Stefano Santandrea

A POPULAR HISTORY OF WAU

(BAHR EL GHAZAL - SUDAN)

from its foundation to about 1940

(pro manuscripto)

ROME 1977

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I think that the history of the capital of the Bahr el Ghazal Province, formerly called colloquially Bog, deserves to be told, if the memory of its past is not to perish with the death of the last elders.

I have called it a "popular history" for two reasons. First, it is concerned almost exclusively with people. Secondly, it lacks, of the whole, the backing of official statistics and documentation. This is not meant to imply disdain for such evidence; rather it is an invitation to someone else to fill the gap. Such information would provide enough material for another History of Wau, to complement, and where necessary, to correct this popular version.

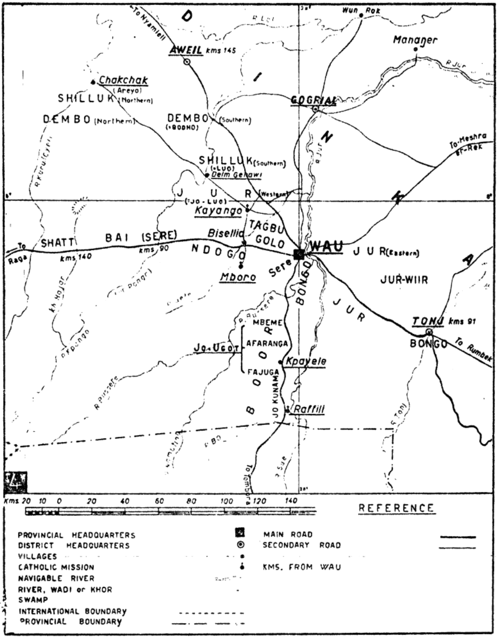
It might be asked how the author can call what follows a "popular history", living, as he does, far from Wau. Why not leave the task to other people on the spot, or to those who can go and live there for a sufficient period of time?

The answer is that only one who actually lived in Wau, in daily contact with its heterogeneous population, is in a position to paint a living picture of the place.

In addition, a stranger will be unable to find the elders or representatives of the various tribal groups from whom he could collect the necessary information, for they have nearly all died.

I apologize for the "poor" English of the text, and at the same time I thank most warmly those friends who helped me to improve it. Realising, however, that in history facts weigh more than words, I decided to release the work as it stands.

The author.



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A
To Nyamlell
R. Lol
Wun Rok
Manager
R. Jur
AWEIL kms 145
Chakchak
(Areyo)
SHILLUK (Northern)
DEMBO (Northern)
DEMBO (Southern)
(=BODHO)
GOGRIAL
To Meshra er-Rek
SHILLUK (Southern)
(=LUO)
Delm Gehawi
J U R (Western)
(=JO-LUO)
Kayango
TAGBU
GOLO
Bisellia
To Raga
SHATT
BAI (SERE)
kms 140
kms 90
NDOGO
WAU
J U R (Eastern)
JUR-WIIR
Mboro
Sere
BONGO
J U R
TONJ kms 91
BONGO
To Rumbek
MBEME
AFARANGA
FAJUGA
Jo-Ugot
Kpayele
BONGO
JO KUNAM
Raffili
To Tombora
Kms 20 10 0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140
REFERENCE
PROVINCIAL HEADQUARTERS
DISTRICT HEADQUARTERS
VILLAGES
CATHOLIC MISSION
NAVIGABLE RIVER
RIVER, WADI or KHOR
SWAMP
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
PROVINCIAL BOUNDARY
MAIN ROAD
SECONDARY ROAD
KMS. FROM WAU

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

O R T H O G R A P H Y

ɔ = (very) open "o" ɛ = (very) open "e"

ā, ū ... = long accented vowels, employed especially in Arabic names. ' (for lack of a proper symbol) = Arabic "ʿain" (or "ʿein").

