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Paula Hirsch Foster Collection

Finding Guide and Supplemental Material

Finding Guide to the Paula Hirsch Foster Collection DRAFT

<https://hdl.handle.net/2144/14257>

Boston University

Finding Guide to Physical Collection: Paula Hirsch Foster.

Series Coding Scheme:

Note: A through E refer to a system used by Foster to organize her multiple journals.

Journals marked "A" are generally interviews with native Acholi speakers. Journals marked "B" are generally observations, or descriptions of interactions/informal interviews which grew out of observations. "C" and "D" are yet to be determined as I was unable to discern a consistent pattern. "E" journals are transcriptions of official documents or records.

Complete Series List:

- A: typed journal "A"
- B: typed journal "B"
- C: typed journal "C"
- D: typed journal "D"
- E: typed journal "E"
- F: handwritten note cards
- G: handwritten lineage chart
- H: handwritten notes (8.5 x 11)
- I: hand-drawn map
- J: handwritten draft of article or portion of thesis
- K: typed draft of article or portion of thesis
- L: copy of article by author other than Paula Hirsch Foster
- M: slide
- N: 16 mm film
- O: letter
- P: published map
- Q: gov't document
- R: bound publication
- S: miscellaneous

Folder List:

note: new series begin in bold

new folder numbers should not be added until the final arrangement stage

<i>Box</i>	<i>Series</i>	<i>O/F</i>	<i>New Folder #</i>	<i>Topic</i>
I				Kinship, Lineage, Marriage
I				Original Box Label: "Kinship"
I	-	a		Original Folder "Kinship Terms"
I	-	b		Original Folder "<u>David Kochler</u>"- <i>This may be unconnected</i>
I	-	c		Original Folder "Kinship"
I	-	d		Original Folder (no label)
I	F	a		Kinship Charts
I	F	b		Health 2 notecards. "Problems of women": sick children, barrenness (infertility).
I	F	b		<i>Jal/Joya</i> (Friendship) 5 pages of notes about male and female agemates.
I	F	b		<i>Kiir</i> (action indicating wish for the death of another)

			1 notecard
I	F	b	Kinship First born; authority; importance of genitor. Kinship terms. Grandparents.
I	F	b	Lineage Patriline in Acholi. Female agnatic kinship. Lineage and property, status and inheritance
I	F	b	Marriage 4 pages of notes and lineage charts
I	F	b	Religion (notes on the works of other authors) Evans-Pritchard's <i>Nuer Religion</i> . Mugar Memorial Library Stacks (BL2480 .N7 F56) Robert Bellah's <i>Beyond Belief: essays on religion in a post-traditional world</i> . Mugar Memorial Library Stacks (BL60 .F703) Mary Douglas, <i>Purity and Danger: an analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo</i> . Mugar Memorial Library Stacks (GN494 .D6 1980)
I	F	b	Sex A few pages, social norms.
I	F	c	Court cases – partially in Acholi Small batch of notes with dates in 1955.
I	H	a	Court cases In English and Acholi
I	H	a	Kinship 2pp
I	H	a	Kinship terminology Many pages of notes and charts
I	H	b	Gender roles 2 pages public vs private roles
I	H	c	Kinship The classification of kin. Affinal terms.
I	H	c	“The Inevitability of Change” 1 page notes: “Who are the modernizers?”
I	H	c	Lineage 3 pages terms, notes, charts
I	H	c	Political Divisions One-half page notes.
I	J	c	Gang (homestead) One page describes what it looks like and who [social categories: co-wives, etc] lives there
I	J	c	Kinship About 80 pages notes and charts
I	J	d	Lineage Kinship terms and notes
I	K	d	Chapter 1, pp 1-3, 9; Chapter 2, pp 1-18

			Called Chapter 2 here but moved to Chapter 1 in later drafts
I	K	d	Chapter 2, p. 7, 10A, and note
I	K	d	Chapter 2, pp. 20-60 (some missing)
I	K	d	Chapter 2, p 117 A-E
I	K	d	Chapter 3, pp 150-182 (missing some)
I	O	a	Drafts of 2 letters about kinship terminology
I	O	c	Draft of a letter about kinship terminology To Ben Omara.
I	S	a	Kinship terminology Glossary
II	-	-	<u>Weddings and Marriage</u>
II	-	a	Original Folder a (no label)
II	-	b	Original Folder b (no label)
II	-	c	Original Folder c (no label)
II	-	d	Original folder "From Birth to Marriage"
II	K	b	Thesis "Birth to Marriage" p. 1-145 with notes Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. pp. 1-145 with notes. Socialization. "In Acholi the fundamental supreme meaning of life lies in the perpetuation of one's own name in the lineage. This means fame, prestige, and power for those individuals who have many children and opposite for those who have not." Obedience training and independence training. Relativity of values: stealing from kinsman a sin, from European not a sin.
II	K	c	Thesis "Childhood" 30 pp. Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. 30 pp. "This chapter begins to examine the female life cycle to discover the range of roles open to them." Childbearing. Mothers-in-law and co-wives. Attitude to twins. Different views of male and female children. Foster divides developmental cycle of the girl into 5 main periods. Baby naming ceremony. Elder siblings takes care of baby, play with it, tend it, try to soothe it. Toilet training. Children over age of 3 encouraged to leave breast so mother can conceive again. Learning to share food and playthings. Playing house. Liars are shamed. Growing responsibilities. Girls imitate mothers. Page 20: "Girls talk of 'our baby,' 'our gardens,' 'our new wife' showing their identification with the family."
II	K	d	Thesis "Chapter 2" 10 pp.

- II K a **Thesis "Second Stage" 50 pp.**
Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. 50 pp. First page: "The second stage in the life of a married woman begins with her pregnancy ceremony ..." Second page: "The independence of a new house is assured by the gift of land to the new couple. All Acholi women have a claim to the land that lies directly behind their houses."
- II K c **Thesis "Kiir" 13 pp.**
Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. 13 pages. "The Acholi say *kiir* is a moral law, an *ongon* handed down from the ancestors that takes care of *ball*, wrong-doing, fault, mischief, enmity, and hatred among agnatic kinsmen. Thus, it is used to regulate relationships between all members of the homestead, not only the married couple..."
- II K c **Thesis - Wedding 20 pp.**
Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. 20 pp. *Achapa* = marriage when there is extreme hunger and the girl is given [in marriage] to buy the food. An insult to say your mother or you have been bought for a basket of millet. Foster has no records of *achapa*. Women resent it when their marriage is arranged not by their father but by his heir, unless that heir is a uterine brother. Women do not question his legal right but don't trust him. Men apparently do not resent arrangement of marriage on their behalf. Page 9 – male college graduate came home on holiday and found his father had married a wife for him – praised father for generosity and good will. Apparently marriage makes little change in the life of men (page 10). Foster has no records of abduction now. Stages of getting married, who does what or says what when.
- II K c **Thesis "Chapter 3: Motherhood, Wifhood" 20 pp.**
Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. 20 typed pages: "The significance of Motherhood and Wifhood." "With marriage ... now she is an adult and as such acquires new rights and responsibilities." *Ci-wod* = son's wife. "A newly married woman is in the position of a young child. Many responsibilities and few rights": later, "the actual situation is not as onerous as it sounds." "Only with the birth of her first child does she acquire adulthood in her husband's lineage." *Min-*

			<i>Ot</i> = mother of a house. Tensions with co-wives, accusations when unable to conceive.
II	K	c	<p>Thesis "Part 3" p. 17-57 Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. Pp 17-57. Life as a married woman. Draft with margin notes. Says Acholi have many love songs. People marry for love. <i>Keny poro or perokeny</i> = elopement. However, “the legal, political, and social consequences of marriage are too important to ignore in favor of love.”</p>
II	K	d	<p>Thesis miscellaneous Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. 10 pp. Typed fragments.</p>
III	-	-	Religion, Ritual, and Law
III	-	-	Original Box label “Typed Thesis in Loose Leaf”
III	-	a	<p>Original Folder - "Religion" Paula’s note: “Educated view of rel.” <i>Empty</i>.</p>
III	-	b	Original Folder - "Kiir"
III	-	c	Original Folder - "O. P'Bitek" (renamed “Acholi Religion - P’Bitek Okot’s Thesis”)
III	-	d	Original Folder - "Court Cases" Empty.
III	-	e	<p>Original Folder - "Ceremony" (renamed “Jok Dancing, Ceremonies, Names, Kir” In full folder says: <i>Jok</i> dancing, KULU, NGU, Ceremonies, <i>gato-agat</i> [sp?], Names – <i>Jok</i> – Bull – {illegible}; Illness, <i>Ajwaka</i>’s illness, <i>Kir</i> – definitions and degrees of.</p>
III	A	e	Daily activities - songs
III	A	e	Ritual – agricultural (in purple = not in box)
III	A	e	Ritual - funereal
III	A	e	Ritual - general
III	A	e	Ritual - hunting
III	A	e	Ritual - twins
III	A	d	<p>Suicide Several handwritten note pages + 4 typed pages. Jan. 7 {no year given}: Interview with Jeremiah Ajwayo, Odongo, a former <i>Rwot</i> from Patiko Kal clan, about personal and general experiences and impressions dealing with suicides. Acholi vocabulary includes <i>kwong</i>, <i>daa</i>, <i>cen</i>, <i>kiniga</i>, <i>lemic</i>, <i>piny oloyo dano</i>. Reasons for suicide (<i>deere</i> or <i>deene</i>, or <i>dano oto ki UNU</i>; to commit suicide: <i>Deene woko</i>); asked why people commit suicide, Jeremiah says <i>pi kiniga</i> – “for anger” or out of anger; suicide as a curse;</p>

Jeremiah's wife committed suicide because she was *ming* ("stupid" or "crazy" – it might be more nuanced than this because he does sound sympathetic), *Lok ma ma goro tye I wiye* ("Weak words were in her head"); she hanged herself. Jeremiah learned background from her sister at the inquest. He believes his wife's suicide was related to her heritage – her mother is from Aparanga - because he believes Aparanga people are prone to suicide due to *cen* {*he explains*}. Discusses why *Rwot* Olia killed his wife then committed suicide due to anger and shame at the example he was making as a *rwot*. Clan of Paimol also said to have a *cen* – "their *Rwot* made the curse that everyone should die as he did, by hanging himself up." People who committed suicide are not buried differently than anyone else. When Jeremiah was a *Rwot* he says he had jailed a man for attempting suicide by hanging. Says the man attempted suicide out of anger because at that time the government compelled him and others to work one month at a time on the roads in Gulu. Jeremiah: "You can go to jail for that, people can't agree that you should do a thing like that [commit suicide]. If Acoli, when they hear a person talking about killing himself they can't agree, they will say right away, don't do it, nobody wants to see a person die before his time." Financial setbacks are no reason for any man to commit suicide; instead, men kill themselves when they lose their children or brothers, "your whole *gang* dies in the fire, then that is enough for you to kill yourself too." Jeremiah makes an analogy to "long ago" in war, if a man's brothers were killed in the war then he would enter into the war, too, "just randomly, so that he may die, too." "Let me die together with my brothers, what shall I do all by myself." A girl could –theoretically- commit suicide if she is not allowed to marry the man she wants.

III B a
 III B e
 III B c
 III B e
 III B b
 III B e
 III C e

Colonialism: religion/politics (in purple=not in box)

Daily activities - hunting

Law - general court notes

Ritual - health

Ritual - Kiir

Ritual - war

Ritual (Jok Rituals) (folder still to be scanned)

Notes on folder: Jok Rituals

*Oct. 12: >Mwaka (year) ceremony of Min Tito.
>Thanksgiving to the Joks for the health of Min Tito.
>Preparations for the ceremony.>Preferences of the Joks (spirits). >Min Tito is possessed by a series of Joks who state demands & are appeased with food & drink. >The women suggest that they yeyo (shake) Foster's Jok so that she may become an ajwaka (traditional healer) & make money by doing tyet (divination).*

>People perform the Mwaka ceremony each year at harvest.

*June 5: >Wer Jok of Veronica Ajok. >Wer Jok = Jok Song. > They are singing the Jok but no possession comes. >They rest and drink beer.
>How the Jok caught Veronica and what it did to her.*

*>The ajwaka (traditional healers) explain jok to Foster. >Some of the women are possessed.
>Binding the Jok in the body. >Foster privately questions the authenticity of Min Tot's possessions.
>Veronica is finally possessed & dances. >The ajwaka tricks Foster into leaving before they feed Veronica's Jok. >Foster reflects on being thrown out.*

*Sep. 20: >Giving food to Orog, Jok of Veronica Lakwece. >Foster brings a chicken for the ritual to Min Tito & weeds with the women. >Orog = Kulu.
>They yeno(sp?) (shake) aja (gourd rattles) & sing.
>Veronica is possessed & is led to kill the chicken.
>Foster goes home & returns with white friends whom the women comment on. >They cook the chicken for Veronica's Jok & Min Tito does tyet (divination) for a man about his sick daughter.
>Maria & Veronica shave their heads for Jok Kulu.
>They sing, Veronica is possessed & they feed her.
>Elijah, husband of Veronica, refuses to participate because of his religion. >Veronica is possessed by Ngu. >People tell Elijah he needs to pay Min Tito, the ajwaka (traditional healer).*

Agricultural Rituals:

March 24: >Lapful. >Foster shows up too early for Lapful. >Min Akumu tells Foster some of the rules of Lapful. > The food of Lapful.

Kiir Rituals:

Nov. 6: >Fixing the ball (mistake) of the Paico

child.

>Drumming protocol & inheritance. >Men argue about the founding myths of certain clans.
>Thomasi prepares the drum & exhorts the boy to respect his elders. >They buko (ritually shake a chicken) the boy & the drum with a white chicken.
>The boy's kiir was to have beaten the drum.
>Everyone is smeared. >A dyel (goat) is sacrificed.
>How goats are sacrificed in different rituals.
>How a rwot (chief) is buried.
>Thanksgiving ceremonies
>Women's ceremonial role. >Tyet (divination) predicts syphilis, death, birth, no hunger. >division of meat. >They feed the drum.

Twin Rituals:

Nov. 3: >Nolo Rut (to cut? the twin). >How Opiyu the twin, died. >Foster gets an Acholi name. >They eat without salt. >Why are they doing the Nolo Rut.
>Pen (idol) songs. >Everyone is smeared with ashes.

>Some pen ceremonies. <Binding with bomo (creeper), laa (hide) & pala (ochre). >No ajwaka (traditional healer) is needed for the ceremony.
>They play coro (a game played with seeds & 4 rows of holes). >Rules of coro.

Feb. 8: Myel Rudi (Dance of the twins).

>A description of the jok pen (wooden idol of the spirit). >Foster is greeted by being smeared with ashes. >The women are engaged in some sexually explicit dancing. >Adok tells Foster the reason for the Myel Rudi. >Adok tells Foster how to prepare for a Myel Rudi. >Attitudes toward twins.

>Sexually suggestive singing & dancing. >Rite with the Min (mother) and Won (father) Jok & their children.

Oct. 8. >Ryemo Kulu, a ceremony to bring in the milk of a mother of newborn twins. >Twins were only getting milk of another nursing woman after she finished nursing her own. >They yengo (shake) aja (gourd rattles) & sin(g) but the Jok doesn't come to Min Tito (who is ajwaka).

>Jok Bakka comes & tells them to perform a charcoal ceremony. >They sing Min Rudi's (mother of twins) jok and she starts to dance, but the jok won't speak. >They bring Min

Rudi out of possession.

Oct. 9 > Ryemo Kulu continues. > They yengo (shake) more for Min Rudi's (mother of twins) jok. > They bind Min Tito with bomo (creeper), Keno leaves & she holds a black chicken to chase away Kulu. > Min Tito runs away & passes out. > They remove the things from Min Tito & perform a ritual to drive away Kulu. > Then Min Rudi's jok comes. > Jok asks for food & says it will bring the milk to the sick woman. > Min Rudi comes out of possession and there is milk. > They prepare food & Min Rudi goes into possession & eats with everyone. > They bring kwette (beer) for the Jok. > Men, women & joks. > Gender identification of Kulu. > The women smear each other. > They discuss payment for the ritual.

III D a

Ajwaka (traditional healers) Nov. 11
Yosepu says that ajwaka (traditional healer) ceremonies are all lies told to fool people and make money. > Only the medicine given by the ajwaka is any good. > Yosepu's medicine is better than ajwaka ceremonies and he asks nothing for it. > Women are gullible. > Some ajwaka are good and are helped by Lubanga (God) but many are just frauds. > Foster finds out an acquaintance lied to her about not being ajwaka. > Foster has a cold.

III D b

Health (folder is located in Box XIc)

Nov. 12: Paula is taking a sick child to the dispensary; the mother complains that no one is caring about the illness of her child because they are all drunk with the beer prepared for the funeral of Luabromoi; the child is given penicillin, cough medicine and quinine for bronchitis; Paula is sick.

III D c

Council Meeting/Court Cases

(folder is located in Box XIc)

Nov. 14: One-half page. Paula is angry about abuse of power by a court official because he kept 60 people waiting for him and he isn't 'democratic' [she elaborates]; Paula notes Acholi bigotry toward other groups: A woman had been killed and people were relieved the killer wasn't Acholi but was Ankole; they subsequently "abused the Ankole" [as a group or individual is not clear].

III D c

Religion

(folder is located in Box XIc)

Nov. 5: Paula is angry to have been excluded from the non-Christian side of a funeral. Religious syncretism.

III D c

Ritual

(folder is located in Box XIc)

March 23: Paula is angry about Alfredo's attempts to bar her from the *Lapful* (most important god in the Palaro pantheon, whose function is to give fertility in every sense of the word) ceremony; she reflects on her position in the community; **Nov. 6:** Paula reflects on the role of the "mother of Patiko" *Min Ocen* as *daker* (*da-ker*) in the ceremony [what kind is not mentioned] to fix the *ball* (mistake) of the Pairo boy; she compares Acholi politics to British peerage; the role of the *Rwot*; Feb. 8: Paula wonders about the significance of the sexual license in the *Myel Rut* (dance of the twin); she asks about the properties of twins; she cultivates the friendship of an *ajwaka* (traditional healer); Paula's Acholi is improving; she wonders about her status as the *chi woda* (wife of the *rwot*); she is concerned about rumors of a leopard (*kwatch*) in her tree. It seems she is in Patiko because she mentions taking a couple to visit Samuel Baker's camp.

III F b

Rwot (chief)

4 note cards on norms and expectations. "To become *Rwot*: feed the people, cook for them and they say generous, cares for others" [sic]. "*Rwot* quality: generous, feeds, wise, responsible. The man in the middle: between the ones who killed and those who want the *kwor* – he stays in the middle – till he is made them [sic] drink *oput*. Avert danger. This is primary job. Man in the middle: must be impartial judge. Do not bend to either side but make decisions impartially above all wisely. Man in the middle: like the [*illegible* - queen?] termite in the nest – surrounded by others – his duty is to get up and see that the work is done, in Kal itself and in chiefdom." *Lotic Kal* – "the ones who do the ceremony like beating the *bul ker madit* – the *lotic kal* workers [?] of Kal – who are called Kal if they stay long enough – if long in Kal then they become Kal – called by the same name as Kal..."

{*continues*}.

III F b

Ritual – *Kiir* (action indicating wish for death of another)

1 note card, undated. Paula also spells it *kir* and writes, “*kir* - to refuse something given in a fit of fury and throw it away.” Continues why Nile = river Kiir.

III F c

Miscellaneous note cards written in Acholi
Approximately 30 note pages. One set headed Padibe Cases, June 4, 1956. Vocabulary includes *ladot, jago*.

III H c

Acholi History by General Characteristics
2 handwritten pages, no date, presumably written after 1965. Seems like a basic outline. *Selections:* “Uganda Prot. – establish 1894. No. Uganda – political creation – not Buganda – 80 tribal groups – 5 mil. People – 2/3 of people live in Kingdom. Chiefdoms, and just clan organization. Acholi – a Nilotic group of people. Kinship – organizing principle, people belong to their father’s family – women become members of husband’s family group. Large villages – under leadership of an elder who directed economic and social activities. Agriculture ... Cattle ... Family polygynous ... Pol. Org... chief... Superimpose Europeans – 3 periods – Begin 1911-12 –1930: Peace – pax Britannia. Change from hereditary to appointed chiefs. Tax. Schools – missions. Cash crop. People – dispersion of villages. Beginning of cash economy. Lessening of familial ties. People grumble wanting hereditary chiefs. 1930-1943: Return to hereditary chiefship. Proliferation of chiefships. Due to WWII not enough administrators to help disentangle lines of authority. Non-hereditary groups {illegible} abuse of hereditary system. 1943: Switch to general admin pattern of Uganda – District Council, County Council, Sub County, Parish Council. Practically self governing, primary education, agriculture, roads, {illegible} activities, tax. Now direct elections, advisory position of protectorate gov. Independence by 1961-65. Training of Africans to take over.”

III H c

Court Cases

Approximately 30 handwritten pages by Paula and at least one other person. One set dated July 2 1955 or February 7, 1955: titled “Central Native Court Gulu.” “Rwot county Aswa accuse Jago Gulu Division in Central Native Court of Langolkop [sp?] Madit for three offenses.” First offense:

“giving land to [*illegible*] without informing him after they have heard the case [sic] then Langolkop and the 4 members went to another room to talk about the case, after they have come back to the count hall.” Second offense: {*too confusing – sounds like Jago should have sent a case to County court*}. Third offense: {*unfortunately too hard to follow.*}

III H c

Miscellaneous notes written in Acholi

10 handwritten pages, no date, not Paula’s handwriting. One set is something about government, chiefs, factories; Buganda, Busoga, cities like Jinja, Kampala, Soroto. Heading of one other set is *Gato Agat*. Something about shrine (*abila*).

Third set in English: Boy Scout Promise: “On my honor I promised [sic] that I will do my best. To do my duty to God and the Queen. To help other people at all time. To Obey the Scout laws. “The Scout Laws: 1. A scout’s honour is to be trusted. 2. A scout is loyal to the Queen, his country, his scouters, his parents, his employers, and to those under him. ... through 10. A scout is clean in thought, word, and deed. The Scout motto: BE PREPARED.”

III H c

Suicide

5 handwritten pages, July 13 (no year). *A narrative that is very hard to follow*: a recounting? An actual experience? People were avoiding helping a drunk boy (age not clear); he wanted to commit suicide?

III H d

Court records of murder / suicide

Around 35 pages handwritten notes, charts, and lists -- undated. Not Foster’s handwriting. (*See her interpretations of same in folder III.K.g., Murder & Suicide.*) Murders: Lists of locations and numbers; handmade charts of names, dates, weapons, motives, cause of arrest, and judgment/sentence. Spear was predominant method of killing, followed by beating. 10 murders using a gun. Victim usually a family member or wife. In addition: A man who killed his own wife for “disobedience” was set free. Suicides: Predominant method of suicide was hanging with a rope. People who attempted suicide but did not succeed explained that they had wanted to die because they did not fit in for some reason: “clan people said I was spoiling the people”; “my

home is very far away and people trouble me.”

Rape: 3 cases with limited details, one of which concerned the alleged rape of a schoolgirl by a teacher at his home. Apparently 2 of the 3 defendants were acquitted.

III H e

Jok pantheon

3 handwritten pages, not Foster’s handwriting. *Joks* [actually *jogi*] for different locations and for different things (air, rain, etc.). *A little confusing overall* but one instance concerns a *Jok* “interpreter” who died: People thought the man was indeed dead and so they buried him. But the *Jok* had only hidden the man’s life: “you have buried him alive.”

III H g

Law - notes for court records (purple=not in box)

III H c

Miscellaneous notes in Acholi

III H e

Religion - Jok

III H b

Ritual – *Kiir* (*same as below?*)

III H b

***Kiir* (action indicating wish for death of another)**

7 handwritten pages, no dates. “*Kiir* – people who make a mistake – *ball* – do *kiir* – all not *ball* mistake [sic] is *kiir* ...” *Tumo* = sacrifice. ‘*Kiir* is only for *kaka* [clan], not between *kaka*...’ Bad wishes between people not of *kaka* result in fighting *lweny* and in court action where the one who did the *ball* will have to pay. All caps: You can’t *tumo dyel* and *romo* for non *kaka*.”

“There are 3 degrees of *kiir*, requiring a chicken, a goat and a female sheep as sacrifice in accordance with the seriousness of the offense...”

III I c

Map of Acholi District

Undated. Detailed hand-drawn map, 1 page.

III J b

Exogamy

About 20 handwritten pages, no date. Handwritten drafts by Foster including: Rules of marriage (who is marriageable and who not); several pages on Duties of Relatives at Funeral; Incorporation of Women Married into Lineage; “Acholi Believe People Cannot Die Without Being Killed;” Burial positions (“Men and women: head toward house door, feet towards bush so TIPU can go into house”); while theoretically women want children, some women have asked Foster for “medicine” for abortion (her term): “I should order some from America or bring the recipe and they will make it:

My telling of not having any interpreted as deliberate refusal to help out.”

III J c

Law

About 40 handwritten pages, no date. *Are pages out of order?* Foster’s handwritten notes. Among much else, “murder is a crime against an individual and his [*illegible*] group that effects [sic] the total society because it involves a disruption of social relations. As for suicide, it is not considered a crime at all in Acholi. It is at once a private mode of defiance against [*illegible*] and an escape from social pressure ... It is an individual decision.”

Some notes are in Acholi and English.

III K g

Murder and suicide

5 typed pages, undated. Paul Bohannan was going to publish an edited volume about homicide and suicide. Paula Hirsch Foster was to write the chapter on Acholi. Other authors were to be John Beattie, Aidan Southall, Lloyd Fallers, and others. {*This book was later published - without a PHF contribution - as African Homicide and Suicide, edited by Paul Bohannan, New York: Atheneum, 1967, c1960.*} Each essay was supposed to cover: words, categories, and notions concerning homicide and suicide; what emerges from the charts that would accompany the articles; and a half-dozen cases considered typical or of special interest for the “tribe or situation” studied. She used court records from Acoli District Court at Gulu which had material on preliminary investigations as well as judgments of the high court. The data includes 224 cases of murder committed between the years 1911-1954, and 122 cases of suicide between the years of 1925-1954. She finds the material unreliable in part because witchcraft and intra-clan problems cannot be discussed openly among Europeans (e.g., in a public forum of court). There is also a list comparing meaning of murder in Europe and Acoli.

III L -

Miscellaneous articles

Includes “The Magical Roots of African Political Power” by Roy Willis (1969); “Girls’ Puberty Songs and their Relation to Fertility, Health, Morality and Religion among the Zulu” by Eileen Jensen Krige (undated, torn from a book); “Absence Makes the Heart Grow Fonder: Some Suggestions Why Witchcraft Accusations are Rare among East

- African Pastoralists” by P. T. W. Baxter (no date on document); “Twinship and Symbolic Structure” by Aidan Southall (undated manuscript); “Belief and the Problem of Women” by Edwin Ardener (undated; perhaps chapter from his book *The Voice of Prophecy and Other Essays*, 1989); “Ritualization of Women’s Life-Crises in Bugisu” by J.S. La Fontaine (no date noted); and “Spirit, Twins, and Ashes in Labwor, Northern Uganda” by R. G. Abrahams (no date noted).
- III L c**
Articles by Okot P’Bitek
 2 articles published in *Uganda Journal*. “The Concept of *Jok* among the Acholi and Lango” (*Uganda Journal* 27, 1, 1963: pp. 15-29).
 “Acholi Concept of Fate—Woko, Wilobo, and Ru-Piny” (*Uganda Journal* 29, 1, 1965: pp. 85-93).
- III L c**
Thesis: Acholi Religion – Okot p’Bitek
 Undated, no cover page. 256 pages typed. Perhaps formed basis for his book *Religion of the Central Luo* (1971).
- III Q f**
Acholi Native Council
 Approximately 100 pages, 1923-1943. Document from Provincial Headquarters, Northern Province. First page: “Acholi Native Council, Resolutions 1923. 1. Child marriage shall be abolished...” Resolution 1927. Correspondence to and from District Commissioner’s office, Gulu, Northern Province. Loose pages 1944—1947. Letter from Acholi Council to new Provincial Commissioners, 1946, asking for, among other things, urgent help to build many more primary schools. Document from 1945 lists names of new Jagi and also recommending 2 women by name (one from C.M.S. Gulu, the other from C.M.S. Kitgum) to be appointed to Acholi Council; a Native Administration Prison for Women
- III S c**
The Uganda Calendar 1955
 A wall calendar with cover showing a “Nile Fisherman” with raised spear. Other photos depict “Threshing, Winnowing and Pounding Millet, Teso, Eastern Province,” “Evening, Lake Kyoga,” “Musoga, Story Teller,” “Kampala from the Old Fort, Nakasero Hill,” “Oribi,” “Hima Dancing: Slowly Weaving Arms Imitate the Long Horns of their Cattle,” “Sezibwa Falls, Buganda,” “Plucking Tea,” “Sebei Country, North of Mt Elgon, Eastern

			Province,” “Acholi Homestead, Northern Province,” “The Royal Mile, Budongo Forest, near Masindi.” <i>November page is missing.</i>
III	S	c	<p>Village Composition Statistics 4 pages. Villages unnamed, number 1 through 7. Categories include religious affiliation, female-headed households, clan numbers.</p>
III	S	d	<p>Acholi District Court murder/suicide record 1911 – 1954 Approximately 120 typed pages/lists. An unknown number of pages are duplicates. All presumably re-typed from official records. Categories: File Number, Name of Accused, Name of Deceased, Type of Weapon, Motive, Arrest (by whom or how; ex: going to Jago), Judgment, and Remarks.</p> <p>Murder attempts and suicide attempts are noted as well, with coroner or police note on “motive.” Seems to be wide age-range of adults. Some suicide and murder data mixed together on same sheets. Sometimes people commit suicide because they suffer from illness and/or socially isolated; sometimes due to dispute: 1949, case I.56.21, a 37-yr-old woman committed suicide allegedly because her husband had not added to dowry since 1936; also 1949, case I.59.22, a 3-yr-old man committed suicide allegedly because “he was unable to marry and was still a bachelor.” Common method of suicide: hanging by rope from tree or roof. Murder cases include: Second murder case (Feb. 19, 1914 – though dates are out of order – and file number 5.14) is killing of Okellomwaka ... Among the remarks (by whom?): “...This is pure and simple <i>kwor</i>. Revenge.” <u>Selected murder cases:</u> 1927: a woman accused of killing her 2-month-old baby by throwing the baby on the ground because she was not allowed to marry the baby’s father, who was apparently her clan brother; she was sentenced to death. 1922: 18-yr-old Kal Rwot of Padibe apparently takes away a constable’s gun and shoots him; turns himself in to District Commissioner, says he was defending a friend; among remarks: “Assessors think the main reason for the killing was that Accused wanted to get a <i>MOI</i> that all young bloods want esp. if chiefs”; sentenced to death – sentence carried out. 1924: man in Lamogi beats wife to death – she was sick and had refused</p>

intercourse with him; arrested by the *Rwot*; man says he was very sorry, never meant to kill her; man was released, “if compensation accepted, to Acholi custom payd [sic], 1 cow to deceased’s father, 3 goats to chief.” 1937: *Rwot* Sira Makwonyero of Patiko Kal in dispute with people of Pachwa over a wife who left him; “a messenger of the *Rwot* runs back to Kal spreading the war cry that the *Rwot* has been killed by the Pachwa; 30-50 people come armed with spears. Fight, one man killed, 3 others wounded. 28 are accused, 7 sentenced to death. “*Rwot* makes bargain, to die for the 7, he is hanged, the others get away with 8 months prison for rioting.”

IV	-	-	<u>History, Geography, Demography</u>
IV	-	-	Original Box Label “Geography, History, Annual Reports, Court Cases, Census”
IV	-	a	No Folder
IV	-	b	Original Folder b (mailing envelope)
IV	-	c	Orig. Fold. c: History, Geography, Demography
IV	-	d	Original Folder d "Chapter 1"
IV	-	e	Original Folder e "Chapter 1"
IV	E	a	“Provincial Annual Reports” 1912-1923 Topics: Trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness); Cotton; Road construction; court registration; poll tax; education; governance (colonial); chief clothing & regalia; raiding; native courts; policing; rinderpest; cash flow; export crops; industry; hunting; rainfall; game; malaria; guinea worm; missions; polygyny; groundnuts; sim-sim; prison; ginnery; meningitis; smallpox; corruption; famine; hides; locusts; beetles; migration; influenza; sweet potato; malaria; millet; pneumonia (livestock); trypanosomiasis (livestock); East Coast Fever (livestock); Amalgamation of chieftainships; green fly; ploughing; witchcraft; chief succession; hoe sale; bridge construction; adultery; murder; suicide; road closure; portorage; cattle; sheep’ goats; brick making; masonry; carpentry; wicker.
IV	E	a	“Memorandum for the Royal Commission” Topics: Land; area; population; population density; game sanctuaries; <i>trypanosomiasis</i> ; National Park; subsistence; crops; cash crops; land tenure; local government.

IV	E	a	<p>“Acholi Native Council Resolutions, 1923-1948” (actually only covers to 1937) Topics: marriage; adultery; child custody; miscarriage; assault; negligence; intent; theft; levirate; polygyny (in Christian context); divorce; domestic violence; poll tax; chief’s meat; bridewealth; incest; illegitimacy; boundaries; <i>Rwot</i> elections; Acholi government; Acholi unification; ivory.</p>
IV	F	d	<p>Chapter Outline – Chapter 1 Handwritten notes: “Emphasize my great similarity to Evans-Pritchard ... No land shortage ... political alliances anywhere ... sorcery for (maternal?) line only ... Etc.”</p>
IV	H	c	Demographics
IV	H	d	Misc. notes on lineage composition, incest, Chapt 1 outline, bridewealth, Acholi District Council members 1912, 1916-17, 1925
IV	H/K	a	Notes on J.P. Barber, I.F. Thomas, A. Alpers, B.W. Larylands / Draft of Acholi History
IV	J	c	Draft of Acholi geography & history (Chapt.1)
IV	J	d	Drafts of “History”, “Political organization” and “Sociological life” (Chapt. 1)
IV	K	d	Drafts of geography, history, linguistics & political organization (Chapt. 1)
IV	K	d	Drafts of socialization, child nurses (Chapt. 2)
IV	K	e	<p>Thesis “Chapter 2” [however, this may be Chap 1] Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. Approximately 80 and handwritten & typed pages; typed pages seem to have been edited and have critical margin notes by someone else. Chapter heading: “Chapter 2, Cultural Background.” Extensive descriptions of political systems. Family and lineage systems. Systems of society inculcated into the individual. <i>Ladongo Kal</i> or <i>Jagi</i> (elders of the courtyard). Two main elements of religion are <i>jok</i> (supernatural forces) and <i>tipo</i> (shadow or spirit, ancestral spirits). Folder includes an Anthropology “tribes” quiz from Fall 1958.</p>
IV	L	a	Agriculture - Food Storage
IV	L	a	“The Acholi” –Seligman & Seligman; “Acholi Customs” – Capt. E. T. N. Grove; “Acholi History, 1860-1901 I” – Sir John Milner Gray
IV	L	a	“The Arms Trade in East Africa in the late 19 th century,” R. W. Beachey

IV	L	a	“The Distribution of Traditional Types of Food Storage Containers in Uganda”, D. N. McMaster
IV	L	a	“Early Travellers in Uganda: 1860-1914” –B. W. Langlands
IV	L	a	“The Jalwo Customary Law Especially as Regards Land Tenure” – Gordon Wilson
IV	L	a	“The Lamogi Rebellion, 1911-1912” –A. B. Adimola
IV	L	a	“Lwoo Migrations” – Father J. P. Crazzolaro
IV	L	a	“The Sudanese Troops in Uganda: from Lugard’s Enlistment to Mutiny, 1891-97” -- O. W. Furley
IV	L	b	4 Articles and references about Acholi history, sent to Paula Hirsch Foster by Ron Atkinson “The Changing Status of Women in Toro, Western Uganda” by Melvin L. Perlman (1965); “Early Settlement in Western Acholi” by Ronald R. Atkinson (1974); “Adaptation and Change in Acholi 1850-1900” by R. Atkinson (1972); “State Formation and Development in Western Acholi” by R. R. Atkinson (1972). > 12-page bibliography on Acholi and other Ugandans. > 4-page letter to Foster from Atkinson, March 12, 1974.
IV	P	a	Maps of Acholi District
IV	P	a	(Maps) – “Forest Reserves, Acholi District”; “Acholi District Schools marked”
IV	Q	a	“Annual Report on the Northern Province” 1954 Pp. 1-36: Table of Contents: General; Administrative & Political; Economic; Social; Conclusion (with a personal retrospect by departing Provincial Commissioner R. M. Bere, Feb 16, 1955). Appendix A, B, C, D, E. + 1-page history of the Sir Samuel Baker School in Gulu, founded 1953.
IV	Q	a	Land tenure proposals
IV	S	a	School "pass" {was noted but not in box – where?}
IV	S	d	Reference for Bernard Barber <i>Social Stratification</i> (1957) card
V	-	-	{This box had no heading}
V	-	a	Acholi Bibliography and notes on bibliography Original folder; empty.
V	F	a	“Census notes ?” 5 notecards. Card 1: “Desires for male and female children are connected with meanings of marriage – obligations of so/do as opposed to their spouses and

spouses' parents." Card 2: "Put Lukiuro first. Blood and fertility..." {and rules}. Card 3: illegible. Cards 4 and 5: Numbers of [what?] in Gulu, Kitgum, and many other localities.

