become the name by which he is known for the rest of his life.

He may also wear an ostrich feather, dyed red, at dances (Bell 1923:37), and have a pattern of cicatrices (ngaloka or ngageran) made by plucking the skin with a thorn and cutting it to leave scars on the right shoulder denoting a man, on the left a woman. Spearing an elephant, lion, the now extinct rhinoceros, or buffalo also used to merit a decoration and slits in the ear of the beloved ox. Although not now a ritual necessity for initiation or marriage, killing has been significant for partaking of tribal identity. The Teso call a Karimojongait, aloket. Aloket is an animal trap, or the wire appendage, which doubles back over the head-dress to suspend a rabbit-tail or monkey fur
bob (etule) over the forehead. The Karimojong have been viewed, not so much as cowherds but as Ngilok, (trappers, hunters, killers; Clark, D. & Totty, A. 1953:3; cf. akilok, to trap). In these rites, then, may be the last vestiges of an initiation ceremony that predated asapane, dependent on an economy based more on hunting, and was a precondition for initiation and marriage.

Of 59 Dodos males examined by Wayland (1931:222-7), 20% had cicatrices, and of 62 Jie, 16%. Of all these, 16 were on the right shoulder and 6 on the left. In the conditions of modern Uganda, without a statistical study, there would appear to be a greater proportion so decorated, with some cases of ngaloka on both shoulders. So tell-tale a sign, as with the strips of goat-skin, is delayed until after the raiding season, so as not to present too tempting a target.

i. Peace-making

i. Desiring Peace

There is a time for war and a time for peace. The tribes of Karamoja are not fighting with all of their neighbours for all of the time. Throughout hostilities, a Karamojong tries to uphold his relationship with an alien stock associate, despite the public opprobrium, for he knows that there will be a time in his life when he will need him. Ties of marriage also exist. Repeatedly, political and economic circumstances will arise which make peace good sense. This is fine, especially for the elders, for society as a whole regards peace with prosperity, as the most desirable state, one for which they often pray. It is mainly those who want to make their mark on the status quo, who
take the benefits of peace for granted.

Peace (ekisil) may break out at any time, even after a crushing defeat, for wars are never fought to build an empire only to secure space in which to live and eat. In 1983 a durable peace broke out between the Karimojong, Jie, and Dodos who had been fighting intermittently for 3 decades but it was no accident, being arranged by the elders. Now the warriors go on raids together in Uganda, Sudan, and Kenya, and internal disruptions, as there have been between sections in Karimojong, are settled.

ii. Celebrating Peace

Respected leaders visit the enemy under a truce and sue for peace. If there is sufficient will on both sides a meeting of the 2 generations from both sides is fixed, either at a neutral site or at one another’s sacred groves in succession (Rowland 1998:10). The nature of the ceremony appears to have changed little in 200 years. At the end of the 18th century, the Toposa and the Dodos broke their spears and buried them in a river bed (Pazzaglia 1982:35). One was held in Renge in 1901/2 to end the Jie-Acoli war with elders from all parts of Najie attending and the local ones officiating (Lamphear & Webster 1971:30). The thigh-bone of a sacrificial ox was broken, presumably with its foreleg between the two parties to give a peace which largely held, with much mutual contact and intermarriage, until 1982. To share in a sacrifice to God, even when very different conceptions of Him are held, is a highly effectual sign.

In 1920 when the British pushed the Pokot, Sebei, Karamojong, and Turkana into making peace (akisil) the
ceremony also consisted of the elders of each side exchanging white and red ostrich feathers tied to long sticks, the former symbolizing peace and life, the latter anger and bloodshed. One accepts the other, past atrocities, present vengeance, and all. Then they walk over crossed spears, crossed arrows, and crossed shields. The central act is still the breaking of the right thigh bone, seen as the essence of the ox’s strength. Representatives of the parties hold the ends and presumably keep them as tokens of the formally ratified peace. They also hold up razors, take a peace oath, and bury the razor. An ekimomwor dance follows for the young people to celebrate the new political relationship, and provides an opportunity for sexual relations and courtship between the sexes and the tribes.

However, the treaty between the Pian and the Pokot was remarkable for its long run inefficacy but this was due to the imposition of the ceremony by the British. Karamojong sacraments are commonly rooted in reality; if not, they promote disembodied ideals which have little to do with life as they see or experience it.

iii. Occasional Bonds

A sign of peace at any time is to rip up a handful of grass and bear it to the other party. A practice, which used to be widespread over the region, was the mixing of persons’ blood to forge a blood brotherhood for life (Bell 1923:63).
j. **Memorial Services**

i. Removing the Dead

Those who die in the homesteads are taken out into the bush (namoni) and laid in a thicket (amoni). The function of this must be to prevent the vultures from disfiguring the corpse by day but to allow the hyenas to dispose of it all in the night. The dead, though lost to the land of the living, are thus taken closer to the sacred sphere. Rowland (1983:10) witnessed the corpse of an old lady being taken out by her son, who broke in his hands a small gourd of ashes, throwing them against the deceased. The war dead are left where they lie, unless they are near the settlements but only local men will be covered with branches. People who die without issue are cut off from the land of the living, for it is the duty of sons to arrange rites, and of siblings to remember their parents.

ii. Burial

Only the herd-owner, and his first wife, must be buried. A grave is dug in the moist earth in the middle of his calf or sheep pen and he is buried on his side, with his head pointing toward his tribe's known cradleland. The corpse is covered with dung and earth, stamped down hard to foil body-snatchers. He may be buried in the hide of his beloved ox; 'the ox will be killed to accompany its master on his last long journey' (Clark, D. 1952a:69). The upright gravestone is a reminder, that the spirit of the deceased still watches over Family life.

iii. Mourning

Respects are paid by the weeping and wailing which goes on for several days. Men have the front of their heads
shaved, and women all. All neck ornaments are removed and the widow's ear-rings too. Women and children put on tatty clothes until hair recovers the head, when the mourners rub themselves down with dust (apua) and shake it off, 'to rid themselves of the contamination of the dead' (Clark, D. 1953:76). Then personal ornaments can be restored.

All his beloved oxen must be sacrificed, as nobody is allowed to inherit one. The deceased's age-set companions will eat them in a meal called akurwor, which unlocks his spirit from his earthly home but, uniquely, no prayers are said and no rite performed with the amuro. Rich wives bring an ox for sacrifice, poor or young ones a ram, the same beast that they receive when their daughters marry.

iv. Funeration

A year after the death of a mature man or woman the family will sacrifice an ox for a funeral banquet (amon). Its hide is pegged out, upside down, in the homestead to dry in the sun. The next day the friends and relatives come in and sit round the sides of the ekal to drink the beer that is offered them, married women at one end and the men at the other. It is a quiet low-key affair but of good humour. The proper thing has been done for the deceased, and his spirit may rest in peace.

k. Cooling Down

When a community, below the level of a territorial division, suffers great stress because of an ongoing outbreak of diseases or deaths among people or cattle confined to it, spirits of one sort or another are blamed. If it is cholera or dysentery, ngipian are angry. Trouble might be caused by spiritual machinations of sorcerers or by
disturbed ancestral spirits. Accusations begin to fly, either about how someone has wronged the spirits or how someone is a sorcerer, and tempers grow steadily more heated until life for all becomes miserable (Gulliver 1955:9f.,113; Rowland 1988:6f.).

The solution is to have a 'cooling down' ceremony (akitolum cf. etolim, cool shade, shadow of inanimate object). Now a human's shadow (etorobe) represents his soul and the stem, *lim, is associated with a range of spiritual things: rain, water, cold, advice, and stain (akilimet see h.i. 'the stain of death'). Akitolum, by cooling down a situation placates hot, angry spirits. It is to restore the spiritual world and therefore of necessity the human and material worlds, to a more harmonious order. How is this done? Simply by sacrificing a steer or in smaller family affairs a goat, and praying that Akuje will soothe an inflamed, putrescent, social situation. That He does, is testified by the high degree of solidarity in neighbourhood and extended family, despite endemic hardships.

1. Absolution

i. The Curse

When youths or men disobey the elders or the social norms which the latter uphold, they lay themselves open to the legal, physical punishment of ameto or to the supernatural curse (akilamakinet) of the elder(s). The distinction is a fine one, for ameto often results in a religious sacrifice, and the curse in physical suffering, and the elders instigate both. However, the punishment with potentially greater effect is the curse. It is not used if the elders can avoid it for they would prefer that theft,
for instance, were sorted out between the parties rather than bring contempt on their supernatural powers by overuse in the mundane. Yet the curse is used to salutary effect.

Just as the elders pray for something good, and it is at once asserted by the reponse to be the case, so it is in reverse. As soon as they curse (aki-lam/pyed/cen), the world has been changed and it is an urgent priority for the accursed to do everything he can to revoke the curse before it is too late. There is no question of waiting to see what happens. Even if we take the most sceptical view of actual effect on the accursed’s health, wealth, or life, specified by the curse, it is undeniable that an unrevoked curse will lead to him being cut off from his people. As an outlaw he must either live as a desperate bandit, move to a town, or go into exile among enemies who would use him to assist their raids. Elders do not relish any of these alternatives, and would rather he submitted to their authority but there are no negotiations on an equal footing.

ii. Countering the Curse

In 1965 when the elders cursed those who went raiding they retaliated in kind by holding their own ceremony to free themselves from the elders’ power. Each transferred the curse heaped upon him to his beloved ox, which was driven into the bush (Gourlay 1971b:84,144). It was a means of sacrificing cattle directly to God, without going through the elders, and the clearest possible example of an ox substituting for a man. This rebellion against the authority of the elders was not caused by the influence of modernity except inasmuch as it fostered population pressures since the curse was taken seriously, but by social
and economic pressures to acquire cattle, when cattle holdings were more than the environment could sustain. The elders would not have recognized the warriors’ repudiation of their curse but have seen its effects in the bad famines over the next 2 decades.

iii. Believing

There is a sacrament to enable the accursed to come into line and to recognize the elders’ God-given authority. In proportion to the gravity of his offence he, or they, must offer tobacco, beer, or sacrificial stock to the elder, or an ox for the assembly. The elders make clear what is required. The ceremony (akidyek) takes it name from the central dialogue.

Offender: ‘Father, father, let me be. Help me. Leave me alone. I will not do these things again, truly. I will not repeat them.’
Elder: ‘Very well. Have you believed?’
Offender: ‘I have.’
Elder: ‘Or do you still argue?’
Offender: ‘No, I have believed.’ (D-H, N. 1966:182)

The offender may be cleansed by crawling through (and being momentarily gripped by) the elder’s straddled legs or he may be anointed with chyme at the sacred grove. The former cleansing seems a microcosm of the gate that the juniors have to pass through at akitocol and akiwodokin, all emphasizing submission to the elders as the divine authority in society.

iv. Repentance and Forgiveness

Yet D-H’s translation of akidyek as ‘let me be’, gives the offender’s view of what he is doing rather than what he must do in the elders’ eyes, for them to revoke the curse. This is borne out by his connotation of ‘someone struggling with a force greater than himself that may only
be removed at its behest rather than his own' (ibid.; 182n.) Of course, the accursed is in the act of imploring and beseeching the elders, but he is doing something far deeper than asking them to get off his back. He must be or they would not cleanse him. Akidyak means, to miss the target, an old English meaning of sin, and adyak, probably the primitive verb behind both, to be ill (cf. adyak, sickness).

When the accursed says, adyek aiyong, he does not command 'let me be', but confesses he is sick, guilty, evil. From the admission that he has done wrong he is in a position to repent, to promise never to do wrong again. Having confessed and repented, he can properly say that he has believed, that the authorities are constituted by God and he will not argue with them. Whether every offender fully understands it this way or simply as a means of getting out of trouble is a secondary issue, common to all sacraments. D-H's other examples can be retranslated: a man with a dying child, 'God, I am sick; Earth, I am sick!'; a thief apprehended in the act, 'Father, I am guilty. I shall not do these things again. I shall not repeat them. Please forgive me.'; a would-be adulterer, caught by her menfolk because of the woman's alarm, 'Father, I am a sinner; Mother, I am in the wrong!' 'Assumed fault is common to them all.' (loc.cit.)

m. Sacramentality

All the sacramentals of the Karamojong have not been set out here. Indeed, that would be an endless task, for minor rites abound for healing and cleansing. Yet most of these could hardly be called sacraments, as they avail just for individuals and families in isolation. They do not
bring society together before God; they do not involve a meeting of the church (akiriket). On these grounds marriage might arguably be excluded, since each marriage only involves two Families and clans and sundry friends, though the collective import of marriage for society is undoubted. Also, it is a process, which takes years to complete, not a single sacramental act.

In general the above sacraments are intrinsically salvific for the individuals and communities who are represented in them. They are performed in the presence of Akuja and prayers are addressed to him to bless the people in all the main aspects of their culture, social, political, economic, and to remove the threats from which they need to be saved. They are the points at which it is acknowledged that God comes to man in creation, particularly through the mediation of sacrificial cattle, and in redemption, wrought either by God's responsive intervention in the world or by the obedience of the people to His authorized ministers. In Karamojong sacramentality, creatures, whether human, animal, vegetable, or mineral, symbolize and proclaim God himself.

9. GREAT AND POWERFUL

Consequently, the Karamojong have a religion, the symbolic fusion of belief and behaviour, rather than a theology. All that needs to be said is communicated in the words and drama of sacrament as it draws together all the threads of life, and lifts them towards the ideal which is neither removed from, nor abandoned within, the real. The ideal is in the real and changes it. There is no call for theology, at least in the public domain, outside of the
prayers and exhortations which indicate the different ways God is likely to act, or the kind of people He is apt to approve. The paucity of self-critical reflection tends to seek the integration of society by the alienation of most outside it but theology is not absent.

Theology is the task of seeing God in the cosmos and the cosmos in God. There are pathways in Karamojong religion which bring God into all the world and which take the world in all its confusion back to God. Here are impressively massive theological assumptions and these compose the faith of the Karamojong. The greatest of these is the presumption of God. No arguments are needed for or against the existence of Akuja; the only choice is to accept His presence or to ignore it. To do the latter is to ignore the Karamojong and the heartbeat of their culture. Commentators on Karamoja have noted the obeisance paid to Akuja, but they have not done justice to the way He has shaped its environment and culture. Yet even a study of Karimojong politics leads ineluctably to Akuja, ‘as the source of all values’ (D-H,N. 1966:94), or more euphemistically, ‘A careful examination of Jie myths and historical traditions... shows that the Jie system is deeply rooted in fundamental cosmological concerns’ (Lamphear 1989:8).

Sociologically, the limits of the Jie tribe can best be described in ritual terms. People of a district and of the whole tribe are kept together by indispensable ritual needs. (Bulliver 1953c:165)

The exploration of the West into Akuja, however, has hardly passed ground level.
Footnotes to III.B.

1. Teso Christians, despite their present suffering, also adhere to the irrefragable goodness of God.

2. The crocodile was an expression of divinity in Ancient Egypt (Moret 1972:398) and among WN, (cf. N *nyang: E-P 1956:66f.,126-8; Lienhardt 1961:1.III). The Pian refuse to eat it, as they identify with it, when portraying it in their sectional dances.

3. Goldschmidt 1969:8f. thought the cultures of NE Uganda 'peculiarly difficult to penetrate' due to the 'scarcity of verbal and symbolic elaboration. The Sebei and their neighbours are laconic. Their world is peopled by spirits but they speak very little of them. They have tales, but among the Sebei at least these are told only by the young and the very old; ordinary adults literally do not know them... The portals by which we usually enter alien culture are thus narrow to the point of being closed.'

4. A cobra, killed by a missionary in Nuer, required compensation, 'so that the god in it would not be angry with them for letting it be killed' (E-P 1956:69). The Dinka believe in an underworld, 'a land of the cobras, a land like Dinkaland but inhabited by cobras'. Some Dinka are 'really' cobras and could change their form into that of cobras (Lienhardt 1961:117).

5. Lamphear (1972:340) was given a sharp distinction between good and evil, rainbow and red ngipian, but there are different terms for evil spirits.

6. Ekesiemon, amoni, pl. ngamon: (forest, thicket), and amon (funeral feast) all point to liminality and the divine, and as the only forms of the root, *mon, invite a
connection with the divine name of the Ancient Egyptians, Amon/Amun. *Eke-si-emon*, with the causative infix, '-si-' (Dimmendaal 1983: 296), means, etymologically, 'he who makes divine' and, in common usage, diviner.

7. *Akijuk*, a strong verb and so more primitive than the weak verb (Dimmendaal 1983). *Akijuk* (to push) may be an example of the reversal of root consonants ('k' and 'j'). The only possible connection with *akujuk* (axe-handle) lies in the sphere of the sacred as an axe (aep) has a ritual function in EN history (Lamphear 1976: 174n.). Alternatively, *akijuk* may be cognate to *ejok*, which would connect with the cairn custom's use of *ejok*, and the frequent use of *akijuk* (weak) for to travel, eg. 'to push to Moroto' as though one went distances only by pushing up a cosmological blanket or through a heavy atmosphere irradiated by the prayers and charms of strangers in order to move forward. Thus, *akitujuk* would have meant not only to smear, but also to make good or divine. In either case, we have a spiritual dimension to a material activity and the indication that *jok/juk* might have been derived from *kudy*.

9. *cf. akirik* (to guide, surround, hunt) suggests that, in the unutterably dim and distant past, the main point in men assembling was to combine for a hunt, whereby game was driven into a place where it could be surrounded and overcome. Such an occasion was, and is among hunting peoples, appropriate for religious activity.

9. The priests of pre-monarchic Israel were also responsible for oracular divination (Jdg.17:5; 18:5; I Sam.14:36-42). A distinction is needed between a divine and a diviner
who here is taken to practise the two main methods of
divination, but the rôle of ngimurok is much deeper and
wider.

10.4 is a sacred number often employed by the Karimojong,
perhaps relating to the tribe's number of core sections:
e.g. 4 horizontal slits cut in the ox's stomach in asapan
and akiwodokin; the women dance 4 times at ngasuban;
after birth, the mother carries 4 sticks, when first
emerging from the hut to ward off the evil eye (Pazzaglia
1982:120).

11. The interjection, e/ee, usually meaning, yes, is here not
answering a question, but is related to what the prayer
leader is about to say. If this be the case, he is using
the word with a similar declaration of prophetic power to
Jesus' use of 'amen in his sayings (Jeremias 1967:112-5).

12 EA 5857: 15.12.19 J.Parton, DC, Kacheliba to DC Troops,
Turkana, 25.10.20 Report by Chidlaw-Roberts, & K.Hunter,
DC, Kacheliba. The razors were probably traditional ones,
which have been used at least until 1970. A stone blade
(aketunetunet) was chipped off chert, felspar, or quartz
and used for shaving (Wilson 1973b:84). Obsidian was used
in the past for its very sharp edge. The symbolic use of
stones gives a manifest continuity with ancient times.

Raidering soon resumed EA 4325:10.7.20 Capt.E.V.Otter
to KAR, Nairobi; Weatherby 1962:210; Brasnett 1958:118f.
C. ENCULTURATION

All aspects of Karamojong culture should be dealt with in full, but the limits imposed on this study demand that the treatment of some be excised. It is not intended, though, that the emphasis here on religion should create a new ethnographical imbalance, so the pattern of the culture will be filled out with respect to enculturation. Firstly, basic terms need to be defined for different aspects of the culture. Secondly, the categories of mediation and church have given an impression of the culture in equilibrium. This is fair, if the findings are taken to apply over 2 generations rather than any particular year, since change over 80 years has not been so great as to cause a decisive discontinuity with what went before, as the history has shown.

Enculturation involves a synchronic and a diachronic approach. In that it treats the socialization of individuals into, and by, an extant culture, it tends to be synchronic, for the given culture is assumed to be constant. In that it treats of the admission of innovations, culture is seen to change through time as a result of the collective or, at least aggregate, action of individuals. Taking each aspect of the culture singly, the structure into which young or new members of society are enculturated will be outlined briefly, and changes likely to be of widespread and continuous importance will be selected.
1. TERRITORIALITY

a. Geography

The habitat of Karamoja is of peculiar importance for understanding the inhabitants’ accumulated response to their environment.

i. Area

About 350,000 people of all tribes inhabit about 27,321 sq. kilometres (10,550 sq. miles) in Karamoja, a comparable size to Wales or Israel. Of all regions in Uganda it has the lowest population density and its environment generally is more akin to neighbouring regions of Sudan and Kenya. Karamoja is part of the African peneplain, forming a plateau tilting downwards from the top of the Turkana escarpment of the East African Rift Valley to the Nile. At its eastern edge the plateau is about 1,380 m. (4,530 ft.) above sea level, falling to 1,140 m. (3,740 ft.) on the western side of Karamoja (Smith, P. 1987:1). The plains are interrupted by isolated 2-3,000 m. high mountains of ancient crystalline rocks and volcanic origin, while in the hillier country of the north and east inselbergs become a prominent feature. Around Mount Kadam, Tertiary lavas and volcanic tuffs are conspicuous. The herdsmen grow up to know large tracts of the land intimately.

ii. Climate

Annual rainfall is lowest in the east central area, at about 500 mm. per annum, rising to 900 mm. in the south and west, more on Mounts Kadam and Moroto, but in all places precipitation is irregular, even in the wettest months of March to August (D-H,N. 1966:30-2; D-H,V.R.& N. 1970:95-7). Daytime temperatures usually fluctuate between 25 and 40°C,
with the prevailing easterlies blowing cold in the morning and hot in the evening from the semi-desert of Turkana. There was a tradition that Karamoja was becoming steadily drier (Wayland 1931:190). There is no evidence in the data since 1923 to suggest that this is continuing.

In the pluvial periods, much of Karimojong was under a vast, shallow lake formed by the reversal of the present Kafu-Kyoga river system (Tothill 1940:68-71). Since then, the rivers mostly drain into Lake Kyoga, whose level fell markedly in the north-east at the beginning of the 20th century. Numerous water-sculpted, rock gorges in the hills of Karamoja tell of a much better-watered past (ibid.:84). Mount Toror, with its limestone caves, has completely dried out, preventing continued habitation since the 18th century. Agriculture was more possible in the Koten-Magos area in the 18th century and at the end of the 19th than it is now. Lotome was remembered, by a County Chief in the 1950s when a stream had to be damned to retain the water, to have been formerly a swamp full of hippopotami (Langdale-Brown, Osmaston & Wilson 1964:90).

iii. Soils

The bedrock is the Basement Complex, common to East Africa, and the plains of Karamoja are swamp deposits on it which form black cotton soil (aro) which is hopelessly sticky when wet and which cracks when dry. It drains badly and is unsuitable for cotton. Its fringes have a 2-4 feet deep beach of pure sand. The higher ground has red loams, sand, and gravels (ngitela) known as 'hot' soil, which shifts after prolonged heavy rains, but for most of the year bakes hard and hardly absorbs 20% of precipitation. Though
fertile, neither kind of soils lends themselves easily to agriculture or heavy buildings.

Soil erosion is the most threatening feature of Karamojan ecology, whether gully, sheet, or wind. The heavy storms and the large run-off wash away colloidal particles of clay and humus over wide areas, sometimes taking seeds or young crops with them, and pouring like soup into the river-beds to form raging torrents that sweep away banks and bridges. Before the rains, unrelenting winds and little whirlwinds stir up the sand and make red dust-storms. Even in the 1930s, before the human and livestock populations mushroomed, the area was thought to be in a process of reduction to desert (Wayland & Brasnett 1937). Thus whether soil deterioration has been caused by continental climatic changes or local human culture is difficult to determine.

iv. Vegetation

The removal of vegetation allows the sun's heat to be reflected back into the atmosphere deterring the formation of rain-clouds. Certainly overgrazing and overbrowsing and the destruction of trees for agriculture, bark, and homesteads has helped denude the vegetation cover, but grass-burning to produce new growth may have assisted it. By 1935 government assessments of Karamoja's cattle-carrying capacity had already been exceeded with 250,000 head each of cattle, sheep, and goats (Eggeling 1938b:3). That Karamoja is not a desert is partly due to the recolonisation by plants of areas eroded down to rotted rock which assists the percolation of water. Thus, a cycle is created between savanna, steppe, bushland and dry thicket, and rotted rock (Langdale-Brown, Osmaston, & Wilson 1964:
v. Land Use

Though it has increased substantially since, in 1959 only 37,250 hectares were under grain crops in the whole of Karamoja, i.e. 1.4% of the land area (ibid.:78). The rest, apart from inaccessible mountain areas, is grazed for part of the year, though overgrown grasses in the wetter areas are not very nutritious and East Coast Fever in the south-east and the tsetse fly in the north limit grazing. The irony remains that the highest earthly good of the Karamojong is the most likely factor in the destruction of their land and livelihood. Cattle too, however, can be limited by Akuja through drought and epidemic.

b. Territorial Communities

A Karamojong child is not born just into a nuclear family but a long series of communities occupying progressively wider territory which he soon learns from the activities of the rest of his family.

i. Yard

The smallest unit of human geography is the yard (ekal) being a fenced area of about a square decametre, whose name could derive from a sheepfold (cf. ikale, lamb, kid) or the thorny brushwood (ekalale) which is split to make the fence (alar). It is the home of one married woman who has complete lifelong responsibility for it. It is her main working, living, and sleeping area, and has a low door (epiding) to the outside world, which is blocked off at night by pulling in a thorn branch (egolit) thorns last. She has a private wattle and daub thatched hut (akai) for herself and her infants, and may have others for her older
siblings, for whom ekal is home until they marry. It has
basket-work granaries (ngidulae) on short wooden stilts and
may have an etem (a meeting place covered by a flat roof,
eripipi) where either women or men, but not both together,
can sit informally for beer or just company. The husband
has no private place of his own in the yard, only the right
of access to his wife’s hut.

ii. Side

Yards abut one another, with low doorways requiring
the entrant to expose the back of his neck, to form a side
(ewae) or wing, containing the mother, perhaps widowed, and
all the wives and children of a married man, who as head of
the house is the ‘big man’ (ekapolon), and the families of
his younger, uterine brothers. It is the ekal a generation
later. It includes small pens (nganokin) for milking the
domestic cows, for calves, with whom the herdboys may sleep,
and for sheep and goats. Ewae is the family unit. Sides
and homesteads are named after family heads.

iii. Homestead

The sides encircle one common cattle corral to form
one complete homestead (ere). Ideally, this contains all the
wives and progeny of one grandfather, just as it is the home
for his collective herd, but the permutations are endless.
Also included may be poor clients, more distant relatives,
inherited wives, or barren women, and in dangerous times
ngirerya are built together for greater security, forming an
endless maze of partially interconnected yards, pens, and
corrals. As a child learns his way round, so he learns about
his agnatic kin.

Continual rebuilding goes on as people die and
others, usually wives, come to live. An **ere** is an **ewae** a
generation on. Unity generally remains after the grand-
father and even the fathers have died leaving only cousins,
because it is focussed on the herd-owner, who is the head of
the extended Family (**elope ka ere**). He is responsible for
Family discipline and the general control of the herd, yet
even he is always the guest of his wives.

Men can either congregate by the cattle corral in
the nook (**aperit**) where the guards spend the night, or
outside the **ere** in an open place (**ekokwa**) often on a hillock
and under a shade tree (**ekitoi**) where inactive elders spend
the day. There, Family and herd problems can be discussed
with relatives and neighbouring friends. Round, or slightly
away from, the homesteads, the married women own small
fields which they clear and fence round with thorns at the
beginning of the wet season. There may be a problem with
thefts of grain of the stalk in times of hunger, but the
social exclusion of trespassers from unharvested fields, and
the fear of divine punishment mean more time is spent,
protecting the crops from wildlife than from humans. Men, as
individuals, own no real estate at all, aspiring only to
social status and rights in livestock, whereby they can
harness the activities of the womenfolk and other men. Even
a Family head is only a steward for his sub-clan of the
settled land in his care.

iv. Neighbourhood

Most **ngirerya** are clustered together irregularly,
forming a neighbourhood (**edunyet** cf. **akiduny**, to be near) of
not more than 13 or so, linked by well trodden footpaths.
The population might be as high as 1,000 men, women, and
children. Many may be agnatically related, thus composing a sub-clan, or even a small clan. Yet it is not geography or family alone that defines the community. 'Each [edunya] is different: they sacrifice their own ox.' (D-H, N. 1966:109).

What unites the homesteads is a common allegiance to one sacred grove which serves as a place for sacrifice, for councils, and for dancing. Between them the elders of a neighbourhood are the quorum necessary for an akiriket (church) with its own local variations on the common traditions of the tribe. It may also have its own firemaker. The primary neighbourhood bond is therefore religious.

v. Territorial Division

At most in densely populated areas, 9 neighbourhoods, or at least 1 make up an atyakatyaket angalup (division of soils) that has its own place name, of which each neighbourhood is a part, or corner (agule). Its symbol of unity is again its sacred grove where large scale ritual activities are performed, especially rain-making (Gulliver 1952b:182). They still take place regularly at Nakwapua, the sacred grove for Panyangara, for instance. In the larger, wider spread Karimojong sections, however, this ritual unity has been transferred to territorial sub-sections, leaving a mainly geographical association of neighbourhoods beneath this level.

vi. Sub-section

The 5 largest Karimojong sections, the Bokora, Pian, Maseniko, Tome, and Mosingo have sub-sections, also with creaturely names, and each of these has sacred groves at which akiriket meets. The exception is the Pian who expanded
so far south that the 3 sub-sections were stretched into 3 north-south bands, while a more adequate expression of community was found by assembling the neighbourhoods which depended on one or other of the 5 major river-beds for water, into river-units, named after the centre on the river, eg. Ngilolacat, for major ceremonies (D-H,N. 1966:265f.). That sub-sections are also secondary territorial groupings is suggested by their names, which are derived from the domestic terms, aperit, and auryanet (the resting place for the herds outside the homestead, resonant with the gathering of the herds for akiriket).

vii. Section

Apart from the promotion ceremony once in a generation, the section (ekitela) -- seen best at its ceremonial ground (akero) -- is the territorial community which is the most effective religious, political, and social grouping. The section, rather than the tribe, declares war and stages the major annual sacraments of Beseeching, Freeing the Cattle, and Declaring War, with their huge sacrifices and multitudinous dances. Each is free to follow its own customs within the given ecclesial system (D-H,N. 1966:133f.).

viii. Tribe

It is no accident that the unity of all territorially conditioned communities above Family or clan (i-iii) is constituted by the meetings of a religious congregation, the akiriket of elders and initiates. It is these that make frequent grandiose statements of tribal unity superfluous, for each assembly affirms the common values, the shared faith, the one people. For example, the
opening prayer, 'The Jie, the Jie are here', gives an unforced, undisputed tribal identity to each member. This repeated affirmation is crowned for the Karimojong by the promotion ceremony when the pilgrims camps take up the position that their sections hold in the land.

ix. Region

Enmity between the Jie and the Karimojong and the Dodos can be so bitter, precisely because they recognize each other as rival bearers of a common culture, religious tradition, and language. That common inheritance refuses exclusivity. Strangers are welcome in the land if they will adopt the religious and political tradition. The geography of Karamoja reinforces the sense of a common destiny because its plains within have more similarity than any terrain without. Akwap refers not just to a tribe's country but to land as it is known. At the margin it includes the whole earth but the more agricultural terrains with their soft, pot-bellied drunkards, who do not consider it wise to lay down their lives in defence of the cattle, are not for Karamojong, who adhere to the unalterable traditions of the elders. They see Karamoja as a good land for decent values.

c. Nomadic Herdsmen

i. Home Guard

Herdsmen own no grazing lands, for it is not worthwhile defending plots that they can only use for short periods. Even enemies will not be ejected, if either there is surplus grazing or their ejection would incur too many losses to enforce, though the casual entry by small bands of unauthorized aliens is much deterred by the likely loss of cattle and life. When grazing or water is short then
members of an awi or alomar ensconced near a water-hole will fight others, if necessary, their own tribesmen, with sticks to prevent overcrowding, but normally refusal of permission is accepted. Yet there is no defence of territorial boundaries in order to preserve exclusive use of land resources, contradicting the predictions of sociobiology.