For the spelling of proper names I have followed the same method employed in my Tribal History: they are spelt as they are pronounced on the spot, viz. "phonetically". For Arabic names, to meet the requirements of modern scholarship, the first time they are given the scientific translation is used in parenthesis, as found in Hill's Biographical Dictionary.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ann.Lat. = Annali Lateranensi B.el.G. = Bahr el Ghazal

C.A.R.E. (or: CAR/E = Central African Republic, now Empire

D.C. = District Commissioner S.N.R. = Sudan Notes and Records

1. OLD WAU

The Name "Wau"

It would seem quite natural to attribute a Luo origin to this name, as Luo[1] are the earliest inhabitants of the place that we know of. Such a surmise is strengthened by the fact that in Shilluk country - where the most important Luo tribe in the Sudan lives - several places are called "Wau", one of which is famous for possessing a sacred "shrine".

Yet the local Luo, the so-called Jur, do not call the place "Wau", but Gɛo (or Gɛu), which simply means a "town". The name Wau has, in all likelihood, a Dinka origin.

The different way in which the Jur and Dinka of Bahr el Ghazal name places has always struck me. The former, though the aboriginals of the country, have left comparatively few traces of their language in local place names. Only a certain number of watercourses and outstanding spots bear their names. The very big local river, the River Jur, is called by them Gäri or Gädi, an evident corruption of Gedi, its Bongo name. This name is also borrowed by the Ndogo-speaking peoples, who call it Ge'di. Yet, as can be gathered from the tradition of the elders, in old times the Jur called it Gony (cf. Ann.Lat. XXXI, p.70).

The Dinka, on the contrary, as soon as they occupy a new territory, give their own names to localities, streams, etc., usually as suggested by their physical aspect: low or high, barren of bushy, the presence of certain plants, etc. I remember well that, while staying for some time at Nyamlel (1934,1936), my confrère Fr. Alghisi had drawn a detailed map

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[1] For "Luo" we mean all the Luo tribes, and, speaking of the Bahr el Ghazal in particular, the: Jur, Shilluk(-Luo), Dembo (-Bɔdhɔ) and Shatt(-Thuri). The reader is reminded - in case it is needed - that the Jur's real name is Jɔ-Luo. Jɔ-Luo and Luo might be used here as synonyms.

of the whole area for pastoral and school use. He showed it to the D.C. of the Northern District(Aweil), who was at that time revising the old map possessed by government offices. Now, whereas in the old map most places were called after the names of local chiefs, in my friend's sketch all such names had been replaced by Dinka place names. The Dinka, the latest arrivals in the area, not only used the name Wau for both the town proper and surrounding territory, but also have a tradition which explains its origin and meaning. It was recorded by Fr. A. Nebel in the Messenger(January 1936) and, owing to its importance, we give here a substantial summary of it.

The Dinka group living at present north of Wau, in their migration from the south-east, crossed the River Jur and settled north of the small river Kwen, usually marked on maps as Gɛti, Ghetti(the Ndogo call it Gɛtɛ). Their leader, Wol Agit, made friends with Kwany Thyol, the chief of the local clan, the Wunkel, but their friendship did not last long. Wol Agit's son, Agon, to avoid troubles, moved south of the Gɛtɛ and settled by an oblong lake, formed by a channel of the R. Jur about five miles from the junction of the Gɛtɛ with the Jur. They named it "Wau", for "wau" was the war-cry with which they rushed into battle to drive back the Wunkel people who had pursued them. Wau became also the nickname of their chief, called henceforth Wan Agon(=Wau+Agon).

Less than a mile north-east of the lake there was some elevated ground, with a gigantic sycamore(=ŋap in Dinka) in the northern corner. There they built their first village which they also called Wau. The huge tree - which gave comfortable shade for communal meetings - in course of time came to be looked upon as sacred, the abode of the clan's protecting

spirits. When Akwei[1] was chief, one of hi sons fell from the sacred tree and died. The father stricken with grief cursed the tree, which was soon after struck by a thunderbolt. It was a bad omen, as events proved. After a short time Genawi[2], known by the local people as the "Dongolawi", made a sudden attack on the Wau Dinka, while they were gathering for a communal dance, and killed many of them, putting the rest to flight. Thiet-Dol himself, a baby at that time, was saved by his mother who succeeded in running away, carrying her baby in the basket used by tribeswomen as a cradle. But ten years later the Dinka, according to their tradition, drove the intruders away and rebuilt the village on the same spot[3].