V J -

No Folder – Chapt. 1 Notes and Draft

About 7 handwritten pages. 5 levels from Household to Society. Notes about Nuer: what is a tribe ("the largest community which considers that disputes between its members should be settled by arbitration"), a political organization of a society ("is that aspect of the total organization which is concerned with the [illegible] and regulation of the use of physical force"). More notes on the Nuer. Notes from Fortes & Evans-Pritchard's *Political Systems in African Society*. A political organization = maintenance of social order within a territorial framework by the organized exercise of coercive authority and through the use or possible use of physical force." "To define political structure we have to look for a territorial community which is united by the rule of law," etc. Notes from *Nuer* pp. 119, 120, 121, 122. Exam questions from Northwestern University, Anthropology Department, 1958-59. More notes: Paula compares Acholi and Alur. "There was never a sense of 'tribal' unity and neither the word Acholi nor the concept Acholi society was {norm?}. Only in 3-4 or 10 percent of Acholi chiefdoms did chiefly lineages claim common descent and consider themselves bound to peaceful relationships. Among the rest of the chiefdoms relationships varied from occasional mutual assistance to warfare." An original myth about cattle and land. Some took cattle but the one who took the land on which people could live and graze their cattle became the *Rwot* and his title was *Won Lobo* – the owner of all the land, and all the people have to pay tribute to him..." {*A lot was crossed out.*}

V K -

No Folder "Thesis outline" drafts, typed

About 20 pages. Begins, "In late 1954, a Ford Foundation Research Fellowship was granted to me to study the changing status and role of women in Acholi society..." "... Thus it became clear that a study of women must be based on a detailed investigation of the organization of the society and the effect of each aspect of social organization on

the position of women.” Consider women “in terms of a set of interlocking institutions such as marriage, family, economic activity, religion, etc. then we have a reliable basis for valid generalizations on the status and role of women.” Despite patrilineal structure, “in everyday life, Acholi women have a considerable freedom of choice and enjoy many informal privileges in the sphere of food distribution, determination of children’s spouses, regulating gift exchange and commercial activities. These customary rights of freedom of choice are so universal in the society that they are the accepted norm and only when crisis situations occur such as frictions between husband and wife or parents are they challenged.” **“The problem of this thesis will be** that granted that women are indispensable both in the spatial aspects of society as food suppliers and in the temporal respects as childbearers and rearers, how far is this indispensability reflected in the value system of the culture and how far is it associated with economic and social advantages?”

Chapter by chapter outline (*which has more details*): Chapter 1, General Background. Chapter 2, The Social Organization. Chapter 3, Women Passing Through the Social System: Birth and childhood Age 0—12, and Wifhood (*Bedo Dako*) and Motherhood (*Bedo Min*). Wife of the Chieftainship: *Dak-Ker*. Chapter 4, Women in the Economic Field. Chapter 5, Women in the Religious Field. Chapter 6, Women and the Acculturation Process. Chapter 7, Conclusions: “This will involve a reassessment of the position of women in the light of the material presented showing the factors that contribute to the position of women as well as the criteria that have been used to determine how far the position of women is reflected in the value system of society.” New section: “The attached thesis was submitted to Northwestern University ... in 1958 after my return from Africa.” In the intervening years *{how many?}* the meaning of culture has changed in anthropology. Continues, **“In fact, my main concern was and is to explain** the ambivalence shown with regard to women in every level of social life...” Though women are debarred from public office, they participate in all levels and the

wife of the chief can declare war in the absence of her husband. Paula aims to show “how the ambivalence has been institutionalized in the lineage structure and correlate it with the basic contradiction arising on the one hand from the indispensability of women to the lineage and their theoretical exclusion from it. This is the framework within which the factors underlying the position of women, the evaluation of their contribution and their participation in religion and ritual will be explained.”

V K -

No Folder “Chapt. 1: The Socio-Political System”

(typed draft). *Seems to be at least 2 typed drafts, 31 pages each.* “In this chapter we will examine the socio-political structure of a chiefdom, the largest social unit of identity and group membership for every Acholi man and woman...” First concentrates on the role and status of the *Dak-Ker*, the wife of the chiefship, the sole female figure in the political system. Second, looks at the question of how the political system effects [*sic*] the status and role aspirations of men [*sic*?].

V S a

Bibliography and notes

Perhaps more than 100 pages total. Scraps and lists of citations. Notes and summaries of some of them. Questions raised. 14-page typed bibliography from Autumn 1972 apparently from a Sociology/Social Science course she taught about family and women: Sources from Africa, India & Indonesia, Japan, Palestine. An 8-page typed bibliography about “Primitive Family.”

V S a

Questionnaires, various Acholi (i.e., Adult women)

These were apparently never filled out. 2-page blank “**Questionnaire for Adult Women Who are Alone**” with 15 multileveled questions about her and her children, her husband, religion, land (where and how much), money-making activities, why she is alone. 1-page blank “**Questionnaire for Employable Females**” with questions about schooling, work, marital status, children if any, ability to read and speak English, any physical ailments; requires her signature or thumbprint; name of interviewer and date. 4-page **questionnaire for men**: as above, name of village and name of

head of household; names, ages, (sex), schooling and work of children, wife; his employment, ability to read and speak English, physical ailments and health status, political or social role in the village, crops farmed, employ laborers, does he own land or is he a tenant, “When he has to leave this land and village where will he go to live and what sort of work will he do? (If he says he plans to work for the Institute {which institute?}, tell him to answer the question assuming he will not be employed by the Institute),” religion, “Have his crops been enumerated yet by the Government?” Has the Government surveyed his land yet?” “Are you currently working as a contract laborer for IITA?” Requires the man’s signature or right thumb print, name of interviewer and date. 2-page blank “**Head of Household Questionnaire**”: name of the village, head of household; of all those living in the household under 16 years of age, their name, relationship to head, number of children, and “special skills”; of all those living in the house who live outside the village, their name, “special skills,” “land” {*yes or no??*}, Do They Farm Here?, Where living, and Wife or Children in Village; “Has this family ever been forced to move before, If so, from where, were they paid compensation, how did they acquire the land where they are now?” Name of interviewer and date.

V S b

Insurance claim for damaged car 4/15/55

Paula’s handwritten draft and a typed letter to Gailey and Roberts, Ltd, in Nairobi, Kenya Colony, about her Opel Van, requesting payment for “total loss.” “... I am requesting very prompt action on this matter because my work is entirely dependent on having a motor car. I am an anthropologist and I live in the bush miles from the nearest town and it is absolutely impossible for me to get around or do work without my car....”

V T b

Dec. 16 – Conversation with a *Ladit*

14 (7 double-sided) small note pages, handwritten. *Barely legible handwriting from an interview. First page missing and pages out of order? Seems to be in Pajule (south of Kitgum) or Padibe (north of Kitgum).* “Even the market is bigger than in West Acholi.” ... “Road leads from one *gang* to the other through it [arid?] fields of {*illegible*} vegetables.

Seen 2 abandoned *gangs*. One there has one man who stayed behind..." "On way from {illegible} to Padibe we met the *Jago's* wife and child, child 3 yrs old at least..." Notes: Do you want to make fun of us – You are Government, all white [sic] are government. If not gov then what school, why," very suspicious - [illegible] – very uncomfortable but all smile and greet me god bless you ... surrounded us They just got back from the funeral. One had a horn hanging around his neck. {illegible} and a younger one, began to ask what am I doing here, why didn't they get a letter [announcing?] my visit [...] why do I want to write about the Acholi ... *Nyekka* = co-wife, literally the one who is jealous of me. ... {Someone}" He was introduced as the *ladit*, and said he was the oldest man (he was quite old but I don't know whether the oldest one). He said he had some 70 people under him –where are they–oh all around. From the road to the mountain (about 3 mi away) to the {west?} about (3 mi too) this are all my people. [...] Had a long talk with {illegible} – He asked me about America, what does NY look like, about the war {presumably WWII}, how bad it was, Told me. Everything went on normal except the young man {men?} went away and many were killed. That's where the people heard that the Amer. were our allies that's why they call them our brothers {illegible} people of the same tribe. About Alikar (her Acholi friend in the USA) and ... {loses thread}. "In Padibe *gang* only the house of the *ladit* was square all others round. {Describes type of stove for groundnuts.} "Keep it that way to protect it from children People talk of why I am a student why do I do this." *Last sentence, evidently a question from someone:* "What will you be when you get home, you are too small to be a teacher, people will yell [at] you."

VI

VI

VI

VI

- -
A a
A e
A a

Agriculture, Politics, Religion, Lineage

Original Box Label "Koc Rum at Aworoja"

History – Patuda, Aug. 29 (to scan)

Agriculture - politics

History – Acholi {in purple = not in box}

History - Patuda

	A	a	History - General
	A	b	Lineage - Inheritance
	A	b	Lineage - Clan
	A	c	Marriage - Bridewealth - Courtship
	A	b	Marriage - Property Laws
	A	e	Politics - Tribal
	A	g	Religion - Jok (Spirit) - Kinship
	A	g	Religion - Jok - Ajwaka (Witch doctors)
VI	B	-	Original Folder "Aworaja"
VI	B	b	Agriculture - General
	B	b	Agriculture - Division of Labor (in purple=not in box}
	B	b	Agriculture - Economy / Market
	B	b	Agriculture - Politics
	B	b	Daily Activities - Division of Labor
	B	d	Daily Activities - Hunting
	B	c	Daily Activities - Leisure
	B	b	Daily Activities - Leisure
	B	c	Education
	B	b	Geography - Village Description
	B	a	Health - General
	B	b	Health - Hospital
	B	g	Health - Hospital
	B	g	Health - Witch Medicine / Ajwaka
	B	b	Land Ownership (in purple = not in box}
	B	d	Land Reform
	B	c	Lineage - Family
	B	e	Marriage - Bridewealth
	B	c	Marriage - Courtship
	B	c	Marriage - Elopement
	B	b	Marriage - Polygyny
	B	e	Politics - Colonial
	B	e	Politics - Colonial
	B	b	Religion - Christianity
	B	g	Religion - Divining
	B	g	Religion - Jok - Ancestry
	B	g	Religion - love medicine
	B	d	Religion - relation to politics
	B	g	Religion - "Visions"
	B	g	Religion - Jok - Health
	B	g	Religion - Ritual - Blessings
	B	b	Religion - Ritual
	B	e	Misc - Sudanese Acholi
VI	C	-	Original Folder "Aworaja Patuda Genealogy"
VI	C	b	Kwor (Blood Wealth)
			<i>(Notes: July 6 > Mato oput (drinking oput). They</i>

are drinking oput at Patudo to bring together the kaka (clan) after a killing. >One brother killed another with a knife in Nov. 1954. >The murderer had been rendered lapoya (crazy) by the effects of logaga (medicine that is buried in the ground & designed to be stepped on). >The kwor (blood wealth) amount & what is done with it. >Oput is a kind of tree. >Men & cooking. >Residence & Identity. > Foster meets the women who are preparing the food for the ceremony. >The ajwaka (traditional healer) talks about her work in the ceremony. >The men ritually prepare an oput root, a potsherd, some opobo wood, the leyibi (stick used to open the granary), an egg & adina (?). >Okumu, the killer, who is just a boy, is required to walk over these in a ritual manner. >2 sheep are slaughtered & undigested food from intestines mixed into the medicine. >Okumu & Lokat (the man whose son will marry with the kwor of the dead man) drink the medicine & swear a contract. >The witnesses drink. >The family of the brothers (& Okumu) stands by the grave and are smeared with wee (undigested food from the intestines). >The family goes inside. >The men cook the sheep outside. >Foster learns how an elder was selected to accuse for the dead boy. >The British judge had ruled that Okumu was not responsible & told them to handle the kwor in the Acholi way. >A goat was killed for the tipu (soul), but the sheep were for the kaka (clan). >The properties of oput. >Tomorrow there will be a separate ritual to appease the Jok of a dead girl in the same house. > The men go outside for a Lok me Paro (roughly a village moot). >Men point out that there should have been more cattle in the transaction & that not everyone came. > People discuss the kaka splitting up. >People discuss an earlier killing for which oput was not drunk & which is now causing difficulties. >Money and goats are fetched but Lokat refuses the money until later. >Words to the dead boy are spoken over the meat & the meat is divided. >Beer is divided. >Everyone eats. >In the old days, girls were also given with kwor. >Foster goes home & Min Akuu talks about how kwor used to be paid.)

			<i>Empty</i> . Original list on folder: history w/ geneology; Koic and Purana [Purada ?]; Kal Palaro; Lamogi – PaJanor [<i>spelling?</i>]; How one enters into a <i>kaka</i> (Koic Amar).
VI	D	e	Politics – Council {Folder not in Box VI, where is it?}
VI	D	d	PHF {Paula Hirsch Foster -- Folder not in Box VI, where is it?}
VI	D	d	Expatriates {Folder is located in Box XIc} Feb. 11: Paula is visited by a couple of Americans and an Indian; likes them because they are interesting to talk with; Jan. 28: Paula’s car is repaired; party at May’s.
VI	D	d	Health {Folder is located in Box XIc} Jan. 13: Paula has the flu; Jan. 14: Paula has the flu; the women visit her; Feb. 7: Kilara’s wife has a child with the mumps; Paula is persuaded to give her medicine; Paula doesn’t like the responsibility, fears she will be blamed if the child does not get well.
VI	D	d	Land Reform {Folder is located in Box XIc} Jan. 30: Paula talks to the <i>lawirowdi</i> about local politics; Paula thinks land reform bill is due to the East Africa High Commission’s economic report recommending individual land tenure to bring up the standard of living; Paula doesn’t think the Acholi understand individual land tenure; Paula thinks the “uneducated” will be exploited and unhappy; she wonders what this will do to social organization and polygamy. Dry season weather.
VI	D	d	Miscellaneous {Folder is located in Box XIc} Feb. 9: Paula’s car breaks down; Jan. 10: Paula returns from Kampala and everyone comes to see her; storytelling; Jan. 15: Paula has recovered from the flu; Abe wants to take Paula on a hunt; Min Okema and Paula plan a dance; Lury and Dinah have government scholarships; they ask her about Europeans; Acholi standards of beauty; Damasto’s cattle.
VI	D	d	Weather {Folder is located in Box XIc} Nov. 5: <i>Partial duplicate of folder III.D.e “Religion”</i> ; thunderstorm in the distance; mosquitos; Feb. 5: Paula’s trip to the <i>myel lyel</i> (grave dance) is postponed for rain;

Margaret is worried about the heavy rains in January.

VI D e

Assault

{Folder is located in Box XIc} **July 4:** Paula celebrates Independence Day; Antonia jokes that if bridewealth was paid per pound of the girl, then Paula wouldn't bring much; no court due to an attempted killing; a man stabbed his friend in the chest; no reason, the man is crazy; *Jago Pece* describes the case he will make.

VI D e

Politics

{Folder is located in Box XIc} **Oct. 18:** Paula asks the Assistant District Commissioner (A.D.C.) if she can attend the Standing Committee Meeting and he says the *rwot* has put him up to it because he (the *rwot*) has been very troublesome lately; people are agitating for self-government; the A.D.C. disparages a number of local political figures; Paula meets Kilara, who is happy the government is signing an agreement with the Buganda; the gains of the Buganda will be the gains of everyone else in Uganda; Kitara is sarcastic about the Governor; Paula suspects her friends are involved in Congress for personal gain; **Oct. 24:** Paula attends the Standing Committee Meeting and is disappointed; the Health Officer takes up an inordinate amount of time; the District Commissioner encourages Paula to leave; Paula thinks the D.C. makes all the decisions for the council; Council members using their position to further their own ends; the Acholi have no real power; **Aug. 21:** Paula has malaria; Openy makes a map of people's fields but forgets to report the size; Luchara wants to know why Paula is counting fields; Luchara thinks she is working for the government; Paula reassures him; Luchara chastises her for not asking permission; Luchara wants to know if whites are involved in the Sudanese war; the Arabs are just as bad as Europeans for taking African land; Paula takes the *rwot* to Opidi and they discuss Congress; Paula is angry with the *rwot*. **Aug. 22:** Paula had to take Opoka's wife to the hospital in the night because the afterbirth wasn't coming out; her malaria is worse; Min Openy wants to know how the whites are involved in the Sudanese war; she doesn't think the Acholi should get involved even to help the

Sudanese Acholi; not many people in the *gang* know what the war's about; everyone is afraid the Acholi will be called to fight; Omal notes the French are fighting in Morocco and thinks the British better stay out of the Sudanese war because they are having enough trouble with Buganda calls for independence; self-government; Omal disparages the corruption of local government; who will be elected; universal suffrage; the Acholi need a *lawirowdi* to talk to the Europeans; right now the Acholi have no power; Paula speculates about ballot box stuffing in upcoming election; rumors about the war; **Aug. 27:** Mathia says people have been asking about Paula's map of fields; he wants to know what she is doing; people are afraid Paula is with the government and will try to take their lands; Ogaba comes and is very secretive; Ongom tells Paula and Openy that Oyat and Ojul are asking why Paula made a map and saying there will be war if Paula tried to take their land; Paula is angry Oyat and Ojul don't come to her; Paula wonders why they are afraid of her now; she thinks people are suspicious due to the Sudanese war and the coming elections; **Aug. 29:** Paula talks with Congress members; they question her business there; they are suspicious of the truth of her claims when other white people have exploited them; the proverb of the camel and the tent; they think Paula is working for the British government; Paula asks them to trust her; they say [anthropologist F.K.] Girling came to do what she did and nearly got killed; they accuse her of not telling what she's doing and she says she explains to everyone who asks; they ask her for a copy of her work and she promises; they criticize white people; they say she will get rich from her work and don't believe her when she says she is not rich; when white men are in Africa they're all British; Paula thinks they don't understand the difference between a protectorate and a colony and this is why they fear their land being taken; she noticed the educated people never like to give her information but the uneducated ones trust her more readily; she thinks they're lying about Girling.

VI E -
VI F -

Original Folder "Pol. Org. and History Koic"
Original Folder "Koic Chiefship Notes"

VI	F	a	<p>Miscellaneous {notes} 6 small note pages, mostly hard to read. Including “The grave on left side of house on left side of door – right next to the wall. Level with ground {gourd?} only hoe, and ax and broken calabash and [illegible] – only women sitting next to the grave.”</p>
VI	F	a	<p>Miscellaneous in Acholi 6 small handwritten note pages (3 double-sided), dated August 17, no year given. Not Paula’s handwriting, the writing is legible.</p>
VI	F	a	<p>Genealogies About 10 pages: small notecards with lineage charts.</p>
VI	F	b	<p>Agenda About 10 small handwritten note pages. Daily schedules and day by day. (<i>No year.</i>)</p>
VI	F	b	<p>Court Cases No location or data. 20 or 30 handwritten notes in English and Acholi (in Acholi it is legible, not by Paula). Something about a cotton gin. <i>Hard to know what is going on.</i> Something about “You are trying to kill your children” (all caps, ‘kill your children’ underlined).</p>
VI	F	b	<p>Geneology 3 small note pages, dated June 9, Thursday (<i>no year</i>). Lineage charts.</p>
VI	F	b	<p>Kiir (action indicating wish for death of another) 4 small note pages. <i>Hard to understand.</i> “Ashes are bad, ashes signify death.” ... “The <i>Jago</i> is going to decide what to do. Find burned clothes in hole by road. Both know what they done. Both drunk – not angry...”</p>
VI	F	b	<p>Lim (Bridewealth) About 10 handwritten note pages. “...only through marriage can a man attain that most cherished status the <i>fanwuse</i> [sp?] <i>ywek</i> men who is the head of a large, many membered homestead, whose name is sure to survive in the ancestral ceremonies than the [word missing] can gain a measure of the importance of <i>lim</i> in the system of Acholi values. ...” Social rules. Some theorizing. “Mention the conditioning by reality – and localization and property holding and the inequalities.” Also seem to be some notes from an interview. Sketches of simple lineage charts.</p>
VI	F	b	<p>Miscellaneous</p>

			50 or so handwritten note pages, some dates but no year. Seems to be interview notes. A mix of English and Acholi on same pages. <i>Topics and content hard to discern.</i> Something about <i>Dak-ker</i> (meaning wife of the chief). <i>Is this in Koich?</i>
VI	F	b	Miscellaneous in Acholi Around 100 small note pages. Dates but no years. Seems to be interview notes. Content unclear.
VI	F	b	Ritual Around 100 small note pages. Interview notes?
VI	F	d	Lineage 2-sided note card, lineage notes. Kal Patiko.
VI	F	f	Courtship Around 20 note pages. Interview notes? No year. <i>Hard to follow content.</i>
VI	F	f	Funeral Around 8 small note pages. Not clear who or what. “The women sit with her to protect her to guard her against shock.” ... “Men and women don’t eat together or sit together.”
VI	F	f	Kwor (Blood wealth) Around 10 small note pages. <i>Hard to understand.</i>
VI	F	f	History 3 small note pages, no name or date. Interview notes, no beginning or end. “S. Baker called us Shuli because the Arabs [illegible] called us Shuli after the Shilluk...”
VI	F	f	Land Tenure 2 small note pages. Interview with <i>Rwot</i> Lasito Olech, Dec. 7 (no year). “Tell me about your farm. It’s just 12 acres and I rented the government tractor for it. It cost me 40/ (very expensive) yes but we had to do it. Is it yours or do you own it with someone? It is mine – I [illegible] Do you own it through – can you sell it – No, no one can sell land. It’s freehold by Acholi people. All Acholi people in common [?] – No by the Koich people my clan.”
VI	F	f	Lineage Around 10 small note pages. <i>Not sure what it is.</i>
VI	F	f	Luk (adultery compensation) 5 small note pages, handwritten. Hard to follow except “Children of woman married by war [?] remain that of husband who brings them up. Physical father can <u>not</u> get unborn child of married woman even if he pays <i>Luk</i> ...”
VI	F	f	Miscellaneous

			About 10 small note pages. Random. Sketches of lineage charts. One date, August 30, no year.
VI	F	f	Rwodi (Chiefs)
			Around 30 small note pages. February 16, no year. Interview notes, <i>hard to follow</i> .
VI	G	-	Original Folder “Religion Koic”
VI	G	b	Genealogies
			Fairly elaborate lineage chart. “Aluiji” in top left corner.
VI	G	c	Genealogies
			Around 30 pages of hand-drawn lineage charts. Different places? “Outline of Patuda, Aug. 29.” Lamogi – notes about it but apparently not drawn.
VI	G	d	Genealogies
			3 pages hand-drawn lineage charts. “Provenance of wives.”
VI	H	b	Court cases
			4 handwritten pages. Notes in Acholi and English, not by Paula; undated. One case: 2 men accused to taking a cow from Opidi to Patiko “without pass.” Pled guilty, fined 25/ each “for braking [sic] the rule of certinary orderance [sic].” Before the proceedings the <i>Jago</i> said to the people of Koich that he received a letter from Paula that she wanted to speak with some of the old men and someone wanted permission to speak with her. “The <i>wonpaco</i> of Kall stood up and say, Such European comes to our country here, and write many thing, but they don’t pay us. Something for it and they don’t give us any price for it, and go with that they have written, and afterward brings to us trouble. Myself I don’t want.” Others discuss. “She may be a spy [<i>arot</i>]...” Another said, “You people of Koich, don’t you think that Paula is going to take away your job [<i>loka</i>] – she wants to know the power of your <i>Jok</i> only and wants to write something about your <i>Kaka</i> [clan] only.” Another case (unclear): a witness talks about the death of “the children of my sister.” Hard to follow: children accidentally ate “medicine” for killing animals? <i>Jago</i> postpones judgment for a later day. Another case: Someone accused because his 3 goats ate millet in someone else’s field. Pled guilty and had to pay a fine. Another case: Someone accused to calling someone else a wizard. Agrees that he did so. Sounds similar to earlier case, question was “what is killing the

children of my sister”? It was not medicine killing them, it was the man accused of being a wizard because “one of our sister stole his money.” The man defended himself saying, “It is pure lie no money of mine got lost from my house and why should I kill Luki’s children.” Luki then says, “he is a wizard he is the man who is killing the children of mine.” Another witness says he is a wizard “who is killing the children of our door (*Tyeko dogola-wa*). *Continues, seems unresolved, not clear what happened next.*

VI H b

Life History

March 8, no year. 1 page handwritten notes, a clerk in Payira. 3 children in school at Pece. Present job since 1954. *Otherwise hard to follow.*

VI H c

Lineage

½ page handwritten notes. “Main conclusions to [illegible] data”: “About 35 percent of homesteads have both matrilineal and affinal kin and patrilineal kin...” “Lineage – as village – holds if only political significance of vaillage is considered-” *Seems incomplete.*

VI H d

Lineage and Bridewealth {missing from box}

VI H f

Politics

3 barely legible handwritten pages, March 11 (no year), seems to be notes from a speech by one Joseph Kent. “Intro by government – for encourage econ independence.” *What I can make out:* “greatest need to market and good price – staff trained in Mbele - ginneries not cooperative – new ginnery law – early *barazas*- ... women do not represent families only men - ... thrift society – like Europe ... Pece children – plot started for food and cotton - savings bank in school – pocket money + money from cultivation - very enthusiastic – but not enough staff ... 5 year plan – for coop dev of whole Uganda ... East Acholi move backward – education – no staff from East Acholi – now one boy [illegible] young people should not be employed – no authority - ...”

VI I c

Map {Bush of Latodo}

One page hand-drawn sketch of roads and homesteads. Feb. 4, no year given. Locations of cotton/potato field and banana grove.

VI I d

Map {Koich Kaal}

½ page hand-drawn sketch, 3 homesteads.

VI J a

Aworanga (See also Folder VI.J.d)

8 handwritten pages, undated, some portions crossed out. "In terms of the modern order – local and colonial administration – it is a residential area designated as a village by the local government.... The village gets its name from the river Aworanga which forms its NW [illegible] separating it from a village of Madi residents who moved here to be near the mission ...” Many geographical details. *Dano me Koc* = people of Koc. “A sense of belonging and loyalty to fellow Aworangers that exists is due to the fact that Aworanga is also conceived in traditional terms as a *dog-gang* village of the traditional chiefdom of Koc. As such [illegible] obligations of all villagers is common defense. All must respond to a distress call from any of the homesteads by appearing with spears or any hand-weapons to defend the inhabitants or protect the property at any time of the day or night. As Aworanga is wholly located on the land owned by the Patuda clan, one of the commoner clans of Koc, all inhabitants regardless of their clan or lineage affiliation are considered *Labedo* – one who lives with others, an immigrant or settler, of Patuda.” {In folder VI.J. d, she defines labedo as “literally – one who lives in, immigrant.”}. ... “It should be clear that the commingling of both traditional and modern concepts of what a village is or should be has not welded Aworanga into an effective community except for particular pragmatic concerns having to do with the modern situation or with the very basic consideration of safety and security of people and property in a neighborhood - .” ... “That the village is not an effective community except for particular purposes does not impair the well-being or [word?] as the discipline of the traditional kin and lineage organization still holds....” Continues analysis.

VI J c

Lineage and Mato Oput

2 pages handwritten notes, half crossed out. Undated. Starts “The basic unit of social and political life was and is the localized corporate patrilineage also called *Kaka* consisting of all the descendents, male and female, living and dead of a common male ancestor traced through the paternal line up to about 4-5 generations...” Page 2: “In

order to understand the segmentary structure of the lineage system, we have to look at a ceremony called *MATO OPUT* – to drink *oput*. It is the ceremony for the expiation of intra-lineage murder and as such it illustrates the principles of fission and fusion within the lineage and its cohesion and unity as a descent group, and its position in the political system.” ... Last fragment, crossed out: “Murder of a paternal kin by an outsider unites the paternal kin and places-” [*unfinished*].

VI J d

Land - Settlement Patterns - Aworanga

8 long handwritten pages, undated, possibly a draft b/c much crossed out. Starts “Aworanga is a modern village – in that it has been established as the smallest [illegible] of local government.” Part of parish of Opako. With 3 other parishes forms the subcounty of Koc which is one of the 4 subcounties with forms Omoro County.” ... Fighting and litigation to change the boundaries. Feuds an unintended consequence of the recognition of villages as political units. “Underlying all these problems is the divergence of the simple conceptualization of the Europeans of clan/lineage group living on common land with a village and the Acholi distinction between land ownership and political status of line/clans and villages. In order to sort out these differences we will now turn to the examination of the development of Aworanga...” Describes a dispute in which one area was dis-invited to a dance-troupe competition in Feb 1956 at the Catholic Mission; the head of the area took insult, and seems local dance troupe was conspicuous by their absence. Later: “Importance of goods – as symbols of status – concrete objects and – that being good is also being rich – the more the better – for but being rich and having a house is more than that because it has implications for political and religious life ...”

VI K c

“*Kiir*, Incest & Adultery”

8 typed pages, undated. Starts “The Acholi say *kiir* is a moral law, an *ongon* handed down from the ancestors that takes care of *ball*, wrong-doing, fault, mischief, amnesty [sic], and hatred among agnatic kinsmen. This, it is used to regulate relationships between all members of the homestead, not only the married couple. Most importantly, it is the concept

used to designate sexual offenses with women married to agnatic kinsman [sic] extending to the fourth generational inner lineage. There are three degrees of *kiir* requiring a chicken, a goat, and a female sheep as sacrifice in accordance with the seriousness of the offense...” *Second-to-last page seems to be missing*. Only women can be guilty of adultery. “The *Luk* payment by the man is considered as a compensation for violation of the exclusive sexual rights of the husband and not an atonement for guilt.” Very rare nowadays {1950s}: divorce ceremonies in which ashes are thrown between the divorcing couple “[B]ecause women either leave their husbands for another man or the husband can send his wife back to her parents before they get to the point where they hate each other enough to wish the partner’s death.”

VI K d

Draft of Ch. 2 (of thesis)

Typed pages 10 through 26. Starts mid-sentence: “insofar as the head of the corporate lineage (3-4 gen depth) must be informed if a young man wants to marry. But the responsibility for providing the actual money or goods or cows belongs to the actual minimal lineage and specifically to the father of the young man.” ... *Keny banya* = debt repayment marriage.

VI O c

Kinship

2-page handwritten letter, dated April 14, 1969, to Paula from Ben, on Washington State University letterhead. For a seminar paper, he asks if she has data on consanguinal kinship terminology of the Acholi. The Acholi are grouped under Omaha Type according to Murdoch’s Social Structure. He sends greetings to her family.

VI O c

letter to PHF from "Ben" {missing from box? Presumably same as Kinship folder above, VI.O.c.}

VI O e

Standing Committee Meeting

1-page typed letter from District Commissioner, unnamed (Oct 19, 1955) to Acholi African Local Government Secretary asking Acholi African Local Government to allow Paula Hirsch (Foster) to attend a meeting “in order to see how the Local Government of Acholi works”; also requesting Local Govt to allow District Medical Officer and District Health Inspector to talk to the Standing Committee on leprosy and “Health Competitions.”

VI	O	f	<p>Letter in Acholi 1-page undated draft letter in Paula’s handwriting to “Ladit.” Apparently introduces herself as an American, is studying Acholi people, is writing a book.... <i>Need translation.</i></p>
VI	S	b	<p>Unidentified Journal {1/2-page typed} Undated, seems to be part of an interview transcript by Paula possibly with an elder. “He said, “Paula, if you want to know about the Acholi then you should ask about the TEKWARO [roots?], that is the only way you will know about Acholi. Do not ask about little things, but ask big questions. (Like what?) Why is it that they tell us in school, that the white man and the black man [are] similar, they have the same blood the same body, but they are different...”</p>
VI	S	g	<p>School Notebook Handwriting starts February 13, 1951. Belonged to [Gustavas?] Odong, Gulu High School, J.S. II 1951. Cover: Silver Jubilee, Upper Nile Diocese 1926—1951; back cover, timeline of “the Spread of the Gospel in the Upper Nile Diocese” 1900-1951, and explanation of illustration on the front cover: “The Diocesan Crest: Above is a MITRE, a Bishop’s hat. On the shield is a crocodile in blue, water-symbol of the River Nile. The sun’s rays shine on a black background like the Light of the world Shining in the darkness. Over all is the Cross of Christ. In the centre is a sign used by Constantine, the first Roman Emperor to become a Christian: he used it for his army after a vision when he was told ‘In this sign conquer.’” Notebook includes cut-out photo of a crested crane. Religious lessons in Acholi and English. English includes “The prophets in captivity,” “St Patrick and the Irish,” Morse Code sound signals, “The one absolutely unselfish friend of man” (which is a dog), “The contents of the New Testament,” lyrics to Good King Wenceslas, The First Noel, Christians Awake.</p>
VII			<p><u>Marriage, Infertility, Bridewealth</u></p>
VII	-	a	Original Folder a
VII	-	b	Original Folder b
VII	J	c	<p>Lineage Several pages of her notes in English.</p>
VII	O	c	Marriage – infertility

			Oct 28, 1967: 1-page letter in English written by {illegible: an Acholi man?} to his wife Mary's brother informing him of her "barrenness." + 1-page letter by the same Acholi man dated Nov 9, 1967 in response to the reply (not here) from the same man's wife's brother's wife (sister in law). He tells her, "Marriage without fruit is no marriage." Not clear who these people are.
VII	L	-	Bridewealth
VIII	-	-	Lineage, Bridewealth, Witchcraft Original Box Label and Post-It Box label missing; Post-It says: Acholi Politics; thesis outline: women in Acholi; draft ch. 1; kinship notes; 1972 folder with chapter drafts; genealogy notes/diagrams.
VIII	-	a	Original Folder "Notes 263, Autumn 1972" On Post-it: Kinship, Political org., Thesis Outline; folder 1972 cont.; full chapter drafts, handwritten; 'section reservation' ticket; change of grade forms; UChicago essay assign sheet 1974.
VIII	-	b	Original Folder "Lineage" On Post-It: partial chapter draft; genealogy notes/diagrams.
VIII	F	b	Homestead One handwritten page. Trying to make sense of a <i>gang</i> and <i>dog gang</i> .
VIII	G/H	b	Lineage Note from librarian: "Folder contains a series of notes/lineage charts that appear to relate – though I have chosen not to separate them despite the crossover into Ganda [?]. I assume these are 2 nd drafts notes that eventually became an outline for chap. 1-2."
VIII	H	a	Lineage – Clan Homestead 2 pages handwritten notes. Some things crossed out. Social system of <i>gangs</i> . "Groups of homesteads or a homestead containing extended families or joint families are called <i>dog gang</i> – the mouth of the home."
VIII	H	a	Lineage notes / definitions 2 pages handwritten notes. Seems to be fragment of another section. Two ways of talking about lineage. She is talking about segmentary lineage and social units.

