

SECTION THREE

The Nuer Settlement

THE NUER SETTLEMENT: INTRODUCTION

THE most dramatic series of events during Coriat's term among the Nuer concerned the Lou Nuer prophet Guek Ngundeng in 1927-9. These events were all the more startling, perhaps, because Coriat's relations with Guek from 1923 to 1926 had been unexceptional. Guek had faded into the background as Coriat developed local administration among the Lou and found other leaders willing to conform to government. Guek's rebellion was perhaps as much of a surprise to Guek as it was to Coriat.

The only piece Coriat wrote on the Nuer which has been relatively widely circulated was his article 'Gwek the Witch-doctor and the Pyramid of Dengkur', in *Sudan Notes and Records* in 1939. It was written a full ten years after the events it described, and some eight years after Coriat had left Nuer administration. He apparently did not have all the relevant papers at hand when he wrote this article, and there are some major discrepancies between what he wrote at the time and what was published ten years later.

A fuller account of Guek's rising is given elsewhere (Johnson 1979; Johnson, forthcoming), and the main events are summarized in the documents which follow. It is only by comparing Lou Nuer testimony¹ with contemporary government documents that doubts about the seriousness of Guek's 'rebellion' emerge. The rebellion began during the rains of 1927, when Coriat was not only out of the district, but home on leave. Guek had shown some reluctance to carry out government orders to clear a new motor road before Coriat had left, and there had been attempts by Lou intermediaries to get the two men to discuss the issue more fully. Rumours began to circulate of Guek's preparations for war just as Coriat was about to leave the province. The sources of these rumours were not convincing, coming as they did mainly from Major Wyld and his Dinka chiefs and interpreters, persons who had already demonstrated a credulous hostility to all things Nuer. Khartoum decided to take no final action until Coriat could report back. By the time he returned to his district in November 1927 preparations for hostilities were advanced on both sides.

The four documents in this section are the fullest contemporary record in Coriat's own words of the events surrounding the conflict with Guek. They are a substantial corrective to the account he published in 1939, where he tended to exaggerate or elaborate on some of the incidents recorded more matter-of-factly here.

1. Jackson 1927 and Lou texts 4.2, in Johnson, in preparation.

20 Nov 1927

Arrived Kharboun 10 am. Put up with Col. Howarth, A.A.C.
Reported to Secy 11.30. Handed files and reports from Melabel
re. trouble in Law. Kupin GWEX WUNDENG of DENG-KUR pyramid
continued agitation after departure of self on leave. Duke Bayud
reports great slaughter of bulls at pyramid and threats by GWEX
against men not supporting him. Law said to be eating meat
and blood to strengthen them for coming fight. GWEX forbids
tribemen to work on road except for small amount of clearing,
near Duke in order to delude Government. Signal for rising
to be murder of self and escort when all men will rise
against Government. Names reports TEKAINU men approached
by GWEX but refuse assistance owing failure of LAW to support
TEKAINU against Government during 1920 Patrol.
Other reports state Kupin DWAL DU of GAWER had interview
with GWEX but has not promised support and other men
tribes will sit on fence until result of first rising is
known. Men plan said to be meeting of self by Chief who
will accompany me to pyramid when GWEX will give signal for
tribemen to attack. Rifles of Government will fail to function.

First page of Percy Coriat's 'Gwek Diary', November 1927 (reduced by 25%). Source: Coriat MSS, Rhodes House, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MSS Afr.s.1684. (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library.)

DOCUMENT 3.1

GWEK DIARY

*The rumblings and rumours surrounding the Lou had not been sufficiently urgent to recall Coriat prematurely from home leave, but when he returned to Khartoum in early November it suddenly seemed imperative to rush him to Malakal. Arriving in Khartoum on 20 November 1927, he was then flown to Malakal on the 24th in one of the RAF Middle Eastern Command's obsolescent DH9A two-seaters. In Malakal he only had enough time to gather together a few rations and a single servant before being dispatched by steamer to Abwong to begin his intelligence-gathering mission. He had to forgo the DC's standard fare of tinned foods and game, relying on Nuer grain instead. Even this minor inconvenience added to the air of crisis, Willis commenting, 'Mr. Coriat was reduced to eating raw millet boiled in water before he returned—Political Conditions must indeed be serious to justify the stomach-ache that that means.'*¹

This diary of events comes from Coriat's personal papers, now in Rhodes House. It covers the time from his arrival in Khartoum to the beginning of his trek in Lou country. He may not have used it in compiling his report on Patrol S8 (document 3.2), as he sent it to his wife with a shorter letter. It does contain a number of personal observations about the build-up to the campaign which do not appear in his official reports.

20 Nov. 1927

Arrived Khartoum 10 a.m. Put up with Col. Nosworthy. A.A.G.²

1. Willis to civil secretary, 10.12.27, NRO Civsec 5/2/10.

2. Colonel (later Lt.-General Sir) Francis Poitiers Nosworthy, DSO, MC, chief staff officer and second in command SDF 1926–30, and acting adjutant-general, November 1927.

Reported Civil Secretary³ 11.30. Handed files and reports from Malakal re trouble in Lau.⁴ Kujur GWEK WUNDENG [Guek Ngundeng] of DENGKUR pyramid continued agitation after departure of self on leave. Duk Fayuil reports great slaughter of bulls at pyramid and threats by GWEK against Nuers not supporting him. Lau said to be eating meat and blood to strengthen them for coming fight. GWEK forbids tribesmen to work on road except for small amount of clearing, near Duk in order to delude Government. Signal for rising to be murder of self and escort when all Nuers will rise against Government.⁵ Nasser reports JEKAING Nuers approached by GWEK but refuse assistance owing failure of LAU to support JEKAING against Government during 1920 Patrol.⁶

Other reports state Kujur DWAL DIU of GAWEIR had interview with GWEK but has not promised support and other Nuer sub-tribes will sit on fence until result of first rising is known.⁷ Nuer plan said to be meeting of self by Chiefs who will accompany me to pyramid when GWEK will give signal for tribesmen to attack. Rifles of Government will fail to function. Nuers all nervous of GWEK and among other yarns state that GWEK ordered several young men to load their rifles and then gave them order to fire when cartridges failed to explode, thus proving his ability to render firearms innocuous. Dinka tribes apprehensive of raids and attacks by Nuers.⁸ Reports from Nasser state that Abyssinian invasion of Annuak [Anuak] territory on Sudan border is threatened owing to murder of an Abyssinian party at ITANG.⁹ Fugitives from Annuak [Anuak] country if driven into Lau would complicate GWEK affair.

Saw memo by Gov. general reference to probable use of troops in Lau. G.G. considered political influence should be used before hostilities and GWEK's attitude and grievances to be determined.¹⁰ Saw MacMichael, CS [Civil Secretary] and explained events prior to departure on leave. Interview with Gov. Gen. arranged for following morning.

3. H. A. MacMichael, CMG, DSO, civil secretary 1926-33, KCMG 1931. Later governor and commander-in-chief Tanganyika 1934-8, high commissioner and commander-in-chief Palestine, high commissioner Trans-Jordan 1938-44.

4. Now in NRO Civsec 5/2/10.

5. Report from a Dinka chief and Duk Fayuil interpreter: J. W. G. Wyld to governor, Upper Nile Province, 18.09.27, NRO Civsec 5/2/10 and UNP 1/5/27. The plot to kill Coriat was subsequently denied by another Dinka agent (J. W. G. Wyld to governor, Upper Nile Province, 02.10.27, *ibid.*).

6. J. Lee to governor, Malakal, 16.10.27, NRO Civsec 5/2/10 and UNP 1/5/27.

7. The reports in fact claim only that Guek had sent messages to Dual (J. W. G. Wyld to governor, Upper Nile Province, 18.09.27 and 02.10.27, NRO Civsec 5/2/10 and UNP 1/5/27). Dual and Guek never met.

8. J. Lee to governor, Malakal, 16.10.27, and acting governor, Upper Nile Province, to civil secretary, 22.10.27, both in NRO Civsec 5/2/10 and UNP 1/5/27.

9. Itang was a small trading post set up on the Ethiopian border in Gaajok country in 1904.

10. Sir John Maffey, 19.11.27, NRO Civsec 5/2/10 and UNP 1/5/27.

Discussed situation with Nosworthy who was acting Kaid during Gen. Huddleston's¹¹ absence South. Considered if reports even partly true, trouble to be expected.

Foley¹² & Stevenson from War Office to dinner.

21 Nov.

Went to Palace for interview with Gov. Gen.¹³ 11.30 a.m.

G.G. very pleasant and enquired after personal affairs etc. referred to last meeting at Abwong¹⁴ and enquired as to whether I knew GWEK. Explained with deference that I considered he had 'got hold of the wrong end of the stick' and described events previous to my departure from Abwong on leave, GWEK's truculence and his seizure of opportunity to stir up trouble and regain power and prestige lost during past four years by declaiming [*sic*] the benefits of new road, owing to his knowledge of the unpopularity of this among tribesmen. GWEK may also have had considerable success with 'tricks' and reported drought in LAU after his threat to withhold water until tribe attacked Government, a signal piece of luck for him.¹⁵ Gov. Gen. amused and was extremely decent. Stated he had not known situation among LAU and concurred that although it may have been possible to use political influence in the first instance, as I was fully acquainted with GWEK and tribe it was only necessary for me to explain what I wanted done. Informed Gov. Gen. that only one of two things could occur, either GWEK would obtain support of tribesmen and would fight or he would fail to rally tribesmen and would become a fugitive. GWEK himself having gone too far to submit.

Gov. Gen. agreed that this was clear and suggested troops and/or aeroplanes be used immediately. I objected to this as it would be preferable to discover what actual support GWEK had raised and pointed out that I should be allowed to proceed to Abwong and if necessary inland to determine actual situation. Gov. Gen. agreed and sent for Col. Nosworthy to whom discussion was explained. It was then decided that I should meet Kaid, Governor and Wing Commander

11. Later Major-General Sir Hubert Huddleston, KCB, DSO, MC, commander-in-chief SDF 1924-30, governor-general of the Sudan 1940-7.

12. Captain (later Major) Guy Francis Foley, CMG, OBE, MC (Royal Artillery), 1896-1970, EA 1920-5, SDF 1925-30, director of stores and ordnance, and later director of economics and trade in Khartoum.

13. Sir John Maffey (1877-1969), later 1st Baron Rugby (1935), Indian Civil Service 1899-1924, governor-general of the Sudan 1926-33.

14. In June 1927; see below, doc. 3.2.

15. In 1921 Guek was credited with destroying Mor Lou crops with heavy rain as a punishment for their continued disobedience to government orders (*SMIR* 326 (Sept. 1921), 4).

Reid of Air Force¹⁶ on 7 Dec. at Abwong and situation would again be discussed. Willis¹⁷ due to arrive at Khartoum 25th could reach Abwong by this date. Nosworthy suggested it would be much more satisfactory if I could by that date know whether it was war or not and offered to send me by air to Malakal if this would enable me to reach Abwong in time to sense atmosphere and give definite information by 7 Dec. Steamer route would take me 7 days and by air 5 hours. Flight plan adopted and interview terminated after Gov. Gen. impressing me with necessity of avoiding putting myself into undue danger or taking unnecessary risk.

Saw Wing Commander Reid at War Office and formed opinion he was definitely against use of Air Force in event of Patrol being required. Motored over to Air Squadron¹⁸ lines with Reid and arranged matter of baggage with Sq. Leader Cox.¹⁹ Arranged to visit lines following morning.

Nosworthy told me at tea time that Reid much against use of planes in Lau particularly without ground force, though he will not admit it or state objection in writing. Policy as regards internal trouble, that Air Force must be used and tried. Success of Air Force in Irak administration compels trial in Sudan in order to determine their use, one way or the other.²⁰

22 Nov.

Postponed trip till 24th and to visit Air lines 23rd to watch bombing and gunning practice.

Saw MacMichael in Office and given written instructions not to go into danger zone. Did not ask him how one knew what was or was not a danger zone before going into it!

23 Nov.

Up at 4 a.m. and drive to Air Force lines. Fly with Sq. Leader Cox to practise ground and land and watch bombing and gunning practice, flying back to breakfast 9 a.m.

16. Wing Commander George R. M. Reid, DSO, MC, commander of No. 47 Squadron RAF in Khartoum.

17. Willis, too, had been on leave since August.

18. No. 47 Squadron, RAF.

19. Squadron Leader Claude R. Cox, AFC.

20. The RAF had been used effectively in conjunction with the Arab Legion to combat nomad raids (Cox 1985). No. 47 Squadron was stationed in Khartoum earlier in 1927, partly at the insistence of Winston Churchill in order to expand the use of the RAF and guarantee its survival as an independent force (Killingray 1984).

Cox informed me machines were D.H.9.s but new machines were expected.²¹

Dined at MacMichael's, also Nosworthy, Reid and Davies the D.I.²² Avoided talking of LAU affair till just before leaving. Returned home with Nosworthy 12 p.m. and bid good bye to him before going to bed. An extraordinarily decent fellow and was most helpful officially as well as being a charming host. Leave cook with heavy baggage to come on with Willis.

24 Nov.

Motored to Air force lines 4 a.m. Breakfast on a bottle of soda and find myself in the air by 6 a.m. with Fl. Lt. Grey driving me. Escorting machine driven by Harrison and accompanied by mechanic Bolton.²³ Smooth going for first three hours and greatly interested in aspect of country. Recognised Kosti and Renk²⁴ and other stations. Air bumpy owing to rising sun last hour. Landed at Malakal 10.30 a.m. after a good flight. Landing, machine banked somewhat acutely by Shilluk village and Grey admitted later he had not given himself quite enough room. Met by Cann, Morris, Moir and Wileman.²⁵ Put up with Cann and Mrs.

All well at Malakal. Crouch, Henderson, Tunnicliffe, Inglis-Jones also in Station. Wyld and Mrs. at Bor.²⁶

Hear of all developments from Cann. Informed Alban of Mongalla Province²⁷ at Abwong. Dine with Waller's,²⁸ also there Canns, Crouch and Moir. Hear that Bay pony has died of 'fly'. A very grievous blow.²⁹

21. The aircraft were DH9As, a post-war modification of the old DH9. They were replaced by the Fairy IIIa, a two-seater biplane.

22. Reginald Davies, director of intelligence 1927-8.

23. Flying Officer Andrew N. Grey, Flight Lieutenant Anthony C. B. D. Harrison, MC, and mechanical fitter Dolton (not Bolton). An escort plane with mechanic was sent along in case of mechanical failure or a forced landing.

24. Kosti is where the railroad crosses the White Nile on its way to El Obeid. Renk is the northernmost town in Upper Nile Province.

25. Captain G. P. Cann, see above, doc. 1.5 n. 7; Morris, Moir and Wileman are found on neither the civil nor military staff lists of the time.

26. Dr H. A. Crouch, Sudan Medical Service 1923-44; Dr L. H. Henderson, Sudan Medical Service 1926-43; Captain E. C. Tunnicliffe, formerly 12th Sudanese, OC Police UNP 1925-7 and 1934-7, ADC Pibor District 1927-34 (see Plates 18 and 19); Captain John Alfred Inglis-Jones (Grenadier Guards), SDF 1924-9. At this time Major Wyld's wife, Mika (a White Russian emigrée), was the only DC's wife in the province allowed to live outside Malakal.

27. See above, Introduction, n. 5.

28. Standish Waller, inspector Egyptian Irrigation Department, Malakal.

29. The death of Coriat's pony was later attributed by some to Guek's powers.

25 Nov.

Flight returns to Khartoum early morning.

Leave after playing bridge at 'Equat'³⁰ mess with Inglis-Jones and Crouch and dining with Canns at 10 p.m.

Army & Political side of Malakal, also Morris see me off on steamer! Take troop of Mounted Police with me.

26 Nov.

Horribly monotonous chug chug of 'Shabluka' the slowest steamer on river,³¹ continues throughout the day.

27 Nov.

Awake to find myself at Abwong. Dress and meet Alban who I find is busily occupied with 150 Dinkas clearing a landing ground for aeroplanes. Ground nearly completed.

Breakfast with Alban. 'Shabluka' returns after disembarking Police and mules.

Alban informs me a Chief of Lau came in with elephant tusk as offering to Govt. and on being pressed stated GWEK had forbidden them to work on road. Learn later that Chief was DTHO DIENG [Dhiew Dieng], a particularly cheerful and enlightened Chief.³² Cann considered him to be a spy of GWEK's but personally, think he may have come in both to scout the lie of the land for Nuers and to ingratiate himself with Govt. A difficult situation for one finding himself between the Devil and the Deep Sea as represented by GWEK on the one side and Govt. on the other. Alban has no further information but Police Sgt. full of alarmist reports.

Find second pony and servants well. Kapato, the small boy still with Mrs. Wyld and should return with Gov. on 7 Dec.

30. Equatorial Corps, SDF, a non-Muslim battalion raised primarily among the Zande and Moru of what was then Mongalla Province for use in the Southern Sudan, replacing the old Sudanese battalions composed of Muslim ex-slave soldiers.

31. SGS *Shabluka*, a small stern-wheeler built with a boiler and machinery salvaged from Mahdist steamers in 1904; scrapped about 1930 (Hill 1972: 208); nicknamed 'Shabbyloo' by province personnel.

32. Dhiew Dieng reported back to Guek after this visit that the government was planning to attack him. According to the Lou this report was crucial in Guek's decision to fight. See below, doc. 3.2.

29 Nov.

Left for reconnaissance of Lau with 2 troops Mounted Police.

DOCUMENT 3.2

**GENERAL REPORT: PATROL S8
(LAU NUER) 1928**

This report summarizes the administration of the Lou from 1923 to 1927, taking up the narrative where the preceding document leaves off. It was written against the background of the suspicion that Coriat could have prevented the rising by a more vigorous handling of Guek during the dry season of 1927. Here Coriat is trying to explain why Guek did not appear to be a serious threat before the rains of 1927. In many ways modern Lou testimony confirms this assessment.¹ In the end the most convincing evidence Coriat could produce which confirmed a long-held grievance on Guek's part rested on the assumption that Guek was trying to regain power lost to the government in its victory over the Lou in 1917. We now know Guek played no leading role in that campaign and did not even become a prophet until after 1917. The charge that Guek was trying to regain influence lost in the earlier campaign is repeated in Coriat 1939, where Guek is also portrayed as more blatantly hostile than he appears here.

Document 3.1 reveals that military plans were well advanced before Coriat returned to his district. Matters of high policy, decided in London and passed on to Khartoum, dictated the experimental use of the RAF on an internal patrol in the Sudan, despite the local wing commander's reservations about the logistical feasibility of such a demonstration. Coriat's orders, too, restricted his options. He argued prior to the campaign for the use of Mounted Police rather than the army and repeats those arguments here, but the impetus of the military imperative was too strong to resist.

Little satisfaction can be taken from military operations which go wrong, but if Coriat's handling of Guek was considered too lenient, he was able to point out that confidence in the RAF's ability to crush the rising was too high. Far from overawing the Lou, it dispersed them before the army could deal an effective blow. The campaign to track down Guek and other

1. Lou texts 4.2, in Johnson, in preparation.

fugitives continued for another year, spilling over into the Gaanar and expanding the Nuer rebellion.

Governor
U.N.P.

Strictly Confidential

Events Leading up to Patrol

The following short note on the Kujur Gwek Wundeng [Guek Ngundeng] and Kujur in general in the Lau country will enable a more clear appreciation of the sequence of events leading to the Patrol.

Gwek Wundeng of Shieng Shish [Cic] of the Gun division of Lau, was born at Keij (Dengkur) in the Lau country some 45 years ago, son of Wundeng Dengkur [Ngundeng Bong] by a Jekaing [Jikany] Nuer woman.²

Gwek's father Wundeng Bung acquired the name Dengkur after the spirit by which he is said to have been possessed³ and was the originator and builder of the Dengkur pyramid recently destroyed. This edifice, which was 60 ft. high and constructed of mud, was the symbol of Wundeng's Kujural power and as far as can be ascertained was completed about 20 years before the birth of Gwek and on the site of his Grandfather's grave.⁴ Tribesmen from all the Nuer countries were summoned for the labour on its erection and for many years previously and in order to ensure sufficient food for the labourers, it was customary for men, women and children visiting or passing the site to take with them a small amount of grain to be deposited in the granaries of Wundeng's village. This custom prevailed until comparatively recently.

There has never, as far as I am aware, been any similar monument among the Nuer and it is uncertain why the Witchdoctor should have chosen this particular method of demonstrating his power to the tribes, though occasionally a small conical mound 4 to 5 ft. high is to be found at the grave of a noted Kujur or Leader.⁵ On Wundeng's death, the son Gwek inherited his father's supernatural powers and although he seems to have been anxious to maintain the family

2. Guek was in fact probably no more than thirty-one years old when this report was written. See above, doc. 1.5 n. 19.

3. Dengkur was Ngundeng's ox-name; Deng was his divinity. 'Wundeng' is the Dinka pronunciation of Ngundeng (see Deng 1973: 208, song no. 90).

4. The Mound was built in the 1890s and had nothing to do with Ngundeng's father, who lived and died among the Eastern Jikany. Coriat published a more detailed account of the building of the Mound in Coriat 1939: 223-5. See also Alban 1940: 201.

5. Known precedents for the shrine include Puom Aiwei on the Bahr el-Zeraf and Luang Deng in Rut Dinka country. See Howell 1948.

prestige, he was not successful in retaining the hold over Nuer tribes other than the Lau, which his father had. The coming of Government had largely to do with this.⁶

The Lau relate that at some time during Wundeng's lifetime, the 'Turk' (possibly slave raiders), coming from the direction of the Sobat, carried out a raid on the Pyramid and carried off a quantity of ivory with which the base and apex of the mound had been adorned. This is the only record of any outside influence having been felt in central Lau before the present Government.⁷

I have no data regarding the Lau or Gwek's attitude to Government previous to the 1917 Patrol, but the principal cause of this expedition was the attack on and annihilation of a Platoon of the 9th Sudanese under a Native Officer. Gwek with other Kujurs is said to have been the directing hand in this.⁸ The Policy of despatching troops for the collection of tribute cannot be held to have been the most successful method of obtaining the confidence of the people and combating anti-Government Kujur influence. The 1917 Patrol was not successful in effecting the capture of Gwek and its results politically have been recorded in past reports.⁹

From 1917 and for some years, the administration of Lau was limited and in 1921 following reports of Gwek's anti-Government activities, a visit was paid to Dengkur by the then Deputy-Governor of the Province [H. C. Jackson] who reported that he had been able to influence Gwek in the right direction and had left the Kujur in an attitude entirely friendly to Government. At the same time the Deputy-Governor appointed a half-brother, Bul Wundeng [Bol Ngundeng] as Government Chief to represent Gwek in matters affecting his own Sub-shieng of Shieng Shish.¹⁰

In 1922 a report of disturbance in Lau and various rumours of Gwek's activities came to nothing.¹¹

6. Ngundeng died in January 1906. Guek was still a boy then. He did not inherit his father's divinity until after 1917.

7. This was the 1902 'Dengkur Patrol' of Governor Blewitt (Johnson 1982*b*). This account differs from Coriat 1939: 225, which claimed that Ngundeng had been raided twice by slavers. In fact, Ngundeng was never raided by the old Egyptian government, the slavers, or the Mahdists, but only by the Anglo-Egyptian government.