Where the gigantic sycamore stood, a grove of considerable size - off-shoots of the old root - can nowadays be seen; but, by then, the place had changed its name. It was called War-cok(i.e. "foot" or "beginning" of the river), because nearby the River Jur, coming from Jur land, enters Dinka land. In the meantime, however, something of lasting importance occurred: the whole stretch of land lying south of the Gete (= Gɛtɛ) down to the River Bussere became known as Wau, a name which was bestowed also upon the "town"("zariba") built on its banks.

Extension of the name Wau

In agreement with what has just been said, old maps, such as Heughlin's and Schweinfurth's published in 1869 and 1874

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[1]Akwei was the sixth successor of Wol Agon and grandfather of Thiet Dol, who was chief in 1936.

[2]Cf.Hill: Qinawi Bey. The ruins of his main residence can still be seen in the spot marked Dem Genawi in Maps, near the Kpango River, north-west of Kangi(=Kaŋi), an important Jur centre.

[3]This is probably a pardonable, but unhistorical boast: by that time Genawi had gone north and ended his earthly career (See Hill, l.c.). On the other hand, it might be simply a mistake of date or name.

respectively, show the area lying roughly between the Bussere and Jur rivers marked as Wau. Likewise, the lower course of the Bussere and the zariba (town) built on its banks bear the same name: Wau (though spelt in different ways: Wow, Wou etc.). Schweinfurth adds a further detail: the upper course of the river is marked Herey or Nyinham, whereas its lower course, near the junction with the Jur, bears the name of Bahr el Wau, viz. Wau. In Buchta's and Junker-Casati's maps (the second evidently derives largely from the first, dated 1883), the same river is called Bussere in the upper course and Wau in the lower one. Moreover one of the most southern tributaries is marked Sere. De Calonne-Beaufaict's map, which probably borrows most of its contents from older ones, has an interesting detail: the upper course of the river is called Nomatilla or Wau, and the lower simply Wau. In more recent works the upper course is divided in two streams, Wau and Nomatilla, and the lower bears the name Bus-sere (spelt in various ways: Bussere, Busseri...).

I have done the same in my map (Tribal History), but I must avow that I never checked these names on the spot, for most of the country concerned has been uninhabited for many years. As far as I know, no geographer has ever drawn a scientific map of this part of the Bahr el Ghazal. Casati, an expert, had been asked by Gessi to do it, because of his military geographical training. War, however, prevented them from carrying out the plan. Since then, it seems, no one has taken up the job competently. I wonder whether during the Second World War a military map was drawn up, and, if so, what names were given to the watercourses in question.

Summing up: Schweinfurth remains, as usual, the most exact source of information (I,190). Herey (pronounced Here) is the name by which the Bongo call the river Bussere. Nyinham, now obsolete, is a Luo name meaning "small river";apparently in

comparison with the major watercourse, the Jur. Other tribes, mostly of southern-western origin, call it Bussere, sometimes pronounced Gussere, or shortened into Sere.

The upper course of the same stream is often marked in maps Nomatilla, which should be probably respelt Namuthina (Namutina) as several tribes pronounce it. It is in all likelihood a Bor name (a branch of the Luo language), meaning "small (thin) river (nām)" a parallel term of Nyinham (nyi="small";nahm=nām="river, stream").

Old Wau

Speaking about Wau town, one should make a clear distinction between the "old" and the "new" Wau, i.e. between the old village situated on the banks of the River Wau (now called Bussere) and the present town on the banks of the River Jur. The old name for the village has remained, whereas the river's name has changed from "Wau" to "Bussere".