VIII	H	a	<p>Politics – Colonial <i>See also: Folder XIa.d. for original and folder VIII.J.a. The incident below is described in the thesis.</i> One small page handwritten notes describing the attempt of some Acholi men to enlist colonial Governor of Uganda authority buy-in to institute a “pass law” restricting the movement of Acholi women. They wanted the bill translated into English. They also wanted to submit a request for Protectorate Police enforcement. Foster writes that the Acholi men saw “this action as a means of bypassing the council and perhaps getting their law despite the objections of young men in the council. They felt the law was needed not only to control the behavior of women, but to bring the young men back to their” [<i>the page ends here</i>].</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>“Introduction?/Chapter 1?” Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. About 10 pages. Handwritten notes. Census data are from 1959. “For this paper I want to examine the concept of patrilineal lineage system as it applies to women in Acholi society.”</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Marriage – women 8 handwritten pages. Notes about women in social structure. “When speaking of the position of women in any society, the discussion usually turns to the institution of marriage. In Africa, and especially in Acholi family this must be so, since single women those never married – not divorcees or widows – are very few and traditionally there were none.”</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Kinship – Family Organization About 12 pages handwritten notes about social structure. <i>Lo paco</i> = a person?</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Lineage – Identity One page handwritten notes on social structure. Fission and fusion per Evans-Pritchard. “The world is made up of people in lineages held – in dynamic equilibrium – as our solar system – by the principles of segmentary opposition ... It makes no sense to any Acholi to talk about Acholi per se – except in reference to non-Acholi – the strangers ... enemies ... or to explain the history of a chiefdom except to prove its relative strength among all the others...”</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Marriage – Alliances One page handwritten notes, seems to be a fragment of something else. More on social structure.</p>

VIII	J	a	<p>Lineage – General About 50 handwritten pages. The Acholi lineage system. <i>Dogola</i> = doorway, word for a minimal lineage.</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Bridewealth Around 30 handwritten pages on social structure.</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Religion – Witchcraft 2 page draft, fragments of something else. “Mistrust, competitiveness, are built into the kinship system especially among agnates...” <i>Parts about poison and witchcraft are crossed out.</i></p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Women 9-page handwritten draft. For “Pass Law,” see also folder VIII.H.a. Ideal social structure and roles and women and men, and then how reality diverges from the ideal. More about men’s attempt to pass a “Pass Law” restricting women’s travel. In Patiko Kal a disputation of lineage elders asked Paula to translate the draft bill. Men wanted a British law and not a local govt law or even a law in the traditional chief’s court - 4 reasons. 1) They did not want to be public sponsors of the law. 2) “It would cause such a uproar among women that no men would have to vote for it publicly either in the local govt council or the chief’s court. 3) If it were passed, the women would not obey. 4) The British law could be enforced by the Protectorate Police and women would go to jail. Varied responses of women to Paula’s questions about the proposed bill.</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Lineage – Clan – Homestead 5 pages handwritten; fragments of notes. More on Acholi and segmentary lineage system.</p>
VIII	J	a	<p>Land / Jok 3 pages – handwritten draft. Some sections crossed out. “How land or county came to be no one knows, but what it is for, everyone knows. It is for use, to enable man to live. It is the basic asset necessary for survival and those who own it are benefactors...” Land as a gift from the ancestors. Explains <i>jok</i> and the word or prefix <i>jo-</i>. {<i>Unfinished draft.</i>} <i>First part seems to be Folder VIII.J.b.</i></p>
VIII	J	b	<p>Lineage – Lim 1-1/4 page handwritten draft. <i>Lim</i> is an economic concept. English-speaking Acholi translate it as wealth. It is, however, not just wealth, but capital which is reserved for the increase and welfare of the</p>

- lineage...” *A lot crossed out.* “*Lim* is not the common property of the lineage, but belongs to the family of one man and his sons. Within the family – the father is the sole owner of all *lim* but his hands are tied by the fact that on” [*unfinished*].
- VIII J b **Lineage – Lineage – Land**
3 pages, handwritten draft. Acholi lineage system as a segmentary structure. “Lineage held together by land because land in the sense of territoriality, the homeland, or country is an assumed quality of any lineage. ... Each lineage is associated with a territory, ‘the ancestral land,’ which is named after the male eponymous ancestor of the lineage. ... Agnatic sentiment associated with the ancestral land is very strong and the Acholi feel really deprived if they have to move. Since 1913 the Protectorate government has insisted that the people move near the roads and has taken great pains to achieve this, but the Acholi keep moving back to the ancestral lands. [moving due to forest preserves or game park; due to sleeping sickness]...” *A lot is crossed out.*
- VIII J b **Lineage – Terminology**
One page draft, handwritten. About half crossed out. Patrilineage as a whole is *kaka* and its segments are *ot* – home or *dogola* – doorway. “Wives and their houses are thus points of articulation and serve as reference for internal differentiation between segments and points of attachment” [*unfinished*].
- VIII J b **Lineage – Structure**
5-page draft, handwritten. “The structure of the lineage.” 2 ways in which Acholi talk about lineage. Several re-writes, a lot crossed out.
- VIII J a **Chapt. 2, Kinship and Family**
Approximately 50 handwritten pages.
- VIII J b **Lineage (Chapt. 1 / 2?)**
13 pages handwritten pages. Maximal lineage or clan = *kaka*. First paragraph: “The lineage system provides the structural basis of Acholi society. It is the basis of chiefdoms, the largest political unit the Acholi ever recognized, it underlies the patterns of residence, is the main determinant of inheritance and marriage and is the framework of the status structure of society...”
Also located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. Brief, handwritten. Lineage political structure. The family.

“The universe of kinship.” The importance of traditions.

VIII J c

Chapter 1

Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. “Attempts of description of segmentary lineage Structure.” Many pages and notes. Different aspects of social organization, with emphasis on women. Some notes titled “Chapter 2.” Again and again, something like “Acholi society is what is called a ‘segmentary’ society...” “There is a close connection between territorial and kinship units as among most Nilotic tribal groups.”

VIII J d

More Draft Material on Lineage Structure

Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. “Why women cannot be named lineage heads.” Carriers of blood who can only transmit lineage membership. Legal and jural minors all their lives. Seen as wives, daughters, and sisters but not as corporate heads. No rights to hold or inherit property. “Patrilineal sentiment is very strong in Acholi...” Women incorporated into husband’s lineage only as dependent legal minors. This is the official view held by Acholi... Men have legal and jural responsibility for them. Women are *lim*: bridewealth, cattle. “If a woman complains her husband has severely beaten her, a man may deny this by saying: Would I spoil my *lim*? “Who is a personage in this world and an ancestress in the next is the ideal portrait of the wife/mother role and is in a very real way just what women want to attain.” *Comments on illegitimate children are a little hard to follow*: “... *luk*.. the fine for illegitimate intercourse – but in case of girl children *luk* payment is not enough...” Lineage ties never die. At the outbreak of the Sudanese war in 1955, Acholi refugees came to Uganda and were taken into different homestead lineages “as if they had always been there.” “On the other hand, a very small group of Lango who came because of religious convictions were treated as guests rather than kin.” [*Here she must be referring to Mony pa Lubanga – War of God.*—See also Folder VI.A.d.] These Langese were not allowed to disperse, temporary quarters were built for them on land outside the villages... & were not allowed to participate or given privileges of any kind... “It is

the wish of every Acholi man to become the head of a *gang* [homestead] {*won gang*}– To have his name associated with a village, to have people answer the question ‘Who are you?’ with his own name.”

VIII L -

“No Folder: ‘The Segmentary Lineage,’ Sahlins”
 “The Segmentary Lineage: An Organization of Predatory Expansion” by Marshall Sahlins, University of Michigan. Xeroxed from *American Anthropologist*, vol. 63, 1961. Page 322-345.

IX

IX F -

Notes for Chapters 1-3

“No Folder – *Jok*”

IX K -

“No Folder – Recounts of Mysticism”

IX L -

“No Folder – Kumam Marriage & Family by Velsen”

IX - a

Notes and Drafts for Chapt. 1-3

Foster notes on original folder: “Acholi Pol Org – Kinship Papers – Given at Institute – Material for Chapt 1”

IX A.J./K b

“Chapter 1?” [yes: notes for chapter 1]

Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. Random notes, extensive rewriting of chapter 1. Includes article or chapter “Inheritance and Women’s Labor in Africa” by Jack Goody and Joan Buckley (*Africa journal*, 1973, vol. 43, no. 2, pages 108-121). + Paper “Roles of Men and Women in Development and Education for these Roles” by Mary Jean Bowman, University of Chicago, Nov 7, 1975.

Notes on capital accumulation. Bridewealth.

Consumption based on rules of kinship. Economic organization in Acholi. Total population 250,000

{we don’t know when}. “There is a relatively good supply of land limited only by capacity to use it.”

“No land disputes, except on interchiefdom basis.”

“Since land rights are defined on communal basis, land disputes occurs [sic] only on these levels. Very infrequent, due to availability of land. Those that

occur are on an inter-chiefdom level.” “Acholi word for property is *lim* – but mostly capital good, cattle,

is understood under this term. “It is the opinion of this writer that unless the Acholi change their

attitude to land and cattle their full entrance in the cash economy or better in the world economy will

be impossible ...” History of Acholi. Geography. Women in the economic field. A sketch map.

X	F	-	<p>Notes, Research Questions, Drafts</p> <p>Folder F (Contained F1)</p> <p>Original folder labelled Religion Patiko. <i>Empty.</i> <i>Librarian’s post-it:</i> Journals, Health, History, Politics, Religion, A fairly large number of “D” or personal journals.</p>
X	F	1	<p>Folder F1</p> <p><i>Empty.</i> Original folder labelled: “History and Pol Org Patiko. Law.”</p>
X	-	e1	<p>Original folder: Patiko Kal</p> <p><i>Empty.</i> Librarian’s post-it: “More lineage charts and notes. Several journal entries on Patiko history. 1 questionnaire for women about their background.”</p>
X	-	g	<p>Original folder: “Description of Patiko Kal & Lineage Genealogy”</p> <p><i>Empty.</i></p>
X	-	h	<p>University of Chicago folder</p> <p><i>Empty.</i> Printed envelope from the Dept of Edu.</p>
X	-	i	<p>untitled</p> <p><i>Empty.</i> Paula had written on envelope: Life histories of schoolboys and girls. >Keep your place and be greedy <u>about it.</u> > Life histories of <u>women</u> Patiko.</p>
X	F	c	<p>Patiko heads of gang (homestead)</p> <p>(<i>Spelling of all names?:</i>) Muttu, Ajalea, Samson, Adonea, Thrman, Otu +3, Esau, Piyu, Odor. Policeman: Yowaci Odor, Adonea, Samson.</p>
X	G	a	<p>Lineage Charts</p> <p>2 pages. First: Oyuru as founder. Second: Patiko, Lwo.</p>
X	F	g	<p>Thesis Notes? (mostly about lineages, timeline for her studies)</p> <p>About 30 small note pages, some referring to page numbers (or thesis or draft?). Paula defines Acholi terms (ex: sister’s son = <i>okeyo</i>). Various notations including: “P. 81: The fields of the <i>Daa-ker</i> are dug by Kal itself – the lineages of the <i>Rwot</i>’s brothers...” “P. 85: <i>Jupir</i> = <i>Lapii</i> - in Acholi – Messenger for asking help in [illegible] Olwedo + a girl – as the witness of good faith in asking for help -.” “P. 97: Praising <i>Jok</i> for the success of chief or [illegible] – you can’t do it directly but indirectly....” Some questions in Acholi.</p>

X	G	c	<p>Lineage Charts About 20 pages. Individuals with wives (#1, #2, #3) and number of children. Chart sketches and notes. Rwtot Palero (Palaro?) died in 1948.</p>
X	G	d	<p>Lineage Charts About 20 pages, sketches and notes. Includes Bobi, Lamu, Ojule... Includes one very elaborate chart in poor condition.</p>
X	G	e1	<p>Untitled About 30 pages. Lineage charts and notes. Includes a couple elaborate charts. Includes Patiko Kal.</p>
X	-	a	<p>Original Folder a <i>Empty.</i> Librarian's post-it: Summaries of other anthro work (E. Africa. 2 lineage charts Oyun {sp?} and Lwo. Pieces of personal story accts.</p>
X	-	b	<p>Original Folder b <i>Empty. Librarian's post-it:</i> "Not completely examined. Journal entries varying topics incl. childbirth, JOK, beer, ceremonial killing of cow. Half dated Feb-April [no year]. Mostly in duplicate. Second half: Sheets face opposite direction. Further journals and court case records dated to Nov 15-30 [no year], most well ordered and in duplicate."</p>
X	-	c	<p>"Patiko" [Original Folder] <i>Empty.</i> Paula's original notes on folder: "Patiko. Paralira. Women – Households – kin –obligation – Maro [fathers?] – practices when drunk – refusal of being [illegible] – fate of sick women [without?] relatives – attitude to women." <i>Librarian's post-it:</i> "Handwritten items: lineage charts and notes. Charts on polygyny and marriage. Journal entries from various dates (Jan, Dec, mostly). 2-page Acholi text without translation. More journal – some duplicate entries from Nov in last file."</p>
X	-	-	<p>Folder D [original] <i>Empty.</i> Paula's original notation: Women. Life History. Patiko and Palaro verbal accounts of women and genealogy. Purada. Buoluo {sp?}. <i>Librarian's post-it:</i> "File 4. Handwritten notes and charts. Random journal entries. Subjects mostly related to marriage, families, chieftainship."</p>
X	-	e	<p>P.K. (contained X e1 & X e2) (Patiko Kal) <i>Empty.</i> Paula wrote: "Grades – incompletes. Class lists from '70-'76. Patiko." <i>Librarian's post-it:</i> File 5. Two folders both labelled as "Patiko Kal."</p>
X	-	e2	<p>Patiko Kal – Presorted</p>

50 or more pages, mostly typed. *Librarian's post-it*: "P.K. #2. Arranged journal entries, many on religion and dealing with misfortune. Cattle, women. Funerals + death." Some lineage charts and notes. Patiko Kal has 13 generations of history before Atiko. Brief selections from journal entries: Dec. 1: Men do cook if wife is away and has prepared everything beforehand. But a man would not grind millet or pick vegetables. "...Anything cooked in simsim oil is very good." Women will milk cows if children too young to do it. In the old days only men would milk cows. Dec. 12 (2): Latin Kayo = first born child. A 5-year-old child died of illness on Wednesday. Family thought it was cerebral malaria. Dec. 2 (3) and (4): a man does not want to marry, he wants to go to America. Paula paints the grave of a woman who had been killed in a car accident (1955). "Note: I am wondering about this KIR business. I still can't think of an adequate translation. It clearly has to do with SIN, because it has to be ATONED FOR The blood of the lamb washes away the sin, but why does KIR apply only in the clan???? Because, I think, SIN can only be committed WITHIN THE CLAN. KILLING IS NOT A SIN, if its not in the clan. You pay for it a girl, pay blood money. TO AVOID A FEUD, not so much to ATONE for SIN... To be short, I think, it's the magnitude of the DISRUPTIVE function of the act that makes something a sin instead of a wrong. (she then discusses sin, which is a complicated concept on its own)." Throws her first and last party: "Holly Makerel [sic] what a crowd." Small notes on notepad in Acholi: Kaka Me Patiko Kal (P.K. clan). Aug. 22 (4): "I bring up the children, but their LIM will not come to me, I am just helping my brother for nothing. BUT THE CHILDREN FALLOW [sic] MY WORD, not that men who gets their LIM because I HAVE THEIR MOTHER. They only listen to what I say, because I take care of their mother, he only gets [sic] the LIM. This is the real CHIRK ME ACHOLI..." Some notes in Acholi, some on *Abila* ["shrine"?]. Nov. 6 (9) on Da-Ker in Patiko "when the Patiko used to go to war."

X F d

Kinship

About 8 small note pages. Seems to be interview

			notes about history.
X	F	d	“Political History?” {yes} Primarily in Acholi About 12 small notes pages, possibly from an interview or interviews. One page dated 20-7-55.
X	F	d	Interviews Blue notebook with notation Palaro. Sketches of lineage charts and notes. <i>Abila</i> . Various dates, one page dated 11/2/1956. One page, “Everybody has 2 <i>abila</i> [shrines?]....”
X	F	e1	Misc. notes from Patiko Kal About 30 small note pages. From interview or interviews? Sketch of road and homesteads. One page dated Nov. 12.
X	G	g	3 drafts of Omorlameny – Nyinyinyo Lineage 3 pages: 3 fairly detailed lineage charts.
X	G	h	Handwritten Lineage Charts with notes on Descent About 10 pages. Charts and notes. I notice Patiko and Bwolo Pawell.
X	G/H	g	Handwritten Lineages and Notes on Chieftainship Structure relating to Lineages About 10 pages. Rough sketches of a lineage/s. A chart of comparison – not clear on what.
X	H	c	Kinship – Homestead 4 long handwritten pages in English, 1 typed page in Acholi.
X	H	c	Marriage Statistics Charts About 10 pages. Includes Patiko Kal: handdrawn stats on number of wives according to ages of men. (and Paralira?)
X	H	c	Notes in Acholi 5 pages in Acholi. 2 pages seem to be a letter to Ladit Akena, dated 5-12-55. Also notes Muttu, <i>Jago</i> of Patiko.
X	H	c	Research Questions One half-page handwritten informal questions apparently intended for one person and from him or her to Foster. <i>In Payira?</i> “Like all [illegible] coming to America and becoming American.” “... Why is he Koic when he is Patuda? He is Koic he sleeps there under the [illegible] of Koic ... Why did I come here, Who sent me, Who pays me, Will I make a book - and if it’s different from (F.K.) Girling then what, When will Girling send the book, Why do I do this study, Why don’t I read what Girling has written.”

X	H	d	<p>Notes and Interviews Primarily in Acholi 11 pages, handwritten. Sketch of lineage chart. Notes. One page dated Feb 14 (no year). 3 pages about Kaka Mukene (Mukene clan). Jo Paira (Payira) Ma Bwobo.</p>
X	H	d	<p>Marriage Statistics (Chart Form) 7 pages. Paralira Village. Numbers of Wives according to age of men. Most men have only one wife. A rough sketch of road and clan areas: Palaro, Pabo, Lamogi, Pawll, Pagaya, Payira, and so on. A typed chart about Patiko.</p>
X	H	g	<p>Socio-Political Organizations 4 handwritten pages. Describes sizes of <i>gangs</i> and <i>Kals</i>, survey on number of wives. In Palaro, number of wives. <i>Kaka Madit</i> = clan. <i>Kaka Matidi</i> = Maximal lineage. <i>Dogola (Dog gang)</i> = medial lineage. <i>Gang</i> = minimal lineage. Notes about exogamy on a chart.</p>
X	H	i	<p>Notes and Statistics on everyone in Patiko regarding marriage 2 handwritten pages. <i>No year or date</i>. Total number of males is 5,051. Single men, 1,594. Widowers 106. Total of women in Patiko is 5,834. Single women 3,109. Married women 2,530. Widows 195. Number marriageable and unmarriageable. She wants to know if there is a large group of unmarried males at any time, who are of marriageable age – also the same for females.</p>
X	H	i	<p>“Religious Agents” (includes vocabulary) 2 pages. “White magic” and “black magic.” Different kinds of <i>joks (jogi)</i>: personified nature – good and bad forces. ... Twins – kind of <i>jok</i> – power to bring sickness. <i>Jok</i> children: those born feet first - Odoc. Born with six fingers – Ojara. Born with webbed feet, ears, hands – Ojok. <i>Jok Labada</i>, “the creator of hunchbacks, lames, blinds, stutterers, deafs, etc.” Other vocabulary for these forces.</p>
X	I	e1	<p>Maps of Patiko Kal and a page of notes from apparently the same time Sketch maps. Jo Pa Okella. Shows “Main Road” and homesteads.</p>
X	J	c	<p>Kinship Theory 2 handwritten pages: lineage chart and notes, some crossed out. Among notes: “For both marriage is the only way to active adult status ...” “For men</p>

legitimate heirs are the basis of status, for women its [sic] simply children, legitimate or illegitimate.” Last paragraph: “That childless men are men without legitimate descendents is embodied in the imagery especially the kind of death associated with such men. For both sexes childlessness is death but for men its [sic] violent death – *neko* for women its [sic] suicide.”

X J g

Handwritten drafts and notes for article on Acholi Political Organization (See Folder X.K.g.) About 50 or more pages, handwritten. Starts: “The Acholi people were divided into some 60-100 autonomous chiefdoms, each being coterminous with a clan and having its own land area...” ... In this paper I would like to show the operation of this system through the data drawn mainly from the PATIKO chiefdom ...” Includes a sketch map of Patiko Kal segment near “Main Road” near Omyama River and Cai River. A sketch lineage chart.

X J h

Roles in Marriage and in Rules in Marriage, pg. 83 (*of what?*)
3 small pages, handwritten notes. Including: “Opposition between kinship ties in marriage. Women [*illegible*] natal lineage. Visit to family. Present at funeral. Sickness go home. Parents give harvest gifts helps build private [*illegible*]. ... Tension of male and female lineage ties. ... Wife beating – allowed - but not excessive. Wife [*illegible*] no one but husband can beat. Wife free to dispose of her time Men no control over routine when she goes to market, when she cooks or does not cook – moral obligation to each other Men protector and wife as [*illegible*].”

X K c

Portion of Chapter 1
Folder only contains one paragraph. Typos removed: “The cradle land of the Nilotes was the area around Lake No, whence they moved in successive waves first to the North and leaving behind the Nuer and Dinka groups and then turning south to Uganda and Kenya. The main Luo groups traveled south to Shilluk country under the leadership of one chief. Here they split and some of them moved south east to the Lafon Hill region, an other [sic] split led to the migration of the southern

- Luo into Uganda and the movements of other groups through Lari country toward the west.”
- X K g**
Typed drafts on Acholi Political Organization (see Folder X.J.g.)
 About 30 pages, parts edited and crossed out. Begins: “The Acholi people are divided into some 30-40 tribes which in the former days were co-terminus with territorially independent and politically autonomous chiefdoms....” Last page: “Female ancestors are not forgotten and [are] propitiated ...”
- X L a**
Several articles
 “The Significance of Cattle Exchange in Lovedu Social Structure” by J. D. Krige in *Africa* Vol. XII, pp. 393, ff 1939 (Beth Dillingham named on top). “Family Waqf in Zanzibar” – Lienhart, E.A.I.S.R. “Piercing” – Malcolm J. Ruel, E.A.I.S.R. “Some Aspects of Nyamwezi Witch Belief” –R. G. {Ray}Abrahams {*seems to be an unpublished paper*}.
- X L g**
Notes about articles by other authors
 10 handwritten pages. “Education and the Culture Concept” by F. Musgrove, *Africa* Vol. XXIII, 1953, pp. 110-25: “Schools present new ideas...” + “A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Culture Change” by F. Musgrove, *Africa* Vol. 22, 1952, pp. 234-249. *Uganda* by H.B. Thomas and Robert Scott, Oxford University Press, 1935. Foster also makes notes about unidentified “Memos” or “Memorandums” about schooling, from the 1930s and 1925.
- X S c**
Notes written in Acholi language
- X S i**
 6 small note pages, dated 9/1/1956.
Students’ Life Stories (and more)
 About 26 one- to two-page autobiographies of girls attending C.M.S. Girls Secondary School dated around 26/5/55. A few examples: “My life history was quite a nice one[.] [M]y father was in the K.A.R. so by the time I was born in 1939 in Nairobi then when I was still a baby my mother come with me home leaving father there. Our home is at Padibe where my father and grandfather were born and I am now living there too....” + “I am an Acholi girl ... born in 1939 in Kampala ...My father was a policeman ...” + “I live at our home during holidays times at Omoro, Lira, but during

school times I live here Gulu in learning. I am a Lango girl..." + Girls from Tororo, Soroti, Gisu, Kitgum, Gulu, and so on. Several girls say they were born in Gulu Hospital or Kitgum Hospital. + blue "UGANDA Exercise Book" with 10-page description by Gastavas Odong, called "The Celebration in my Village of Local Ceremony." It begins: "In some civilized countries, people however, would not believe there is any magic at all in the world and only tricks that people play. In Acholi as I should say, never will they agree that a person can die from illness or old age. If therefore they find no wound in a corpse, they assume that the person has been killed by witchcraft..." + blue "U.B. Exercise Book" with "Autobiography" by Paul Okot, senior 3 in secondary school, dated 1955. He filled the entire notebook with his autobiography in 20 chapters: "My Early Life," "First Vocation," "A Virago" (female teacher who beat the students), "Permanent Drunkard," "The Insane Uncle," "A Repose," "A Nincompoop," "I Grew Austere," "We Meet Again," "A Foggy Mind Cleared," "Big Brains," "I Become Exuberant," "A Goer," "No Vacancy," "Saint Leo's College," "Brain Trustees," "A Leaver." {*There might be a few chapters missing or misnumbered.*}

X T c

March 12, Journal / Interview

4 handwritten pages. "From Payira," no year. *Hard to comprehend*: mix of English and Acholi.

X T d

March 14 (no year)

3 handwritten pages in a mix of English and Acholi. "In 1953 son of [*illegible*] killed his wife LAKOP of Payira Kal by beating her Odoo [?] – after that he committed suicide..." Apparently not married, controversy about recompense [*for whom, from whom?*] and bridewealth. "They will not *mato oput* they will only *nyomo lyel* because that is *cirk* Acholi..." Not clear why he beat her, "it was fight of the night..."

X T h

Untitled [1955 and 1956]

About 60-70 handwritten pages large and small, mix of English and Acholi. Undated, including material on funerals, murders, lineage charts, co-wife relations, illness, *Jok*. Dates include March 30. [See also folder for additional text, file: Box 10_846]. Blue folder: death of Min Ocen. *Da-Ker*

			<p>Patiko and <i>Kwer Ngu</i>, 2/21/1956, 2/28. 10-6-55: small notepad, kidnapping interview from 1914, discussion of wife seniority, more material about being married – hard to follow. Placement of houses, relationship of co-wives. 18 pages of Acholi writing dated 10-6-66. Big notepad: daily life, notes on ‘chief of women,’ bridewealth procedure. Interview with Laker: bridewealth; women help each other; wife kidnapping and putting on oil; co-wives; “when boys get married”; growing crops and money from crops. March 22: children getting sick; <i>Jok</i>. Second blue folder: Sunday, March 12: all in Acholi. Saturday, March 11. <i>Jok</i>; dances to keep <i>Jok</i> away; more in Acholi. Notecard with library call numbers.</p>
X	T	i	<p><i>Untitled [also 1955 and 1956]</i> About 50 small note pages, no clear beginning and end or topic; 95% in Acholi; a few pages in English about marriage. Dates include: 9/1/1956; 8/1/1956; 11/09/1955; 23/11/1955; 10/11/1955.</p>
XI			<p><u>Handwritten Notes and Lineage Charts</u></p>
XI	F	-	<p>“Folder contains stacks of handwritten notecards, many dated mm/dd”</p>
			<p>{Where are they? They are not in physical folder.}</p>
XI	H	f1	<p>Handwritten journal, Aug. 1 Year unknown. Describes recounting of an accident, someone accidentally speared someone else. “If dead <i>cullo kwor</i> - if not dead – they will <i>matto</i> [sic] <i>oput...</i>” Also describes what happened with a man drank beer, came home singing what he said was “an old song about how they used to kill people in the old days.” Injured his sister, killed his mother – he was (possessed?) by <i>Tipu</i>. Jailed, to be tried by the High Court.</p>
XI	H+F	f2	<p>Handwritten journal, Aug. 2; wrapped around hand-written notecards</p>
			<p>Year unknown. {Not sure what the topics are.}</p>
XI	-	g	<p>“Diary” originally “Kinship & Genealogy” 1956 daily calendar, most days filled in January-June. Several pages of miscellaneous notes by Foster. Some notes in Acholi - not Foster’s handwriting.</p>
XI	S	g3	<p>Lineage – Patriline, misc. typed page</p>

			Torn page, one paragraph beginning “Acholi society is based on a patrilineal lineage system around which all aspects of life economics, political, as well as religious, are centered” [sic]. {nothing written on folder} inside: Original Folder: “Pu’Guinyi & Pa Chua”
XI	h	-	
XI	G	h1	Lineage Charts {Some coffee & water damage}
XI	G	h2	Lineage Charts & Genealogy Terms Written on paper dated 1974.
XI	i	-	{nothing written on folder} inside: Original Folder “Pa Gaya.” No other materials.
XI	G	i1	Lineage Charts
XI	G	i2	Lineage Charts, multi-page diagram of genealogy Dated Feb 22, 1956.
XI	G	i3	Lineage Charts Paper dated 1974.
XI	j	-	“Padibe” Original Folder/Envelope No other materials in folder.
XI	S	j1	Bound Daytimer 1956, Jan – June; also handwritten notecards inside it. <i>{This folder is empty.}</i>
XI	G	j2	Lineage Charts Padibe and presumably elsewhere.
XI	G	j3	Lineage Charts – Multi-page genealogy with smaller charts inside it
XI	jj	-	“Padibe” Manila envelope inside “j” No other materials in folder.
XI	G	jj1	Lineage Charts (note: “jj” is a manila envelope inside folder “j”) Padibe and presumably elsewhere.
XI	F	jj2	Misc. handwritten notes; some lineage charts
XI	O	jj5	Letter: from Elasto Obol to Mr. Girling April 19, year unknown, possibly early 1956. The former Rwot of Padibe writes to F.K. Girling (author of <i>The Acholi of Uganda</i>) requesting (iron?) tablets. Describes his car accident (October 1953) and subsequent illness: “Acholi medicine” is not helping. Worries that small pension is not enough to live on. The former Rwot of Madi had refused a small pension and then received more. “I worked for 34 years and I want to be payd [sic] well but I haven’t yet found any help....”
XI	F	jj7	Handwritten notes – Feb 2 Year unknown. Also Feb 3.

XI	G	jj17	Lineage Chart, April 11, 1956
XI	k	-	“Palaro” Original Folder No material inside folder.
XI	G	k1	Lineage Charts
XI	G	k3	Lineage Charts
XI	l	-	Original: “Rel & Race; Role & Class” & “Buolwo” { <i>This folder is empty.</i> }
XI	m	-	“Padibe” Original Folder <i>Empty.</i>
XI	I	m1	Hand-drawn Map – Victorian Nile A simple sketch.
XI	S	m2	Daily Activities – Irrelevant, Dec. 29 Foster arrives in Kitgum and Padibe. Describes first encounters with local people. A widow lives with her own brother “because she was not inherited. Nobody wanted her. She was old and blind...” The widow’s husband’s clan refused her.
XI	H	m3	Handwritten notes – drawings, vocab, misc. May 11, year unknown. April 10. April 9. Nov 19.
XI	S	m14	“Typed Acholi Notes- Phrases? Songs?” It’s actually a questionnaire. 75 questions. Headings include General Background, Family Background, Economic Activities.
XI	n	-	Untitled {Blank, original folder} No contents.
XIa			Notes: Social and Political
XIa	-	a	Original Folder: “Dances”
XIa	-	b	Songs, Proverbs, Fables. “Note: filed in original order except removed court documentation.”
XIa	-	d	Original folder: “Politics: UNC, District Council Election, Petition for passes for women travel” (Note: “Another folder in which PHF clearly organized the material enough to put it into a folder, but the material w/in the folder was randomly ordered.”) = There is no material in here.
XIa	-	e	original folder: Territorial Organization “Soc. Pol Territory.” { <i>Folder is empty.</i> }
XIa	-	e1	original folder: Lineage & Chiefships Handwriting: “Territorial descriptive attempts primarily on the organization of the chiefships – lineage & chiefship”
XIa	-	b	Misc. notes on songs & fables kept in original order

First page: A *nanga* musician explains to Foster how he learned to play from his brother in 1925. Bought the instrument in Patiko in 1933-4. In 1928 he went to Kampala to the police lines to pay the *nanga* there. Song lyrics circa 1911 sung by a man who doesn't have enough lim to marry his sweetheart. Another is sung by a woman who has been married to an old man despite her will, because her parents have agreed to give her to this man.

+ pages of lyrics in Acholi.

+ "This is sung while the people are dancing the myel lyel.

+ "This song refers to Alier the son of Rwot Awic of Payira, who shot a white man and brought war to Acholi..."

+ many other lyrics in Acholi, some translated into English. About 50 pages total.

XIa A d

Interview with Petero Oola and Janne

Note: "Interview about the Congress and what they plan to do. Interesting stuff on Cath/Prot conflict. Dated June 3. Based on Folder XI.B.d. I think it's 1955. See XI.d file to help extrapolate."

XIa B a

Variety of Dances, Aswa County Show

Note on folder:

Oct. 17: Discusses quality of a number of dances on "Saturday" with an unidentified female.

Feb. 13: *Moko* Dance – quality & intensity of dance was superior to last Saturday – also saw man dressed in goat skin for first time.

Oct. 3: Aswa County Show. Flea market? Ploughing competition, agric. Shield winner announcement. *Dingy dingy* dance.

Oct. 15: Dance competition. *Apity, Otole, Koco, Opere*; also some discussion of *Rwot Kweri*

Oct. 16: *Bwola* practice.

Feb. 3: "La Moko Wag"

Dec. 20: *Larakaraka*; courtship dance

Aug. 15: School children doing the *Otole* dance [Roman Catholic Mission -RCM school]

Feb. 6: *Myei Mok*: sounds like a huge dance party.

Last sentence: "We had to make a dash for the car because it began to rain, however the dance went on undaunted."