8. Guek was not involved in the 1917 fight, at least not as a leader. The Lou fought under Pok Kerjiok (see above, doc. 1.5 n. 45 and below, doc. 3.4). It was only after Guek fled to his maternal relatives among the Eastern Jikany following Pok's defeat that he became seized by the divinity Deng.

9. See particularly SRO UNP SCR 15.10, 'Lau Nuer Patrol 1917'. The company of the 9th Sudanese who were annihilated by Pok Kerjiok in 1916 were not collecting tribute, but had been sent out to intercept a Lou Nuer raiding party who had just captured some Dinka cattle (Johnson 1982*a*: 196).

10. Jackson's accounts of his meetings with Guek can be found in Jackson 1954: 160-8; SAD 465/4; and Jackson 1927.

11. Jackson 1927.

At the latter end of 1923 I was instructed to include the Lau in my District.

A number of existing Shiengs had not then been registered and a proportion of those listed were inaccurate. The majority of so-called Chiefs whom I met had either been appointed by Government in the past or were produced before me by the sections as their Leaders. In most cases they were old and decrepit or of the type of tribesman to be found loitering around a Government Post for what he can pick up. In every section there was, if not an actual Chief, a man with some influence over his particular camp but for some reason these were not forthcoming in dealings with Government.

So far as possible I accepted as Chief any Nuer whether a Kujur or not who had any semblance of control over his section or who appeared to have the makings of a Chief in him.¹² It was some time before the real Leaders, where they existed, were willing to work with Government. As a preliminary step, I visited the Kujur Gwek Wundeng at Dengkur, having previously met Bul Wundeng referred to above. Bul, a youthful tribesman impressed me as being singularly lacking in brains and quite incapable of acquiring any merit as Chief, neither did he appear to have any of the qualities of a Leader either from the point of view of Government or the Nuer.

On my first meeting with Gwek I informed him that as a Sub-Chief I expected him to deal direct with Government and pointed out that there was no further need for Bul as his representative. Gwek demurred in the first instance and pleaded that Kujur precluded his dealing directly with Government, and that he was only able to leave his home at the behest of Kujur, but I assured him that it was the intention of Government to deal directly with the Tribal Leaders and representatives were only required in the case of Chiefs who from age or sickness were unable to carry out their duties, also that where he was dealing with Government his Kujur would obtain absolution from the Spirits.¹³

From thence till 1927 Gwek gave no trouble. At no time during my dealings with the man had I occasion to refer to Kujur except in the instance referred to above, though from time to time I received information as to his activities in that direction.

I had originally intended Gwek to control the whole of Shieng Shish and possibly the Gun Lau, but the more I became acquainted the less did I consider him fitted as a Chieftain and had it not been for his Kujurial power and the necessity of keeping him in a position where he could be watched, I would have been prepared to ignore his influence entirely.

On the formation of Chiefs' Courts and Police in 1927, Gwek was present at the preliminary meeting but appeared to be of so little use that I allowed him to absent himself for the future. His visits to the Merkaz [Abwong] once in

12. This was the policy of all administrators among the Nuer in the early 1920s.

13. Modern prophets have used the same argument as Gwek to limit their direct contacts with the government. Modern Sudanese administrators (including some Nuer) have countered much as Coriat did.

1925 and once in 1926 seemed a satisfactory proof that he had no ill intentions and he carried out his ordinary section duties and paid tribute. Owing to his inability to combine with other Chiefs in administrative matters I treated him as a minor Chief. My final impression of Gwek was that he was friendly to Government and wished only to be allowed to carry out more or less harmless Kujur. By the end of 1926 I did not consider his influence sufficiently strong to cause any reactionary element to retard the administration even had he wished it.

As regards other Kujur in Lau, mention need only be made of Char Koryom of Duk Fayuil District with whom I had no dealings previous to the Patrol and Pok Keirjok (Kujur name Gar Wi).

Char was said to be harmless and chiefly concerned with rainmaking.¹⁴ Pok of Shieng Nyajakan [Nyajikany] of the Gun Lau was not a hereditary Kujur and is said to have acquired his powers some time previous to the Lau Patrol in 1917.¹⁵ I had numerous dealings with Pok in the past and although an unprepossessing individual and said to have been concerned in the attack made on the 9th Sudanese, I had not considered him worthy of any special concern. His influence could hardly have been widespread as I had occasion to try several cases brought against him by tribesmen. With the exception of one case brought by a Dinka, I have not heard of any claim ever having been made against Gwek, although I had had cases which the tribesmen stated had been heard by Gwek in the past and with whose decision they were not satisfied.¹⁶

To turn to recent events.

On my return from a tour of South-Eastern Lau in May 1927 a gathering of the Gun division Chiefs was held at Shit [Cith] with the object of discussing the projected Nyerol-Mwot Did road and apportioning sectors to the various groups concerned. The question of roadmaking had been broached to the Lau Chiefs shortly previous to this meeting and though there was no enthusiasm at the prospect of the work entailed and some suspicion as to the objects of a road, it had been agreed that an attempt should be made after a general gathering to discuss ways and means. As the outcome of this Chiefs and followers were convened to a gathering at Shit.

By this time, the Dinka road from Fulus Mouth which was to join the Lau road at Nyerol, was well on its way to completion and was substantive proof to the Lau, not only that a road could be made but that a road was being made.

14. Car Koryom, a Rumjok *wut ghok* (man of cattle), was seized by the divinity Deng around 1914. Car gave himself up to the government in 1928 and then escaped, only to turn himself in again in 1931 after the campaign was over. After a brief exile he was allowed to return home and died in about 1948.

15. See above, doc. 1.5 n. 45, and below, doc. 3.4.

16. In 1921 the government insisted on retaining the right to hear appeals against Guek's judgements. Even after the chiefs' courts were set up, Nuer were constantly appealing their local courts' decisions to the DC (Johnson 1986a).

Being anxious to ensure cohesion between the Chiefs and sections as regards the road and to avoid any possible obstructive influence at some later date, I had sent for Gwek Wundeng to be present at the meeting. No portion of the proposed road was to pass through Gwek's own territory, though between Ful Turug [Pul Turuk] and Fanyang it was to pass through the country belonging to two Sub-shiengs of Shieng Shish to which section Gwek and his followers form a group.

Gwek arrived at the meeting after all the other Chiefs had assembled, whether by accident or design I am uncertain. He was accompanied by some twenty followers and minor Kujurs. In my past dealings with him, he had at no time had an escort to equal this neither had [he] ever attempted to effect anything theatrical in my presence and I was surprised at the manner of his arrival as I was later at his demeanour.

Chiefs and followers were seated round me in a semi-circle and room was made for Gwek in the centre of this by the Chiefs and on their own initiative. I discussed other matters with the Chiefs before addressing Gwek and then informed him that I had sent for him in order to let him know that a road was to be cleared through the Gun Lau country and that I should expect his section to give any assistance required by Chief Gwet Thi [Guet Thie]¹⁷ of the other Subsection of Shieng. He replied that the Lau were unable to make roads and such work should be confined to the Dinkas. I explained that the question of whether a road could or could not be made did not rest with him but with the Government, also that I had already discussed the matter with the leading Chiefs on whom the work devolved. The conversation continued in this strain for some time, until, after informing Gwek that as a lesser Chief I expected him to carry out the orders of the Shieng Leaders, he asked whether there was any further matter I wished to discuss with him and whether he could take his leave, to which I replied that there was not and that he was at liberty to return to his village. He then rose and with his twenty followers made off singing lustily.¹⁸

I considered it correct to show my disregard of Gwek and to diminish any prestige this local show of truculence may have given him in the eyes of the Nuer by affecting to ignore the result of my discussion with him and the manner of his departure. As later events have proved it was unfortunate that Gwek did not accompany me to Abwong under the care of my Police escort.

The Chiefs made no sign of their having been influenced by Gwek and no reference was made to the interlude; the meeting being terminated after each section had been allotted its sector of road and it being understood that the

17. See above, doc. 1.5 n. 17.

18. Coriat later gave a more dramatic and exaggerated account of this meeting, making Guek appear more intransigent and obstructive than he is portrayed here (1939: 231-2; discussed in Johnson, forthcoming).

road would be cleared and ready for use by the beginning of the 1928 dry season.¹⁹

As I was returning to Abwong in order to be at the Station for H.E. the Governor-General's [Sir John Maffey] visit, a proportion of Chiefs accompanied me and the remainder were, for various reasons, allowed to return to their homes with instructions to be present at Abwong on a date in order that they should be present on H.E.'s arrival. A message was sent to Gwek instructing him to proceed direct to Abwong.

Gwek made no appearance, neither did the Chiefs of Shieng Nyajakan, Fulkir [Pälker] and Manthep [Manthiep] of the Gun and as transpired later a party of Mor Chiefs on their way in through the Gun country were stopped by Gwek.²⁰

It was apparent that Gwek was attempting to foster trouble of some kind and on proceeding by car from Fulus mouth with the object of testing the new road I determined if possible to deal with Gwek at the same time.

Unfortunately, heavy rains prevented my reaching Nyerol and I was compelled to return. As I heard later this was attributed to Gwek's Kujur preventing the car, symbol of the road, entering the Lau country.

On my return to Abwong I left for a tour of the Dinka country on the Sobat and on my return again to the station I found Chief Dtho Dien [Dhiew Dieng] awaiting me (Shieng Manthep). Dtho seemed ill at ease and generally unable to explain satisfactorily the reason for his visit. Before leaving and as an incidental matter, he asked me to discuss the road a second time with Gwek Wundeng before the following dry season and before the sections started clearing. I informed him that I should expect the road to be cleared as arranged and that on my return from leave I should take steps to see that the young men had obeyed their Chiefs' orders, also that I did not see how a minor Chief such as Gwek could influence the sections or run contrary to the orders of Government. I was unable to visit Lau before going on leave and until my departure, was posted to Kodok [Shilluk district headquarters] for duty. While at Kodok reports were received from D.C. Duk Fayuil referring to Gwek's activities. Two Chiefs' Police from Mor came in to see me and corroborated the news that Gwek was attempting to disaffect the tribe. I was told that he had given out a prophecy said to have been foretold by his father that the 'Turk' (Government) would defeat the Lau Nuer and take over their country (i.e. 1917 Patrol), there would then be a period under the 'Turk' and Chiefs and tribesmen would be compelled to meet at Courts regardless of inter-section feuds, young men would be made into 'Turks' (this would appear to allude to Chiefs' Police),

19. Gwek is remembered by modern Lou as objecting only to the labour involved in the road work (Lou texts 4.2, in Johnson, in preparation). It appears that he was being put forward by the Lou as their spokesman in this matter.

20. Nyajikany and Pälker were part of Rumjok, the southernmost Gun section and the furthest from Abwong. The Manthiep are Dhiew Dieng's section.

finally a road would be started in the direction of the Lau country and on that road reaching a certain point (Gwek obviously meant the Dinka boundary), a small root would be found to have grown at the apex of the Dengkur pyramid. This would be the signal for the Lau to rise and throw off the Turk power and the tribes would then amalgamate and revert to the days of Dinka raiding.²¹

During my absence on leave, further reports were received from the D.Cs. Duk Fayuil and Nasser. Among the various reports and from various sources, the following tales were current on my return from leave: Continual slaughter of bulls at the Pyramid. Threats by Gwek against Nuers not supporting him had already taken effect in two cases. Lau said to be eating meat and blood to strengthen them for coming fight. Gwek forbade tribesmen [to] work on road except for small patches near Duk in order to delude Government. Plan arranged said to be meeting of Chiefs who would accompany D.C. to Nyerol and Dengkur on his return from leave and Gwek would then destroy D.C., this would be preparatory to destroying the Government Stations. Jekaing Nuers reported to have been approached but refused assistance. Gaweir Kujur Dwal Diu had interview with Gwek but did not promise support.²² Government rifles would not function. In proof of this Gwek ordered several young men to load their rifles and fire them and the cartridges failed to explode, thus proving Gwek's ability to render firearms innocuous. Dinka tribes all said to be apprehensive.

This pointed to an untoward state of affairs in the Lau section of the District and unfortunately, as was proved, beyond a point at which I could deal with them personally.

On receiving instructions vide C.S.5A-131 dated 22.11.27²³ to proceed to Lau in order to gauge the extent of the trouble, I left Khartoum by air and proceeded from Malakal to Abwong accompanied by two troops of Mounted Police, arriving on the 26th December [in fact, November].

The Dinka Chiefs who met me on my arrival, had, as was to be expected alarming tales of a Nuer rising. On the 27th Chiefs Dtho Dien and Kwaigur Kuin [Kuaigur Kuny]²⁴ accompanied by Gwek's half brother Bul came in. They had with them a small tusk for Government and stated that they had heard that for some reason the Government was angry and they had only been awaiting my return before starting work on the roads.

These Chiefs were instructed to return and await me at Nyerol with any other Lau Chiefs they might meet where I should go into the matter of certain ill reports that I had heard, I also told them I was not satisfied with the conduct

21. Modern interpretations of this prophecy are discussed in Johnson 1985*b*.

22. Dual never met Gwek. See above, doc. 3.1 n. 7.

23. 'Memorandum Discussion on Gwek between Coriat and Civil Secretary', 22.11.27, NRO Civsec 5/2/10 and NRO UNP 1/5/27.

24. Kuaigur Kuny died in 1928; see above, doc. 1.5.

of Gwek and some of his followers during the rains and that consequently Bul Wundeng would be detained.²⁵

Dtho Dien had already visited the Station before my arrival, when he related the same tale to Capt. Alban, then in charge of arrangements being made for an Air Force Landing Ground.

Chief Bul Kan²⁶ of a section of Shieng Tiang was then in Abwong having brought in labourers for work on the Landing Ground. From him I learnt that certain sections only were definitely supporting Gwek while others would await results.

On the 28th Chief Pey Ruai [Pec Ruac] with his Police and several followers arrived. This Chief, from the Mor section, said he was prepared to accompany me to Lau, but that he hoped Government would have a strong enough Force to deal with Gwek before he obtained support from some of the Mor sections. Pey stated that as far as he was aware no Mor sections had outwardly rallied to Gwek, though several young men from the sections had joined Gwek's immediate following.²⁷

Leaving Abwong on the 29th I arrived at Nyerol by circuitous route on 2nd Dec., returning to Abwong on the 7th. There appeared to be definite resistance to Government confined to Shiengs Fulkir, Nyajakan and Yuong and part of Shieng Shish in addition to Gwek's own followers. I was avoided by the greater number of section Chiefs. Those that I met gave me little information but said the trouble was a personal matter between Gwek and myself.²⁸ I formed the impression that Lau did not wish to precipitate matters while I was in the vicinity of Nyerol. Gwek was then camped in the neighbourhood of Thul with a large part of his following but owing to the impossibility of securing adequate protection after dark I was unable to attempt a raid. There was also a certain amount of movement between Thul and Ful Maadin and I could not be certain of Gwek's position. I was very greatly assisted by a number of loyal Chiefs' Police I had with me.

I reported the information I had been able to obtain at a Conference held at Abwong on 7th Dec. Vide memo. Patrol S8. 1st. phase. Gen. Staff. S.D.F. 9.12.27.²⁹

25. Bol's detention is remembered as one reason for Guek's final decision to fight (Lou texts 4.2, in Johnson, in preparation).

26. See above, doc. 1.5 n. 36.

27. The Mor primary section of the Lou were strongly opposed to the Gun, and the two had fought a bitter battle against each other after Ngundeng's death. Both Ngundeng and Guek settled in Gun country, within sight of Mor territory, but encountered considerable opposition from the Mor. Pec Ruac was chief of the Can section of the Mor Lou. See above, doc. 1.5.

28. In the 1940s some Lou still spoke of the conflict as a competition between Guek and Coriat over who was to be the spokesman for the Lou (B. A. Lewis to P. P. Howell, 06.04.43, SAD, P.P. Howell MSS).

29. 'Minutes, S.S. Hafir, Abwong 7.12.27', NRO Civsec 5/2/10.

Since the 1917 Patrol Gwek has lost considerable prestige and consequently his wealth in cattle has diminished in proportion. It now seems probable that for the past year or two he may have been searching for the means whereby he could regain power.³⁰

Recent information shows that there was a meeting between Kujurs at Juai in Duk Fayuil District in March 1927 and there can be little doubt that the question of combating Government was the main object.³¹

Where in the past, Gwek was able, through fear of Kujur to wield his influence over the greater part of the tribe and was in the habit of receiving cattle as gifts and offerings, by 1927 his control was hardly felt by the major part of the tribe except in his immediate presence, few young men feared him in the safety of their own camps. Except for an occasional woman, his services as a Kujur [were] not required.³²

Having shown himself incompetent and unwilling to work with Government Chiefs his position became little better than an ordinary tribesman.

Judging by recent events, it seems that having failed to obtain his ends by enlisting the Chiefs in an attitude of passive resistance, he turned to the young men in order to cause active opposition to Government.

Chiefs' Courts and Chiefs' Police were, as far as he was concerned, the last straw and his difficulty was to obtain the necessary hold over the young men. The proposed road gave him the implement with which he could create disaffection.

It was not difficult to turn a natural evasion to work of any kind into a definite grievance and finally into definite truculence. Given a modicum of fortune and a few judicious conjuring tricks, Gwek had prospects of being at least partly successful and he was fortunate in having had bad rains to help. The issue of free meat to those who wished for it, under the magic shadow of the pyramid did much to further his cause.

Above all Gwek had from May till December 1927 in which to perfect his plans.

The young men were offered freedom from taxation, no work and unlimited Dinka raids.

Sequence of Events during Patrol

The following memos and operation orders contain instructions issued as

30. This cannot be the case, since Guek was not a leader in the 1917 campaign.

31. There was no such meeting of prophets at this time. Guek, Car and Pok met together for the first time only after Guek's Mound had been blown up in 1928.

32. Guek was renowned for curing barrenness.

regards conduct of Patrol and military operations during first stage:

Note by Kaïd El Amm	11 Dec./27	} re Abwong conference
.. .. Wing Commander Reid	
Memo. Gen. Staff. S.D.F.	9.12.27 ³³	

The following events only need be summarised as affecting the Political side of the Patrol.

Nyerol was reached by advance troops on 15th Dec. I was under instructions to remain with troops. No forward action was taken until operations by the Air Force had been concluded and it was agreed to bomb Dengkur on the 18th.

I informed a few Chiefs and men at Nyerol to give out that only cattle camps would be bombed and women and children were therefore to leave camps and remain in villages. I was informed later that this advice was taken by the sections.

At 2.00 hours on the 18th I received information to the effect that bombing would not be carried out and this did not afford me sufficient time to inform the friendlies and others.

The situation deteriorated the same day, a considerable number of friendlies working on the road left. Vide Note of Conference held at Road-head on Dec. 18th 1927 UNP 5-A-1.³⁴

On the 19th Dengkur and Ryr [Rier] were bombed. Ryr contained the Jemaish [Jimac] section all of whom were under Gwek. A reconnaissance was carried out towards Thul on the same day. No information was received as to effects until the 23rd when a few Chiefs came in.

On the 27th a cavalry reconnaissance was carried out towards Thul.

Troops remained at Nyerol until 3rd Jan. 1927 [in fact, 1928; the error recurs several times in this document].

Among telegrams despatched during this period the following only need be quoted in part:³⁵

Extract from telegram from O.C. Ground Troops Nyerol to *Lewa Khartoum*. GF. 4.23.12.27. . . Coriat considers it possible operations will develop into series of patrols against guerrilla bands young men scattered over country if air action breaks up concentration and not morale which will occur if young men suffer only few casualties. Mass attack by Nuers still possible. . . .

From *Political to Governor*. P4. 21.12.27. No further air action required present. Scout missing. No news. Approve my moving south independently after arrival troops in order obtain information.

From *Political to Governor*. P7. 24.12.27. Latest reports casualties negligible morale effect good. Dengkur village reported unburnt but this may be incorrect. Gwek and bands reported area between Khors Thul and Nyanding. . . .

33. See NRO Civsec 5/2/10, pp.100, 104, 118-19.

34. Now NRO UNP 1/5/27, also in NRO Civsec 5/2/10.

35. Ibid.

From *Political to Governor*. P12. 1.1.27 Consider rapid advance preferable from Political point view and may prevent considerable concentrations Lang.

From *Political to Governor*. P14. 2.1.27. Two alternatives for Patrol slow advance with supply depots by road to Mwot before definite action which would resolve into process of elimination of defiant sections and their destruction when water scarce or other alternative such as now contemplated of base at Fadding and advancing from there with flour only as supply and chasing sections before they are able to disperse. This presuming they do not make combined stand. Unless a stand is made by enemy chances of capturing Gwek are much greater by rapid movement than by awaiting supplies. Ten days from base should suffice and Chidlaw³⁶ intends doing this Believe if Force can knock Gwek and Char many sections should be easily dealt with later by self when not nervous as at present. . . . If later Gwek escapes as an individual it is probable he will make for Jekaing Shen Dorbang at Faweng³⁷ but he could not do this with following.

From *Political to Governor*. P15. 3.1.27. Chiefs . . . have come in. Young men may or may not be controllable but have sent leaders back with instructions to make roads between certain points . . . other sections still in Nyin and Lang areas . . . above points to lack of stiff resistance and may confine Force to enforcing orders given re roads as sign submission

This first phase of the Patrol proved the ability of the Air Force to disperse all concentrations within distance. Although information pointed to an attack by Nuers at Rim near Dengkur, no opposition was met with and leaving Nyerol on 29.12.27 troops returned to Nyerol on 1.1.28 after burning Dengkur which was found intact [see Plate 16].

The total casualties caused to the Nuers by Air Force action was one man killed and several cattle.³⁸ It was evident later that enemy morale had been destroyed and though not necessarily submissive, the sections had no stomach for a fight.³⁹

Gwek at this time was still attempting to hold his following.

Several Chiefs submitted following Air action. From 4.1.28 to 15.1.28 the Force operated in the Kwainjor country with the object of capturing Pok and Gwek and dealing with the sections in this area who had not submitted [see Plate 12].

Char Koryom surrendered on the afternoon of the 11th with 100 young men and 18 rifles, following Air Force operations over his cattle during the morning. A section of Shieng Nyajakan was captured by the Mounted Rifles and some casualties were inflicted. Several camps were found along the waterways and

36. Captain John Rhinallt Chidlaw-Roberts, MC (York and Lancs Regt.), King's African Rifles 1917-21, EA 1921-5, SDF 1925-31, OC Equatorial Corps, Torit, 1927.