The case of the Karimojong indicates that energy costs for resource defense can be extremely low when common values and beliefs make ritual sanctions rather than overt defense effective in preventing trespass. The low energy costs only hold true if outsiders not enculturated into the beliefs are excluded.

(D-H,V.R.& Smith 1978:37)

ii. Moving Frontiers

Karamoja's borders are more fluid now than at any time this century. The Turkana, unable to satisfy all their herds on their semi-desert, bring them up to Najie for months at a time, and have almost colonized Loyoro, with the Dodos inhabitants, dispossessed of cattle, having to flee to an Oxfam resettlement programme in the Kapeta Valley. As the Dodos acquire more arms, and with them more cattle, they are likely to reclaim their traditional territory. The Jie and the Karimojong have effectively pushed their borders west, spending much of the dry season in Labwor, eastern Acholi, Lango and Teso, grazing their cattle in increasingly uninhabited areas.
2. SOCIALITY

a. Family

Ngakaramojong has no single equivalent for the word, family, which is defined according to the appropriate territorial unit (1.b.i-iii). Of ekal, ewae, ere, the first 2 are used to emphasize closeness of relationship. All uterine brothers (ngikaitotoi) in a family (ewae) are called papa by their siblings, and the eldest becomes the 'big man' (ekapolon) in it. The larger concept of the Family (ere) extends ostensibly to all the sons and grandsons of one herd-owner. The herd defines the family, so that if a client or relative, not descended from the common grandfather, participates in the herd, it is 'as if' he were so descended. Thus, an agnatic nephew (epapait) may assert:

'We say he is our grandfather. We are all "cousins". We live near together. We give each other cattle. Our herds are like one herd; our wives were all married from one herd. We are one Family (eowe [ie.ewae used in the sense, that all are descended from uterine brothers]) and different from other people. (Gulliver 1955:109f.)

i. Family and Herd

Any Family is named after its head, though he may be deceased, where it consists of coeval cousins (ngikaiyeyai). When the headship of the Family is inherited, it passes to a uterine brother or by primogeniture through the first wife, so long as the heir is capable of carrying the responsibility of being herd-owner (elope ka ere). Family and herd go together and define one another. Control of one means control of the other, so that all stock allocations and disposals mirror Family relationships. The men of the Family have no right apart from poverty to deny another member a cow when he genuinely begs (akilip, to pray) for one. Having given it, its first heifer-calf should be
returned to the giver, and its first heifer-calf, and so on, forging a bond, which may endure into the next generation. This cattle bond gives much of the distinction between 'our people' (ngitungakosi) and all others in the tribe to whom common hospitality is due.

Family and herd parallel one another. By analogy, a father is a bull, a mother a cow, unmarried men steers, girls heifers, and boys bull-calves. No assignation is thought detrimental, rather natural. Indeed, the cow (aatuk) is the essence of cattle (ngaatuk), its womb being acknowledged as vital. 'In Jie conceptions all significant inter-personal relationships rest upon connections through livestock.' (Gulliver 1953a:155).

b. Clan
i. Sub-clans

Each Family is a patrilineal lineage, and with neighbouring relatives forms a sub-clan. With other sub-clans in different places it composes an agnatic clan (ateker). In Najie, with its many small clans, one may consist of 1-8 Families. Each clan has a name which may describe its ethnic origin and may have a cattle brand which accords with its children's haircuts.

ii. Exogamy

A wife must be brought from outside the clan, and, indeed, from outside the husband's mother's, even grandmother's, natal clan, so that cattle bonds created by marriage are spread as widely as possible to ensure as many sources of help when it is needed, as possible. Neither should a man marry a sister of his wife or of his brother's wife, in order that 'the cattle do not come mixed' (Gulliver
which would happen, if a fiancé were to beg cattle from his affines to give to his affines. Sexual relations within the prohibited degrees are taboo, punishable by God, for every such girl is as a sister. There can be no future in such a liaison, for relatives from both sides would refuse to give or receive the bridewealth. The taboos presuppose that by puberty, every girl or boy has been enculturated into the intricacies of kinship.

School pupils might seek to elope but to do so is to cut themselves off from their homes, and such unions are seldom successful. The girl returns to her home with any children, which legally belong to her family. Such restrictions go counter to the 'liberal conscience' of the West, but they do display a very high valuation of the 'other' within society, leading to the different clans being fully integrated in the social order. Indeed, marriage is the gateway for an alien to enculturate, and is recommended for the European, so long as he pays the bridewealth and follows the customs, which none, as yet, have done.
3. ECONOMY
a. Food
i. Cattle Products

The economic importance of cattle is already clear. All livestock are primarily important for their milk but all grades of cattle can be bled. It is, therefore, important to hold as large a herd as possible, since it may be the good condition cows that are the first to be raided or be struck down by drought or disease, while the rough stock survive. A diet of milk and blood, in sufficient quantities, is highly nutritious, which is readily observable from the difference in height between males and females (Wayland 1931:230). While the average agricultural Ugandan had a red-cell count of only 3.5 million per cubic millimetre, the Karimojong male had 5.85 (Stanier 1953; Gulliver 1954b), and is often a fine, lean specimen of humanity. The blood pressures of 70 year old Turkana pastoralists equal those of American undergraduates starting at college (D-H,N.& V.R. 1982:233).

Moving herds to seasonal pastures is a widespread response to certain environments for producing food from cellulose, which needs large inputs neither of capital nor of energy (D-H,V.R.& N.1980:51), only of dry land which may be further dessicated.

ii. Hunting & Gathering

Quantifying nutrition is largely vain, for it would be impossible to quantify the irregular amounts of herbs, roots, fruits, leaves, termites, meat for the elders, or stock which died, large and small game, that are eaten sometimes. Even rats are a delicacy, but these oddments
necessitate another staple for women and children.

iii. Crops

"Women do not own cattle. They own gardens."
(Gulliver 1955:61). "Sorghum is the cattle of women."
(Gulliver 1954a:66). Notionally, the traditional Karamojong economy is divided down the middle, with males tending livestock, and females the homesteads and the fields. Yet women milk cows and have rights in cattle to provide milk for their ekal, and men may till the fields or grow their own crops (D-H,V.R.1972). This is not seen as a rebuttal of ideals, so much as a sensible allocation of the labour available within a Family. Agricultural food, especially beer and atap, plays a necessary part in many rituals and, though not mediating God in the same way, its economic importance is not belittled. "God created sorghum and cattle on the same day." (Lamphear 1976:5). Sorghum and finger or bulrush millet can be boiled whole or ground, or fermented to release more protein and be drunk whole.

Other foods are treated more as welcome luxuries. Pumpkins, gourds, and cucumbers may be grown on an inside fence, tobacco on the rich site of an old corral, and cow peas, lab-lab, sesame, maize, sunflower, cassava, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, and beans, all borrowed from the west (the last 6 ultimately from South America), if they can be. There are years when virtually all crops fail, preventing much reliance on agriculture. Though Americans and Australians claim that, technically, they could farm the land they would depend on access to international markets, ecological balance, and clearing the Karamojong from the land.
b. Trade

Trading (akicurut cf. ecurut, slippery) and the cash economy are suspicious to the Karamojong. Tribesmen who resort to commerce are seen ‘almost as traitors’ by having associated themselves with the Government or other people’s interests (Cisternino 1979:55). Apart from the odd precious stone or metal and illegal hides of game the outside world seeks only one commodity from Karamoja: livestock, particularly beef, but this is the last thing the Karamojong want to sell, as they themselves nearly always slaughter cattle in sacrifice, not for the value of the meat, whether to their families or potential buyers. There is nothing they would rather have than cattle on the hoof, and the modern world has been largely impotent in fostering its customary, artificial demands.

i. Demand

Aluminium saucepans were once in vogue to melt down into personal ornaments; beads, metal wire, hoes, and axes have always been; guns and ammunitions are much sought but there is no open market for them. Sheets, some articles of clothing, blue dye, salt, and maize may be appreciated but are luxuries that are better procured free or at minimal cost from aid agencies and missions, and are certainly not worth selling cattle for. Ox-ploughs and plough shares, they see as a worthwhile investment as it enables the cattle owner to have his steers and to eat the cereals they help produce, when a plough enables a family to cultivate 10 times its normal area. Professional salesmen used to come to Karamoja in the 1950s and ‘60s to make money on ploughs. Women now put by cash for when early crops are blasted by
sun and wind and they must buy seed produced by the Karamoja Seed Scheme to resow, if they do not already consider its extra resistance to drought worth paying for.

ii. Tax

The poll tax is the only item for which cash was absolutely necessary, and cattle sales were encouraged by governments as a means for the average Karamojongait to pay his tax, even having collectors at the sales to relieve him of his unwanted wealth. Now only those, who travel on roads or otherwise fall into the hands of the police actually need poll tax receipts. Apart from small change for local snuff, which he rolls into a little tube neck pendant, he would rather invest his flimsy notes in a good cow, the real wealth of Karamoja (D-H,N. 1962:793).

iii. Commoditization

Why did he sell cattle in the first place? Left to themselves the Karamojong would not participate in the commoditization of their sacred good, for the initiative came from government. Even when purchasing was in private hands the wartime requirement for Uganda to supply food meant that 90% of the 1943 sales were compulsory, with the consequence that the Jie killed a government chief (ibid. 788f.). Chiefs were given quotas of cattle to be brought to market, which it was their duty to fulfil. In 1948 the Karamoja Cattle Scheme was implemented to fulfil the twin objectives of developing the economy of Karamoja, which, it was thought in 1950 (Annual Report, NP 1950:140; 1951:134), would only be maintained ecologically by an annual offtake of 100,000 cattle. This would provide a source of government revenue directly and through the flow
of cash for taxation. The cattle were bought cheaply, quarantined in Iriri, driven for 2 days to Soroti railway station for slaughter in Kampala, so that the citizens could have a plentiful supply of meat.

iv. Cattle Stealing

The Karamojong were not to be mollified. They constantly regarded the cattle sales as an imposition on their livelihood and their freedom. 'The government eats cattle' was their common epithet. A plant was set up at Namalu in 1958 for producing blood and bone meal from scrub cattle, which were unfit for the journey south or had already died in quarantine, which they did with monotonous regularity at Namalu from East Coast Fever. The Karamojong were permanently incensed, not only by the additional quota they had to meet, but also by this profane slaughter of their cattle, and perhaps by the sacrilegious use of blood. Yet force majeure was insufficient to impose national economy on Karamoja.

v. Removing Stock

There is only one factor that is a common inducement for Karamojong to volunteer their cattle for sale: the imminent prospect that they are going to lose them anyway. So in 1941, when annual cattle supplies rose to a record 15,597, there had been epidemics of bovine pleuro-pneumonia and rinderpest, and the herds also faced starvation (D-H,N. 1966:76-80). Poor conditions persisted through the remaining war years, supplies averaging 9,500, until 1946, an excellent year for grazing and crops, when cattle supplies slumped 56% to 4,365.
vi. Supply

Classical economics predicts that, other things being equal, the higher the price the greater the quantity offered for sale. Plotting price against quantity for Karamoja Cattle Scheme supplies for 1952-61 yields no such correlation, indeed it yields none at all. Examining factors other than price has more explanatory power. Thus the record supplies of 13,865 in 1953 were probably not caused by the record prices, but by the facts that cattle had been suffering from rinderpest, and were starving; about 2,500 were not purchases at all but the enforced payment of fines by the Pian and the Pokot. The next year supplies were only slightly down, though prices halved. It was an excellent year for the Karamojong, and great difficulty was encountered by the authorities in increasing cattle quotas, so chiefs were presented with a plan to reward with cash bonuses those who ensured that their area supplied more than its quota. Another downward pressure on the trade was the retirement of the experienced buyer who had built up the Scheme, Wreford Smith.

vii. Herdsmen’s Reason

The wide profit margin was justified by the interesting observation that ‘Any dramatic increase in the price paid to the producer would almost certainly result in a reduction in the number of cattle offered for sale.’ (Annual Report, NP 1956:152). In other words the Karamojong tend to behave in direct opposition to the laws of economics, testifying to the general statement, ‘The absence of market rationality in traditional herding systems is beyond dispute’ (D-H, V.R. & N. 1969:76). This is not to say,
that the Karamojong are irrational beings, just that their rationality is not bourgeois. Given a choice between selling a cow for £5 or £10 they would take the £10, but in an auction they would offer all the money they had to buy a cow.

Even in terms of known realities, cattle carry a premium, as the biologist estimates 5 sheep or goats to be equivalent to one 500 kg. cow (Brown 1971:96), while the standard exchange rate for a Karamojan cow of about 400 kg. has been constant for a century at 10 sheep or goats. Or perhaps the biologist's estimate has overlooked a factor, such as the faster reproduction rate of smallstock being matched by their greater susceptibility to epidemics, such as capri-pleuro-pneumonia. Certainly in Karamoja all other things are seldom equal or else price is not a major determinant of supply.

In 1960 cattle supplies doubled to 28,600 while prices were falling to a record low of 85/- per head in 1961, when about 36,000 were supplied. This was partly due to 7,000 head being raised in fines, a serious outbreak of rinderpest all over Karamoja, famine, and then floods in 1961, which made grazing physically difficult and gave rise to foot rot (Annual Report, NP 1960:30-2; Baker 1977:166), but most of all, the series of raids, begun in 1960 by armed Turkana, seeking whole herds.

viii. Economy for Africa

Such determinants of supply render the whole market system inadequate. The Namalu plant was closed in 1960, being deemed 'uneconomic', though it was only paying the forced price of 5-7/- per head. Since never more than half
the cattle could be inoculated against disease, owing to suspicion of government motives, quarantine restrictions and casualties reduced profitability. Only a European could prevent the 'Iriri disease', the manual strangulation of quarantined cattle by the drovers for their own benefit. When immunization had been started in 1950 against rinderpest, less than 1% of the 207,491 cattle inoculated died as a result, a 'negligible' figure for the authorities, but not to the owners, who saw a superfluous mortality similar to the 2,214, which died of rinderpest (Annual Report, NP 1950:139f.). Perhaps, the immunization was more for the benefit of the Karamoja Cattle Scheme than the Karamojong who now only seek it when epidemics are imminent. In 1951 the Rengen burnt the cattle crush (ibid.1952:163).

Alternative supplies of cattle for Kampala meant that the Scheme's profits were squeezed. 'Unless a reasonable sum can be transferred in each year from the Karamoja Cattle Scheme to the local government the latter will find it impossible to balance its books' (Annual Report NP 1958:108). The irregularity of the supply from Karamoja proved impossible for the abattoirs designed to take it. The International Bank (Report 1962:181) recommended a capital outlay of £75,000 on a new abattoir for freezing and packing meat in Kampala: 'If the outflow of cattle for export is sustained at its mid-1960 level, it should be built immediately'. Naturally, it was not sustained and the project was overcome by debt a few years later. In 1966 US AID committed the Uganda Government to a £4,000,000 canning factory near Soroti (Baker 1977:167f.). Now it is use by the World Food Programme for storing famine relief
Enterprise was not to be easily defeated and in the 1960s and '70s cattle lorries used to come from Kitale to buy from Kotido cattle sales. Even these hardy merchants could not operate without government pressure to sell, currency exchange, and passable roads, all of which collapsed under Amin. Now the traders of Matany stock their 'shops', courtesy of bandits on the only road to Kotido stopping motor traffic at gunpoint. Only the occasional steer is butchered in the townships, usually belonging to one of the wealthy men who live there, but who also owns herds. The hides shed in Kotido stands empty. Most cash is imported by aid agencies or borrowed by local government. The creation of monetary wealth is mainly achieved by the agricultural projects of Christian missions, none of which are purely self-financing, and so long as they use tractors never will be.

Karamojong youths who have not been attracted into such minor employment have a saying, 'The Elders bring Prosperity.' (Cisternino 1979:55). The elders might attribute it to God's blessing on their traditional culture, mediated firstly through cattle and, more occasionally, through grain.
4. RITUALITY

a. Vanishing Threats

There was a hum, and a tiny airplane flew over, the police plane looking for raiders. But Uri thought the police were looking for sacrifices. People attending sacrifices have been spotted from the air and then arrested, for the government believed sacrifices were preludes to raids....Uri watched it go. "Our religion is dying," he said again, "and the government wants it to." (MT 1965:61f.)

Though MT is not the most reliable witness concerning the British who, like Amin, banned the carrying of spears vital for sacrifice and the ceremony to declare war, this is unique evidence that the Karamojong felt that their religion was under threat. Indeed, both officials and missionaries were working for the introduction a more modern world-view, as it would have made immediate tasks of civilization easier. Uri need not have worried, for his religion shows signs of outlasting imperial and national governments.

b. Sacrifice

i. Feast

'Sacrifice is equally important among all early peoples in all parts of the world where religious ritual has reached any considerable development.' (Smith 1901:214, 296f.). The ancient heart of Karamojong ritual deserves scrutiny. Eating the meat of domestic animals is largely confined to sacrifice. Since the sale of meat, national politics, and chiefdom, with the need to gain popularity by the provision of an animal in times of hunger, are restricted to townships, this traditional principle has gained new force. Killing their flocks or herds just was not an option for the people of Nakapelimoru in 1984 & 5, even though their crops failed totally. Either they lived off milk and blood, hunting and gathering, or else they went
hungry. When whole herds of goats died from capri-pleuro-
pneumonia, then they were eaten, but with no sense of
rejoicing, for without live goats the immediate future
looked bleaker still. Thus, it may be said in general that a
feast (epheus cf. akipe, to roast) is a sacrifice
(amuronot) or sacrificial offering (ajulot) and that the
converse is true.

ii. Giving Up the Victim

There is no question that an individual at least
gives up part of his livelihood for each sacrifice. The
herds are assembled, an act which, in itself, concentrates
holiness and promotes ritual efficacy (Rowland 1983:11) at
the sacred grove, and when the elders see a ox of the
prescribed markings an absolute requirement is laid on the
owner to hand it over. Unless it is a beloved ox he can do
quite well, for the spearer must compensate him with a
heifer. Finding someone willing to do this may take some
time, for parting with cattle, even for public ritual, is no
light matter; it represents a human life.

Providing a beloved ox is to see your 'four-legged
brother', or, at least, son, speared to death often not very
efficiently, but a herdboy's tears are ignored. Resentment
is voiced against the free-rider: 'There is a man, who never
kills an ox at a sacred place, but he always comes to eat.'
(ibid.:140). The victim is costly because it is part of the
congregation in which cattle are of the same kindred as men.
One of their number must die, an interpretation permitting
the practice of human sacrifice in extreme circumstances.
Lesser threats to society permit a sacred animal to be
iii. Spearing the Victim

There is a ritual spear (atum) for sacrifice, which is larger and not normally carried or for akidung amuro, a spear made totally of iron. Young men may be allowed to compete to spear the ox in its right side (apol). A man never spears his own ox, except at initiation and even then it is provided by the Family herd or a stock associate. It is a great honour to accomplish the feat, and the spearer's wife or mother will be given the head, tongue, neck, and lites to boil, even when the spearer is compelled to sacrifice for tying up the rain.

Any mishap in the spearing is not good form and may be attributed to the reluctance of its owner to part with it, to the bad hearts of participants, or to any breach in ritual procedure. The event is not merely social but interleaved with the supernatural. The ox may run a mile with a spear between its ribs but it can do no other than return to the sacred grove where it must die, ideally, on its left side, with its head towards the sacred, tribal origin. The ox has a spiritual affinity with both the people and their God and cannot desert the communion feast any more than a man can opt out of his social or religious obligations.

iv. An Offering

Once the ox is dead the previous business can be forgotten and the ceremony begins in earnest. Its death brings heaven and earth closer together, peace between God and man, and those present are morally bound to put aside personal quarrels and turn their minds towards the blessing of the whole community, assisted by the visible reminders of
their unearned status within it. The sacrifice is cut open (apunor) and the perineal flesh (elamacar) is carved out first for the senior age-section of the senior generation to eat, but the iliac gland is carefully separated and buried. There is the unseen but avowed presence of Akujá who, though not of the same kin as the other partakers of the feast, themselves of different clans, communes with them. Since all meat is allocated to specific parties, and all that can be cooked and eaten on the spot is consumed, the natural inference is that the most sacred portion, the iliac gland, is set aside for God.

The sacrifice is, then, a precious offering of a part of what He has provided for His people, and the part represents the whole (Durkheim 1915:229). Sacrifice has a propitiatory function (ibid.:343; Rowland 1983:7), for it is the only adequate answer the community has, where it has been faced with immorality or other troubles. When the country has been wronged there is no alternative but to put it right by the restorative effects of sacrifice. It is not simply God who is propitiated, however, but the elders who are also disturbed by the disorder, and the united herds, representing the welfare of the whole community. Sin and evil are brought under control by making the reparation of a sacrifice, through which God and men are in communion, and the world is no longer disintegrating.

v. The Communal Presence of God

The bowels reveal God's will by divination. As the cattle eat the grass, which is itself the spiritual product of the divine Spirit in rain on the sacred earth, so the organs that contain this heavenly gift must themselves have
a particularly sharp revelation of God's purposes. When the stomach sac is slit, and the chyme (ngikujit) used for anointing cattle and men, if the signs are propitious, some is also smeared onto the sacred tree, in the top of which Akuja sits. He not only observes proceedings, but clearly participates in them. Associated with chyme is the spiritual substance that unites God, man, and beast.

A sacrifice is a communal repast, 'to feed the elders' as the representatives of the community. The liver and the intestines are theirs; in order of seniority they drink the life-giving blood (ngaokot also means semen, cf. akiok, to draw water) which, if shed on the ground, would stain and affect it. 'The smallest drop of blood contains the same active principle as the whole thing.' (Durkheim 1915:343). Those who drink it are united in a blood-fellowship, bonded by the ingestion of a common substance. Having drunk, the old men, usually of the senior age-section, unless there is surplus blood, wipe their gory lips on the hind legs (amuro) of the sacrifice, because they symbolize the strength of the ox which, through the bloody lips, is transferred to the drinker.

A foreleg will be taken and the hind legs separated by smashing the hip bones with it. The senior age-section will be given the meat of the left hind leg, but all initiates share in the communal meal. The Family of the spearer, with the local elders, share in subsequent repasts to consume the lites and the stomach.

Inevitably, the demands of ritual purity conflict with an equitable distribution of the food: 'Someone takes meat home to his wife, which spoils the sacred place.' (MT
1966:140). The reason is that if the ritual is conducted aright, then the whole community, not just a favoured wife, will be blessed with food. The object of the feast is not to sustain or revivify a dying God. Just as public sacrifice transcends clan interests, so Akujŋ far transcends the rôle of kinsman at the banquet. Rather, His presence is sought through the invitation of the sacrifice, in order to interest Him in their local affairs more than in others. Thus, a series of sacrifices, rightly performed, are more efficacious in the end. Ritual butchers (ŋikatyakak) cut up the carcass, using only spears and divide (akityak) it between the initiates, according to the many stipulations.

vi. Preaching and Praying

While the junior age-section are lightly roasting the fleshy meat on the open fire a senior elder, holding a ritual wand, opens the sermons and the prayers. Each preacher (ekeseran) applies his wisdom and the accepted epithets of life (akigac) to the current situation, encouraging the listeners in their traditional beliefs and exhorting them to uphold actively the welfare of society. Ultimately, they well know, that the united efforts of the community are inadequate for survival, and so every preacher finishes with formal prayer (akigat), so turning into a prayer leader (ekagatan) and pronouncing extempore versicles in a stylized way, to which the congregation responds in unison. Having asserted who the people and the cattle are who have assembled, he prays for blessings, like rain, to come (akigatun) and for evil, like disease or enemies, to depart (akigatar). He concludes with the versicle, however it may be phrased, "God has heard, has He not?", to which
the sure response is, ‘"He has."’ (Lamphear 1976:519ff.), and another begins to speak, until up to 5 hours or more of sermons and prayers have gone by and there is a consensus in the congregation ‘that prayers have been enough’ (Rowland 1983:4).

vii. Changing the World

So serious is prayer for the Karamojong that no comment has been made on its almost hopelessly idealistic content. Whether petition (akilipa) -- as they see all prayer -- in which people seek a situation which does not exist, or praise, in which a being is extolled far beyond its empirical attributes, prayer is universally an expression of ideals. Yet to believe, as the Karamojong do, that their prayers will make the rain to fall, disease to disappear, and enemies to stay where they are, in a place where drought, chronic ill health, and insecurity are endemic appears to be impossibly optimistic. Taking the afflicted individual, this may seem inhumanely unrealistic, but merely individual viewpoints must be merged into a greater good of the Karamojong.

God does intervene in the otherwise inclement environment, and the faith, for that is what it is, works. The proof is the survival of the community. Individuals cannot survive in the real Karamoja, but the community can and does. Only if its very existence is disintegrating is there room to consider other beliefs; only if it has been overwhelmed will they be adopted. It is imperative for a blessed future that the Karamojong enculturate new generations into their old faith.
c. Women's Rites

i. Wives

To an extent, wives identify with the age-groups of their husbands and sing group songs extolling them. They support their husbands' ritual activity for the blessings it brings them, though they must stay away from akiriket, often out of sight inside the homesteads. However, they do have a separate ritual sphere which exactly covers their economic responsibilities for agriculture and water. Sorghum or 'beer is the cattle of women' (D-H,N. 1966:96). Women's rites are seen as parallel and complementary to men's, so instead of an animal sacrifice, the women offer beer to the elders, who use the beer grains to anoint and bless them.

ii. Daughters

Whenever a new male age-group is opened, it must be formally named (akiwor). This word is also used for Karimojong and Dodos girls to be initiated into a named age-set, when they 'identify themselves' (Gourlay 1971b:89,111). Women only have age-sets which follow the paradigm of male generations and match male age-sets, within which it is common, though not obligatory, to marry. However, this shadow ritual is devalued by the elders' statement, "Asapan a ngaberu inges akiit" (Pazzaglia 1982:123n.; The initiation of women is to marry). In other words, women are not saved by their single sex rituals, but by full marriage, including childbirth. Comparing the two events it is clear which one women value more. The initiation of girls (akiwor a ngapesur) is no more than an age-ranking of co-evals for female fellowship and solidarity, though this is important in itself and as a rite.
of passage conferring feminine identity.

In a good harvest the eligible girls 'beg' a local elder or old lady (akimat) to gather under a tree where cattle mass, often an old fig tree. After permission has been granted, a dance of the ekimomwor type is held at the tree to the rhythmic accompaniment of arupepe, and egwole (a beaded, forked stick hung with bells). Then they go to a powerful man to ask for a steer, which he cannot refuse, for a sacrifice for the elders at the neighbourhood sacred grove. There the initiands are anointed with chyme and given the intestines, breast, neck, one leg, and blood. All the while 6 young men watch over the girls to protect them, for no girl in this liminal state when the girls identify themselves with their emblem (etirir) eg. beads, granaries, ant-hills, may return to her homestead. Quarrelling and sexual relations are taboo for this time, which may last 5-10 days for the same rites to be repeated each day.

The sacrament culminates with a blessing (awatun) used for a person returning after being lost, now that the girl has completed her term on the margins of society to come back as a fully-fledged member of the association, which unites girls from different clans. The initiands, followed by their escorts, crawl through the door of the homestead of a Karewok clan, and an elderly couple sprinkle (akiwat) them with black soil, and pronounce a blessing: "Toyara, tobara, towuryata ngidwe ngulu alalak, topoloto, talalata, tomojonga kinwaka Akuj" (Live! Be rich! Give birth to a great many children! Become great! Multiply! Become old! Give light to God!).
iii. Charismatic Women

Some women (ngakalemak) can heal by using the technique of rubbing the skin with an ear of bulrush millet or a soft sisal ball, sucking out the disease, and then picking foreign bodies out of the skin. There are many other methods used by women for healing. Some women are able to charge a fee and are known as 'witches' by the educated, despite their wholesome intentions.

No-one has put on record anything resembling what I witnessed in Kaceri in 1985, which suggests that this activity only occurs last thing at night in a homestead when there are no men of the Family around. I was there, as usual, to conduct a Christian 'tree service', but my presence did not deter them from going ahead and they only felt embarrassed the next morning, even though I had expressed nothing but interest. It does indicate that without active and effective suppression ordinary people see no great conflict between the Christian faith and traditional religion.

The women and children gathered in one ekal and chanted and clapped with the object of attracting a spirit into one of the women. They believed that this occurrence could be observed as a women manifestly went into an ecstatic trance. Her face would change and she would stand up and shake or dance. If privileged, she would receive a word of knowledge about some domestic matter, which might help somebody known to them. There was nothing grotesque, or erotic, in the occasion, just a welcome sense of the numinous, sometimes missing from the practical, public sacrifices of the men, though not from the resonating sounds.
the young men make with their mouths and hands in the edonga dance. About midnight all went happily to bed.

This undercover spiritual freedom is, perhaps, an anti-structural response to the comprehensive structure of the male-dominated church, but since it is performed away from the men and within the orbit of the Family it is hardly a threat to male governance, but all the children are encultured into the consonant world-view. How widespread such rituals are in Karamoja is unknown and it may only be an isolated innovation from Lwo sources.

d. Totemism

The quality or nature of Karamojong ritual has been set out, though not exhaustively. There remain quaint ceremonies, such as the sacrifice to cleanse someone, who happens to kill the totem of both Jie sections, the honey-badger (ekor; Lamphear 1972:525-7) which is taboo, as is eating the crocodile for the Pian. Since there is usually no prohibition on killing or eating emblematic animals (ngityang) and no sacrificial element involved, no more need be written. Clan taboos on eating animals, such as bushbuck and squirrel (Lamphear 1976:23), are unrelated to the clan’s name, and are also relatively trivial Lwo innovations.

If any animal is a totem, in the classical sense, it is the ox, but clans are named after extraneous ethnic groups, not cattle, and only 3 age-sets in the whole system of asapané are named after oxen (see B.5.a.viii). ‘Totemism and the clan mutually imply each other,’ (Durkheim 1915:167). Though the beloved ox is the totem of each individual man, in that it is his friend who shares his name, nature, and destiny, and source of supernatural power...
against bullets, spears, and arrows, individual totemism
does not apply, in that a beloved ox is said to be related
to its owner who is its ‘father’. Its colour may be
inherited from his grandfather or great-uncle and so far, no
initiation or other religious ritual has been definitively
linked with acquiring a ox name (ibid.:157-165). The
initiant does not sacrifice his beloved ox at initiation,
but it is precisely the absolute right of the community to
requisition any ox it nominates for sacrifice that
constitutes the ritual unity of the Karamojong.

The enculturation of each individual into the
community and the enculturation of any innovation by the
community are mandatory. He who stays aloof from Karamojong
ritual or introduces new beliefs and practices unilaterally
does not distinguish himself in society but separates
himself from the culture.
Footnotes to III.C.

1. *Annual Report, NP 1953:115ff., 141; 1954:124f.; 1955:147:* 13,865 was the number 'taken over' in 1953, but the 1954 figure of 11,523 appears to exclude fines. If so, the substantial difference between *Annual Report* (1957:131) figures and D-H,N.'s (1962:788ff.) Karamoja Development Plan ones might be the cattle fines handed over to the Scheme, in which case real purchases declined by 2%, not 19%, and supplies in 1954 were boosted by 1,500 of confiscated cattle to 12,753, making the total of the Pian-Pokot fine up to 4,000, or £35,700, less 20% discount for early payment. In Karamoja, reducing reality to numbers is hazardous and frequently misleading.

2. The common root for things sacrificial *mur, even in-laws (ngikamurak) who are related through sacrifice, probably has its origins in pre-pastoral times, perhaps with the sacrifice of hunted animals, such as the duiker, (*amur*). The ES root for ox, *mor, may have been named as a sacrificial animal. The only parallel with the Semitic use of stones for marking sacrificial places is the 'rock of the land' at Nakadanya in Karimojong (D-H,N. 1966:192), and the rain-stones possessed by the Jie, but an association is invited by the PT root for rock, *mor-u, and Gulliver (1953c:151) spelling 'stones' as ngimuru.