We must however remember that even the old Wau zariba did not always occupy the same site. Establishments of that kind often changed spot from time to time. As evidence, it is enough to quote Schweinfurth's passage, where he speaks of Kurshook Ali's zariba. "Two leagues to the south of the new Seriba was the site of one which had been burnt. But few vestiges remained, for nature here soon effaces what fire may have spared. The only surviving evidence of its ever having been the resort of men was a thriving grove of plantains (Musa sapientium)..."(I,198).

There are, however, exceptions to the general rule, mostly represented by the central residences of some powerful merchants who remained on the land for a long period. I shall quote a few examples, starting from the least important. The walls of several buildings of Deim Idrīs, where the most important battle of Gessi took place, still remain in the middle of the "bush" (1955). All the walls are sun-baked, and some two or three meters high. Even bigger are the ruins of Deim Genawi (D.Qinawi), near the Kpango River (1945-55). Strangely enough, Zubeir's famous city seemed to

have disappeared altogether. When on 24 December 1894, Colmant, one of the officers leading the Belgian expedition in the Western Bahr el Ghazal visited the old Deim, he saw only half-ruined houses of sunbaked bricks. Comyn, the first British D.C. residing at Deim Zubeir, found only one building worth mentioning, namely the newly erected fort of the French, likewise in sun-burnt bricks. Yet, I myself succeeded in discovering the red-bricks foundations of two buildings, which date back to Gessi's pioneering activity[1].

Many times have I found myself asking the question: when did the name "Wau" first appear in print? Possibly in one of the first accounts of the country, published by early travellers or merchants, most probably either in the famous German geographical magazine, Petermann's Mitteilungen (of Gotha), or in one of the ancient reviews edited in Paris at that time. (I confess my ignorance of early Arabic literature on this subject.) Unfortunately I am not in a position to consult these rare sources. For the time being, I must content myself with quoting names of the best known travellers who wrote accounts and drew maps of the Bahr el Ghazal.

Petherick - Piaggia

Petherick travelled, as a merchant, through part of Bahr el Ghazal, especially from Meshra er-Rek, in Dinka country, to the Jur, the Bongo and, on occasion, further south (1853-63). His book, "Egypt, the Sudan.", was published in 1861. Piaggia called repeatedly at Meshra er-Rek and crossed part of the Dinka and Jur lands, travelling with Antinori (1861) and meeting Heughlin (1862). Neither of these two travellers mentions Wau, and likewise Wau is not marked in their maps. Regarding Petherick, the omission is relevant, for he himself edited his own book. On the other hand, it is difficult to assess the importance of Piaggia's silence, for his memoirs were published as late as 1941. According to the judgement of one of the most famous africanists, C.Zaghi, G.A. Pellegrinetti, who edited the book in question, lacked the profound sense of criticism and scientific apparatus which one would

[1] For details on this subject, see my Tribal History, pp.44-45

expect in publications of this kind.

Heughlin

Theodore Heughlin is the first well known writer who mentions Wau (spelt by him Wou). Yet, from what can be drawn from his account, there remains a doubt about the exact location of the town. The description of his travel from Kyt (practically Meshra er-Rek) onward is straightforward and clear. He marches westward among the Dinka, then among the Jur. After having crossed the Jur R., he still moves westward, then southward; after four and a half hours of march he arrives at a small river, called Wau. Then, after three quarters of an hour, he reaches the village likewise called Wau. From the Wau R., going westward, after three hours he arrives at Biselli's (Mahjūb Al-Buṣailī) zariba. Five miles to the north-west lay Ali Amuri's zariba...(N.B.) (A name alias spelt: 'Ali aboo Amoori=Abū Amūrī, etc)...

All this agrees with what later travellers state. But, in another passage, Heughlin says that the village lies to the east of the river (Wau), and in his map Wau is actually marked on the south-eastern bank of the river, with an inscription underneath saying: "This is the spot where Dr.Steudner died (10.4.1863)".