37. Where his maternal relatives lived (see above, doc. 1.5).

38. Another report gives the figures as two old men and 200 cattle (Willis to MacMichael, 27.01.28, NRO Civsec 5/2/11).

39. Some Lou veterans of the campaign now deny that they were greatly worried by the aeroplanes, since they hid in the grass each time one flew over.

pools and young men were at work on the road. Pok with his section escaped to Gaweir some days previous to the arrival of troops.

No further Air action was taken after this phase and the country from Nyerol along the Fulus to Mwot was considered settled.

The following information re Gwek was contained in telegram despatched as follows:⁴⁰

Governor from Political. P18. 8.1.27 Gwek now said to have gone to Tep Jor between Khors Thul and Nyanding as fugitive

On the 19th Char Koryom escaped from the Guard by leaping over the Zariba at Fadding. After this man's arrest and as he had surrendered in person, he was allowed to move with the prisoners unmanacled and at the moment of his escape was lying by the prisoners and under the Guard. The group was some three yards from the Zariba which was 4ft. high. Char escaped at midnight.

Information having been received from D.C. Nasser⁴¹ on the 15th that Gwek was at Biel on the Nyanding and attempting to stir up disaffection, the Force was divided into two columns. The infantry operating towards Tok Rial and M.R.⁴² south to Faddoi and thence inland towards the Nyanding. A third column of Infantry from Akobo was despatched to work to Faddoi and thence down the Nyanding.

Owing to lack of water the Tokrial column returned from there to Thul. The Akobo column passed several friendly camps south of Fadding and found a number of deserted camps along the Nyanding before joining with the M.R. at Biel. A number of these deserted camps were possibly those of sections who had already submitted through their Chiefs.

The M.R. proceeded by way of Tep Jor where a section of Jemaish was captured, emerged on the Nyanding from whence the two columns returned via Tok Rial.

Tok Rial contained a number of friendly camps.

Gwek was reported in Jekaing and a raid was made on the section with whom he had taken refuge, but no trace could be found of him and he was later reported at Wegin on the Sobat. Recent information shows him to be at Rubdthoal.

The three phases of the Patrol may be summarised as follows:

1st Phase

Concentrations dispersed by Air action. Morale of Nuers broken. Several Chiefs submit. Young men still uncertain.

2nd Phase

All active opposition ended. Operations confined to rounding up fugitives. Gwek

40. See NRO UNP 1/6/30 and Civsec 5/2/11.

41. Coriat later complained that John Lee (DC, Nasir) wished only to chase Guek out of his district and refused to co-operate in rounding him up (Coriat to Kathleen 05.05.28, Coriat MSS).

42. Cavalry and Mounted Rifles, normally stationed at Shendi.

still attempting obtain support.

3rd Phase

Gwek a fugitive. Operations confined to attempting capture of Gwek and Jemaish section.

Previous to the return of toops, villages belonging to the Jemaish section were burnt and those on the Kwainjor belonging to the sections who had fled to Gaweir.

The pyramid was destroyed on 8.2.28 in presence of 34 Chiefs.⁴³

Results of Patrol

Active resistance to Government ceased, a number of rifles were confiscated and additional work was done on by-roads [see Plate 13] which will assist administration. As regards the objectives of capturing Gwek and destroying Kujur influence, success was not achieved. Though the operations succeeded in proving that the Government was stronger than Kujur, failure to capture the Kujurs may leave at least the Kujurs themselves the heart to try their powers another day. So long as these men are free the tradition of years will still afford them an influence of sorts over the Nuer and fear of Kujur cannot be eradicated as proved by the sections' disinclinations to supply information which would lead to the capture of Gwek.

On the other hand there should be no reason why any further attempts to cause disaffection by the Kujurs, in the event of their not being captured, will result in anything beyond a very local section disturbance and time will continue to enlighten the Nuer as to the evils of Kujur.

It seems possible that a Squadron of Mounted Police would have been sufficient to cope with the trouble and possibly more effectively, without the disturbing element introduced by a Patrol.⁴⁴

The trouble was confined to certain sections and had these been rapidly and effectively punished, there should have been no need to continue operations lengthily.

The Mounted Police being also accustomed to trekking for long distances on local supplies of durra and meat only, the difficult question of supply and Transport for Troops does not arise.

Apart from the capture of individual Kujurs, admittedly a Police matter, there seem to be two alternatives to a Patrol for effective action against the

43. Other descriptions of blowing up the Mound can be found in Coriat 1939: 233-4 and MacMeekan 1929.

44. This paragraph is marked by a '??' in the margin, probably by Willis, who forwarded the report to MacMichael.

Nuer, i.e. defeat of determined opposition or chase and punishment of known recalcitrant sections before they have had time to disperse or submit and as an effective punishment for past behaviour.

During the recent Patrol the Air Force were effective in dispersing opposition and resistance and the effect on morale of bombing is extreme. Without the aid of the Air Force it is possible that opposition would have been encountered and it may be that the effects of a defeat in the open field would have more lasting results where the young men were concerned and it is the young men that require punishment when such is needed.

In the case of lack of resistance, a Patrol may resolve into an unwieldy march through the country at the end of which all sections have submitted without the sections responsible for disturbances having had a sufficient object lesson of the consequences of their previous actions.

A small and mobile column would be able to reach sections in the first phase of any disturbance and should be able to effect such action as would preclude any further trouble.

Abwong
20.3.28

Percy Coriat
A.D.C.
Southern District

NUER SETTLEMENT—GUN LAU (GUNCOL) AREA

With the dispersal of the Lou following the air raid on Guek's Mound, the whole of 1928 was spent chasing Lou fugitives. This brought the police and troops into Jikany and Gaawar as well as Lou territory. The behaviour of the troops and their Dinka auxiliaries in Dual Diu's camp alienated the Gaawar, so that they too attacked government outposts in August that year.¹ Police activities at the beginning of the dry season (November–December) 1928 failed to capture any of the leading prophets.

A meeting was held at Malakal on 5–6 January 1929, with the governor-general of the Sudan, the civil secretary, the kaid al-'amm (commander-in-chief of the SDF), governor Willis, and the various Upper Nile DCs most directly involved.² It was recognized that police and army patrols had failed to have any permanent effect in bringing the Nuer under control, or bolstering the authority of government-appointed chiefs. It was decided that repression without 'constructive administrative policy' would be bound to fail. No patrols were planned for the coming year; rather a 'settlement' backed by 'armed assistance'. The 'Nuer Settlement' consisted of the creation of a no man's land between the Nuer and the Dinka to obstruct raids; the immediate return of Dinka cattle and captives, taken mainly in the Duk raid; the organization of Nuer sections to 'establish proper discipline and control and preclude further disturbance of peace'; the further development of communications; and the undertaking of an economic survey. To achieve this the Gun Lou, the Mor Lou and the Gaawar were ordered

1. Wedderburn-Maxwell 1928; Wyld 1928; Dual Diu 1930; Gaawar text 4.8; and Dinka text 4.9, in Johnson, in preparation.

2. Sir John Maffey (governor-general), Sir Harold MacMichael (civil secretary), Sir Hubert Huddleston (*kaid al-'amm*), Coriat (political officer), Major Wyld (ADC Bor and Duk District), Captain Alban (ADC Abwong), Captain E. C. Tunnicliffe (ADC Pibor District), and H. G. Wedderburn-Maxwell (ADC Zeraf Valley District).

to concentrate in restricted settlement areas where 'tribal organization could be checked and registered'.³

The concentration orders were enforced by three columns of troops, labelled Guncol (Gun Lou), Morcol (Mor Lou) and Barcol (Bar Gaawar) respectively. In none of the three areas was the concentration order fully obeyed: the Mor offered no armed resistance but many stayed out of the column's range or crossed into Ethiopia; only seventy per cent of the Gaawar obeyed the order, and this after several brushes between Dual Diu and government troops; there was more success among the Gun following the defeat and death of Gwek on 8 February 1929.⁴

Coriat was attached to Guncol as political officer. The following document is his report on the Guncol operations: his final official report on the Lou, written within a week of document 1.5. Unlike document 3.2 a copy of this report was found among Coriat's papers. This may explain why his 1939 article faithfully follows the account of Gwek's final struggle which is contained here, but diverges from his contemporary report on the earlier Patrol S8.

Governor
U.N.P.

Situation in Lau Previous to Settlement

Following the Patrol of 1928 and after the removal of the troops, conditions rapidly became normal and there was not the setback to the administration that had been a corollary of Patrols in the past. There having been no wholesale burning of villages and confiscation of property, there was little to show of untoward events during the course of the Patrol. The Chiefs, both those who had aided Gwek Wundeng [Gwek Ngundeng] in December of 1927 and the January of the following year and those who had adopted an uncertain attitude of neutrality, protested their complete conviction as to the futility of Gwek and the permanence of Government.

After the conclusion of the Patrol and on my return from the Gaweir march,⁵ I visited the greater part of the Gun country and the border of Mor. During the tour, a number of Chiefs expressed a wish to visit Khartoum and to become acquainted with the meaning of Government beyond the confines of their own country. This was a satisfactory sign of the change of attitude, particularly as Tribute and remaining rifle fines had been sent in to Abwong by the Gun Chiefs during my absence in Gaweir.

3. Governor-general of the Sudan to high commissioner for Egypt, 09.01.29, and Willis, 'Nuer Settlement', 28.06.29, both in NRO Civsec 1/3/8.

4. Willis, 'Nuer Settlement 1929'; Wedderburn-Maxwell, 'Nuer Settlement—Zeraf Valley District', both in NRO Civsec 1/3/8. E. C. Tunnicliffe, 'MORCOL Diary 1929', NRO Civsec 23/5/29.

5. The Gaawar march took place in February–March 1928.

On my return to the Station, having applied for and been granted permission to take a party of Chiefs to Khartoum in August, I arranged for an equal number of Dinka and Nuer Chiefs, 49 in all, to accompany me. I had included the Dinkas in order that there should be no distinction between the Tribes. With the exception of four Elders, the Nuer Chiefs were all of the young warrior class.⁶

During my tour in Lau, Gwek was in the Jekaing [Jikany] country over the border, where he had fled during the Patrol and it was shortly after my return to the Station and while I was arranging the Chiefs' visit to Khartoum, that information was received that he had returned from Jekaing and was building himself two huts near the remains of Dengkur Pyramid. In the first instance reports had it that Gwek had given out his intention of remaining near the Pyramid during the rains and returning to Jekaing in the dry season, when the 'Turk' would be trekking in Lau. While the Chiefs were gathering at Abwong, preparatory to their visit to Khartoum, it was rumoured that Gwek had disclosed his intention of awaiting the 'Turk' and either he or the Government would establish their authority. Chiefs' Police and others came into the Station constantly and reported all that they had seen or heard regarding Gwek. From various sources, it was learnt that he was accompanied by two wives, a brother and a slave and in no case had he been visited by any of the Chiefs, nor had there been any gatherings of young men at the Pyramid. Gwek himself had not left his huts but was occasionally visited by individuals.

The Chiefs who were with me at the time, were of the opinion that Gwek would flee to Jekaing after the rains and would be unable to obtain support in Lau. It is noteworthy however, that they were unanimous, when any suggestion was made to them regarding Gwek's arrest, in stating that while they were convinced the Government could cope with him, they would not and could not effect his arrest without incurring dire results to themselves or their families.⁷ In effect, 'Gwek's Kujur cannot harm the Government, but we are Nuers and though we can keep ourselves apart from Gwek, if we were to attempt to cause direct harm to Gwek, his Kujur would destroy us'.

There was little doubt however, that both the Chiefs and the majority of Tribesmen, though they were afraid to incur Gwek's vengeance if directed against them personally, were genuine in their desire to avoid his influence and were anxious for his removal as a menace to their security.

At the time of Gwek's return to Lau, two Lau Chiefs: Tut Lam of the Jemaish [Jimac] section of Mor and Dtho Dien [Dhiew Dieng] of the Manthiep of Gun,⁸ gave themselves up at Abwong. These Chiefs had fled with their sections

6. Most of the Lou leaders at this time were of the Luac age-set (Guek's own), marked in c. 1908. There were two younger age-sets: Lithgai (1915) and Cayat (1925).

7. Compare this with Kulang Majok's refusal to arrest his maternal uncle (see above, Introduction).

8. For Tut Lam see above, doc. 1.5; for Dhiew Dieng see above, doc. 1.5, doc. 3.1 n. 32, and

during the Patrol, the Jemaish section having been the most prominent among Gwek's supporters and Tut himself being related by marriage to Gwek. The other Chief, Dtho Dien, had been closely connected with Gwek in the past, yet had been one of the more enlightened and progressive of the Chiefs and his disappearance during the Patrol had been unaccountable. Tut Lam had no explanation to offer regarding his behaviour, other than that he had been afraid of Gwek's 'Kujur'. Dtho Dien, on the other hand, claimed that he had no fear of Gwek, but wished to avoid the Government during a time of trouble.

I have given the recent history of these two Chiefs as an instance of the contrast in character that is to be found between two equally strong Nuer Chiefs, and their more recent movements are interesting as a sidelight on the character of the Nuer in general. Defection from Government may not mean recalcitrance but fear or inability to grasp the reasons or intentions of the Government or yet from a suspicion as to the competence of Government, when a Kujur with a rebellious section may withstand efforts made to capture him or destroy his influence.

Tut Lam joined the other Chiefs visiting Khartoum and Dtho Dieng was sent back to his country.

The Jemaish section under Tut Lam and Sub-Chiefs were the first to concentrate at Wegin in the Mor area of the Nuer Settlement, while Dtho again absented himself, leaving it to one of his Headmen and his Chief's Policeman to concentrate the section in the Gun area. Dtho after roaming for a short period in the Mwot Tot forest, fled to the Garjak [Gaajak] border at Tayabur and gave himself up to me at Abwong after the conclusion of the Gun settlement. He gave the same excuse as explanation that he had made in 1928.

In August 1928, I accompanied the Chiefs to Khartoum when they were presented to H.E. the Acting Governor-General and spent five crowded days in seeing the wonders of the world. The great effect the visit produced on the Chiefs, was apparent during the Settlement, when with one exception they were the first to concentrate their sections at the camps allotted them. The exception was Luak Lam of the Lang section of Gun, a weak individual with a difficult section to control and son of the old Chief who is still living and is an ignorant and reactionary type of Elder.⁹

While the Chiefs were still in Khartoum, the Gaweir raid on Duk was reported. On my informing the Chiefs of this, they were unable to explain the attitude of the Gaweir, but were positive in their opinion that no Lau sections would cooperate, though it was agreed that some of the young Lau warriors might be involved.

It will be necessary here to relate the sequence of events that had arisen during the absence of the Chiefs.

At approximately the time the Lau Chiefs left Abwong on their way to

doc. 3.2.

9. See above, doc. 1.5 n. 32.

Khartoum, the Kujur Chief Dwal Diu¹⁰ of Gaweir sent messages to the various sections of his tribe and to the Lau, exhorting the Tribesmen to combine in an attack on the Dinkas and asserted that in seven days' time from the day he despatched his messengers, he would lead in person a march on Duk District.

The Lau, on receipt of Dwal's messages, took no action and Gwek, who was at first reported to have joined Dwal in Gaweir, left the Pyramid and went to Thul where the Chief, Luak Lam, to whom reference has been made above, was absent in Khartoum. Gwek did not appear to be successful in enlisting support at Thul and he then made his way to Wunbil to the south and nearer the Duk border, where he was met by Chief Dtho Dieng of whom mention has been made previously. At Wunbil, a number of the Lau collected and it was while Gwek was addressing the gathering, that Ding Twil, one of the younger minor Chiefs of Shieng Fulkir [Pälker], wrested the war spear out of Gwek's hand in an attempt to show the tribesmen the impotence of his Kujur to cause harm. Ding was reported to have said that Gwek had led them by lies in the past and so far as he and his men were concerned, would not again delude them. In spite of the lack of support owing to there being no senior Chiefs present, Ding was successful in preventing a tribal raid and Gwek returned in disgust.¹¹ He then let it be known that he would not again attempt to lead them, until the tribesmen themselves, by crossing the Dinka border, had shown their worth as men and their superiority to the Dinkas. In the meanwhile however, a number of the young men, realising that whatever the consequences to Gaweir, they would themselves avoid the aftermath by slipping quietly over and assisting the Gaweir as individuals, could not resist the temptation of a genuine old fashioned Dinka raid and parties from the border sections of Nyajakan [Nyajikany], Mathel and Manthiep participated in the loot.¹²

During the Settlement, some sixty names of individual Lau raiders were obtained, but the District Commissioner, Duk District,¹³ informs me that there were considerably more. In the case of Shieng Mathel, this section had been ordered to move from their homes on the Dinka Gaweir border, and return to Lau by the end of 1928, their villages being handed over to the Dinkas. This was the cause of particularly bitter feelings against the Dinkas.¹⁴

On the return of the Chiefs from Khartoum, Chiefs' Police at Abwong reported the position in Lau and before leaving the Station, the Chiefs gave their assurances that there would be no trouble during the rains, either connected with Gwek or Dinka raids. As events proved, they adhered to their promises. A second attempt to raise a following against the Dinka was made by Chief Dtho

10. See above, docs. 1.2, 1.3, 2.1, and below, doc. 3.4. See also above, n. 1.

11. See above, doc. 1.5 n. 22.

12. The Lou raid was organized by Pok Kerjiok and his kinsman Lam Jiew Diau.

13. Major J. W. G. Wyld.

14. See above, doc. 1.5.

Dien, but after being unsuccessful, he came into the Station in my absence on leave and informed my Interpreter¹⁵ that his only reason for wishing to raid the Dinkas, was in the hope that he would be able to regain cattle that had been taken from him by a Dinka Chief and wrongly awarded the Dinkas in a case heard in 1923.

On my return from leave in December 1928, punitive action against the Gaweir was decided and as a consequence, with the approval of H.E. the Governor-General, the Nuer Settlement came into being.

Objects of the Nuer Settlement

The numerous Patrols and Marches against the Nuer, that had taken place in the past and had had the effect of disturbing the country without ensuring for the future a peaceable administration, have become still less effective as an administrative or punitive measure, since the Nuer have realised the limitations of troops operating in their country and know that punitive action is taken with the object of punishing an individual section or sections rather than as a show of Force to an unadministered people. A Patrol as carried out in the past, meant that in most cases the offenders would evade punishment, while the cattle of some unfortunate and probably innocent section would be seized and confiscated. To the Nuer, it was difficult to distinguish between these methods and those of the slave-raiding 'Turk' of the old days. Whether the column consisted of Infantry or Mounted Troops, the young men to be punished would slip away either to forest or swamp, or by taking refuge in the camp of an ostensibly amenable section or a section whose Chief was recognised to be loyal. Family ties and the general suspicion as to the intentions of Government, precluded the Chiefs from surrendering, even if they wished to, the harboured evildoers. Sections would take refuge with a neighbouring tribe whose area was beyond the limits of the Patrol and owing to the size and nature of the country, it was impossible to ensure that every forest waterhole which might contain a camp, was visited, nor was it possible to comb through every camp in a 100 square miles of country to arrest wanted men. It was exceptional for the troops to meet organised resistance and the column, moving slowly through the country, would come across camps whose Chiefs had either the intelligence to stand or the fear of the possible consequences of running away and who would be considered loyal though they in all probability contained a considerable sprinkling of warriors whose actions had brought about the Patrol. Villages passed would be occupied by a few old men, women and children, too feeble or sick to run away. Often a fleeing section would be encountered, who as

15. Mayan Lam; see above, doc. 1.5 n. 65.

likely as not would be innocent of misdemeanours and were running away to avoid imprisonment and confiscation of cattle, which if caught, was the most probable result.

The Nuer Settlement, intended both as a punitive measure against the Gaweir and other recalcitrants and as an administrative measure for the settlement of Nuer districts, by concentrating the sections within limited areas, ensured against the possibility of loyal sections being encountered by any troops that were required for punitive purposes and lessened the chances of harbouring. Troops operating outside the limited area were not required to distinguish between a peaceful and a rebel section and had a definite objective in that any Nuer found in the operation area was treated as enemy. By concentrating the tribes within areas and restricting movement, it was to their benefit that the objectives of the Settlement should be rapidly attained in order to regain freedom of movement and there was consequently nothing to gain and actual harm in harbouring offenders, while outside the area, it was difficult for the runaway to find food or succour. To ensure that Gaweir did not obtain refuge in Lau, the Settlement was extended to this tribe, though the Jekaing and Western Nuer were excluded.

For the purpose of the Settlement, the Lau and Gaweir were divided into three areas. Within each of these areas, a stretch of country was allotted to the tribes within which they were to concentrate with their cattle and property. After a prescribed time limit all country without the concentration limits was declared hostile and occupants were to be treated as recalcitrant. Within the concentration, each section (Shieng) was allotted a camp and every section received orders to camp in mass under their Head Chief and not to divide into a numerous number of small camps. By this means each Section Chief with his Sub-Chiefs was responsible for his own section who were under his immediate control and not as is generally the case, scattered over the country in small camps, half of whom owed allegiance to no one, except when it suited them or under pressure. As a part of the Settlement, each camp was visited and a census taken of the people. This was made possible by the comparative smallness of the area of concentration. As a further step in the administration, the position of the Chiefs was strengthened by the organisation of the smaller sections under their respective Headmen and concentration of outlying families (Sub-Shiengs) of a Shieng with the parent Section and under the Chief, and also the enrolment of additional Chiefs' Police. Chiefs were instructed to group their villages and dry season camps in the future and to forbid movement of small sections beyond their territory during camping season. At the end of the Settlement, Chiefs were instructed that there need be no restriction of movement provided that the sections remained grouped.

The following is an account of the Settlement as affecting the Gun Lau with which this report is concerned.

Preliminary Measures in Gun Lau (Guncol) Area

On the 8th of January 1929 a number of Chiefs and Chiefs' Police were given their instructions. By the 2nd February 1929 all Lau sections had received their concentration orders.

It was explained that continued trouble in the Nuer country, patrols of 1928 and the recent Gaweir raid on Duk, had necessitated the carrying out of certain operations in order to prevent future trouble and ensure the peace. Chiefs were ordered to concentrate their sections at the camps allotted to them within the prescribed area. The objects of the concentration were explained and it was pointed out that there would be no punitive action except with regard to known recalcitrants and wanted men or people who disobeyed the concentration orders.

The Gun Lau area was twenty-three miles long by some three miles wide and between Shit [Cith] and Ful Tor on the Khor Fulus [Fulluth]. Water and grazing sites were allotted to each camp. No person or cattle were to be allowed to cross to the East of the Khor.

Attached is the plan of the area and names of sections and camps, with their Chiefs [Fig. 2].

A base camp for supplies and prisoners was established at Mwot Dit, consisting of No. 1 Company Equatl: Corps, under the command of Captain T. Kerr, M.C.¹⁶

Troops for active operations consisted of One Troop of Cavalry and Mounted Rifles and One Troop of Mounted Police. From the 3rd to the 10th of February Guncol Flying Column was under the command of Captain G. R. [in fact, G. A.] Eastwood.¹⁷ From the 11th to the 26th February Guncol Troop of Cavalry was under M. Awal [Mulazim Awal] Mohammed Eff. Osman. From the 27th Feb. to the end of the operations Guncol Flying Column was under the command of Captain N. E. Tyndale-Biscoe.¹⁸ The force had by then been augmented by an additional troop of cavalry. During the period that Captain Eastwood was in command of the troops he was en route for the Mor area and had with him the troops for that column.