3. *Pazzaglia (1982:127) translates the last two words, 'May the Supreme Spirit of Akuj bless you', but the imperative could be singular or plural, and God subject or object. If God were subject, an object would normally be needed, for him to 'illuminate', which Pazzaglia supposes, yet every other blessing is a command to the girls.*
D. CULTURAL CONCLUSIONS

1. CULTURE AND CHANGE

Apart from the townships, populated by a few thousand people in total, and dominated by outsiders supported by foreign funds, Karamojong culture is integrated in all its aspects. There are no professional classes, no full-time artisans or employees, but all participate in the same kinds of economic activity at some stage of their lives, herding livestock, and growing crops for subsistence, with only a little more trade than at the beginning of the 20th century -- in terms of bartering for cattle -- less. Though fashions have changed in personal adornments somewhat, the pattern of culture in Karamoja remains recognizably the same, even though in the 1960s they were reckoned to be one of the vanishing tribes of Africa. Rather, it is the alien cultures which have been introduced in the townships that are suffering entropy.

Karamojong traditions are highly persistent. Despite all attempts to alter or by-pass the culture, it has survived into the modern world with an unusual degree of continuity, due to its geographical isolation, its economic, social, political, legal, aesthetic, and in the end, military, independence from the rest of Uganda. Perhaps most of all, the particular faith of the Karamojong in a universal God, whatever their tribal differences, has held through the most terrible of adversities. Whether more insidious influences, such as the long run effect of the ox-plough, a little Western education, the begetting of children by fathers at a younger age, or the widespread use
of firearms, will undermine traditional values from within, only time will tell. Yet it would be a grave mistake to under-estimate the power of the elders, despite them bewailing their lack of authority. The warriors of pre-colonial days were remembered for disregarding their elders and in 1951 the elders complained of their lack of control (Letter 19.6.90 Gulliver). The gerontocratic ideal is never attained but still it stands.

Research in any field, to date, if very informative, has not given the leverage to outside agencies operating in Karamoja, including the Protectorate and Ugandan governments to plan, manage, or predict change. Though often noted, faith in Akuja has not been identified as an organizing category or even a central issue. Instead, each researcher has concentrated on one or two aspects of culture, though its integrated nature inevitably features in the longer works. It is high time to focus on the being of the God, whom the Karamojong believe to have created the world as they know it through their culture and to have preserved their communities until the present. Their faith cannot be gainsaid.
2. THE GOD OF THE KARAMOJONG

From personal faith in his beloved steer, a Karamojongait is moved towards a wider interest in cattle, and the social relationships which they signify. Even if he had no religious inclination as a youth he cannot avoid them if he seeks economic independence or marriage, and only the fool welcomes social isolation. Karamojong society is based on Wisdom which is not to be distinguished from mundane knowledge of cattle and people or from pragmatic good sense. It is distilled in short, pithy maxims, and the wise speak in proverbs (akigac). Blessings are not only efficacious transmissions of God's power, but they enculturate the recipients into the desirable ends of life: to have wealth in cattle, to have many children, to grow old, to return God's blessing. The wisdom of age knows how to enculturate the young into their jealously guarded traditions and the women are thought to be more conservative than the men (Smith,P. 1987:9).

The Wisdom of age and Ageless, the knowledge of God, the power of God, the restoration and redemption of God, faith in Akuja are all mediated by cattle, which themselves outline the pattern of Karamojong culture. Cattle are Christ. The Anointed One is to be found particularly in the communal use of a steer's gland, intestines, hind legs, and chyme (ngikujit).

Yet God does not confine himself to domestic beasts. He is free. He directs and occasions the elements of nature: the thunder and lightning, the rain, the grass, the floods, rivers, and the water-holes. When the sun goes behind a cloud, there He is. The earth is His, and time
revolves around Him. God is Spirit (ngakujo) and in Him, there is no darkness at all.

The God of the Karamojong is apparently trinitarian. He made the world; He is present in it, even incarnate in holy cattle and holy elders; He sustains, corrects, and revives it; and yet, He transcends it.

So far, this study of enculturation in Karamoja has not embraced the local response to Christian mission, which is a ripe source of communication between and across cultures. Christians also believe in God, arguably, the same one.
IV. COMMUNICATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND CULTURE

A. CHRISTIANIZING UGANDA

1. CHRISTIAN COUNTER-CULTURES

a. **Rivalry**

The race to convert Uganda preceded any imperial scramble. From 1877 Protestant Anglo-Saxons sought to outbid the 30 year influence of Muslim Arabs in the court of the Kabaka of Buganda but less than 2 years later they were to be faced with another party of doughty rivals, Roman Catholic (RC) Frenchmen, who were ‘Missionaries of our Lady of Africa’, better known as the White Fathers. ‘Each believed the other to be so seriously defective in faith and practice as to be the enemy who must be worked against in the proclamation of authentic Christianity.’ (Hewitt 1971:215). The Christian faith was exported in packages from different European cultures, so that their converts would become two warring parties, the ‘Bangereza’ and the ‘Bafrenza’ (Tourigny 1979:22-4, 53-7).

b. **The Civilizing Mission of the British**

The impetus for the expansion of English culture into Africa had been given, not by the Foreign Office, but by the British establishment at the first anniversary meeting on 1.6.40, in the Exeter Hall on the Strand, ‘the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the Civilisation of Africa’, marvellous for its mixed motives (Moorhouse 1973:21-31; The Times 2-3.6.1840). Prince
Albert, the RC Duke of Norfolk, the Evangelical Lord Ashley, and two High Church sons of Evangelicalism, Archdeacon Wilberforce and William Gladstone, among others, sat on the platform. On the floor were 2 marquises, 6 earls, and 7 bishops. Sir Robert Peel identified the slave trade as the barrier to the extension of European civilization: 'Until this country rescues Christianity and the character of the white people from the grievous infamy of these sins, it will never be able to convince the black population of Africa of the moral superiority of their European fellow-men.'

Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1845) who had, from 1825, worn William Wilberforce’s Parliamentary mantle, delivered the climactic, and longest, speech. He saw Africa 'as one universal slaughter house', due to the foreign trade in bodies, and its own religion of human sacrifice. In order 'to give civilisation and the mild truths of the Gospel', the slave trade had to be undercut 'by the introduction of a commerce based on Christian standards and Western commodity'. His Quaker relative on the Society’s committee, Mr. Gurney, suggested the creation of 'artificial wants' for Africans in order to hasten that day, when Christianity would cover the earth as the waters covered the sea.

Shortly after this meeting, 'it was intimated to Mr. Buxton by Lord John Russell, that it was proposed to confer the rank of Bt. upon him' (Buxton, C. 1849:434). Buxton, who admitted, later in life, to having 'more game and better horses and dogs than other people' was unable to reconcile his own preaching and practice, philanthropy and brewing, in 'holy worldliness' (Brown 1961:406 & 410).
c. Ugandan Church and World

Rivalry with the 'Bafrenza' soon drove the Anglican mission in Uganda to rely on the governance of the IBEA Co., a founding director of which was the identically named grandson of Sir Thomas (1837-1915) who was, besides, Treasurer of CMS. The Anglican bishop raised over £10,000 at an Exeter Hall meeting to sustain the uneconomic operations of IBEA Co. in Uganda, despite the fundamental principles of CMS, 'that the Committee and the missionaries must keep clear of politics' (Durham, Tucker Papers 11.10.92 Minute adopted at Monthly Meeting of Committee of CMS).

i. A.R. Tucker

In 1894, when the British Protectorate was proclaimed, the Diocese of Eastern Equatorial Africa had 9 churches among an estimated 10,000,000 'heathen' (Report of the Boards of Missions 1894:338). In Uganda, there were just 680 baptized, though 20,000 catachumens. The bishop, the first man to ascend Scafell, Skiddaw, and Helvellyn in a day, the first Anglican to be consecrated while still a curate and, in 1899, the first Bishop of Uganda, was Alfred Tucker, who saw extraordinary growth in his church.

The Society at home was galvanized by his success, though it may have been due more to African evangelists, than was appreciated then. Rev. H.E. Fox, soon to become CMS Secretary, exalted in the prospects.

Thank God, Bishop Tucker has not appealed in vain for fellow-labourers! He asked for 40 and more than 40 have offered....Under the wise and energetic administration of IBEA Co., there are possibilities opening up before us, the range of which are probably far more vast than any of us dream. A railway must come... (Durham, Tucker Papers: March 1892: CMS, East Africa Missions)

Tucker believed it 'utterly impossible that the protectorate
can be extended to those vast regions without the convictions of the Church of England making themselves felt...", even though he was disturbed by the domestic slavery of 'Her Majesty's Soudanese soldiery' (Report of the Missionary Conference 1894:247). Thus missionary enterprise, he concluded, was the most effective means of preventing the cruel devastations, which he had seen left by Arabs and Swahilis, but administrators on the coast were more disturbed by his idealistic approach, which foreboded 'early martyrdom' (Hobley 1929:34).

ii. The Buxton Group

In 21.6.04, Sir Thomas' son, T.F. Victor Buxton (1865-1919), who also became Treasurer, was the first member of the CMS Committee to visit Uganda, when Namirembe Cathedral was consecrated. His trip coincided with the establishment of the Uganda Company, which he founded with his cousin, Alfred Fowell Buxton, who gave £100 to the CMS Girls' School at Nabumali, and Samuel Henry Gladstone, who was to succeed Victor as Treasurer, to buy out the Society's innovative work, begun by Borup and Dillistone 'with most satisfactory results' (Ehrlich 1953:Frontispiece). In 1907 the Governor noted that it 'must be making considerable profits' (Bell 1946:146). 'The European in Uganda,' wrote Victor Buxton, 'needs to be an all-round man.' (Hattersley 1913:xiii). His son became Chairman of CMS' Africa Committee, as 'a true friend of Uganda' (CMS G3/A7/0 6.8.25:99).
2. A SELF-SUPPORTING CHURCH?

The sending church wanted news, not of cotton, but of the self-supporting Native Anglican Church (NAC), constituted in 1909. 'In missionary circles Uganda became a symbol of all that the nineteenth century missionary movement prayed for and hoped for.' (Hewitt 1971:205). When Tucker retired from the field in 1911, the Prime Minister wrote to him, 'after your long and arduous services to the Church and the Empire in Africa, you might be disposed to take a less laborious post' -- Canon Residentiary of Durham (Letter from Asquith 3.3.11). The Archbishop of Canterbury acknowledged him as 'the great Bishop, who is in such large measure the founder of a Christian State in Africa' (ibid.:Letter, Davidson to A.E.H. Tucker 12.10.14).

a. Reaching Out to Karamoja

Try as he did in February 1909 from Mbale, even Tucker could not extend the church into profitless Karamoja. His primary intention frustrated, he walked 25 miles a day, over twice as fast as Macdonald, visiting parts of Teso, never before visited by white men, finding that the 'headmen' were only too willing to support an evangelist or church teacher.

Two days march brought us to Longoi [near the modern western border of Karimojong], an interesting place to the north of Lake Salisbury. Here to our great delight we found ourselves within sight of Karamoja country and within a two days march of Mani-Mani our original objective when turned from our course by the absence of water on the caravan road. Mount Debasin [sic, or Kadam] now lay in full view, its rugged outline being visible from end to end. It was to us a matter of deep regret that engagements at Mengo obliged us to make Longoi our turning-point, and to postpone our visit to the Karamoja country to some future date. (Tucker 1911:342, cf. 326)

Since the maintenance of 1 expatriate missionary cost more than 100 Baganda evangelists, some of whom spurned
death itself, Tucker successively appealed for them to serve in these ‘wild wastes’, and his Archdeacon, Buckley, enthused at the opportunities created: ‘The land from the Nile to Abyssinia lies open before us.’ (ibid.:343). Effective though these evangelists were in Bugishu and Teso, they never seemed to move beyond the sphere of the sub-imperialism of the Baganda, begun by Kakunguru. Their mission of revealing Christ was to come to grips with the forces of nature, to battle with the wilderness, to civilize, where there were no roads, permanent houses, or towns, to make the land agreeable to their kith, kin, and Bishop, who delighted in Kakunguru’s edifices (ibid.:314; Roberts 1962:443).

b. Consequences of Progress

Not all agreed that civilization was arriving. One missionary, reportedly asked, to what he attributed the prevalence of syphilis, replied, ‘In a considerable degree, to the introduction of Christianity’ -- as a result of imposing monogamy on a polygynous society. Governor Bell observed, that ‘morality has decreased in ratio to the increase of clothing’, evidenced by the lamentable spread of venereal disease and caused by encouraging a sophistication too rapid to be sound and appropriate. Moreover, the exemplary and sophisticated culture, represented by the Governor who laid the foundation stone of the rebuilt Namirembe Cathedral, was made of straw. ‘We drink and gamble, and nine-tenths of us never put a foot in a church for months on end.’ (Bell, H. 1946:108,195,201). The sexual morality of British officials in Uganda was less than exemplary and the prostitutes have been brazen in Kampala
ever since it became a city.

**c. The Call of Karamoja**

Tucker does not relate why he wanted to establish evangelists particularly in Karamoja, though since the region was a totally unevangelized part of his diocese, whose borders, until 1921, ran along Lake Turkana, it was perfectly in order that he should do so, when he had 70,000 baptized converts, 2,000 ‘native agents’, and 100 missionaries (Hewitt 1971:221). Perhaps he had been motivated by the reports of a missionary stationed at the foot of Elgon, J.B.Purvis, who had seen caravans bringing ivory into Mbale. An Abyssinian party even wanted to show him the need in Karamoja for a missionary, but

I was too ill to move far from my own station, and in any case the work at Mount Elgon had prior claim but I hope the time is not far distant when men from England will be forthcoming to take up such a challenge as these Abyssinians gave. (Purvis 1909:262)

**d. J.J.Willis**

In fact, CMS were never in a position to take up the challenge. On 25.1.12, John Jamieson Willis was consecrated Bishop of Uganda in Westminster Abbey, with a procession to rival an ivory caravan, composed of 20 different categories of men and boys. Just as Tucker and H.H. Johnston were expansionists, happy to grant power to Africans in order for them to carry the burden of expansion, so Willis, like H.H. Bell (1946:122), preferred, for his 20 years, to concentrate power at the centre, until such time as it overflowed to surrounding areas. This approach coincides with the concept of a cathedral, or mother, church, which succours her sibling brood, and it is no accident that he used the building of Namirembe Cathedral, whose massive form
dominated his house and garden, as an analogy for building the whole Anglican church in Uganda. He opposed the euthanasia of mission and a Ugandan bishop for his diocese.

i. Metropolitan Power

Willis (1925:53f.) sought the Christianization of the entire people and of every department of their life; not the spiritual or moral, but the intellectual, social, political, and commercial. The leaven must go on working until the whole is leavened.

This 'divine purpose' could be effected explicitly by 'concentration' on the dominant tribe destined to rule -- the Baganda -- and on its natural centre and leaders, who would bring about extraordinarily rapid progress in the 'lower stages of civilization' or those tribes 'destined to obey', who would be more dependent then ever on the educated leaders. All that remained was for the church to visit outlying villages and to train its agents for them in order to bring about mass Christianization. His Reformation principle of freedom: 'None may be baptized who has not first learned to read the gospel for himself in his own language.', is used, so that 'the Church once despised becomes dominant; and paganism becomes, as the name implies, the religion of illiterate countrymen.' (ibid.:55-8).

That this approach could work at all depended on the premium which Empire put on education and Christian profession itself (Low 1956; Tiberondwa 1978), as the active ingredients of civilization, or enculturation, by the West. In Karamoja, where the people were independent of any centre dominant tribe or individual leaders -- where, in short, the premise of inequality did not exist in the social and political structures, Willis' church could not hope to gain much ground, and she hardly tried. When war broke out in
August 1914, the missionary committee resolved to send a letter to the PCs offering the services of all missionaries, and to halt all itineration and construction work (Hewitt 1971:226). Patriotic duties took priority over evangelization.

ii. Training the Rest

After the war, Willis identified Karamoja, with its more northerly neighbours -- and Bantu Kigezi where Baganda teachers had already been introduced -- as the main districts without any Protestant resident missionary. The European's work in these, as a "wise master builder", would be, firstly, 'to select a central station, and to build the necessary dwelling houses, churches, schools, etc., for a Mission headquarters for the district; and then to locate 'native outstations, and plant out the Baganda agents on whom will rest the responsibility of beginning the work'; to 'reduce' the language to writing; 'to bring into being, under God, the beginning of a Christian Church' and to select and train future teachers and leaders; to befriend the chiefs, and, last of all, in an absurdly demanding list, to 'become acquainted with their customs and thought'. Morally, the missionary in his isolation from the local culture, which he is sent to change, 'must be strong enough to stand alone, amid much in the surrounding heathenism that depresses and degrades,' (Willis 1919:7f.).

e. Euthanasia of Mission Starts at Home

However, after the war, CMS was having problems with its sending culture. Edwardian hedonism and the slaughter of millions of its own people by 'Christian' Europe had rotted self-confidence and the will to cover the globe with
Victorian ideals. After his resignation, Rev. H.E. Fox had striven to preserve CMS from the influence of liberal modernism, emanating from Germany. In the 1920s the total income of CMS rose in only two years: 1924, when the accumulated deficit stood at a record 35% of total income, and 1927. In Uganda cuts were demanded of up to 25% in mission spending, missionary allowances, and recruits, if not the total withdrawal of missionaries (Hewitt 1971: 228, 233, 482f.). Meanwhile, the Roman Catholics were able to supply the education which the government wanted, but even they were not ready for Karamoja.

Footnote to IV.A.

1. Purvis (1909:203) responded to this charge with his 'strong belief' in the power of the gospel not to create such licence as produces venereal disease, and fell back on Johnston's analysis of how the Baganda, with Christian monogamy, could recover from a falling birth rate.
B. CONVERTING KARAMOJA

1. SMALL BEGINNINGS

a. A European Venture?

There is no evidence that any of the Europeans who entered Karamoja, before missionaries eventually did, had any vital faith which they wanted to communicate with Africans. Major Rayne (1923:51) laconically observed of Kaceliba, 'This is barren soil for missionary or European trader -- neither are, and it is doubtful, if they ever will be, in evidence.' He would be proved wrong for a while, but he also overlooked the lay missionaries, who came in his own train. One such was a Christian Bantu, called Mundu, whose literacy in the Moroto store was useful to the officers who, however, saw red when he sent the military necessities and held back the luxuries of life.

"SEND THE OFFICERS' STORES BEFORE YOU SEND ANYTHING ELSE. YOU DAMN FOOL: ALWAYS SEND THE OFFICERS' STORES FIRST. THIS ORDER WILL NEVER BE CANCELLED; IT IS AN ORDER FOR EVER. YOU, MUNDU HAVE BEEN TOLD THIS BEFORE."

... To be quite fair, he is a very sterling fellow and means well; if no one damns him more than that he is a lucky fellow. (ibid.:142f.)

Mundu had learned well the British doctrine of impartiality, only to find that it did not apply to the British. He was educated in order to be servile, saved in order to be damned. A convert joins another nation's religion at the bottom of the heap, and it is highly improbable that this one held any attraction for the Karamojong.

i. Trading Islam

The other missionaries in Karamoja were Muslims, since only Somali traders from outside were, and are, hardy enough to persist there. In 1923, all 5 government agents,
all the shopkeepers, and the First Class Sergeant of the Uganda Police Unit, as well as many of the ranks of the police and KAR, were Muslims, and some married local girls. A Muslim Swahili corporal, Mustafa bin Jaddin, married a Dodoso, Nabilo, and when he was transferred he dressed her in white muslin and a veil. She responded to calls to prayer from the mosque, accepting the Muslim name, Manumiss. Yet many years later, when her sons died, she walked the 300 miles back home (MT 1965:46-50).

The Swahili influence did name a few hirelings Juma or Musa for life. Since animals had to be slaughtered, according to their custom, by a believer, they would proselytize a needy boy to be their butcher but, otherwise, they appeared more concerned to preserve their own faith than to preach it (MT 1966:66-8). Karamojong and Swahili had a longstanding mutual disdain for each other's ways.

ii. Official Mission

In 1923 Harry Mathers, Archdeacon of East Uganda from that year, and then of Elgon to 1947, and Rev. H.G. Dillistone, who founded the boys' school at Ngora visited Karamoja. Dillistone wrote to the CMS Missionary Committee, 'urging the advisability of commencing work in Karamoja and offering to work there on his return from furlough.' (CMS G3/A7:12.4.23, 49/24). The Secretary, Boulton Ladbury, requested the Chief Secretary of the government, whether CMS could start activity in Karamoja, but at the next meeting,

It was unanimously decided that rather than open up Work in Karamoja it would be advisable to build a station at Lira in Lango so as to relieve the staff in Teso of their portion of that district and leave them time to work the Karamojan District by itineration. (ibid.:23.5.23, 59/2)
In the Victoria Nile Valley, 'A veritable Day of the Lord has come to those lands, and thousands and tens of thousands are eager to be taught in the things of God' (ibid.:95), Lira was seen as the key centre by the Secretary, who wrote to London:

The need for a Station at Lira is very urgent both for the District of Lango and Karamoja unless we are willing to allow the Roman Catholics who do not lack for men or means, to take advantage of our opportunity for cultivating this fertile virgin soil in our portion of the Lord's Vinyard [sic].

(ibid.:17.7.23 Boulton Ladbury to G.T. Manley)

Karamoja was seen as a mere appendage to Lira, and Dillistone's zeal was diverted to Mbale, where he fell sick (ibid.:28.9.26). Guy Eden, the PC who, for over 30 years in Uganda, 'always showed a real sympathy with the missionary effort' (CMS 63/A10/D 20:7.4.29 Mathers), suggested to the Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, that a couple of mission teachers be allowed into the area between Moroto and Soroti, suspecting rightly that a missionary would not be available. With CMS unenthusiastic about evangelizing Karamoja, the issue was shelved for 6 months.¹

On 6.10.23, Chief Aciya was angrily speared to death, the event that put on ice any 'energetic administrative policy' (Barber 1968:204-9). Guy Eden turned his attention to subtler, indirect methods of 'advancement', encouraging trade and 'a flow of money', but he had already, on his own initiative, exercised another option.

...the time has now arrived at which, in my opinion, the entry of Missions into Karamoja should be permitted. ...the work of Missions would be advantageous in every respect.

There is moreover a very strong Mohammedan influence in the District which needs some counter influence....and to prevent all the Chiefs becoming proselytized...

(EA 1307/1908:30.11.23 PC, EP to Assistant Sec. for Native Affairs)
How real the danger was of the chiefs being converted to Islam is doubtful, but the chiefs were effectively being asked to pocket their traditional values. What government wanted for such a conservative people was education, a thorough, continuous European influence, and what better way of providing it than through the presence of missionaries?

Within a week, Ashton-Warner, the former energetic administrator of Karamoja, minuted the Chief Secretary his reaffirmation of the CMS application and that in the light of the Muslim influence 'it may be as well to inform the R.C. missions that applications for teachers to enter Karamoja will be favourably considered.' (loc.cit. Minute 157). Preston, the new DC in 1924, took a further initiative in requesting the Teso Church Council to send teachers to Karamoja (Letter:6.7.70 Battle to Barber).

iii. First Church Teachers

The year 1924 saw the arrival of the first missionaries commissioned to Karamoja, 2 Lango church teachers supported by the Teso Christians at Ngora, Eleazar Kyoka and Paulo Kyasi, who was later trained in Kenya for ordination elsewhere. They set up tiny one-man schools in the time-honoured fashion of Uganda at Nabilatuk and Moroto (MM 8/89:64). CMS hoped to supervise them from the as yet unbuilt European station in Lango. In the dry-season, when there was a food shortage, all the pupils deserted to the cattle camps, so that the church teachers had to start again in 1925 (D-H,N. 1962:784).

Around 1923 an Abwor, Jeremiya, had gone west to learn the "words of God" and, after a while, gained his name in baptism, as did a few other Abwor. The Acoli church
at Adilang was overseen from Gulu, and from 1925, Lira where
Tom Lawrence built a station. It may have been someone from
there who faced him with the needs of his own people.
Jeremiya assented, believing with God’s help ‘he would be
able to sow the seeds of life eternal’ in their hearts.
With Acoli support and other baptized converts, a few of
whom were confirmed elsewhere, Jeremiya built a fellowship
in 1924 and Karamoja’s first church building, of thatch,
wattle and daub, at Kiru. By early 1931 he was teaching 30
readers without him mentioning any European supervision (MM

In 1926 there were 3 sub-grade schools, inspired by
CMS with a total of 33 pupils, including 24 adults and 1
girl, but numbers failed to grow. The school under the
auspices of the Mill Hill Fathers in Lango, containing 19
adults, probably in Keem, Labwor, hardly lasted a year
(Battle 1970:44).

iv. Wanderers

Individual tribesmen were not bound to stay at all
times in the land of their birth and some, whether through a
dissatisfaction with their lot, or a desire to travel abroad
or see relatives or friends living among another tribe, led
a few men, who generally reported their experiences back
home, into contact with the wider world. This is how the
first Karamojong were converted.

A Jiot, Lokong Apacapa, the son of Aleper who had
been Loriang’s lieutenant-general and commander of the
Kotido battalion (Lamphear 1976:239), long mourned the death
of his mother, and his melancholy inactivity may account for
his unusual and uncomplimentary ox name meaning, father of
the fallow field. Early in 1924 he decided to visit his paternal uncle, who had settled in eastern Acholi at Adilang, where he encountered his first church school, his first book, a NT in the local language, hymns, prayers, and talk of Jesus. 'Those who went to the school laughed at him because he wore no clothes, and somehow he felt that there was something lacking in his life.' (Paget Wilkes 1932).

His uncle sent him to relatives at Lira, where there was a 'big school'. On the Sunday they took him to the NAC church, where a Muganda preached. Lokong was impressed by the concept, that 'Jesus is coming again'. Asked why he wanted to read, he told a RC teacher, that he wanted to know something of Jesus, so was shown him — in a crucifix hanging round the teacher's neck. He was intrigued, that there should be two teachers devoted to Jesus in one place.

Lokong proceeded to enculturate into the modern Uganda of his day. In Kotido he secured a salaried job from the Ekapolon (County Chief) as an Ekungut, and wore clothes. He strained an arm ligament and, unlike most of his compatriots, was interested by European knowledge in such matters, so went to Moroto for the DC's dispensary which, he thought, cured him. His appetite for modern wonders whetted, he walked to Soroti, earned a living fishing in Lake Opeta, and learned to read the Ateso NT at the NAC. After 6 months of saving his takings, he returned to Moroto, only to find the NAC school with Eleazar Kyoko as its teacher. He lived with him as a garden boy, and soon asked God his Father to come into his heart, later telling Eleazar that he wanted "to know the Words of God completely, because God had enlivened his heart." (ibid.:43).
Eleazar explained that being a Christian meant 'a real cut with the old life and all it contained', including even the white missionary habit of smoking. His reasons boiled down to experience: 'if I now started smoking again I should sooner or later go right back into the old heathen ways and lose the gift of God.', and he gave the analogy of a giraffe in a cartwheel trap. Still not satisfied, as an educated man, Lokong again asked, 'Why?'. 'I cannot tell you why.' replied Eleazar, resorting to mystery, 'All I can say is that I know, as you will know if you follow truly.' (ibid.:44f.). Two years later, in 1928, Lokong, with one other was baptized 'Israel' by a CMS missionary who came for that purpose. Lokong achieved his ambition to be a teacher himself, being given board and lodging by the County Chief of Bokora at Kangole.

Two Dodos once went to eastern Acholi and grasped some of the language. One learned to read at a mission school, but he did not like the school, found the teachers harsh, and refused baptism. 'There is no need for a religion like that.', he said (MT 1965:46f.). By the end of 1928 there were just 2 communicants, 30 baptized, and 11 readers in Karamoja, compared with 19,307 baptized into the NAC in the vicinity of Elgon, 15,940 in Teso, 9,105 in Lango, and 7,214 in Acholi (CMS 63/A10/P1/5:22.1.29).

v. Changing Ways

Anyone who has lived in Africa knows the weight in Eleazar's words. Christians deviating from the straight and narrow are soon entangled in a web of irregularities which stultifies their contribution to the church. Yet if that leaves only a select handful who have the determination and
the means to attempt an impossible, deculturated life, then perhaps, there is something amiss with a church that expects its converts to live with neither the support of its own culture, nor the comforts of the missionary's.

On the one hand must be recognized the commonality of humanity which lets information be transmitted across boundaries at all; on the other, the specific cultural codes which make that information unintelligible or undesirable, and round which the boundaries between men inevitably exist. So far, it has been shown that values of European Christianity were transmitted into Karamoja without Europeans taking an active part, but that they only took root in those individuals who were prepared, for personal reasons, to forsake their own culture.

b. Except They be Agreed

The crisis within CMS came to a head in 1922 with 3 huge committee meetings, 350-1,000 strong. The great missionary conference at Edinburgh in 1910 had impressed the need for the different traditions of the Christian faith to work together. Building on this, the 'Group Brotherhood' based on conferences at West Ham vicarage, actively worked to update the 'old society' in current trends in theology and worship, "striving to interpret evangelical truth in accordance with the Holy Spirit's guidance in each succeeding age" (Hewitt 1971:463). The old guard took the 'old paths', content only with 'continuance in Old Evangelical and Scriptural Truth' (Record 1923:8), while the Chief Secretary stood for comprehensiveness.

i. Two Words Too Many

In 1922, the younger champion of the conservative
view, Rev. D.H.C. Bartlett, took up the running with a resolution which would bind all missionaries and officials of CMS to believe and teach the trustworthiness of Holy Scripture in its historical records and the truth of all Christ's utterances (ibid.:7; Hooton & Wright 1947:7). These twin fundamentals were intended to sound the death knell of modernism, and would have left the liberals worse off than before, having had to subscribe to the Anglican formularies alone.

After the cut and thrust of committee and attempts at reconciliation behind closed doors, 5 referees decided at the climax of the meeting on 22.11.22, while all else were in prayer, on the addition, 'and we believe in the absolute authority of His teaching and utterances, and that His authority is final.' Liberals, on behalf of themselves and missionaries, such as the one who had 'an open mind about the virgin birth', said they could not remain in CMS, if it included 'and utterances', so for the sake of unity, the Chief Secretary and the President had the 2 words dropped.

ii. The BCMS

Already on 27.10.22, however, the 'Scriptural Evangelicals' had agreed their reaction to the previous meeting, 'and with bowed heads and hearts trusting only in God, launched the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society, which was immediately consecrated to God in prayer by Prebendary H.E. Fox [in tears] and Canon M. Washington.' (Record 1923:6). Samuel Gladstone, 'the embodiment of all that is best in the English character', and who 'always played the game' (MM 10/110:15), was appointed Hon.
Treasurer, and Daniel Bartlett, Hon. Secretary. Now they could point with justification to the fact that CMS were not prepared to uphold the historical accuracy of the Bible, or of Jesus in his use of Ps.110 and Jonah, and all hopes of an eleventh hour agreement were dashed. They argued that no church schism was involved in matters of voluntary societies and that their opponents had identified themselves in the subsequent publication of *Liberal Evangelicalism*, criticized by the *Church Times*.