In S.N.R. (XXVIII,I) there is an interesting account of the famous expedition --Miss Tinne's-- in which Heughlin took part; but unfortunately, it throws no light on this particular point. Speaking of Heughlin and Steudner, Th. Kotschy writes: "..They disembarked (at Meshra er-Rek on 10.3.1862)..; on April 2nd they crossed the Jur and reached the village of Wau. There Dr.Steudner.. died on the 10th of April (p.30)... It was at Wau that Steudner was carried off by a violent onset of fever (10.4.1862)"[1].

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[1] From "An Expedition in Central Africa by three Dutch Ladies" extracted and translated from "Plantae Tinneanae". The quotations are from Dr. Theodore Kotschy, the famous botanist who classified the samples of plants collected by Miss Tinne (and Dr. Steudner).

Thus the only sure information about Wau, which we can derive from Heughlin and related writings, is that "our" town was the place where Steudner, the botanist of Tinne's expedition, died: the first victim of a sad series of similar deaths. Yet, some doubt is thrown even on this clear statement by the famous explorer of the Bahr el Ghazal, about whom we are going to speak.

Schweinfurth (1868-1872)

There is no doubt that in Schweinfurth's time Wau lay on the left (northwestern) bank of the Bussere R. But it is rather surprising that this exact, almost punctilious, observer has left such a scanty account of this centre. After all, it was even then --according to his own statement-- a small capital, the headquarters of Agahd's ('Aqqād) company. From several hints one is tempted to ascribe the fact to psychological motives.

In Book 1(p.188) he speaks with high praises of the "chief settlement of Kurshook Ali.. newly built, just over three miles from the R.Jur (southwest)". On p.190 we read:"Two leagues to the west brought us to the Wou, a river of inferior magnitude, but which was very charming...(p.191). On the banks of this, stretched beneath a noble tree.., I enjoyed a noonday lounge....I was constrained to move on by the people who had come out to welcome me from the neighbouring Seriba of Agahd, known simply as Wou, at a distance of a league and a half to the west. The possessions of Agahd's company in this district are much scattered and are interspersed amidst territories belonging to other merchants.. The Wou Seriba occupied the centre of a gentle valley sloping towards the west..". Summing up: four pages are dedicated to the description of natural beauties, flora and fauna, but not even a word about the actual size of the establishment: approximate number of huts, inhabitants..

In Book II, Schweinfurth speaks again of Wau, but only to inform us that he purposely avoided to visit it. "We crossed the Wou at the same wooded spot as we had done in April 1869 (now it was

June 1871. Ed.)....Beyond the river, we passed through cultivated lands, leaving Agahd's chief Seriba on our left...I had purposely avoided entering the Seriba Wou, although it was quite within reach, my reason being that I had recently been aggrieved by the behaviour of the acting Vokeel(=Wakīl) one of the few men of Turkish origin who had settled in the land..". On p.335 he mentions "the hamlets of a Dyoor(=Jur) chief named Woll..;this was the frontier of Bizelly's territory". On p.336: "We reached the Ghetty, or "Little Wou", six miles above the spot where Dr. Steudner lies buried on its bank". On p.337: "I was told that Bizelly's main Seriba, known among the Bongo as Goddaya Onduppo, was situated upon the right bank, about eight leagues to the northwest of the spot where we crossed the stream (Ghetty). Here it forms the boundary between the Wou tribe of the Dyoor and the district populated by the Bongo. We continued to advance for another league and a half, until fairly tired out with our exertions, we entered, quite late in the evening, Bizelly's subsidiary Seriba, called by the Bongo Doggaya-morr. Here, for the first time, I found myself on ground which, to my mind, my scientific predecessors had made sacred. Here it was that Theodor von Heughlin had resided from the 17th of April 1863 to the 4th of January 1864. Here or at least in an adjacent village of the Wou tribe, had Dr.Steudner expired, and close in the vicinity Miss Tinne passed through a period of wretchedness which all her wealth was powerless to prevent..".

I would now like to comment on the above quotation. I have already stated in these pages and elsewhere that Schweinfurth is, generally speaking, wonderfully precise; none of the early travellers can be compared to him from this point of view, except perhaps Junker. Minute details such as boundaries between tribe to tribe, names of big and small watercourses, etc. are so extraordinarily exact that one wonders how he was able to reconstruct it all by memory, after the loss of his manuscripts destroyed by fire. By comparison references, even in official government publications after the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium are not nearly so accurate, and yet, at this point, memory seems to have failed Schweinfurth.