XIa B d

Elections of the District Council

Note: Jan. 31, 1956 – Minutes of the election

			Feb. 1, 1956 – More election minutes
			Feb. 2, 1956 – More election minutes
			May 14 – Uganda National Congress (UNC) -more minutes
			June 4 – Court cases. See Folder XI.d. for similar info; accompanied by handwritten notes with same info.
XIa	C	a	Jan. 17 {no year}– description of unidentified Dance involving <i>Moko</i> and European dress
XIa	D	a	<i>Otole</i> Dance
			Note: Oct. 23. 2 typed pages.
XIa	D	d	Journal entries about elections
			Note: Jan. 31, 1956: Recount of elections. Issues include UNC interference and unwanted church involvement and media influence. Complaints that the Acholi are represented by Antonio Opwa in the Legco.
			June 2 &3: Foster is in Padibe and her car broke down.
XIa	H	b	Court notes; 1 set general; another is documentation of a rape testimony
XIa	J		No Folder; Introduction
			Handwritten notes.
XIa	J	e	Socio-Political org. Chapter 1.
XIa	J	e	Territorial organization / Lineage - Chapt 1
XIa	J	e	Outline of social & territorial org (Chapt 1)
XIa	J	e1	Social & Political Organization & Territorial Organization. (Note: as found in original folder)
XIa	K	e	pg. 6, 6a, 6b
XIa	Q	d	Acholi
			(Note: Acholi District Administration Ordinance of 1955 (in Acholi); Agenda of Acholi District Council on 26 Oct. 1955; June 1956 District Council meeting minutes (in Acholi); Members of District Council, 1/24/56-accompanied by handwritten notes. Agenda of Acholi District Council on 1/31/56 (see Folder XI.d. for journal entries over same time period).
XIa	c		(no title)
			Contains original folder “Kinship Koic” and handwritten notes plus typed notes dated Jan. 29, 30 about visit to and interviews with head of “Mony Pa Lubanga” (War of God sect from Lango). Acholi informant was very worried, said that religion was a pretext and they were really here to take Acholi land. Foster describes discussion with head of sect.

XIa	S		Law – incomplete court chart, drawn but never filled in.
XIb			Notes: Ritual, Religion, Kinship, Law
XIb	B	jj3	History: Lineage of Bunyoro Clan, May 12
XIb	B	jj6	Ritual funeral, May 13 <i>(Note: Funeral of a murdered woman)</i>
XIb	B	jj7	Colonialism: Views on White Men, Taxes, National Parks, Oct. 11
XIb	B	jj8	Religion: Magic, Christianity; Politics: Taxes, War, Aug. 16
XIb	B	jj10	Religion: Christianity, Jews, April 6
XIb	B	jj12	Marriage: Women’s Work, Monday, Property, April 8
XIb	B	jj15	Religion & Marriage. April 10 <i>(Note: -Jok; -Ostracism)</i>
XIb	B	jj16	Law: Trial & Injury, April 11
XI	B	jj18 (?)	Marriage & Divorce – Polygamy, April 12 [DOUBLE CHECK –BR]
XIb	B	jj20	Ritual – Marriage; Bridewealth; Sex; Funeral <i>(Note: Lim – acceptance; rejecting Plowing first field, seed from mother-in-law Superstitions – darkness, alone Funeral: “you can’t live without women” -grave location, -fence around grave Marriage – sex practices; Husbands in separate house; Children sleeping with their parents.)</i>
XIb	B	jj23	Ritual – Funeral; Plowing Fields; Housebuilding, April 15 <i>(Note: -bull slaughter, -coming of relatives -inheritance of wife, -burial)</i>
XIb	B	jj24	Kinship – Lineage Charts & History, April 17
XIb	B	jj25	Kinship – Clan Distribution ; Marriage – Beatings; Bridewealth, April 18,19 <i>(Note: One page says “Feb 19”, but I think it is a typo – it follows w/ other April 19 notes)</i>
XIb	B	jj27	Law: Colonial Law vs. Old Acholi Law, May 4
XIb	B	jj28	Law – Acholi Justice & Retribution, May 8 <i>(Note: -intentional killings, -retribution payment, must be a girl, not money)</i>
XIb	B	jj29	Marriage: Courtship – “dating”, May 9
XIb	B	jj34	Songs, May 12
XIb	B	k2	Law: Rwot Justice, March 1 <i>(Notes: Justice: -adultery, -theft. *more problems with trust)</i>
XIb	B	l2 (“L”2 –BR)	Ritual: Agriculture and BULL, Aug. 31

XIb	B	m4	Kinship: History, April 17
XIb	B	m5	Ritual: Pregnancy, April 16 (Note: "kwer me yac" –pregnancy ritual; "kwer me nyural" –post birth ritual; "kwer lyel" -- death of a child ritual)
XIb	B	m7	Lineage & Crime: Marital Beating, April 18
XIb	B	m8	Marriage: Divorce & Bridewealth, April 19
XIb	B	m9	Colonial: Racism, Mistrust, May 4 (Note: In Padibe, the people do not trust Foster. They will not talk to her. –Views on white men's influences on Acholi)
XIb	B	m10	Law: Acholi Justice & Retribution; Murder, May 8 (Note: -treatment/tolerance of the insane; -intentional killings; -retribution payment, cannot be money)
XIb	B	m11	Marriage: Courtship, Dating, May 9 Notes: -how girls chase a boy to date; "dating"
XIb	B	m16	April 16 Note: Religion: Mixing Christianity; Lubanga = God; views on Jews; Muslims & Mecca.
XIb	B	m18	Marriage & Politics: Women's Role, Duties & Obligations, April 8 (Note: Woman elected, Rwot man?? [CHECK –BR. Could be "mon" = wife of Rwot (ruler) perhaps; or min?] –her role politically & judicially; Husband's money and wife's money: -possessions; -who buys what
XIb	B	m22	Ritual: Leaving Clan; Jok; Burial, April 10

XIc **Notes: Ritual, Religion, Kinship, Law**
(This box contains folders that were apparently gathered from other boxes) –mainly typed diary notes.

XI	C	n/3	Politics: Division. April 10 One-half page. 8 or so categories. Arranging a meeting with elders.
III	D	b	Health Nov. 12: Paula is taking a sick child to the dispensary; the mother complains that no one is caring about the illness of her child because they are all drunk with the beer prepared for the funeral of Luabromoi; the child is given penicillin, cough medicine and quinine for bronchitis; Paula is sick.
III	D	c	Council Meeting/Court Cases

			<p>Nov. 14: One-half page. Paula is angry about abuse of power by a court official because he kept 60 people waiting for him and he isn't 'democratic' [she elaborates]; Paula observes Acholi bigotry toward other groups: A woman had been killed and people were relieved the killer wasn't Acholi but was Ankole and they subsequently "abused the Ankole" [<i>as a group or individual is not clear</i>].</p>
III	D	c	<p>Religion Nov. 5: Paula is angry to have been excluded from the non-Christian side of a funeral; religious syncretism.</p>
III	D	c	<p>Ritual March 23: Paula is angry about Alfredo's attempts to bar her from the ceremony of the Lapful (most important god in the Palaro pantheon, whose function is to give fertility in every sense of the word); she reflects on her position in the community; Nov. 6: Paula reflects on the role of the "mother of Patiko" <i>Min Ocen</i> as <i>daker</i> (<i>da-ker</i>) in the ceremony [what kind is not mentioned] to fix the <i>ball</i> (mistake) of the Pairo boy; she compares Acholi politics to British peerage; the role of the <i>Rwot</i>; Feb. 8: Paula wonders about the significance of the sexual license in the <i>Myel Rut</i> (dance of the twin); she asks about the properties of twins; she cultivates the friendship of an <i>ajwaka</i> (traditional healer); Paula's Acholi is improving; she wonders about her status as the <i>chi woda</i> (wife of the <i>rwot</i>); she is concerned about rumors of a leopard (<i>kwatch</i>) in her tree. It seems she is in Patiko because she mentions taking a couple to Baker's camp.</p>
VI	D	d	<p>Expatriates Feb. 11: Paula is visited by a couple of Americans and an Indian; likes them because they are interesting to talk with; Jan. 28: Paula's car is repaired; party at May's.</p>
VI	D	d	<p>Health Jan. 13: Paula has the flu; Jan. 14: Paula has the flu; the women visit her; Feb. 7: Kilara's wife has a child with the mumps; Paula is persuaded to give her medicine; Paula doesn't like the responsibility, fears she will be blamed if the child does not get well.</p>
VI	D	d	<p>Land Reform</p>

VI	D	d	<p>Jan. 30: Paula talks to the <i>lawirowdi</i> about local politics; Paula thinks land reform bill is due to the East Africa High Commission's economic report recommending individual land tenure to bring up the standard of living; Paula doesn't think the Acholi understand individual land tenure; Paula think the uneducated will be exploited and unhappy; she wonders what this will do to social organization and polygamy; dry season weather.</p> <p>Miscellaneous</p> <p>Feb. 9: Paula's car breaks down; Jan. 10: Paula returns from Kampala and everyone comes to see her; storytelling; Jan. 15: Paula has recovered from the flu; Abe wants to take Paula on a hunt; <i>Min</i> Okema and Paula plan a dance; Lury and Dinah have government scholarships; they ask her about Europeans; Acholi standards of beauty; Damasto's cattle.</p>
VI	D	d	<p>Weather</p> <p>Nov. 5: <i>Partial duplicate of Folder III.D.e "Religion"</i>; thunderstorm in the distance; mosquitos; Feb. 5: Paula's trip to the <i>myel lyel</i> (grave dance) is postponed for rain; Margaret is worried about the heavy rains in January.</p>
VI	D	e	<p>Assault</p> <p>July 4: Paula celebrates Independence Day; Antonia jokes that is bridewealth was paid per pound of the girl, then Paula wouldn't bring much; no court due to an attempted killing; a man stabbed his friend in the chest; no reason, the man is crazy; <i>Jago Pece</i> describes the case he will make.</p>
VI	D	e	<p>Politics</p> <p>Oct. 18: Paula asks the Assistant District Commissioner (A.D.C.) if she can attend the Standing Committee Meeting and he says the <i>rwot</i> has put him up to it because he has been very troublesome lately; people are agitating for self-government; the A.D.C. disparages a number of local political figures; Paula meets Kilara, who is happy the government is signing an agreement with the Buganda; the gains of the Buganda will be the gains of everyone else in Uganda; Kitarra is sarcastic about the Governor; Paula suspects her friends are involved in Congress for personal gain; Oct. 24: Paula attends the Standing Committee Meeting and is disappointed; the Health Officer takes up an</p>

inordinate amount of time; the District Commissioner encourages Paula to leave; Paula thinks the D.C. makes all the decisions for the council; Council members using their position to further their own ends; the Acholi have no real power; **Aug. 21:** Paula has malaria; Openy makes a map of people's fields but forgets to report the size; Luchara wants to know why Paula is counting fields; Luchara thinks she is working for the government; Paula reassures him; Luchara chastises her for not asking permission; Luchara wants to know if whites are involved in the Sudanese war; the Arabs are just as bad as Europeans for taking African land; Paula takes the *rwot* to Opidi and they discuss Congress; Paula is angry with the *rwot*. **Aug. 22:** Paula had to take Opoka's wife to the hospital in the night because the afterbirth wasn't coming; her malaria is worse; Min Openy wants to know how the whites are involved in the Sudanese war; she doesn't think the Acholi should get involved even to help the Sudanese Acholi; not many people in the gang know what the war's about; everyone is afraid the Acholi will be called to fight; Omal notes the French are fighting in Morocco and thinks the British better stay out of the Sudanese war because they are having enough trouble with Buganda calls for independence; self-government; Omal disparages the corruption of local government; who will be elected; universal suffrage; the Acholi need a *lawirowdi* to talk to the Europeans; right now the Acholi have no power; Paula speculates about ballot box stuffing in upcoming election; rumors about the war; **Aug. 27:** Mathia says people have been asking about Paula's map of fields; he wants to know what she is doing; people are afraid Paula is with the government and will try to take their lands; Ogaba comes and is very secretive; Ongom tells Paula and Openy that Oyat and Ojul are asking why Paula made a map and saying there will be war if Paula tried to take their land; Paula is angry Oyat and Ojul don't come to her; Paula wonders why they are afraid of her now; she thinks people are suspicious due to the Sudanese war and the coming elections; **Aug. 29:** Paula talks with Congress members; they question her business there; they are suspicious of the truth

of her claims when other white people have exploited them; the proverb of the camel and the tent; they think Paula is working for the British government; Paula asks them to trust her; they say [anthropologist F.K.] Girling came to do what she did and nearly got killed; they accuse her of not telling what she's doing and she says she explains to everyone who asks; they ask her for a copy of her work and she promises; they criticize white people; they say she will get rich from her work and don't believe her when she says she is not rich; when white men are in Africa they're all British; Paula thinks they don't understand the difference between a protectorate and a colony and this is why they fear their land being taken; she noticed the educated people never like to give her information but the uneducated ones trust her; she thinks they're lying about Girling.

X D d

Nov. 1

1-1/2 pages. Unsuccessful baboon hunt to kill baboons that were stalking the sheep; got lost in tall grass; Acholi girl flirts with Paula's European friend John. Comments about dances European vs. Acholi.

X O f

Oct. 27 (and more dates)

Oct. 27: road trip; cracks in road and symbolism relating to Lubanga; PHF becomes a granddaughter because she's from the same "clan" as a previous visitor; Oct. 28: makes arrangements to visit Patiko and write down history; Oct 29: car broken; Nov. 1: John visits, they hunt and hang out; turned 25 yrs old on Nov. 1; more visits from teenage girls; dances; Nov. 2: who is going to come and do a nutrition study; mentions car accident; court material – Angelo ran away; men and women – cultural differences; Nov. 3: recovering from beer; Angelo got in a fight; he came back, PHF threatened to fire him; Nov. 7: Achelari {?} is sick; case of woman running from husband to another man; Nov. 8 (1): Achelari is worse; priest is bothering her to help bake for a tea party; Nov. 10 (1): someone else takes care of the Bishop's cake; PHF realizes cooking is very time-consuming and that's why women spend much time on it; Nov. 12 91): helped woman with dying child.

- X O fl** *Untitled*
 About 20 pages.
Nov 7-8: see Folder X.D.f; **Nov. 10 (1):** see Folder X.D.f., PHF has a cold; **Nov. 10 (2):** Jeremiah is bringing proposals about women’s legislation to court. He also thinks Acholi women are “kept like slaves.” Talk about negative social implications of younger men leading older men. Freedom and independence singular words in Acholi. **Nov. 11:** funeral schedule; Achelari {sp?} still sick; discussion of power of *Ajwaka* and *Lubanga*; Achelari doubts the *ajwaka* – thinks only medicine has power; story of curing woman of leprosy with medicine; more about *ajwaka* being foolers; still has a cold; **Nov. 12 (1) and (2):** more about sick child; PHF is still sick too.
- X D c** **dated October, November, December**
 About 10 pages. Sounds like she is new to Padibe. She feels mistrusted and feared. Padibe is 2 shops, a cotton-buying place, a market and a bicycle repair shop by the roadside. “The government has made PERMANENT BUILDINGS for the *rwot* and *jago* headquarters, put up a new bridge, also cement, over the Aswa, and cut a new road which means that Padibe will not be cut off during the rainy season anymore.” Then it seems she is back in Patiko? Threw a party as “daughter of the *rwot*,” lots of food and drink, everyone approved. Huge crowd. “This is the first and last party I ever give.” Party still going on a day later. A funeral. One woman told her friends not to lie to Paula. Funeral dances. “Payera are the best dancers.” A child became sick and died; discussion whether due to poisoning or cerebral malaria, probably the latter. PHF misses classical music.
- XI D g1** **Lineage – Inheritance patterns + pragmatism, Nov. 5, Oct. 20**
 1-1/2 pages. Fragmentary notes, hard to follow. Something about an inheritance and *dyel*.
- XI D g4** **Ritual – *jok*, daily activities. Oct. 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19**
 7 pages. Awful stickiness and mosquitoes. Going to Goma (Congo) for a dancing competition. Lots of people want to go with her in her car. Something (spider or scorpion) bit her and she got temporary paralysis. October is terribly hot and the bugs

- impossible. A possession ceremony. Cosmology about twins. She thinks that people of Patiko accept her.
- XI D g5** **Marriage, Elopement – Oct. 1**
1-1/2 pages. Diary notes. Conversations and jokes. A man wants 4 wives.
- XI B+D g6** **Ritual – Acholi/Catholic mixing. Oct. 6, Oct. 7**
Her friends Walter and Cinty Sangree say farewell to everyone they had met. One “threw the *gagi*” to see whether they’d get home ok (they would); conversations with various people.
- XI D g8** **Politics – brief mention, fears of Sudanese bombing**
October 5, 6
Diary pages. Walter and Cinty Sangree are visiting her. Tires burst in Gulu and people thought it was an attack by Sudanese. People at the market thought a low-flying plane was dropping bombs. Pandemonium. Stampede to escape the covered market, one woman killed and a child badly injured and taken to hospital. Stalls overturned. Individuals afterward thought it was funny.
Bell and *baa* are kinds of harvested plants. There was some confusion about whether Paula would have to vacate her house (in Patiko?) and she is relieved she won’t have to.
- XI D g9** **Paginated pp. 6-45. Dec. 7 – Dec. 19 {presumably 1954?}**
Appears to be identical to g10 folder below. About 30 pages typed notes. Daily diary of initial impressions and experiences of Paula in Acholiland. Paula meets many people. Apparently she is moving in for the first time. Needs to learn Acholi. It is only her 4th day in Acholiland and already she is living in a compound, can’t believe her luck. The head of household refuses rent, says it is for Aliker’s sake that he welcomes Paula (Aliker is apparently her friend in the U.S.); says the U.S. has been good to Alibar and so he wants to help an American. Paula is a little uneasy about possible future obligations but so far is very happy with everything. Goes to the market. Many people already know about her, like to hear her say greetings in Acholi. People assume she is Aliker’s wife. She hopes to persuade them otherwise. She is discovering that people for miles around know about her and think she is

Aliker's wife. Meets Father Pellegrini at Leiby Technical School, which is expanding. He tells her Acholi are neither good nor bad, they have lost what was good about the old days and copied what was bad from white people, it is the fault of the government. He describes incident of apparent poisoning and how at court the *jago* beat a confession out of the women alleged poisoners. Pellegrini said, "You see, the govt can't do anything for the people, they have to do it their own way." Paula is skeptical of this story. Pellegrini continues to opinionize: "also the girls, they have no morality." Much commentary by him about Acholi morality. Paula is pained to have to listen to all this. "The Father talked like a river." In parting she tells him (to his apparent surprise) that she is a Jew. He says, "You are still waiting for salvation, aren't you?" Paula learns to never step over food at the market, it upsets people and is very unlucky. Meeting the P.C. (Bere) and accessing colonial reports. His wife comments about prostitution in Gulu. Back home at the wang-o (bonfire) she hears the story of the Hare, the Elephant, and the Mouse. Going to Pabbo and Attiak. Much else...

XI D g10

Paginated pp. 6-46. Dec. 7 – Dec. 19

Appears to be identical to g9 folder above

XI D g11

Paginated pp. 46-77, 13, 78-105. Dec. 19 –20 {presumably 1954}

Most of the pages have a carbon copy with the original. Context unclear – seems to be continuation of diary notes above. Young man interrogates her in front of other men about why she is there and whether she is from the government. It ended on a friendly note and she was invited to return. Upon leaving, her companion was embarrassed, said people are so suspicious of her that they even suspect him. Rwo later asks her is she is really not from the government. It seems she is in Padibe (East Acholi) because she is comparing some place to West Acholi. Goes to Madi Opel by way of Paloga, describes roads and landscape. Describes Madi. People wary of guiding her without authorization from authorities even after she says she will take responsibility. Gets permission from the Jago. At a homestead she counts 5 *wang-os* (bonfire places) with a large one in the center.

- Meets the elderly *ladit*. She is meeting many different people. Some are wearing traditional attire for a dance. She might be in Agoro. Told that Dinga (Dinka) people live near the Acholi border and often come to Acholi for work. Funny incident of an 8-yr-old girl defying her father. And much else...
- XI D g12** **Ritual –“David’s” Going-away party, Sept 19-20**
5 typed pages. Diary pages. River Tovi overflowed the road outside Gulu. Party, men wearing tuxedos. Later at home, her sister and her (sister’s) husband are guests: They in fact are her friends Walter and Cinty Sangree, but people say they are relatives. “I seem to be a more normal person now that I can show a family.” Meanwhile, children tell stories: “These children really enjoy telling stories.” Here as opposed to Tiriki (Kenya), people handle *jok* possession as “accepted, known, well-in-hand, familiar.” Remarks again that people think Cinty Sangree is her sister: “They believe Min Tito’s word much more than mine.” Paula frustrated because does not understand meaning and particulars of the *jok* possession ceremony, and “Who are the *joks*?” Nobody answers why.
- XI D g13** **Medicine, miscellaneous. Feb. 5, 7, 9, 11**
3 typed pages, diary notes. A child has what appears to be mumps. Mother wants Paula to give her medicine, Paula recommends going to doctor for help and also so other children won’t be infected. Does give aspirin, doubts mother took child to hospital. Worries about dispensing “medicine” since she’s no expert and it might be misconstrued as poison. “Damned why isn’t there a doctor?” Weather horrible, rainy, hot and steamy. She thinks roads will be passable in rainy season. Meets 2 American men and enjoyed discussions with them. Feels a bit lonely after they leave.
- XI D jj9** **Law court case. April 5-6 {year?}**
5 typed diary pages. Has arrived in Padibe, East Acholi, goes to Kitgum for supplies. Colonial officials discuss education system in Lango compared to Acholi. Living places of Rowdi and Jagi are better in Lango than Acholi. Briefly, case of man accused of kicking another and breaking his shin bone with army boot: The officials say that “the Acholi always lie when in court.” Paula counters that in Europe, too, “eyewitnesses differ in

their accounts, and Acholi have the custom to never go straight to the point and show who is guilty of what, they talk around the question, and only indicate who is guilty and then everybody makes their own conclusion.” Meanwhile she is upset that the promised work on her new residence was never done and it is barely habitable. Unfriendly people came to her and asked if she was government. But women have been friendly. Notes many differences between East and West Acholi: climate, language, landscape. Describes what Padibe looks like: 4 shops, etc. Market twice a week. Court held every Monday. Still v upset that no work has been done on her barely livable house. Hates that she has to rely on govt (since she is not ‘from the govt’) for help with house but no one else is helping.

XI D jj11

Daily log. April 7 {possibly 1956}

5 typed diary pages. She is in Padibe (East Acholi). Meets {E}Lasto Obol, the former Rwot. {See Folder XI.O.jj5 re his letter to F.K. Girling asking for help dealing with health problems from car accident.} She describes setting. A chair that Mrs Samuel Baker (“Anyadwe”) had given his father Ogowok (who reigned 1968-1900 or so). It was Lagony his successor who was hung in 1911 or so. Posing for a photo with certain items. Discussed unsuccessfully ordering medicines by post. “He said he only trusted American medicines.” He says she should consider herself in his care and to come to him if any troubles. He has around 10 wives but some have apparently left. One wife died 2 years previously and there was a “tremendous funeral, all clans came to it.” 10 cows had been killed for funeral. Because he is ill, delay in bringing *abila* (ancestor spirits?) to this homestead. She goes to Palabek, led to table of the District Commissioner, feels trapped. “Nobody will talk to me if other Europeans are present.” Acholi Association in Palabek is v strong unlike elsewhere. Every Sat night the association holds dances. People give money to the best dancers. The Association built the permanent market building. 5-note bamboo flutes, played well. Weather here better than “cold and damp” Patiko (West Acholi).

XI D jj14

Daily log. April 9 {possibly 1956}

2 typed diary pages. More discussions with Rwot Lasto Obol. She finds it an advantage to live on another clan's land nearby so she has more independence than perhaps otherwise. Meets a Fulani man who is going to Agoro to get goats to sell: He has 5 different I.O.U.s (from Rwot, one of Rwot's sons, a shopkeeper from Madi Opel, and 2 men from Agoro) totally 3,000 shillings. He is a Mohamedan and apparently does not charge interest. On the I.O.U.s there is no date of repayment. He shows her a letter from Lasto Obol dated 1954 recommending him for safe passage through the Sudan. She is disappointed the shopkeeper in Kitgum did not bring her any food from Gulu.

XI D jj19

Daily log – hostilities with people in Padibe. April 13 {possibly 1956}

2 typed diary pages. Feels hostility in the air here, does not know why. Call her *ngu* (wild animal), ask if she is the health inspector. Everyone remarks how young she is, “still a child.” She wonders if it is to convince themselves she is not *very* harmful. Breaks the tension. This is a Congress stronghold and she wonders if that is related to the hard feelings against her. “I haven't felt it at Patiko or Gulu.” Worries she might have contracted trachoma.

XI D jj21

Law: Sentencing. April 14 {year?}

Comparison of Padibe courts with courts from her original place of study

XI D jj22

Miscellaneous: Christianity. April 15 {1956?}

Acholi religion vs Christian converts; at end, a brief note on Uganda/Sudan conflicts.

XI D jj30

Daily activities. May 10

Late planting; woman beating.

XI B jj32

Politics: Structure, selection (succession). May 11
Succession; *rwot* selection; death of *rwot*

XI D jj33

Daily activities: Trouble with trust in Padibe. May 11

People accuse her of being a spy and of wanting to steal the land

XI D m6

Daily interactions – miscellaneous. April 16 {possibly 1956}

1-page typed notes. She needs an assistant. Someone assigns the young son of the *Rwot* to work for her. People will trust her because they know he is the *Rwot*'s son, it is said. Although she would

			prefer her assistant be an older man who knows what is going on and something of the history, she agrees. On first outing people did know the young son but she did not see any big change in people's attitudes toward her. She then describes one homestead and its growth in physical size.
XI	D	m12	Marriage: Beating. May 10 {possibly 1956} 1 typed diary page. Continuation of some other passage. Discussed in apparently mixed company (?) a husband's beating of his wife for sleeping in the middle of the house and not bringing water for her husband. Another said it wasn't her fault, she was just drunk. Another said in Acholi, men have the power to beat their wives and "they do beat them all the time even when the women don't make any mistakes or aren't at fault." In this instance the woman was at fault, they say, "so it wasn't such a bad thing for Mathia to beat her."
XI	D	m15	Law: Court Case. April 5-6 {possibly 1956} Tax vote: education dollars; dialect differences
XI	D	m17	Daily activities – miscellaneous. April 7 Conversation with a chief; Indian medicine; house-warming; a woman wants PHF to be her "true friend."
XI	D	m20	Daily miscellaneous activities. April 9 Diagnosing malaria; PHF doesn't want to live with a <i>Rwot</i> ; advantages of living in a different clan than the one being studied.
XI	D	m23	Daily miscellaneous activities. April 10 (2 copies) Roof collapsed; no one picks up PHF to see <i>Myel jok</i>
XI	D	n2	Daily activities. May 11 {possibly 1956} 3 typed diary pages, continuation of some other passage. Terrible worries among people that govt wants to take their land. People of Padibe won't talk to PHF and don't trust her; PHF accused of being a spy. She uses humor to break the tension, saying Yes she came every night with a bag and took away their land. She is nonetheless angry at the scrutiny and answering the same questions over and over. Thinks questioners who are so "half educated" are the most troublesome. A young man then berates her and the elders she is talking with. He bitterly recounts a disarmament in which the <i>munu</i> (white people) tricked Acholi into giving up their weapons which were then burned. "This," he claims, is the

same problem and she must be working on behalf of the District Commissioner. Doesn't want or need her to write their history for them. Then some there want her to pay the elders for talking with her. She says then it is their loss, she won't pay. This young man then berates the elders "who always thought they were so smart, and look what happened to them" re the disarmament. Now the land is being taken from them. Their children will be poor homeless men. "If the *Ludito* was so smart then why isn't Lasto Obol still the chief, why did they put in a commoner to be *Rwot*, why are there national parks, have they asked [Paula] about those things??" Another man trades angry words with him: prestige value of education combined with "snobbish attitude of Acholi towards any other nation or race" {*Paula's words or his?*} creates such people as the angry young man. Paula thinks they "don't appreciate the sanctions of the old order and are not accepted in the new order." The whole encounter frustrated her greatly.

XI D n6

Daily miscellaneous activities. April 13 {1956?}
1-1/2 typed diary pages. Veiled hostility in Padibe, no trust of PHF, walking alone. *Seems same as folder XI. D.jj19.*

XI D n9

Daily activities: Different court & funeral practices. April 14

Court differences in Padibe. Sentencing lenient; funeral – different offerings, just beer

XI D n11

Daily activities. April 15

Misses a funeral; thinks no one in Padibe trusts PHF; mail – no one cares about delivering letters because they don't understand their importance.

XI D n12

Religion: Christianity. April 6, 1956

Influences of Christianity on Acholi religion; following the scripture instead of adultery, stealing, cursing; killing the "satanic" jok by cutting down its tree; missionaries "saving" people.

XII

XII J b4

XII a

Notes: Bridewealth, Ritual, Lineage

Bridewealth: Adultery & Death

Originally: "Bridewealth, Education, and Status of Women"

			Typed article by Foster, "Bridewealth, Education and Status of Women." Multiple handwritten drafts. Miscellaneous notes pertaining to article.
XII	K	a1	Bridewealth, Education, and Status of Women Thesis of Foster's article: use of education to satisfy traditional aims. Importance of marriage. Large homestead. Women, wealth. Family and Homestead structure. Daughter's education and why important to parents. Introduction of money and consequences on bridewealth and family.
XII	Q	a2	% of Women in Agr. & Commerce and Self-Employ 1970 Tables exploring sex divisions of labor force.
XII	L	a3	Sex: mortality rates – Eur, China, Taiwan Comparative mortality rates of females to males based on country, economics, etc. Chart of mortality rates in many countries.
XII	H	a4	Education & Religion: Females vs. Males & Age Rates of female to male participation among Protestants, Pagans, Roman Catholics, and Muslims. Rates of schooling based on age and sex.
XII	J	a5	Education: Women Lag in Rates Why do women lag behind men in education rates in Africa? Less important, fewer opportunities for girls to use their education.
XII	H	a6	Occupations based on Education & Sex All girls and boys of age are married regardless of occupation or education. Girls with post-primary education – 5 of 8 are pursuing either careers or further training. Boys: all in economic sector and farming. Breakdown of occupations of higher educated boys.
XII	H	a7	Marriage: Education & Child-bearing of Chiefs' Wives Breakdown of 8 wives and their 30 children (Okec chief); education levels of wives
XII	J	a8	Education among Acholi Women Attitudes towards education: why participate; how goals are different from original expectations about how edu would change women; why Acholi parents would educate their daughters; explanation of who Acholi are and their history; 2 nd draft of article: repeats first few pages in rewritten form
XII	H	a9	Bridewealth: Social status Women's social status and power is closely linked to bridewealth

XII	J	a10	<p>Bridewealth, Kinship, Marriage Patrilineal kinship traces through fathers back 6 generations; kinship bonds and responsibilities; ties of non-blood through “mother’s brother” or “sister’s son” have same responsibilities of kin; Britain has changed farming kinship ties, but religious and defense obligations remain strong; property is defined through kinship; bridewealth: women marry out, but their bridewealth helps brothers buy their own wives; circulation of women and bridewealth integrates society; connects non-kin and prevents hostility by binding through marriage; bridewealth = status symbol for women; bridewealth = men buy rights to all of a woman’s children; men want sons and daughters; women want a successful household; competition among co-wives is expected and accepted; marriage = goal of all Acholi men and women; only way of achieving legitimate children.</p>
XII	H	a11	<p>Education, Colonization, Anglican Church History of establishing churches and schools in Acholiland 1877-1930s; + relatively miscellaneous notes.</p>
XII	J	a12	<p>Education: sex differences Women lag behind men in education; difficulties in sending women to school; occupational opportunities have to be worth it for both men and women; history of Acholi people; history of education system; building of schools, 1st secondary school for boys; 1st junior secondary school and midwifery school for girls; men with higher edu hold high status and occupation; women with higher edu nurses or teachers; employment opps for women are few; edu and reading = synonymous with Christianity, reader= “convert”; Anglican and Catholic churches compete, always building where the other did, most were in West Acholi; 1959 census: males vs females, edu levels based on age; women lack employment opportunities and role models for further education; higher edu and occupation did not exempt men from their kinship obligations</p>
XII	H	a13	<p>Education: Individual Members of Group Levels of edu of individuals; includes Okec’s family</p>
XII	H	a14	<p>Education of girls</p>

			Factors of sending girls to school; outline of her article “Bridewealth, Education, and the Status of Women” (see below)
XII	J	a15	Bridewealth, Education, & the Status of Women
			Multiple drafts of the article named above.
XII	F	a16	Education: Value for Women and Consequences In Marriage
			Benefits of educating women; importance of marriage in Acholi society; single, never-married women don’t exist; single men are pitied and poor; views of educated women; too old, lazy, selfish, expensive; can bring prestige
XII	J	a17	Education: Why women are educated
			Trace social histories of 5 educated girls; schooled girls more often come from highly educated elite family than boys; brief history of Acholi land and government through colonization; explanation of school system; Protestant and Catholic influences, infrastructures, etc.; consequences of male edu – higher salary, fame to lineage; consequences of female edu – high visibility, many suitors, potential to marry rich or educated man; problem – “too close of relationship” [sic] to be available as wife; enhances family’s chance of attaining elite status; ensures elite status for grandchildren; few occupational opportunities; women can be household heads but NOT family heads
XII	H	a18	Education: Why do it and consequences
			Reasons for educating sons vs daughters; few higher bridewealth; education takes time but girl’s value declines with age; girl must marry if bridewealth offered; if son is in school, daughters may be married to use bridewealth to pay for son’s schooling; women = core of family
XII	S	1	Interview Questionnaire
			Questions regarding marriage, household, economic activities, family
XII	J	2	Marriage: Distinguishing features
			Acholi marriage distinguished as: bridewealth exchange, Omaha kin system; cycle of bridewealth as a means of tying families; bridewealth = “value” of daughter; debtors and givers – bridewealth is a chance to form alliances; cattle as bridewealth creates linear links among families; brothers depend on their sisters for bridewealth
XII	J	3	Marriage & Bridewealth