Truly the passage from Exeter Hall and Clapham to the New Thought has not been an evolution, but a revolution.... That Evangelicalism should shed its prejudices is a good thing, but not that it should scrap its convictions, and with them much of the Christian verity as well. The present writers would have been more courageous if, in becoming Liberals, they had admitted that they were no longer Evangelicals. (MM 10/110:17)

iii. New Fields

The Liberals did indeed go on to lose both their Evangelicalism and their missionary fervour, while the BCMS became heirs of the 'old enthusiasm' (Hooton & Wright 1947:15). Very few CMS missionaries had the courage of their convictions to switch to BCMS. When Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Keay did and CMS, having refused to discuss overseas work with BCMS, persuaded Bishop Westcott of Allahabad to cancel his invitation to employ the couple in his diocese, Bartlett cabled him:

My Committee carefully reviewed the situation at their last meeting and came to the conclusion that by your decision God was closing doors in your direction simply that He may thrust our new Society into unoccupied fields. We are now preparing to launch pioneer work rather than simply to take over fields formerly occupied by CMS. (ibid.:12)

To his credit, Bartlett devoted the rest of his life and his considerable abilities to that cause.
iv. D.H.C. Bartlett

'Danny' Bartlett was born in 1871 of a Bristol 'burgess family'. After conversion at 16 he quickly entered church politics by resigning from teaching in the Sunday School -- an act which led to the resignation of the Tractarian vicar -- and by holding student prayer meetings, despite a censure from his Cambridge don. He was ordained in Liverpool by the Evangelical leader, Rt. Rev. J.C. Ryle, who believed that God's sovereignty in the affairs of Christian England through her 'Visible Church' allowed her to control the affairs of other nations. Ryle's dedication to CMS lay in recognition that Liverpool's prosperity depended on the Colonies and that Queen Victoria reigned 'over more Mohammedan Subjects than any other ruler' (Farley 1988:105,300). Likewise Bartlett avowed 'to maintain as far as possible the traditions of the past' (Bromiley 1959:6). He remained 'a lover of the old views', and a 'legitimate son' of 19th century stalwarts, such as 'John Chas. Ryle', whom he claimed for the secession from CMS.

We are simply following in the footsteps of our great Evangelical Fathers. We intend to send to the ends of the earth the same old vital truths which they sent, and we intend to send them as they sent them -- pure and simple! That is without mixture with those modern views which are destructive of their very foundation -- the Bible. (Record 1923:10)

In his very commitment to the past, Bartlett failed to appreciate history. He imposed a modern sense of history on the Bible, although neither it, nor Articles VI and VII, delineate the requisites of historical study. He disallowed any development in doctrine and the continuing work of the Holy Spirit; the faith of the 1550s was equally proper to the 1800s and 1940s. The history of cultures, to which he
was sending missionaries, was of no interest to him.

What applied to time also held true for space. He never travelled abroad, but cabled his instructions to the frozen wastes of the Arctic, revolutionary China, and the deserts of Africa. Local bishops who disagreed with him were given a dressing down. He had 18 years of pastoral experience at home, which gave him seniority over those abroad, when the Faith was the same for all times and all places but the funds and the church forms came from England.

The value of Christian unity was unquestionably downgraded by Bartlett's reaction to the desire of the majority in the CMS committee to be 'inclusive and comprehensive'. This lent BCMS an exclusivist and sectarian image, even within the Christian tradition, let alone outside it. Not many have been called by Stephen Neill, 'a wicked old man' (Cox, personal communication).

For Africans, the division of CMS and BCMS made little practical difference. Whatever they are now as valued institutions in the Anglican Communion, they were then equally ethnocentric, differing as children of different times only by a generation in their adherence to English culture.
2. THE CALL FROM AFRICA

a. A Nilotic Diocese

In their review of mission in Africa, the Missionary Council of the Church Assembly (1926:106) fancied that 'an education system may be built up in Uganda stronger and more truly Christian than the world has ever seen in any country'. However, the mostly illiterate north did not fit into such a civilizing scheme, so it was felt that 'the formation of a separate diocese consisting of southern Sudan with the adjoining part of Uganda is an immediate necessity'. Perhaps, the Council had in mind BCMS when it wrote that the work here 'is of a very isolated and pioneer character and calls for pioneer missionaries, a class, which we are confident has not yet died out in the Anglican Church.' (ibid.:109-111), but CMS objections denied BCMS a foothold in Africa, whether in the Rwanda Mission, or West Nile replacing AIM at Morris' suggestion (CMS 63/A7/0 12.4.23:49/13, 10.1.24 Sharp to Manley; 22.9-29.12.25).

i. A.L.Kitching

In 1926 the plan agreed by Willis and Gwynne, Bishop in Egypt and Sudan, was actualized in the new Diocese of the Upper Nile, with A.L.Kitching, who had come to Uganda 25 years before to concentrate on Teso and Acholi, as its first bishop based at Ngora. His priority was to evangelize the tsetse fly belt in order to unite his diocese and spread the Christian faith north from Uganda to Sudan, where there were no African clergy. In neither part were the appointed common languages, Luganda and English, commonly spoken. So Karamoja would have to wait.
ii. Producing Church Leaders

The constant problems he was to have with the discipline of clergy and church teachers he later attributed chiefly to a lack of prayer at home and to the poor quality and quantity of CMS missionaries, but also to the training of African ordinands. Bishop Tucker Theological College, Mukono, may have been run 'too much along English lines, unrelated to their environment and work' (Kitching 1935:46f.). The solution was the opening on 2.3.34, on a lush Elgon foothill with panoramic views of Karamoja to the north, Buwalasi Training College for clergy and teachers. A chapel with a stained-glass window enshrining an African saint in European form was provided by Ridley Hall, Cambridge.

Its seclusion helps to give detachment from the hurry of ordinary life, while its temperate climate enables missionaries to live in health and comfort.... On the spiritual tone of the college must largely depend the spiritual life of the infant Church. (loc.cit.)

The fund-raising for, and the building of, Buwalasi had absorbed any energy which might have been spent on evangelizing Karamoja.

b. C.T. Studd

On 13.1.13 an Africa Inland Mission (AIM) party sailed from Dover, bound for East Africa and work in the Lado Enclave. In Mombasa 3 months later C.T. Studd learned that his resignation protesting against the AIM constitution had been effected. Only one of the younger men decided to stick with him. CT was now 52, and had invited Christ into his life before he left Eton, through the pressure brought to bear by his father who had made his fortune in indigo but had recently been converted himself by D.L. Moody. Having
been the best all-round cricketer in England in 1882-3, CT was himself moved by Moody to the extent that he became a member of the famous 'Cambridge seven' who went to China. In 1900 an asthmatic CT took his young family to India but, back home, was stirred again by the threat of Islam spreading south through Sudan, as presented by Dr. Kumm at the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (Vincent 1988; Buxton,E. 1968:28).

c. A.B. Buxton

i. Lineage

The companion of the man 'too old' was, in CT's words, one 'too young' (ibid.:199). Alfred Barclay Buxton (AB) had been born during an earthquake in Japan on the same day as the future Emperor, 3.11.91. His father, the Rev. Barclay Fowell Buxton (1860-1946), was the youngest son of Thomas Fowell Buxton, a younger son of the 'Emancipator' who, like his grandson, married a Quaker Gurney. Barclay was named after the related Barclay family, also Quakers and connected by banking. He read his theology under Dr. B.F. Westcott, and became a Cambridge Inter-Collegiate Christian Union (CICCU) and College friend of the Studd brothers, CT in particular.

In 1890 Barclay went with the Easneye estate carpenter and two housemaids as a CMS missionary to Japan, but seeking to effect his father's vision of 'uniting all Japanese in one communion' by a 'united band' of inter-denominational missionaries. In 1902 he and Paget Wilkes, hand-picked by his father from the Oxford Inter-Collegiate Christian Union, and to whom 'he gave absolute control of everything' on his first furlough, organized the Japan
Evangelistic Band to continue the work begun (Buxton, B.G. 1949:50, 98, 149).

ii. The Growing Call

In 1902 AB went to school at Repton where he was confirmed. In the summer of 1910 CT came to stay with the Barclay Buxtons near Easneye, bringing his 4 vivacious daughters, born in China, with whom the Buxton boys played tennis, canoed, and shot. Just 3 days after they left, AB wrote to the third one, Edith, and thus began a lifelong relationship, but they would seldom experience together the luxuries of upper class life (ibid.:161; Buxton, E. 1968:60).

The third brother, George, went to a mission station farm near Kisumu in British East Africa in 1912 to realize the 1840 vision of his great-grandfather: 'It is the Bible and the plough that must regenerate Africa'. George lost his life in the Great War, while the other 2 brothers were wounded.

The following autumn, in his first term at Trinity College, Cambridge, where most of the Buxton male lineage was educated, AB went to a CICCU meeting at the Henry Martyn Hall to hear Dr. Karl Kumm, and wrote home:

...right across Africa there is a band of warlike tribes, who had stopped the tide of Mohammed; but now that Britain has come in, fighting is forbidden and the Mohammedans are gaining converts everywhere. 'They never had a missionary, nor have one now.' Cumm [sic] promised to send the Bishop of Khartoum the right man and he has got him — C.T.Studd. So Mr.Studd is going out there this autumn with a little band. I wish my exams were done and I would go too. (Grubb 1942:14)

Before CT sailed on 15.12.10 for his exploratory expedition up the Nile with Bishop Gwynne and Archdeacon Shaw, he spoke to the Cambridge dons in the front row of the packed Guild Hall. When they signified their disapproval, the
undergraduates invited him back for another capacity meeting, and AB’s mind was made up (Buxton, E. 1968:58f.).

iii. Family Duties

The more respectable of the Buxton family thought CT a ‘hare-brained’ man and great pressure was put on AB to qualify as a doctor at the London Hospital. A clergyman altered an address to CICCU with the set purpose of preventing him going. Even his father, who had had to resist similar pressure, told him on reasoned grounds, ‘I feel that you are immature, not only physically, but spiritually, to go forth on such a work’ (Grubb 1942:18-20), but it was the evening sermon of his 21st birthday, preached by his father, which removed the imposed doubts, ‘Go in this thy might.’ Jdg.6:14 (AV). The haunting and well-practised ancient motto of the Buxtons could not but absolutize the command of that text, ‘Do it with all thy might’.

Having completed only two M.B.s, he joined CT for the Congo, proposing to CT’s previously dubious daughter on the eve of their departure in Paris. When CT broke with AIM, AB’s father cabled him at the CMS station in Masindi, representing the family’s alarm at this ‘wildcat scheme’, ‘Cannot consent you two going interior alone.’. When AB replied, ‘Must go on. Fear nothing. Ps.105:12-15.’, both the old friends, CT and Barclay Buxton, were glad to have someone who was ‘prepared to risk something for the name of the Lord’ (ibid.:26f.).
d. Men and their Missions

i. Heart of Africa Mission (HAM)

AB proved to be CT's devoted right-hand man for over 12 years, working in the Lingala language, north of the Ituri Forest. Late in 1916 Edith came to the mission field for a European wedding conducted by Belgian officials, and their honeymoon was in a tent, with hippopotami for company. In 1919 they walked 20 miles a day to the Nile for his first furlough, with a desperately ill baby but neither the locally used breast, nor European tinned, milk were available (Wood 1964:19). AB arrived home with a glowing report about him from CT.

ii. World-wide Evangelization Crusade (WEC)

AB was enthused by the new Home Overseer of HAM, Rev. Gilbert A. Barclay, his first cousin and brother-in-law who wished to distil its programme, objective, and method in a new overall name, WEC. The influence of Moody reappeared here in the lively premillennial expectation of 'Christ's Second Coming', which required 'the evangelization of the remaining unevangelized parts of the world in the shortest possible time' (cf. Mk.13:10,26). With the urgency imparted by this view, there was no time for denominations, missionary comforts or financial structures and little for marriage. As there was no training for such a sacrificial approach, AB decided to initiate one, similar to army training.

iii. Missionary Training Colony (MTC)

The men would put up ex-army huts, and see to all their own practical needs. The day started with Physical Training and a cold bath. The mental and spiritual input
would be provided by mornings of Bible study, not lectures on biblical doctrine, with smatterings of missionary methods, tropical medicine, language, and prayer.

Experience of mission was provided by ‘treks’, where the men would carry their own kit, hold open-air meetings, distribute tracts, sleep rough, and live on prayer and faith. A field was bought in Upper Norwood, 5 or 6 army huts erected, and the MTC sent out 200 men in 20 years, according to AB’s scheme. Though Gilbert Barclay began the training, it is always remembered for its ‘Commandant’, Barclay Godfrey Buxton, MC and bar, lately President of CICCU, and younger brother of AB (Grubb 1942:67-73; Letters 21.4.89 Butler, 31.12.88 Totty).

iv. Parting of the Ways

The difference of character between the old man and the young one was quickly and accurately epitomized by CT himself in 1913, over a row with the AIM missionaries who broke their agreement on relative spheres of influence.

Alf is desperately weak about such things, fearing the face of man. He is such a mixture, so loveable, loving and generous, self-denying in the extreme, but desperately weak in the battle. Alf is always seeking to stand well with everybody. I would like to see some fire in him, but he suffers with the fear of man. I say to Alf, It’s no use squinting around to see what folk think, or what will be the result of actions or words. The only way is to look at the thing, know the right, and do and say it at all costs whatever happens. (Vincent 1988:186)

Though converts were successfully made in the surrounding tribes, local feeling would eventually harden against CT’s unremitting church discipline, and Christians would fall away. From 1924 Calvinist missionaries, arriving from America, could not come to terms with CT’s more Wesleyan insistence on holiness, and AB forfeited the trust of the old campaigner when he tried to mediate. He was not
playing the game. Then AB contracted a philarian malaria that penetrated his spinal cord, causing periodic, debilitating fits, and in 1925 he and Edith again travelled home down the Nile. The next year the American missionaries resigned and the American committee of WEC invited them to go to the USA to find new missionaries for a new field (Buxton, E. 1968:130-5).

v. Abyssinian Fields Mission (AFM)

AB already had a field in mind, of which the WEC prayer list reminded him weekly: 'The unevangelized tribes of Abyssinia and the Somalilands'. He happened to pick up an article by the missionary Dr. A.T. Lambie (1926), who had found favour with Ras Tafari, which stimulated him to see the new head of the British Legation in Addis Ababa, Lord Charles Henry Bentinck CMG who had married the daughter of Lady Buxton. All were devout Christians, very interested in, and helpful to, missions, including Dr. Lambie's. Being home on leave, he was able to advise AB on 12.10.26 to get in touch with 'this Joseph of a doctor'. In less than 2 months AB and Edith were in America, looking up the Lambies, and publicizing the AFM 'in fellowship with' WEC. In 1927 CT wrote to say that they were too disloyal in going to America and were no longer needed in the mission. AB's brother-in-law Norman Grubb was left to pick up the small pieces of WEC single-handed.

vi. Sudan Interior Mission (SIM)

However, Dr. Rowland V. Bingham, General Director of SIM, whose work in Nigeria he had founded decades before, was looking for a new field, and he persuaded the abandoned baby of AFM to fall into his care. When AB arrived back in
England he came back as the Home Director of SIM in the UK, being completely cut off without notification from HAM/WEC. On 27.12.27 he escorted the first AFM party for Abyssinia to Southampton. When he went to the Keswick Convention on 13.7.28 he was able to talk of CT to Mrs. Studd for the first time since his return even though she was based round the corner in Upper Norwood. Just before AB went, a Lieutenant Reuss had called to see him to offer himself as a missionary to Turkana District, where he had been serving in the KAR before returning home through the Congo to see his sister serving with CT.

vii. New Fields and Old Acquaintance

While at Keswick these 2 meetings formed in AB’s mind a twofold purpose. Mrs. Studd told him ‘that CT was asking why I had not come back, and all his letters were full of me.’ He and Edith had ‘always prayed that we might be reconciled and even see him again before he died’, which necessitated an early visit to Africa, as most believed he would never come home. ‘I was much exercised with the desire for reconciliation [sic] with CT’, and the latter’s brother-in-law, William Bradshaw, now a council member of the Sudan United Mission, and his old friend, Barclay Buxton encouraged AB (SIM EB-1 7.8.28 AB to Bingham: 3f.).

Lieutenant Reuss produced an article from the East African Standard of 1.5.28, entitled, ‘SOME PROBLEMS OF KENYA’S NORTHERN FRONTIERS No.5. AN APPEAL TO MISSIONS’, and AB was keen to tell Bingham.

It speaks of the Galla, the Rendille, and the Turkana and then says the problem of bringing these tribes to a more advanced state is difficult. “A few cases of conversion to Islam have recurred among the Rendilli [sic: article says Rendile], and it seems desirable to give both tribes an opportunity of coming under mission influence. If
a society can be persuaded to send its members to establish a station at Marsabit."

Such a location would be suitable for British missionaries, who were not very welcome in Abyssinia.

A further indication is that I have been away from Africa 4 1/2 years and I feel the need of renewing my touch. God called me to Africa and now that my health is much better, I feel I should go forth again. If this Rudolf [Lake Turkana] work is to be launched, someone must go. The public will not move until this is done.

The 2 purposes could be combined by going up the Nile to Rejaf (near modern Juba), driving west to visit CT, and then doubling back east to Kitgum in order to penetrate Turkana.

viii. Hamilton Paget Wilkes (HPW)

The wife of Paget Wilkes, Barclay Buxton's esteemed assistant in Japan, had sent AB's printed booklet publicizing the AFM to her son, Arthur Hamilton, who had been a little boy with AB in Japan. While at Oxford, he had led a University expedition to the Arctic, and then farmed in, and travelled across, southern Africa, before returning to England to seek more regular mission work. In this he failed but he did meet Oliver Knight, formerly of the Japan Evangelistic Band, who suggested that he work on his farm near Kitale for 6 months and explore the possibility of reaching the Pokot.

These people he said were totally unevangelized and their language scarcely reduced to writing. His farm was only a few miles from the border of their reserve. All this was most interesting since my thoughts have always been directed towards the inaccessible and unevangelised areas ever since a boy.

He took up the offer and was now filling in time, growing tobacco, and supervising 40 other farms, but the Lord was showing him, a non-smoker, that tobacco growing was 'not a
profitable occupation for a Christian seeing that it takes all the edge off his testimony on that subject', and that through his explorations the Pokot would not be reached by the farmer-missionary approach, in which he had been involved in Nyasaland (Malawi). Kenya's Acting Governor and the Director of Education assured him that the Government would put no obstacles in the way of any society, but HPW felt himself unfit to do the work alone, needing to be 'trained' as a missionary in the field.

More recently God gave me great assurance that He would put me in a position where I could learn something of pioneer service. After this I asked Him to give me a word on which to stand and next morning came that same assurance and "Ask of Me and I will give thee the heathen for thy inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession." Ps.II.8. Again like Gideon I prayed for a sign and three days later your letter came !!

( ibid.:2)

HPW sought 'a small place' in AB's plans which, since Lieutenant Reuss had dropped out to be ordained, and since his journey to Central Africa was to be funded by £126.13.0 raised from relatives and personal contacts, were soon going to depend mostly on HPW, who, alone, knew something of peoples, places and languages.

HPW observed a generation gap, with the young desiring 'the knowledge and consequent power of the white man' and, 'in a measure' the things of God but the old bitterly opposing these desires, believing they meant 'the breaking down of their old hereditary customs and sanctions'. Yet HPW believed that in the battle the gospel of restitution for the sinful 'does make its everlasting appeal and is as adaptable to African conditions as to those in any other part of the world.'

Suk [Pokot], Turkana and Karamoja are to be won for Christ and the cry of the Father of all living is as
fresh today as it was hundreds of years ago to the Prophet Isaiah, "Whom shall I send and who will go for us?" Isa.VI.8. Let each individual Christian heart ask itself what call it has to stay at home, when the enemy still holds thousands of square miles belonging to the rightful Lord of the Earth. As the writer sits looking out over the Suk Escarpment to where Mts. Debasi and Moroto fade in the evening light, like great giants asleep, the hope and prayer comes again and again that this part of the very Ethiopia of the ancients will soon awake out of slumber and stretch forth her hands unto God. (SIM EA-2 H. Wilkes 'The Evangelization of Pastoral African Tribes')
3. PIONEERING KARAMOJA

a. Penetrating Africa

As in 1913 and 1926 before going to the Congo and America, AB believed that God again gave him the personal command, 'Go in this thy might' (Jdg.6:14 Record 1934:83). He gained approval for his journey to Africa from the rather incoherent SIM committees of Liverpool and Scotland, which would pay his allowance to Edith who could not face a third tour in Africa with 2 school-age children. AB's family inheritance renovated a house for them, adjoining the field bought for the MTC. On 27.12.28, his twelfth wedding anniversary, he left to join Bishop Taylor Smith, who had visited Uganda the previous year for the CMS jubilee celebrations, on the Alexandria boat at Toulon (SIM EB-1 AB to Bingham 14 & 15.12.28; Buxton,E. 1968:142f.). On their journey up the Nile they stayed with Bishop Gwynne, before arriving at Rejaf, on schedule for a pre-planned meeting.

All within half an hour on 11.12.28 HPW, in Kitale, had 3 prayers answered: there would be no obstacle to SIM accepting him; AB was arriving at Rejaf on 24.1.29, and a friend offered to loan him a 5-seater touring car, to be sold after the Congo trip. Two more remained to be answered, but 'On 18th & 22nd Decem. the Lord enabled me to shoot two elephants, the profit on the ivory providing sufficient funds for the journey to Rejaf.', and on 5.1.29 his circular to friends bore fruit in the provision of his first year's salary from a private source. When they met in Rejaf they both confessed how remarkably the Lord had sealed their advance (SIM EB-1 HPW circular with 5.5.29 EB to Bingham).
i. Personal Reunion

They spent 3 weeks with CT and thought he achieved his first object in returning to Africa, though it appeared differently to the onlookers. ‘For a few days the two men hedged in superficial niceties and then had it out’ (Vincent 1988:232; SIM BC-2 12.3.29 AB to Bingham). AB half hoped that some sort of partnership could be arranged between HAM and SIM, since they ‘stood for the same things’. Norman Grubb had made 2 donations to his trip and in return AB wrote an article for the HAM magazine, withdrew his resignation from the Committee, and offered to serve on it, but CT did not want that. He wanted AB to ask his forgiveness. Though AB did not oblige a start was made to restore the personal relationship for which he yearned. He broke the news to CT of the death of the wife he had seen for 13 days in as many years. AB had other fields to consider.

ii. Gaining Permission

The pioneers of a new generation, no longer, due to the requirements of Empire, confined to jungle footpaths, were able to motor 400 miles east to Arua, in order to meet the Governor of Uganda, Sir William Gowers. While they waited for his timely visit to West Nile District, they stayed with the CICCUC friend and AIM missionary who had split from CT 15 years earlier, Fred Morris who now wished for co-operation between SIM, AIM, and HAM. AB wanted to delay the formation of a British council for SIM until Committee members of the others were ready to join it. Since he needed money to return home, and HPW had exhausted his annual game licence, they came to an arrangement.
Morris bought the licence, and HPW shot the quota of 2 elephants in a single day. 'We prayed much about this.' (ibid.; 19.3.29 AB to Bingham).

They had a 'satisfactory interview' with the Governor, who told them to visit Karamoja, which HPW had identified as the best place to start a base for the Lake Turkana sphere, and apply to the local officials, including the OC, Northern Garrison at the 4th KAR base of Kakamari, for the permission they needed. As the PC had a Christian wife, and was a friend of HPW, and the DC was a Christian, who had been at Cambridge with AB, they fully expected the door to be opened. By May permission had been granted (SIM BC-2 12.3.29 AB to Bingham; HPW circular). The Governor was concerned with more physical matters, 'If only you could give those people water, that is what they need.' AB recognized an obligation to 'open fountains of water for the body as well as the soul' (MM 7/8:1:122).

b. The Church of England in Central Africa

The pair returned north in order to seek out Bishop Kitching, stopping on 12.3.29 at Yei where Rev. P.O'B. Gibson had a CMS school for the sons of Bari chiefs. He was yet another of AB's CICCU friends and, wrote AB reassuringly to Bingham, 'believes just as we do'. Even the Archdeacon of Southern Sudan, A. Shaw, was a splendid man: 'The missionaries in this section are the typical old evangelical.' (EB-1 19.3.29 AB to Bingham). Be that as it may, the Bishop soon persuaded AB, quite against SIM principles of not importing denominational church government, of the necessity of working the sphere as Church of England. Kitching was not even content that AIM had
maintained the continuity of tradition that he expected.
i. Governing the Native Church

The Government of Uganda had been careful to grant permission almost exclusively to Anglican and RC missions, which might explain Gowers' reserve to AB's SIM plan, but there is no evidence that he insisted on a particular denomination, perhaps because the administration was happy to have any Western education in Karamoja, and AB was as English as they come. Denomination was the suit which Kitching forced. He told them that the Sudan government had said that the Toposa were only open to CMS or RCs, and if the former did not make it their sphere the latter would, since the government insisted then, unlike Uganda, on separate spheres. AB acceded without demur to the Bishop's insistence on the anti-RC and anti-SUM Shaw acting as representative to the government, and claims of a monopoly in Protestantism.

Furthermore as all this territory from Lake Victoria up to the Sobat River in the the Sudan is a Church of England sphere, it did not seem wise from the point of view of mission policy and the native church, for us to come in with anything but Church of England organization. Our sphere is small and isolated and it would be natural to fall in line with what is already being done from Lake Rudolf to the Congo border -- i.e. east to west, as well as north and south as above.

(SIM EB-1 19.3.29 AB to Bingham)

Clearly, the imperial dream appealed to AB, as it would have done to his great-grandfather and his heirs, but not to his father and grandfather who preferred an inter-denominational approach in Japan. If pressed, AB would have said such forms were immaterial, but that is to ignore the effects on the kind of mission Karamoja was to experience. Prophetically, but absent-mindedly, he wrote to his SIM colleagues, 'If this is a Church of England sphere I hope we
shall tap a somewhat new constituency in England.' (SIM EB-1 5.4.29 AB to Lambie & Rhoad).

ii. Bishops Rule

Kitching, 'a fine man, who believes as we do', was playing with a poor hand. He had no firm plans, still less the resources, to evangelize the remaining Itunga tribes, despite having committed Ateso to writing. His main constraint was the 'appalling' lack of recruits, even for the established stations (CMS G3/A10/P1/29 28.5.29). Thus, he was 'ever so glad to find someone undertaking their evangelisation' (SIM EB-1 5.4.29 AB to Bingham). The DC in Toposa asked CMS to open a school there but they could not, so he started one himself with 2 Christian boys. CMS was unable to give white supervision to its church teachers in Karamoja.

AB and HPW had an equally weak hand, having no institutional support whatever for a new mission. Neither had the finances to start one and they would not be able to keep themselves beyond the year. AB's cash had run out in Yei and his family income depended on his job as Home Secretary of SIM in Britain. Living on incidental providence they managed to pick up a Chevrolet box-body car which had only done 900 miles, for £80, paying only a £30 deposit with HPW's share in the ivory profits.

iii. More School Ties

By 19.3.29 they were 40 miles north in Mongalla for the Bishop and the Archdeacon to put their case to the PC, who 'definitely declared himself as sympathetic to missionary work'. He would write to the Governor-General at Khartoum, which suited AB, for the former had
known several Buxtons and the Vice-Governor is a Christian man who was at school with me and I know him well. So here again God's hand has arranged things -- both the Governor and Vice-Governor have only just been put in here! (SIM EB-1 19.3.29 AB to Bingham)

AB’s God was making a habit of moving along Imperial lines. Because the Turkana were very nomadic and adjudged to be living in ‘low unhealthy country’ for Europeans, AB’s attention shifted away from his concern from his intention of the previous year. ‘The Karamojong live on a plateau and are less nomadic. It has therefore always seemed to us, that Karamoja was the place to start.’ (loc.cit.) It would be a great thing, related Edith, ‘if, as in Uganda, the Gospel enters first, before commerce and so-called civilization.’ (SIM 5.5.29 EB to Bingham).

c. Penetrating Karamoja

i. Gaining Entry

The next day they left with the Bishop on his pre-planned tour for Torit amongst the EN Lotuko, and then Kapoeta amongst the Toposa, then south to Kitgum in Acholi, and east to Kakamari in Dodos, where AB had prematurely planned his first base, and to start building at once. The party went south through Karamoja to Ngora, choosing Kangole on the junction of the dry-weather roads, 90 miles from their new permanent postal address at Soroti. Going south to Jinja with the bishop, they obtained the consent of the PC, and AB and HPW carried on to the other side of Elgon in order to pick up HPW’s kit.

Again, AB’s portion of Scripture was the call to Gideon: ‘Go in this thy might’. ‘That and two or three other texts seem to belong to me. Gideon’s ‘might’ was his realization of his weakness and dependence upon God.’ (Grubb
1942:88) 'We can expect as complete a victory as Gideon had.' (SIM EB-1 5.4.29 AB to Lambie & Rhoad) Retracing their wheelmarks south round Elgon to Ngora, the Elgon Mission welcomed them 'into a field, that owing to the present difficulties cannot be occupied by CMS' (CMS G3/A10/P10/33: Standing Committee Minutes, 2-3.5.29). Syson equipped them with school materials, books, medicines, seeds, and the first plough ever taken to Karamoja, even as Ngora had introduced the first in Teso. For a Buxton in Africa there can be few more potent symbols.

ii. Reaching First Base

The 2 pioneers entered Karamoja by the striking mountain gateway at Iriri in time for the rains. 'We had some prayer, again claiming the land for God.' They were cordially received by the DC at Moroto and experienced their first Karamojan 'tree service' — 'four Christian Karamojong, six raw savages quite naked, and two women dressed in necklaces and black cloth.' (ibid.:88). Since they were committed to Anglican church government, the bishop was more than happy to hand over the direction of the evangelists and their 40 converts to AB and HPW. At Kangole they found Israel Lokong and, with him, climbed Morulinga hill to spy out the land and pray for it (MM 10/117:120).

Guided by a government chief and Ps.132:6, 'we found it in the fields of the wood', they chose a site where, a generation before, the hippopotami had romped by the Omanimani River in the heavily populated, central riverine area of Karimojong (D-H,N. 1966:26f.), providing 10 perennial water-holes (ngicorin). It was and is in the midst of the small Tome section, and called Lotome, the
place of the elephants. AB does not mention that the elders refused to let them build at the foot of Morulinga because they herded their cattle there, so they searched as far as Kakumongole River. Lomonat, the County Chief of Bokora told the Sub-County Chief of Lotome, with the odd ox-name of Apomomwo, to give them all possible help but still the people of Kalokengel refused to have them (Lorec 1981:5f.). Gaining government permission, they moved to ‘Elephant Park’, in order to begin building. After travelling over 2,000 miles on dirt roads in 3 months AB and HPW put down roots in Karamoja on Saturday, 3.5.29.

'We had twelve men to push the car through the mud. It was a great joke to the naked Karamojong! We arrived about sunset, towed through the last two miles by forty dusky women in their antelope skins and huge wire necklaces and bracelets.'

(Grubb 1942:89)

Such was the bizarre beginning, if totally in keeping with the Imperial backdrop, of the white man’s mission in Karamoja.

iii. The Shadow of Empire

In their own minds the pioneers were breaking new ground, bringing about an epochal event that would rouse the people from their ancient sleep. Yet to the allegedly somnolent Karimojong this was another party of Europeans bringing their Western paraphernalia and their firearms, with which they shot game for the pot, and even an ox, which strayed onto their newly-laid garden for banana and coffee, lemon and guava, ‘as an example’ (MM 8/83:7). Had they known, they could have applied to the elders for their sanction but they had the British symbol for establishing authority, tried and tested by soldier and hunter: the power of the rifle.
AB's connections with his European forerunners were closer than he knew. His great-great-grandfather, Thomas Fowell Buxton, had married the daughter of Osgood Hanbury of Holfield Grange, Coggeshall, Essex and Susannah W. Barclay, thus giving birth to the famous brewing partnership, Truman, Hanbury, & Buxton of Spitalfields. Hanbury's grandfather, who had travelled extensively with George Fox in Wales, was the son of a Philip Hanbury of Worcestershire, who was also the lineal forefather of the 4th Baron Sudeley's son, Algernon Henry Charles Hanbury-Tracy, who had been the first European to set foot in Karamoja 30 years before. Then the Uganda Expedition had made its largest base in Karamoja at Manimani, less than 9 miles up river from Lotome. Now another branch of the Quaker brewing and banking dynasty, long since integrated into the English upper class to give a lead to the Evangelical Revival in the established church, had reached isolated Karamoja.
d. Takeover Bid

i. Shaky Foundations

AB had now fulfilled the second and final objective of his journey to Africa, but he was constrained by 2 factors: his passion for unevangelized fields and HPW's request to be trained by a 'senior man'. 'I feel I should stay out till one or two more arrive to hold the fort with Wilkes.' (SIM EB-1 5.4.29 AB to Lambie & Rhoad) There was not the slightest prospect of anyone arriving, especially when he, the Home Director of the sending country, was in the field but AB clung to some vain hope that the Officers' Christian Union would supply somebody. By 10.6.29, AB left HPW to write letters on behalf of the AFM on headed note-paper, describing HPW as Field Secretary, before anyone else had been consulted.