First, a minor slip must have occured on p.337, where he says that Bizelli's head Seriba "was situated upon the right bank, about 8 leagues to the northwest". In the copy of the book in my possession I find a correction by an unknown hand, "southwest". I quite agree with the corrector's note. The place is a few miles away from the Central Chiefs Court, now called Bisellia, where Ndogo, Golo, Bai and Sere (plus the neighbouring Bongo) gather. Its ruins could be seen, too, up to recent times: mere remnants, however, by now probably altogether destroyed by time, rains and the growth of vegetation.

But this is a detail of little importance when compared with that concerning the place of Dr.Steudner's death. From Heughlin's book (Leipzig-Heidelberg, 1869) and his correspondence with Kotschy (whose account has already been quoted), we gather without the least doubt that Steudner died at Wau. Now, does Schweinfurth's testimony (his book appeared in 1873) throw any doubt on Heughlin's statement to the contrary? The answer is not easy. At first I had written: "I am afraid it does not". But now I am rather inclined to accept Schweinfurth's version, for two reasons. First: a last perusal of Heughlin's text has confirmed that the writer is either vague or confused when speaking of Wau, at times as a river, at times as a village, or even as the name of the whole area and its population. Secondly, Junker's account confirms Schweinfurth's. The fact that Junker's account is probably dependent on Schweinfurth's may cause suspicion to the reader; but the clear terms in which it is expressed is in favour of information personally checked on the spot. Incidentally, what Junker says about Biselli's zariba may serve to justify Schweinfurth's detail (which I have previously criticised), or at least to mitigate its inaccuracy. We are reminded once more of the frequent shifting from place to place of establishments of this kind. Here is, in full, Junker's account. "The new zeriba Biselli is pleasantly situated somewhat further north of the old station visited in 1871 by Schweinfurth, whose tracks I frequently followed on the journey to Deim Bekir.

Before his time the whole district had already been explored in 1863-64 by Miss Tinne and her companions, Theodore von Heughlin and Dr.Steudner himself, whose grave lies towards the east near the Gitti ("Little Wau") river" (Vol.1,p.82.-N.B. Gitti= Getty,Gete..).

Gessi

There is a fairly copious literature on Gessi, consisting mainly of letters and reports by himself, more or less skilfully pieced together by others, and a biography (in Italian "Vita"), written by C.Zaghi. Hints on Wau, from various sources, agree almost to perfection. Fuller information on Gessi's activities in this town is found mainly in Z.G.G. and is confirmed by a brief account from Felkin.

Gessi arrived at Tonj on 29 Nov. 1878 (Z.V.,p.191) G.G.254); he occupied Kutchuk Ali on Dec.4th (G.G.260); on Dec.5th he succeeded in crossing the Wau R. and took the village of the same name, which had been largely burnt down by the retiring troops of Suleiman. Dec.11th marks an important date for the success of his campaign: Abu Amuri (=Genawi, Qinawi..), one of the most powerful merchants, an Egyptian, joined Gessi in Wau with 700 armed men (G.G.269). On Jan.2nd, two chiefs from Bisellia came to welcome him and offered the help of their people to fight against the slave-traders (G.G.260)[1].

So far, Wau town has only received a mention. Before describing the new life, full of manyfold activities to which Gessi gave rise towards the end of his career in B.el G., it is worth while introducing here Felkin's account; for Gessi was mostly a man of action, not of pen, and many things passed away either unrecorded or jotted down in papers that were lost. "Leaving

[1]Great confusion for the unaware reader is created by the names of some personages often mentioned in old books and quoted here. An example: Abu Amuri (usually spelt Abou Amouri..), an Egyptian, was the first big merchant to enter the B.el G.(Zubeir himself started work under him :). His successor,Genawi(=Qinawi Bey), was often called Genawi Abu Amuri, as if this were his father's name; occasionally his personal name was omitted, leaving only his master's