			Bridewealth affords new ties; bridewealth = liquidity of capital used in investment; rumor of old marriages - girls were dragged to fiance's house and tied outside until they consented: Foster found no proof of it ever happening
XII	S	4	Marriage & Bridewealth – Functionality Behavioral expectations surrounding marriage; conditions of bridewealth – not just a gift, returnable, kinship-tying
XII	S	5	Kinship – bridewealth obligation Kinship groups have material obligations; bridewealth must be provided for everybody – fathers pay bridewealth for all sons' first wife, bridewealth must go to daughter's uterine family
XII	J	G.6	Lineage & Kinship Marriage as a means of continuing husband's agnatic group; Acholi want brothers-in-law and wives, as well as sister's sons and daughters
XII	J	7	Kinship: Rituals Agnatic kinship group = “those who share (eat) the bridewealth”; bridewealth is a way of recognizing lineage; brief discussion of Acholi lineage segmentation – wives not remembered
XII	S	8	Misc. lineage notes – bridewealth functions Lineage = fission and fusion for Acholi; women's lineage role = double, as wife in husband's lineage, as girl (still) in natal lineage and ceremony; lineage terminology defines groups: those who eat the foreleg, those who share bridewealth, those from whom we inherit women; terminology defines obligations; daughters/sisters use bridewealth to validate role in natal family; fathers <u>must</u> buy 1 st wife of each son – not a debt for sons
XII	J	9	Bridewealth & Eloping Bridewealth payment ensures blessing of ancestors; women cannot live with man without bridewealth because ancestors will curse her and make her barren; women will only live with man without bridewealth for a year before returning home
XII	H	10	Lineage – Women's and men's Inheritable and transferable lines Daughters carry female ancestral characteristics – blood kinship from father, mother transmits agnatic blood, girls produce descendents to the line of whomever pays their bridewealth; sons carry lineage membership from his father; mother

			transmits agnatic blood, boys never transfer their complete alliance; only fathers can transmit lineage membership; mothers cannot
XII	J	11	Lineage & Bridewealth: Women's role & duty Women cannot be heads of lineage segments; instead, they provide blood of lineage, so they are still essential; women have complete charge of their homes and fields; lineage membership includes material obligations; sister provides bridewealth for brother; land and cattle = principle property of lineage
XII	J	12	misc. pages on Status of Women Explanation of Acholi lineage and kinship system; authority is based in lineage; only men born in lineage system have authority; women must marry out of system
XII	J	13	Roles of Women (i.e., <i>Da-ker</i>) and Men All an outline: roles of mother and father in terms of control of economic resources; inheritance, residence (domestically), moral and structural basis; roles of chief and <i>Da-ker</i> (chief's wife), politically etc.; <i>da-ker</i> = desirable(?); able to share bridewealth and child-producing roles; matrilocal (rare); great honor; compensatory (?); <i>Da-ker</i> = virgin selected from a respected lineage, history of fertility, cannot have sex before installation
XII	S	14	Status of men (<i>Ynek</i>) Meaning of "ynek," a coveted male status; has many descendents to honor him; he guides them; as yet no context of <u>what</u> "ynek" is
XII	J	15	Bridewealth Importance of bridewealth; couple cannot stay together without bridewealth; curse of barrenness, death; blessing on women and her children; women carry only lineage [?] but take their blood to new lineage; proof of women's lineage membership; goes to her agnates, designates her children as her husband's
XII	S	16	Miscellaneous Notes <i>Sketched-out notes for thesis?</i>
XII	J	16	Marriage and Bridewealth System Marriage = systematic exchange of women; man with bridewealth= powerful, can form new alliances; cattle and money = highest value bridewealth
XII	J	17	Role & Status of Women in Lineage

Conception: controlled by *Jok*, deities, and ancestors; during sexual intercourse – mixing of *Lukiuro* in seminal fluid and woman’s blood; mental + physical characteristics of ancestors and father; child named after ancestor, ability of women to “dream true” (fortune tell) is passed on; value of woman’s blood = substantive, clean, pure; transmits only kinship, not lineage, forms body of child; daughters = complement to son; “Lim” (bridewealth); uterine brothers and sisters – sister gives bridewealth, brother becomes “mother’s brother”; he sees to sister’s interests in husband’s home; males: *Lukiuro* = rights and responsibility to ancestral land; succession of power; inheritance of Lim – unbreakable bond to genitor, rights to ancestral shrines; “bastard” females are not necessarily given to genitor; “bastard” boys always are, regardless of bridewealth; females are not mentioned in lineage history, but always in legends; women = heads of houses of blood (their own children) – uterine house = strong; children honor and comfort her; may have daughters after her; “people of father” but “house of mother”; houses = bridewealth units; bridewealth = daughters permanent tie to her house; obligates her uterine family to help her; brother’s wife’s relations to brother’s sisters = *ci-lim* “wife of bridewealth” obligations

XII J 18

Lineage & History

Acholi lineage is spoken of without women; problems/stories of the past are told in terms of the present

XII J 19

Bridewealth: Dependence & Debt

Disapproval of dependence on father; liable for debt in uterine house; borrowing between houses creates debt; unpaid debt can lead to amalgamation of houses with name of wife whose house provided *Lim* as eponym

XII J 20

Lineage Groups

Lineages are spread both genealogically and spatially; joined by common name and praise name; intermarry 9 generations apart; clan/widely distributed group – agnatic ties exist; corporate lineage = *gang* or *dog gang*; distinguished by image of cow: “with whom we eat the foreleg/share the bridewealth/inherit the women/eat the hind leg;

			<p>corporate lineage members: <i>gang</i> or <i>dog gang</i>; inherit bridewealth and widows; cows = most valuable property; inherit land (useless without labor); man needs wife and children to help farm; needs bridewealth and cows</p>
XII	J	21	<p>Lineage: Groups & Descent Acholi lineage - segmentary, agnatic descent; corporate lineage groups – residence, property rights, authority, religion; polygynous extended family – basic social unit, fission and fusion; lineage tied by agnatic descent as well as mother’s blood; men transmit <i>Lukiiro</i> and women transmit blood together form child; uterine siblings share blood; only children of same mother share both same <i>Lukiiro</i> and same blood; sisters cannot be co-wives</p>
XII	J	22	<p>Lineage: Groups Every Acholi is member of lineage of head of household (<i>won</i> = “father”); head’s name is head of lineage; co-wife’s house is segmentary lineage; subordinate to husband, houses of co-wives oppose each other; corporate group only for ceremony and ritual occasions, share bridewealth; obligations to bridewealth for sons and uterine and half-brothers; if man pays total bridewealth of marriage for anyone but his son, all children become his – fusion of house; each wife’s house is house of bridewealth; women – blood and <i>Lim</i> of lineage; brothers receive bridewealth from sisters; sisters receive protection for children and self from brothers</p>
XII	J	23	<p>Lineage: Status of Women Wife is head of house; subordinate to husband, superordinate to sons; sons build own house behind mother’s; women cannot hold property in own name; have no legal or jural rights; sisters and wives – bridewealth, investment capital; inheritance confined to man, his wife(s); son has rights to uterine sister(s); children assure descendents of husband/father – legacy; only “legitimate” (bridewealth) children carry name, all others are “dead”; marriage is important</p>
XII		24	<p>Lineage: Transmission Male children transmit <i>Lukiiro</i> (membership in lineage); females transmit blood - kinship; makes relatives; males and females are complementary; sisters supply bridewealth; brothers see to sisters’</p>

			interests; conception – <i>lukiiro</i> (lineage) from father and blood (kinship) from mother; every wife’s house has different “blood”; common blood and trust
XII	J	25	Nilotic Context Introduction to thesis. Summary of Nilotic peoples; distinctions between Eastern and Western branches; how Acholi people fit in geographically among other Nilotic groups; influence on neighbors; hybrid zones
XII	J	26	Bridewealth Groom = giver, not debtor. Most valuable possessions in exchange for wife; cattle, money; both wife and bridewealth are returnable; page 212 – politically powerful, high status, or educated lineages demand high bridewealth; lower bridewealth – reputation of sorcery or taking advantage of others, applies to chiefs; only power, status, occupation of father or uterine brothers affects bridewealth, if maternal agnates have power, etc. it can affect bridewealth
XII	H	27	Lineage Notes on segmentary lineage; some lineage charts
XII	H	28	misc. Notes – identity, lineage Acholi identities. Notes in Acholi and English
		[no folder number]	{no heading on this folder} Marriage – 2-way exchange circle; creates alliance of marriage and cattle/money; man with cattle/money has potential for many new connections; women – ambassador to new family and potential founder of new line; contribute vital necessity to male
XII	H	29	Marriage: Child-Making Obligations Women need children, not descendents (?), for daily tasks and support; need minimum number to ensure social existence; marriage: opens woman’s sexual life and path to children; entitles her to regular sex from husband; if no sex, divorce or elopement are justified; husband gives pregnancy, wife gives baby
XII	J	30	Bridewealth: Forms & Uses Acceptable uses and forms; money should not be used for bridewealth; loss of cohesion of uterine segments; money can’t birth new cows; bridewealth should not be used by father for more wives because breaks agnatic cohesion with new lineage; lineages are tied through bridewealth contributions;

			money exaggerates selfish use of bridewealth; turns political/social ties into lineage ties; passage of bridewealth and women between lineages is important because both make base of power and wealth
XII	J	31	Lineage: Allegiances Mother's home is real home; son's true allegiance is to his mother
XII	J	32	Bridewealth: Values & Debts Cattle and money are scarce; value of woman is put in terms of cattle or money; bridewealth creates debt of <i>ci-lim</i> (bought wife) to sister-in-law (whose bridewealth was used for <i>ci-lim</i>)
XII	J	33	Marriage: Lineage Connections More choice considerations: men look at wealth and power of girl's lineage; establishes status, loyalty, legitimacy; marriage, relationship and exchange; relationships are defined in terms of rights and obligations
XII		b	Bridewealth <i>Original folder, no contents</i>
XII	F	b1	Marriage: Education Price of educated girl; how much schooling; expense, look of help; too expensive?
XII	J	b2	Marriage: Aims Men aim for bridewealth, women aim for marriage; no children = young violent death, poor; will die and disappear without descendents; lived for nothing; man without children = bad man, impotent, distrusted; women without children = poor, no one to help, rejected; marriage – means of having children – ultimate goal; marriage only meaningful if children created; children legitimate ONLY with bridewealth; brothers – sisters and feather – sons tied by obligations of bridewealth to ensure survival of lineage; to men – women important as continuers of his descent group; special case – matrilocal marriage without bridewealth; children part of mother's lineage; a sudden death without descendents is HUGE fear; ideally, man wants many (8+) children; for women, children are work but also leisure; man's voice in community is based on his number of children; if a woman dies without children, the cause often suicide, will try to injure other children; marriage quest – men, quest for bridewealth – legitimate heirs and descendents;

women, quest for children – right to regular sex to make children; women are supervised and controlled by mother and brother; girl represents quality of her family; men have greater independence; children provide a right to adult existence; become independent households with prestige in old age; wife grants exclusive sexual rights to her husband; women should have 4-6 children for prestige and security; childless or one-child women are social outcasts

XII J b3

Marriage: problems

Greatest threat to corporate cohesion – intensification of competition for women and intragenerational rivalry between men; both are women’s fault; stability of marriage, 50% of men and women have had previous marriages; woman with 2+ children is stable

XII J b5

Marriage: Bridewealth – Behaviors and Obligations

Marriage – antagonistic behavior patterns; groom’s lineage must show selves as lower status {?}; must show contempt and insulting behavior during cattle transfer; father must pay bridewealth of 1st wife of all sons; creates daughters and sons

XII J b6

Lineage: Segments

New homestead – man and first wife; each lineage is tied through the chiefly (*illegible*); bridewealth breaks lineage into segments linking uterine siblings; fission-fusion segments; lineage is ongoing in numbers, growth, segment, wealth; future is important; those in descent lineage who live near but are more widely distributed still help with seasonal work, trouble and celebrations; come also in times of their own trouble; how are married women incorporated in the patrilineage of their husband; how does the addition of property relationship help to explain their standing in patrilineage of their husband?; wife sees segment of household as new life – gardens, children, nurse; will be buried there; wife must learn history, genealogy, praise names of husband’s family; must bless husband if he fights wife’s kin; but wives do not give up with natal lineage membership – “dual citizens”

XII J b7

Lineage: Territory and goals

			Assurance of the future is having many wives and children
XII	J	b8	Lineage: Segments & Women Father/brothers take care of girl before and after marriage because women are most valuable lineage members; women carry blood and fertility; uterine relationships define alignments and responsibilities
XII	J	x1	Bridewealth: Double Bridewealth Cycle Double bridewealth cycle – <i>Dak-ker</i> and chief, <i>dak-ker</i> = first wife installed with chief; in chiefdom marriages, bridewealth is given after installation; incomplete notes
XII	J	x2	Ritual: Royal Death/Marriage Ceremony At marriage/death of royal couple or their children, a particular song cycle is done; song commemorates chiefdom; dance lasts 3 days; no sex during 3 days for royal couple; <i>Dak-ker</i> is expected to take care of royal paraphernalia; 4 th day ancestral sacrifice
XII (cont'd in a new box!)			
XII	J	x24	Notes: Bridewealth, Ritual, Lineage Thesis outline Culture = cultural systems, value systems, ideas, beliefs; updated definitions of culture; this thesis cannot be called “cultural analysis” anymore because it deals with social system and its norms; Foster wants to show ambivalence with regard to women in Acholi social life; citizenship is defined by patrilineal affiliation; women are barred from political office; yet she can work on councils and have power to officiate; thesis explores basic contradiction between indispensability of women in lineage and their theoretical exclusion from it
XII	J	x3	Marriage: First marriages 3 types of marriage – for first marriage only; “ <i>keny apenya</i> ” or “ <i>keny cuna</i> ” = consent of boy and girl; “ <i>keny atona</i> ” or “ <i>keny jinga</i> ” = arranged marriage father who are friends or sisters’ sons; if girls agrees, full bridewealth handed over; if girl objects, she may run away with lover or to mother’s brother’s house; if bridewealth was available, girl is forced to marry; men never object to arranged marriage, praise father; “ <i>keny banya</i> ” = debt marriage, daughter used to pay debt; if girl objects, she may be allowed to marry her choice, but lender keeps the bridewealth
XII	F	x4	Miscellaneous note

			Brief page on literature [no citations] about breakdown of traditional family leading to insecure widows, prostitution, problems of single women, etcetera
XII	F	x5	Bridewealth: Definition “ <i>Lim</i> ” (bridewealth) is used to establish long-term relationships between giver and receiver; unequal – receiver of higher good is obligated to giver; women = highest gift
XII	F	x6	Property: Value of a house E. J. Krige on the Lobedu; the role of property in maintaining social structure; cattle – scarce – used as bridewealth; women used in quasi-economic transactions; independence of house – house is important unit to husband’s lineage and wife’s family; men – enhances his prestige and wealth; women – personal fulfillment and advancement; { <i>Unsure if the following still refers to Lobedu</i> }; value of house; for men, house is insurance of longevity of names with his sons, prestige and wealth increase number of people [who] can ask for help and support; for women, only chance her name will be remembered (with her children), insurance of care in old age, prestige and advancement; women must provide bridewealth to natal lineage and establish home in husband’s lineage; households have collective responsibility to debts, etcetera
XII	J	x7	Lineage: Status Acholi: patrilineal segmentary society; girls learn roles from females in domestic group; boys learn roles from males in domestic group; statuses are not carry “high” or “low” but they carry rights and privileges; in formal terms, men have public authority, women have domestic authority
XII	J	x8	Property: Cattle Cattle - most important material in defining social relationships; used to determine lineage segments; can be used in exchange for women (bridewealth) and bloodwealth; all other objects, including money, are translatable in terms of cattle
XII	J	x9	Bridewealth: Lineage Functions Bridewealth cycle – distinguishes minimal lineage segment unit; also distinguishes “lineage with which we share bridewealth”; 2 rules: father must provide bridewealth for sons’ first wife; sister

			provides bridewealth for uterine brothers; anyone providing bridewealth becomes “sister,” “father” or “brother” and joint lineage segment; provision of bridewealth creates kinship tie; bridewealth – achieve aim of securing descendents; scarce good that creates competition among kin; for daughter, providing bridewealth means permanent membership in natal lineage and land usage and <i>ci-lim</i> ; ambassador who opens way for others of her lineage to follow
XII	S	x10	Miscellaneous notes
XII	F	x11	Lineage: Eponyms Female eponyms in Luo: lineages named after women; remember women’s names; Acholi: absent, only remembered up to 2 generations back; segmentary state system; Alur: lineages named after women, only remember names up to 2 generations; segmentary state system
XII	H	x12	Bridewealth: Debt If bridewealth is paid by someone else and he is not paid back; all children from bridewealth are given to lender if he wants them
XII	S	x13	Miscellaneous: Allegiance of Names Acholi can take on allegiance without eliminating former ties
XII	J	x15	Marriage: Bridewealth & Adultery Problem in marriage: lack of bridewealth; father liable for 1 st marriage of sons; can ask brothers and fathers for help; son = collateral for loan and may permanently join donor’s lineage if not repaid; adultery: out of lineage – wife must undergo purification to resume sex with husband; sexual relations exclusive and procreative; <i>Kiir</i> = “curse of the wife” when wife deviates from role of mother; requires sacrifices for atonement; sex between father-in-law and daughter-in-law is worst, can lead to suicide of the woman
XII	J	x16	Lineage: Homestead Unity of homestead: religious shrine; social – <i>wang-o</i> (bonfire); economic – cattle-herding; owned by 1+ groups; graze by permission of gang { <i>next word illegible</i> } council; divided among homesteads
XII	J	x17	Lineage: Descent Men belong to genitor; Ongon Acholi law of descent of males and females given by ancestors; men belong to genitor; men transmit agnatic

XII	F	x18	<p>characters; women belong to lineage that hold rights in genetricent over them; girls transmit blood</p> <p>Bridewealth: Status of Women</p> <p>Bride – owner of <i>Lim</i> to enhance prestige, honor and status; Lim was bought for bride; Lim completion of duties as daughter and sister; becomes full-fledged female member</p>
XII	J	x19	<p>Lineage: Children</p> <p>Not sheltered from inappropriate subjects; allows them to learn attitudes, manners, and morals; loyalties and economic obligations are graded according to kin relationships; mother – most important and intimate relationship; <i>Handwritten notes are hard to read.</i></p>
XII	J	x20	<p>Bridewealth: Obligations</p> <p>Bride – continuous and privileged sexual access to groom; right to motherhood; groom – legal and jural right to all children; only man can beat wife {!}, must pay all medical bills for wife and children</p>
XII	K	x21	<p>Marriage</p> <p>Marriage normal and expected; unmarried = barren, impotent; morally wrong to remain unmarried by choice; only unmarried men: 1 mentally disturbed war veteran, magical process; homosexuality = possessed by powerful <i>Jok</i>, must have supernatural powers</p>
XII	K	x22	<p>Property: Distribution</p> <p>Young wife’s property from husband – given by mother-in-law; often in strips for different crops; depends on land mother-in-law has; must provide for her own household and her husband; more children - apply for unallocated reserves of land through husband</p>
XII	J	x23	<p>Courtship: Women’s Role</p> <p>House in homestead used to discuss important familial affairs among grandmother and married daughters; girls learn about norms and acceptable behavior; courting and married life; importance of exogamy; taboos of incest; 1st wife preferred status, exclusive attention of husband and a say in household affairs; gets help from new wife; new debate: is polygamy degrading? “bush behavior”; educated women prefer educated, monogamous men; don’t want to share sexual access; teachers only marry 1 wife; risk of co-wives killing or making children ill, stealing away husband;</p>

bringing barrenness, but can also help with children; feeding is always with mother and her own children only; co-wife could poison others' kids; marrying a man with many wives is not desirable, unstable, fickle?; if husband's brother helps sister-in-law, he want sex in exchange; wives must be hardworking and have secret reserves in case of abandonment; girls must test their sweethearts – sexual patience, reliability, generosity, but can't gain reputation as player or prostitute

XII J x25

Kinship: Mother vs Father

Mother's relationship to children: feels "labor pains," also depressed and sad when her children cry; such pain ("*rem*") is considered biological, inherent basis of enduring care and concern ("*porro*") of mother; this is basis of mothers' great patience with children, dedication to training children, and tolerance of tantrums in young children, misdemeanors in older children, "and even the most serious breaches of conduct in adulthood"; children owe more to mother; fathers' relationship to children – impatient, intolerant, seemingly indifferent

XII J x26

Ritual: pregnancy

Procreation – life aim of Acholi; pregnancy ritual – establish legitimacy; acquaint wife with husband's lineage taboos; to abort illegitimate child; ceremony after woman's 1st birth: after, she can wear short skirt of married women; child and mother are accepting membership into husband's lineage; if a child is determined "illegitimate" the wife confesses her lover's name to prevent curse; illegitimacy if unatoned-for can kill husband

XII J x27

Lineage: Problems

Fission/fusion of lineage; eloping daughter creates bridewealth troubles; control over women; because scarcity of women and intense competition for them

XII J x28

Ritual: Marriage & Bridewealth pp 168-209

Draft from thesis. Rules and obligations overall. Detailed elements of betrothal, trial marriage, wedding ceremony, bridewealth, lineage. "In order to ensure uterine brother's access to bridewealth it has be used quickly."

XII J x29

Bridewealth & Politics: Chief marriage

Lineages contributing bridewealth are "brothers"; *Dak-ker* (also spelled *da-ker*) is prohibited from sex

			with anyone but <i>Rwot</i> (chief); becomes part of husband's lineage; potential to become <i>Da-ker</i> , grandmother of chiefdom; marriage is relatively private; bridewealth is given after installation; patrilineage framework; women extremely valuable; marriage of <i>dak-ker</i> affirms unity of chiefdom; given meaning to reciprocal rights of common lineages with chiefly lineage; most <i>dak-kers</i> come from lineages within chiefdom; most are also commoners; other wives of the chief can be from other chiefdom's but not the <i>dak-ker</i> ; installation of chief: 3 days of dancing and singing; <i>Rwot</i> and <i>Dak-ker</i> abstinent; day 4 – ancestral sacrifice; chief and wife visit all villages in chiefdom
XII	J	x30	Bridewealth: Money's Influence Money degrades value of bridewealth in cohesion; increase fission; no more benefits/arguments of protection between households; money adds to exploitative attitude toward bridewealth; gives fathers and brothers more control over girls' choices; money makes bridewealth a short-term deal, not capital investment
XII	J	x31	Lineage: Adultery & Children Man who pays bridewealth has right to all offspring of wife; but if adultery produces a male child, that son must go to his genitor; always a test of legitimacy with pregnancy; during bridewealth negotiations, a man's potency is tested
XII	F	x32	Miscellaneous: Freud, children Notecard on Freud's personality theory; hard-to-read notes on children
XII	K	y1	Thesis: Life Cycle & Roles of Women, ch. 2 Rules assigned at birth and/or attained later; Acholi attribute success and failure to supernatural forces; structural position of an individual can become meaningless if person does not perform; birth – function of women; Acholi – child-centered society; children = joy; even unmarried mothers are welcome; children and mother depend on father for independence {?}; women's inclusion in lineage – impossible and essential; women can't be chiefs, but chief's wife can act in his absence; cannot become counsellors at meeting but act as advisors; economics: gardens – women say which crops to grow and how much; women contribute much more to household economy than men; contribution to

XII	K	y2	<p>homestead is equal; no disposal of goods without mutual consultation; women cannot own cattle but cattle circulate through them; religion – women recognized; anyone can own <i>Jok</i>; women can control or modify supernatural powers equal to men</p> <p>Thesis: Division of Labor & Marriage Men and women lead separate social lives; lessening of companionship; encourages distinctive male and female behavior traits; only own sex will judge status; division of labor – husband has right to make all decisions of household; wife can influence him, husband cannot interfere in wife’s authority</p>
XII	K	y3	<p>History: Acholi background Introduction: Lwo-speaking, Nilotic; in Uganda; from part of Joo or Jii language group; Lwo-speakers = uniquely genetically connected; Alur and Acholi mutually intelligible; similar customs and rites</p> <p>Thesis: Life Cycle & Roles of Women Patrilineage defines roles with Acholi society; birth determines place in society and lineage membership; economics and religion – 2 main spheres of activity after motherhood; Birth – for males, defines role within society and determines lifelong group; for women, defines status in society but will change after marriage</p>
XII	K	y4	<p>Marriage and Status Impotence cause for a ceremony, remedy, etc; grounds for divorce; first 2 weeks of marriage – trial period for wife to test husband’s procreative ability; husband has sex with wife at least once a month; barrenness or impotence grounds for divorce; paternal kin play most significant role; assign limits, rights, duties to child; first child: male preferred to carry on name; second child: girl preferred for bridewealth; represents wealth, future wealth, future social ties</p>

Box 13: Thesis Drafts—Note: this physical box contains myriad folders that were gathered together from other boxes.

XIII			THESIS DRAFTS
II	K	a	<p>Thesis – “second stage” 50 pp. First page: “The second stage in the life of a married woman begins with her pregnancy</p>

ceremony ...” Second page: “The independence of a new house is assured by the gift of land to the new couple. All Acholi women have a claim to the land that lies directly behind their houses.”

II K b

Thesis – Birth → Marriage

pp. 1-145 with notes. Socialization. “In Acholi the fundamental supreme meaning of life lies in the perpetuation of one’s own name in the lineage. This means fame, prestige, and power for those individuals who have many children and opposite for those who have not.” Obedience training and independence training. Relativity of values: stealing from kinsman a sin, from European not a sin.

II K c

Thesis – Childhood

30 pp. “This chapter begins to examine the female life cycle to discover the range of roles open to them.” Childbearing. Mothers-in-law and co-wives. Attitude to twins. Different views of male and female children. Foster divides developmental cycle of the girl into 5 main periods. Baby naming ceremony. Elder siblings takes care of baby, play with it, tend it, try to soothe it. Toilet training. Children over age of 3 encouraged to leave breast so mother can conceive again. Learning to share food and playthings. Playing house. Liars are shamed. Growing responsibilities. Girls imitate mothers. Page 20: “Girls talk of ‘our baby,’ ‘our gardens,’ ‘our new wife’ showing their identification with the family.”

II K c

Thesis – *Kiir*- Incest and Adultery

13 pages. “The Acholi say *kiir* is a moral law, an *ongon* handed down from the ancestors that takes care of *ball*, wrong-doing, fault, mischief, enmity, and hatred among agnatic kinsmen. Thus, it is used to regulate relationships between all members of the homestead, not only the married couple...”

II K c

Thesis - Wedding

20 pp. *Achapa* = marriage when there is extreme hunger and the girl is given [in marriage] to buy the food. An insult to say your mother or you have been bought for a basket of millet. Foster has no records of *achapa*. Women resent it when their marriage is

arranged not by their father but by his heir, unless that heir is a uterine brother. Women do not question his legal right but don't trust him. Men apparently do not resent arrangement of marriage on their behalf. Page 9 – male college graduate came home on holiday and found his father had married a wife for him – praised father for generosity and good will. Apparently marriage makes little change in the life of men (page 10). Foster has no records of abduction now. Stages of getting married, who does what or says what when.

II K c

Thesis – “Part 3”

Pp 17-57. Life as a married woman. Draft with margin notes. Says Acholi have many love songs. People do marry for love. *Keny poro or perokeny* = elopement. However, “the legal, political, and social consequences of marriage are too important to ignore in favor of love.”

II K c

Thesis – Chapter 3 – Motherhood, Wifhood

20 typed pages: “The significance of Motherhood and Wifhood.” “With marriage ... now she is an adult and as such acquires new rights and responsibilities.” *Ci-wod* = son's wife. “A newly married woman is in the position of a young child. Many responsibilities and few rights”: later, “the actual situation is not as onerous as it sounds.” “Only with the birth of her first child does she acquire adulthood in her husband's lineage.” *Min-Ot* = mother of a house. Tensions with co-wives, accusations when unable to conceive.

II K d

Thesis – Chapter 2

10 pp. Typed fragments.

IV K e

Thesis “Chapter 2” [however this may be Chap 1]

Approximately 80 and handwritten pages typed pages; typed pages seem to have been edited and have critical margin notes by someone else. Chapter heading: “Chapter 2, Cultural Background.” Extensive descriptions of political systems. Family and lineage systems. Systems of society inculcated into the individual. *Ladongo Kal* or *Jagi* (elders of the courtyard). Two main

elements of religion are *jok* (supernatural forces) and *tipo* (shadow or spirit, ancestral spirits). Folder includes an Anthropology “tribes” quiz from Fall 1958.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|--|
| VIII | J | a | <p>Outline – Chapter 1
Located in Box 13: Thesis Drafts. Four pages. “The primary focus of agnatic sentiment is land and the focus of segmentation is cattle or as the Acholi call it <i>lim</i>.”</p> |
| VIII | J | a | <p>“Introduction?/Chapter 1?”
About 10 pages. Handwritten notes. Census data are from 1959. “For this paper I want to examine the concept of patrilineal lineage system as it applies to women in Acholi society.”</p> |
| VIII | J | b | <p>Outline Chapter 1 & 2
Brief, handwritten. Lineage political structure. The family. “The universe of kinship.” The importance of traditions.</p> |
| VIII | J | c | <p>Chapter 1
“Attempts of description of segmentary lineage structure”
Many pages and notes. Different aspects of social organization, with emphasis on women. Some notes titled “Chapter 2.” Again and again, something like “Acholi society is what is called a ‘segmentary’ society...” “There is a close connection between territorial and kinship units as among most Nilotic tribal groups.”</p> |
| VIII | J | d | <p>More Draft Material on Lineage Structure
“Why women cannot be named lineage heads.”
Carriers of blood who can only transmit lineage membership. Legal and jural minors all their lives. Seen as wives, daughters, and sisters but not as corporate heads. No rights to hold or inherit property. “Patrilineal sentiment is very strong in Acholi...” Women incorporated into husband’s lineage only as dependent legal minors. This is the official view held by Acholi... Men have legal and jural responsibility for them. Women are <i>lim</i>: bridewealth, cattle. “If a woman complains her husband has severely beaten her, a man may deny this by saying: Would I spoil my <i>lim</i>? “Who is a</p> |

personage in this world and an ancestress in the next is the ideal portrait of the wife/mother role and is in a very real way just what women want to attain.” Comments on illegitimate children a little hard to follow: “... *luk*.. the fine for illegitimate intercourse – but in case of girl children *luk* payment is not enough...” Lineage ties never die. At the outbreak of the Sudanese war in 1955, Acholi refugees came to Uganda and were taken into different homestead lineages “as if they had always been there.” “On the other hand, a very small group of Lango who came because of religious convictions were treated as guests rather than kin.” [*Here she must be referring to Mony pa Lubanga – War of God.—Martha.*] These Langese were not allowed to disperse, temporary quarters were built for them on land outside the villages... & were not allowed to participate or given privileges of any kind... “It is the wish of every Acholi man to become the head of a gang [homestead] {*won gang*}– To have his name associated with a village, to have people answer the question ‘Who are you?’ with his own name.”

IX A.J./K b

“Chapter 1?” [yes: notes for chapter 1]

Random notes, extensive rewriting of chapter 1. Includes article or chapter “Inheritance and Women’s Labor in Africa” by Jack Goody and Joan Buckley (*Africa* journal, 1973, vol 43, no 2, pages 108-121). + Paper “Roles of Men and Women in Development and Education for these Roles” by Mary Jean Bowman, University of Chicago, Nov 7, 1975.

Notes on capital accumulation. Bridewealth. Consumption based on rules of kinship. Economic organization in Acholi. Total population 250,000 {we don’t know when}. “There is a relatively good supply of land limited only by capacity to use it.” “No land disputes, except on interchiefdom basis.” “Since land rights are defined on communal basis, land disputes occurs [sic] only on these levels. Very infrequent, due to availability of land. Those that occur are on an inter-chiefdom level.” “Acholi word for property is *lim* – but mostly capital good, cattle, is understood under this term. “It is the opinion of this writer that unless the Acholi change their

attitude to land and cattle their full entrance in the cash economy or better in the world economy will be impossible ...” History of Acholi. Geography. Women in the economic field. A sketch map.

BOX 14: a.k.a. “Misc. Box 1”

Folders seem to have been gathered from other boxes...

XIV - -

NOTES

III A e

Ritual

{No year given.} **Aug. 28:** Ritual proscription (*kwer*) for killing large animals or people. Killers need to be protected from the spirit (*tipu*) of the victims so they don't go crazy. **July 28/29:** *Ngolo Rut* (“judgement of the twin”). Tomorrow there will be a dance for the twins (*myel rudi*). The dead twin will be exhumed. There is a disagreement about whether Paula needs to pay in order to participate. Paula is told how to get the body and bring it back. Paula is told she must be silent during the exhumation. They search for the grave. Paula gets told off for talking. They find the body and put the bones in a pot. They take the twin back. They twirl a white chicken over their heads (*buku*). The traditional healer (*ajwaka*) calls the spirit of Ocen (the dead twin). Ocen speaks to the people of the *gang* [homestead]. They *buku* again and leave. The next morning they tell Paula how they fulfilled some of Ocen's desires (she arrives too late) and what Ocen tells them to do to make his twin healthy and his grandmother's eyes better. She interviews Min Akot about her *jok*. How to become a traditional healer (*ajwaka*). Making a house for Ocen. They ‘feed’ Ocen with grains and sprinkle ashes. They smear one another with ashes. Various songs and dances (liminal reversal of sexual norms and carnivalesque atmosphere). Chickens and a sheep (*romo*) are killed for Ocen, prepared and eaten. Beer drinking and more sexual license; They feed Ocen with sheep (*romo*) and porridge (*kwon*). They feed Ocen with beer (*kongo*). More sexual license. Many songs involve abuse of in-laws. How Min Akot became an *ajwaka*. Theories about *Jok*. How it feels when the *jok* comes to you. Powers of twins. Songs transcribed by Lokwiya. **Aug. 1:** Paula

finds out what happened to the *ngollo rut* after she left. They danced all night. The *tipu* of Ocen told them how to fix his grandmother's eyes. Payment of the traditional healer (*ajwaka*). Carrying the mother (*min*) and father (*won*) of the twins (*rudi*) inside. Burial customs. What happens when twins get born. Powers of twins. **Aug. 15:** {Librarian's note: "The paper is partially ripped and kept with the two previous entries but it may not be A" [?]}. The importance of the umbilical cord (*pen*) in curing children's illness. Caring for *jok pen*. **Feb. 11:** Odong's essay typed up by Paula about the *Myel Rut* (dance of the twin). See Folder X.S.i for Gustavas Odong's handwritten original in English. {Librarian: It sounds more like an ngolo rut than a myel rut}. Odong provides a description similar to the one offered by Paula on July 28/29. Paula interviews Odong: He says "when twins die people are glad, they say *Bangi OLUI*, the twins have escaped, and to make sure twins cause no sickness they {Acholi} do this ceremony." Acholi beliefs about the role of witchcraft in deaths. Margaret and Odong demonstrate how traditional healers (*ajwaka*) divine future events.

VI A a

Marriage and Adultery

{No year given.} **June 8:** Timatheo Uma; rites of passage; circumcision; marriage; adultery; urban migration; naming; *Jok* births; spears.

VI A b

Courtship, Marriage and Adultery

Aug. 28: Mathia Kolo, Achelari, Angelo. Marriage; bride service; avoidance relationships; child custody; divorce; colonialism; fictive kin; incest.

Dec. 9: Oloya and Margaret. Oloya is working on his degree. He is not worried that he will be too old to marry. People don't just have 1 boyfriend or girlfriend in Acholi. They don't date. Boys call on girls who are not allowed to go with them. They meet secretly. Boys pretend they want to marry the girls they sleep with. *Luk* (compensation for adultery). Bride wealth.

IV A b

Ethnobotany

Feb. 4: Oloya. Names and uses of local grasses, trees and crops.

VI A b

Hunt

{No year given.} **Feb. 14:** Latodo. *Won tim* (owner of the bus). Inherited the *tim*. Sacrifices that need to

be performed before Latodo call the hunt. How people hunt using fire. Who owns the animal that has been killed. How meat is divided. How the *tim* came to be in his family. People used to ask his permission to burn grass. His authority of the *tim* is separate from the *rwot*'s. How to bury a *rwot*.

VI A b

Kinship

{*No year given.*} **Jan. 10:** Margaret Acien. Inheritance. *Won Piny* (favored child). Avoidance relationships. Joking relationships. Levirate.