Major J. W. G. Wyld D.S.O., M.C. and Captain A. H. A. Alban D.F.C. cooperated with me as Political Officers.¹⁹ Captain E. C. Tunnicliffe,²⁰ Political Officer Mor Area, assisted from the 3rd to the 10th February while on his way to the

16. Captain T. Kerr, MC (Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders), King's African Rifles 1917-23, SDF 1925-33, OC Duk Fadiat, 1929-30. See Plate 19.

17. Later Brigadier G. A. Eastwood, DSO, OBE, served in the Cavalry (Mounted Rifles) and Eastern Arab Corps, SDF 1926-32.

18. Captain Norman Edward Tyndale-Biscoe (Royal Artillery), SDF 1927-34.

19. See above, Introduction, notes 5 and 25. Alban appears in Plate 19, Wyld in Plates 15 and 18.

20. See above, doc. 3.1 n. 26, and see also Plates 18 and 19.

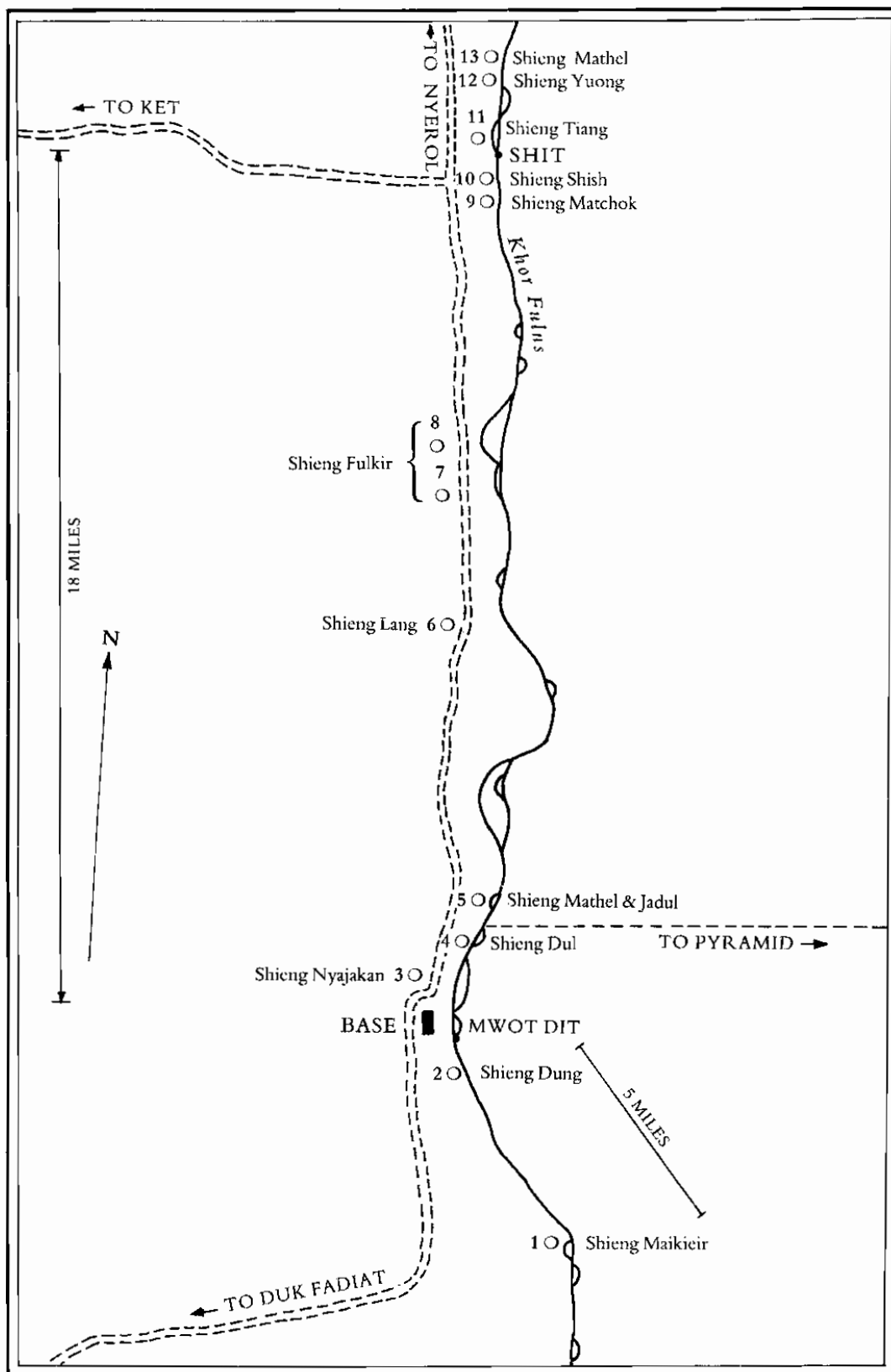


FIG. 2 Gun Lou concentration area, 1929 (not to scale)

Mor area with Captain G. R. Eastwood.²¹

A force of Chiefs' Police was employed both at the Base Camp and with the Flying Column.

Narrative of Operations

The 7th of February was the limit of time given to all sections to concentrate within the area.

Information having been received as to the presence of Gwek Wundeng with a body of Nuer whose attitude was uncertain and who were reported to have gathered at the Pyramid, the combined Morcol and Guncol Mounted Troops left Mwot Dit for the Pyramid on the 6th February. At approximately 06.00 hours on the 8th the Column came within sight of the Pyramid. Parties of Nuer were seen clustered at the base and on the side of the Pyramid and were singing and beating war drums. The troops marched to within 400 yards of the Nuer and halted and dismounted on a selected site, a square being formed. There was no attempt by the Nuer to attack at this stage, though a war dance appeared to be in progress and individuals rushed out brandishing their spears in the front and to right and left of the Pyramid. Two rounds were then fired in an attempt to draw the enemy. This had the desired effect and the Nuer could be seen slaughtering two bulls, after which they drove a bull towards the Government forces and rushed behind it to the attack.²² Fire was then opened upon the enemy and within 150 to 200 yards of the square they broke and retreated, dividing into two parties, one retiring to the North East and the other to the South East. Troops mounted and pursued, over very rough and broken country, for some three miles. Approximately 800 head of cattle were captured in the pursuit. No casualties were suffered by the Government forces. The enemy killed included the Kujur Gwek Wunding, three other Witch Doctors, Chief Liglig Kuin,²³ who were identified on the spot, and thirteen Nuer, all of whom were identified at a later stage of the Settlement. Information as to other casualties in wounded and killed came to hand later. The Nuer force was approximately 200 strong at the time of the attack, but as transpired later a number who were with Gwek at the time thought better of it after the first

21. Spaces for Capt. Eastwood's initials appear between full stops, which may have been filled in on the original, but there is no indication of this in the remaining file copy I used in preparing this document.

22. For a Nuer version of the battle, see Lou texts 4.2, in Johnson, in preparation; also Johnson 1979: 15.

23. Liglig Kuny was the brother of Nguth Kuny (see above, doc. 1.5 n. 35). The other three *dayiemmi* ('disciples') killed were Kuankui Nei, Dual Dag and Yor Deng.

round had been fired. Gwek was picked up on the battlefield, armed only with a brass pipe and a thin iron skewer.²⁴ On the 10th it was corroborated that there would be no further resistance from the Nuer and Morcol continued on its way to Wegin while Guncol returned to its base.

It is necessary here to give an account of Gwek's activities both before and up to the time of the battle. As is known Gwek fled to the Jekaing during the 1928 Patrol (S.8.) and returned to Lau for the rains, when he was unsuccessful in obtaining support for a raid against the Dinka. In 1928 Gwek proclaimed that 'The Great Day' had arrived owing to the appearance of a small root at the apex of the Pyramid (vide report Patrol S8).²⁵ This year, when the concentration orders were received, Gwek gave out that his failure last year had been owing to the fact that he had obtained no support and that there was little doubt that 'The Great Day' had only now arrived. On the day that he and the assembled Nuer were attacked within the shadow of the Pyramid, the mystic brass pipe about which all had heard would be in evidence and would effect the destruction of the government troops. Gwek himself must have realized that he could not continue to obtain the support of even individual young men unless he could show some measure of success in actual combat. The concentration orders having been received with a natural suspicion by some of the Nuer, who feared the intentions of the Government, they decided to place their faith in Gwek. This was Gwek's opportunity to retrieve his name with a sporting chance. There is a song known to the Lau Nuer as 'Chang Rol' (The Day of the Turkish [red] Bull)—which runs much in this fashion:-

Oh the day when he cometh, the Bull 'Rol' (Turk)
Oh the day when we await the Bull 'Rol'
Then by the shade of the Mound of Wundeng
Then shall his 'Riek' (flag) be steeped in his blood.²⁶

24. This skewer is a barbless fishing-spear (*rib*), of symbolic importance in association with Aiwel Longar, the first Dinka master of the fishing-spear whom Ngundeng consciously imitated.

25. See above, doc. 3.2.

26. Coriat did not give the complete song or the Nuer original. Terese Svoboda has brought to my attention a song she recorded in 1976 which is similar to this. In the Nuer version (which she has shown me) the phrase *cang rol* ('day of the foreigner') does not appear, nor does the word *riek* ('shrine stick'), which Coriat translates as 'flag'. Instead the phrases *biim rol* ('ambush of the foreigner') and *ber* ('flag') are used. Some association between the battle at the Mound in 1929 and the phrase *biim rol* does exist. Jackson (1954: 170) gave a description of the battle, based on Major Wyld's account, in which the name of Guek's ox is given as 'bimerol', though this is not a cattle colour. If the following song is in fact the same that Coriat heard, then it is clear from internal evidence that it dates from the 1902 patrol which attacked Ngundeng's village. Svoboda's translation is (1985: 93): 'When he ambushed you in Lit Nhial's camp, he showed no mercy, this man who ambushed you. / That foreigner who ambushed you was waylaid later and we held no parley. / Boong's son, my chief, took the flag. / He will not surrender like Yoor. / He will not surrender like Yoor. / I will keep the Cai from Ret's barn. / I will lay in wait for the foreigners in Ngundeng's barn. / God's thunder will boom from beneath the Bie [Mound]. / So much blood will stream from the barn to avenge the village that it will cover the flag.'

This is a favourite lay sung in promise of the day when the Nuer would conquer the foreigner in his country. One of the many prophecies made by Gwek and his satellites foretold that in the year when the Turk (Government) would be defeated then also would die the family of his chief songster and one Lam Tuthiang (father of the interpreter at Abwong) who had struck Gwek's father, Wundeng, when they were both young men. Whether Gwek intended quietly to do away with these unfortunates on the auspicious day will remain unknown, but it is coincidence that on the day of the battle at the Pyramid, Gwek's songster, Deng Pet, and his brother, Kweth, were killed in the action and the father Pet Nyakur died shortly afterwards. Lam Tuthiang is still alive.²⁷ The brass pipe, which had been seen by few, and which was housed in a separate hut when not accompanying Gwek in his travels, was reported to have been made for Wundeng Dengkur by an Anuak [Anuak].²⁸ Gwek claimed that by shaking the pipe at the oncoming Turk they would be incapable of firing their rifles and would be powerless to move, he would then draw first blood with his skewer and the rest would be finished off by the warriors. It was learnt sometime after the battle that Gwek, on hearing of the approach of the troops, stated that the Turk had gone to Gaweir and would return to Lau on some later day and that the force marching on the Pyramid were merely scouts who could be polished off with ease. Gwek's scouts informed him of the approaching column some time in the evening of the day previous to the battle and the night was spent in song and dance and eating of meat. A small calf was slaughtered and tied to pegs in the middle of the path by which the troops were expected to arrive. As this calf when killed fell with its head towards the troops it was taken as a good omen. Unfortunately for Gwek the troops marched on the Pyramid across country. However, as both the bulls which were slaughtered immediately prior to the Nuer attack fell with their heads towards the troops and the bull which led the attack came on with great elan, Gwek's warriors may have been confident of success.

There was little doubt that the results achieved by the death of Gwek and the dispersal of his forces, contributed greatly to the success of the Settlement. At

27. Lam was a magician and refused to surrender his magic to be buried in the Mound. He did bring a sick relative to Ngundeng to be cured, but when the man died Lam denounced Ngundeng as a fraud and struck him. Ngundeng then uttered what is considered either a prophecy or a curse, predicting that Lam's family would be swallowed up by the 'Turuk'. Lam died in 1931. His mortuary ceremony is described by Evans-Pritchard (1949: 58-63): it is noted that the hymn to Dengkur, normally sung at Nuer mortuary ceremonies, was not sung at Lam's. The family of Pet Nyakur was linked by several marriages to Ngundeng's family. The brothers Deng and Yang Pet were two of Guek's bards (see below, n. 45).

28. The brass pipe was made for Ngundeng by an Anuak blacksmith, Wor Jogol. See Coriat 1939: 225-6 and Alban 1940: 200. After Guek's death it was kept in the DC's office at Akobo, until the office burned down and the stem and mouthpiece of the pipe were destroyed. The brass bowl and few remaining rings were then transferred to the museum in Khartoum. It was returned to the Lou by presidential order at a ceremony at the remains of the Mound on 26 December 1979. See Plates 17 and 18.

the time, the Kujur Char Koryom was reported to be on his way to assist Gwek with a body of Nuer from the Mor country but these no doubt dispersed on hearing of the result of the engagement.²⁹

On the return of Guncol to the base, it was found that a great number of the Gun Lau had concentrated. There were still a few sections and many individuals who had not obeyed the orders.

On the 18th Feb. the mounted force left for a march to the South East by the Mor country. Acting on the information received as to the whereabouts of a recalcitrant Mor Shieng & when within striking distance the force made a march of 45 miles and encountered Shieng Belyu [Bilieu] of the Mor on the night of the 20th. These people were rounded up and the chief was instructed to move with his section to the Mor area at Wegin. Three men were killed and two wounded during the capture of this Shieng. On the 25th the camp belonging to young men of a Gun section was captured. The force reached the base on the 27th. On the 5th March the column under Captain N. E. Tyndale-Biscoe³⁰ accompanied by Captain A. H. A. Alban D.F.C. marched on Mwot Tot and succeeded in capturing a number of Nuer who had not concentrated. On the 7th March a Lau Chiefs' Policeman surrendered a number of cattle belonging to a Gaweir who had fled from that area.

By this time, the greater number of the Gun had concentrated and Guncol force was required to cooperate with the troops in Gaweir and from the 9th to the 20th March the force was operating in that area. During these operations a Sub Chief of Dwal Diu and nine men were killed and prisoners and cattle were captured. After effecting a meeting with Mr Wedderburn-Maxwell, Political Officer Gaweir,³¹ the force returned to Mwot Dit. On the 22nd to the 31st the force was operating in the Lang country of Gun in the south, and from the 1st to the 6th April in the northern part of the Lang. This last march was made in an attempt to catch the Kujur Char Koryom, but owing to an error on the part of a guide the Kujur escaped, though his womenfolk and some young men were captured.

During the course of these operations a census had been taken of the Gun by the Political Officer remaining at the base. Other than Chief Dtho Dieng and individuals, the whole of the Gun had concentrated by the 1st April. Sections had been organized under their Chiefs as stated in the first part of this report. On the 12th April, after being addressed by the Governor [C. A. Willis], Chiefs and their sections returned to their villages. Some 95 wanted men and 45 hostages had been surrendered by the Chiefs when called upon to

29. According to one account Car had been with Guek at the Mound the previous day but had refused to take part in the impending battle and left that night, taking half the Rumjok contingent with him.

30. In the original, spaces were left blank between the full stops where Captain Tyndale-Biscoe's initials were to be written in later.

31. H. G. Wedderburn-Maxwell; see above, Introduction, n. 5.

do so and were sent to Malakal as political prisoners. It was explained to the Chiefs that these men would be released when the Government was satisfied as to the future behaviour of the tribe. Fines were extracted from Dinka raiders and other offenders and the remainder of the captured cattle were returned to their owners. The fines totalling to some 1400 head of cattle in all were handed over to the District Commissioner of Duk-Bor District [Major Wyld] for Dinka reparations. The three Lau sections under Duk District were given orders to move into Lau proper early in 1930 and the Jureir Dinka³² of Abwong District were given similar orders to move to Duk District. It had been intended to move these people at the end of the Settlement but owing to the famine in southern Lau and the shortage of grain seed they were allowed to remain at their villages for the rains.

The effect of this move will concentrate the Nuer and Dinka within separate districts and an uninhabited tract of country will form a 'No Man's Land' between them.³³

Future Administration in Lau

It will be necessary to follow up the work accomplished during the Settlement if the results are to be permanent. Though it is the intention that the Chiefs should maintain the administration in their own hands, it will be a considerable time before the district can do without the continuous supervision of the District Commissioner. The absence of a District Commissioner even for a period of four months during leave or for some other reason is sufficient to undo several years' work.

Abwong, the headquarters of the district, is some 50 miles from the border of the Lau and with roads now existing in the district it should be possible for the District Commissioner to have his headquarters in some suitable place in Lau.³⁴ This headquarters should be entirely tribal and other than the District Commissioner's personal escort there should be no Government Police or Junior Officials as in Northern Merakiz.³⁵ With the Chiefs acquiring greater control the District Commissioner's duty will be to advise and to coordinate.

Before concluding this report, I should like to take the opportunity of acknowledging the great assistance rendered by Captain T. Kerr M.C., to whom

32. See above, doc. 1.5 notes 8 and 9.

33. For a sketch of the no man's land see above, doc. 2.2.

34. No station was built in Lou territory until 1946, when Waat was made into a sub-district headquarters.

35. The intention here was to avoid introducing northern Sudanese (Muslim) police and *ma'murs* into Nuer rural administration.

in large measure was due, the confidence established among the sections in the Gun Concentration Area. Chiefs and Tribesmen came to and fro freely between their camps and the base and it was only owing to the personal contact with Capt. Kerr and the excellent behaviour of the troops under his command that this was possible.

Capt. Tyndale-Biscoe, who commanded the mounted troops, gave every possible assistance and it was due to the mobility and efficiency of the Mounted Troops that success was attained during operations.

The Medical arrangements were in charge of Capt. Davidson³⁶ in the early stages of the Settlement, who was succeeded later by Capt. Dalziell.³⁷ The medical work proved invaluable and each section was medically inspected in turn.

The Settlement in Gun area would not have been concluded as rapidly had I not have had the support of Major Wyld and Capt. Alban.

SGS *Kerreri*
24.5.29

P.C.
Political Officer
Guncol Area

Copies to—O.C. Equatorial Coy
O.C. Guncol Mounted column
D.C. Abwong
D.C. Bor-Duk
File

APPENDIX A: GUNCOL DIARY

Jan. 5th & 6th
Conference at Malakal.

Jan. 8th
Concentration orders issued at Abwong to Shiengs Tshan [Can], Matchok [Macok], Lang, Tiang, Fulkir, Yuong, Shish [Cic] and Manthiep.³⁸

Jan. 17th
Arrived Bor a.m. Left Bor with Major J. W. G. Wyld D.S.O., M.C. at 20.30 hrs

36. Later Brigadier T. Davidson (Royal Army Medical Corps), SDF 1924-31.

37. Captain Ewen G. Dalziell, MC, MB (RAMC), SDF 1927-31.

38. Macok, Cic, Yuong and Manthiep are all sections of the Nyarkuac-Gaadbal-Gun Lou; Tiang is a tertiary section of Gaadbal. Lang and Palker are tertiary sections of Rumjok.

by lorry.

Arrived Kwoinatem [in Twic Dinka country] 24.00 hrs.

Jan. 18th

Left 08.00 hrs arrived Kongor 10.45 hrs. No. 1 Coy. Equatorial Corps under command Capt. T. Kerr M.C. at Kongor. Left with Coy. 16.30 hrs arrived Faiyom 17.00 hrs. Road impassable for wheeled traffic beyond Faiyom.

Jan. 19th

Left 05.00 hrs marched through water for about 8 miles, arrived Wulang 08.00 hrs. Left 10.15 hrs arrived Duk Fayuil 13.00.

Jan. 20th

Left 05.15 hrs arrived 07.45 hrs at Koich. Left 12.00 hrs arrived Duk Fadiat 14.30 hrs. Troop Mounted Police in Duk.

Jan. 21st

Major Wyld and self with 1 section M.P. rode out towards Mwot to survey road. About 10 miles road near Duk unhished [i.e. uncleared]. Information received re arrival Hamla at Mwot Did from Abwong via Khor Fulus.

Jan. 22nd

Major Wyld and self with M.P. escort left for Mwot 15.00 hrs. Arrived Duk Boi Chai 17.30 hrs.

Jan. 23rd

Left 05.45 hrs arrived Faliu 09.45 hrs. Lau Chief Chag Gaing [Cak Gany]³⁹ met on road. Sent back to confirm concentration orders. Reports from Dinkas re impracticability Nyerol road. Runners sent to Fulus mouth with instructions inform Jureir Chiefs collect labour gangs for work with Sapper [army engineers] section. Left 15.00 hrs arrived Warawar 17.30 hrs.

Jan. 24th

Left 05.30 hrs arrived Mwot Did 09.30 hrs. Chiefs Rial Mai, Pur Tiop, Warwel [Warweng] Tudel, Goy Thuin and Thain Pin Dul come in. State sections are preparing concentrate. No sign camps. Chief Chokwel Dthoar⁴⁰ fugitive in 1928 Patrol comes in and arrested. Several Jureir Dinka Chiefs from North in. Instructed re roads and given authority arrest all fugitive Lau or Gaweir fugitives in their country.

39. See above, doc. 1.5 n. 24.

40. For Rial Mai (or Mac), see above, doc. 1.5 n. 23; for Warweng Tudel, Pur Tiop, Goy Tony Begh, Thain Pin Dul, and Cokuel Dhoar, doc. 1.5.

Jan. 25th

Rode out with Major Wyld and 1 section M.P. to edge of Beir forest. Chief Maikieir [Maiker] Thijok⁴¹ who was arrested in 1928 comes in. Appears uncertain of his people and unable to account for his own movements. Sent off to collect his people. Chiefs' Police report that Gwek married Chief Maikier's sister⁴² few days previously and Maikier visited Gwek at Pyramid before our arrival. Reports confirm Gwek at Pyramid with a few people. Chiefs of Shieng Nyajakan [Nyajikany] bring in 5 men implicated in Dinka raid. Left 14.15 hrs arrive Warawar 18.15 hrs. After leaving instructions with Chiefs prepare Landing Ground at Fathai, prepare shelters for troops.

Jan. 26th

Left 05.30 hrs arrived Wulang 08.30 hrs. Left 13.30 hrs arrived Duk Boi Chai 17.00 hrs.

Jan. 27th

Two hours march into Duk Fadiat.