Alfred has seen fit to ask me to become the Field Secretary for this area. I feel quite unqualified for the post as I have had so little missionary experience.

(SIM EB-1 10.6.29 HPW to Lambie)

Meanwhile in America, R.V.Bingham was appreciating that AB was succeeding in opening up new AFM territory without any SIM support, having insisted on none, in order to take leave of his duties in Britain. On 22.4.29 he himself sent Canadian $25 and a blank cheque to Edith in support of AB's work. Though the former was 'a great help', she returned the latter, saying the bank would not accept it: 'I am rather glad, as I think you have given quite enough!' (SIM EB-1 12.5.29). In the circumstances, this was a very strange reply. SIM was her husband's employer, and she knew full well that he was living on a wing and a prayer. Her own means were straitened because the Liverpool council of SIM had taken AB's permission seriously, and not
paid £40 of deputation expenses, and stopped his allowance for 2 months, so that Edith’s bank account became ‘badly overdrawn’ (SIM EB-1 7.3.30 AB to Lambie:6). Other irons were already in the fire.

ii. Ecclesiastical Wheels

In 1924 the Houghton family had gone out from Holy Trinity, Tunbridge Wells, to pioneer Burma for BCMS. This church began to support BCMS, whose senior Vice-President and Chairman of the Candidates Sub-committee, Canon Marmaduke Washington, became church mission secretary. The vicar was Barclay Buxton. Knowing of his son’s financial plight, Buxton put it to Washington, who laid the challenge before the BCMS Executive Committee (Grubb 1942:86). Edith, and then her father-in-law, went to see Bartlett (Record 1929:16), who claimed the initiative.

Although connected with S.I.M. they were out at their own charges and she believed in dire necessities.

The Hon. Secretary of B.C.M.S. at once realized that if such work (not attempted by the older societies because of the difficulty of reaching nomad Tribes) were to be properly initiated and then sustained, any missionaries who dared to undertake it must have behind them a well organized and substantial society. He immediately approached both missionaries’ fathers, ascertained all information necessary concerning their sons, and those fathers’ readiness to sign on behalf of their sons the Scriptural basis of B.C.M.S. He then concluded in his own mind that, through Mrs. Alfred Buxton, God had called B.C.M.S. to enter this difficult but seemingly open door. (MM 17/216:152)

Bartlett was at pains to point out that he had only 1 vote in 60 on the Executive Committee, before which the matter had to be not only ventilated, but fully approved before he could commit the Society to a new venture. Though some on the Committee were looking for an opening in Africa, others were intent on creating a pension fund. This would take at least 2 monthly meetings prior to mid-June. From
Edith’s point of view this meant that when she wrote to Bingham she was already attracted by the security of ‘a substantial society’. AB, who knew of his wife’s activity (CMS G3/A10/0 1930:1), appears not to have written to him between 19.3 and 6.7.29 and, during this time, only 1 non-committal reply to Lambie (SIM EB-1 22.5.29), which mentions neither AFM, nor SIM, nor BCMS, nor even, most untypically, AB’s plans. Both maintained a silence until the BCMS decision due to the uncertainty of the outcome.

iii. Finding the Capital

When he presented his proposal to extend the Society’s work to East Central Africa at the morning session of the June Committee meeting, Bartlett ‘received no encouragement, rather otherwise’, but he had 2 staunch Bristol supporters as Vice-Presidents with more power even than Washington. These 2 sisters were heiresses of W.D. & H.O. Wills, the tobacco manufacturers. In the lunch hour one of them, Mrs. Rowcroft, gave Bartlett a cheque, payable to BCMS, for £10,000, with the request, ‘’Will you kindly tell me what you propose doing with it, or the best way in YOUR opinion of dealing with it?...you will know best.’’ (MM 17/216:152). Allocating half to East Central Africa and half to North Baffin Land, ‘he found the Committee in the afternoon ready to agree to his proposal.’

On 13.6.29 the word was cabled out in answer to the pioneers’ daily prayers for the right men, speedily, and for finance.

Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society prepared consider Mission Rudolf territory if Governor and bishop welcome, and you and Wilkes accepting Society’s Scriptural Basis would pioneer, we responsible Recruits and Finance—Cable Bartlett, Ipsissima, London (ibid.:153)
'Paget Wilkes and I after several days of consideration and prayer had come to the conclusion that we should hand over the sphere to the BCMS' (SIM EB-1 11.7.29 AB to Lambie & Rhoad). They left Lotome on 21.6.29, having built a thatched house, for Ngora. Bishop Kitching, seizing the opportunity took the train with AB to Nairobi to consult Heywood, Bishop of Mombasa. All 3 commended the scheme to the Acting Governor of Kenya, as not involving the 'introduction of a fresh denomination'.

The bishops, preferring the chip from the old block of CMS to the 'Apostolic simplicity' of SIM, cabled BCMS, 'PROPOSAL OCCUPY RUDOLF AREA FAVOURABLY ENTERTAINED ANTICIPATING GOVERNMENT APPROVAL POSTING LETTER TO-DAY' (CMS G3/A5/0/102 29.6.29; MM 17/216:153). They counted on 'co-operation in our Diocesan life with the workers already here', and stipulated a name, like 'Rudolf District Mission', so as not to divert support from the CMS Missions.

Throughout we have felt that the whole move has been of God's planning, so that a field, which we were unable to reach in either the Sudan, Uganda or Kenya, owing to lack of staff is thus provided for. (CMS G3/A10/0 1930:1)

AB sent a letter to Bartlett, dated 29.6.29:

The two bishops will welcome BCMS into the Rudolf sphere. It is quite untouched and neither CMS nor any other society (outside SIM) are considering it. The bishops earnestly desire, therefore, that it be undertaken forthwith by BCMS. (MM 7/81:121)

AB, unsure whether it was God's will for him to end his days in BCMS, agreed to pioneer for them until the end of the year and to take it from there. He did emphasize how hard and expensive the sphere was, as compared with the Congo, where he could 'without difficulty live off the country'. In Karamoja everything except meat and millet would have to be imported, water would have to be bored, and
a car was 'quite indispensable'.

iv. Casting Off SIM

Only then did AB telegram Bingham who promptly replied.

BIBLE CHURCHMEN'S MISSIONARY SOCIETY, FUNDAMENTALIST, DESIRE UNDERTAKE THIS RUDOLF SPHERE. RECRUTES [sic], MONEY AVAILABLE. SINCE OUR CONSTITUENCY TOO UNDERDEVELOPED FOR TASK, EARNESTLY BEG YOU APPROVE PROPOSAL. BISHOP AGREES...

BUXTON.

EFFECTIVE OCCUPATION IN REASONABLE TIME ONLY GROUND PRE-EMPTING OUR ENTRANCE. ESSENTIAL BRITISH COUNCIL APPROVE PLANS ON YOUR RETURN...

BINGHAM

(SIM EB-1 3.7.29 Telegrams)

In a classic inter-continental breakdown in communication AB read Bingham's 'ENTRANCE' as 'finance'. Whether a mistake was made by the Nairobi clerk, we shall never know but if so it made little difference to the gist of the message. The General Director of SIM wanted to take on the new field, and in any case instructed AB to put his plans before his home committee.

AB had finance on the brain. They had to pay the balance on the car and repair it, but had no money in the bank: 'we need funds immediately to enable us to carry on at all.... Our financial position compels decision'. He took Bingham's cable to mean that effective occupation within a reasonable time was the deciding argument and that SIM had not the financial resources to do it (SIM EB-1 6.7.29 AB to Bingham). AB was formally applying for a site in Turkana, 'and it had best go in under the name of the Society that is really undertaking the work'. Back in May, he had written to the Liverpool council asking them to adopt the sphere officially, and saw it as

a remarkable fact that the B.C.M.S., without any action on our part or any idea of such a thing, should make this
offer...just in time therefore to prevent the printing of our appeal and the start of publicity on behalf of this sphere under S.I.M.  (SIM EB-1 6.7.29 AB to Bingham)

AB had, indeed, made up his mind and acted on it before he left Lotome. Thereafter, his communications with SIM were attempts at damage limitation and self-justification. As soon as he received Bingham's telegram he cabled one to Bartlett: 'Heartily approve transfer as from July first, we accept Basis, will gladly pioneer, send Society's literature', to which Bartlett responded positively, cabling £100 to Kitale (MM 17/216:153). The more regular and 'bigger allowance' improved AB's personal finances, especially being on the field, which curtailed his 'extravagant ways' (SIM EB-1 7.3.30 AB to Lambie).

v. Guidance

When AB disclaimed any part in or idea of BCMS's offer he ought to have excluded the initiatives taken by his father and wife and his own admission, 'I know that they have been wanting a sphere in Africa' (SIM EB-1 11.7.29 AB to Lambie & Rhoad). This is not so much the end justifying the means, as man's true end being utilized as a means to personal ambition: 'I regard the B.C.M.S. offer as God's way of accomplishing our desire', through that society's prospect of giving funds and recruits. In the heat of excitement, what others had to say was simply smelted into something that fused with AB's enthusiasm: 'Anyhow I think the decision of the British Council is a foregone conclusion, as all these reasons would appeal strongly to them.' He proposed to continue to act as its Home Director, but in an honorary capacity. In his letters he persuaded himself that all the other leaders in SIM wanted whatever he
Was God able to speak to AB through his Word? AB's personal verse on this occasion was Rom.9:28, which he interpreted as God's way of fulfilling his promise, through the BCMS offer that he would do a 'short work’, even though Paul meant by this, salvation for a few, not many. It did, however, fit AB's keen expectation of Christ's imminent return, beside which the tedious procedures of committees and societies faded into insignificance, but AB's faith was shown to work not along the lines of a 'faith mission', like his father-in-law, but along those of family and culture. He claimed 'perfect peace' about the move. 'The SIM has sowed, the BCMS will reap, but a day is coming when reapers & sowers will rejoice together' (ibid.:3).

vi. Fall Out

When SIM's Scottish council and Bingham arrived in Keswick to find that their Home Director had written a publicity leaflet, 'Where Four Countries Meet' on behalf of another society's appeal for what he had been calling an AFM sphere, they were not best pleased. Feeling they had not been given a chance, they took particular exception to one sentence.

The splendid action of the B.C.M.S. in taking all responsibility and sending supplies and recruits will make this a Church of England sphere, and a strong homogeneous native church should be built up soon on Church of England lines, and there will be one form of church organisation from Lake Victoria in the south to the Sobat River far up in the Sudan.

(SIM EA-1 12.7.29, MM 7/80:102-4)

This bears the hallmarks of AB’s composition: 'splendid', 'sphere', 'soon', the avoidance of his real worry, finance, and the vision of the Church of England running from shore to shore, while the use lower down of Rom.9:28 argues for AB
rewriting the article when he cancelled the SIM printing. Bartlett was too faithful to his texts to indulge in the insertion of self-congratulation but AB claimed later, 'Actually I did not write those words...', BCMS altering the article he wrote for SIM to use at Keswick to exclude any reference to SIM (SIM EB-1 7.3.30 AB to Lambie). SIM would not have passed the article to BCMS, so the best, that can be said in AB's defence was that Edith rewrote it from AB's letters.

Certainly AB was guilty of CT's charge of 'men-pleasing', but since that vice was more popular than CT's virtue of straight-forwardness, he retained the love of those who knew him personally, and a good press. Though well-disposed, Bingham 'felt Mr. Buxton was in error.' (SIM MD-2 14.10.30 Meeting of Scottish Council). AB just shrugged off the implications: 'it is hard for a Committee to have a sense of humour, and they didn't see the joke in Having their Home Director as Field Director for another Society.' (ibid.:10).

e. Building Up the Work
i. Preaching and Practice

The pioneers soon noted that 'In Karamoja itself things are different since civilization has hardly affected conditions at all.' (MM 7/82:129). Bringing 2 lorry-loads of its products from the Kenyan railhead at Kitale, 150 miles cross-country through Kaceliba, took 4 nights even with the help of an Oxford friend of HPW, repeatedly unloading and pulling the vehicles through sand, mud, and rivers. AB painted a road sign: 'B.C.M.S STATION. Their first in Africa! Hurrah!'. Having occupied their house,
they declared, 'we shall now be able to give our strength to the Gospel.'

On Sunday 4.8.29 they gathered 30 under the big fig-tree at Lotome. Using a sheep as a visual aid, as in a Children's Special Service Mission beach service, AB preached for the first time in Kiswahili, being prompted by HPW, and interpreted by Israel Lokong, on Is.53:6 'All we like sheep have gone astray', Lev.4:33 'He shall lay his hand on the head of the sin offering', and Jn.1:36, 'Behold the Lamb of God.' (Grubb 1942:91f.; MM 7/82:131). Had he gone on to use a steer as his visual aid in a sermon on sacrifices to God, a fruitful point of contact may have been opened, but to his hearers the sacrifice of a ram was connected with marriage and birth, women and children, not church religion and men. He had a grand opening, when he attended a sacrifice to ward off cattle disease, and was able to speak. Noting the reservation of amuro, he told the elders that God in these last days had provided an 'amuru' (sic). Though the Karamojong were living as they always had, 'now God was giving them the knowledge of His Son.'

A church and its sacrificial services was defined by the pioneers' preconceptions. Instead of being content with the sacred tree, where God would be present at the public sacrifice, they opted to do first and think later. 'We are beginning at once to build the School, which will be the Church for some time to come.' (loc.cit.). The translation of the Lord's Prayer, identifying God as papa, and a hymn, into Ngakaramojong by way of Kiswahili might have led the Karimojong to think that the white man believed in the same God, but he certainly had a different religion.
HPW hiked around the villages, evoking an admission of sin in killing and fighting here, a promise to follow Christ there, or an ear to hear of daily prayer and trust in God. He wanted others to continue this peripatetic ministry, 'until men and women are truly born again, and erect their little chapels for worship.' He thus expected converts to stay were they were but, for the European, there was so little tangible to show in response to his words that he had to imagine concrete success. 'In one's own mind one saw the spot where a little mud church would stand, and the praises of God be heard in that quiet valley.' (MM 7/184: 160)

ii. Lake Turkana Reached

At the beginning of October, the 2 pioneers drove from Kitale to the shores of what they called, Lake Rudolf, in order to achieve an ambition as old as their mission project. The Lake was to be the hub of the tribes, recently pacified by the British, which they planned to evangelize. They claimed to be the first missionaries to set eyes on this 'uttermost part of the earth', 'and the B.C.M.S. is the first Society to claim it and its tribes for Christ. May we finish the task soon', but espying only 'six natives' in a day concluded 'The Turkana are a tough proposition.' (Grubb 1942:80; MM 8/85:6f.). Bartlett was to boast of this achievement in The Times (14.12.30) but any idea of building a station here had eventually to be abandoned.

It was here that AB reviewed his mission approach.

The ordinary method of establishing a station in a well-populated area, and starting schools and Churches in the principal villages will have to be modified to suit conditions. A new campaign must be evolved.

(Record 1929:29)
Single men would have to make camel or donkey safaris to water-holes to make contact with people, and then draw them for medical treatment, or their children for education, to the base in each district. Those attracted would 'return to their wandering life with Christ in their hearts to transform the waterholes of this whole region into veritable Wells of Sychar'. This was a worthy modification of mission as AB had known it, but it was still centrist in essence. People had to be enticed into a base, which was itself, 'the first necessity', before being sent back to complete the evangelism. This reveals a relatively low degree of faith in the Word, as preached, where people were to produce self-propagating Christians, compared with a high degree of confidence in schooling at the base.

iii. Building the Church at Lotome

The church-cum-school, with a dais for the teachers' chairs, was dedicated on 16.6.29, with a record attendance of 250 at the 'healthier' altitude of Lotome, which assumed the position as base for all of Karamoja and Turkana. By October 1930 HPW was able to make himself understood in Ngakaramojong, and a Church Council of the professing Christians, 'our three boys', was set up to form a self-governing church from the start, fixing Eleazar Kyoka's salary as Evangelist at 10/- a month. AB translated the hymn, 'Jesus loves me', from Lingala. Having made several itinerations already of his own people, the Jie, Israel Lokong was made the reliable headman in control of all the routine of 'the station' (MM 8/85:8). An 11 metre well secured Lotome's long-term future.

AB was soon frustrated by the tardiness of a church
society, compared with a faith mission, to produce recruits. BCMS only turned out the BCM College’s ‘succession of spiritual men’, rendered ‘intellectually fit to meet the errors of Paganism Abroad, and those of Modernism at Home’ once a year. At a valedictory meeting on 1.10.29 they were given an address by AB’s father, urging them to live ‘in the full flow of the Holy Ghost’, to ‘eagerly go forward to preach where Christ is not named.’ (MM 7/84:161; 8/89:74). One, Stanley Metters, previously of the Camborne School of Mines, was brought by AB to Lotome in January 1930. AB carried on to the Congo, seeking ‘to borrow two men from Father Studd’. Finding all well in Karamoja, AB sailed home in March ‘to get others out’.

iv. Counter-Culture

‘We declared war on witchcraft.’ (MM 8/83:7) AB told a woman bearing a sick baby to remove its amulets for God to hear their prayers. She complied and the government chief, at his own initiative, rose at the end of the service to speak ‘in support of God versus witchcraft’. Only witches in Karamoja favour witchcraft, but the chief was condemning the commonplace rites and animist world view of his people. As if to initiate a new culture, he proposed a feast of the ox HPW had shot. ‘It was delicious to eat again the roast beef of old England.’ The only sacrificial element was the burning of ‘the tokens of witchcraft... May this be the first of a great many such burnings.’ There is no record of any more, but it was certainly the beginning of an unholy alliance between chiefs and church, which aspired to a modern culture, differing primarily on the issues of beer-drinking and polygamy.
Footnotes to IV.B.

1. Appendix; EA 1307/1908: 24.4.23 Ladbury to Chief Secretary; 31.5.23 PC to Assistant Sec., Native Affairs

2. EA 1307/1908 3.1.24 CMS to Chief Secretary

3. There is a problem here, as both the other references to Eleazar place him at Nabilatuk in 1924 and 1929, with Paulo Kyasi at Moroto, and there seems no weak point in any account (MM B/89:64; Paget Wilkes 1930:42). Perhaps, Eleazar replaced Paulo at Moroto, as the more important post, while the latter was on leave.

4. Bishop Gwynne was then assistant to the Bishop in Jerusalem. In 1911 he invited Barclay Buxton to Egypt to lead the missionaries in prayer and Bible study (Buxton, B.G. 1949:189).

5. CT saw no need for higher education or theology, but 'a bricklayer who will talk of Christ' (Vincent 1988:198,226). His own library consisted of works, such as Sir Edward Creasy's, Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World, now in my possession, and it was CT's 'impersonation of the heroic spirit, the apostolic abandon', which continually impressed AB.

'I myself owe an enormous debt to him. From him I learned God's ideal of a saint is not a man primarily concerned with his own sanctification: God's saint is 50% a soldier. I and thousands more will ever thank God for the soldier life he lived and the soldier death he died.... Now it is for us to try and emulate him.' (Grubb 1933:6)


7. Knight was an Oxford graduate from the Castille Soap family, who was a missionary in Japan with Barclay Buxton
and Paget Wilkes (Buxton, B.G. 1949:110). Padre Knight, as he was known in Kenya, owned property between Kitale and Kapenguria, which is still sign-posted, 'Knight's Farm', and became the refuge of a number of missionaries, who fell from grace in the eyes of their Society.

8. Grubb (1942:87), though a perceptive biographer, is relying on AB's letters to Edith, now destroyed by a fire at her daughter's home, with little regard to chronology and no knowledge of the geography (Letters 21.2.89 N. Grubb; 15.3.89 Lady Susan Wood). Grubb's map (p. 113) of AB's journeys around Lake Turkana is largely misconceived, not only because of AB's description of his route to SIM, but also because there was no motor road connecting Sudan with Kenya, and none east of 34°E cf. Africa 1:250,000 78-0 Khartoum: Survey Office, June 1930. Grubb's idea of them driving from Kappeta to Lake Turkana originated from some misinformation, picked up by HPW, before he arrived at Rejaf that this was possible (SIM EB-1 22.1.29 Lambie to HPW) as, indeed, it is now.

9. Brewing, not land, was the prime source of this new wealth, which also had interests in subjugated Ireland, where the early Vice-Presidents of CMS included the brewers: Arthur & Benjamin Guinness, Whitbread, T.F. Buxton, the Hanburys, Barclays, Hoares, and Perkinses (Brown 1961:281). Most of this set had Quaker roots and with their accumulation of capital diversified into banking (Mathias 1959:319-38).

10. SIM EB-1 6.7.29 AB to Bingham, who has crossed out AB's 'finance' in pencil, and points out the mistake in his reply of 30.8.29. Grubb (1942:86) blames 'a mistake in
correspondence’, and does not examine AB’s actions.

11.'...I would rather write it twice than leave you with the idea,...that I had let you down. I value your friendship too much to take the risk of such an impression.’ (SIM EB-1 7.3.30 AB to Lambie)

12.AB was driven to the Congo and back by Ernest Carr, whom he had befriended in Nairobi. Carr’s Jams and Biscuits had made him a millionaire, and he was a great benefactor of missions, including, from 1922, Ngora hospital, the CMS medical mission, but later communicated concern at AB’s institutional dilatoriness to Bingham, who then demanded ‘heart and soul to the limit of your power’, if he was to work with SIM. AB had hoped to meet Bingham in the Congo, but succeeded only in aiding CT’s health by taking him to Nairobi for a rare visit to the doctor, as CT did not believe in them continuing his ministry on morphine. He had not left the Congo for over 13 years, the last with no teeth. CT was cheered by some speaking engagements in Nairobi. Whether AB took him to Karamoja on the way back is not recorded (SIM EB-1 7.3.30 AB to Lambie; 10.5.30 Bingham to AB). On 31.5.22, Carr’s daughter, Kathleen, had married Rev. W.A. Pitt-Pitts, who was to be of assistance to AB in Nairobi.
C. SCHOOL FOR PROGRESS

1. NEW INSTITUTIONS
a. A School for Converts
i. School Days

The same week that the church was dedicated it was used as a school for reading and writing. Soon a football field was being cleared and a boys' dormitory being built. When these were completed in January and about 5 hectares of large trees cleared ready for the first ox-ploughing in Karamoja and maize, plans were implemented for a kitchen, garage, workshop, classrooms, and dispensary. The 13 boarders were professing Christians, of whom 2, Festo and Stefano, had prior affiliation elsewhere, for they had RC Christian names. They were given 2 lbs. of meal a day, and a uniform, each.

Their day began with the sound of a broken plough disc being struck at 6.00 am, followed by another at 6.15 for quarter of an hour's station prayers in Ngakaramojong. The next half-hour was devoted to Physical Training and drill. 'How strange it is to hear the familiar words: "number"; "one, two, one, two, one, two," etc. "form fours"; "right turn"; and so on.' (MM 9/101:65) Supervised manual labour and a lesson in geography preceded the mid-day meal and a siesta, after which came reading, writing, and arithmetic, a game of football, and the menial chores of drawing water and hewing fire-wood. 'The school is begun with prayer and a lesson and ended with prayer, whilst in the afternoon hymns are also learnt.' (MM 8/88-92:51,64f., 99f.)
The first proper term began on 1.3.30. Since few had any idea of the missionaries' purposes, in order to find out who was 'really in earnest and determined to press into the Kingdom', school entry was made a privilege, for which a probationary period was required. So was the Inquirer's Class in 'preparation for Baptism', and fees were charged 'to inculcate the principle that things worth having must be paid for'. Every entrant was questioned as to 'whether he has come to the station with a sincere desire after God or merely with a desire for education and social progress.' 'Now that the buildings are finished we hope to be more free to preach the Gospel in the villages.'

ii. Schoolboy Evangelism

Furthermore, it was hoped that 'one of the surest methods' of winning the 'so individualistic' Karamojong was personal evangelism by those instructed in the faith. Though prizing economic independence, the Karamojong are bound in society by their common beliefs which oblige them to observe accepted codes of behaviour. When one of the smallest schoolboys, an orphan, Lokomar, went home, and refused 'to take part in a witchcraft ceremony connected with a relative's death', he was dragged, to where the local elders were drinking, and told to drink also. Clearly, this was intended as a test of his obedience to his community, revealing that the elders well knew what the new faith prescribed. Lokomar failed the test unambiguously, showing which community had his allegiance, by promptly running away to Lotome.

An attempt was made to build on the Sunday worship by 30–40, held at the nearby homestead of another schoolboy,
Lokidi:

we want to create the feeling from the start that the religion we teach is to be indigenous, not exotic, and that they can learn about Christ and follow Him more faithfully by remaining in their own village than in running to the white man’s mission station. We are praying, and we hope you will join us, that a little prayer-hut may be erected by the inhabitants of that village at no very distant date. (MM 8/92:100)

A prayer-hut would have been exotic, and it never came to pass because of the opposition of the local amuron, who tried to interrupt one of the meetings and made Lokidi the victim of a lot of indirect persecution.

Such opposition was, and has often been since, taken as a sign of the gospel disturbing the stronghold of the Devil but the point that it meant the alienation of the entire community, the very people the boys were sent to evangelize, was overlooked. Theirs was seen as faithful and authentic witness to Christ. The faithfulness of boys, who naturally tended to be at the school because of their marginal position in their own society could be observed at the station, by their ‘learning to get the victory’ over the fear of spirits (HPW 1932:22), which helped to cement their people’s social order. The Karamojong, affected by their sons’ pretensions to spiritual things, rightly perceived this as an active threat to their society and resisted it. The honeymoon was over and the construction of a separate community at Lotome with its own rules, customs, and beliefs was well under way.

iii. Expansion along Known Ways

Relieved of the desirability of taking local people with them, the mission still expanded in the ways open to it. So many applied for the school, that a model village was built on the other side of the church and a new well
dug, to take advantage of the water that the locals believed God had brought. Metters thanked and praised God for finding a source of rock for building within 400 metres, when they had been fetching stones from 8 kilometres away (MM 9/98:25). That no-one had suggested the proximate source before, would be explained at once by the rocks being particularly sacred, but such considerations, as with tilling the soil, before the season had been declared open, did not figure on Metters’ agenda and no employee of his would wish to disappoint him.

As HPW (1932:21) noted, ‘The white man and his modern toys are in a class by themselves,’ the advent of government, motor cars, and aeroplanes having ‘a profound effect on the minds of the younger generation’. The manifestations and source of Western military power were a source of fascination for the impressionable and the elders avoided head-on conflicts with Europeans. The triad of Christianity, commerce, and civilization was flowing into Karamoja, with Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. cutting roads, to the benefit of the missionaries, as the company prospected for minerals. ‘The K.A.R. has decided to make up this road to Kitale, so again the Lord has gone before and made our way plain...’ (MM 8/94:137)

Roads were irrelevant to the Karamojong, but taxes were unavoidable, and for months a surplus of men, a few from 96 kilometres away, offered their labour in order to raise the cash to pay them. ‘Our Lord is very gracious and some are now ready to give up their old heathen customs.’ (MM 9/101:65) Medicines, which the missionaries dispensed daily, were intensely attractive: ‘They think that all our
wisdom and strength comes from the curious drugs that we swallow from time to time and so want to do likewise! (MM 8/93:117). The impact of the missionaries did indeed depend on items imported from their culture, and not on their communication with the local one, for HPW candidly admitted the European could understand so little of the native mentality.

Apart from physical work the African native is usually only too willing to do what the white man says, or what he thinks will please the white man, so it is hard to find out how far one’s own words are really understood. (MM 8/92:99f.)

b. Set-backs Spurned

i. Fire

On 15.7.30 the missionaries’ house burned down in 10 minutes, destroying their clothes, binoculars, guns, typewriter, and all correspondence and articles. However accidental the gust of wind which carried the spark, any Karamojong would have seen it as an act of God, and HPW felt no less disturbed about it. Unspecified problems broke out.

At this time there have been special trials in the school, etc., and we have been and are being sifted as wheat, but He is sufficient and we are coming out of the shadow now. (MM 8/94:137f.)

ii. Satellites

Undaunted, HPW returned from Kitale with a lorry load of Kitosh volunteers from the Friends of Africa Mission (FAM) at Kaimosi. A pair had previously been brought, one of which, Daudi Muganda, a teacher of 13 years standing, became prominent in the Lotome school. At a convention near Kitale young Christians with teaching experience were impressed with the spiritual need of Karamoja, and bravely responded to a call to go there. There were 18, nearly all bearing OT Christian names and half with families, actually
posted in Karamoja -- a feat, which could not be repeated today. Besides Lotome, where Daudi continued, centres were rehabilitated in Moroto and Nabilatuk, and new ones started at Lolacat and Napiananya in Pian County. In Najie, 4 of the 6 sub-counties: Kotido, Nakapelimoru, Rengen, and Kotiang, had government chiefs eager to have church teachers (Record 1930:57f.). One, Petero, himself built a good hut for his pair.

'To instal a native teacher is, I think, a small matter compared with building a big mission station for Europeans,' and the news of RCs starting 'native schools' in Dodos was an added stimulus. The DC's permission was naturally forthcoming (MM 9/98:25 27.10 & 9.11.30 Metters), though Preston's policy for Karamoja hardened to one of total conservation, and the last thing he wanted was a disturbance caused by missionary hellfire. His antipathy to Christian proclamation was tempered by his friendship with HPW. Both were said to have participated fully in local dances. Preston spoke the language, and the Karamojong loved him for his tender heart, becoming most upset, when he was transferred.

c. New Recruits

i. Enthusiasm

BCMS was thriving at home, with income increasing every year by £2,500-6,000 from 1925 to 1931, and excitement easily generated by the expansion into unevangelized fields. Bartlett's staccato preaching lent urgency to the challenge presented to men and women of different classes in parish churches. One who heard him was William Owen, an engineer's apprentice in Port Sunlight, who remembers the stirring
hymns at the deputation services. The eighth Anniversary Meetings filled the Great Hall of Church House.

The right atmosphere reigned from start to finish, while the earnestness of the Speakers, and the note of faith and hope which rang from the Society’s officers, stirred the hearts of all. The singing was magnificent, recalling to many the moving experiences of the old Exeter Hall days....

Thanksgiving for all that had been accomplished was coupled with clear vision of the wide horizon of the Redeemer’s dominions, and a sense of the far-reaching opportunity calling the Society to the proclamation of the Gospel in all parts of the world. The meeting fell happily upon the twentieth anniversary of the King’s accession to the throne, and it was with a thrill of pride and gratitude to God for such a sovereign that the large audience joined in the singing of the National Anthem.

The Missionary Messenger made a profit on its sales, and the prevailing atmosphere of the BCM College was ‘replete with spiritual reality’ (MM 8/91).

Revelling in these conditions, Owen was ordained with Eric Webster in the College Chapel on St. John the Baptist’s Day in 1930 by the Lord Bishop of Bristol, acting on a commission from the Archbishop of Canterbury. Arriving in Kenya with AB, he found that he must separate from his ordained friend, as the Bishop required that the sacraments be available in Marsabit (Thika, 18.12.30 AB to Scudder). On 4.1.31 Owen found himself baptizing the first 4 converts of the Lotome Mission, while his senior, HPW, watched.