VI A b

Political Structure and Organization

{*No year given.*} **Jan. 11:** *Jago Koich; Ladit; Dog kaka* (clan); segmentary lineage; incest; *dogola*. **Jan. 18:** Damasto Labeka; *Dogola* and *dog gang*; *Rwot* (chief), *rwot*'s duties. **Aug. 1:** genealogy of Ojebio's *kaka*; genealogy of Thedor's *kaka*. **June 4:** Saulo Latigu; Mukungu Ongako (leader of Ongako). Genealogy of Ongako *kaka*; history of Onyona; land tenure; *dogola*; *dog gang* [homestead]; *rwot* (chief); traditional government; *Ladit* (headman); *kir* (insult; but there are other translations, too). **Aug. 29:** Lucepu Lucara. Genealogy of Patuda *kaka*; Pax Britannia; *kwero* (taboo).

VI A c

Courtship and Bridewealth

{*No year given.*} **Feb. 5:** Bridewealth negotiation. *Jan. 14:* Okot. Traditional vs. European medicine. Health care. *Jal/jonga* (friends). *Miya* (sweetheart). Fictive kin. **Feb. 13:** Oloya and Jacob. Returning from a party where they are feasting Margaret's fiancé, who has just brought her back. How a sister's fiancé should be treated. Oloya wants to finish his schooling in Makerere and then go to England; he wants to marry an "educated" woman, so maybe an English woman; he could sleep with anyone if he wanted to, but he doesn't want to pay *luk* (compensation for adultery). Custom surrounding *luk*. Why Acholi don't use contraceptives. Oloya doesn't want that many children; Acholi are not supervised once they grow up so it is easy to sneak away with a girl. Oloya is proud of his education. He tells Paula to go to Lamogi if she wants to see some real 'savage' Acholi. "Progress."

VI A d

Religion

{No year given.} 8 typed pages. See also Folder VIII.J.d and Folder XIa.c. **Jan. 30:** Interview with Huntington Oryang, leader of a small semi-militant Christian group from Lango, called Mony pa Lubanga. He says it means *people of God* in Lango; she says it means *war of God* in Acholi. His message is to turn the other cheek and love thy neighbor as thyself; Paula is skeptical. He says he accepts both Catholics and Protestants but to her his practice sounds more Protestant. Discuss prayer; baptism; marriage; funerals. Now he is in Acholiland. They came from Lango without anything. “Has anybody left you yet? (No, no one has gone away yet.) Have any Acoli come yet? (No, none has come yet. But Lubanga will send them to me.) When? (He hasn’t told me yet.) After this we left.”

VI A e

Roles of the Chief

{No year given.} 2-1/2 typed pages. **Dec. 11:** Interview with Lasto Okech. He is evidently a former *Rwot*, evidently of Koich. Discusses past warring on Lango. He emphasizes very strongly that the *Rwot* had no power (or authority) to kill anyone or have someone killed. In a killing between clans, a *rwot* had to arrange compensation, including (theoretically) of two girls. They would be given to the brother of the dead man as wives and any children subsequently born would be considered born of the dead man. If someone from west Acholi killed someone from Padibe, again, they would have to settle the matter or they would live in fear of a revenge killing. Paying *luk* (compensation for adultery): 3/4 to the injured man and 1/4 to the government “for native administration.” He wants to be very sure that Paula accurately wrote down what he told her.

VI A e

History

{No year given.} 3 typed pages. **Dec. 7:** Lacito Okech (“father of Martin, usually called *Rwot*, because he was *Rwot* of Lamogi, about 65 years old, ‘We talked while we had lunch.’”) They discuss his farm and hypothetical situations of land use. “You know land here is not important, no trouble about that, here money isn’t important, here we count in cattle.” He has written a book in Acholi about history and chieftainship, called Tekwaro i

Ker. He says the Acholi came from the north about 400 years ago. Discussed Bunyoro and the Bachwezi, and a quarrel of two brothers over the chieftainship. Later Paula writes that what he said was very interesting especially about the quarrel and how it sounds a lot like Crazzolara's *Lwo Migrations*. "I wonder whether he read Crazzolara?" She thinks he did, and he had Speke's book about the discovery of the Nile. *She intends to follow up with him; not clear this occurred.*

VI A e

Agriculture and Land Tenure

{No year given.} 2 typed pages. **Feb. 4:** Paula's notes on Acholi dismay and anger about government land reform plans and about "new" agricultural techniques. The plans were introduced to the Acholi without prior consultation or input. Her interviewee (a man) says that women 'were the most militant against the farm,' saying they would rather work the land with their bare hands 'from morning till night' rather than use the supposedly labor-saving machines and lose "the land of their fathers." "He said that he felt very sad about this because these people are all going to be hurt. He explained that no matter what the people say the land will be taken, because the D.C. and the Agricultural Officer have already conferred with the Acholi standing committee and the *Rowdi*, and the resolution for both farms has been passed. He thought that though" [*unfinished/breaks off*].

X A c

"dated January 31"

{No year given.} 2 typed pages. Interview with Barakija Oyado, "Kaka Bolo of Awere, Puranga (husbands [sic] of Min Akuu's *do*. Calls me *Mara*"). "This man came into my house on his knees, and set down by the far corner of the room because he told me I was his mother in law ..."
Oyado had been in Kings African Rifles and sprinkles in some military lingo for Paula as he explains Puranga history and the killing of Okello-mwaka in the early 20th century. Among much else Oyado describes the upbringing of boys "in the old days" when fathers (and *dog gangs*) had a duty to teach sons to use a spear and shield and fight and go hunting to bring home meat – "if you had a son you taught him how to live as an Acholi" – father built a special hut called *Otogo Lamal* for the boys to live

in -- versus nowadays when boys go to school “because we hope they can then take care of themselves.” Then describes an *abila* (ancestor shrine) and relation with twins, and then explains why Paula in fact is his “wife.”

Religion, Health, and Witchcraft

{*No year given.*} **June 5:** Interview with Ojera and with Ojula, “son of Odai, Moro.” They describe a *Jok Muno* who speaks English from the mouths of people who don’t speak English at all. *They are laughing; hard to know if this is a joke for Paula since muno means European. Joks cannot join together, they each have different work. Joks trouble people – if joks are hungry and cannot find food “they catch the body of a person and they trouble him until they get food, and then they go away.”* A lot of discussion about the ins and outs of *joks*. *Jok* (spirit) classification. *Ajwaka* (traditional healers). *Tipu* (ancestor spirits). *Cen* (malevolent tipu). **June 6:** Interview with Ogaba, son of Latodo. Who is *Lajok*? “Oh that is a very big word, he is bad, he wants to kill people. He comes and takes your things and buries them and then you die.” *Lajok* is not a *Jok*, he is a human being, “a bad human being, nobody knows who it is, they do not come during the day, they only come at night. They are very bad.” Ogaba or Achelari says his mother is very sick. Doctor at hospital cannot do anything, “he just gives her some medicine to eat and says we should wait but it does not help she has a lot of pain. Something IS LIVING INSIDE HER STOMACH. If you put medicine on one side of her stomach the thing moves to the other side, when you put the medicine there the thing runs to the other side again. You cannot catch it. It is living. The doctor said we [sic] send her to Kampala to Mulago [*NOTE: they must be referring to a precursor of Uganda Cancer Institute, founded in 1967*], but she is old, she does not want to go, she will be alone there, she is afraid to go there. So we went to the *ajwaka* and now we are fixing to find out what it is. The *ajwaka* says that it is a *JOK*, that put that living thing inside my mother’s stomach. She will now take it out. I am taking *MOKO* (flour) to make beer with. (I asked him which *Jok* it was that put the thing there.) He said he didn’t know, he

didn't get word yet. He has written and written there to find out what the *ajwaka* said but he wrote for nothing, they [*who?*] didn't answer him, that is why he is going now himself. After this he left." **June 7:** Ogaba (continuation of June 6 interview). More of a theoretical explication of *Jok* (spirits). *Ajwaka* (traditional healers). *Jok* ceremony; *jok* hierarchy; *tipu* (ancestor spirits); *cen* (malevolent tipu); non-human *tipu*. **Feb. 11:** Lacito Okech. He gave her a lesson in Acholi animal names (lists); *Lajok* (witch); *jok* (spirits); *Awola* (poisoning); *Iir* (she translates it as *evil eye*); death.

X A f

October 28 (and Nov. 1) – History of Patiko

{*No year given.*} 16 typed pages. Origin story. Brief sketch of genealogy. **Oct. 28:** *Tekwaro me* Patiko as told to Paula in a two-part interview by Thomasi [sic] Lakanne. *Seems a longer version of material in Folder X.A.f1 and Folder X.A.d.* (History of Patiko; *tekwaro* might also be translated as 'roots'.) **Nov. 1:** Continuation of the history. Paula explains: "*KOLA* is a coalition, alliance, made either for war or for dancing, it can be of clans, of smaller clans, and even individuals to beat up someone." "The sons of a *Rwot* who do not get the chieftainship are called *ACARA*, which means that they didn't get the door."

X A d

Untitled folder

Except for last 2 pages, this is duplicate of Folder XI.A.11. *Last page:* origin story of Patiko as told by Tomasi Lakanne, son of Odora. (See also Folder X.A.fi.) "The Patiko people are from the Sudan from a country called Nyagi, that you call Anyuak. What brought the people away from Nyuagi [sic] was the dispute about the chieftainship. The *Rwot* of Anyuak was called Lwo he had 3 sons, Bong, Tere, and Tika... When he thought his death was near he called the 3 sons to him and said to them ..."

X A f1

Untitled folder

{*No year given.*} 7 typed pages. **Nov. 10:** History of Patiko as told by Tomasi Lakanne, son of Odora. Story of how a man came to become the *Laor Rwot* of the gang of Lakanne's grandfather – the man had come from another clan (unnamed) who said he had no clan. The man said that *Piny Oloye* – "the world defeated him in his home." The then-*Rwot* married the man to one of the *Rwot's* daughters and they

- bore children. *Many, many people's names; hard to follow.* Discussion of Sir Samuel Baker and interpreters from Patiko. A song of Patiko and a song of Payira. What happened one year after Baker left (it must have been 1875). A song of the war.
- XI A jj4**
History: Lineage of Bunyoro Clan, May 12
 {No year given.} One short typed page and a duplicate. Fragment, first part of sentence or section is missing: starts “the name of the second twin. But they were not twins.” No name of speaker. Very brief origin stories then of Babito and Bunyoro.
- XI A II**
Kinship & Ritual: taboos, childbirth. Oct. 17 (also B – Oct. 11, p. 8 is inside)
 {No year given.} About 10 typed pages. Interview with Okwera Igic and Lalur Lalok. Bwobwo *kaka* (clan). History and genealogy. The Ayira (Payira) and Bwobwo are sons of one man, they say. War cry (*mwoic*) of Bwobwo. Foods the clan cannot eat. Who can inherit the *abila* (ancestor shrine). Kinship – taboos, naming. Rituals: what to eat, clan guidelines, pregnancy. Childbirth, child death.

BOX 15: a.k.a. “Miscellaneous Box 2”
Folders seem to have been gathered from other boxes...

- VI B a**
Health
 {No year given.} 3-1/2 typed pages. **Oct. 18:** Behavior of relatives to sick woman. A woman with Paget’s disease (a bone disease). Hospital advises the woman to go to Kampala for treatment and she refuses. Wants to go to Goma where her relatives can care for her. The woman has no family. Paula refuses to take her to Goma and says she should go to Kampala. Attitudes toward death. Paula thinks the woman’s hosts are trying to get rid of her.
- III B a**
Religion
 {No year given.} About 10 typed pages. **Jan. 23:** Lallam is sick and this is *Lubanga’s* (God’s) will. Lallam has 3-day measles. Lallam’s mother is surprised Paula doesn’t know about *Lubanga’s* role in sickness because the white people (*munu*) are always talking about it to the Acholi. Before *munu* came *Lubanga* was *Jok Madit* (great spirit). Now they pay in church (*kanisa*); before in shrine (*abila*). Every dog gang used to have *abila*. Only people

with children can pray at abila. **Feb. 4:** Paula engages in reciprocity with Min Oloya. Paula thinks Min Oloya has trachoma. Omal and Okello are reading. Omal doesn't like the governor's speech and makes suggestions. White people have too many different policies and too many different religions. Paula debates the concept of truth. These days traditional spirits (*jok*; pl. *jogi*) aren't working and people are turning to God (*Lubanga*). They discuss *Lubanga's* role in traditional Acholi religion. They talk about different kinds of *joks* – pl. *jogi* - and different *jok* ceremonies. **Aug. 23:** How to make rain. Latal dances *jok twol* (snake spirit) and prepares food and beer to feed them. Now people pray to *Lubanga* (God). **Nov. 12:** Jeremiah talks about old songs about God (*Lubanga*) {hymns??}. Divination for sick people. How *Lubanga* is different from *joks*.

III B b

Acholi-Baganda Relations

{*No year given.*} 1 typed page. **Nov. 10:** {*Paula wrote on top: "Ill child." - but there is no info about an ill child.*} *Incomplete:* Starts with "Jeremiah said that I may say so but they have no proof that I am telling the truth..." Jeremiah, who is Acholi, comments on the Baganda people and how he thinks they are different from Acholi. He lived in Kampala for 3 years and said he knows Baganda well. How different the Baganda were from the Acholi. Remarks on K.A.R. He said the Baganda people are 'very secretive while the Acholi were open.' He said no one can know Baganda customs because they are never discussed aloud. (*He evidently felt like an outsider.*) Said that in Acholi a killer would be found right away but in Baganda a killer could escape. Thomasi makes a derogatory remark about Baganda people. Jeremiah said the Omakama of Bunyoro is the elder brother of the Kabaka of Baganda, they are the "twins of Cebwami." And both are Lwo and not really Bantu.

III B c

Court Cases

No year given. About 50 typed pages, and a few handwritten pages, dated April 14, Nov. 7, Nov. 21, Nov. 22, Nov, 24, June 4. Short descriptions of cases observed at {native court?? One of the pages is marked Jago's Court, Patiko, Ajulu; see below}. *Topics mentioned:* marriage, bridewealth, adultery,

desertion, divorce, elopement, wife inheritance, domestic assault, co-wife assault, assault, murder, theft, land use, debt, tax, destruction of property by goats, slander, incest, witchcraft, cattle inoculation against tsetse fly, hunting, road work, road conditions, market law, ethnic tensions with Sudan, police violence, corporal punishment, contempt of court, insolence (filial), Council proceedings. In Acholi: a lot of vocabulary including: *Lim, luk, pidu, nyirk, chirk, curia, kwer, waro, akumu, poro, buku, kwero, dyang, lajok*. First page, April 14: A woman was beaten by both a man and his mother for trying to collect on her father's debt, she fought back and injured someone. Nov. 7, Jago's Court, Patiko, Ajulu: The *Jago* makes a speech (reprimands, rules, commendations) to the people of Patiko, including "The birth records are no good..." and "Thanks for the wonderful performance at the show."

III B b

Kir

No year given. About 3 typed pages (including fragments). Paula wrote, "*Kir* – definitions and degrees." **Aug. 20**: Discussing *kir*. A story of *Kir* involving Min Eliah, who is said to be crazy. *Kir* is *ball* (fault or mistake), but not all *ball* is *kir*. Some *kir* are not intentional and thus are not very serious, especially when done by children; *ball* seems to be *kir* when you do something that shows you want to other person to die. When done by adults, a goat must be sacrificed (*tumo dyel*) to cancel the *kir*. Some ways to cancel different kinds of *kir*. Degrees of *kir*. *Kir* is done only within the clan (*kaka*). If no *tumo* is done for *kir*, people will die. Paula asks about incest and might have scared her interviewee away.

III B e

Hunting

No year given. About 13 typed pages, dated Jan. 20 and Jan. 21. With much detail Paula describes going on a hunt that began at 5am going by car as far as Lamogi then on foot. *Last page is incomplete*.

III B e

Ritual

No year given. About 12 typed pages, some of which are duplicates. **March 23**: Titled "Lapful the God of Palaro Being Cooked." *Lapful* planting ceremony. Fields can be dug but not sown before

lapful. Paula is first forbidden to see. Cannot wear clothes near the *wang jok* (place of the *jok*). Who goes to *lapful*. Paula will have to wear her *ceno* (woman's loin cloth). Paula is asked not to go in case *lapful* hurts her. **Aug. 1:** Min Akuu tells Paula about a *myel rudi* (dance of the twins) that *Rwot* was forced to have. Attitudes toward twins. Powers of twins. Children born after twins. **Aug. 15:** Ritual when people return from war. *Kwer* (taboo) of those who have killed someone. *Nying Tong* (spear name). *Nying Twon* (bull name). *Nying Pak* (Praise names). Other Acholi vocabulary, too.

III B e

Witchcraft

No year given. 2 small typed pages dated October 14. Oywelo is sick. The traditional healer (*ajwaka*) told him it was caused by witchcraft (*logaga*), which he said he stepped on – it was a stick broken in 3 places buried by the gang entrance. Oywela tells Paula how *logaga* is used. Traditional healers are afraid to say who did it even if they know. Oywelo is going to sell his shop to find a strong enough *ajwaka* who - for enough money - will tell him who bewitched him, he says. How an *ajwaka* can call your soul (*tipu*). In the morning Paula will take him to the hospital.

VI B b

Agriculture

No year given. About 50 typed pages, various dates. Some Acholi vocabulary. *Topics include* drought, digging gardens, field sizes, crops and crop preferences, fishing, payment in kind for laborers, fallow fields, snakes, weeding, house construction, rains, government regulation to grow cassava, women's sources of money, a feast for the laborers who did collective labor, women joke about why they drink separately from the men, Paula goes to Lamogi to visit someone, only younger children herd goats.

VI B b

Cattle

No year given. 4 typed pages. **Dec. 24:** The *Rwot* is furious about the loss of 2 cattle. The cattle are found. They are herded by Ankole herders who had left them in the care of local boys in order to go to Gulu and sell milk. Okello explains herding. Herd boys. The cattle are butchered by a Muslim so meat can be sold. Paula is praised for carrying meat (=women's work). The *Rwot* gets a good price

because the meat was approved by the health inspector, and so the Rwot plans to buy school uniforms, beer and brandy for Christmas. Meat is divided. **Oct. 19:** Prices of various cuts of meat and profit. Most people sell meat in order to marry off their sons.

VI B b

Craft Specialization

No year given. About 30 typed pages. Various dates. *Topics include:* A boy makes a papyrus reed mat (*kolo*). Little girl makes pots and sells them in Lira. The *gang* fills with people drinking *waragi* beer and discussing the market. There is a dance but girls refuse to dance because the boys are too rude. A few people are willing to translate the lyrics to *myel rudi* (dance of the twins) that Paula's research assistant refused to translate (out of embarrassment because it is a lewd dance?). Women joke with a deaf-mute person who is a *jok*. How to make shea butter nut oil (*yaa*). A woman kills her husband when he is drunk. Min Eliah is paranoid and beating up Veronica because Veronica's child died. How to frame a roof. Rope making. Blacksmithing as an inherited trade. Prices in kind and in cash. How to weave baskets. Basket-making is not women's work because it is too hard. End of Ramadan. *And much else!*

VI B b

Fertility

No year given. 2-1/2 typed pages, dated Feb. 22. Infant mortality: mourning and burial. One dead infant is due to *Lubanga's* (God's) will. Consult the *ajwaka* (traditional healer) if there are a string of infant deaths or miscarriages. "We don't cry for children one day old, they don't have a name yet." Paula tried to call in on the *ajwaka* but she had gone to Koich or Patiko.

VI B b

Hunting

No year given. 2-1/2 typed pages. **Jan. 18:** Paula is persuaded to go on a hunt. She tells the women, and they say the Spring of Omoro is too far, 20 miles from Lamogi. Paula heard that it is only 10 miles. When Min Okema finds that Paula is really going, she grinds *nyim* (sesame), mixes it with water, takes Paula outside and smears it on her feet so that she will walk well, and made as if to spit on her hands and then touched Paula with that hand.

VI B b

Market

No year given. About 50 typed pages, various dates. Apparently Paula living in Koich. Various places mentioned including Gulu, Bwobwo, Goma.

Topics include: market day, co-wife cooperation, socializing at the market, Indian-Acholi relations, Muslim customs, women's and men's money, left-handed taboos, grading cotton, weekly dances, store construction, women vendors, Paula is told that an informant is lying, Paula compares markets, markets as places where boys and girls meet and mingle; a Sudanese wife, brick making, what people do with money from beer, women prepare for an importance dance competition; selling sugarcane; dance competitions between villages are traditional; it seems the everybody in the neighborhood is brewing beer; encounters with various people. *And much else!*

VI B b

Marriage

No year given. 1 typed page. **Jan. 21:** A woman comes to the hospital after a botched abortion, arriving on the back of a bicycle holding onto a man's waist for dear life. Their marriage was "refused" (annulled?) because the couple turned out to be within a prohibited degree of kinship; to have a child with *wat* (kinsman) is shameful and only brings sorrow, Paula is told. *Story continues somewhere else but that's all there is.*

VI B b

Religion

No year given. 3-1/2 typed pages. **Dec. 23:** Paula returns home to find the women making beer for Christmas. Paula and Min Aliker talk about religion and proselytization. Women are grinding grains and plastering their houses. Description of Alba's house. List of inhabitants of the *gang*.

VI B b

Villages near Aworaja (description)

No years given. 24 typed pages, dated Dec. 7, Jan. 12, and Feb. 4. Note on one set: "Fields and houses northeast of Aworaja." Describes the *gang* (home) of Okech, which is about 500 yards from the road. The entrance to it is through a path in the high grass. One cannot see it from the road. The courtyard is the main area for everyday living. Topics include: Different styles of houses, playing the *adwung*, or women's harp; a man has not spoken since being caught in a big storm – is he possessed by a *jok*?; a village of Madi people;

different homesteads; a grandmother feeds her grandchildren.

VI B b

Water and Health

No years given. 3 typed pages. Jan. 18: Paula goes to the well with Dinah. The roads are bad because of the rains. Women make fun of Paula for not bringing her pail (debe); a woman refuses to answer Paula's questions until Paula quotes an Acholi proverb to the effect that people who ask questions are not people to be afraid of. Dinah apologizes on someone else's behalf. People complain about the irregular rains; People know that water carries sickness but don't boil it because of the need to build up resistance; People avoid mosquito nets for the same reason. Plans to go to hot springs of Omoro.

VI B b

Usufruct

No years given. 15 typed pages. Various dates. Includes a sketch map of Poto's land usage. Topics include: Paula goes far away to gather wood with Margaret and Alba because all the land nearby is owned. Patuda land and Koich land. A wedding party. Bride and groom already have a baby. How people get land to build houses. Men's and women's work. Attitudes toward drinking. People's kal (unthreshed millet) is doing poorly due to irregular rain. Paula goes out with Margaret to make a sketch map of the fields. Government regulations about cotton fields. Paula ends up at the beer market where women ask her to buy them beer. Adonya asks Paula to take his wife to the hospital as it seems she is miscarrying.

VI B c

Bridewealth

No years given. About 6 pages, some in fragments. Aug. 22: Paula is told to respect the person whose *lim* (bridewealth) paid for her marriage. Distribution of *lim* in a family. June 8: Auma Mary asks if she can stay with Paula. She is digging *poto pamba* (cotton garden) on land she has from *Min* Lakony, her grandmother. Auma Mary is saving to get married. She tells Paula about the things she will distribute on her marriage. Respect rules and *lim*. Attitudes toward marriage.

VI B c

Education

No year given. 10 typed pages. Paula's headings:

Educated Young Men's Attitude to Parents and Women in General; Educated Makerere Description of [dance?] – Attitude to Women Generalized; Omal's Story of Schooling. Topics include: Okot and Omal talk about their needs for more money at school. They worry about how they will afford marriage. They need to work and study at the same time. They don't like depending on their fathers. They talk about the position of Acholi men and women. Acholi dances. Oloya wants to marry an educated woman. Uneducated girls are considered dirty. How much money Angelo will need to marry an educated girl. What he's looking for in a bride. Has to be an Acholi girl. People are agitating for self-government. Independence.

VI B c

Luk (compensation for adultery)

No year given. 1 short typed page, dated Aug. 15. Paula wrote by hand on top, "Luk children not payd [sic] for belong to Girl's Father." Abanya asks Paula to give a name to her new child. Paula chose the name Akwero because she was Paula's *kwer*. The fathers of 3 other children there didn't pay *luk* and so the children belong to the father of the girl. The new baby is also *luk*. Says she doesn't want any more children unless she has a husband. "I will refuse all men from now on." Paula wrote. "The two others laughed at that."

VI B c

Marriage and Courtship

No year given. 11 typed pages, some fragments. Various dates. *Topics include:* Abe tells Paula that boys pretend they want to marry certain girls and then leave them in the lurch. Margaret became pregnant and the boy took off. "This happens to educated girls a lot." It's hard for an educated girl to find someone to marry. Difference between marriage and elopement; family not supposed to interfere. Women gossiping.

VI B d

Hunting

No year given. 6 typed pages. Duplicate of Folder III.B.e. "Hunting." Paula wrote by hand "Hunt at Amoro Spring, Lamogi." Jan. 10. Started out at 5 a.m. Paula goes on a hunt. They looked for buffalo (*jubi*) and spear edible rats (*ayeri*) on the way. They reach the hot springs at Oromo after lunch. They sight *jubi* and Abe spears it. Paula

returns and they tell her she is the first white person to go to Oromo and back in the same day.

VI B d

Land Reform

No year given. 8 typed pages. Jan. 29 and Jan. 30.

Topics include:

Paula discussed land reform with two people. Man disappears of individual land ownership. To bring in land reform now will crystalize the difference between rich and poor and force population control. Acholi don't want to be tied to the same piece of land. Men say there is a religious group that has set up a *gang* (homestead) in Gulu. Since the government is planning to give land to every Acholi, the man hopes the religious group is not here to claim land, too. {*This is in reference to Mony Pa Lubanga – War of God alternately translated as People of God – Martha.*} Very upset about land tenure and hope that Europeans and Asians won't get land, too. *Jago* Koic tries to shoo everyone away from Paula at a dance and she is angry.

VI B d

Religion

No year given. 5 typed pages. Mony Pa Lubanga.

See also Folder VI.B.d and other descriptions in Foster papers. Jan. 30: Paula describes the *gang* of the Mony Pa Lubanga religious group. Everyone is strangely quiet. Description of prayers, very Protestant. Oddly some calisthenics. Paula's analysis. Comparison of Lango and Acholi.

VI B e

Education and Marriage

Duplicate of Folder VI.B.c. Aug. 20, no year. 2

typed pages. Angelo goes to Certified Institute of Secretaries in Kampala. He is going to be a clerk.

How much money he will need to marry an educated girl. What he's looking for in a bride. Has to be an Acholi girl. People are agitating for self-government. Independence.

VI B e

Politics

No year given: 1955? Various dates. 19 typed pages. *Topics include:* Acholi views on World War II. There is a war in Sudan. The south and the north are fighting because the southerners don't want to be ruled by the northerners. What triggered the war. Officials have been killed. Gennety's husband is up for being secretary of Acholi local government. Paula is told not to kill the *twol jok* (spirit snake)

because it is a messenger of twins. Paula is allowed to see the Sudanese. They have been divided from other Acholi by the white men. 4,000-5,000 of them. Agriculture and hunting similar. Political organization, marriage, religion; they have age grades. *Partial duplicate of Folder VI.B.c on Education*. Paula attends the Acholi District Council meeting. D.C.'s speech. No discussion of ivory. Railway, alteration of judicial system, District newspaper. Election of Lawirowdi (head of the chiefs). One man wants to know if Paula is making a map for the government so they can take Acholi land – he says there will be war if this happens. Man thinks Europeans are lying when they say they are not involved in the Sudanese war. He does not think Acholi should get involved, not even to help Sudanese Acholi. He thinks the white man started this war.

VI B e

Religion

No year given. 4 typed pages. **Feb. 4:** Reciprocity with Min Oloya. Min Oloya asks for medicine for her eye. Omal wants self-government as soon as possible. Okello complains that whites only teach Africans halfway, just like they came with so many religions and each claimed it was right. Okello disparages Judaism. *Joks* (spirits) don't work anymore because people are turning to *Lubanga* (God). Okello thinks *Lubanga* was always present in Acholi religion. Okello and Omal tell her about a *Jok* ceremony for Koic. Types of *joks*.

VI B g

Ajwaka (traditional healers)

No year given. 11 typed pages. Feb. 6 and Aug. 30. Topics include: attitudes toward the death of the elderly; who are *ajwaka*; everyone rises late in the heavy rains; rules of hospitality for boys; obtaining medicine for a woman having a miscarriage; Min Tito makes love medicine; *Ajwaka* gives twin medicine so they will have twins; description of Olal Moi's funeral; and more.

VI B g

Hospital

3 typed pages including fragment. Aug. 20 {*no year*}: Paula gives Alpayo's wife aspirin for a headache. A new wife dies and at the funeral there are rumors of poisoning due to jealousy: but "nobody could agree that this was a killing. There were no witnesses." Discussing the mother and

father of the husband. A lady says, the Mission dispensary has been closed by the government and this is bad because the government hospital is bureaucratic. Risk of wife beating about syphilis. Government hospital tries to investigate who gave what to whom and it damages marital relations. The Mission dispensary didn't ask nosy questions. Apparently the Mission dispensary was closed because a sister gave a patient an injection and the patient died. If it opens again they will only be able to give oral medicine. But people won't use it and will throw it out if it tastes bad. Idem's wife is extremely ill. Paula tells her to go to the hospital although the woman doesn't want to be left alone. They take her to the hospital and it turns out that she has malaria.

VI B g

Jok (spirits)

About 40 typed pages. Various dates; no years. Types of *jok*. In possession, speaking as *jok*. Min Tito asks *jok* for revenge. How to make rain. Relationship between *Lubanga* and *jok*. Min Lalobo compares *jok* ceremonies to prayer. Min Lalobo defines Tipu. Min Tito doing *tyet* (divination) around a sick boy. Where *jok* s live; *jok* genealogy. Does Paula have a *jok*? Min Tito talks about inheriting *jok*. Prophetic dreams. Europeans with *jok*. *jok* child with 6 fingers and toes. Tito thinks people need to follow the old *cirk* (customs). Preparing to hold a *myel rut* (dance of the twins) for their children. *jok* runs in families. Typhus. Old people usually aren't taken to the hospital when they are sick. Beliefs about the sun. *jok* Lybanga of the Patuda makes people hunchbacks and gives them elephantiasis. Prices in the market. A woman who has borne twins has no milk and has only *jok* children. Laran tells Paula how the Acholi got *jok*. *joks* are angered if you don't care for them and then they cause sickness. How *joks* catch people. Min Eliah comes and complains about Eliah and his wife Veronica.

VI B g

Kiir (translated as an action indicating wish for the death of another)

7 typed pages. Aug 21 and Oct 12 (*no year*). *Sometimes hard to follow*. Interviews and conversations with various people. A child was rubbed with *maa yaa* and became covered with

dust, but was rubbed with *maa yaa* so will be clean and will have soft skin. A woman tells story of how black and white people came to be. Min Tito is possessed by *Jok Muno* (white man *jok*). Min Tito has gone to the Mission to *tumo* (sacrifice) *kiir* for a teacher. A brother and sister argue about shillings. He threatened to put ashes on his spear but his sister stopped him. The boy got sick and they realized it was *kiir*, so they have to sacrifice *romo* (sheep). When botu (ashes) are involved, the *kiir* is very serious and will kill everyone.

VI B g

Pregnancy and Childbirth

4 typed pages. Aug 22 (*no year*). Childbirth practice. You cannot *kwero* (taboo) a woman who has given birth in hospital because the doctors and nurses will laugh at you; they throw the child's *pen* (umbilical cord) away and keep her in the hospital too long. Pregnancy customs and taboos of different clans: Payira Alokolum, P'Okumu Koic. Acholi paternity tests. Incest taboo. Levirate. *Lim* (bridewealth). An analysis of a difficult birth.

VI B g

Religion

Feb. 4 (no year). One partial typed page, no beginning or end. *Duplicate of folder VI.B.e?* Interviewee says that people believe less in *Joks* (*jogi*; spirits) than they used to; in the old days the *joks* used to work, if people asked for rain they made rain, but now, he says, "the *joks* are not helping anymore and some people are turning to Lubanga" (God). Okello thinks Lubanga was always present in Acholi religion as, in his words, "the lord of the world," and people would turn to "him" if *jok* failed to help. The word might have been a translation that came from missionaries, who also appropriated the word *abila* (shrine) for church. *Abila* is supposed to be a shrine for the *jok* of the house. A shrine is built special for each occasion. *Then a curious statement:* he said this past Monday "they had an *abila* built because there was a big ceremony for the blessing of the guns. That all the Koich men came and they ate the *adunu*, the heart of the buffalo and the head of the *dogola*, the eldest brother of Okech came and prayed over it." "And even today the old men were drinking beer in honor of this ceremony." (*Apparently ceremony was only for men?*)

VI B g

Ritual

8 typed pages. Oct 5, May 25, Jan 18 (*no years*).

Oct 5: Paula, and Cinty and Walter Sangree participate in the reception of newborn twins to a gang (the twins were born in hospital); all are *buku*'ed – a chicken is waved over them; the welcome is complicated by the simultaneous funeral ceremony in the same gang. **May 25:** Tamali, an older lady, demonstrates how people used to pray for rain when it was hot. She says people used to pray with dancing but now they sing but don't dance. Describes connection between *Jok Lokka*, Koic and rain; it dates back to the big famine around 1800, and relates to Bunyoro, specifically Masindi region. *Jok Lokka* only falls into women. *Jok Lokka* and his wife are both *lokka* and they have 3 children who are also *lokka* {*which is what?*}. *Lokka* is always in the body of Abwola. Abwola interprets for *Lokka* and tells when the rain will come.

Jan. 18: *duplicate of Folder VI.B.b?* After supper at the *wang-o* (central fire), “but there were no stories this time. We just talked.” Paula had been invited to go on a hunt. She tells the women and they say it is too far to go. When Min Okema finds Paula is really going, Min Okema thought she should ask Lubanga (God) to protect Paula. Min Okema grinds *nyim* (sesame), mixes it with water, takes her outside, and pours it on her feet so she will walk well.

VI B g

***Tipu* (translated as ancestor spirits)**

{*No year given.*} 8 typed pages. **May 26:** Min Openy: her father makes an *abila* (shrine) for the *tipu* (translated as soul) of his father when he dies. Min Openy says, “Each person makes an *abila* for his father, when he dies, they put the *tipu*, soul, of their father in it.” If this is not done the *tipu* will bring sickness. The *tipu*, says Min Openy, is “that which is alive after a person dies.” {Explains activities that happen at *abila*.} Must be particular kind of tree over the *abila*. *Pen jok* (umbilical cord of *jok* children) and *pen rudi* (umbilical cord of twins) are kept at *abila*. *Tipu* must be called and asked what they want or they will become *cen*, Min Openy says: “*Cen* is bad *tipu*, *tipu* that brings sickness.” *Kidi joks* (*jok* houses – stones of *jok*);

sketch by Paula of part for older sister of Min Openy and part for older sister of Min Openy. Types of *joks*. *Joks* and illness. Some sickness is random. People are no longer following the old *chirk* (custom) respecting *jok*.

A man says that Roman Catholic religion has not helped him: he goes to church every Sunday but he is still poor. He might try Protestant religion and his son is 'reading' (studying) Protestant religion. Why doesn't Roman Catholic religion help him? "I don't know, maybe it is no good, maybe it is only for Europeans, and it does not help the Africans."