Jan. 28th-29th

Duk Fadiat.

Jan. 30th

To Dongayo on Gaweir boundary with Major Wyld and 2 sections M.P. Village found deserted and return Duk. Capt. N. Macleod⁴³ arrived 17.00 hrs from Duk Fayuil. Reports received re presence of Dwal Diu of Gaweir on Duk ridge near Ayod and meeting of Gwek Wundeng, Pok Keirjok and Char Koryom at Pyramid with Chief Kwil Rueh of Mor and others.⁴⁴ Mor said to be collecting at Faddoi but intentions uncertain. Jekaing Nuers reported to have refused harbour to several Mor sections.

Jan. 31st

Road through from Fayuil and lorries arrive. 2 sections M.P. leave for Mwot to act as escort on arrival.

Feb. 1st

Equatorial Coy. with Capt. Kerr leave for Mwot 06.00 hrs. Capt. Macleod, Major Wyld and self left by lorry for Mwot 08.00. Passed Coy. at Wulang and arrived

41. See above, doc. 1.5.

42. Nyarieik ThiJoak Dul was Guek's third wife (governor, Upper Nile Province to civil secretary, 19.03.29, Nasir ENRC [Eastern Nuer Rural Council] 66.A.1).

43. Captain N. Macleod (King's Own Scottish Borderers), EA 1923-5, SDF 1925-33, OC Equatorial Corps, Upper Nile Province, 1928.

44. For Kwil Rueh, see above, doc. 1.5 n. 39.

Faliu 12.15 hrs. Left 15.00 hrs overtook M.P. sections and arrived Warawar 17.00 hrs. Met by several Lau Chiefs and Chiefs' Police. Report sections concentrating. Runner in from Capt. E. C. Tunnicliffe, arrived Mwot from Akobo.

Feb. 2nd

Two hours into Mwot. Capt. Tunnicliffe with 2 sections M.P. in. Various Mor Chiefs and Chiefs' Police in and report concentration orders not clear. Instructed go back Mor and sections given further 20 days concentrate without affecting orders given to Gun sections. Gun Chiefs in, including Maikier Thijok who was arrested. Equat. Coy. arrived 09.00 hrs. Surveyed road as far as Fathai Khor.

Feb. 3rd

Shiengs Nyajakan and Dul in position. Reports re arrival other sections at concentration camps. Gwek reported at Pyramid with individuals from various sections and several minor Witchdoctors. Chiefs' Police state Gwek intends fight.

Feb. 4th

Capt. G. R. Eastwood with 2 Troops cavalry arrived afternoon of 3rd accompanied by Capt. A. H. A. Alban D.F.C. and 1 section M.P. Capt. Macleod and Major Wyld left for Kongor by Lorry. New site at Mwot selected for Landing Ground. Road and ramping work carried out.

Feb. 5th

Gun Chiefs in and given instructions re movements during concentration. Following Shiengs in except for individual backsliders: Fulkir. Nyajakan. Dul. Mathel. Maikier. Dung. Shieng Lang and Chief Dtho Dieng of Yuong, Chief Liglig Kuin of Tiang reported at Jur south east of Pyramid and awaiting developments. Attitude uncertain. Reports confirm presence of Gwek at Pyramid with concentration of warriors from various sections.

Feb. 6th

Combined Guncol and Morcol forces leave for Pyramid. 14.00. Capt. Macleod and Major Wyld returned from Kongor. Major Wyld and self with 1 section M.P. overtake flying column at Ful Shwol 21.00 hrs. Scouts in report number of Nuers at Pyramid. Scouts sent on for further information.

Feb. 7th

Limit of period given to Gun sections to concentrate. Left 14.00 hrs and ran into Shieng Matchok division from Mor on way into Gun concentration. Women and cattle allowed proceed. Young men arrested. Scouts return, report large concentration at Pyramid. Mwot Tot 19.00 hrs.

Feb. 8th

Left 02.00 hrs without transport arrived Budwot within sight of Pyramid 06.00 hrs. Nuers seen near Pyramid. Scouts report Nuers in war array and beating drums. Large numbers Nuers seen on approach beating drums and singing. Dismount and form square within 400 yards of Pyramid. Nuers perform antics but do not attack. Two shots put in by Marksmen and Nuers slaughter two bulls and advance to attack behind a white bull driven in front of them. Open fire and Warriors break within 150 to 200 yards of square. Mount and pursue. Nuers break into two columns and retreat to n.east and s.east. Cattle overtaken but main body of Nuer get away. Return to Pyramid. Gwek Wundeng and Chief Liglig Kuin found dead among other killed. Chief Songster⁴⁵ of Gwek brought in wounded by Chiefs' Policemen. Information obtained from him as to Gwek's intentions and movement of sections. Large numbers of Nuer reported to have bolted after first shots fired and about 200 advanced to attack. Cattle driven off before battle. Numbers of warriors said to have been expected at noon. Scouts sent to Faddoi.

Feb. 9th

Left 06.00 hrs arrived Mwot Tot 08.00 hrs. Scouts in report no Nuers Faddoi and many seen going towards concentration area.

Feb. 10th

Capt. Eastwood and Capt. Tunnicliffe with 1 Troop cavalry and 1 Troop M.P. (Morcol) proceeded to Wegin. Guncol with 1 Troop cavalry under Mul. Awal Mohammed Eff. Osman left for and arrived Mwot Did 17.00 hrs.

Feb. 11th

Census taken of Shieng Nyajakan.

Feb. 12th

Col. Nosworthy⁴⁶ D.S.O., M.C. arrived from Bor. Wireless Unit arrived.

Feb. 13th

Col. Nosworthy, Capt. Alban and self to Khor Kwainjor by lorry and return same day. Arrangements made for concentrated sections to ramp Khor and improve roads. Information received Shieng Lang on way in. Chief Dtho Dieng fugitive.

45. Yang Pet (*guk* Gambiel), died of his wounds (governor UNP to civil secretary, 19.02.29, Nasir ENRC [Eastern Nuer Rural Council] 66.A.1).

46. See above, doc. 3.1 n. 2.

Feb. 14th

Governor and Wing Commander Reid D.S.O.⁴⁷ arrive 07.45 hrs by air and fly over camp to Duk, arriving by car 16.00 hrs.

Feb. 15th

Governor, Col. Nosworthy and Wing Comm. Reid leave 15.00 hrs.

Feb. 16th

To Shit for census of Shieng Yuong. Shieng Tiang of Chief Liglig Kuin in. Shieng Lang reported on way in. Information collected re killed and wounded at Pyramid. Chiefs Red Ruathdel and Diu Muk of Mor⁴⁸ in and state people still at villages. Given orders go Wegin. Dr. Davidson and Dr. Crouch⁴⁹ arrive Mwot.

Feb. 17th

Dr. Crouch leaves for Bor. Arrange work on ramp. Shieng Lang in. Interrogate wounded and others. Information received re individuals camped near Mor country towards Geni.

Feb. 18th

Capt. Alban to Shit for work on census. Major Wyld and self with force leave 15.00 hrs arrive Fayai 17.30 hrs. Small section of Shieng Maikier met on way in and allowed go in after arresting young men.

Feb. 19th

March 5 hours to Toi arriving Noon. Leave 24.00 hrs and march all night.

Feb. 20th

Arrive Fanyim 0.600 hrs. Few old men and women found and told to go into concentration area. News received re Char Koryom said to be near Thep and suffering from poisoned foot. March to 10.00 hrs. No Nuers met. Halt for 6 hours and then proceed to Ful Burra, leave transport and march on Yoynyang. One Nuer captured reports Char left for Faddoi, two days previously. Concentration of Nuers reported on pool to east. March for 6 hours and at 22.00 hrs find two camps. Camps surrounded and cattle captured. 5 Nuer casualties. Camp of Shieng Belyu of Mor.

Feb. 21st

Chief and several men of Shieng Belyu come in to camp. Given flag and ordered

47. See above, doc. 3.1 n. 16.

48. For Reth Ruathdel and Diu Muk, see above, doc. 1.5.

49. For Crouch, see above, doc. 3.1 n. 26.

to go Wegin. No information concerning Char. Pok Keirjok reported to have been wounded slightly at battle of Pyramid and fled to Gila river.

Feb. 22nd

Leave 04.00 hrs arrive Ful Nyuka after 5 hrs march. Several young men captured.

Feb. 23rd

March 2 hours to Nuerthon village found deserted. Chiefs' Police sent to Nuerthon southern end to burn village of Kujur Maiyong Kwey [Mayom Kuei].⁵⁰ 2 sections of M.P. sent to Mwot with cattle and prisoners.

Feb. 24th

Return to Ful Nyuka.

Feb. 25th

March 5 hours to Kogmandet. Two men captured with rifles and one killed. March two hours to Ful Buok on return to Mwot. Cattle tracks discovered at 18.00 hrs. Follow and surprise party of Shieng Maikier. Young men get away. Cattle captured.

Feb. 26th

Marched to Mankwauka.

Feb. 27th

Arrived Mwot 12.00 hrs Capt. N. E. Tyndale-Biscoe and 1 Troop Cavalry in. To reinforce column.

Feb. 28th

Fulus road through. See Chiefs.

March 1st

Census work. Reported concentration of Gaweir near border.

March 2nd

Camel Corps Coy. and Sapper section arrive. Work on census.

March 3rd

To Fathai to arrange for labour on bridges. Governor [Willis], Col. Nosworthy arrive. Medical Inspection of sections. Information re camp near Mwot Tot

50. Mayom Kuei later gave himself up to the DC at Duk Fayuil (Discom to governor, Malakal, 30.06.29, SRO UNP 5.A.3.42). Not to be confused with the Gaawar earth-priest, Mayom Kuai; see above, doc. 1.2 n. 31.

belonging Dtho Dien.

March 4th

Left with Governor and Col. Nosworthy for Malakal after arranging for column with Capt. Tyndale-Biscoe and Capt. Alban to march to Mwot Tot.

March 5th-6th

Malakal.

March 7th

Lorry breaks down at night near Fathai and run into small party Gaweir. Cattle and two women captured.

March 8th

Mwot Dit. Further arrests of Gaweir made by Chiefs' Police. Visited cattle camps with Major Ellison.⁵¹ Flying column in with captured cattle and prisoners.

March 9th

Capt. Tyndale-Biscoe, Major Wyld and self with flying column leave for Gaweir to cooperate with Barcol.

March 10th

March 6 hours. Run into Gaweir scouts. 2 killed and 2 captured. Captured found to be half-brothers of Dwal Diu. March 2 hours to Liur.

March 11th

March to within hour's march of Juetjuet where scouts reported Gaweir concentration and camp for night in forest.

March 12th

March to Ful Juetjuet and find deserted camp. Follow tracks for hour and run into Gaweir camp. 9 men killed, 4 captured and 100 cattle taken. Killed include Chief Riek Yor⁵² sub-Chief of Dwal Diu's. Camp by pool.

March 13th

March 5 hours to Ful Gweir and surprise individual fishing. Found to be Sub-Chief Wol Dup⁵³ of Gaweir. Bolting camp reported by him and chase for 1 hour, capturing 11 men and 150 head cattle. 1 man killed. Return to Ful Gweir

51. Major John Reynolds Ellison (Royal Army Veterinary Corps), EA 1918-25, SDF 1925-8, Veterinary Dept., 1929.

52. For Riek Yor, see above, docs. 1.2, 1.3.

53. Wol Dup is possibly the same as 'Fol Twop' above, docs. 1.2, 1.3.

14.00 hrs and camp.

March 14th

March 3 hours to pool in Majak forest. Cattle tracks found going south. Cavalry scouts fired at by party 10 men who escape in thick bush. Mule tracks found and scout sent off get in touch Barcol. Mr. Wedderburn-Maxwell arrives at pool with scouts mid-day. Reports having captured Dwal Diu cattle and several prisoners. Dwal escaped.

March 15th

Marched to Mr. Wedderburn-Maxwell's camp. Joined Mr. Bacon⁵⁴ and Barcol M.P. troops. Stopped half hour and proceeded direction Khandak through forest. Tracks found near pool in forest. Scouts sent out who report odd parties of Nuers, no cattle. Camped for night by pool in Khandak. Second pool close by picketed. Scouts sent out at dusk and return 23.00 hrs report no sign Nuers. Camp fired at 23.30 hrs. Put up Verey lights but saw nothing. Fire returned in direction flashes and enemy retire.

March 16th

Mr. Maxwell considered no further use pursuing Dwal and unnecessary continue with Barcol. Guncol returns for Mwot 06.00 hrs. Cavalry scouts run into party Nuers who fire at them 08.00 hrs. Pursue through thick bush but no men captured. Woman and five children found and discovered to be Dwal's wife and children. State Dwal and young men were at Khandak during night and were expected at rendezvous in forest that morning. Sent Transport and others on and Major Wyld, Capt. Tyndale-Biscoe and self remained with 16 men hidden in dry pool for 2 hrs but nothing further seen. March to Ful Gweir arriving 14.00 hrs. Left 17.00 hrs arrived Pool in forest 20.00 hrs. Gaweir prisoners handed Barcol. Cattle taken by us for Mwot.

March 17th

Police Troops with cattle sent direct Mwot. Remainder march via Farial. Marched for 4 hrs during afternoon and ran into party Nuers who escaped into bush.

March 18th

Marched 2 hrs to pool in morning. Afternoon marched to Khor Kwainjor 2 [and a] half hours.

March 19th

5 hour march to Fayoi. Kwainjor crossed at Lokchak.

54. F. J. H. Bacon, ADC Zeraf Valley District 1928-31.

March 20th

7 hour march to Fathai arriving 12.45 hrs. Capt. Kerr and Capt. Foley⁵⁵ arrive by lorry. Arrive Mwot base afternoon.

March 21st

All prisoners other than Chief Maikieir [Maiker] Thijok and raiders released. Chiefs given lists of wanted men and raiders required as hostages.

March 22nd

Capt. Tyndale-Biscoe and Capt. Alban with column leave for Piojak, southern end of Lang country where Char Koryom reported.

March 23rd

All wanted men brought in by Chiefs without trouble. Dr. Crouch & Dr. Atkey⁵⁶ arrive from Fulus mouth.

March 24th

Left for Kan with Major Wyld to see Dinka Chiefs re transfer to Duk District.

March 25th

To Malakal by lorry from Kan. Stop 2 hours and return Kan.

March 26th

All Dinka (Jureir) Chiefs seen.

March 27th

Return to Mwot Did.

March 28th

Leave for Bor.

March 29th & 30th & 31st

Bor.

*April 1st*⁵⁷

Arrive Duk Fayuil from Bor 16.00 hrs. Flying column back from South. No Nuers seen by them. Information received re presence Char Koryom at Ful Char. Cavalry leave for Mwot.

55. See above, doc. 3.1 n. 12.

56. Dr O. H. T. Atkey, director Sudan Medical Service 1922-33.

57. In the original, January was written instead of April throughout the rest of the diary.

April 2nd

To Duk Fadiat with Major Wyld.

April 3rd

To Mwot and back to Fanyok. Camp at Fanyok. Information corroborated re Char.

April 4th

Cavalry arrive with Capt. Tyndale-Biscoe 06.00 hrs. Left for Ful Char 16.00 hrs. March all night. Lost way and delayed 3 hrs.

April 5th

Arrive Char's camp 09.00 hours and find it deserted. Cattle tracks found all directions but impossible follow in scrub. Camp apparently deserted half hour previous to arrival. Some women and men caught in bush confirm Char's escape just before arrival. One of women caught, wife of Char. Man wounded trying to escape through bush. Camped for 2 hrs at Pool and left 12.30 hrs. Marched all night till [01.00 hrs.].

April 6th

01.00 hrs arrive at Mwot Base. Chiefs instructed allow sections return to homes.

April 7th

Left by lorry for Wegin (Morcol base).

April 8th to 10th

Duty. Morcol.

April 11th

Arrived with Governor at Mwot.

April 12th

Governor saw all Chiefs and informed them Gun Lau had carried out task required of them. Governor left 15.00 hrs.

April 13th

Majority of cattle returned to owners. Remainder handed to Major Wyld for Dinka reparations.

April 15th

Left for Bor.

April 16th

Capt. Kerr with Equatorial Coy. evacuated Mwot for Duk Fadiat.

APPENDIX B: RETURN OF PRISONERS AND CASUALTIES GUNCOL

Casualties—Government Forces

Killed—Nil. Wounded—1 O.R. [other ranks] near Mwot Tot 6 March.

Casualties—Nuer

Killed—	(By Camel Corps near Nyerol?	in February?	4?)
	At Dengkur Pyramid	Feb. 8th	20
	Camp near Yoynyang	Feb. 20th	3
	Thep Shwor (Kogmandet)	.. 25th	1
	Near Mwot Tot	March 6th	11
	(Operations in Gaweir)		
	Fayoi	March 10th	2
	near Juetjuet	.. 12th	9
	near Ful Weir	.. 13th	1
			<u>51</u>
Wounded—	Dengkur Pyramid	Feb. 8th	4
	Camp near Yoynyang	Feb. 20th	3
	(Operations in Gaweir)		
	Nuer Juetjuet	March 12th	3
	(Guncol)		
	near Ful Char	April 5th	1
			<u>11</u>

Prisoners

Captured during Operations 60. Released 54. To Prison 6.

Handed over by Chiefs Abwong District	117
.. .. . Duk ..	<u>50</u> ?
	157 [sic]

APPENDIX C: RETURN OF CATTLE CAPTURED GUNCOL OPERATION⁵⁸

Approx. 300 head of cattle were capt. [captured]. All cattle were ret. [returned] except where owners were known to have been inv. [involved] in Dinka raids or were with Gwek at Pyramid on Feb. 8. Of these a fine was levied on each owner varying from 40% to 7% of his cattle.

The total number rec. [received] in fines 1321 but were handed over for Dinka reparations.

58. Handwritten copy.

NOTES ON POLITICAL PRISONERS IN MALAKAL

When Dual was captured in January 1930 and gave his reasons for rebelling, Coriat supported some of his complaints.¹ It was the opinion of many later DCs among the Gaawar that Dual had been badly treated by the government during the Gaawar march. He and three other Nuer prophets (Pok Kerjiok, Car Koryom, Kerbiel Wal) were subsequently exiled from their home areas. Car Koryom was soon released, but the others remained in prison.

The men most in favour of exiling the prophets for life in exile had been governor Willis and Major Wyld, DC Bor-Duk District. Both left the province in 1931. It was then that Coriat wrote this letter to the new governor of the province, A. G. Pawson, and while not openly criticising either Wyld (who was a friend) or Willis (who was not), he urged leniency for Dual and Kerbiel. He was able to make a stronger case in favour of Dual than he had been able to make when Willis was governor.

Both Pok and Kerbiel died in exile in Wau. Dual Diu was kept in Malakal until the late 1930s, when he was sent to Adok in Western Nuer District. He spent some twenty-three years in exile because the Nyareweng Dinka chiefs and succeeding DCs refused to consider his release. He finally returned home at his own initiative in 1953 and was allowed to stay by the departing British administration. He was rearrested by the new Sudanese province authorities in 1955 but was allowed to return home again in 1957. This time he married the daughter of Moinkuer Mabur, his old Dinka adversary, and remained in peace until his death in 1968.

1. See above, Introduction.

*Governor*²

Upper Nile Province

Malakal

There are 3 Nuer Political prisoners now in Malakal. No one of these men has been tried and as regards their political misdemeanours I do not think any one is less guilty than the other.

Having personal knowledge of them and their respective histories the following notes may be used in determining the policy to be adopted as regards their future.

1. DWAL DIU. Arrested towards the latter half of 1929.³ Was a fugitive at the time and suffering from small pox.

Dwal is the second son of DIU (DENG LIKER) [Deng Laka]⁴ the first Gaweir Kujur of repute. The first DIU assumed the hereditary Land Chiefship of Gaweir after defeating the Arabs under Elias Kabsun [Ilyas Kapsun] at Kodni on the Zeraf river during the time of the slave raiders.⁵ He became known to the present Government when Matthews & Struvé first visited Gaweir on the survey of the telegraph line.⁶ He was well disposed on the whole but the Gaweir were never administered during his lifetime. On his death his elder son MACAR became Chief and was accepted as having inherited DIU's KUJUR powers.⁷ MACAR DIU gave trouble from the word go and the 1914 patrol was due to his persistent and repeated attacks on the Dinka for whose protection we were responsible. MACAR avoided capture and the patrol concluded as have other patrols since by marching through the country. In 1915 MACAR led a successful and destructive raid against the DINKA and was killed during the fighting.⁸

His brother DWAL took over the Chiefship.

It may be mentioned that in 1910 the Nuer were confirmed in their rights to land conquered from the DUK FADIAT DINKA.⁹ This was I think *faute de mieux* on our part. DWAL was suspicious of Government and Govt. was suspicious of DWAL. Minor Dinka raids continued and in 1921 when a post was opened in

2. A. G. Pawson, Introduction, n. 56.

3. 24 January 1930.

4. Dual was in fact one of Deng Laka's younger sons.

5. See above, doc. 1.2.

6. He first met Bimbashi H. H. Wilson (senior inspector Upper Nile Province) on 7 February 1905, and Governor G. E. Matthews and K. C. P. Struvé on 11 February 1907 (see Wilson 1905 and Matthews 1907).

7. Macar Diu never claimed, nor was he believed to have inherited, the divinity Diu.

8. Macar was killed in 1914 (see above, doc. 1.2 n. 21).

9. See Struvé 1909.

Gaweir (AYOD) DWAL was believed to be preparing to attack on a large scale. The attack never came off and from then on until the year 1928 the history of DWAL and the GAWEIR became a long succession of rumours of impending attacks always originating from the Dinka.¹⁰

DWAL donned a Government Chief's robe in 1923 and visited Malakal.¹¹ Apart from our fears regarding his designs on the Dinka, he proved himself a capable & trusty Chief. DWAL was young and hot headed as are most Nuer young men but his frankness, energy and sense of humour ensured him a friendly reception at the hands of District Commissioners who knew the Gaweir.

In 1928 the Witch Doctors GWEK, CAR¹² and KEIRBIEL were in revolt against the Government and at large.

At the conclusion of the Gaweir march in 1928,¹³ DWAL was visited at his camp in the 'TOICH' and stood fast. As he himself put it he was the 'one so-called KWOTH to sit.' [See Plate 14.]

Owing to his harbouring a number of LAU refugees and the uncertainty as to the stability of those of his young men who had rifles his camp was surprised and searched shortly after; in fact the morning after the first friendly visit. Few rifles were found. During the operation a number of Dinka followers of the Government forces mutilated some of his cattle. His favourite Dance Bull, it is said, was found with its ears cut off.¹⁴

The sequel was an attack by DWAL on the Dinka of DUK FAIWEL MERKAZ during the rains of that year. I do not consider his behaviour was surprising.

DWAL has given a promise to settle quietly should he be allowed to go to Western Nuer & I believe that he will not break his word.