It was a moving sight to see the firstfruits of our work here in Karamoja being received into the Church of God here on earth by the outward signs symbolic of that mystical bond which binds together in one all tribes and nations of the earth. (Record 1930:58)

ii. Different Orientations

The strain of mission was already taking its toll. HPW had been suffering nausea for over a year, and AB had to promise him 3 weeks’ holiday and time off, so that he could carry on until the ‘summer’ (Thika, 11.1.31 AB to HPW).
Metters, sick of nursing the lorry and treating diseases he hardly knew, under the guise of mission work, tendered his resignation, or so AB understood, but was persuaded to go to Marsabit (ibid.: AB to Metters). The MTC produced 2 young artisans for Lotome early in 1931, but Cyril Punt was an individualist who drew a line down the middle of the table he had to share with his room-mate to demarcate his own space. After touring Uganda as a free-lance evangelist for CMS he ended his days an eccentric bachelor, preaching the gospel and cutting hay with a bicycle in Burundi. Lawrence Totty only spent 4 months at Lotome before going with HPW to Kaceliba to start mission to the Pokot, which he continued for 34 years.

HPW soon went home, selling the Chevrolet to realize his third share. Eventually, he achieved his threefold ambition: to be an aeroplane pilot, a 'sky pilot' which meant ordination, the only way to the faculties of the Anglican church, and, as a collector of birds and butterflies, to catch the ultimate bird, a wife, the daughter of a Kitale settler.

AB, remembered always as a loving leader, concerned for the spiritual welfare of the missionaries, urged reconciliation where relationships had soured, but was preoccupied by the restoration of his own with CT. After yet another visit to CT in December 1930, his heart was 'now at peace. That thing has had a hold on me as nothing else has.' (Thika, 11.1.31 AB to HPW:53).

CT was still on the war path but often very weak. It was decided that I should return to H.A.M. when things were settled here if I was still of the same mind on my arrival back in Uganda. At present I do feel the same. (ibid.: 18.12.30 AB to Scudder)
Nothing came of this decision and CT died on 16.7.31, but the intention does underline the extreme fragility and instability of Protestant mission, yet its willingness to spread, in Africa. Apart from family responsibilities, AB would never rest, for his eyes were already on the ‘regions beyond’ of Somaliland and Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique), following his ancestral vision. ‘Africa seems my particular responsibility…. It must be evangelized. That stands out as a controlling fact.’ (Grubb 1942:83)

If I had settled in Karamoja we might never have had a vision of Ethiopia. It is not wanderlust but unevangelized tribes lust that drives me. Not that I am out for the spectacular, but I want to build, not on another man’s foundations, but to lay new ones, and to push the frontiers of the Kingdom farther. (ibid.:100)

This was the task which consumed him irrespective of regulation or organization.

I have my eye on the field and my chief thought is how the work can best be done. Where my carcase rests — in AIM, HAM, AFM, SIM, BCMS, — doesn’t matter in the end. (SIM EB-1 7.3.30 AB to Lambie)

Before the end comes, however, earthly commitments affect matters within institutions, as well as between them.

iii. BCMS and the Evangel

AB enjoyed the unwavering confidence of Bartlett, even when in 1931 he started pioneering Abyssinia, without even notifying the Executive Committee of BCMS. They shared the urgency of spreading the gospel in heathen lands afar.

Such blessing in the short time of eighteen months in a formerly unreached region of uncivilized, unclothed nomad tribes fills one’s soul with wonder and one’s lips with praise!

Yet again, in a stronghold of Satan, B.C.M.S has put the Word of God to an up-to-date test. The old, old Gospel of Redeeming Love has been proclaimed. Again it has fitted the case of human need, and poor fallen humanity has awakened to its peril and responded to the Divine Love. (Record 1930:14 Bartlett)

Neither wanted any ‘Higher Education’ here, and schools for
the 'three Rs' were only justifiable on grounds of reading Scripture. The Word was not to be institutionalized, either in African religion, or in Western education, a principle, that was to remain with Bartlett's successor, A.T. Houghton. Yet missionaries must build things to save themselves from pure evangelization and the lack of a visible church.

We find that natives never get any real grasp of the teaching of the Gospel until they know how to read a little. It seems the key which unlocks them, and from then onwards you can see a perceptible growth in grace.

Reading meant boarding schools which could produce a third sociological reality, dependent on neither Western, nor African culture (Battle 1970:2), but could fill a captive church with impressionable youngsters, seeking to move from the latter to the former.

d. The Race for Progress

i. Local Reflections

AB's thinking on mission continued to change on reading The Golden Stool, which he, rightly, urged on missionaries above all, favourably quoting,

... it is not to the interest of Christianity, any more than it is to the interest of the Government, or of the natives themselves, that the natives should be shocked out of the old faith, and lose their sense of obligation to powers supernatural before they are ready to receive Christianity with its new obligations. I would much rather deal with people who are zealous for the old faith than with people who are shorn of all faith.

(Smith 1969:202f.; MM 9/104:104)

AB soon applied this principle in attempting the reform of the ancient Ethiopic church, instead of founding a new one, but he had not thought it through. Following rather CT's militarism, he held the statements, 'The Christian is a soldier; and the Church is at war.' to be facts, not metaphors, so the missionary was bound to 'absolute
obedience’, and to act first and think later. AB’s call to BCMS not to be content with ‘a skirmish round Lake Rudolf’ was based, firstly, on the principles of Marshal Foch, ‘I hate thinkers’, and, secondly, as often, on the exploits of Joshua (MM 10/112:49-52).

On the one hand he claimed he never spoke with ‘a heathen either in Congo, in Uganda, in Kenya, or Ethiopia who did not believe in god, who did not know the difference between right and wrong, and who did not confess that he had sinned’, but on the other, ‘Heathen customs may be "most interesting" but in the last analysis they amount to nothing more than the propitiation of the Devil and the practice of witchcraft or sorcery through evil spirits’ (AB 1934:44,51f.), though with his fits, the Karamojong would have thought AB subject to spirits (ngikerep). In fact, he thought the heathen of every age and country the same — worshipping devils, living in sin, and without hope of a future life. Despite his graciousness in communicating to people at their level, the appeal of a dualist battle dominated AB’s thinking.

In Karamoja the missionaries generally identified the ‘powers supernatural’ as the Devil, who was therefore given a greater rôle in local life than God himself. Owen did note the big distinction between the helpful, if delusory and superstitious, emuron, ‘witch-doctor’, and the hated ekapilan, ‘magician’, so often missed by Europeans in Africa (Smith 1969:210). ‘The Great Physician’, in the hymn of that name, was translated emuron. However, HPW dismissed both as wizards: ‘Their faces are indescribably evil as if, as indeed they have, they had sold themselves into the
And so the call comes to pray and to work that the fearsome chains with which the wizards are binding up our countryside may be forever broken by a faith in the living and ascended Christ. Perhaps this fear of wizards dies hardest of all, and I firmly believe that there is no stronger weapon than this that the devil is using today in Karamoja to prevent men and women coming to Christ and availing themselves of modern methods of healing, than the anger and power to kill, of the emuron.

(HPW 1932:23f.)

Thus, in religion and medicine, mission sought conflict with Karamojong culture. Converts, who were isolated from social pressures, picked up this definition of their new life of faith and held it as a dogma. Though not understanding much about the personal responsibilities of 'a real living faith in Jesus the Son of God', they did 'realize that union with Christ means a complete break with the past' (MM 10/111:33).

Christian belief only touched local culture safely at the level of God who, logically, was distantly and problematically related to Karamojong life.

ii. Progress by Schools

The pioneers were not immersed in Karamoja; they spent much, if not most, of their time travelling in more 'developed' parts.

Things are speeding up in Africa and the pressure of civilization brought to bear on as yet untouched tribes is considerable. They realize they are behind in the race for progress, and this gives us a grand opportunity of telling them the lines on which true progress lies.

They see to the east the settled areas in Kenya and to the west the progressive native Protectorate of Uganda, and they are anxious not to be left behind in the race for progress. This draws them on towards the most accessible Europeans in their own country, the missionaries...

(MM 9/107f.:147,161)

This view was a mirage, probably created by chiefs anxious to bolster their ailing position, and 'a remarkable spirit of friendliness all around Lotome' in 1931, due to the
medical work. The schoolboys were seen as the firstfruits: "God's time" has come for these nomads (MM 10/111:135).

The Karamojong had been in contact with Europeans and 'civilized' Ugandans in the neighbouring cotton-growing districts for 20 years and had made their feelings against the despised, settled life, in favour of semi-nomadic herding, known in no uncertain terms by the murder of Chief Aciya. Those boys, whose inheritance in the pastoral life was poor, could have a brighter future by following the Mzungu's wonders. Since they could raise the fees by labouring on the mission station, schools provided a self-sufficient means of living in isolation from local society, if dependent on the way of life, devised and funded from outside by the missionaries. Education, when pursued, then became a substitute for the hard apprenticeship of herding.

iii. Schools Defended

Owen responded in the official organ of BCMS to disquiet among its supporters concerning "teachers" and "out-schools" by defending them as the accepted terms 'used by missions to denote a centre of evangelization in charge of an experienced and trustworthy native Christian' (MM 10/111:34). The Bantu teachers were missionaries, and 10 could be supported for the cost of 1 European, to create 'backgrounds' upon which the latter could begin. 'We hear Christian hymns being sung in villages that are still in the darkness of heathenism.' With the emphasis of reading the Word of God no schools could have been more thoroughly designed to display the Christian tradition of the West.

Within the year, particularly at Labwor, Owen would be baptizing in the out-stations but they were not churches
in the sense that the congregations there exercized their own sacramental ministry. They were indeed schools, and recognized and desired as such by government. In Karamojong eyes, they were highly secularizing, in that they deliberately weaned the pupils away from the religious, and even social, world of Karamoja, teaching them to defy spirits and unsympathetic parents. Sure signs of progress were wearing clothes, and being able to read. Thus the Ngakaramojong for religion is edin, a loanword from Kiswahili and Arabic, which is never applied to indigenous faiths like mila, but to those of the Book. Edin is read (akisyom cf. Kiswahili/Arabic soma) as in the rest of Uganda (Russell 1966:3,21). School is esyomet or the English derivative esukul. A church teacher is eketataman dini (teacher of reading). A Christian is a reader (Tiberondwa 1978:100-7).

The source, content, and method of the new religion, indistinguishable from Western education, as it was initially, was alien: white chalk writing on the black slate, the Lockean tabula rasa of African minds. Where curiosity in, and evaluation of, the European was high, this was its greatest asset. Bishop Russell, looking at his Acoli church in unflattering retrospect, spoke of the whole machinery of western life gradually beginning to revolve, gathering a momentum which was irresistible, and sucking into itself the energies and enthusiasms of the people. Dini was the name of the machinery. (ibid.:27)

It began to turn in neighbouring Labwor, where 230 booklets in Ngakaramojong were sold in a few months, with 200 'readers' crowding the 2 schools. In January 1932 Owen found, 'There has certainly been a spiritual awakening',
with 80 people wanting baptism, a quarter being accepted (MM 10/111-114:35,80). Strangely, this was not the highlight of his safari, which stretched up to Pirre in the far north.

iv. The Pull of Primal Life

Leaving behind his donkey-train of equipment Owen found himself thrown on the hospitality of a Dodos cattle camp near Morungole for the night. Round the fire he began to talk about Jesus and to sing hymns in Ngakaramojong. After he had gone to sleep a girl roused him, wanting to know more of this Jesus, and the session was reconvened. The occasion seems to be Owen’s favourite memory of his whole Karamoja experience. I have seldom met a European who, on the rare occasion he permits it, does not prefer the company of traditional Africans rather than half-educated ones. There is something authentic about the life of the former, something dislocated about that of the latter. As a new priest of the Church of England, ordained by Kitching at Ngora, Owen should have been more thrilled with the sacramental growth of the church in Labwor, but it was the glimpse of Jesus being communicated across cultures, unclouded by a desire for the signs and wonders of progress, which arrested him.

In the cattle camp there was no possibility of a school and its inmates were most unlikely to enter one. The occidental mill of education ground few pastoralists, yet it remained as the only mode of regular contact with the people.

v. Additions

Formally the infant church continued to grow in 1933. A new and spacious building went up at Wierwer in
Labwor, and Christians from there and Kiru helped erect another at Keem. By the end of the year Owen had baptized over 100, mostly Abwor, from whom AB expected future teachers. He attracted a New Zealander to build a stone and corrugated iron house, in between hunting elephant and rhinoceros. Eva, née Reuss had arrived with her husband, Captain Alfred Fripp, and their experience of working with CT in the Congo, to take charge of the boarding school, which received official recognition in 1933. AB had also recruited the 21 year-old daughter of affluent, antagonistic colonists. Molly Hill was converted at the Kenya ‘Keswick’, just 4 months previously, and was brought out to experience mission by looking after the Fripps’ baby.

On retiring for her first night, the missionaries gave her to overhear talk of malaria and wild animals. AB put her in charge of the dispensary, without any medical experience, and she taught men to read. She started a girls’ boarding school but, despite the night-watchman, screaming and shouting resulted from the young men’s attempts to take advantage of this loop-hole in the protection of female sexuality, and the project had to be quickly abandoned. She used her rifle and shot-gun to shoot buck and birds, since none of the Europeans would ever touch the steers’ blood on which the Karamojong lived.

She sang the 30 verses of the story of creation, which HPW had composed to the tune of John Peel, outside the homesteads, having no idea of the mission policy, but forming her own opinion against introducing the ministry and sacraments of the Church of England to Africa. AB, who opposed the import of the long, white kanzu, as ‘Jewish
fables”, but also wrote off indigenous prayers as “vain repetition” (MM 12/137:58f.), provided Molly with her call to Ethiopia. Doris Wiggins arrived from Persia. William Lane, the first of many Irish BCMS missionaries, was posted to Labwor, and married another new recruit, Helen Hodgson, against the express wishes of Bartlett, who tried to impose the normal rule that missionaries in the field should wait 2 years, and learn the language before marrying. Tom Lawrence, of CMS, performed the ceremony at Lira.

vi. Enthusiasm Wanes

Inner tensions abounded. ‘The Enemy has been ceaselessly at work at every point’, wrote Mrs. Fripp. For Owen the task seems to grow more and more difficult. Over the ups and downs, failures, imperfections, depressions, squabbles, make-ups, joys, exaltations—understandable only to those who have first-hand knowledge of work—we will draw a veil. Missionaries are very human. (Record 1933:30)

When AB gave the higher class Housdens responsibility for mission finances, they used it to escape the rigours of Karamoja for the convenience of Kitale, where their individualistic refusal to communicate or co-operate alienated a string of missionaries. Their effective work on the settlers’ farms, though in a CMS area, maintained the confidence of Bartlett. That only compounded the problems for the far-flung missionaries, which AB’s personableness could ameliorate, but not resolve. The teachers from Kitosh, having begun to take irregular furloughs, found the task beyond them, and quickly faded from the scene.

vi. A Conflict of Standards

Meanwhile, the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary and Theological College had struck the rocks. Its own aim was to establish itself as a Theological College of high repute.
in the Church of England, and its examination of every book in the Bible brought its students high marks in ordination examinations. Yet with its emphasis on competing for the home ministry not all the students shared the unwritten code of behaviour expected by Conservative Evangelicals.

... the ordinary upright man-of-the-world would see nothing wrong in worldliness -- in cinemas, theatres, dancing, public-house billiards, or restricted flirtations. But for the man who accepts the whole Word of God which reveals the Will of God and calls upon the believer for separation from the World, can these things be anything but the ministrations of sin?... all will agree that life at the College was never intended to teach men to smoke. (MM 10/110:24)

Alcohol did not need a mention; the fact that the College was largely funded out of the wealth of Miss Violet Wills did not attract one.

A few transgressed, to the indignation of others who complained to their vicars at home. When one relayed a letter back to the Principal, he sent the complainer home, and when half the students stood with him in prolonged prayer meetings, he demanded powers of summary expulsion from the BCMS Executive Committee with the threat of his immediate resignation. It backed the puritans, and the Principal with others left to start a rival college nearby (MM 10/111:30; Record 1931:19). However, this unchecked expression of the protestant principle brought dismay and criticism from all quarters. There was a drop of 39% in subscriptions and donations in 1932 from the 1931 figure, which was only surpassed once before 1947. The bubble of faith in a supra-mundane, trans-cultural church had burst.

The inevitable effect was the revival of the pension fund lobby on the Executive Committee, which was resolutely opposed by Bartlett and AB who sought 'an expansion that
would never be possible on pure human reasoning and business methods’ (MM 12/137:60). To preserve his ambitions for the Horn of Africa he offered on behalf of all the missionaries there, consulting only himself and, perhaps Edith, a 5% cut in allowances. Bartlett made a 16% cut to 10 guineas a month each. In a drive for self-support for the Karamoja church, Eleazar, now a teacher in Labwor, had his wages cut by a third from 12/- to 8/- (MM 12/137:59).

viii. Confirmation

In June 1934 Kitching made his first visit since November 1931 to confirm the first 15 Karamojong², including 2 from Loyoro, Musa Lokoel and Kaleb Sogol, Owen’s translation assistant and one of the many sons of the 30 wives, belonging to the fabulously rich County Chief, Lokuda. With his help, Owen had sent a manuscript of St. Luke to the Bible Society, translated Genesis, and revised the Hymn and Prayer Book, translated straight from the English for SPCK. Sogol, whose father’s official title was Ekapolon, was responsible for using it for Lord. His father was a big man in every way and ekapolon is as fair a translation of lord, as can be found in a lordless society but it misses the fact that kurios was so meaningful, because Hebrew and Greek used it of God. Ekapolon was not at all so sacred. Even worse, as one up from Ejakait and increasingly a threat to old customs, Ngikapolok were soon seen to be self-serving ngimoe, if they were to please their masters. Government chiefs espoused the Christian faith.

ix. First Love Left

Owen was glad to see the year close, despite the asset of a car to visit the out-centres.
In many ways it had been a bad year for a number of us in the Rudolf field. A section of the older Labwor Christians were showing decided antagonism to a definite call to holy living. Others were very much asleep. As in most Christian communities, it was the few that showed any real concern in the welfare of those around them still without Christ. Both our evangelists at Dedos [sic] deserted their posts, Petero Pulukol, one of our best Christians, returning to the police force. Much prayer is needed for the work in Karamoja, that the church may be revived and purified. (Record 1934:82)

By the beginning of 1937, a grand total of 313 Anglicans had been baptized in Karamoja, but the missionary effort had shot its bolt. In 1936 the Fripps were asked to leave, and the Lanes' work terminated on grounds of ill health, after blackwater fever. Owen returned from furlough and married the Lotome nurse, Rita Trotman, in December 1936, while they were at Nasokol in the Tottys' absence. Then 3 months later, hearing of the return of the Housdens, Owen severely criticized the administration of the Lake Rudolf Field and 'to the regret of many' finally insisted on 6.6.37: 'we are no longer in sympathy with B.C.M.S. This being so, we do not see how we can honestly go on being supported by the Society.' (Record 1936:101). They followed the Fripps to Padré Knight's, and after joining CMS, stayed a lifetime in Kenya, teaching. The Sowerbys, drafted into Labwor from Ethiopia to replace the Lanes, lost a baby and were persuaded by the DC that government service offered more than life in a tent. Eventually, Jack became Mayor of Nakuru.

AB resigned from BCMS, ostensibly to be with his teenage children. It was unlikely he would have visited Karamoja again but he was angling to become Bartlett's ''lieutenant'' as Assistant Secretary, with a view to succeeding him, but the Committee barred AB's way, rightly
seeing his gifts as a pioneer, not as an administrator. It would only employ him on deputation, work which he disliked, probably because the late nights brought on his fits. He lost all credibility when he tried to amend the constitution by introducing ex officio members onto the Committee.

After the problems and impermanence of much of the Rudolf mission were impressed on Bartlett his former exultation at the new work turned sour.

The collapse of the work at the Taposa [sic] and the Government's action there [revoking Paterson's permit, after he reacted to criticism of his school], together with different climactic conditions among the Turkana, have taught us that the policy into which Alfred Buxton led us, was dictated more by that dear man's feverish ideas, that the whole world could be converted in this generation than by any statesmanlike outlook upon realities. (BCMS, Uganda: 6.6.44 Bartlett to U-W)

AB's policy, on paper, had been close to Bartlett's but it had seldom been implemented as itineration had been subsumed in the education work that Bartlett so dreaded, but government wanted.
2. HOLDING THE FORT
a. Paradigm Set
i. Tradition in Place

Despite the disappearance of the first missionaries, within 8 years of the start of mission, their institutions struggled on. A church tradition had been created, for which succeeding missionaries felt a responsibility to maintain, especially as the converts had made considerable personal sacrifices in order to take on the mission lifestyle which was dependent on outside support. New missionaries had little effect on the course of mission with the energy of many consumed by the inner tensions caused by coming to terms with their new situation in a small and rigid community, barely afloat in an ocean (to their eyes) of need.

ii. Bearers of the Tradition

Some never did come to terms, such as the Rev. Owen Brand who had an American parent and a very wealthy grandfather, which did not prevent him from being mean to those with whom he lived. His concern was, which new car he would buy every 6 months, but his time was terminated after he incurred the wrath of government for shooting a small elephant. He changed completely after marriage and, indeed, many missionary tours proved to be interludes before marriage, and ministry in the Church of England.

Spinsters usually felt marginalized and unfulfilled. No less than 3 men were practising homosexuals, though 2 were married and had to resign in disgrace, having caused a scandal among government and Karamojong for their abuse of boys in their charge, though 2 found livings in the Church
of England. Through such earthen vessels the 'Divine Love' had to make itself known on the mission field but God already had more direct, less convoluted ways. World War II saw many missionaries join the war effort, and no recruits, apart from brides, came to East Africa.

iii. Bob and Doris Clark

Robert Clark left school at 14 to help his godly father in the smithy at Bootle, where the furnace damaged his retinas for life. He was called to spread the gospel of Jesus, without which, he believed, all men were lost. The education given him at the BCM College, despite the rumpus, was also a personal salvation, lifting him out of the class he could not otherwise have left. He had, as his son put it, 'Victorian views of God', which gave him a mission to civilize Africans by imparting the salvation which he himself had received, through technical and literate education. He never rejected the value of his upbringing, but used it, in teaching craft to the less articulate at Lotome.

Bob Clark was moved from Kaceliba to Lotome to take over 'the practical side of the work' in July 1934. In September he married the headmistress of the Lotome school for the next 23 years, Doris Wiggins. Kitching took the ceremony at Ngora, where he ordained Bob on 16.12.34.

iv. Baptismal Regeneration

In interviewing boys desirous of baptism, they were careful to point out that baptism meant not a new name only, but a new life, a clean cut from all the doubtful and sinful things of the old life.

On the eve of Whit Sunday 1935, Bob urged, that any who had not absolutely considered the cost or thought what this step meant, would be better to withdraw now,
rather than sully the name of Christ by incomplete renunciation of the old life.  *(MM 13/135:121)*

One by one they stood to confess anger, swearing, quarrelling, lying, and stealing -- all deprecated in their parental culture. The Clarks thought the morrow a truly Pentecostal Day. Older, and even younger, schoolboys stood as godfathers, all dressed in khaki shirts and shorts.

‘One or two’ of the newly baptized were keen to go out and teach the Word to their people, and this in spite of the fact that they are told to go and not come back. The people are so completely satisfied with their old customs, that they do not want to change, though they will admit that our Words are good. *(MM 13/153:120)*

v. Educating Leaders

With Doris’ efficiency the school at last began to grow steadily and 2 Teso teachers helped. However, the products, being but ‘young in the faith’, disappointed as teachers in the ‘Out-stations’. ‘The pull of the old life is tremendous’ *(Record 1935:77f.)* The solution was to import 3 Kitosh teachers from the FAM again, and to send 8 Karamojong for training at its base in Kaimosi. Half had been in the original Lotome school of 13, but none had responded to the appeal for instant conversion, and 2 were Acoli.

Only one, in typical Karamoja fashion, finished his training: Seftha Lokolimo, who was a Lotome teacher until dismissal in 1948, but we hear no more of the others after 1934, apart from Timos (Timothy) Loram who became Maseniko County Chief in 1963, and Yakobo Lowok. Lowok was born in 1905, but became disenchanted with herding when beaten by an askari for defending his father’s livestock interests, and was persuaded, in Moroto, of the value of school. When AB and HPW arrived at Kangole he secured work as a houseboy, so was one of the first 4 baptized at Lotome. He became a
church teacher for 2 years but, because of his low pay, turned to trade, selling hides in Soroti, and hoes in Karamoja, succeeding Lomonat as County Chief of Bokora (Lorec 1981:11f.).

...we had always supported Lawok [sic] and, so far as we knew, he had done the same for us. Lawok had the strongest personality of all the chiefs in Karamoja. Large, with a powerful presence and a certain degree of sophistication, he had always appeared very much in control...

(Letter 8.5.90 Field)

He was 'a great help to the mission', though 'not very strong spiritually' (Record 1942:40), probably referring to the number of wives. He took the title Ekapolon but, like other chiefs, the Karamojong spoke of him, as having 'gone over' to the British, and children's songs dubbed him as emoit (enemy; Gourlay 1971b:Song 258).

vi. Concentration on Lotome

Bob made the school self-sufficient in food, by growing maize, groundnuts, beans, and sorghum, which people from as far away as Turkana would come and buy when hit by famine. He baked bricks in the sun to build more dormitories and a new school building of 5 classrooms. His carpenters produced office furniture for the government. The artisans he trained, or the teachers Doris taught, were to father the church leaders of the future.

Of all the stations in East Africa, Lotome remained Bartlett's favourite, assisted by Bob Clark's affability with all his seniors. Dundas, the Governor of Uganda was so impressed when he visited, that he sent the Director of Education to look and offer grants for buildings and teachers. Since they were pinched by inflation, they accepted with alacrity, without first consulting Bartlett, on the grounds that a non-Christian school would put 'the
Mission' at a disadvantage (Record 1941:35). There was no
danger that it would interfere with the spiritual work
because it was already wrapped up in education. Christmas
Day was celebrated in true Hellenic fashion with the high
jump and the obstacle race (MM 14/166:136). The DC was
impressed by 'the spirit of sportsmanship' (Record 1942:40).

In January 1941 Bob Clark was '"called up"', but the
DC 'answered the telegram by saying I was not available.
The work, therefore, continues, despite attacks direct and
indirect.' 'The work', however, had just been redefined in
a way that has been followed ever since.

We decided that direct Evangelism was very difficult in
Karamoja, and so have started school with the idea of
preparing suitable boys and girls who go back to their
homes and live the Gospel. These are living epistles,
known and read of all men. (MM 19/221:54f.)

The idea that boys, once enculturated into the lifestyle
prescribed by the missionaries, would then be able to do
what the latter could not -- convert reluctant tribespeople
to a modern outlook -- was misconceived, but it did allow
the Clarks to do something which Europeans, apart from
repressive Kenyan settlers, presumed useful. Demand for
school places was slowly growing, as the economy of Uganda
grew, and there was a responsibility to the parents,
converted out of 'dark paganism', who now brought their
children for baptism and education. The new tradition had to
be maintained.

vii. Sterile Growth

There were 2 incidents which would have been omens
to African observers that God was opposed to their work for
breaking local customs. Kitching's final visit before
retirement in 1936 was prevented by a tree stump damaging
his car (Record 1936:86). A Lotome teacher Paulo Asipia, who had exercised a ministry of reconciliation among cattle men fighting over a water-hole, and had been restored after a grave sin, died from a thorn in his toe (MM 22/241:48). Yet the machine ground on. Lucian Usher-Wilson (U-W), the new Bishop of the Upper Nile, confirmed 56 schoolboys and older Christians in 1938, but his 1941-2 visits were cancelled, the first because beer parties, endowed by cash from forced cattle sales, were proving a greater attraction (Record 1938:55; 1942:39; MM 20/225:19).

In 1939 Bob Clark reported 'outstanding growth', which consisted of a church attendance in the year of 3,500, and 26 baptisms 'in Labwor, where there has been a real spiritual awakening', but 3 years later, 'The LABWOR church has always been difficult.... There are many christians [sic] there but all are very nominal' (Record 1939:24; 1942:40). After more than 10 years' BCMS presence in Karamoja, there were just 5 church centres and the equivalent of 213 regular church-goers. By 1942 all the 'village churches' were closed down, because the people 'refused to repair' them, though 6 years before, congregations of 40 and classes of 10 'pupils' in each of 7 out-stations. The Clarks, unable to visit them, cried out for funds and recruits. By 1943 500 baptisms had occurred, but the likely evangelists had been siphoned off by the army. Lotome school provided 43 boys for the KAR, as well as government officials and teachers (Record 22 Years:83). This was a good return on an annual grant of £200: 'In actuality, the school work is sustained by the government' (MM 22/237:10).
In order to find reliable teachers Bob planned a training school for them at Lotome,

where future leaders of the race will be rooted and grounded in the faith, going forth in time to testify and teach not only the three "R’s", but the truth and loveliness of the everlasting God. (ibid.:84)

Doris' attempt to school girls went the same way as Molly Hill's. The Karamojong are always suspicious of anything, that might prove to be a device to deprive them of their daughters' bride-wealth.
b. Opposition

i. Local Difficulties

The Clarks, as their predecessors, felt resistance to their aims and methods but instead of analysing it, dismissed it as evil. If they were bringing the marvellous light of the Gospel, anything that appeared to confound it was thereby dark, and the gap between the two was wide. The consequent lack of engagement is well summarized by the Ven. John Lorec (1981:9).

The missionaries came with prejudice and bias. They despised the Karamojong traditional way of life and they called them ‘pagan’. The Karimojong who were not baptised were also called ‘pagans’. The Karimojong tried to avoid Christianity (church) because it taught against most of their traditional practices such as initiation rites and ceremonies, polygamy, divorce, divination, dances, etc which were part and parcel of their social life. I think the missionaries did not bother to examine the traditional beliefs and customs of the Karimojong so as to find some good elements which could be used to foster Christian understanding to people. In otherwords some of the traditional beliefs and practices were not used as a background for people to understand Christianity in their African context. This hindered the propagation of the gospel.

Missionary ignorance was compounded in the application of their norms by church teachers who learned their Christian lifestyle elsewhere in East Africa, and rigidly applied it to Karamoja in unpopular rules for the convert. Typically he disliked shaving his hair at conversion, even though this is done at initiation, revealing the stigma attaching to the one, and the status to the other. He was not allowed to ‘walk with girls’, or marry a ‘pagan partner’, which made the whole adventure of marriage an improbable affair from start to finish, since there hardly were any Christian girls. Worse was the expectation that he leave the traditional beliefs and customs, which could only be done by disassociation from the
whole society.

ii. New Discipline

For shifts away from local culture the Clarks were grateful. New schoolboys, they found,

liable to violent outbursts of passion, screaming for a rope to hang themselves with, or a spear to stab themselves with when being reprimanded or justly punished for an offence against the rules of the school.

(MM 22/237:10)

Bob was a disciplinarian with all his juniors -- inevitably in Lotome school. The female missionaries there were Memsa’ab, the male, Bwana, but none more so than Bwana Clark. The teachers carried sticks, symbolizing their authority. The boys had to undergo existential crises as they passed from one world into another. Having forsaken the hard life of herding, they now found that one communal discipline was replaced by another, which operated along alien lines of justice. The reward was that it began to fit them for life in modernized Africa and, for this, Bob was affectionately remembered. For his good works he was 'the friend of the Karamojong', but his religion and customs, being European, were not required, and even the educated could take them only in small doses.

When around 1946 Bob tightened up on the old rule that the polygynist convert should dismiss all his wives, bar the first, he ran into trouble. He also went right against established custom, by saying a man should not sleep with his fiancée, until the marriage process be completed. 'As a result many Christians avoided going to church.'