Meanwhile, *nyuka* is a tasty sweet and sour porridge. **Oct. 20:** Min Tito is made ill (stomach problems and diarrhea) by the *tipu* of her mother. Her husband, another person, and her brother try to help her – the brother making a rope from *obia* bark to put by the *abila*. He binds the rope around a stake in the yard and while bending down he said, "If you are really the one who brought the sickness because of your hunger, then here is the *olwoc* I have stuck it on the ground. {He explains further; may also involve a goat sacrifice.}

VI B g

***Tyēt* (divination)**

{*No years given.*} About 30 typed pages. Various dates. **Sept 19:** Paula and Cinty and Walter Sangree go to Min Tito's. Tito is sick in the hospital because someone was jealous and had "put medicine" into one of his cows, and then the medicine went into Tito starting with his leg. A woman says she has just come back from Patiko where she helped a sick child who had "*Gin Malo*," by throwing the child very high up in the air to help the illness settle in the child's intestines and be expelled. Explains why if your child has this sickness you must not carry other people's children lest they become ill and die, in which case you would have to pay *kwor* (compensation). The woman says, "The sickness is not MAGIC it comes from Lubanga and it is a medicine that Lubanga puts into the wind."

Throwing and interpreting *gagi* (cowrie shells). She has not one *jok* in her but many *joks* (as an ensemble) that let her do *tyēt* (divination). Min Tito throws the *gagi* again; Paula sketches various formations and what they mean: "the mother's breasts" or "funeral," for example. *Kiir* (translated

as an action indicating wish for the death of another). They go to Min Abwola, who gives Cinty and Walt a chicken. Everyone is impressed with Cinty and Walt. Discussion of ceremony that will be performed for Veronica, which her husband will not attend because he is Catholic and says his religion forbids him being present ‘when there is something being done with *CHOTAN* (Satan).’ The *Rwot* visits occasionally and urges Paula to give the guests everything they need so they shouldn’t complain; he then asks her to pay for a party she was not invited to when she was away from the area; she refuses. **Oct 20:** Paula goes to Min Tito with her new interpreter, a 20-yr-old student. Min Tito is performing *tyet* (divination) for Ida’s sick daughter. Ida’s previous child had been born with 2 penises and had died. Interpretation and explanation. A song for *jok* (lyrics). Veronica is sick because her husband beat her after “her *jok* was danced” [sic]. What Veronica and Eliah did wrong. Twins are *jok*. *Jok* children. The nature of Lubanga (God). How the Paluo cure hunchbacks. Names and clans of *Jok* Anyodo. Where *joks* live. **Aug 16:** Min Tito is performing *tyet* (divination) for a woman from Lamogi. Min Tito is making medicine for Abwola to prevent miscarriage. Min Tito throws *gagi* (cowrie shells) for woman from Lamogi. She will make some medicine. Min Tito throws *gagi* again, for another woman with sick children. *Kidi Jok* (*Jok* house). How to roast shea butter nut. Eliah is repairing a house. Min Eliah is crazy and beat her daughter-in-law for losing a child. Min Tito and Paula visit Ladwong. Ladwong’s sister’s daughter is sick because the afterbirth won’t come out. Min Tito consults Ladwong about the illness of her granddaughter. Ladwong agrees to *tyet* in front of Paula. Ladwong shakes her *ajaa* (gourd) and speaks to her *jok*. Ladwong finds the source of the child’s illness and tells Min Tito what to do. Paula asks about Ladwong’s practice. Paula goes home; Grereda is skeptical of Christianity. Congress wants self-government. Apwa, who is in the local government, allegedly tried to kill Alikeer (Paula’s Acholi friend in the USA) with medicine from the Nubi, but it backfired. You cannot kill innocent people with medicine because it will rebound to

your children. Olal's hunchback *jok*. Lubanga is a bad *jok*. The missionaries don't speak Acholi, they speak Alur and think it is Acholi. Powers of *lajok* (witch). Why people use witchcraft. Clothing. Changing beliefs about illness. **Oct 11:** Min Tito tells Paula she should start to throw *gagi* (cowrie shells) for divination. Min Tito says she will show Paula how to do it. Paula thinks Min Tito is a fake. **Oct 13:** Paula tells Gyerelina about spirit mediums. Solina asks Paula about *kiir*. Gyerelina tells a story about how she was helped by *Gemu* (a kind of supernatural group of people). Asks Paula if dreams mean anything for her, and Paula says that she dreamed her car fell before it did fall: Gyerelina and Solina say, "Well that is *tyet*." Gyerelina does *tyet* with *gagi* (cowrie shells) and everyone joins in the interpretation. After lunch they visit an *ajwaka* who throws the *gagi* for them. Paula observes a dance practice that she thinks is not good, and someone there is trying to help the dancers improve.

VI B f

Ritual

Aug. 27, *no year*. One small scrap of paper, taken out of context. It reads, "She couldn't tell me what this was so, She said that the *Jok* wanted to hear it from Tito because the *Jok* liked Tito. She said that as I herd [sic], she herself called *Muno* but he didn't come. *Muno** is her *Jok* not Tito's *Jok* but he will not help her unless Tito is there." {*The word *Muno* also means European.}

VII B a

Marriage – "Running Away"

{*No year given.*} About 20 typed pages, some duplicates. Long interview with a former interpreter for the District Commission who is also a former *rwot*. Topics include marriage, women's rights and inter-gender tensions in a changing capitalist economy, sexual relations, missionary teachings about sex, medicine, abortion. **Dec. 12 and Dec. 13.** "Jeremiah Ajwayo or Odongo." "Jeremiah came originally to ask me to re-write his proposal for making laws against the running away of women. I asked him to tell me about his own case, and how women run away in general." "Why do you say in this proposal that many women ron [sic] away? – Because there are many of them, they learn about FREEDOM in Kampala or somewhere else and then they run away." He discusses different women

who he claims became prostitutes or in one example a woman became a “prostitute” and also sold beer, worked in a factory, lived with different men, and eventually returned to Acholi and her husband, and in the meantime put her son through school, bought him a *polota*, and married him off. “She turned out all right and she returned to Acholi, but that is because she has a child, but my wife she has no child and will not come back to me.” Says another woman colluded with his wife that both would run away. Describes one young woman who got pregnant; her father has not asked who the father is: “I will ask her soon if Lot will delay asking. But I don’t know what Lot will do. Mostly Acholi go to court for *luk* not so much for the money, but because they are afraid that if the mother dies then there will be no one to pay *kwor* for her. (Paula: Why should anyone pay *kwor* for her?) Because it was the childbirth that killed her, so the man who made her pregnant is the killer. He should either pay *kwor*, or marry the grave.” {*He continues.*} He says Europeans introduced lying to the Acholi; in former times (*unspecified*) if someone slept with sister-in-law or is his brother believed as much, he would admit before the *ludito* that he was in the wrong out of fear the wronged brother would beat or stab him. “Now Acholi don’t admit it. Even if they are caught, they will say WHO IS MY WITNESS who actually saw me do it. They will deny it. Its you Europeans who brought in this business of WITNESS and EVIDENCE, and thought [sic] Acholi how to lie. Why even that man who killed his wife at Pawell the other day, he is denying that he did it. He says WHO IS THE WITNESS who saw me stab her. Long ago that wouldn’t have been like this. He would have admitted to what he did, but now since the MUNO don’t convict without WITNESS and EVIDENCE, he doesn’t admit it. The same way with women.” {*He continues.*} Says now women want money, clothes, *sufurias* [cooking pots], and soap, ‘and everything, and want to be their own boss, so what do they do they run away.’” Women can make good money selling Kongo {beer?} in Kampala. Says his own wife left him after 20 years of marriage. Says he doesn’t know why. “What she should have done if she thought I

was bad, was to take me before the *LUKIKO* and if the court says I am not good then let me pay a fine or let them give her a *PAC* (divorce) but she should not have run away.” {*He continues.*} Says she was married to someone else, eloped with another man but the court gave her back to her first husband. Troubles, then that first husband brought her before the *Jago Paico* ‘and refused her.’ The first husband was afraid she would poison him. Jeremiah then married her. They had one child who died as an infant in 1936, then no other children. {*Another court case about the bridewealth – disputed.*}

Things a woman can bring a complaint about to the *lukiko*. Wife was worried because she was not giving birth. Jeremiah her husband apparently not taking appropriate action for years. Finally he took her to Kampala to Mulago hospital, left her there, and when he returned found out she had only stayed in hospital one night and was staying elsewhere. She sold beer on credit “and was waiting for the end of the month when most of the men get their pay and then can pay for their loans.” They returned to Acholi. He gave her a little money to buy clothes in Gulu; she was keeping her own separate funds in Gulu and was making beer there. She then went back to Kampala “and began to make beer and sleep around randomly.” She then went to Jinja where there is a big factory “and there she is now.” Her brother is in Jinja as a subinspector of police, and he cannot find her either because “she hides herself away somewhere in the factory lines.” Jeremiah has a friend in Jinja who is watching her and lets him know exactly where she lives and with whom. {*More about the bridewealth.*}

Says his wife has had 3 abortions. Discusses abortion. He claims that even if the mother’s life is at stake and a doctor advises abortion, the father of the pregnant woman or her husband will refuse the abortion. In one instance the doctor advised abortion to save a mother’s life, was rejected, and proceeded to check the woman into Gulu Hospital and fed her eggs, meat and milk – and had her stay in bed until she gave birth. She is fine now. “Acholi long ago didn’t have any abortion medicine, it comes from Bunyoro.” Jeremiah says that “even if a child is *luk*, it’s not a *ball* (mistake), because if her husband

doesn't want the child her father will take it." He says that at the C.M.S. during the time of Bwana Leses {or Lees} there were a lot of abortions because it was considered a big shame to have a child but not a husband. Jeremiah was at the mission from 1928 to 1932. "Then I was discharged as a teacher because I got one of the woman teachers pregnant when I already had one wife." The teacher did not have an abortion, but the child died. Then he became the District Commissioner's interpreter and was *Rwot* until 1944.

He says the majority of Acholi women are not virgins when they marry, and this is fine according to custom (*cirk me Acholi*). Parents used to arrange marriages for sons and daughters when they were young, about 15-17 years old, but these practices (*keny jonga* and *keny otonga*) no longer take place because children these days are in school or in the King's African Rifles and they wouldn't agree that their parents "should marry for them." There's also a lack of trust: "In the old days there was big trust between people, if you were my friend I trusted you very much, and I knew you wouldn't bring trouble into my family. Today, you never know..." While he says he doesn't force his wife to have sex if she doesn't want to, "but most Acholi men do it." Says most of the fighting at night between a man and his wife is because the wife refuses sex. More about sex. Jeremiah says Bwana Leses, the missionary, had asked him in detail all about Acholi sex practices and gave him a book called *Relation of Sexes* with many positions described or depicted. "I also read that you shouldn't waste your semen on prostitutes or women randomly, because the semen is seed, and that seed is from God and that which God gives you shouldn't be wasted randomly. It's like if you squander the wealth of your father." Describes a father who died leaving 2 sons with money and "living wealth," cows and goats - One son kept his inheritance while the other son began spending the money and "selling the dyang" and has nothing left. "It's the same thing with semen, if you squander it randomly, you are not thinking of the future generations. Your seed are [*sic*] there to make the earth full of people, if you squander it then it never will be so. Soon there will be no more

people.” He says he learned this in the book that the missionary had given him, *The Relation of Sexes*. Paula asks him whether he could get her some of the medicines for making abortion, stopping abortion, stopping giving birth and making give birth. He says medicines for stopping abortion and for giving birth are no problem, but otherwise people are afraid of talking about it “because it’s like killing. They will be called *lajok* [witch].” While women can be witches, mostly men are; women and only women do poisoning, never Acholi men or “only by accident.” He thought the trouble with Acholi medicine is that are no uniform dosages. Women who get pregnant again even though they still have very young infants (that is, who are too young to sit or hold their head up) will try to have an abortion because otherwise their milk will dry up and their living child will die. “In that case it’s a choice between the child that is already alive and the one still in the stomach, and it is the child that is already alive that should be saved. If an *ajwaka* does the abortion at such a time, people will not say she is *lajok*. Otherwise they will think she is a killer.”

VII B a

Marriage – elopement

8 pages typed + handwritten note. March 1, *no year*. Patiko. Local controversy because a young man (Angelo) and young woman (Alanyu) are claiming they eloped together on a Saturday night; relatives are trying to find out whether it’s a real elopement or the couple is just claiming elopement because they have been caught in a potentially shameful situation, since while they were away the woman’s sister died leaving young children alone and hungry. The people are grilling the couple about Acholi custom in the situation. Paula is pressed into service as the young man’s nominal “parent” to take responsibility; she says she will give him his remaining salary but she tells him she will never pay *luk* [compensation for intercourse] and if he is taken to jail she doesn’t give a damn. Finally she gives him his salary and one of her chickens, which he gives to someone as compensation. A lot of haggling. *Luk* is demanded from Paula. Paula says Angelo can answer for himself, she will not do it. Angelo wants to go to Awero [en route to Soroti] to

get help from his father. The girl's father refuses, says Angelo will run away and also might take his daughter to Kampala "or somewhere where she will never be found." Paula refuses to drive Angelo to Awero – she has no time nor money for gas, it's too far. She says will give Angelo permission to go but will not take him. Angelo says he wants to take the girl to meet his father. This is dismissed as a ruse. Paula is asked to advance Angelo his salary but she says no because he is not the kind of man she wants [to employ] that long and he would not work well if he knows she can't fire him. Finally the girl's father asks if Paula would pay him if Angelo runs away. She agrees. Alanyu is not allowed to leave her house in the meantime. Paula told Angelo that he can go now at once because there is a bus tomorrow for Awero, and come back by Wednesday night. If he isn't back by Weds she will sell all his things and pay the *luk* from that, in addition to sending the police after him for stealing her money. She told him Alanyu stays and will do the work in his stead. "The girl can do the work in his stead, she can do all the things she is a girl and she can wash and clean the house. Everybody accepted this. Angelo left this afternoon." Later, Paula rues her agreement to stand in place of Angelo if he runs away. She should have let the girl's father deal with him by taking him to the local government and jail if necessary. There is further commotion when Angelo tries to take the girl with him by force. Paula thinks that this was all about getting money out of Angelo when (free) jail would have been as good punishment for the elopement. The girl's mother was furious at everyone including Paula due to her daughter running away with a "Muno's boy" (European's boy) and doing it at the time of a funeral yet: shows no respect for *Cirk Acholi* (Acholi custom). A man says that when the girl's brother sees Angelo "there is sure to be a big beating" even if Angelo pays the *luk*.

X B b

"dated Feb – April, Nov." {1954-55?}

{*Year not given.*} Approximately 100 typed pages, some duplicates + some lineage charts. *Various dates*. Talks with Thomasi after they came home from Palaro. They discuss the enmity between members of the Kal. "How could the *Lwak* respect

the *Laker* if the *Laker* were fighting among themselves.” He says there has been enmity since the time of his father or even earlier. In Patiko there was trouble around 1912 when a gun got lost and a policeman got killed. Tomasi’s father Odora was accused of having the gun. Long story but Odora was taken to Nimule (Lomule) to Bwana Banks “who was a terrified big man and wore a belt that would be enough for 3 people not only one. So they put Odora into jail and he thought he was going to die there. Tomasi, who was 10-12 yrs old at the time, went to Nimule with 3 cows and tried to get him released. Odora could go free if the gun was found. {Long, interesting story.} A runner had to go all the way to Gulu and back and apparently brought back the wrong gun but Bwana Banks let Odora go regardless. Discussion of how to deal with a recent killing – must get people together on the 20th of the month (for an *oput* ceremony). “About *Kwor* in general he said that whether a person kills another intentionally or accidentally it doesn’t matter. In both cases *Kwor* has to be paid. Because *kwor* is paid to substitute another person for the dead one. In the old days, 1-2 girls and a bull and heifer were given. Now 4 heifers and a 1 bull and 1 sheep has to be given...” Heifers will be used to marry with “2 girls who will bear children, who will stand as substitutes for the dead man. These children will be called by the name of the dead man if male children, and are referred to as *Lotino lim kwor*, but they will not be counted as the children of the dead man. As to who gets the heifer to marry with, is not known before the *Oput* ceremony because the *Tipu* of the deceased is called on to tell to whom it should be given...” **Feb. 23:** Discusses her data collection on murders and suicides in East and West Acholi. There is an average of 6 murders a year. She says the figures are otherwise extremely unreliable, especially prior to 1940. “Besides this the amount of murder cases not in court records is tremendous.” Mentions specific contemporary cases that are not in the records. **March 28:** Goes to an abila (shrine) prior to a ceremony (to mark the killing of an animal? A male leopard?); a man wears special garments (described) and explains their purpose. Describes step-by-step the ceremony

that took place which involves a little girl. +
interview with 2 people about the history of Palaro.
Aug 28: reciprocal duties of husband's mother and
wife's mother. Herding cattle; men take turns
herding cattle (dyang). A group of about 20 –
brothers, father's brother's sons. Each person herds
for 3 days and another takes over so each person has
time for digging fields. Only men herd cattle except
in Malo, East Acholi, where women do, and a
woman can herd cattle if her husband is not there –
away working in the bush or away in the war.
Women rather not milk cows. **Feb 20, 1956:**
Invoice from Patel & Co, Gulu, for petrol and [?].
March 29 and 30: Trouble changing car tire after
accident. Funeral – she likes the gwara musical
instrument: “It is completely cacophonous in sound
but it has a lulling quality about it. You can listen to
it a long time.” A piece of grass in her ear caused
infection and she got penicillin shots. **April 1:** A
funeral turns out to be very unceremonious. She
looks forward to having a private residence in
Padibe. Very cold and rainy weather. **Apr 2:**
Rainstorm, errands, a few people drunk on kongo.
Cold weather. **Apr 3:** Roads during rainy season are
in very bad condition, Aswa river is high, lots of
mud. **Feb. 24:** Detailed description of burying a
great woman. Local dispute over the prospective
burial: “Min Ocen, Da-Ker Patiko Died This
Morning.” Dispute about where to bury her, at the
dye-kel of her father or in the Kal of her mother;
question whether she was half-dead or alive when
brought to [location unclear]. Her brother's fear is
that she will become a CEN (malevolent spirit) if
taken back to her husband's Kal. Where she is
buried, it is warned, could potentially cause
problems between Kal and Pagaya. Seeing dead
body; describes burial ritual. Min Ocen was
supposed to be buried in a full leopard skin
according to Acholi custom but because there
wasn't a full leopard skin they were using a piece.
Grave was not dug where Acholi custom required,
according to Jeremiah, but Yonna wanted it next to
his own mother's grave so he could get them
cemented over together. They're saying that she is
rwot. There is some dispute about what exactly is
appropriate under Acholi custom. Describes the

burial: on her left side with head towards the dyekal and feet toward the road. What goes underneath and above her body, by her head and over her head. Christian prayers and hymns, and Acholi songs on traditional instruments. Speech at graveside by the Jago is rather a rebuke to her brother. Explains why she should have only been buried in Patiko. She was “the heart of Patiko” and knew what and how things (Acholi) should be done. “You never would have known she wasn’t born Kal.” Jago recounted stories of why Min Ocen died then said, “Min Ocen died because she was sick, like any other person. He wants all the women of Pagya, who arrived her, and Opobo to tell everyone what he said, but only the truth and no lies about this speech.” Emphasizes that nobody killed her. Jeremiah got up and said she had gone to her brother’s to get medicine and not because anyone had chased her away. Two wang-os (central fires) were lit, one for men and one for women. People sat around the fires talking quietly. Paula is somewhat shaken by the close contact with death but adds that seeing dead bodies handled in a normal way, without fear or revulsion, made the situation bearable. Paula thinks the Kal was at fault in the dispute because they really didn’t take care of Min Ocen when she was sick; on the other hand, because her bridewealth had been paid for she was the property of the men who paid for her. Paula thought it was interesting that the *Da-Ker* is considered the keeper of the *abila* [shrine] and how “most of the things of respect were given to her as for a chief.” The sacredness and dangerousness of the ritual. Orac, for reasons he gives of genealogy, explains why Min Ocen was his responsibility and if anyone had a say about her it was he. Paula finds it all very interesting but at the same time she is sad about Min Ocen’s death because she was fond of her. **March 30:** The Night of Onyo Kongo of the Lyel of Min Ocen. Songs (of mourning?) – discussions and advice about how to play the songs correctly. “There [sic] were stopping often, because Thomasi was exhorting them to do it right. ... Kept telling the *Jago* not to beat the drum so loudly. Ordered Balnabo to take over the drumming.” Players had to play one at a time so they could learn the melody. Tells them why come early the next day

“because at the funeral of the *Daa-Ker* it was cirk [custom]” [explains what to do]. More about the mourning rituals, music, and jok. Thomasi said they should briefly ask the ancestors to help them in this funeral so there would be no rain until it was over, and he spit on the ground. **March 31:** The funeral continues {describes}. Some people there but far fewer than Paula expected. “I definitely felt something was wrong at this funeral.” People from the Kal arrive and began to dance the *bwola* (royal dance) wearing a motley assortment of shorts and shirts- The dancing was excellent. Different songs sung at the same time. Relatively little beer available. Paula pulled away from a large group of women and warned, “See that woman there she wants to poison you. . . . If you stay clear of the mob she will have no chance to do it.” *Gwok komi* = take care of yourself. **April 1:** Next day, people feel hungry. Where’s the food? A woman says that nobody is troubling themselves with the funeral of Min Ocen, they do as if Min Ocen wouldn’t have been their mother or wouldn’t have been Da-Ker. Asked why people wouldn’t take care of Min Ocen’s funeral, woman says she did bad things in her life and people feared her. Paula thinks it has something to do with medicine (unexplained). Woman dances men’s role in dance and it causes roars of laughter but she was the *bwola* very good; she also led the men in the *lavala* dance by being first in line and did it beautifully. **April 2:** Men say something that insults women and the women yell at the men and retort, to great laughter, “Since when do men know about the *kwer* of women?” (*Kwer* also means menstruation). Later on women are accused of stealing a small amount of money and a knife, “it must be a woman of Pagaya”; the women looked very indignant and retorted that nobody has taken it. **April 4:** She is in Gulu, having said goodbye to Patiko. It is not clear if this is sudden. She might be leaving suddenly because she keeps asking people why the *Lok Me Lyel* was not held for Min Ocen’s funeral, and the answers are not satisfying. She then asks Thomasi why the *Lok Me Lyel* was not held and he says Yonna (Min Ocen’s son??) stopped them from talking: “Actually the Jo Pagaya held a meeting by themselves and they

decided, so Tom said, that they will not talk anyway. They knew who the killer was much too well and if they would talk they would *Ipooyo* {make him remember} the killer that they knew.” He says the Jo Pagaya will take revenge for the death of their sister {Min Ocen}. “Like this if they do not talk they can easily do things to the killer.” The women of Pagaya are likely to do {witchcraft} on Yonna and he – Tom - can’t do anything about it because it’s not his business. Paula is off to Padibe tomorrow. **Feb 19 {new year or dates out of order??}**: Paula asks what happened at the abila (shrine) Pugwinyi after she left. Did the birds come? Amayo says the birds came and circled around the abila and showed there will be a good hunt and the Ludito was happy about the food. He explains what happened, and adds that in Acholi it was said, “The messenger is here. If it’s you ludito truly, then we shall see that achelari will be healthy.” “And the women yelled kijira.” He says he did not sleep well because the women were dancing and the men were drinking. {He continues.} **Feb. 18:** Yonna explains the same ceremony as above more elaborately: “The birds flew high above the abila and circled which shows that the Ludito thanked for their food, and big animals such as jubi and Ngu (leopard) will come to the abila. When the birds came over then the men began to Kuto Bila and the women to yell Kijira.” Spear lifted 3x. “He said the blessing was given by Daudi and he said [Acholi + her translation: ‘You have sent a messenger, so the body of your child Achelari should be healthy. We have given you your food here, Ludito. You have agreed, if it’s you, Ludito, then this shows that Achelari will be healthy.’]” **Feb. 22:** “Kac or Abila of Odora and Omor.” Discussion of who, how and where to make the abila {shrine}. “Tomasi said that if I write this down I should write that this is not a real abila, this is an abila done to save the life of the child. Namely Piyu’s child cca 2-3 who is dying [sic] in order to save the child they haven’t even waited to have Kongo, and to call all the people, or to prepare all the things properly, they just do this now to save the life of the child. The child has been in the hospital for about 3 weeks now, but the medicine was not

helping it. So Piyu went to the ajwaka and the ajwaka said that Piyu should *umu* (cover) his father, Odora. If he does that the child can be taken back to the hospital and the medicine will help it.”

Describes what the abila looks like, with 2 little ‘houses,’ one big and one small, and preparing to sacrifice a goat next to the shrine. Describes effective and ineffective ajwagi {healers}. They do not deliberately lie, if they are wrong it just means their jok is not strong. – he compares to going to a medical doctor – if a child dies in the hospital you do not ask the doctor to pay kwor (compensation) – besides it was he {the father?} who had asked the ajwaka for help. “If her advice didn’t help, that was Lubanga’s will.” Paula sees the little 3-yr-old child but he looks desperately ill. Reading and interpreting the intestines of the sacrificed goat. Ceremony at the shrine, dividing and eating and blessing the meat – chicken and goat meat – to help the sick toddler. **March 28:** “Coto Ogali after Killing NGU (Leopard).” Paula describes in-depth a ceremony at an abila (shrine). ...*A lot of Acholi vocabulary, not clear what people’s roles and things are.* “On either side of them sat a little girl cca 6-8 yrs old.” 2 little girls have a role and “yell kijira.” “Why did they need the girls as Lakwer?” **Jan. 17:** “Yubbo Abila at Acheloari Okeny...” “We arrived when they were just killing the DYEL.” **Feb. 17:** about a tipu. More about a ceremony. **Nov. 15:** “This morning Jeremiah, Thomasi, Odong, and I went around to see where the Kal people lived and where the boundary of Kal was. We went down to the river Onyama, the southern boundary of the Kal area, and met the following people.” Draws a one-page map not to scale, showing Onyama River, main road, and homesteads. **Nov. 14:** Apparently she is newly in Patiko: “Today we had quite a walk around Okwiyakere’s descendents... I think it is very interesting how the people are grouped. JoPa this and that, under separate heading because of different mothers...” **Nov. 16:** “I am tired but not badly tired, 16 mi walk is not a joke...” Jeremiah describes a drama in his family. His daughter was doing very well in school and wanted to study nursing in Mulago. While in Kampala she became pregnant by a Jolwo student at Makerere. In order to

try to get her to come home Jeremiah went to mission and asked the bishop for help. Bishop sent off a letter to Kampala and didn't write that she should come home but that she should get married in a church. Long story short, she ended up moving to Luo country in Kenya with this man. Jeremiah distressed that no bridewealth paid and thus: "Like this it is as if she had been carried off like a slave, without the knowledge or consent of her parents...It seems as if she has no family, she was nothing but a woman stolen in war, who can be taken for nothing." Meanwhile Jeremiah says how much people like Paula and they want to give her a title, Lakoro, which means like a man (in a good way). He says if she goes to Padibe or anywhere in East Acholi she should say she is Patiko Kal, the sister of the Rwots of Patiko. He tells her the Acholi names for constellations they see in the sky.

14 pages titled "Kwero Ngu" (more about the leopard) incl. roasting intestines, liver and heart. **Nov. 18:** various issues. **Nov. 19:** She goes to the market that is held 2x week (apparently not in Gulu?) and is surprised how sparsely attended it is and how little food is on display. No meat this time because last week's cow didn't sell out. Sees not more than 50 customers. Most people there are boys and girls who have come to mingle, not to buy. Paula is told most people are busy cutting simsim and also there are too many funerals. She thinks it is a season of plenty and so people have no need to buy food. Since cotton hasn't been harvested there is nothing to buy.

Jeremiah talks about what would be done in the old days if a killing occurred. Discussing what apparently turned into a murder in Pawell, when a man on the road was hitting a woman in the face because "she refused to go on. [I] didn't interfere [said Jeremiah] because [I] didn't know the man or the woman." In the old days {describes process}. "They all thought the fact that the European court needed EVIDENCE for everything was foolish. In this case, for example, there was no doubt who killed that woman..." They think the husband killer should be killed for that; explains reasons including "he spilled her blood on someone else's soil not his own home." ... "Blood spilled on the land brings

bad luck like too much sunshine, and bad unripened crops, lots of death, and stops birth.”

Then describes (unrelated) “Agena’s Funeral, Patiko Pugwinyi.” “When we arrived at 2PM the funeral was well under way with drinking, dancing, and drums. The dead man’s son was so drunk he could hardly stand. Kind of a ritual battle in which dancers are ‘fighting for him, to kill what has killed him,’ though they acknowledge that Agena was an old man, “he has many children who can step in his place so his death doesn’t hurt very much. If it’s a young man, then people are very sorry, because he hasn’t got any children yet, and his death hurts because there is no one to replace him...” Many drunk people greet her. A very drunk man – who keeps claiming to be the Rwot of Patiko but is Paibona – causes a big commotion by starting to expose the grave as if to show it off to Paula even as she and Jeremiah yell at him not to touch the grave. A man grabs the drunk by the shoulder and drags him away, admonishing him angrily. Only close relatives of the deceased are allowed near the grave. Everybody goes back to dancing. Dividing the food, apparently the wrong person divided it, and elders should have done it. Everyone very drunk. Jeremiah, the rwot, was not given food. The way home is dark and treacherous. Paula was still upset about the incident with the grave at the funeral but Jeremiah reassures her, it wasn’t such a big offence, the main offense was that the drunk man was not even Pugwinyi. **Nov. 20:** 18 boys and their 25-year-old teacher {who as it turns out is the novelist/writer OKOT p’BITEK} stay over at the house where Paula is after the Jago comes and asks her if that is okay. OKOT has already written Lak Tar. She refers to him as Jakeri OKOT of Pachwa Patiko. They are from Pongdwong High School. OKOT says he was writing 2 more novels, one in press already, about the life of a couple “during the war, when the husband is away, and the wife is waiting for him but she isn’t strong enough to wait for him. He wouldn’t say what the other book was.” She greatly enjoys talking with OKOT (describes). Among the boys there are 2 who are Lugbara and 3 from Lango. “They took all the water, and turned the house upside down with their cooking, and

gramophone, and radio, and guitar going all at once. Luckily they went up the hill, and I got in some typing.” She visits them later and talks more with OKOT, who talks about his life and the plight of Acholi women vis-à-vis men economically and socially. “He thought that was not such a good idea, and he wasn’t doing it that way himself. He said that everything should be shared, that is the husband should give his wife half of what he makes and she half of what she makes.” It’s husband’s duty to give enough to his wife. Talks about his own wife, his love for her, and their sharing. Conversation continues with OKOT and the boys about variety of topics. She is surprised that the boys in school are not being taught economics at all and worries about their future. **Nov 21:** Some details about native court cases involving mistreatment of women, pregnancy, elopement, goats eating food in a field and eating textbooks at a school in Pawell; wifebeating a woman to unconsciousness. A dispute over cattle and bridewealth going back to 1928. The accused says he doesn’t have any cattle, he wants to give money (a fine or compensation). “The Jago pointed out that every man in Patiko who comes to court denies having cattle and if someone says that this man has hid his cattle is so-and-so’s kralla than that man will bribe the owner of the kraal to say that he has no cows in it.” When asked to give his bicycle instead, the man suddenly declares he will pay in cows. “Muttu got so angry, that he ordered Ajalea to take the bicycle.” **Nov. 22:** more court cases. **Nov. 24:** more court cases. Accusation and counter-accusation of a 12-yr-old boy. **Nov. 25:** Visitors. A radium deposit in Karamoja – it’s an open secret now that it is crown land. More about people and local activities including a funeral and beer etiquette. **Nov. 26:** Apparently a funeral. Various comments; not clear what is going on. In Koic, the *rwot* is bringing a court case because people have made their homes too close to his. The Jago is going to take a look. Meanwhile a woman says she refuses to do a ritual (*Kwero*) in which a wife pretends to have intercourse with her recently deceased husband and then is inherited by her husband’s brother --refusing on account of religion and of having been married

in a church. She admonishes Paula for asking about it because the topic might not have come up for Thomasi otherwise. “Now don’t go asking any more questions about this, we don’t want to talk about this anymore, we told you the truth, but if you ask any more questions then maybe there will be trouble.” Paula has to promise not to ask anyone about *kwero* again. Paula goes to the surprisingly busy market, then returns to the funeral. Jeremiah says later that church has nothing to do with *kwero* – after a husband dies the marriage is at an end and a wife could do *kwero* as Acholi custom if she wanted to, or even if the marriage wasn’t at an end the church has nothing to do with custom, only with religion. “The church has no right whatsoever to regulate about the *circ* Acholi, and any woman has the right to do the *kwero* of her husband if she wants to.” Once a woman has lost a child (miscarriage, presumably) she is not *kweroed* anymore. Jago’s speech at the funeral – Elisha had been killed by an accident, nothing more. **Nov. 27:** Odong wrote down his observations of the funeral, which she copies. She apparently returned to the funeral and found everyone in a horribly drunk condition. Elsewhere at a *wang-o* (central fire) old people sit on one side, boys sit on the other, and only a couple women are there and the women sit in between the 2 groups. Everyone all drank from the same pot of *Ting*. They sit around the *wang-o* singing with the *Ladit*. **Nov. 28:** Kinds of beer and their uses; differences between *Koic* and *Patiko* in expressions for indicating bad news. The Jago complains and he claims that people in the region are lazy, are used to living with ease, can go live off their relatives, and don’t want to work, and also they don’t spend their money but just buy a few things and then bury the money in the ground. They do pay marriage payments with money but otherwise “they never touch that money.” He further claims that people are used to working seasonal agricultural hours and so working in an office 8am-4pm everyday is anathema to them. (P. 15 – Jago continues in this vein, says very few people willing to cultivate for export. He himself says he has been working all over different departments of the govt before he became a Jago.)

Milkman comes and Jago uses an argument about *cirk Acholi* (Acholi custom) so the milkman will stop charging Paula an inflated price and let her pay 30 shillings like everyone else: It works. Back to the funeral, an orderly division and distribution of the deceased man's belongings. Son of the dead man is angry that he wasn't consulted and that the meeting was held in secret. Nero says the son – named Oketa - is too young to be involved (son is about 20 yrs old), but agrees he can look over everything and say what he thinks is wrong. Son says he doesn't care about the things, he wants to know why he wasn't called as the son of the dead man. One of the father's brothers answers: "He did have the right to talk and ask this question, but he isn't supposed to be here for this meeting, he is much too young yet. Would he be old he wouldn't have to be here either, because the Ludito who are here are HE. They are all his fathers and brothers and they stand for him, they talk for him and they see to it that all is well done. He and his brothers were the same thing, it didn't matter whether he was here himself, the brothers talked for him as if they were he. He thought that Oketa (the son of the dead man) did wrong to ask this question. Didn't he think that his elders knew what to do, and knew how to divide the things according to the *cirk* of Acholi. The boy turned on his heel without a word and left. Some of the elders yelled after him to come back, but he just went away, and began to fix his bicycle on the other side of the *dye-kal*. After this the meeting broke up." *More info including:* Deceased man's wife agrees to accept her (brother-in-law?) as her husband. Proper order from which a wife is able to choose her next husband. The Nero explains why he, and not the elders of the dead man's clan, is the person able to show the widow her husband. Odong tells Paula of an incident of widow inheritance in his *gang* (homestead). A woman explains the custom. Seeing the aftermath, the inheritance will be drawn out.