2. POK KEIRJOK—A minor Witchdoctor who surrendered in May 1931.¹⁵

Pok is crafty, ill disposed to Government and thoroughly untrustworthy. He sided with GWEK during the Nuer Settlement and his past history had always been bad. He is probably partly insane.

3. KEIRBIEL. An epileptic and generally not responsible for his actions. In 1928 gave himself out as being under the influence of a 'Spirit' and divinely appointed to lead raids against the Dinka. He controlled a large body of unruly Nuer when Maxwell and Romilly marched in to Gaweir during the early stages of the troubles there and they were compelled to return as best they could from

10. See above, doc. 2.1 n. 9.

11. *SMIR* 348 (July 1923), 5.

12. See above, doc. 3.2 n. 14 and doc. 3.3 n. 29.

13. See Wedderburn-Maxwell 1928; Wyld 1928; Dual Diu 1930; Gaawar texts 4.8, in Johnson, in preparation.

14. See above, Introduction.

15. See above, doc. 1.5 n. 45 and doc. 3.2.

an ugly situation.¹⁶

Numerous surprise marches failed to effect the capture of this elusive individual though his wife and family were not with him. He eventually gave himself up March 1930.¹⁷

I would suggest that provided the District Commissioner Gaweir agrees, DWAL should be allowed to take his wives, a small number of cattle and any one brother excepting BIEL¹⁸ who agrees to accompany him and be allowed to settle at YOYNYANG or other suitable place in Western Nuer until such time as the Government consider he can be allowed to return to GAWAIR without causing a panic among the Dinka.

The District Commissioner Bor-Duk¹⁹ concurs with this proposal.

It should be possible to allow POK & KEIRBIEL to settle at WAU where they would not attempt to escape and where any foibles or hallucinations they may suffer from would not affect their neighbours. Their wives and families would accompany them.

Malakal

27.11.31

Percy Coriat
District Commissioner
Western Nuer

16. Captain Romilly's entry in his diary for 21 February 1928 reads: 'Visit KURBIEL early but with 10 men, but all seen off by 200 Nuers, K decamps during day. An unpleasant show altogether.' Other unsuccessful attempts were made to surprise him on 24 February and 3 March (Romilly diaries, SAD G/S 833).

17. Kerbiel gave himself up in June 1931 (governor, Malakal, to civil secretary, 23.06.31, NRO Dakhliat 11/2/6).

18. For Coriat's suspicion of Biel Diu see above, docs. 1.3 and 2.1.

19. R. T. Johnston, ADC Bor-Duk District 1931-4, Major Wyld's successor.

SECTION FOUR

Western Nuer

WESTERN NUER: INTRODUCTION

THE early nineteenth-century homeland of the Nuer lay in the area west of the Bahr el-Jebel and northwest of the Bahr el-Ghazal. Though more accessible by river than other parts of Nuerland, it is bounded on all sides by permanent or seasonal swamps, and is therefore more impenetrable than the broad plains to the east. Administrative contact with the Western Nuer was intermittent until the 1920s. Living in the centre of the Southern Sudan, they yet remained outside government control. Those living in the very north of the territory came temporarily under the jurisdiction of the Nuba Mountains Province (later incorporated into Kordofan Province). A proposal in 1913 that Upper Nile Province should take over the entire area came to nothing. Finally, in 1921, Bahr el-Ghazal Province incorporated the district into its own territory in order to control Nuer-Dinka inter-tribal raiding. The DC from the neighbouring Dinka district of Rumbek, Captain V. H. Fergusson,¹ was sent to make contact with Nuer living in the interior. The Dok and Jagei Nuer had recently suffered serious losses at the hands of the Agar Dinka of Rumbek, and Fergusson found that Western Nuer leaders welcomed government intervention as a way of controlling the Dinka.

Fergusson's relations with the Western Nuer were mixed. Some of the Nuer chiefs became close allies, and he let them run their own affairs with very little supervision or interference. Yet Fergusson never established a permanent headquarters in the district, administering it first from Rumbek and then visiting it by steamer. He never learned to speak Nuer, he had a Dinka wife (by whom he had at least two children),² and when trekking through the district he always travelled with a large entourage of Dinka and Azande porters and followers. This perpetual distance between himself and the Nuer had its effect on the course of administration. Fergusson had to resort to troops in 1924 and 1925 to impose his way, and in 1927 he was murdered in a conspiracy instigated by outwardly loyal Nyuong Nuer chiefs.

The division of the Nuer between three provinces was considered inefficient, and in the mid-1920s various attempts were made to bring about administrative uniformity. Fergusson's own proposal to create a large Nuer sub-province with himself in charge was never considered seriously (Fergusson 1930: 160, 167-8). The Nuer of Nuba Mountains Province were placed under his authority, but

1. Captain V. H. Fergusson: see above, Introduction, n. 4.

2. 'Diario stazione Yoynyang dal Nov. 1923 al Nov. 1935', AMC A/145/14.

it was decided to bring all the Nuer together under Upper Nile Province. The transfer of the Western Nuer was scheduled for 1928. Fergusson's death in December 1927 coincided with (but was unrelated to) Upper Nile Province's own problems with Guek. The transfer of the district was delayed while Bahr el-Ghazal Province completed punitive action against the Nyuon Nuer.

Fergusson's death left his district without an experienced administrator. Coriat was the only official in the Sudan with sufficient experience among the Nuer to ensure administrative continuity. He was therefore appointed district commissioner of the Western Nuer, formally taking over the district immediately on the conclusion of the Nuer Settlement early in 1929. He inherited a hierarchy of government-appointed chiefs who were used to working independently of the DC in judicial matters. There was also a government-sponsored cotton-growing programme, unique in Nuer administration. This existing administrative structure was different from that created for the Lou and Gaawar in many ways, and Coriat found himself introducing some measures, such as taxation, which had been part of the normal running of his old districts but absent among the Western Nuer before his appointment. In this respect Coriat continued the work he had done among the Gaawar and Lou, creating the first regular system of local administration in the district. By the time he left in 1931 he had done much to bring it into line with the other Nuer districts of the province.

DOCUMENT 4.1

WESTERN NUER DISTRICT

After Coriat had spent over a year and a half as DC for Western Nuer District, he was ordered by the outgoing governor, C. A. Willis, to compile a district report to be included in a projected, but never completed, province handbook. Coriat's report on the Western Nuer doubled as his handing-over report to Captain H. A. Romilly, his ADC and eventual successor.¹ The report contains nearly as much advice about administrative procedure as information on the Western Nuer. Romilly had come to the district (his first administrative appointment) only in November 1930.

Coriat found many differences between the Western Nuer and the Lou and Gaawar. The district is geographically more compact than the eastern districts; the Western Nuer themselves are also politically and territorially more compact. To Coriat they seemed to possess a 'tribal' organization which was absent among the more dispersed and migrant Nuer of the east. He attributed this to the absence of slave-raiding in the west. We know, however, from nineteenth-century sources that the Western Nuer along the river banks suffered continuously from casual raiding by passing boats.² What Coriat noted was a difference created by Nuer expansion. The Nuer to the east had developed a different political organization in the process of their expansion, conquest and settlement.

This appears to be the only comprehensive report on the Western Nuer which Coriat wrote.³ Very few records of the district were kept during this period, and even fewer have

1. Captain H. A. Romilly: see above, Introduction, n. 5.

2. See Pedemonte 1974: 58; Lejean 1865: 89; Baker 1867: i.60; Petherick 1869: i.111, 138-9; Schweinfurth 1874: i.117-18; Gessi 1892: 400; Johnson 1981a: 509-11.

3. There was a report attributed to Coriat in the 'Nuer General Historical' file in Nasir (END 66.A.1) entitled 'Report on Eastern District (Nuers) Bahr el Ghazal Province' which I listed among Coriat's known writings in Johnson 1981b: 206. The report was in fact written by Fergusson in 1927 and can be found under the same title in NRO Civsec 57/1/5.

survived. Its value is thus enhanced by its rarity. Governor Willis made marginal comments to this report, and his insertions are set off by square brackets in the text and attributed.

WESTERN NUER⁴

1. Boundaries
2. (a) Distribution of Population
(b) History & General Organisation
3. Revenue
4. Roads & Communications
5. Economic Development & Possibilities
6. Buildings
7. Forestry
8. Sundry
9. Notes on District Officials & Employees
10. Military & Intelligence
11. Medical
12. Office Organisation
13. Personalities (numbered sheets)⁵
 - Appendixes 1 Budget
 - 2 Area Map [missing]

SGS *Kerreri* ⁶

1.2.1931

WESTERN NUER DISTRICT

1. *Boundaries*

The District may be divided into two separate geographical areas divided by a natural boundary, each with distinct features as regards the physical nature of the country [see Map 3].

The Jebel Island area to the south, inhabited by the Nuong [Nyuong], Dok, Jagey, and Jekaing [Jikany] clans, consists for the most part of a low lying black cotton soil plain interspersed by Khors, with here and there a patch or ridge of

4. The contents page included page numbers referring to pagination of the original ms.

5. Not included in this copy.

6. SGS *Kerreri*: see above, Introduction, n. 31.

high sandy ground on which palm trees and scrub grow.

As one approaches the Ghazal river to the north, the high ground becomes more frequent and occasional belts of Palm and Talh [*Acacia seyal*] increase in density. South, in the Nuong country, where the ironstone belt reaches its northernmost extremity, the cotton soil gives way to a hard reddish coloured terrain and sand and the scrub is replaced by well afforested land on which the Ameit (*Anogeissus Leocarpus*) predominates.

Bounded on two sides of the triangle formed by the confluence of the two rivers, by a papyrus swamp of varying width, the country appears to be a vast swamp when seen from the river. Yet the Western Nuer compares favourably with other Nuer Districts and to the Nuer is more favoured than either Lau or Gaweir. The high ground affords good sites for villages during the rains, while the numerous Khors give ample water and grazing to the herds in the dry season at no great distance from their winter quarters. To the west bank of the Ghazal river in the area occupied by the Leik and Bul Nuer and the Ruweng Dinka, a maze of Khors running both parallel to the river and at right angles to it cover the first five to ten miles inland. Interior of this an open treeless plain of hard soil extends to the Southern Kordofan border.

The Bul country on the lower reaches of the Bahr El Arab is for the greater part under water during the rainy season but ridges of sand and forest land occur on its northern and western limits.

North

From the junction of the Khors Loll⁷ and Bau north between the Ruweng Alor and Ngork [Ngok] Dinka, thence in a semi-circle towards the north of Milleim El Deleibi to the southern edge of Lake Abiad and thence south of Jebel Kurondi. From Kurondi due south to Lake No. From the junctions of the Khors on the west the line follows the Province boundary as far east as Jebel Kurondi but the limits given above have not yet been ratified.

Along this northern border the neighbouring tribes are Arab.⁸

East

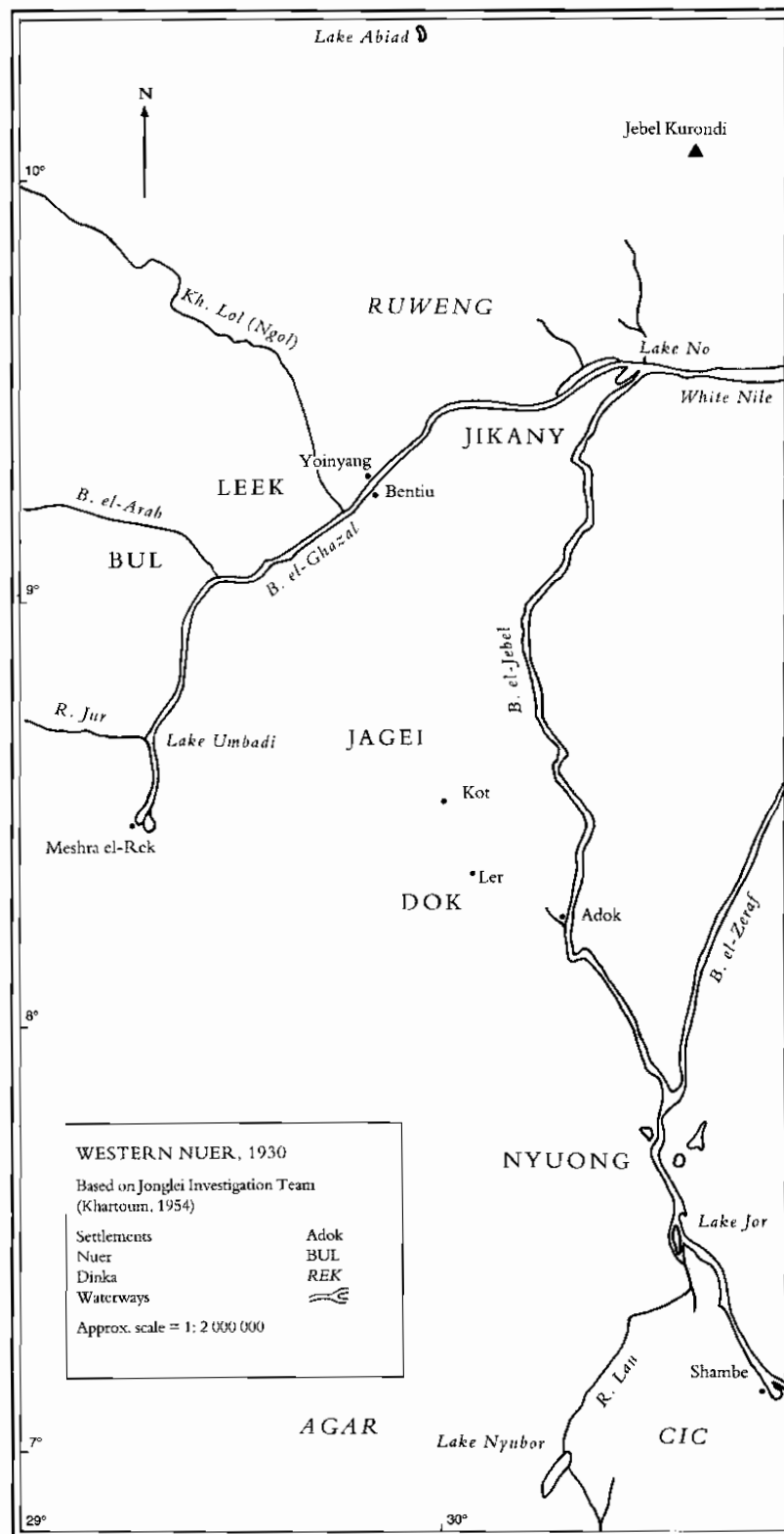
From Jebel Kurondi, south to and including Lake No, thence the Jebel river forms the District boundary to approximately Kilo Pole 400.⁹

The Shilluk adjoin to the east of Lake No. From thence south is bordered by the Lak and Tiang [Thiang] and the Gaweir 'toiches' of the Zeraf Island and beyond by the Twi [Twi] Dinka 'toich'.

7. Called Lol by the Dinka, Ngol by the Nuer.

8. The northern neighbours are Nuba. It is only during the dry season that the Hawazma and Homr (known collectively to the Nuer as *keregni*) come from the interior of Kordofan to the Bahr el-Arab to graze.

9. Reference poles along the river marked the distance from Lake No. This may be a typographical error, as Adok is reference pole 42.



MAP 3 Western Nuer, 1930

South

From approximately Kilo Pole 400 on the Jebel river, southeast to point N. lat. 7° E. long. $30^{\circ} 30'$ and due west to long. $30^{\circ} [00]'$.

Shish [Cic] Dinka are neighbours to the south.

West

From point N. lat. 7° E. long. 30° due north to point N. lat. $7^{\circ} 47'$, thence west to point E. long. $29^{\circ} 45'$ and north west to south of Lake Umbadi.

From Lake Umbadi to Lil (N. lat. $9^{\circ} 2'$ E. long. $29^{\circ} 45'$) and west to the southern junction of the Khors Lol and Manding and following the line of the Khor Manding to its northern junction with the Lol. Thence along the Lol to its junction with the Khor Bau.

The Agar Dinka inhabit the country on the western border to its south. Northwards the Meshra Dinka tribes and the Mareig of Tonj adjoin.¹⁰

The Dok, Jagey and Nuong clans have much intercourse with the Gaweir of the Zeraf Island with whom they are friendly. The few rifles that find their way into the District are brought over by Gaweir.¹¹

The Agar and Shish Dinka are hereditary enemies of the Jebel clans.¹²

The Jekaing are of the same sub-tribe as the Jekaing of Nasser District and have the same divisions, i.e. Gatjo [Gaajok], Gatjak [Gaajak] and Gatwang [Gaaguong].¹³

2(a) Distribution of Population

GEBEL [JEBEL] RIVER CLANS

<i>Area & Tribes</i>	<i>Chief</i>	<i>River Post</i>	<i>Population</i>
C. Dok	Buom Diu	Adok	11063 (1927)
D. Jagey	Thiey Poich [Thiei Poic]	Tarjath & Ryer	5195 (. .)
B. Nuong (North- ern Gatliath)	Galwak Nyag [Gaaluk Nyagh]	Nuong	3305 (. .)
A. Nuong	Won Kwoth [Wuon Kuoth]	Belek	4116 (1929)

10. The Rek Dinka gave their name to Meshra al-Rek, the Ngok Dinka live along the border of Kordofan and Bahr el-Ghazal Province, and the Twij Dinka were contained within Tonj District, Bahr el-Ghazal Province.

11. See doc. 1.2 above.

12. See Fergusson 1921*b* for an account of warfare between the Western Nuer and the Agar and Cic Dinka.

13. The Thiang section of the Western Jikany are the equivalent of the Gaajak in the east.

Distribution of Population (continued)

<i>Area & Tribes</i>	<i>Chief</i>	<i>River Post</i>	<i>Population</i>
GHAZAL RIVER CLANS			
E. Jekaing	Badeng Bur (s/chief of Twil Ran of H.)	Yodni	4021 (1927)
F. Jekaing & Kilwal	Gatkek Dwoich [Luop] of Jekaing & Ruai Wur of Kilwal. Both s/chiefs of Twil Ran of H.	Bentiu	2953 (1927)
H. Leik [Leek] & 2 Sections Jekaing	Twil Ran ^a	Yoynyang	3120 (1930)
J. Leik	Nuel Juel	Wathjak	8353 (. .)
K. Bul		Wagkal	10924 (. .)
G. Ruweng Dinka	Bilkwey Duot		9000 (1926)
			62060 ^b

1930

Paramount Chief of Bul not yet appointed
Ruweng Dinka transferred to Western Nuer

a. Now limited to part of Leik only [note by C.A. Willis].

b. The population figures were of registered male taxpayers only, based on a survey undertaken by Fergusson before his death in 1927. Even as an estimate of the adult male population the figures are low and cannot be accepted as an accurate or complete census.

2(b) History & General Tribal Organisation

Nuer mythology traces a common ancestry for the sub-tribes the origin of which was a miraculous descent from Heaven at Kot (a Tamarind [*Tamarindus indicus*] tree) in the Jagey country of Western Nuer, some 300 to 350 years ago.

There are some local variations of the legend concerning the person and manner of origin of the semi-divine ancestor or ancestress but in neither of the tribes does memory appear to go back more than 400 years.¹⁴

Western Nuer regard their habitat as the home of the founder of the tribe and it is reputed from here that the various Sub-Tribes migrated.

14. Versions of the tree myth are found in Fergusson 1921*b*: 148-50; Jackson 1923: 70-1; Crazzolaria 1953: 8-9, 66-8; and Evans-Pritchard 1956: 6, 10.

Whatever their origin, it is probable that the Nuer at one time in their history came from farther to the west¹⁵ and it is credible that when Western Nuer was first inhabited by them, it was as one Tribe, which expansion caused to break up into separate clans who turned to the east in search for new homes.

The Dinka are their hereditary enemy and conquest of new land meant conquest of the Dinka. Those Tribesmen who elected to remain or were unable to leave the Western Nuer, contented themselves with raids and counter-raids against the Dinka. From 1870 onwards, the sport of Dinka baiting was varied by the advent of the slave raider and in their clashes with the 'Turk' it was not always the Nuer who suffered defeat. As with other tribes of the Nuer they have to their credit one decisive victory when in 1883 the Tribesmen attacked the Turkish Post and Arab allies at Rumbek and succeeded in massacring the garrison and killing the Arab leader Morgan Ali.¹⁶

Though the slave-bands never penetrated far into Western Nuer and hardly at all into the Jebel Areas, as a consequence of which their Tribal Organisation was not broken up as in Lau and Gaweir, nevertheless their influence was felt sufficiently to engender a feeling of mistrust of all foreigners. Seemingly it is due to the slave-raider that attempts to attain friendly relations with the Nuer have been difficult and their administration has not progressed smoothly and yet it is not easy to conceive that but for the slave-raider they would otherwise have been docile. Although Casati writes of them in 1880 as 'once a peaceful amiable nation, but to-day jealous, timid and hostile,'¹⁷ the primitive and warlike character of the Nuer could not have been acquired in a few generations. Notwithstanding this it is certain that had it not been for the Turkish era, their administration would have been less unsure.

After the occupation the tribes were a constant source of embarrassment to the Government owing to their propensity for raiding their more peaceful Dinka neighbours, but the country was unknown nor was any attempt made to penetrate it. The first record of a visit by an official was in 1913 when a Mr. R. A. Williams of the Egyptian Irrigation Dept. carried out a survey from Adok (Hillet El Nuer) to Bentiu (Ardeiba). The Nuer reported as not actively hostile but suspicious and unfriendly.

In 1914, the Nuong led an attack against the C.M.S. station at Lau and El

15. Seligman (1932: 207) reports a story that the Nuer claim to have come from a waterless country to the west of present-day Bul Nuer country.

16. Slave-raiding against the Western Nuer began well before 1870. Murgan Ali was one of Emin Pasha's agents, appointed to Rumbek in 1880. Rumbek was overwhelmed by a combined Dinka-Nuer assault in July 1883 (See 'The History of the Eastern District, Bahr el Ghazal', 13 May 1911, NRO Intel 2/26/208; Junker 1892: 285; Emin Pasha 1922: 490-1).

17. Casati's text (1891: i.38) reads: '... the Nuer, once a peaceful and amiable nation, but today jealous, timid, and hostile. The frequent raids made on them by the slave dealers of Khartoum have changed their feelings to hatred and animosity.' This passage was also cited by Jackson (1923: 88). It refers specifically to the Western Nuer.

Bimb. Bally¹⁸ was sent to Adok for the purpose of reporting on a suitable site for a Government Post but the project was dropped and no further action was taken until 1922 when Capt. Fergusson was instructed to march through the Nuer country and to get in touch with the tribes with the object of initiating some form of administration.¹⁹

In spite of tribal raids against the Dinka and many setbacks, he succeeded before his death at the hands of the Dur Nuong in 1927 in establishing a definite system of administration and reorganising the clans under either their own leaders or Chiefs appointed by himself.