(Lorec 1981:10)
iv. Casualties

The losses were not incidental, but swept away the natural leaders of the church, well before they attained any status in society. A herdsman, or a chief, who did well for himself, was socially and politically obliged, even if he rejected the sacred duty, to signal his position by sharing his capital with others by giving bridewealth for additional wives. If not for this reason, there were innumerable others for losing faith in the missionary church, but not necessarily in Jesus Christ.

Whether cause or effect, one of the few Family break-ups in Najie, involved the secession of the family of one of the few Christians. That, and his Karimojong wife, aroused some suspicion (Gulliver 1955:113 & Letter 19.6.90), suggesting different allegiances. This was no other than Israel Lokong, whose wife, Sarah, was one of the very few women to have a Christian name. By the 1940s he no longer played an active leading role in the church and, though living in his old age at Kanawat in the 1970s, never partook in worship (Letter 1.8.90 Rowland).

Most converts had, or acquired, government employment. Erisa (Elisha) Longok became Jie County Chief in the 1950s, and amassed 7 wives, but did not figure in the church. Well disposed to the COU in the 1970s, he had not succeeded, if he ever tried, in founding a church at his home in Lokitelebu. Timos Ecak, born c. 1906, was converted as a policeman through BCMS in 1931 and schooled at Lotome to become Evangelist and Head-teacher at the Kotido out-station in 1933, when the Kitosh gave up. He faithfully preached the gospel but when his brother died he was obliged
by custom to take his sister-in-law as his second wife. This act promptly ended his employment in the 1940s (Clark & Totty 1953:12), so he became a government clerk in Kotido. He had been assisted by Sampson Looru, who was born c. 1905 and a church teacher from 1936 to 1938 when he became a local askari. Joseph Lobalong, born c. 1900, served with the KAR 1914-23 before conversion, and later lived in Kotido with no record of church service.

Yosia Akure, born c. 1895 a Dodoso, was converted and became a teacher at the short-lived out-station at Loyoro, before becoming Kaabong Sub-county Chief. Musa (Moses) Lokoel was with Sogol one of the first to be confirmed and was a church teacher in Labwor, before setting up shop at Loyoro. He was still there in 1984, with long empty gin crates behind the counter. He owed his longevity to killing Jie raiders there, for which necessary evil he hoped God would forgive him. His Christian faith was undimmed, for he was reputed to spend his days reading his NT, which was confirmed when I visited him, but there was no Protestant church at Loyoro.

That all were successfully re-assimilated into the ways of their forefathers is shown by their being outstanding informants for Lamphear's historical inquiries, though Ecak was the only Jiot to relate the Karimojong version of Jie origin, which made his own tribe the usurpers of tradition (Lamphear 1972:466ff.; 1976:106n.). Their education helped them communicate, but only as senior men could they speak with authority before their peers about the past. Their dabbling in the white man's religion had not nullified their initiations, even where it had led to
delinquent behaviour, and they took their place as elders.
c. Roman Rivalry

i. Verona Fathers

In 1929 Karamoja and most of Lango was ceded by the Mill Hill Fathers, who had been baptizing Karamojans, to the Verona Fathers (VF) in the Prefecture of Equatorial Nile. After an abortive mission up the Nile, Fr. Daniele Comboni founded in 1867 at Verona the Missionary Institute for the Missions of Central Africa, later known as the Sons of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. His dream was to take mission to Speke’s source of the Nile, but despite Gordon’s encouragement, it was never realized (Tourigny 1979:15). It was to be at least as Italian in style as the Anglican mission was English.

ii. Obstruction

On 19.4.33 Fr. Luigi Molinari and Br. Lorandi arrived at Kangole, ‘a pochi chilometri di distanza da Lotome’ (Novelli & La Braca 1980:17). Game theory prescribes that a new entrant into a market must locate next to its rival.

Primo loro dovere era bloccare ad ogni costo gli avversari, cercando di mettere accanto a ogni loro centro un corrispondente centro cattolico che neutralizzare l’influenza, e cercando di precederli dove ancora non erano arrivati. (ibid.:29)

(Their first duty was to obstruct their adversaries at all costs by seeking to set up next to each one of their centres, a corresponding Catholic centre, which would neutralize its influence, and by seeking to get in first, wherever they had not yet arrived.)

AB, whose grace once brought a Father to his knees in prayer, met the pioneers on his way to Kangole for the weekend. It was there that Lokong had started teaching in 1928, and now he had returned there, and was voluntarily helping the Jiot Evangelist, Eriya Logono Loyamoi at ‘our little Out-church’ (MM 12/134:58). In August Jessie Bryden
had gathered 90 beneath the large fig tree for her first service in Karamoja (Record 1933:34).

Daunted by this activity and by the Englishness of the administrators, the Italians felt disadvantaged. Though the authorities allocated them sites, as at Nadunget, the elders would not give consent for a school, or the homesteads, unusually, would be barred to the Fathers. Even where they had gained access, as at Kanawat, the elders refused to allow the chapel roof to be mended. Yet the missionaries' instructions were for them to become known by the 'pagans', so that they would want a school. This they achieved by perpetual gifts of tobacco and sugar — cigarettes and cups for chiefs — with words about the 'paterna bontà di Akuj' (fatherly goodness of God; Novelli & La Braca 1980:18) but the recipients were still not attracted into the 'imposing buildings' of the mission and its peculiar ways. Tobacco was no more than the elders due, and they needed no lectures on 'the things of God'.

iii. Competition

Their explanation for this recalcitrance was that a 'virgin tribe' had already been 'grievously influenced by the baleful effects of the false light brought by the followers of Protestant sects, which backed up by enormous funds, are penetrating everywhere...'4. 'I villaggi di Matany sono infestatai dai Protestanti.' (ibid.:29). They complained in Italy of the resources that brought teachers from Kitosh, and of the bait of a glittering coin, a new suit of clothes, and a tasty morsel, which landed hasty baptisms, only to end in a return 'to the pagan life'. The VF were to outdo all this. They entered a race to spread
chapels and half-trained catechists everywhere. Of the 7 strategic BCMS out-stations. Bob Clark found 'five opposed by Papist out-schools' (Record 1936:86), and the following year, the NAC teachers experienced RC 'opposition in all out-stations' (Record 1937:41). This approach was not calculated to appeal to the more generous side of Bob's nature.

iv. Destruction

The net effect was to discredit the whole enterprise of Christian mission. Pupils melted away from all the out-schools, and even at Kangole in 1939 Fr. Farina opened the school year with 9 pupils in Class II, 5 in III, and 3 in IV (Novelli & La Braca 1980:33). There were not many who desired the light. In 1940 all the VF were interned at Katigondo Seminary as enemy aliens, and their mission at Kangole dismantled and stored for safe-keeping, though RCs saw it as 'looting' by the government (Lorec 1981:8).

v. Return

In January 1949 the VF settled at Morulem in Labwor but could only get permission for a site at Nadunget, not the old one at Kangole where there was a Protestant chief, church, and school. The county council and the elders were against return. The VF believed the opposition to be an English conspiracy between Bob Clark and the DC, but did not say so, getting their own way by their church authorities pressing the Governor, and by a 'Father's energetic intervention among the elders of Kangole' (Novelli & La Braca 1980:42). The PC, Powell-Cotton, tried to be scrupulously fair, like the generality of British officials in matters of missions policy, and even preferred to work
with the more hierarchical VFs, and the 'marvellous long run resource' for mission's 'civilizing factor': the Congregation's Brothers and Sisters. If he had known what the VF were thinking he would not have written:

Fortunately in Karamoja relations have on the whole been harmonious: this is most satisfactory since the development and expansion of mission work in Karamoja is a fundamental need in the rehabilitation of the land as no measures will be effective without an educated and developed public opinion. As always there has been close co-operation between the missions and Government, with much harmonious goodwill and understanding of each other's needs and problems. (Annual Report, NP 1954:134)

Bob Clark did not welcome the rivals' return, but it was normal for BCMS in Karamoja to keep quiet and to let unmanipulated events do the talking, as from God's sovereign will, though Bartlett's successor, A.T. Houghton, was 'somewhat alarmed' to hear that the VF were at Nadunget, 'which seems to be most unpleasantly near' (BCMS Preparing Committee: 25.7.52 Houghton to Clark). Fairness is not the same as friendship, and Bob always maintained a high standing with officials, including the DC, Field, whose verandah was the venue for the Moroto Sunday service, followed by drinks, but Field, as others, had no interest in proselytization, whether Catholic or Protestant.

The moving force was the excommunicant Yakobo Lowok, who was also Chairman of Karamoja District Council and did not wish to have VF in his county of Bokora. The year after they returned, Lowok had to resign because of serious demonstrations raised against him in Kangole (Record 1955:129). How much these were due to the 'energetic interventions' of VFs, and how much to his 'increasingly dictatorial attitudes' that privatized public dams, is not known (Letter 8.5.90 Field). That he was not blindly
prejudiced is suggested by his giving an interview in 1974, by which time the RCs were predominant in Kangole, to Fr. Pazzaglia (1982:149).

vi. Race Rerun

This time the VFs had more resources, since as long as they provided more personnel, the government would give more grants, as it made a sudden bid to educate Karamoja before an unexpectedly imminent independence. In 1955, a mission at Kaabong was started and a Teacher Training Centre at Kangole. With Powell-Cotton, the explorer's son, Field, and 'molti Inglesi', present for the official opening, the VF exulted, that they had at last arrived (Novelli & La Braca 1980:50). Between 1961 and 1971 one mission was opened a year, as the VF conclusively won the race to attach Christian names to the populace. School children were enticed with a shirt and a shilling. Babies were baptized on sight. In one 4 month period, a mission baptized 540 (ibid.:71). Once identified with an Italian name: Ansilmo, Faustino, Julio, Luigi, Cassiano, care was taken that they should go to RC schools, where intensive pressure was put on those inclined to convert to Protestantism. After 1.1.64 the Ministry of Education took over all the schools, but the RCs gained a wider influence by filling more teaching posts. In 1968 there were 50 missionaries, a figure which was doubled in the 1980s, and assisted by Voluntary Service Order schemes, Italian government aid, and Italians on national service.

The Second Vatican Council made a significant difference in approach to non-Catholics, and in some places, good relationships arose with other Christians, assisted by
the replacement of the predominant Protestant Irish element in BCMS with African pastors. In other places, especially Kaabong, even they found their work opposed at every turn by long-serving missionaries (ibid.:80-3), for whom the modern directives of their church meant little. These warned Karamojong to avoid these ‘bad’, or ‘wrong’ people and their untruths, and every device was used to maximize influence. When lorries, labelled ‘Church of Uganda’, delivered famine relief in 1981 the neo-Buddhist Scotsman, John Wilson, observed a VF proselytizing the starving illiterates, ‘Look what we have brought you...’.

On 22.3.65, the Diocese of Moroto was created with an Italian bishop, since replaced by a Muganda. The main hope of a united Christian approach to mission, lies with the younger generation of VF, which is concerned to hold a dialogue with the Karimojong elders rather than vainly trying to establish their own tradition by education and charity. When the churches concentrate on the task of communicating the gospel to Karamojong within their culture, instead of making them fit to receive an alien version outside it, then its hybrid embodiments in British, Italian, and Ugandan cultures may pass away.
3. THE RISE AND FALL OF LOTOME

a. Eggs in One Basket

i. Episcopal Policy

Rt. Rev. Lucian Usher-Wilson, who moved base to Buwalasi, had the temerity to tell the flagging bereaved Bartlett:

I consider the policy of your Society should very definitely be to strengthen Karamoja personnel and work before allowing any expansion in Southern Sudan or Turkana in Kenya. All mission work takes a long time to dig in and win the confidence of the people. Lotome has done it to a considerable degree.

(BCMS, Bp. of Upper Nile: 22.2.44 U-W to Bartlett)

The Bishop approved working with the government to educate the people in a 'civilizing, stabilizing process', and condemned the dissipation of staff to a mud house in Kotido, where Jessie Bryden and Estelle Hollinshead were 'determined on evangelizing everybody and pioneering generally, without any standing in the Diocese.' (ibid.: 10.6.49 U-W to Houghton). It was quite disastrous -- from the point of view of retaining the confidence of the Government -- to let two single ladies go batting about with determined views of their own and no knowledge of how to gear their work into NAC work.

(loc.cit.)

Tired of spending their energies in education and medicine on a mission station for little spiritual result, this pair tried to hark back to the evangelistic ideals that had attracted them to BCMS originally. Later, the Clarks could point to their lack of measurable effect, compared with Lotome. After 3 years Hollinshead's 'private' school had 9 pupils, 4 of whom were houseboys (BCMS, Preparing Committee: 21.5.51 Clark to Webster). Gulliver, on field study in 1951, corroborates:

they had not a clue as to how to relate to the Jie or how the Jie thought, felt and behaved....most Jie even in the
immediate Kotido area knew little or nothing about them and why they were there, whilst jie [sic] who lived beyond Kotido only knew of two European women and nothing of what they did. (Letter 12.11.88)

If they were instructed not to pioneer, and the government was against them being there at all, then there was little, they could do, as the Jie vehemently opposed education.

Episcopal favour rested on the Clarks.

It will give me great pleasure if you will accept my invitation to be an Honorary Canon of the Diocese. It is some public recognition of the long and faithful service you have rendered to our Lord and his Church in a somewhat obscure part of Africa. I cannot make Doris a Canon unfortunately, but in asking you to accept this honour, I do not forget the wholehearted and wise way she has shared in the progress that you have together made in the life of the Church in Karamoja.

(BCMS, Bp. of Upper Nile: 5.9.50 U-W to Houghton)

ii. Field Council

Relations with BCMS colleagues were not so cordial, marked by 'bitter feelings'. In 1948 Bob Clark was Chairman of the East Africa Field Council, Hollinshead, Treasurer, and Eric Webster who tackled the major problem head on, Secretary. 'There is between a number of us a spirit of real unfriendliness, amounting almost in some cases to animosity...' (BCMS, Preparing Committee 21.4.48). At Lotome the womenfolk had their differences, and 6 years after they had returned the Lanes left in a hurry, not being on speaking terms with Bob, who did not admire Hollinshead teaching empty classrooms when the girls were in the fields: 'It's no use trying to pretend that we get on together: we do not and never will.' (ibid.:28.5.52 Clark to Webster). She retired from the Field in 2 years, and there was only one thing that kept the Clarks going: 'For the sake of the work we should be prepared to hurt and be hurt.' (ibid.:21.5.51 Clark,D. to Webster).
iii. Technical Vocations

In April 1952 the Governor of Uganda, Sir Andrew Cohen, who believed he could change Uganda in a year or so by pouring money into education, toured Karamoja.

I visited the B.C.M.S. school at Lotome under Canon Clark, which is unorthodox in some respects but all the better for that, and I was deeply impressed by Canon Clark and by the school. It provides practical education in both farming, carpentry and building. It is popular with the Karamojong, and I believe that we should pin our long-term programme on the educational side on the development of this school as a Karamoja education and training centre, with increased Government assistance and staff. A definite plan should, I suggest, be made to produce the necessary technical subordinate staff for the various departments of the A.L.G [African Local Government] over a period of years. The finance can be found from the Cattle Scheme.

(BCMS, Karamoja: Bere [PC] 1952)

b. Rise

i. New Society

As Chairman of the District Council, Yakobo Lowok formally asked for a secondary school at Lotome (Uganda Herald 24.4.52). In 2 months, money was being released for Karamoja's first, accepting subnormal educational standards, as well as a technical school, tractor and cattle for the school farm, and a girls' boarding school. Later Bob defended the 6-year plan to BCMS, requiring a revision of its attitude to secondary education, by posing the very real desire of 'the Roman church' to accelerate. 'In the words of our General Secretary, we are seeking to save the Whole man and to make him a Christian citizen.' (BCMS: Clark 1952a)

Houghton accepted the arguments of Clark and the Provincial Education Officer without demur, for he wanted to see men and women, whose intelligence has not been developed merely on the academic side, but practically and
usefully, to enable them to become better members of their tribe. That should help to develop spiritual leadership of a balanced type, and also improve economic conditions, which would enable the Church to achieve self-support more easily. It also means that the cost rightly falls on the State, more than the Mission.

(ibid.: 25.7.52 Houghton to Clark)

ii. Warning Notes

In fact, it was funded by those who least wanted education, the herd-owners, but Houghton gave the Clarks a wise admonition: '...may you both be kept very humble, very loving, very balanced, and deeply spiritual'. Bob had already told the Field Secretary, 'that Uganda should separate from Kenya, as you have no idea of the workings of this Government or their Education Policy', and 'Rejoice with us and thank God' for the government teacher's salary Bob had been awarded.

A full-time Field Secretary was found in Major Sellwood, and when the Rev. and Mrs. White resigned, BCMS appointed a Sub-Committee and a Commission to examine the East African Field. The Sub-Committee appealed to Canon Clark 'to show Christian charity, especially in view of his seniority, and special responsibilities as leader of the work'. Major Sellwood was empowered to deal with the situation at Lotome, and the Clarks sent to pioneer at Kotido, in a way they themselves suggested on furlough. Stanley Metters suggested that the reasons for the unhappy history of the Field could be found in 'the lack of leadership from the beginning, in the diversity of the tribes and the work, in the scattered positions of the stations, in the climatic conditions, or in the incompatibility of temperaments.' (ibid.: 5.11.55 Sub-Committee).
c. Fall

i. Accusations

However, a year later the Clarks, reluctant to leave the cultivated scene of their life's work, had still not moved to Kotido, and Major Sellwood claimed that it was only the presence of himself and his wife that prevented the able young missionaries, who had been recruited for the new schools, resigning. The low standards noted before annoyed the newcomers at every turn. Cooking, latrines, wash places, water supply, and dispensary were unhygienic. Derelict engines and machinery lay about the place. Cattle, goats, turkeys, chickens, and pigs roamed where they would, and it was never clear whether they were owned by the Mission or the Clarks. Money, goods, and time had been squandered; cash had been received for buildings, which had been spent without their being erected.

Disorganization and unpunctuality abounded. Staff were told to take the service while on their way to church, which was physically and spiritually rotten. Bob winked at alcohol and nakedness. In the sermons a 'callous attitude to suffering' and to the relationships with Africans, the new generation of missionaries thought they detected a colour-bar attached to local culture. Bob seemed to spend more time on the tractor than on pastoral and evangelistic duties. Trust in him was undermined by his answers coming from the first thought that came into his head, only to be flatly contradicted later. Being authoritarian, and laws unto themselves for over 20 years, the Clarks were the last persons to work through the issues in a round table discussion. There were no staff meetings, no delegation of
authority, no gracious acceptance of alternative ideas.

Little did the puritans, including Major Sellwood who had come from the best appointed African school in Kenya, know that such an attenuation of European standards after so long a time at an under-resourced station among a semi-nomadic people, was inevitable, if health and sanity were to be maintained. It was only feasible to be good Englishmen inside the home, while Bob’s practical tuition outside it had won the admiration of all visitors. It was a promising start in a notoriously difficult place and, to a Karamojongait, smacked of European order. The others saw it the other way round. They had voluntarily dedicated their lives to passing on the best of British civilization, to teach and to baptize, but were confronted by a shambles that undermined all they stood for.

ii. Division

Major Sellwood, deep in the book of Job, having acquainted himself with the unhappy history of the Clarks’ working relationships in BCMS, rather than the inherent difficulties of Karamoja, was predisposed towards the younger missionaries, as was the Committee. When Sellwood pressed the Clarks to take early retirement, both he and they started separate correspondence with London, confident that HQ would back them. The Committee deprecated any accumulation of livestock as a ‘serious detraction from spiritual work’, required Doris, as was usual, to pay over her British & Foreign Bible Society salary covering translation expenses, and directed them to Kotido for Bob to concentrate on pastoral and evangelistic work and see

a living Church truly established in faith and thoroughly grounded on God’s Word, living in the fear of the Lord.
That will be the greatest bulwark against Roman Catholicism, materialism, and all the devices of the Evil One. (ibid.: 20.12.56 Houghton to Clark)

Despite building a house in Kotido, the Clarks' heart was in Lotome where they had raised a family of 3. Now 'nervous', though well-qualified and desperately needed, recruits were being diverted away from 'this nervy place'. Mrs. Cartwright, Principal of the new Teacher Training College, had had a baby and a miscarriage and was 'totally unable to cope', and every missionary was suffering from involvement in foul personal relationships, about which the survivors are naturally reluctant to talk.

iii. Explosion

The crisis came to a head for Christmas 1956. Hospitality was withdrawn for Christmas Day, not just out of the pique of the moment, but because it had 'been coming a long time' (ibid.: 20.12.56 Clark,D. to Sellwood). The young missionaries threatened to resign if the Clarks did not go, so the normally equivocal, vacillating Sellwood gave the Clarks a choice of resigning from BCMS or accepting 3 months notice, forbidding them to take other work in the country to 'save' the mission. On Boxing Day, as soon as the Governor left, the Clarks rushed to Mbale to cable Houghton, only to be followed by Sellwood and Cartwright, sending a telegram from the Major and a brief of supporting letters, before seeing an unsuspecting Bishop.

The Major's authority is being challenged and we do want to assure you that we are fully convinced that he has done the only thing which can really save our work in this whole district. We here, at present, can see that we are standing in the same 'Apostolic succession' with the Lanes, Hollinshead, Whites and the others who have retired themselves rather than cause a showdown. We believe that God has called us here to see the day when this thorny question of the Clarks was resolved. (ibid.: 27.12.56 Cartwright to Houghton)
Both parties claimed to be acting for the sake of 'the work'.

iv. Scandal

For those outside BCMS the 'destruction' of the Clarks was an unmitigated disgrace. Their local knowledge provided a constant source of advice for the DC, to whom they at once appealed. 'I [P.A.G. Field] must back the Clarks, right or wrong; they have been here for years and have been very helpful to the Government.' (ibid.: 29.12.56 Sellwood to Houghton). The vocational training scheme had been built round them. The Minister of Local Government, who had been ADC in Karamoja, when the Clarks settled at Lotome in 1934, hastened to express his 'deepest concern'. 'I regard them and the valuable work they have done for Karamoja with the greatest esteem.' They would be the only people left with adequate knowledge of the district or language on the Protestant side, and had 'earned the respect and confidence of the District Council and the people of Karamoja, which is so important to the work of both Government and Mission in this area.' (ibid.: 12.1.57 Boyd to Houghton). To the Provincial Education Officer, 'He was the authority on Karamoja.' (Letter 5.3.89 Gray).

Karimojong opinion was divided. An interpreter told Haslam, 'Sir, I think when Mr. Clark has gone away, many people will come to Church. They are too afraid of him to come.' (ibid.: 29.12.56 Sellwood to Houghton). The Clarks quoted the ambiguous tribute sent to them on furlough: 'if you do not soon come back, you will find Christianity extinguished in Karamoja' (ibid.: 31.12.56 D.Clark to Sellwood). They could adduce the Karimojong who spoke of
appealing to the DC or the women who 'weep on our doorsteps and tell us that only we love and understand them'. Gulliver 'was impressed by the affection and trust the local people showed.' (Letter 12.11.88).

Anthropologists have seldom thought so highly of any missionary as Bob Clark, who was one of the few 'genuinely good men able to transcend their own European culture'.

Doubtless, I am biassed because of his own goodness and godliness; and also because I have seen too much intolerance and ignorant prejudice amongst some missionaries of all sects. And amongst the best of missionaries I have met elsewhere in Africa, Bob Clark was, in my opinion, without superior. (loc.cit.)

The Clarks 'were exactly the sort of missionaries', that Rada D-H, as an agnostic who sees no value in conversion, admired.

The very things which I respected and admired in the Clarkes [sic] -- their commitment to helping the local people more than to religious conversion, and possibly even their friendship with and assistance to non-missionaries -- was what the young missionaries found unacceptable. (Letter 20.3.90)

It was one thing to be the recipient of Bob's paternal benificence and generosity, another to work in the shadow of his 'patriarchal importance'.

v. Judgment

Houghton soon gave them his considered conclusion.

You have both borne the burden and heat of the day for many years in sacrificial service, and nothing that has transpired since can detract from that. At the same time, the rapid development of the work has shown itself to be beyond your capacity...

The Preparing Committee unanimously asks you to resign. (BCMS, 4.1.57 Houghton to Clarks)

The Bishop, whose decision the Cartwrights and the Beaks would not accept, cabled the BCMS Committee to take no further action until he had sent his report, as he saw it a grave injustice to retire the Clarks before investigating
the charges in their presence (ibid.: 18.1.57 U-W to Houghton).

On 27.1.57 U-W spoke to the missionaries at Lotome on Mk.8:27-37. His report reminded an incredulous BCMS 'that many similar situations have been quite common in the history of missions', and advocated the solution of letting the Clarks concentrate their pioneer abilities on 'the undeveloped areas'. The Committee reasoned that the situation was caused by the Clarks' refusal to follow its decision that they live in Kotido from September. The Overseas Secretary thought it immoral to make them resign at once on the grounds of something which it had allowed to go on for years but those who had visited Lotome on the Commission were adamant.

The demand to resign stood, to be effected in 18 months. Only a few had passed, when Bob died of a throat cancer, which he attributed to Kotido dust, and friends to his shameful treatment. The pain had been a factor in his relationships and the reason he imbibed alcohol, but so secretive had he been that the Karimojong thought that he had died from a wound received shooting a water-buck illegally, so had not sought medical help. He sacrificed his life for 'the Work', but the personal salvation which BCMS had given him turned to the dust of damnation. For others, the wounds remained unhealed (Letter 28.11.88 Howie). Celebrating Christmas at Lotome was later banned. After continuing her translation of the NT Doris had to move with 3 children to the Bethany Homecraft Centre in Soroti.
d. Reflection

This dredging of undignified detail is not for the purpose of exoneration or blame though for those who have heard of this sorry chapter which blights the whole story of Anglican mission in Karamoja and still arouses strong emotions, it will give a fuller picture than has yet been painted. More important is the sharp conflict of underlying missiological issues, after which most Christian mission in Karamoja is an anti-climax. For until very recently these issues have not been recognized, let alone addressed. Remember that the Christians involved were generally good people, altruistically seeking to better the lot of needy Karamojong. Although children of their times, as we, all had sacrificed the easy opportunity of better paid, less frustrating employment, despite the opprobrium of their fellow nationals settled in Kenya, who feared that any attempt to raise Africans from their imperial relegation threatened their economic interests. 'Missionaries are so much lice.'; they were hated for educating 'the blacks' (Owen, T. Clark).

All were conscious of making sacrifices for 'the Sake of the Work', but what was the Work?
i. Church and People

BCMS missionaries went out in the hope of seeing individuals converted in sufficient number to form a church for Sunday worship. This would be the channel, through which God would save and bless the whole people. When Bob Clark went out he was convinced of the urgency of mission by the sight of a mass of lost souls. He even arrested AB's mind when they buried a Turkana: 'Father, forgive us that
this is one for whom we came too late; we commit him to Thee.' (Record 1933:29).

Yet a decade later they had given up direct evangelism to concentrate on schools. On 25.10.44 Bob wrote, 'One of our sorrows is that the local villagers do not attend [sic] church as they used to.' (MM 22/237:10) and found he could do little with a church full of insincere schoolboys, whose attitude to the Christian faith was, that 'you get baptized in P2', and confirmed in a higher class. Their evangelism did not bear fruit, and Doris was conscious of failing miserably to establish a church. The Commission reported: 'it was clear that you yourselves felt, that there had been a failure over the years in the building up of the Church on the right foundations.' (BCMS, Preparing Committee 4.1.57 Houghton to Clarks; 1.1.57 Hacking to Houghton).

This admission could have intended to throw doubt on the ecclesiological foundations they had been taught, rather than on their relative incompetence as missionaries. There are suggestions, as indicated by his loss of concern for the church fabric, that Bob was casting round for alternative approaches. He was not just being dismissive when he told his enthusiastic juniors, 'We tried that before and it did not work.' He had tried the accepted methods of church planting for years, and the Karamojong, as they do, had made it clear in no uncertain terms that they did not work.

Bob did believe that his 'Infant African Church', as distinct from the NAC, was dependent on a new economic order, which his technical training would help bring about. On the other hand he was gradually being enculturated into traditional Karamojong values, as his cattle holdings imply.
He was on very good terms with the senior elder of the Tome, Lotiromoi, and he attended functions at their ceremonial ground. After one such, he invited the mature naked adults down into the church building to listen to him, as he had done to them. They did so, and danced afterwards. What could have been a fruitful dialogue appeared as sacrilege to those whose European faith had yet to be tested in one of the thornier parts of Africa.

...as far as the evangelical Anglican mission is concerned, Karimojong nakedness, premarital intercourse, concubinage, and polygamy are all frowned upon. It strongly disapproves of night-time dances, as leading to immorality. It forbids its adherents to be smeared with chyme from cattle sacrifice in the traditional act of blessing, and prefers them to avoid tribal ritual gatherings altogether... Karimojong could not simultaneously believe in the details of both the tribal and Christian cosmologies.

Whether viewed as religious sects or educational institutions, therefore, missions have had little to offer, except to those Karimojong prepared to make a radical break with their society. Few have done so.

(D-H, N. 1962:785)

ii. Church and State

Having failed to secure the solid allegiance of any local community, Bob made the critical, but understandable, mistake of tapping the vitality of the people, through his ready-made contact with government. Chiefs proved unable to supply him with proselytes, but they did ensure sufficient steers for the Karamoja Cattle Scheme. The officials and their stooges were more than happy for a European in Karamoja to be creative enough to use the forced profits to educate, train, and so to westernize the Karamojong (cf. Tiberondwa 1978). Yet the 1959 census classified a mere 1% as Christian, after a generation's mission. Given the environmental conditions and the resilience of the culture, this was bound to fail, as other attempts there at social
engineering have (D-H, N. 1962:792), but East Africa seemed a one-way street to a modern capitalist economy then. Also repeated often was the absorption of energies in the maintenance of artificial, exotic institutions.

The real politics of Karamoja was not determined by the DCs, who perpetually came to Bob for advice, but by the elders. If the church sought a close alliance with the state, as the powers ordained of God, then it would have heeded 'those made head' (ngikasikou) but it did not, following instead the old path beaten by the Church of England in East Africa, volunteering for a limiting, exhausting subservience to the secular state fashioned by Empire. The Clarks 'did as much as any two people could in educating and civilising a very primitive bit of Africa.' (Letter 5.3.89 Gray).

iii. Church and Societies

While such factors also affected the RC church, its missionary societies were not allowed to disturb the clerical hierarchy, which constituted it. Though implicitly just as clergy dominated, Anglican mission had a confusion of accountability. The primary loyalty was to BCMS, through whom all spiritual and financial support was channelled, with the sub-conscious concomitant of attempts to achieve projects, which would please the supporters at home, who had little idea of how a church could actually be founded in Africa, but naturally gave money for the extension of their Reformed beliefs. Yet ecclesiastical authority was due to the Bishop of the Upper Nile, who was a member of another society, the revisionist CMS, and was because of logistics, seldom fully in touch with this BCMS district.
When it came to decide between U-W’s formal recommendation and the inexperienced missionaries’ irregular one BCMS was immediately reluctant to ‘have the fullest confidence in the Bishop’, and ‘pass a vote of "no confidence" in our missionaries’, on whom depended the future prosperity of the Society. Its early experiences of even Evangelical bishops condemning the new Society in the press, had led BCMS into a permanent distrust of episcopal rule, despite Houghton adopting a strong diocesanization policy in order to create self-supporting churches before the expected ejection of missionaries, when the colonies gained independence.

iv. Authority

The underlying cause of the fractiousness of the mission in Karamoja and East Africa was its theological assumptions about authority. Jesus was exalted as infallible Lord and Master, while men were reprobate. Peter Cartwright, the leader of the move against the Clarks, was given 2 verses for the crisis. One was Mt.19:26, ‘With men this is impossible…’. Quite apart from the problems caused for a doctrine of incarnation by a heavy opposition between Jesus and humanity, it meant that Christ’s authority could not be mediated through other people. Only through personal Bible study and prayer could Christ’s will be surely known. Thus, Cartwright’s other verse was Haggai 1:13, ‘I am with you.’ — and not the Clarks or the Bishop.