Nov. 29: Paula waits all day for a Buku Gweno ceremony that doesn't happen. "I don't know what it signifies that people seem to be so casual about their ceremonies. Maybe it shows that it is so well established that no extra preparation is necessary."

She thinks childbirth, the actual giving birth to children, is the most appreciated and important function of women. No woman can be considered a Ladit if she has no children. Mon Mwa=a mere woman. Later: several men say it was a big mistake, another event – gwello pala – should have been done before they talked yesterday about who will inherit the widow.

Making brooms from grass.

Talking with a woman about issues of multiple wives. Talking more about the earlier widow who refused to be inherited (kwero-ed) because she had married in a church. Kwer is a custom that started long ago but if you don't do it then nothing happens.

A speech is made to the family: (*excerpted: this is the Nero's 'blessing'*): "I want to give you a little teaching how you should behave, you children.

Death occurred in this house and death is bad but death always occurs. Every man dies. You should not say that your father is dead, because you have a father. Elijeo [the brother-in-law of mother?] is your father, you Min Onek say that your husband is not dead, because you have Elijeo as your husband. ...

We gave you to him. All the children when they grow up they will trust you and him. If you live well together you will be able to greet them always with a happy heart. You girls, who are married you should obey your husbands, and you shouldn't have anger in your hearts that your father is dead. If you fight and dispute, it will harden the sorrow that will come on you. Elijeo and Okoyi they are here, they are your fathers, you should obey them, and if there is any bad word you should bring it before them.

You Okoyi, see, these are your children, do not paw at them with anger. Do not let them think wistfully of their father." Continues in this vein, that people themselves should try not to fight as that only brings sorrow and so should discuss problems together; he is mainly aiming his comments at the children and women. 2 other people speak in similar vein, one saying, "I just want to say this: All people die, and all people have sorrow. Maybe you say that you have no husband, but you should know you have one, that is Elijeo..." He says he hopes the

children have been listening, and time will tell.
Meeting ends.

Elijeo was actually not present at the family meeting.

Paula talks with women. Is told she should get herself a husband “because no woman lives by herself, because she cannot build her own gang, and if a person dies without children that is very bad. There will be no one to remember you.”

Next: “The Buku Gweno Pa Nero”: “All the children of the dead man, including the ones at the breast of their mothers, and Elijeo, and Min Onek sat in front of the door of Min Onek’s kitchen. Odai refused to come out. At first Akwici objected, but Elijeo said it was all right because he was just inside the door. Elijeo gave a white chicken to Abwola, who gave it to Akwici. Akwici held the chicken in his right hand and holding it by its tail he buku-ed it saying, ‘My Okeyo has died, but his death is not Jok, and was not fighting it was a death of a man, a death of deyo. But, though he is dead I am still here living. He has left his children, the children should be healthy. ...’ Flutters the chicken over the head of everyone sitting there. [Continues.] Ashes of the funeral fires are swept in the direction of the west. “They throw it towards the west because the setting sun takes away all the bad things of the day.”

Nov. 30: Paula attended a women’s party and it was great fun. “I liked to see the women so free and really quite happy dancing and singing.” One dancer outyelled and outtalked everybody and drank quite a lot. It was a drink party, no food served. A man Paula knows gives her a “strange request”: he asks her to do the lettering on his recently-deceased wife’s grave. “He wants his wife to have a nice grave because she was a really very good woman” ... He said he could never find another wife like her, even if he marries 3 others they won’t be like this one...” When he goes to her *nyim* field she has left behind, he cries “and he is so weak he cannot do anything.” Paula feels badly for this man. Paula goes to another homestead and finds she has missed a certain ceremony.

Describes a boy with evident psychological problems: tends to try to eat own excreta and commit incest. “We Acholi call this kind of

sickness LAPOYA (“craziness”). It’s a great sorrow that he is Lapoya.” They think the illness comes from Lubanga (translatable as God perhaps). A dispute among women at another drinking activity in which an old woman is apparently deliberately pushed. Later, 2 women do a very impressive and beautiful Teke dance together. Paula asks if they will please do it outside so she can take a picture but they refuse. “Everybody was doing kijira for them, and holding their hands over their head. I found myself clapping when it was over, rather embarrassing because it’s not done. They told me to Goyo Kijira, but I can’t do it.” They try to persuade her to dance but she thinks she can’t. ...Then everybody began to dance and sing, old women young women, everybody. There were 2 Nubi women, they danced too, to the great amusement of all Acholi who kept shouting that Nubi don’t know how to do Teke. Singing songs that may or may not be about local men. “There was another song about a man named Odai, who went to work in Kampala as a policeman, who married, and came home for only one night, and now his wife was singing Why have you married me, when you leave me – You leave me with nothing not even a child. I asked who Odai was and the only explanation I got was that he was the 4th child. Namely, that if a woman has many girl children then her first boy will be called Okong, her second son Oboi, her third son Oci, and her 4th son Odai.” To the amusement of all the women, 2 women do mock-wrestling “to show what Acholi women do when they are really disputing with each other.” Women say this is what happens when co-wives fight from jealousy. Then they ask Paula for cigarettes as thanks for the performance. A man comes in and tries to take their beer and they yell at him to take the beer and not come back; he leaves mumbling something.

X B c

“dated Jan., March, Oct, Nov, Jan.” {year?}

About 30 pages typed notes, many in fragile condition. **May 26 (no year given):** in Lamogi Kal. Killing, *kwor* (compensation). A woman has dissentary and wants Paula to give her a little petrol to drink because last time she says petrol cured her. Paula refuses and tells her it is poison. They tell her

about customs in days gone by when killing is done intentionally and unintentionally. “In the old days if say a man from Lamogi killed a man from Koich then the Koich people, the next time they saw a man from Lamogi they kill him. But now that the Muno [Europeans] are here they put people in prison, for killing.” *Akaka*=intentionally. *Oput* is “a beer you drink to wipe away the sorrow of *kwor*.” Then Ladoo Pee told Paula, “You should not be afraid of giving her petrol. She is not a child. You told her it is poison. If she still wants it, then give it to her. She is old enough, she knows what she is doing. Give her only very little, but give it to her.”

An interview with Ladoo Pee about structure and clans in this region. Vocabulary of relations.

March 1: fragment of an interview about colonial authorities’ (Bwana Banks and Bwana Silven) cruelty against men and women when the authorities were trying to collect guns. How horrible jail was then versus now. **January 7:** Men tell Paula about a kind of gambling game, it becomes dangerous because you can never get your winnings, the only way to collect is if you win have a friend there who demands that you repay his debt (of exactly that amount) “and in the morning you get it back from him.” Says the game came to Acholi via Madi from Sudan. It’s called Goyo Agir and is played with cowrie shells. The game has been in Acholi a long time but only has been played with money the last 5-10 years; in older times the winner got the right to beat the soles of feet of the other person – could get brutal, so playing with money now is better. Paula goes to Rwot Jeremiah’s homestead (Patiko) and talks with people there. Who may or should eat with whom. Paula goes to market and discusses interactions and haggling customs. Later Paula talks with a woman about Acholi and European women timing births so that first child is old enough to eat solid food before the woman tries to become pregnant again. Women say it’s important to have a husband and they also say it’s good to be without one. Better to have both a husband and children. “If you don’t have children you die without having a head (Ma wiyi Pe) and who will cry on your grave, and who will Kutto Bila for you when you die.”

Paula meets Odong again and he asks her where [anthropologist] FK Girling was – they remember him well, they had called him *Muno Malakwang* because he wasn't afraid to eat *malakwang* and other Acholi vegetables. They say Girling has gotten lost and will probably never come back to Acholi. Odong says he (Odong) was in the King's African Rifles during the war (WWII) and fought in Abyssinia and Japan. Odong says Americans and Acholi are brothers, and explains that he thinks slaves were taken from Acholi to America and became American. He met black American soldiers in Japan and liked them, "they were black people like the Acholi only they have forgotten [how] to speak Acholi, they only spoke English and lived like the Muno. He said that maybe the Acholi here will also live like that. They will speak English and forget the cirk Acholi (Acholi customs)." Someone laughs and said it's impossible to lose Acholi customs here and Odong replied that children now don't know cirk Acholi, "they go away to be educated, and they become weak and they don't want to agree to any old cirk, they want the cirk of the Muno." He says Kenya has the same problem, people go to England to be educated and come back "with a weak head," "won't work with their hands anymore, and they become LIARS and CHEATERS and they turn the head of the people." He said in Acholi it wasn't that bad yet because education stops at halfway, people become clerks and so on, but if they get education from the Europeans in Europe they don't work anymore. Paula says she doesn't know what he means about people being weak in the head and liars, and he says it is like that in Buganda where people want self-government. Continues about Kabaka and Buganda politics. "He went on to say he doesn't want the Baganda to be (govt) Ministers here, he wants Acholi ministers, and he wants the Muno to teach Acholi not the Baganda [to teach the Acholi]. I asked him where he got his ideas, and he said he thought it all out himself, because he can read and write, and he can think too. After that they left."

Dec 1: Preparations for a funeral. A man talks about being in the King's African Rifles for 3 years, says the young queen will want to have some more land

and she will get everybody to fight for her – the money wasn't worth it, but he would probably have to go to war again. .. Apparently there was an argument at the funeral after Paula left, and Jeremiah tried to take away someone's gun (because the guy might have been drunk). **Nov. 29:** Paula goes to a homestead and the wife of a recently deceased man is apparently refusing the expected 'widow inheritance.' One man says she should be forced to do it, another says she can't be forced to do something she doesn't want to do. {THIS MAY REFER TO ANY EARLIER FOLDER.} A woman talks about what it is like to have a co-wife. {page missing?}. **Nov. 3:** Paula is going to make a survey of Patiko, apparently accompanied by Odong. List of houses in Jeremiah's homestead, which she says is pretty big. Visit Cira's homestead, which is "teeming with cattle." Cira talks about his cattle, which he got from his daughters' bridewealth. He keeps them in case there some *Lok Me Paco* (any trouble in the house, like death or debt) and for marriages of his boys. Trading off care of the cattle with other cattle owners. "But that can be done only with brothers, other people are jealous." Says people hate him for the cows he has. He describes dealing with various bad omens to protect his cattle wealth. In his case he doesn't get along with his brothers. His eldest son will inherit the cows when one day he dies. Describes inheritance and marriage with cattle and livestock as bridewealth. He said it's more valuable to convert money into cattle. Later: what happens if one twin dies. People fear the umbilical cord of newly born twins. Discussion of various *joks* [*jogi*]. She is told not to confuse *jok* (like a spirit) with *Lajok* ("a person who wants to kill people" at night). The son of Akena says it is bad that the govt wants to do post-mortems when people see what caused a death and then afterward do not punish whoever caused the death. When his wife was "the first person to die in a car accident," the govt wanted to do a post-mortem but he refused. "I didn't want my wife to be cut up and maybe found that she had a weak spleen and would have died anyway" when he saw how she was killed by the wheel of the car going over her. Says he does not want the car driver to be punished: if done on

purpose, Lubanga will kill the driver very soon. “It wouldn’t help me if they put him in jail. It wouldn’t help me if they pay me money because where will I find another woman like her...?” He continues that the Europeans are very bad, because unlike Paula the officials do not care about the sorrow accompanying a funeral and have only attended one funeral, for the Rwot Olia of Attiak. “We thank you very very much for that because you are a friend who comes in sorrow.” **Nov. 4:** About an *ajwaka* (traditional healer). **Nov. 12:** visiting with Jeremiah’s wife, who is making medicine against throat pain. At first she said she was going to keep them all, then when Paula said she didn’t believe her she laughingly said she will keep some bottles and sell other bottles in order to buy salt, soap, and sugar. “She said she will only give one bottle out of 5-6 to Jeremiah, because this is her work. Jeremiah doesn’t mind but he wants to know how much she gets and in case he needs the money she will give it to him.” She used to have 2 co-wives but one has died and the other (the mother of Odong—actually the sister of the mother that bore Odong) ran away. **Nov. 30:** *See previous folder: women’s party.* This is a duplicate. Describes here how in ’49 or ’50 someone (a man, not clear, Eliah, the rwot kweri of men) told the women they should start a kind of collective to work together because many men were not back from the war and many women were alone. The women agreed and hoed together for about a year, then Yoshua told them they should also have a team (*tim*) for dancing. They collected the necessary money and bought uniforms (costumes?) for the dancing. The women are drinking quite a bit during this recollection. ... Jeremiah and others talk about local politics. “Yonna Odida said: ‘Yes, that is the trouble now, people don’t have a voice. The govt people now only think by themselves and don’t walk around among the people. In the old days the Rwot didn’t stay in Kal all the time, he went from dog-gang to dog-gang listening to the people, sleeping in their houses, and he knew what they thought...’ ‘You, Paula, heard yourself what they proposed in the District Council, that all people who go on safari should carry their own food with them, and should

not be given anything to eat. Now what kind of proposal is this? It's the word of a child, who doesn't know the word not of a grown man who listened in his mother's house. It's against cirk Acholi to do this, and it's also impossible ...' 'There is no responsibility among the govt people, they only know their power.'"

March 1: She goes to Palaro. Talks with women, one asks her if she wants to be her co-wife. **June 6:** *These 4 pages are very faded and hard to read – something about a grave.*

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“Oct, Nov, Dec.” {year?}

Approximately 15 typed pages. **Dec. 1:** fragment. Talking with women about their daily lives. One has no children. **Nov. 2:** fragment – mentions Crazzolaro. **Nov. 12:** fragment. Visiting 2 women who are sick. Their husband does the washing because the women are too ill to do it. **Aug 31:** She is in Bwobwo. Paula is asking about the roots of the Bwobwo. Okwera is the only living son of Rwot Owiny. Discussion with him and many other people. “It is very bad luck not to have enough land. It gives great sorrow to the people. Just look at the children, see how weak they are. There is no milk to feed them...” Meat comes only once every 2 weeks to market and is bought up immediately. Market held 3x week. There are many fish in the Nile but you can't fish or the govt will put you in jail because fishing apparently attracts tsetse fly. In other rivers govt requires use of nets, but fish are too small and fast for nets. “We have real poverty here. There is no meat. Not even hunting.” People explain they can't move away because other places too crowded already: “the people have little land there too.” Govt rule that people with cattle should only graze cattle on their own land. “There will be trouble is the cattle will go over the boundary the Europeans have put down.” “We want that the govt should open up the quarantine and let us go back there so we can have dyang and dyel (cattle and goats?).” “When the quarantine started all the Payira people from Anaka came in here with lots and lots of cattle and goats, and then it became very full here so that the cattle didn't have anything to eat and died very fast. –this was in 1914.” Then talks with 2 women who entered on their knees,

Jonga and Nyirka. They talk about wife beating. “If it’s so bad to be married, then why did you marry? Everybody began to laugh...” 2 male teachers from C.M.S. also talk with her and ask questions about America: “Do they have Negroes, how many, what language do they speak, what kind of customs to they have, are they slaves, when did they become free, how many states in the U.S., are those states free, is the American govt the same as the British govt, do the British govern America, why can the Americans govern themselves along and the Africans can’t, why should the Africans have a govt over them?” “Then they asked whether there were many people and did they have enough land.” They discuss more anxieties about land and ownership. Discuss 3 or 4 ways of entering into a *kaka* (clan). A man grills her about why she is there, did the govt send her, has Girling written his book yet and he should have done it by now, if it is a bad book that must be why Paula was sent here to write one. “I should look at the books written in Acholi and I should see that none of them agree, not even about the ancestors of one clan. Then the Lapwony asked whether he could come to America, he a black man and study American society.” Nov. 14: fragment. + undated pages trying to take down a history (of Palaro Kal?). 3 typed pages in Acholi dated July 29, 1953. **March 19:** seems to be another history.

X B/A e1

NO HEADING on this folder (no year given)
Approximately 30 typed pages and some half-page fragments. **Nov. 1:** *fragment.* Someone asks her if she is Catholic; they’ve never heard of Jewish. **Oct. 28:** Paula’s note: “On Old Rwotships, Duties of Rwot, and administrative changes – Future?” While she waits to meet Rwot Jeremiah, she notes down the titles of books on his shelves. Jeremiah talks about his life story. His father, Rwot Lagara, was the first Christian rwot in Acholi. Jeremiah went to school in Kampala. Jeremiah talks about all the faults of the Acholi compared to the Buganda. His issue is RESPECT. “Acholi do not respect people they only fear them. Long ago Acholi were very respectful people.” *Continues in this vein.* There used to be mutual respect. People would work for the rwot once a year. Then the Europeans came, they tightened up the institution of rwotship, rwots

began to abuse their power, made people work for them 3x a year for months at a time. Beatings, fines, jail. People complained to the District Commissioner, and the Muno [Europeans] stopped all the old customs like *tyer* and *luwalo* labor, “so now the Acholi have forgotten about these things and show no respect for anyone.” He thought with independence and self-govt then Acholi would establish all the old rowdiships, each chief being the head of his own clan as it used to be. While under a central govt with laws, each rwot will make his own laws for his own area. He compares it to U.S. states in the United States. *Continues.* “The Roots of Patiko.” Origin story with 3 sons, Owiny, Adola, and Labongo; involves spears and elephant hunting, cows, twins. **Nov. 1:** Talks with Thomasi Lakanne about Patiko *kaka* (clan). Continues the origin story, includes a war with Lango. Gets to Samuel Baker’s arrival. There were slave-dealers (*Kuturia* in Acholi). *Lajok* is like a witch; the Arab word is *nasara*. The *Lajok* had 4 eyes, 2 in the front and 2 in the back of his head. “The *kuturia*’s trick didn’t work. The *kuturia* wanted to send the Acholi into war against Baker because they wanted to show Baker how good they themselves were and how bad the Acholi people were.” **March 1:** *I believe this is duplicate of material in a previous folder about the elopement of Angelo and Alanyu and the ruckus it caused in Angelo’s clan.* **Dec. 12:** A widow discusses why she doesn’t want to be inherited. *Then a lot going on, I can’t follow it, every other word is Acholi.* Observations about a drum. **Nov. 5:** “Patiko.” Paula goes to the market and notes prices. Has a long discussion with a man who was herding sheep in the garden. He was named Okeny because he was the only son among 4 daughters. Later at the market, many women came to greet her. Few men present. Some Nubi women were selling sesame cakes. Again no meat at the market: “They said it was a funeral that put off slaughtering.” **Nov. 1:** “Patiko History.” Going to war against the slave dealers. Where Patiko people come from; man disputes what Bere wrote about them. Tells her importance of the drum; even if Queen Elizabeth came upon it she would have to pay *ayal* (tribute?).
 + A blank questionnaire with which to record

people's background with some of the questions translated into Acholi. History of Patiko as told by Tomasi Lakanne, with sketch of lineage chart.

Nov. 10: *fragment*, someone talking about how *Dakkers* [? *What is the best translation for this, female honorary chief?*] are chosen. More about Patiko history. Jeremiah tells a story about Bunyoro.

“late Oct., early Nov.” {*No year given*}

Approximately 30 typed pages; many are duplicates; some very similar to previous folders.

Oct 28: In Patiko, sometimes with

[Min] Ajulu, wife of Rwot Jeremiah. *Similar to Folder X.B/A.e1*. Talks with Rwot Jeremiah. Road of Lubanga; story of snakes, rain, and rainbow; Patiko history; concepts of relatedness. Ecology of area. Acholi concepts of respect. Explanation of why Paula is a relative. Descriptions of *lyel* [not clear what this is]. **Nov. 1:** *Similar and identical to Folder X.B/A.e1*. *An interview with an old man, not clear who*. Topics: Land ownership. Living arrangements. War procedures in the old days.

Little boys who were taken from the enemy became sons of the men who brought them even if boys were from another clan or nation. The *kwero* (widow inheritance), in this case in which a widow refuses to be inherited owing to her marriage in a Catholic church. Jok/Lubanga relationship: It is explained that Lubanga is the father of all earth and heaven. Lubanga had a son: “This first son (KAYO) was called Jok. This son Jok was very bad and Lubanga got very annoyed with him and told him you go live on earth...” 5 days to create the world, and on the 6th day he created man out of clay: Adam. Adam's rib. First woman called KAWA. (Plus a Tower of Babel story explaining how “this falling house threw people in different directions. It threw the ancestors of the black people this way to Africa and the ancestors of the white people that way towards Europe. They stayed here and the Europeans stayed there and that is how their language and color became different. The Acholi knew about Lubanga before the Europeans came. Jesus was the second son of Lubanga – the first son was Jok. “Jok in English is called Satan.” “It was the [F]athers who told him that Jok was called Satan in English, and it was they who have taught him and

his father about how Lubanga made the world. He is Catholic.” “I asked how does he know that there are Jok, and he said that he does know because they can be seen. They are not seen like people see each other, they can be seen when they dance. They fall into the body of people and they shake that person and make him dance and then you know there is a Jok.” “How do you know there is Lubanga? --That we do not know.” Discusses *Lumarajka* (*malaika* – a Bantu word), angels. Paula talks with Min Ocen who is the Rwot Mon [translation: chief’s ceremonial wife?]. “She said she was elected in 1949, both men and women elected her, they all came together in the home of the *Jago*. The *rwot* was there and they chose her to be Rwot Mon. They chose her to be Rwot Mon not because she was the wife of the Rwot but because they know she is equal to the work. Maybe they thought she is smart (*Ryek*). They elected her in 1949 because that was the time when the Rwot Mon called Irene died and they wanted to have a new Rwot Mon. ... She has her own *Jago*, her own *Mukungu*, and even her own *askari* [guards]. ... The work of the Rwot Mon is to call the women to dance and to fix the dance well. The Rwot Mon also calls the women to hoeing. ... She has an *askari* because she can try cases and the *askari* is there to stand up while the case is discussed. She discusses cases like when a husband is accused by his wife that he refuses to let her go to dance, or to weed to to dig with the other women.” *Continues on her duties in domestic-type cases.* Says people prefer to go before the Rwot Mon rather than before the *Jago* where fines are higher. The Rwot Mon cannot try cases that are only between men, but she can try cases between women, “like if one woman abuses another or [co-wives] fight, she can decide the fine, if they are not satisfied then they go to the male W.P. [?] or the *Mukungu* or the *Jago*. She is Rwot Mon only for the Kal; each *kaka* [clan] of Patiko has its own Rwot Mon. .. When Min Ocen was a young woman it was the wife of Rwot Okello who was the Rwot Mon. “She was the *Dako Madit* of the Rwot, the *Da-Ker*, but she wasn’t elected to be the Rwot Mon because of that, anybody who the people think is good enough to do the work can be Rwot mon. The wife

of Okello, she used to be very harsh on the women. If they were dancing, and a woman was not dancing well, she used to beat them with a *Kiboko* (3-pronged hippo or buffalo hide whip). If a woman was lazy, or she slept when there was work to do the wife of Okello beat that woman too. It was from her that Irene inherited the *Rwotship*. There was always *Rwot Mon*, because the Acholi women always danced.” *Continues*. Paula asks why there is *Jago Mon* and *Mukungu Mon* when there were no such things long ago, and someone else (a man?) takes over the interview. *Continues*.

Discussion about money, and husband’s and wife’s relations about money, who controls the money, burying money. One old man said, “The average Acholi gives his wife practically nothing except one or two cloths a year.” Bridewealth used to be set at a certain amount but when men began to come back from fighting in WWII with the King’s African Rifles it began to change. **Nov. 10:** Discussion of a drum. **Nov. 12:** interview with teenage girls. They talk about their hopes. They say fathers cannot marry off daughters without consent or you can accuse him in court. There are funeral dances for a deceased father who had been in the King’s African Rifles. Discuss widow inheritance and changes over time – now it is supposed to happen within a few days. **Nov. 14:** *fragment*. After the death, people are encouraged not to cry but to comfort each other in his sorrow but there should be no crying or yelling because that will not help matters. It is not clear (*to this reader*) who or how he died, but everyone says he was doing his duty and it’s like he died in war and “Absalom died like a man in the battle field doing his work.” Later Paula and Muttu are invited to supper at Jeremiah’s – meat and potatoes. He claims it is Acholi custom for wives to prepare extra food and he says a man is not obliged to tell his wife if he isn’t coming to dinner. But if the man does come home and doesn’t eat food his wife prepared she will be angry. Min Ajulu, the wife of Jeremiah, concurs.

They are interrupted by Thomasi, the son of the *rwot* of Pawell, who arrives and says he found the murdered body of a woman about one-half mile from his homestead. He had been coming home

from court and saw 2 legs sticking out of the grass. He saw blood and thought her neck had been cut. Her clothes had been torn off and thrown on top of her. “[Thomasi] raised the *Oduru* [?alarm?] and told people to sleep there and he came here. “He didn’t know who she was, because he didn’t go to see her very close. He thought it was a Banyankole from the dress. Everyone was relieved that [sic] and they remarked how bad the Ankole were when they got drunk, they fought and killed each other. Min Ajulu thought it may have been a rape case where the woman didn’t agree, and the man cut her throat. The man said that is stupid, why should a man kill a woman for that, he could just beat her, not cut her throat. Min Ajulu said that when a man was drunk he could cut the throat of a woman who refused him. Muttu contemplated the possibility that she wasn’t dead at all but was drunk and had hit herself when falling. Thomasi insisted that the woman was stone dead. Muttu sent for the *askari* [guards/police] and Simayo. They discuss where Paula will live and what she will call herself. Then Simayo and the *askari* arrive and Muttu sends them to see the dead body and bring back a report. Brief discussion of Native Americans and detective stories. Then the men talk about what happened in Gulu yesterday – *not clear what but it sounds like it was* a church fair in which each clan was represented and each clan gave gifts: Patiko gave a bull to the bishop. Patiko was “the winner in everything” – Some kind of Christian ceremony in which “Lees” called the Acholi to become Christians, - he should call the Christians with this spear to kill the enemy, Satan. Pots were for flowers for the house of God. “The women’s gift, food, for our overlord the bishop.” People ate bread, tea, cakes. “The women of Bugantira danced the Aoity and everybody was praising them too.” “It was a happy day for Patiko because they were the victors. Nobody even came close to being second to them in the number of gifts, the meaning of gifts, and their tea was never surpassed by any other *Kaka* [clan].” *Sounds like a potlatch.*-

X B fl

{no heading}

Approximately 30 typed pages. November dates,

*year not clear. Nov. 7: Jago's Court, Patiko, Ajulu. The Mukungu and the Wegi Paci [??] acted as jurors. Paula is fluent in Acholi at this point. The Jago makes an authoritative 8-part speech, covering obligation for birth registration promptly; do not hunt with fire because fire destroys the animals esp the elephants who are the dyang [wealth?] of the govt; people who were brought to do road work ran away from their jobs – "The District Commissioner says in his letter that those people should be brought back [and] should get paid only for the days they works, and should be made to work another month"; the D.C. says the Patiko-Gulu road is in very condition and the people who live near the road should fix it without expecting payment; "Thanks for the wonderful performance at the show"; apparently 4 people recently died, it was a heroic death, [nonsequitor], chides people for not turning up at functions ... Patiko should have a school, church, and dispensary ... And this: "If the people want to say that he, the new *Jago*, is a *Lajok* [like a witch], then say it, he isn't afraid because time will show whether he is a *Lajok* or not, but they shouldn't be afraid anymore"; then Paula introduces herself with disclaimer that she is not from the govt.*

Next: 3 marriages. First marriage: a *Ladit kaka* [clan representative?] speaks for the couple and the young woman and man speak for themselves. The Mukungu asks them questions including "Does her father agree?" and to the young man, "Have you paid tax?" Pays them money and 2 packs of cigarettes. Second marriage: Again a *Ladit kaka* speaks for them (describes). "The *Jago* asked the boy: Have you paid tax? The boy said No. The *Jago* said that is hasn't paid tax he can't marry, because children do not marry. Marriage is a very serious thing not a play thing, he doesn't want any more people coming to [court] who haven't paid poll tax. He suggested the boy pay right now, he is 18 yrs old he should pay anyway. The boy didn't have it and the girl's father's brother paid it." Boy tells Jago he hasn't paid tax because he is going to school. Boy says he will continue going to school now that he is married, but the Jago doubts it. Third marriage: A very young couple, the boy looks about 15 and the

girl looks about 12. “When this couple came up the Jago didn’t even wait for the report and asked the boy how old are you, the boy said he didn’t know. The Jago asked about the tax [and] the boy said he hasn’t paid neither did his witness. The Jago thundered at them, since when do children marry here, I don’t want to have playing around with marriage. Go get the money for the tax at once.” Someone from second marriage that day offers to pay it and collect the money later from the girl’s father whom he knows well. Then the *Jago* lectures all 3 newly married couples that the court acts as a witness, not responsible for success of marriage either way. “They should not fight with their wife, and should not expect their parents to take care of them anymore. . . . They shouldn’t blame the govt or the court if the marriage turns out badly.”

A case of *luk* (compensation for intercourse) with woman sent to jail: A man accuses another of eloping with his (first man’s) deceased son’s wife: This young widow no longer wants the man she eloped with because he can’t stand that her 2-yr-old child relieves himself at home. [laughter all around]. *Jago* allows the woman to return to her *kwaro* [natal family?] but orders the groom to pay compensation to the dead husband’s father. *Jago* asks why she wasn’t inherited; the dead man’s father responds that his son died a year ago and his other sons are all away working in the bush and apparently she didn’t want to wait even though he - the father-in-law- was taking care of her fields and house. Various men at court speak up about what is or isn’t appropriate *cirk Acholi* (Acholi custom) in these situations, and someone claims she is like being a prostitute. *Jago*: “You said she is like a prostitute and we [royal we?] agree with you and even though she is a widow we find her guilty. Then she [*sic*] turned to Anna and told her that he thought she not only was a prostitute but a very dirty woman who ruined her husband’s *dye-kal* who didn’t take care of herself and her child, and who has broke the *Cirk Acholi* by leaving her dead husband’s *gang*. Therefore she should learn a good lesson and should go to jail for 1 month and pay no fine. No bail either. The poor woman was completely bewildered and ashamed and all that.

She didn't want to believe what she heard and was near tears she wanted to speak but was told she couldn't. She had to be led away by an *askari* with tears nearly falling out of her eyes."

STOPPED HERE

A case of wife beating. Rwot accused of holding illegal market. Interview with one of the female jurors. Case of wife leaving husband – She left because she believed husband's father was a *jok*. Dispute about a cow – dismissed because case between relatives. Accusing one man of causing death of wife; wants *kwor* (compensation). 6th case – Oderro is charged with mischief. 7th case: wife accused of theft and of running away. 8th: elopement case.

Nov. 10: making drum to give bishop. Leader returning from London. Acholi versus Buganda levels of secrecy. Talk about the "bachwezi." Talk of how to become a rwot. Rwot's job duties. What happens with wife leaves. Jeremiah talks of how Acholi women are slaves. Govt is bad. Acholi laws won't be enforced. More complaints of how the govt ignores the voice of the people. Discussion of hospitality to visitors.

Nov. 12: More making of the drum. Discussion of Lubanga and what it is. Talk of how it gives sickness and can't be chased away. How courtship works. Clothing. Who buys things. Funeral. People who attended funeral; beer distribution.

Nov. 14: The Court. Electing replacements for those killed in crash. Electing members of district council. Give Jeremiah land to build a mission and a school. Cattle inoculation. Some minor cases; marriages.

XI B g5

Politics – Acholi views of WWII, Oct. 20 {year?}
3-pp typed diary notes. Two men talk about having been in the war for 4 yrs each, one in Egypt and Libya, the other in Italy. Worries and disputes about land.

XI B g14

Agriculture – terms, land use issues (cash crops), Feb. 4 {year?}
3-pp typed diary notes. Terms in Latin and Acholi for grasses and vegetables, their prevalence and uses. Resistance to govt planting coffee, near Patiko

and also in Kitgum near Naam Okora. There was an attempt to appeal to women, saying they would not have to work at farming so hard: But women don't want machines (tractors?) if it means losing "the land of their fathers." No one wants to accept planting of coffee despite potential increase in money if it means losing their land. The *jago* thinks it's too late, will happen anyway. Acholi Standing Committee and Rowdi already agreed. Paula's interlocutor says it is a cruel way of introducing these things. People should have been consulted first. Even though govt could only lease the land, it would be as if they owned it. Someone says there was a *bwola* (royal dance) for the recent retirement tour of P.C.- provincial commissioner- Bere.

XI B h3

Lineage = male/female duties, Nov. 12, p. 5 {year?}

1-page typed diary notes, obviously a fragment from a different set ("After this I went to..."). Prices at market. "There is definitely something wrong with the genealogy of Amayo." She wonders why someone who is not eldest is speaking on behalf of the *ladit*. It seems he was a chosen elder and people expect him to give the last word.

NOT YET SCANNED...:
(envelopes)

X C f

Oct. 30 (Note: Description of many rituals focusing on food and animal sacrifice – intended to bring → Discussion of what Jok is responsible (Tipu of Cira) to explain deaths in Patiko; Account of sugar being stolen & resulting conflict; Auma is sick → reasons. why a Jok is in her stomach.)

XI F f1

Note Series. Interviews in English.

XI F f2

Handwritten Journals: April, March, late Feb. Miscellaneous Notes.

XI F f3

Miscellaneous Handwritten Journals: Sept, Oct, Nov, Dec, 1955? (Note: have slash marks as if in order for something, or √ have been typed?)

XI F f4

Handwritten Journals [includes 3/11 and 4/11/55, and 10/30/55 dates. Notes in Acholi & Eng.—BR]

XI F f5

(Notes. Also goes with XI.H.a1 and XI.H&F.a2)

(additional folders)

- XI C. jj13 Religion: Jok April 9
How Jok chooses a person. >Jok possession of a woman.
- XI C. jj15 Religion: Jok – Conversations, Future –
Foretelling April 10
- XI C. jj26 Ritual: Ojere – fertility blessing May 4
“Spit blessing” on barren women (also on impotent men). > Build a Ojere platform: made for women whose children die.
- XI C. jj31 Ritual: KWONG – Cleansing of a cursed house
May 11
- XI C. m9 Ritual: Ogyere (Fertility) May 4
Pregnancy ritual: spit blessing. > Ogyere platform: done for barren women, impotent men, and children > Smearing. > Gift giving. > If child is ill: smear with medicine.
- XI C. m13 Ritual: Kwong – cleansing of a curse May 11
How to cleanse a house from a curse. > Slaughter of a sheep. > Prevent death from curse.
- XI C. m19 Ritual: Jok – Communication and fertility April 9
Speaking with a Jok – ventriloquism? > Lakwena of the Jok, becoming a messenger of the Jok. > Division of labor among wives. > Throwing of “gagi” to read the signs – predicts outcome of hunt. > Fertility ritual of a first pregnancy and a woman with many miscarriages: attracting the Jok, spit ritual, dancing. > If the Jok doesn’t like the song. > Female possession by Jok. > A dance to prevent giving birth.
- XI C. m21 Ritual: Jok – Predictions + fortune telling April 10
Jok fertility blessing. > Jok was right about an empty-handed hunt. > Jok predicts: someone wants to kill Jino. > Must kill brown goat to predict death. > Want to kill him because of a young woman he took.