During this period 1922–1927, there were three punitive patrols, two in 1925 against the Dok and Nuong and one in the Jagey area; all of which were the result of disaffection promoted by Witchdoctors and raids against the Dinka.²⁰

In December 1927, Fergusson was murdered by Tribesmen in Dur Nuong. A patrol was despatched and active operations were undertaken against the two Nuong areas. There were few casualties to the Nuer but heavy losses in cattle were reported caused by Aircraft bombing fugitive camps located in the swamps.²¹

Galwak Nyag, a young warrior Chief of the Northern or Gatliath Nuong who had previously given trouble concerning the return of Dinka cattle raided by his Tribe, gave himself up shortly after operations began. Presumably on further evidence he was suspected of having instigated the murder and was arrested and confined.

In 1929, one of the actual murderers [Cuol Weng] gave himself up and after trial was executed in the District. In 1930 an agent effected the arrest of the other Tribesman [Gatkek Jiek] concerned in the attack on Fergusson. Evidence obtained at his trial led to conviction of a Sub-Chief for complicity and a Headman [Galuak Buth] was remanded. Both these men were from the Dur section of the Nuong and Cag Rieng, Chief of the Tribe was deposed. The Sub-Chief (Dang Dungjiek) died in hospital shortly after being sentenced and the murderer was executed in the area. Galwak Nyag proved innocent, released and reinstated.

In effect the murder of Fergusson by two tribesmen was the outcome of a plot conspired by a group of Dur Chiefs with ambitious ideas and ignorant of

18. The Lau post mentioned here was on the Lau river in Rumbek district and has no connection with the Lou (Lau) Nuer of Upper Nile Province. Bimbashi E. D. Bally: second inspector Bahr el-Ghazal Province 1913–16, second inspector Upper Nile Province 1916.

19. See Fergusson 1921a: 11; Fergusson, 'Visit to the Nuong Nuers', 06.03.21, NRO Civsec 1/2/5; and Fergusson 1930: 113–39.

20. There were patrols in March 1923 and January and December 1925. See 'Patrol S.1, Intelligence Reports 1–4', NRO Intel 2/27/217; Fergusson 1930: 182–5, 212–27; *SMIR* 344 (March 1923), 4; 377 (Dec. 1925), 6; 380 (March 1926), 5; and Collins 1983: 40.

21. See Collins 1983: 133–4; Killingray 1984: 437–9.

Government intentions.²²

During 1928–9 four areas, Bul, Leik, Jekaing and the Ruweng Dinka were visited by a District Commissioner with an escort of troops.²³ The Tribes were said to have been disturbed and disobedient to their Chiefs. In the Bul, which had only twice been visited by Capt. Fergusson and was the most backward area, the intention was to concentrate the clans within an accessible site on the Bahr El Arab. The Bul failed to respond to this suggestion, which appears to have been premature and after a second visit by a District Commissioner early in 1930,²⁴ it was abandoned.

The Ruweng Dinka originally under Kordofan were transferred to Western Nuer in 1926 but were again placed under the Kordofan administration in 1928. In 1929 they were retransferred to Western Nuer.

Capt. Kidd²⁵ followed Capt. Fergusson as District Commissioner in 1927 and handed over to me on his transfer in 1929. Capt. Masterman²⁶ was appointed a second Assistant District Commissioner in May 1929 and was transferred in August 1929 when he was succeeded by Capt. Romilly in November 1930.

The present Tribal Organisation is as follows:-

Area A. Dur or Southern Nuong

Won Kwoth.²⁷ A hereditary 'Kwar Mon' [*kuaar muon*] (Leopard-skin) and Chief of the tribe until deposed for malpractices in 1924. Prior to the present administration Won was a warrior leader noted for his successes against the Dinka. After his deposal, Galwak Nyag of the Gatliath Nuong was appointed Chief of both his own and the Dur Areas.

Early in 1927 the Dur were removed from Galwak's control and placed under Cag Riang²⁸ who was neither a hereditary Chief nor a Fighting Leader and his

22. The investigations into the murder and transcripts of the trial of the murderers can be found in NRO Civsec 5/4/14–15.

23. See SRO UNP 5.A.3/31, and *SMR* 2 (Feb.–March 1929), 4–5.

24. *SMR* 5 (May–June 1929), 3; Masterman, 'Notes on Bul Nuer 1930', Nasir END 66.A.1.

25. Captain H. F. Kidd: see above, Introduction, n. 56.

26. Captain J. Masterman: *ibid.*

27. Wuon Kuoth was seized by the divinity Diu (Crazzolara 1953: 162) and was one of the first Dur leaders to make peace with the government in January 1923. He co-operated in Fergusson's cotton growing schemes but was deposed for unfairness in hearing cases in August 1925 (*SMIR* 373 (Aug. 1925), 6). He helped to capture Gatkek Jiek, his own relative, who killed Fergusson, and though reappointed chief of the Dur after Cak Riang was deposed, he was confirmed only as a headman under Gaaluak Nyagh when the latter was reinstated. Wuon Kuoth was one of those accused of causing Gaaluak's death by magic in 1938. By 1941 he was promoted to head chief of the Dur and was known to have good relations with the Dinka and to deal in magic roots ('Upper Nile Province Personality Report no. 49', NRO UNP 1/3/276).

28. Cak Riang (sometimes spelled Tchak Riah) was present when Fergusson was murdered and was the one who first implicated Gaaluak Nyagh as the instigator of the murder. It was only

rule does not appear to have been successful. He was deposed and succeeded by Won Kwoth in December 1930 after having been tried and found not guilty, owing to insufficient evidence, of complicity in the murder of Capt. Fergusson.

Owing to the trouble of 1927 and consequent changes in the Chiefship, the Dur are in more backward state than the neighbouring Dok and Jagey Clans but the Tribal Organisation exists and given an era of peace it should not be long before their administration becomes as little dependent on Government resources as the former Clans.

Won Kwoth is reputed to dabble in witchdoctory but this should not affect his qualities as a leader if he remains loyal. He is slow in action, peculiarly unexcitable, ambitious and appears now to realise something of the meaning of Government. Provided that due allowances are made and a high standard of efficiency is not expected and that Won can maintain a balance among his heterogeneous collection of Sub-Chiefs, he should succeed.

There are 30 individual Shiengs under their respective Headmen, including two sections of Angai Dinka²⁹ living in the country. These are divided into five main groups under Sub-Chiefs.

Area B. Gatliath or Northern Nuong

Chief Galwak Nyag.³⁰ A hereditary 'Ut Ok' [*wut ghok*] (Cattle Chief) and Fighting Leader. Paramount of both sections of the Nuong from 1924 to the end of 1926, when he was believed to be exceeding his authority and made trouble over the return of cattle raided from the Dinka and his Chiefship was confined to the Gatliath while the Dur were placed under Cag Rieng. In 1927 he was arrested on suspicion of having instigated the outbreak in December of that

later that it was learned that Cak himself had helped plot Fergusson's death, but he was acquitted in 1930 on a technicality (NRO Civsec 5/4/15). The governor of Bahr el-Ghazal Province had earlier recommended him for the British Empire Medal for so tirelessly trying to track down Fergusson's murderers, and he is mentioned with favour in Fergusson's biography (Fergusson 1930: 328).

29. The Angai (or Angac) seem to have been an independent group until the middle of the nineteenth century, when many of them crossed the Nile to settle with the Ric Dinka in the east (Poncet 1937: 49). They then seem to have merged with the Agar Dinka but intermarried with the Nyuong.

30. Gaaluak Nyagh is presented as the villain in Fergusson's biography (Fergusson 1930). He was from an impoverished Nyuong *wut ghok* (man of cattle) family. He was seized by the divinity Dapir in about 1919 and organized a number of successful raids against the Dinka. He refused to agree on peace terms with Fergusson and allied with Kulang Ket in resisting the government in 1923-5. After Gaaluak's surrender Fergusson took a liking to him and made him a chief. In November 1927 Fergusson discovered Gaaluak had been hiding guns and hoarding cattle collected in fines. In punishment he was demoted and half his section assigned to Cak Rieng, a personal rival. Gaaluak immediately surrendered to the government on receiving news of Fergusson's murder, but because of Cak Rieng's accusation he was kept in detention in Malakal for over two years. On being proved innocent he was reinstated as chief of his section in 1930 and appointed head chief of the Dur and Nyuong Nuer in 1935. Having learned Arabic while in prison in Malakal, he was considered a highly satisfactory chief up to his death in 1938.

year and was imprisoned. After his removal the area was placed temporarily under Cag Riag who was then also controlling the Dur. In June 1929, Caath Bang³¹ a Dok Chieftain who had been deported to the Agar country in 1924 for oppressive acts, was appointed to the Gatliath. Caath was killed elephant hunting in August 1930 after he proved himself remarkably able.

After capture of the 1927 murderers, Galwak Nyag was proved innocent and was reinstated in December 1930.

The Gatliath comprise 18 Shiengs under Headmen and 4 Sub-Chiefs.

Galwak is young and has complete and unquestioned authority over the Clan. Three years imprisonment may have done much to curb an impetuous nature but it may also have embittered him and it is probable he will require some years of restraint before he can be given a freer rein.

Area C. Dok

Chief Buom Diu.³² A Witchdoctor and Fighting Leader who led the Dok before Government control. The Dok have in the past had a Tribal Organisation which is practically that of the present day and the Clan has been less affected by changing conditions than any other of the Nuer Tribes.

Buom wields a paramount influence over a populous Tribe and administers the Area with a minimum of help from Government. He is harsh, possibly oppressive at times and little liked but that he realises in greater measure than other Nuer Chiefs the meaning of Government and the inevitable consequences of misrule, there can be little doubt. His autocratic methods seem best suitable to the people he has to rule and I believe his apparent harshness to be not inconsonant with a sense of fairness.

Buom has under him 42 sections under their respective Headmen and 6 Sub-Chiefs.

31. Caath Bang (or Caath Obang) was a staunch government ally in the patrol against Kulang Ket and Gaaluak Nyagh in 1924-5. He was taken to visit Khartoum, where he was photographed wearing Fergusson's kilt (Fergusson 1930: picture opposite p. 126). Caath was deposed along with Wuon Kuoth for unfairness in hearing cases in 1925 (not 1924). There was a feud between Caath and Kulang, and Kulang was given into Caath's care upon his surrender in 1925. It is now widely believed that Caath killed Kulang by burying him alive. Kulang is said to have prophesied to Caath that the next time they would meet, Kulang would be an elephant. This came to pass when Caath was killed by an elephant he was hunting in 1930. Collins (1983: 40) mistakenly identifies Caath as a 'Dok Dinka chief'.

32. Buom Diu was seized by the divinity Teny in about 1921. He was known as a very brave warrior, but stubborn and hot-headed. He was arrested in 1923 to prevent him from joining Gaaluak and was deported to Yirrol in early 1925. On his return he became one of Fergusson's most reliable chiefs (Fergusson 1930: 243, 276, 318; 'Nuer Chiefs and Persons of Note. Bahr el Ghazal Province (1927)', NRO Dakhliat I 112/13/87). He protected government property during the aftermath of Fergusson's murder and was well thought of by Coriat. He was deposed by Romilly for extortion and being an 'unconstitutional autocrat' and was exiled first to Akobo and then to Yirrol. He was allowed to return home in 1948. Buom was the only prophet Evans-Pritchard met and is mentioned in Evans-Pritchard 1935: 56, 1940: 186, and 1956: 307.

Area D. Jagey

Chief Thiey Poich.³³ Hereditary 'Kwar Mon'. Appointed on the death of Mani Kolong³⁴ the witchdoctor in 1926.

The country occupied by the Rangyan [Rengyan] group of this area is reputed the ancestral home of the Nuer and Witchdoctors have become a perennial growth in Jagey, possibly because of this. Thiey has the qualities of a Chief but lacks the fighting character needed to make his position entirely secure from the machinations of the wizards. His Chiefship is not an easy one but he has done well and has little more need of assistance than Buom Diu of the Dok.

Although a smaller tribe than the Dok, the sections and Headmen number 51 with 7 Sub-Chiefs.

Area E. Jekaing

This Area includes 15 Jekaing Headmen with their sections under 4 Sub-Chiefs, the Senior of whom, Badeng Bur,³⁵ is responsible to Chief Twil Ran of Area H. [Note by C. A. Willis: Twil has now been removed and 4 subchiefs appointed to run Jekaing.]

The Jekaing on the Ghazal river border have been more harried by slave raiders and more influenced by the Arab than the neighbouring Jebel clans and their organisation is less secure. The petty jealousies of Twil Ran and Sub-Chiefs has rendered a closer administration necessary, which it has not been

33. Thiey Poic (b. c.1895) was sub-chief of the Padang-Rengyan but was appointed head chief of the Jagei when his brother Jeic was deposed by Fergusson. The government often expected him to deal firmly with 'anti-government witchdoctors' (*SMR* 23 (Nov.-Dec. 1930), 6), but in the 1940s he proposed that he hand over the chiefship to Nyaruac Kulang, the daughter of Kulang Ket and then prophetess of Maani. This proposal was not taken up ('Upper Nile Province Personality Report no. 15', NRO UNP 1/34/276).

34. Kulang Ket, the prophet of Maani. Kulang was seized by Maani sometime after the appearance of two other prophets of Deng and Teny among the Western Nuer. He visited Khartoum (or perhaps Omdurman) on his own at the turn of the century (possibly before the end of the Mahdiyya), and on his return to his own country succeeded in becoming the most influential prophet among the Western Nuer. He was probably in his eighties by the time the government made contact with the Jagei in 1921, and he agreed to try to curtail raids against the Dinka. In this he lost the support of many young men, including his own son Majok. Majok died leading a raid against the Cic Dinka in 1922, and Kulang was gradually forced by public opinion among the Jagei to ally with Gaaluak and take up arms against the government. The Jagei were defeated in battle in January 1925 and Kulang surrendered in March. He was detained at Adok where he died (or was murdered) on 24 June 1925 (*SMIR* 372 (July 1925), 5). His daughter, Nyaruac, a divorced woman, tended him during his captivity, and was subsequently seized by Maani after her father's death. She eventually achieved the same spiritual eminence as her father and died, greatly respected, in 1973. See Fergusson 1923: 5; Fergusson, 'Report on visit to Madi', NRO Civsec 1/2/5; 'Summary of Events Leading up to the Trouble in the Nuer Country Bahr el Ghazal Province in December 1924', NRO Intel 2/27/217 and Civsec 1/2/5; Crazzolara 1953: 167-8.

35. Badeng Bur remained loyal to the government after Fergusson was killed. He and Gatkek Luop shared authority over the Jikany after Twil Ran was deposed in 1931. He was murdered in 1932 ('Upper Nile Province Personality Report no. 13', NRO UNP 1/34/276).

possible to give.³⁶

I am uncertain whether Badeng Bur the Sub-Chief of this Area is incapable of controlling his Headmen or is unwilling to assert himself in the face of cross-currents of opposition to his Chief Twil and Twil's apparent untrustworthy method of dealing with his own supporters.

Area F. Jekaing & Kilwal

Gatkek Luop³⁷ a Sub-Chief responsible to Twil Ran of H has under him 7 sections and Headmen and is assisted by one Sub-Chief.

The Kilwal, a branch of the Leik Tribe are controlled by Sub-Chief Ruai Wur also responsible to Twil Ran. Kilwal sections are under 6 Headmen.

Gatkek is young, able and has the confidence of his sections but is ambitious and independent and has antagonised Twil possibly from over assumption of his authority.

With the Chief and Sub-Chiefs at cross purposes, the Headmen have been able to run loose and the Jekaing of both Areas E and F are unsettled.

Ruai Wur with the Kilwal has managed to steer clear of Jekaing intrigues and is competent subordinate leader.

Area H. Jekaing & Leik

Chief Twil Ran.³⁸ Hereditary 'Kwar Mon' and a Leik by birth. Until appointed Chief in 1924, Twil was unknown to his people either as a Chief or Leopard-skin and spent most of his youth piloting and escorting Arab traders and hunting parties around the country. On his appointment he was given control of the Jekaing of Areas E and F in addition to the two Jekaing sections in Area H and also the Kilwal of F and the Shwak [Cuak] division of Leik of Area H. Being a Shwak Leik himself he elected to live in this Area. The Shwak are grouped into 11 sections under their Headmen and 2 Sub-Chiefs.

Twil has a liking for power and is energetic but completely unscrupulous and hardly less untrustworthy. He is sufficiently intelligent to be loyal to Government, yet without restraint it is certain that he would abuse any position he

36. It was more than petty jealousy. The Jikany chiefs resented being subordinated to a Leek chief.

37. Gatkek Luop (b. c.1895), was appointed a sub-chief by Fergusson in c.1925. He shared authority with Badeng Bur after Twil Ran was deposed as head chief of the Jikany, and he became head chief himself after Badeng was murdered in 1932. Government reports noted that he was popular with the people because he saw to their complaints quickly, but unpopular with his sub-chiefs, who felt unduly restricted. As a *tut wec* ('bull of the cattle camp') without any spiritual claims, he often came into conflict with the *kuar muon* ('earth-masters'). He was still head chief of the Jikany when the Sudan became independent in 1956 (Upper Nile Province 'Who's Who', Malakal, UNP SCR 66.D.4).

38. By 1927 Twil Ran was already noted to be too strict with his people, but he remained loyal to the government after Fergusson's death (see 'Nuer Chiefs', cited in n. 32; 'Political Report Patrol S.9', NRO Civsec 5/4/14).

held by misrule.

It is probable that the Jekaing will be removed from his Chiefship and his authority confined to the Leik.

Area J. Leik

Chief Nuel Juel.³⁹ Was appointed a Chief by Fergusson when the Leik were still little known. Nuel was removed and imprisoned at Malakal for some months during 1928 as he was alleged to have been truculent during the 1927 trouble but was later reinstated. He is crafty and unpleasing and only partially controls the Leik who are in too close proximity to the Bul to be amenable to proper control. Not being a Chief by heredity and lacking the instincts of a Leader, it is doubtful whether Nuel will last.

Feuds are still prevalent in the Area and there is enmity between the Leik in Area H and the Leik divisions under Nuel who form 37 Shiengs with Headmen and 5 Sub-Chiefs.

Area K. Bul

A paramount Chief has not been appointed and is unlikely to be for some years.

The Bul were twice visited by Fergusson but other than the two marches of Troops into the Area in 1928-9 were left to their own devices until 1930. They have much intercourse with the Arabs from the North and have intermarried with them. The country is difficult of access the greater part of the year but if they can be got at their administration should not be difficult.

In 1930 Bul Belyu [Biliu], Teg Jiek [Tegjiek Dualdoang] and Pey Poar were appointed Sub-Chiefs of the Myindeng, Dijul [Dieng] and Gok Areas respectively.⁴⁰ Bul Belyu is half Arab and by far the most intelligent of the trio.

Pey Poar had for some time been treated as Head Chief but lacked any kind of control and is old and utterly incompetent.

Area G. Ruweng Dinka

The Ruweng Ajiba and Ruweng Alor were in 1930 transferred from Kordofan Province. They were originally within the Western Nuer and placed under Kordofan in 1928 as it was considered unfeasible to administer them from

39. Nuel Juel was a *wut ghok* (man of cattle) and was made chief of the Leik by Fergusson in 1925. He was deposed in 1926 and exiled to Yirrol but later reinstated. In the aftermath of Fergusson's death he was considered to be anti-government and was once again arrested and sent to Malakal in 1928. By the end of that year he was reinstated as chief of the Leik and was considered 'satisfactory', but by 1934 he had become very unpopular (see 'Nuer Chiefs', cited in n. 32; A. D. Home for governor, Upper Nile Province to civil secretary, 08.12.1928, NRO Civsec 36/2/4; Romilly Diary 1934, SAD G/S 833).

40. Bul Biliu was from the Gek-Gaak-Kuac section of the Bul Nuer. Pey Poar died in 1931 and Tegjiek Dualdoang, an earth-master of the Dieng section, was appointed head chief of the Bul Nuer on Pey's death (Masterman, 'Notes on Bul Nuer 1930', Nasir END 66.A.1; 'Upper Nile Province Personality Report no. 22', NRO UNP 1/34/276).

the Upper Nile. For obvious reasons they cannot be administered satisfactorily from the Headquarters of an Arab Province.

The Ruweng Ajiba, the Chief of whom is Mai Belkwey [Bilkuei], have more intercourse with the Nuer than the Alor. Mai's father Belkwey Dwot, an old man, is alive and much feared by the Jekaing as a dabbler in the more virulent forms of magic.⁴¹

For the past four years the Ruweng have been more or less dependent on their own resources. They are quiet amenable people though tiresome when they afford refuge to recalcitrant Nuer. Occasionally there are clashes with the Jekaing and Leik arising out of disputes over some wretched waterhole on the border.

General Notes on Organisation & Judicial System

The administration initiated by Fergusson was developed on Tribal lines and has the foundation for an essentially native structure.

The Chiefs with a few exceptions were Tribal leaders in the past and it is noteworthy that it is with the exceptions that there have been failures and greater progress has been evident in Areas where the Chief was a Leader before the present administration set in; that is if progress is to be measured in terms of lessening contact by a District Commissioner and dealing direct with the people.

The problem here has been not so much to organise and centralise as with the Lau and Gaweir but to consolidate and secure. The organisation and the Chiefs exist, which they did not in the Eastern Nuer and the District Commissioner is not impelled to make such contact with the people nor to discipline the young warriors; rather it is his work to check and guide the Chiefs and to ensure that the structure remains balanced and is improved where is needful. A closer approach to the work of the District Commissioner Adviser of the future. [Note by C. A. Willis: I do not agree—I think the chiefs are too powerful and need to be reduced if the system is to stand.]

Headmen throughout the Areas were and are appointed by the Chief without reference, the only rule being that they should be Tribesmen selected direct from the section they are to control.

Sub-Chiefs are elected by the group of Headmen subordinate to them and approved by the Chief and District Commissioner.

41. Bilkuei Duot was taken captive during the Mahdiyya and spent some time in Shilluk country. He returned to the Ruweng at the end of the nineteenth century, bringing with him a mirror and matches by which he demonstrated his strength as a magician, in addition to possessing *ring*, 'priestly power'. Makuei de Bilkuei, a younger son, inherited *ring*, plus another of his father's divinities, Minyel ('smallpox'). Makuei became famous for curing people through his divinity during the smallpox epidemic of 1933, by which time his father was dead. Mai de Bilkuei, the eldest of Bilkuei's sons, was made chief of the Kuil Ruweng in 1933, but was deposed in 1934 for unwillingness to collect fines (Chatterton, 'Ruweng Dinka' (1934) SRO UNP 66.E.4). Makuei de Bilkuei was interviewed, as a very old man, by Francis Deng and appears in Deng 1980: 68–89.

Except where the individual holds a dual position as a Government Chief or Headman and also a Tribal Functionary, the Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs and Headmen are purely administrative, though not precluded from hearing or giving decisions in the settlement of Tribal cases. It is only in blood-feuds or in matters concerning Tribal rights as also in Rites and Functions that the hereditary Leader is absolute in his authority. Though he is not part of the Government machine as such, his duties are distinct and definable and without him there would be a collapse of the Tribal system. It rests with the Chief to ensure that the 'Kwar Mon' or 'Ut Ok' does not run contra to Government authority and it is here that the snag lies as the mantle of a witchdoctor falls more easily on the Spiritual Guide.