Hence, BCMS was riddled by autocratic, if ostensibly godly behaviour in its missionaries (including myself) as well as its Secretaries. It was held together by its committees, inherited from CMS, but on the strength of their
Bible expositions and prayers, they too behaved autocratically acknowledging accountability to no-one, neither missionaries, local churches, bishops, governments, or public opinion. This has advantages in countering evil structures, but it was a theological positivism, born of the belief that the whole of reality could be reduced to the personal understanding of isolated texts and prayer. So long as one had these, a real understanding of the Karamojong, or a propensity for local Christian theologies, was superfluous. What mattered was knowledge of the accepted European tradition and the language, so that converts could appropriate the same isolated verses through translated Scripture Gift Mission booklets but just a handful of missionaries learned to speak Ngakaramojong.

The Clarks naturally assumed, as the senior missionaries on the field who had long enjoyed the confidence of the Honorary Secretary, as well as the Bishop, and who had been chosen to speak at Annual Meetings, autocratic authority over their parish. The Bishop thought he had pastoral responsibility. Both parties were sadly disillusioned, for the BCMS Committee reserved power to itself and explained its actions to nobody. The insubordinate missionaries were reinforced in their partial use of Scripture and excused learning anything from the long, hard experience of the pioneers. They were free to repeat mistakes. Small wonder that relationships have always been unhappy at Lotome.
v. God’s Work

It is remarkable that obeisance was made to ‘the Work’, and that no-one actually claimed it was the fruit of the Kingdom of God. It was too much an expression of personal decision and dedication for that. Personal identity depended on its success, but it was an artificial substitute for God’s work in Karamojong communities.

e. Resurrection?

i. Dead Wrong

The doctrinal question, which the Karimojong put most frequently was, ‘Is there a resurrection of the dead, or are you deceiving us?’ (MM 22/237:10). It was plain common sense, and an article of faith to a pragmatic people, that dead men do not return, as before. So to flatly contradict it, was to show an intention to deceive. Yet Karamojong believe that a dead elder will go to the great homestead in the sky and may return in the form of a snake. Thus, the teaching or the understanding of the Christian doctrine of resurrection was over-literal. This shows a tendency to forgo opportunities to communicate between cultures, with the result that the Christian faith was rejected not only as foreign and foolish but as wrong and untrue.

ii. A New Future?

Could anything good come out of the suffering at Lotome? Peter Cartwright devoted himself to building up the church as fast as possible. The educational programme went ahead, but according to normal school standards. The government would call a meeting of mission representatives, and announce it had a large budget to build a certain kind
of school, and afterwards Cartwright would have to apologize to his fellows, 'I had to put in a bid or all the grant would have gone to the RC mission.' (Letter 18.4.89 Haslam). Thus, by 1961, there were a record 19 missionaries, all involved with schools to one degree or another, so committed to meeting government requirements and the conditions of their salaries and grants. The Schools Supervisor was also responsible for evangelism from the 22 little bush schools, but his monthly visit could do little to help the demoralized church teacher.

'The name "Lotome" immediately makes me think of schools and education, and to get a general picture of the work we must look at the schools.' (Story 1957:25) On 4.2.59 the girls' boarding school was opened, but catered mainly for teachers' daughters. Local people complained, correctly, that their daughters would not want to work so hard again at home and would resist their customs and tribal marriage, thus attracting less bridewealth and impoverishing their own Families. When there was a meningitis outbreak in the girls' school, the headmistress received a death threat from a chief.

The elders' council declared that education was spoiling the people of the tribe, for schoolboys showed no respect for the elders, their parents, or tribal discipline. They took wives for themselves without parental permission, without the exchange of bridewealth, and without the means to support a family.

If only these boys would be willing to realise that God is interested in their future, and that they could leave their marriage plans with Him. However, even Christian lads find it difficult to leave such matters in God's hands. I spoke to one lad about this matter recently, and put the Christian standard to him. He said, "It
He was right, not in his disobedience, but in questioning the marital practicality of the life he had chosen. Teachers were in no position to provide for the whole of life's needs, despite the pretentious promise of schools to offer a better life for all. Missionary education had created an amoral situation and, in that it disrupted the host culture, an immoral one. Disruption was minimal, because up to 90% of pupils at the Junior Secondary School were from neighbouring tribes. The Karamojong were 'not just indifferent to education but hostile' (Letter 14.12.88 Fleay). The Jie were so opposed to independent Uganda's education that the armed forces had to compel children to come into Kotido Girls' School, to be taught by BCMS missionaries. Despite the unpopularity, girls' education was seen as necessary to provide suitable wives and mothers for Christian boys.

Yet the missionaries were only too well aware of education being used as a cloak for licence, 'that education without Jesus Christ will spoil these people' (Story 1958:56), and that schools were marked by nominalism and backsliding. At best, 30% were professing Christians, which meant missionaries were knowingly creating and sustaining institutions which, for the most part, detribalized and, in every sense, demoralized its supposed beneficiaries. Realistically, education could only make a living for some, when 3% of Karamoja was educated and 1% waged. The missionary teachers were intelligent people numbering many graduates, but they felt ineffective and trapped in a system.
they were unable to control. They could only do the job for which they had been trained and recruited: teach a British syllabus in English. The instability of such misplaced mission is instanced by the Uganda Field Council Meeting of 23.11.62, when 3 of the senior married missionaries individually aired the possibility of resignation on grounds of inadequate finance and facilities.

iii. A New Church?

The Anglican church in Karamoja gained its present appearance in the early 1960s. Cartwright was an energetic draftsman and builder, so that U-W dedicated Christ Church, Kotido on 11.3.60 and the rebuilt Church of the Good Shepherd at Lotome the next day. The augmented government officers had designed and dug the foundations of, St. Philip’s Church in Moroto, which was dedicated by Stephen Tomusange, Bishop of the new Diocese of Soroti in the Church of Uganda. Karamoja became a Deanery of the Diocese in 1964 with just 6 parishes and ‘but a small number who are truly converted’, even fewer willing and fit to do primary evangelism (Cartwright 1965:21). On 1.2.70 it became an Archdeaconry and on 11.1.76 a missionary Diocese, being ‘spiritually barren’, with 11 Ugandan clergy, of whom 3 were Karamojong (MM Spring 1976:1f.). The number of parishes was made up to 10, mostly in the townships.

When Cartwright returned for the Jubilee celebrations in 1979 he ‘was delighted to find a smaller but stronger church’. He had conceded he had seen a ‘rather un-natural development, to try to hasten Karamoja’s liberation from ignorance’, but he saw it as the customary duty of the Christian church to be in the vanguard of such an enterprise.
On humble reflection, Betty wrote:

We and those with us were too much like Empire builders. We tried to make Westerners of the Africans in music etc. Of course, we thought we were doing the best at the time. It is only on looking back and with the present day outlook one realizes how short-sighted, and arrogant, we were. (Cartwright, M.E. Letter 14.1.89)

It is a confession that many of us have to make, for the same mistakes are still repeated and the wisdom of age is not passed onto the next generation by modern education. The Clarks were not misguided because they failed to keep up European standards but because they failed to uphold Karamojong ones, yet still the lesson is not learnt. The Lotome classrooms, cracked from their foundations in the black cotton soil, are now being rebuilt by the secular charity of the International Labour Organization.

Footnotes to IV.C.

1. In 1934 Molly contracted a disastrous marriage to a BCMS missionary in Ethiopia, Colin MacKenzie. She was Principal of Ridgland's Bible College, 1961-6 (Letter 13.5.89).
2. In 11.34 Kitching confirmed 12 at Lotome (Record 1934:81)
3. AB ended his days on 14.10.40 as National Church League Secretary, when he, his brother, Murray, and the whole committee were bombed in Church House (MM 17/216:152-4).
4. '...la si trova invece gia funestamente influenzata dai tristi effetti della falsa luce portata dai gregari delle sette protestanti, i quali, sostenuti da mezzi ingenti penetrano dovunque...' (Novelli & La Braca 1980:28)
5. Ecological reports had already noted 'the impracticality of compulsory measures for reducing the cattle population', and suggested an 'educative effort, particularly by missionary agency, as the most promising solution' (Eggeling 1938b:3). Both missions were needed.
D. INDIGENOUS MINISTRY

The saddest thing about mission in Karamoja is not the damage the missionaries inflicted on themselves. They, apart from Bob Clark, had the opportunity to retire to the comforts of home and to learn from their sufferings. The small group of ministers on whom they optimistically pinned the church's future have no such option, for they had to sacrifice their place in society, with little chance, once educated and trained, of picking up the pastoral life. Yet the casualty rate has always been high. Of 12 'truly converted' young people in 1963 (MM May:11), only 3 have held to their faith within the borders of Karamoja. To do so requires a rock-like consistency and determination found in few humans. The inevitable result is a few shining gems and many rejects in a heap of cultural slag.

1. REV. SEPHANIYA AKAMU

The experience of the first ordained Karamojan was typical of his successors, despite wide variations in detail. The general picture is one of a person not recognized by Karamojong society, who has in any case been so educated out of it, that he knows little about the culture, but in that he has a family, finds that it still envelops him.

a. Vocation

Akamu was an Ik lad, who became the batman of a KAR officer at Kakamari, who took him to HQ at Bombo, where he went to school, learned to read, and was eventually baptized. Back north, he longed to know more of God's word,
so he resigned after 10 year's service, and returned to Buganda, attending the CMS mission at Ndeje, near Kampala. In 1936, he felt that the Spirit was calling him out to full-time service, so walked home to Karamoja. At Mbale, he met Archdeacon Harry Mathers, whom he impressed to the extent that he wrote to the Clarks, "This man seems to have been very definitely called by the Holy Spirit to serve the Lord...". As the Clarks were on furlough, when he reached Lotome, he was sent to help the BCMS missionaries in Toposa, but it was not what he wanted, so he walked and preached most of the way to Juba, where Canon Gibson took him in for several months.

b. Ministry

When Sephaniya returned to Karamoja, the Clarks employed him as a church teacher at Moroto, Kangole, Labwor 1945-6 where he revived the repeatedly ailing church, and Kotido where he built a church of mud blocks and thatch. He was trained at Buwalasi, but Bishop U-W, who wanted 'half a dozen like Akamu' (BCMS, Bishop: 22.2.44 U-W to Bartlett), exempted him from the usual academic requirements. He insisted that he marry his wife, Phoebe, in a church wedding and ordained him deacon on 26.5.49 in a full church at Lotome. After all, he could converse in Icietot, Ngakaramojong, Lwo, Luganda, Kiswahili, and English. He ministered in Kotido but settled at Kangole in 1950, where he 'backslid' until the supersession of the Clarks, when he was brought back 'into active work -- preaching the Word with the Schools Supervisor', Bob Beak, in his travels (ibid. Preparing Committee, 8.1.57 Sellwood to Houghton).
c. Death

By 1960 he had planted a church in Kaabong, but of 18 children born to him, 10 survived, for whose marriages he was responsible. He tried to give them a Christian marriage but it proved impractical. His brothers demanded a share in the bridewealth due for his daughter, who married a Bokora, and his son needed to have bridewealth paid, if his Dodos marriage were not to be a scandal, albeit a church wedding. Thus, he drove the 28 cattle received at Kangole north on 4.10.61. Resting by the roadside, he was, as emoit, speared by 7 opportunistic Bokora, who made off with the cattle, as his 2 sons, Gideon and John King, fled to safety.

To the purist this tragedy may have appeared to be God's judgment on involvement with the second-rate customs of a heathen culture but in reality it was judgment on a church which had signally failed to root itself in Karamojong society and so was not, by any standard, indigenous, as had been hoped. Though fluent in the language and Karamojan, his very religion made him an alien (emoit). Its liturgy was a straight translation from the Book of Common Prayer, with its prayers for Akabaka Elisabet (Anon. 1957:10). His clothes, dog collar, and Anglican robes defined his church (ekanisa cf. akinisa, to dress well, be proud) as inappropriate for life. He remained a stranger among the Bokora to whom he ministered in Kangole; had he sought the blessing and the protection of the elders, he would not have been molested. Instead, he depended on a Western idea of God and His merely supernatural protection. Rev. Sephaniya Akamu, as his name and title suggest, was caught in the subtle conflict between 2 worlds.
2. UGANDAN MISSIONARIES

The 1960s and '70s saw an attempt to establish the church with clergy from other districts, which was met by the newly fledged province of the Anglican Communion with a desire to meet its own missionary responsibilities, even amongst tribal enemies. Since Cartwright had only managed to secure the services of 1 teacher from outside uncivilized Karamoja, it reveals great courage and self-sacrifice that any clergy or church teachers dared to come. One was a Tesot, Rev. Yovani Mukula (1960-72) who went out preaching in the villages, and became Rural Dean in 1965.

Before I received Jesus I was a Pastor in my white collar, but not in my heart. I was born in 1916, baptised in 1928, ordained in 1953 and received Jesus in 1956.

From Karamoja up to my home is two hundred miles, but I find that Jesus helps in this Karamoja district. Even in my difficulty with eleven children Jesus helps me. (MM Nov.1965:16)

Men came from Kenya (Ja-lwo), Sebei, Ankole, Bunyoro, West Nile, and Lango, but only the Tesots had much facility in Ngakaramojong. For the most part they moved along the lines laid by the British missionaries, and having less access to transport, were even more confined to the townships, declining to go out among a people they feared, despised, or did not understand. Their congregations were drawn from the educated and government officers of many tribes, who shared their assumptions about the indigenous people. In 1970 COU supporters were reported, as 'very conscious how little the Church had penetrated into the lives of Jie people' (Gourlay 1971b:516). When Amin's policies brought the unintentional termination of the slender trend towards civilization, livelihoods dependent on outside support became impossible, and they returned home.
3. NO LONGER KARAMOJONG

a. Revival

In Lotome 2 of the African missionaries, Leah Epaku, a Tesot who taught in the girls' school, and the Ja-lwo, Habil (Abel) Badhi who became the shopkeeper supplying the schools with Western goods, were Balokole, mediating the tradition of the East African Revival from 1961. They went to local homesteads with recorded messages in Ngakaramojong: ‘Noah open for us, open the door, we are perishing.’, but the schools were most affected (MM Nov.1965:6). In May 1963 many school girls were converted and released from fear of the evil eye and curses. Older pupils demonstrated their repentance by offering amulets, or the blankets and clothes, gotten by lying, stealing, or brewing beer, for consignment to the flames of a bonfire (Lorec 1981:16). However, the faith of only 2 shone through the social difficulties, which attended converts, who were led to disobey their parents or to desert their husbands to go to school: Andrew Adupa from the Nyangiya Hills, who rose to become Deputy Head of Moroto Teacher Training Centre before a soldier murdered him in his home in 1984, and the present bishop, Peter Lomongin, the son of a former church teacher in Pian.

b. Ordinations

On 14.1.73, 3 Karimojong were priested and from the late 1970s onwards, different colleges in Uganda trained a continuous trickle of students for ordination. Most are Pian, schooled at Lotome, or Abwor, who still value education.
i. Training

Bishop Tucker Theological College is a quintessentially Anglican academic institution, while the smaller training institutes were eager to assimilate entrants into the lifestyle expected of a family in the employ of a Church of Uganda. Isaac Longole and Yefa (Jephthah) Locoro were taught to dig a garden for their food at Rengili College, near Arua.

A number of habits or customs which the Lugbara students thought of as being a hang over of heathenism were quickly pointed out to them. Both of these students were thought by the others to be rather like children in the Christian life, probably because of the hold of their own customs! (Letter 13.1.89 S.Maclure)

Christians learn to call their parents, pagans and peasants, while missionaries are encouraged to believe in the absoluteness of their tradition, but however dogmatically held the new ways are they only mask or distort, not obliterate, the influence of the home culture.

ii. Discipline

Thus, good Christian clergy wives fight. The son of a clergyman impregnates the daughter of another, who demands, and receives, the customary pregnancy fine, saying that in such a matter he was a Karamojong elder. Clergy, who take second wives, are defrocked, while those who deceive and embezzle receive a gentler discipline so as not to decimate the ranks. Tilling the soil is not fit work for a Karamojong, let alone an educated man.

Worse are those who take advantage of their release from traditional taboos and 'chase away' their first wife, or have sexual relations with an adopted daughter, thereby making the church an offence to the community. More than one promising ecclesiastical career has ended in a drunken
life, not permitted by the demands of herding, but then 'the
cloth' is an option for those who are ineligible, some-times
because of illness, for herding. Most clergy marriages
begin neither according to Karamojong nor Christian rites,
even if a 'white wedding' regularizes the liaison. There
have only been 16 marriages in Lotome church and far less in
Moroto and Kotido. The witness of the handful who remain
courageously constant must be seen in proportion to the many
converts who fail to complete the course, originally devised
by European missionaries who were then prevented from
adapting it to 'customary union' by Balokole dismissing it
as pagan (Report of the Committee 1962).
c. The Wants of Indigenous Ministry
i. Self-Support Unethical

The height of irony, occurring through the
imposition of foreign traditions, is that because of the
tragic experience of the Clarks and Akamu, as well as
peculiar ethical problems of holding arms, Bishop Lomongin
(he of the oxen) faithfully adheres to the incompatibility
of cattle and Christian practice. As an object lesson in
self-sacrifice this seems worthy. However, it leaves the
church so removed from the most reliable form of production,
distribution, and exchange, that she cannot afford to feed
her ministers, that the clergy, unusually for Anglicans,
must occupy 'tent-making' ministries, and the Bishop and the
3 Archdeacons for the 14 parishes rely on cash from BCMS.

ii. Appeals for Christian Charity

Despite the strictures to 'grow up' (eg. MM 28/4:56)
the Anglican Communion has been asked to provide $5,000
annually for church workers' salaries, $2,000 for pastors'
childrens' school fees, emergency funds for pastors' medical bills and the looting of their houses, $6,000 for a bursary to pay school fees, $5,000 for the Education Department, and $5,000 for the revision of the NT in collaboration with the RCs. Permanent buildings of concrete blocks and corrugated iron are requested for a cathedral, a Diocesan Training Centre at Lotome, staff houses as 'most of our Pastors are living in very poor un-permanent houses with mudded walls and grass-thatched roofs', churches, diocesan offices, and archdeaconery offices at Lotome and Kotido.

Then for transport, the bishop needs a new Landrover, and the Archdeacons 2, which will require at least $5,000 a year to run. 13 motor-cycles are needed, preferably Honda. Income-generating projects are planned, if someone would donate the mills, vehicle maintenance workshop (despite the insolvency of the one in Kotido), tractors, and lorry (Lomongin 1987). The desire is simply to establish and complete the tradition, which the converts have been taught. BCMS currently provides a couple to supervise the Education Department and the translation, and a Manager of the Building Unit, compared to VF provision of a comprehensive system of externally funded and manned support.
E. MISSIOLOGICAL CONCLUSIONS

1. EXTERNAL AUTHORITY

Given the nature of authority in BCMS theology, such a weak, dependent church was inevitable, with the concurrent inability of the West to commercialize and urbanize Karamoja. 'The Lord of all power and might', the Sovereign King, 'the Risen, Regnant Lord', was enthroned, and isolated, in English culture. He could only be mediated by the missionary, who was Bwana or Ekapolon, like the agent of Empire, the County Chief, and had 'absolute control' over the definition of Christian practice. What was normative was the most puritan of British lifestyles, for which monogamy and the single event church weddings were essential, despite the fact that hardly any could continuously maintain such standards. Those converts who proved, and those missionaries who did not question their validity, were the ones who remained to be promoted to positions of hierarchical authority.

Yet Karamojong authority is anti-hierarchical; it is consensual, being vested in a college of priests or elders, who represent not an exotic sect but the whole community in a church which brings before God the life of the people in its totality. God manifestly lends his authority to them for, apart from secular influences, the people abide in the fear of God. The good news for the Karamojong is, 'The kingdom of God is within you' Lk.17:21, or 'Christ in you, the hope of glory' Col.1:27. Their sacrifices, consisting of a reduction in their stock wealth, occasion the presence of God and social unity. The sacrifices of the
missionaries, who required it of their converts, were the abnegation of the comforts and support of their own families and culture, but this resulted in stress, disharmony, dislocation, and even sin.

2. BCMS

The Society lived up to its name. In its total allegiance to the truth of the Bible, Bartlett supposed that the necessary corollary was 'separation from the World and its questionable amusements' (MM 10/111:30). Yet Christians can never be separate from the world while they are in it— from its society, economics, politics — in short, from a particular culture, as the Bible so plainly shows. BCMS was not acultural, for the inclusion of 'Churchmen's' into its title was no accident. As the first Vice-President, the Very Rev. Henry Wace, who sought a Bible, not a vague, Christianity, said,

We are loyal to the only Church authority accessible to us, loyal to the ecclesiastical authorities to whom the interpretation of these formularies and the administration of our Church are committed... (MM 2/14:1)

Bartlett saw himself as 'a life-long Churchman who valued beyond measure not only the Scriptural character of our Church but its Culture, Order, Discipline, and quiet Dignity, especially in public worship,' (MM 22/244:18). When 14, Victoria Street was the only building to receive a direct hit from a 150 lb. bomb, the sole remaining word of the Society's name still standing was 'Bible'. Church traditions come and go over the centuries, but the Word of the Lord stands for ever.
3. THE CHURCH OF THE KARAMOJONG

a. Supremacy

Amongst the Karamojong, 'the only Church authority accessible' in any immediate, or satisfactory, way, is akiriket. The ministry, the sacraments, the traditions are all, by the providence of the Creator, in place. They just need infusing, and liberating with the historical revelation of God in Jesus, in order to inherit their place in the universal church. Such a simple vision may seem hopelessly idealistic, and within the limited context of a European church tradition, that may prove to be so, but it remains a far more realistic alternative than the vain attempt, first tried by Bishop Tucker 80 years ago, to plant an utterly alien tradition in Karamoja. It is self-defeating, because the essence of the gospel of Jesus, is that what seems foreign and threatening to humanity is not: 'The kingdom of God has drawn near!' (Mk.1:15).

The missionaries are the first to bear witness to the ineffectiveness of past mission, hoping against hope, that social conditions will soon change, as in Buganda.

There has been no great break-through spiritually, for thousands of Karamojong remain virtually untouched, and many professing Christians are apathetic. But praise God, He is at work... (MM Sept. 1967:6)

Yet He was not overactive in Western education, which mainly produced a materialist outlook (MM May 1964:5), if it had any thorough effect. The teachers and senior classes of a primary school even mounted their own raid on Teso recently.

For most of the baptized, their traditional beliefs and customs were still more important than the christian [sic] practices. Inside they became christians and outside the church they lived according to their tradition. (Lorec 1981:21)
b. Missiological Models

i. God Incarnate as Word

The Western church has mostly been engaging a crude 'translation model' of mission, leading to a dual religious system, where the encounter with the invading culture is incomplete (Schreiter 1985:9ff., ch. VII). The Karamojong have held aloof from a religious system which does not address the vital things that their rituals do, and so faith and society have not been penetrated by Christian themes. The church has merely been a means for learning about, or entering, the wider world of the Ugandan or the European, if curiosity or dissatisfaction pointed that way. Lorec's (1981) desire to amend the invading culture to come to terms with the unceasing problems of polygyny, beer drinking, and divination expresses the wishes of neither side. Attempts at conceiving a Christian ethic for a cattle camp (Rowland 1982) have accurately, if unjustifiably, been dismissed as unrepresentative of the Diocese of Karamoja. However, the written word is not, of itself, an incarnation; God is incarnate in culture.

ii. God Incarnate as Church

Among the VF, Novelli and La Braca have, almost alone in Karamoja, but in line with the RC trend of thinking in East Africa, striven for a more communicative encounter with culture. Novelli takes the local belief that the dead go to ere apolon, and asks many Karimojong:

why is it that every Karimojong village is known by the name of the elder which has started it, or, if it is new, by the elder who lives in it, and nobody mentions the elder of the ere apolon?...

it is true, we never thought of this fact, but certainly even the ere apolon must have his [sic] elder. And since heaven, sky is the place of God, the elder should be God. (Letter 8.2.89)
Dual systems of thought are avoided; instead, the Christian European is able to stimulate Karimojong thought towards completion. La Braca (1982) has published 19 dialogues on religious points in a local context to assist this process, but it still faces the problem of the RC church, existing the way it does in Karamoja, as the incarnation of its gospel in, and despite, the cultural context.

iii. Death and Resurrection of Culture

Both churches need look only to the gospel truth, given them by Jesus. ‘Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit.’ Jn.12:24. The vehicle of the gospel itself dies, if it is to give birth to new life. The invading culture of alien missionaries must die, if it is not to veil the glory of the fulness of God—which they came to impart— from their own eyes, as well as their hearers’, who already have a profound knowledge of Him.
To have concentrated on the story of mission alone would have entailed a drastic loss of perspective. A Creator God extends far beyond the structures of the Christian church, and to see what His will in any particular place requires an examination of its mediation through the history and culture associated with it, not just the unilateral self-communication of the invading culture, to which the writer belongs. Before missionaries entered Karamoja they had the excuse that European understanding of Africa was very primitive. Now that can no longer be said. The debris of invading cultures can now be cleared from Karamoja and space allowed for the development of Christian local theology.

A. ONE GOD

Mission, in spite of us missionaries, has not completely failed in Karamoja. Rada D-H was told by Peter Cartwright that she was ‘not morally qualified to teach’ her houseboy, so he was dubious of admitting him to Lotome. She explained to a Karimojong elder, ‘The missionary says he does not want Muya in his school, because he says I cannot teach him the words of God.’

The elder listened gravely. "But what can he mean?," he said, shaking his head sadly. "What can he mean? The Karimojong and the Europeans too, they have only one God." (Letter 20.3.90)

We in the West have tried to segregate God's world into autonomous compartments from which we boast a detached but panoramic view. All phenomena can be interpreted by our particular science or faith. Those not initiated into it
are excluded. Those with pre- or non-scientific views are written off as superstitious or ignorant, and cannot enter into the personal liberation of Western education. Non-Christians lack the salvation of Western Christians, so are destined for hell. The Karamojong have remained ‘pagans’, but it is the Christian, as the secular humanist, or the Muslim, who has denied (akipeg) the faith of the Karamojong, and deserves the epithet, ekapegan. Christians in Karamoja should be sharing a ‘theological vision of the world’, not the humanistic one of ‘modern thought’, which reserves knowledge for the few in the vain attempt to secure élitist culture (Bernardi 1977:3).

There is ‘one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all and in all’ Eph. 4:6. Without trying to pre-empt the major questions of judgment and salvation, the history of Karamoja has shown that there is no absolute distinction, no inherent moral superiority, that marks those who profess Christ from those who do not, ‘for all once sinned, and continually fall short of the glory of God’ Rom.3:23. Indeed, human goodness is not strictly comparable across the cultures. To the European a good African friend is one who never asks for material assistance; to the African he cannot be a good friend if he does not. The Karamojong have shown themselves surprisingly tolerant of the Europeans’ customs, foibles, and tantrums in their land.
B. THE WORD AND WISDOM OF GOD

Mission is not a hopeless task: 'the truth of Christianity has been believed by many people...' (Lorec 1981:21), even if normative practices are not observed. The Word of God can cross cultures as happened when a large group of Ugandan missioners went to 3 cattle camps, preached on the Good Shepherd, Jn.10:11, and at least 130 herdsmen, guns in hand, knelt to receive Jesus Christ as their Saviour. It is one thing to communicate the Word in an instant; quite another to gather believers in a church for a lifetime. Just as many of the evangelists will not be communicant members for long, so those without clothes and education will never enter the Christian church, as presently constituted.

To depend only on the power of Word, real though it is, ignores the way that God sustains the world. Relying exclusively on the Word which continually eludes our grasp and expectation is to substitute our own predilections for God's revelation, in which case communication is pre-empted. If communities are to be continually sustained by the abiding mediation of God, then recourse must also be had, as exemplified by the Karamojong, to Wisdom. This is a thoroughly Biblical approach, as the OT Wisdom Literature and Mt.11:19, 12:42, 13:54; Lk.11:49; I Cor.1:24,30; Eph.1:8,17, 3:10 demonstrate. Wisdom is implicit, as well as expressed, in the culture, that domain of organization in human society -- that pattern preventing the triumph of chaos -- which is the Wisdom of God. Christ does not have to be hauled overland in crates to Karamoja; He is there.
C. THE SPIRIT OF GOD’S TIME

Similarly, the Holy Spirit is at work, even in the change and apparent chaos of history, bringing the nations into contact with each other to give a fuller understanding of the God who lets man come to know himself. Western man, however, must oppose himself. In order to know anything, he doubts everything, and so can reconcile himself with nothing. The Christian European missionary is typically dualist in outlook. He has been given the light, but the gloom of the African night encircles him, countered by insubstantial, flickering sparks. He stands against a dark and overpowering world, so culture appears as principalities and powers which must be conquered, but seldom are. The darkness continues, and more missionaries are needed until their faith in the light is exhausted. Yet the whole of Africa shares the metaphor of light and dark, coming to terms with good and evil within its society.

Indeed, God for the Karamojong is an indispensable premise, while for the European, He is an optional, philosophical problem, which doubt hesitates to accept in the failure to resolve contradictions. A mission, made possible out of the wealth amassed by the brewery of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton & Co. and the tobacco factories of W.D. & H.O. Wills & Co. produced Karamojong children who refused to bring water for their parents’ beer or snuff for the elders, and called it revived Christianity (Lorec 1981:16). Such revivals are short-lived, and Christianity does not exist apart from real human communities.

Hence, there is no need to speculate here on constructing a Christian Karamojong ethic, ecclesiology, or
Christology. This task can be left to the wise of Karamoja, to the elders and the divines, once given the Christian revelation, perhaps introduced by the communal evangelism of Donovan (1976), which allows Africans to widen and enrich the expression of Christian faith by employing local terms and concepts, undreamed of elsewhere, instead of inflicting Ngakaramojong with esakramentu. They already have a God who is transcendent and immanent. They fear God and pray to Him, who is present at the sacrifice of their cattle which encapsulate what is unifying, true, and good in their culture, as well as in the wider world. For all their sins, their pragmatic view of the world is crowned by an inherently triune God, while Europe must separate phenomena and noumena, the world and God, and only see duality.

Despite the common confession that 'the words of God' given by Christians 'are good', Karamojong leaders have enculturated neither Biblical nor ecclesiastical beliefs and practices into their religion, leaving them in the chaos of alien cultures (Sebeok 1987:1,163-8) on the fringe of their world, which may be open to God, but not to the elders, unless the outsiders from there, adopt or at least acknowledge their rituality and sociality. Christian mission has sometimes unwillingly or unwittingly, but often deliberately, attempted to replace the traditional culture and, in doing so, has enculturated a few loyal converts into a Western lifestyle who are no longer Karamojong in the eyes of ordinary people. If the Christian church will not or cannot be established within Karamojong culture, she may not claim to be the Holy Catholic Church, for her universality will have foundered on the particularity of Karamoja.
Footnotes to V.

1. Since it was the older ones who responded they may have sensed that the recent excesses of the warriors had introduced a sense of guilt and instability. As usual revival also brought the worst out of the church: 'The fighting and indiscipline among those who went to the Cattle Camps, and since, is bad and I fear will tear us apart.' (Letter 6.89 Bond)

2. RCs, especially, have been responsible for the unilateral introduction of loanwords, which converts must accept as part of the package of faith eg. Ek(e)lesya, episkopi, ekonfirmasyo, ebatisimu, emisa, Noeli, Paska, ekaaso. Novelli and La Braca (1980) is a trenchant criticism, not representative, of their own tradition.