Tribal Courts in so far as a Bench of Chiefs is implied do not exist in Western Nuer. Headmen hear their own people's cases and trivial cases brought against them by outsiders. In more important disputes or where there is question of offence and in cases raised from other Tribes the Chief adjudicates; sometimes with Sub-Chiefs or 'Kwar Mon' as assessors, more often alone. [Note by C. A. Willis: This is to be altered—The courts are an important check on the chiefs.]

That the system works is proved by Areas such as the Dok and Jagey where there is remarkably little litigation, the people are contented, the few appeals there are do come to light and in the presence of the Chief and seldom is there dissatisfaction in cases brought by Tribesmen from other Areas and Districts. More remarkable is this where the Dinka is concerned.

Chiefs' Police⁴² (1 to 190 population) are enlisted proportionately from the different Shiengs and are responsible to their respective Headmen within their own sections but are used as a Tribal body under the orders of the Area Chief for the maintenance of Law and Order generally.

There is an establishment of one Clerk to each Area Chief. This has been in being only 8 months and decisions only are recorded on the hearing of cases. Most of the boys are inefficient and until competent Clerks are available it will not be possible to record the full hearing. The Clerks are also responsible for keeping a roster of fines.

3. *Revenue*

The Tribes in Western Nuer were not taxed until 1929. During Fergusson's administration they were encouraged to sell their surplus bullocks and cotton growing was made compulsory in order that when the time came for a tax the people would have sufficient money to enable them to pay a poll tax and would avoid the uneconomic and unequable [inequitable] Tribute in cattle. A

42. For Chiefs' Police, see above, doc. 1.5.

tax of 5 pt. per adult head of population was levied in 1929 and was collected by Headmen and made payable as Tribute. In 1930 this was revised to 10 pt. per adult male.

	<i>Tax Paid 1929</i>	<i>Tax Paid 1930</i>
A. Southern Nuong	Nil	£E. 141.400 m/ms
B. Northern Nuong	..	88.500 m/ms
C. Dok	£E. 221.820 m/ms	254.400 m/ms
D. Jagey	108.150 m/ms	162.300 m/ms
E. Jekaing	{ 120.955 m/ms	152.400 m/ms
H. Leik		42.700 m/ms
J. Leik	43.685 m/ms	183.300 m/ms
K. Bul	39.900 m/ms	Remitted cattle tribute
G. Ruweng Dinka	To Kordofan	Kordofan
TOTAL	£E. 534.510 m/ms	£E. 1025.000 m/ms

Fines, mostly in cattle are levied by Area Chiefs and credited to item Chiefs Courts in the devolution Budget. There is no fee for the hearing of cases. Cattle are sold locally, those from one Area being sold in another.

Revenue in Fines

<i>1929</i>	<i>1930</i>
£E. 565.575 m/ms	£E. 662.900 m/ms

4. Roads & Communications

There are ten river ports in nine of the Areas as shown in 'Distribution of population' and a port will possibly be opened at Lake No for the Ruweng Dinka. Each of these is accessible from the mainland and in addition to a Landing stage there are a merchant's shop on each, Rest Houses for Chiefs and quarters for a Guard and Agricultural Dept. employee.

Belek the Southern Dur meshra on the mainland side of a Lake [Jor] is at times inaccessible from the river owing to sudd blocks at the mouth of the passage into the Lake, and Nuong is 4 hours upstream of a side-channel some 3 hours steaming south of Adok. Both these areas are now more approachable from inland via the new road and their only use is for export of cotton and trade goods.

Started in 1929 and completed by the end of 1930 a road now runs throughout the length of the Jebel river Areas. Southern roadhead is at Ameij on the Southern Nuong-Shish Dinka border, from whence it runs northwards to Bentiu on the Ghazal river. A subsidiary road from Adok provides an outlet

on the Jebel river. It is proposed to maintain a Ferry at Bentiu and to continue the road north through the Jekaing and Ruweng to join with the Tonga-Talodi road. With the provision of funds it would also be possible to connect Ameij with Rumbek and Yirrol Districts by clearing to Akot (C.M.S. Station) or to a point on the Rumbek-Fakam District road.

A G.R.F. [Grant for Roads and Ferries] grant, originally submitted in 1928 as an estimate for upkeep and erection of river ports, has been used for road work as the amount was in excess of that required for Meshras.

WESTERN NUER ROAD

	<i>Interim dist.</i>	<i>Total (miles)</i>
Adok (Jebel river post)		
Kh. Wathlual (ramp)	3.6	3.6
Kh. But (ramp)	5.4	9.0
Kh. Woat (ramp—Rest House)	1.5	10.5
Junction.		
<i>To Nuong</i>		
Kh. Woat		
Kaati (water at Chir 2 m.)	32.9	32.9
Nyandong (wells—Rest House)	24.5	57.4
Ful Shun (water)	12.7	70.1
Kwil (water)	20.3	90.4
Ameij (Roadhead—Dinka border)	9.5	99.9
<i>To Ghazal River</i>		
Kh. Woat		
Kui (wells) Resthouse proposed		52.4
Dwar (water) ramp.		
Kh. Rial (water ramp.)		
Tharlil (water) possible sites for new Hqs. Post.		87.4

A District Headquarters will be built during 1931, possibly at Tharlil.⁴³

5. *Economic Development & Possibilities*

The output of cotton could be greatly increased if the crop were of sufficient economic value to withstand the cost of transport.⁴⁴ Hibiscus [*Hibiscus sabda-*

43. A district headquarters was opened at Bentiu in January 1946.

44. Compulsory cotton-growing ceased in 1931.

riffa] grows wild inland and it would possibly be feasible to cultivate flax inland. Bananas, sugar cane and sisal grow well by banks of Khors and at the edge of the sudd. Sisal should flourish in the waterless areas.

The Nuer is entirely pastoral and cultivation does not appeal to him and it is doubtful whether there will be any inducement to encourage him to farming on a large scale. Cattle are the beginning and end of all things and an improvement in the quality of their herds will eventually tend to better conditions of life in the Nuer country.

Rinderpest is scarce but Pleuropneumonia and Trypanosomiasis are rife particularly in the swampy areas in Nuong.

The amount of trade carried on by the merchants at the shops on the river stages is small and of little value.

The following shows exports for 1929:-

<i>Hides</i>	<i>Ivory</i>	<i>Cattle</i>
1779 pkgs	3138 rtls	349 head

In 1930 there was a decrease in hides and ivory and a slight increase in cattle.

EXPORTS OF COTTON

	1926/7 KANTARS	1927/8 KANTARS	1928/9 KANTARS	1929/30 KANTARS
Area A.	—	—	243	237
Area B.	—	—	2	208
Area C.	113.66	356.66	1335.24	1200
Area D.	109.23	345.58	816	973
Area E.	—	632.77	386.49	563
Area F.	—	—	294.31	476
Area G.	—	61.38	48.46	—
Area K.	—	—	50	221
Area H.	—	386.05	350.32	824
Area J.	—	356.48	385.66	973
TOTAL	222.89	2138.92	3910.48	5674

6. Buildings

- Area A. Resthouses and quarters for employees at Belek.
- Area B. Resthouses and quarters at Nuong. Namlia rest house at Nyandong.
- Area C. Resthouses & quarters at Adok. Namlia resthouse and Chiefs' Court house at Kh. Woat. 2 Cattle huts.
- Area D. Resthouse & quarters at Jagey. Cattle hut 8 miles inland. Employees quarters at Ryer.
- Area E. Resthouses & quarters at Yodni. Galvanised iron cotton store shed.

Area F. Resthouses & quarters & 2 cattle huts at Bentiu.

Area H. Resthouses & quarters & 1 cattle hut at Yoynyang.

Area J. Resthouses & quarters at Wathjak.

Area K. Resthouses & quarters & brick petrol store on R.A.F. Landing ground.

Resthouses at river meshras are native huts for Chiefs only and are built under their own arrangements. Quarters are for one Meshra Guard and Agricultural Dept. employees.

7. *Forestry*

In the Nuong the country is well afforested and palm belts are frequent in Jagey.

The Ameit (*Anogeissus Leocarpus*) is the most valuable timber in the southern areas and grows prolifically. The erect white ant-proof branches are excellent for building. The Ghazal river banks are well wooded chiefly with Talh.⁴⁵

There is a Woodstation at Tunglual east of Wathjak.

8. *Sundry*

There are vegetable gardens at Adok and Bentiu and several young fruit trees have been planted at both these posts. There is also a large garden in the R.C. Mission compound at Yoynyang.

There is ample water in the Khor Rial for a Garden if the new Headquarters post is built at Tharlil.

As there is at present no District Headquarters other than the 'Kerreri' it has been impracticable to keep a Merkaz herd of cattle. All cattle are kept by the various Area Chiefs except at Adok and Dur Nuong where there are Government Herdsmen. Cattle are continually being transferred to and from the various Areas for sale as cattle fines are sold outside the Area from which they are obtained.

A sounder of 13 pigs until recently kept at Tharjath has been handed to the R.C. Mission at Yoynyang. These are from an original herd of 2, now numbering some 40 strong, started at Abwong in 1927. They are destructive and indestructible.⁴⁶

Poultry are kept with the merchants at the various meshras and there are

45. There has been much deforestation in Western Nuer following the sustained high floods of 1961-4.

46. For the Abwong pig herd, see above, doc. 1.5.

turkeys at Tharjath and geese and turkeys at Adok.

Not more than two merchants are permitted at each meshra and a shop with a red zinc roof is compulsory. Merchants are encouraged to stock a small quantity of provisions in addition to ordinary trade goods.

Chiefs are being given an issue of clothing for 1931 after which they will be required to purchase their own. A distinguishing red band is part of the issue. Chiefs' Police do not wear clothes within the District.⁴⁷

An R.C. Mission was opened at Yoynyang in 1924. The normal establishment is a Father Superior, two fathers and two lay Brothers.⁴⁸

It is proposed to open a C.M.S. station at Leira on the Adok-Bentiu road during 1931. The site is 17 miles inland from Adok.⁴⁹

There are some 40 boys at School in Yoynyang Mission and 4 boys from the District at the C.M.S. Station at Malek.⁵⁰

A Memorial Cairn erected to the memory of the late Capt. Fergusson stands on the site where he was murdered at Belek.⁵¹

9. *Note on District Officials & Employees*

Interpreters

Ator Boi

An Afak Dinka⁵² served from first entry into the District in 1922. Reliable, honest, hard working and generally an exemplary character. His Arabic is poor and he is rather stupid. Pay raised to £E.2 p.m. in 1930.

47. See above, doc. 1.5, for Coriat's clothes policy among the Lou.

48. In 1930 the station contained fathers Mlakic (Father Superior), Crazzolaro and Tonelli, and brothers Tosi, Guadagnini and Placido ('Diario stazione Yoynyang dal Nov. 1923 al Nov. 1935', AMC A/145/15).

49. The CMS school was opened at Ler in 1931 (Sanderson 1981: 187).

50. The CMS school twelve miles south of Bor, opened in 1907 (Sanderson 1981: 52-3). Many of the pupils then at Yoynyang had been brought in personally by Coriat, including some Gaawar from Fangak district (see 'Diario stazione Yoynyang', cited in n. 48). Before that, the mission had some difficulty keeping its students. Fr. Mlakic complained to Coriat's predecessor in 1928, 'Since the death of Mr. Fergusson only 2 boys of Twil [Ran]'s district entered our school. One, brought by Twil, escaped after a week; the other, the son of subchief Bwoth, is still here. With this boy of subchief Bwoth there are now 7 boys of Twil's district in our school; 6 of them are the remainder of the 22 boys of Twil's district, who were in our school before the death of Mr. Fergusson. These boys continually come and run away and so render any schoolwork useless' (Fr. Stephen Mlakic to Mr. Kidd, DC Nuer District, 11.10.28, AMC A/169/3).

51. Fergusson's body is now buried in the War Cemetery in Khartoum.

52. The Apak section of the Atuot.

Lam Yuong 2nd Interpreter. Stupid and unreliable, pay at 75 pt. p.m.

Dressers

Ahmed Eff. Bilal A.M.O. on 'Kerreri.' Posted from and paid by Medical Dept. Talks Nuer. Is efficient and reliable.

Weir Galwak A Bul Nuer acting as dresser at R.C. Mission at Yoynyang. Learnt to read and write at Yoynyang and trained at Malakal Hospital. Qualified to give injections. Pay £E.1.200 p.m.

Tribal Dressers are under other arrangements and are dealt with under para. 11 Medical.

Clerks

Constantine Libra From Wau. English speaking Clerk on 'Kerreri'. To be replaced in February. Pay £E.1.000 p.m.

Majui Mabur Dinka from Malek Mission. Inefficient. Clerk to Chief Buom Diu. Pay 75 pt. p.m.

Elicha Matok Dinka from Bur [Bor]. Very poor standard. Clerk to Chief Thiey Poich. Pay 50 pt. p.m.

Philip Manyang Dinka from Malek. A little more competent than Elicha. Clerk to Chief Nuel Juel. Pay 50 pt. p.m.

Gaing Twil Jekaing Nuer trained at Yonyang. Comparatively good. Clerk to Chief Galwak Nyag. Pay 50 pt. p.m.

Dwar Caath Son of Caath Bang, late Chief of Gatliath Nuong. Trained at Yoynyang. Not up to requisite standard. Clerk to Chief Won Kwoth. Pay 50 pt. p.m.

Paul Gai Nein Mixed breed trained at Yoynyang. Ability very good. Has unpleasant habits. Lately Clerk in Bul. To be transferred to Jagey. Pay 40 pt. p.m.

Guards

Dthuol Nuonke Agar Dinka. Guard at Yoynyang. Lazy & corrupt. Pay 75 pt. p.m.

Tob Ret Dok Nuer. Guard at Tharjath. Quiet and hardworking. Pay 75 pt. p.m.

Yo Dagweir Jagey Nuer. Guard at Ryer. Hardworking and intelligent. Pay 75 pt. p.m.

Bain Athwel Shish Dinka. Appears to keep Meshra clean. Guard at Wathjak. Pay 60 pt. p.m.

Riak Mabur Agar Dinka. Unreliable. Guard at Wangkai. Pay 60 pt. p.m.

Gai Reith	Dinka. Guard at Yodni. Pay 50 pt. p.m. Newly employed.
Deng Kur	Jekaing Nuer. Guard and Gardener at Bentiu. Hard-working and reliable. Knows nothing about gardening. Pay 75 pt. p.m.
Dud Sabahi	Nuer. Ex-Onbashi and E.A. Pensioner. In charge of landing ground and store Wangkai. Pay £E.1.000 m/ms p.m.
Mo Maluk	Guard at Adok. Works very well. Pay £E.1.000 m/ms p.m.

Herdsmen

Shwet Manyang	Shish Dinka. Chief Herdsman. Generally at Adok. Thoroughly reliable. Pay £E.1.000 m/ms p.m.
Deng Adwot	2nd Herdsman. Pay 60 pt. p.m.
Kwerey Alueng	3rd Herdsman. Pay 50 pt. p.m.
Gatweng Bidthal	Local boy. Tends herds i/c Chief Dur Nuong. Pay 30 pt. p.m.

Gardeners

Ateir Gwogo	Gardener Adok. Works well but knows very little. Pay 60 pt. p.m.
Bakheit Guma	Gardener Adok. Knows a fair amount about gardening but extremely idle and unreliable. Pay 60 pt. p.m.

10. Military & Intelligence

With the exception of the Bul and possibly the Leik Areas, there are no rifles in the District.

It is unlikely that the Clans would combine, nor is it likely that there would be opposition which could not be dealt with by Mounted Police action though the more powerful Area Chiefs could raise comparatively strong forces.

Night attacks and ambush in long grass are the tactics they have and after a first encounter opposition generally resolves into a guerrilla warfare. The Nuer is becoming more addicted to stabbing than throwing a spear.⁵³

Punitive Patrols as in the past are unlikely to be effective and the only

53. Spears were 'recycled' in intersectional and intertribal fights because each side picked up and used those spears thrown at them as well as their own; thus spears were rarely lost. As government forces were armed with rifles, spears thrown at them were never returned. The Nuer change in tactic appears to have been an attempt to conserve spears.

successful method of dealing with recalcitrant Nuer is on the lines of the Nuer Settlement of 1929/30 in Lau and Gawcir.⁵⁴

The swamps on the eastern border of Nuong afford a refuge which is almost inaccessible but no Nuer will remain long in the swamps with his cattle and women, and forests and inland waterholes are the most likely haunts for fugitives. Knowledge of the country and mobile troops should ensure a speedy and effective end to any punitive expedition.

A Landing Ground at Wangkai is available and other Landing Grounds could be cleared at Nuong, Dok and Jekaing.

The Bul would be the most difficult Area to operate in.

Approximate numbers of fighting men in Areas:-

A.	1200
B.	800
C.	2500
D.	1800
E.	1800
H.	500
J.	2000
K.	3000
G.	<u>2400</u>
	16000

Without a knowledge of the language intelligence is difficult to obtain and uncertain. There are always odd Dinka to be found in the country with a ready story but they invariably have an axe to grind and are mostly untrustworthy. A reliable Interpreter provides a useful source of information.

The demeanour of the people is a good sign of the stability of an Area but is not infallible when a Witchdoctor is up to some trickery. Chiefs are sometimes ignorant themselves and are not always willing to tell all they know.

I have personally found it necessary to employ 'agents', young men whom one knows, not always of the better kind and who are willing to give information in return for a 'Pourboir'. The 'Pourboir' is not always given when the information is received and they are in effect on irregular pay roll but in any case action should seldom be taken on the report of one agent and in the subject of the report.⁵⁵ It would be fatal to antagonise a Chief by showing mistrust in him.

54. See above, Section 3.

55. The meaning of this is unclear as written.

11. *Medical*

A great part of Fergusson's work up to the time of his death was to better the health of the people and the fact that he was able and found time to do medical work himself must have done much to establish the confidence of the Tribes.⁵⁶

Yaws was prevalent particularly in the southern Areas and in 1926 the Medical Inspector concentrated on the Nuong sections where several thousands received injections of N.A.B. [Neoarsphenamine].⁵⁷

In order to build up a tribal Medical Service, young boys were selected from the various sections and were given a course of training in simple first aid work, they were then issued boxes and sent back to their villages. By 1930 the Tribal Dressers had increased to 120 in number and grant was received for payment of all Dressers. It has however been found impracticable to ensure that the work is being carried out efficiently and training is not possible with the large number of boys, consequently Dressers are being reduced and the selected few will be properly trained and paid higher rates. It is intended that suitable boys will be trained on the new 'Lady Baker'⁵⁸ for more advanced medical work and will eventually become Tribal A.M.Os.

12. *Office Organisation*

Treasury Chest Book. A copy of this is made out at the end of the month and sent to Malakal together with R.Os. [Received Orders] & O.Ps. [Orders for Payment]. Against each entry of receipt or expenditure is shown the item in the Budget to which it is to be credited or debited. At the end of every month totals of the various items are recorded.

Tribute Book. Payments of Tax as received are entered with number & date of R.O.

Shieng Book. Contains a list of all Headmen, Police, Dressers and sections and showing the villages of each.

Census Books. Of all Areas. Should be revised every 3 to 4 years.

Pay Books. Nominal roll & monthly payments of Chiefs, Chiefs' Police and Employees. Payments to Chiefs and C.P. are made irregularly.

Medical & Dressers Book. Nominal roll of Tribal Dressers and Dressers returns. Payments made to Dressers and medical statistics.

56. Fergusson's medical work is described in Fergusson 1930: 243-60.

57. A trivalent arsenical, formerly used extensively against a variety of diseases, including syphilis, yaws, relapsing fever, trypanosomiasis and malaria.

58. Commissioned in 1929 for medical work to replace the *Lady Baker I*, a hospital ship used by the Sudan Medical Service since 1922. Later renamed the *Wad el Nugomi* (Hill 1970: 143).

Appeals Register. Record of appeals in Tribal cases.

Prisoners Register. Record of Tribal and other prisoners.

Stores Ledger.

Magistrate's Case Book. Record of non-Tribal convictions only.

General Book. Ivory sales, register of merchants and trade, nominal roll of boys at Mission Schools, Cash fines.

Cattle Book. Record of cattle received and disposal.

Grain Account Book. Durra receipts and issues.

Monthly reports provide a resume of events but the general history of the District is to be found chiefly in Tribal file 66/B.⁵⁹

In & Out letter Books. File registration numbers as Mudiria.⁶⁰ Card index is not kept and numbers are not subdivided.

Returns

<i>Annual</i>	<i>Monthly</i>	<i>Quarterly</i>
Firearms Licences	Ivory Sales	Police returns
Traders ..	Cattle Account	as shown in standing
Traders Permits	Grain ..	orders (Rendered June,
Agent ..	Treasury ..	March, November and
Ground rent—Mission		December)
(Rendered January)		

59. Each district was required to forward to the province headquarters a monthly report, written to a set format. The province monthly diaries were compiled from these district reports and sent to Khartoum, where they were used in the writing of the *Sudan Monthly Record*. Tribal File 66/B was the heading for 'Intertribal Questions' (see also following note).

60. The civil secretary's office under Sir Harold MacMichael established a file registration system that was adopted by all provinces and districts of the Sudan. Numbers were assigned to various headings, and letters assigned to standard sub-headings. Thus: (1) Administration, (2) Agriculture, (3) Army, (37) Reports, (66) Tribal, etc. 1.A was 'Administration, general rulings', 1.B was 'Administration, general correspondence', and so on. In theory, the headings used in district and province offices were supposed to correspond exactly. In practice, district filing systems were rather more relaxed than the standard set by the civil secretary's office.

APPENDIX 1: WESTERN NUER BUDGET 1929-1930

1929-	Receipts & Expenditure from District Funds	
	Expenditure £E. 192.920 m/ms	
1930 (exp.)	1930 (estimate)	1931 (estimate)

DEVOLUTION

Receipts. Court & Chiefs' fines

£E. 657.750	£E. 550	£E. 550
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Expenditure

109.900 ^a	114 Pay of Chiefs	135
111. ^a	216 Chiefs' Police	336
31.250 ^a	54 Clerks	54
43.600 ^a	171 Dressers	120
23.960	25 Training Tribesmen	25
6.990	35 Rations	25
22.126	25 Clothing	25
29.140	30 Rewards	50
	Reserve	

GENERAL BUDGET

Receipts. Tribute

£E. 1025	£E. 500	£E. 1000
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Expenditure

30.300	68 Interpreters	76
26.250 ^a	54 Herdsmen	39
83.200 ^a	81 Guards & Gardeners	81
6.700	10 Grass cutting	10
7.360	106 Mud Buildings	200
	for new post include shed.	
—	10 Landing Grounds. Grant	35

G.R.F. Grant for Roads & Resthouses

£E. 1500. Expended 1930—£E. 816.150 m/ms

a. Further payments to be made [Coriat's own annotation].