Kutchuk Ali, two hours' good walk brought us to the R.Wau, which joins the Djour some 30 miles lower down. (This detail is much exaggerated: the junction is much nearer, Ed.N.)...Between the station and the river, there is a plateau 150 or 200 feet higher than the level of either river or station..(p.175).. The town of Wau (spelt Waou), which at the time Schweinfurth visited it some years ago was situated some miles from its present site, was burnt down by the rebels, and when we were there was being rebuilt in a much more substantial style than is usual. The huts were square-shaped, made of mud, and even had windows in the walls. We stayed there one night. The next day, an hour's journey (on horseback) brought us to the site of the old station".

Thus we know that once more Wau had changed its site. But, since the distance between the former site and the new one was very small, the people still called it "Wau". Where was it exactly? The testimony of very old natives living on the spot in the years 1930-50 was unanimous: it coincided with "Osman Eff.'s Nukta(Rest House"). Thus I wrote in The Messenger, May 1950. The old road, going from Wau southward to Zande country, crossed the R.Bussere about 12 kms from the town. Before crossing the river, there was a small road turning to the right, and at a short distance, barely a few kms, was "Osman's Nukta", viz. the spot where logs for government work were gathered to be tied up and floated downstream to Wau. In charge of the whole business there was an Egyptian foreman, well known to everybody in Wau and neighbourhood, called Osman. A few kilometers upstream, in later years, the Bussere Intermediate School and Seminary were built. When I visited the spot, only one thing was clearly visible: a high entrenchment, surrounded by a deep ditch, which must have been the fort built by Gessi. The buildings spoken of by Felkin were certainly burnt down either by the inhabitants fleeing before the advance of the Mahdists of Karamallah, or by the Mahdists themselves.

Wau becomes a real Town

In my book, A Tribal History.., I have dedicated a short chapter to Gessi Pasha's Rule under the title of "A Pioneer of Progress

in the Bahr el Ghazal"(44-49p). I shall quote most of it, because many readers will not be able to read the book in question. It is true that much of what I am going to say refers to the province in general; but only by looking to the whole field one can understand fully what was going on at Wau. His achievements were accomplished, in an extremely short time: Sept.1879 - Oct.1880, that is just in one year...in the wake of a terrible war...,under conditions of scarcity of means and lack of transport."...The following notes are intended to give an idea of what this energetic Governor did, in spite of all these difficulties. The information has been gathered from various sources, some of which deserve to be mentioned:

a) Gessi's own reports to the Commander-in-chief of the Egyptian Army in Cairo, dated: Wau, 15.5.1880

b) C.T.Wilson-R.W.Felkin,Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan. These two travellers visited Gessi and the province administered by him from Tonj to Deim Zubeir at the end of 1879.

c) Captain Gaetano Casati, the author of "Ten Years in Equatoria", mainly in two letters to Manfredo Camperio, dated respectively from Wau Sept. 1880 and Tonj, 4 Oct.1880.

Gessi was not only a brave soldier, but also a clever organizer. He had to destroy for the most part an old corrupt system and build a new one on its ruins. The difficult task he managed to accomplish by a general and thorough reform in all branches of administration. The population was granted freedom and peace, but it expected something more:help and, in due course, progress. To this end the liberator turned farmer, builder and craftsman. Here is a summary of the results achieved in his short-lived rule.

FOOD - with the restoration of peace, the natives were able to cultivate their lands and grow crops, without fear of being robbed by enemies or disloyal officials. Some 40,000 slaves had been freed, and many of them were working in farming centres to increase crop production. Those Arab settlers, who, accepting the new order of things had agreed to stay on the land, were also encouraged and helped to found farming centres, three of which were soon started, at Tonj, Kutchuk Ali and Wau. The Governor himself provided them with seeds,

goats, etc., and gave help towards the building of their villages.

Some agricultural details can be gleaned from documents, Gessi favoured the cultivation of American maize, either unknown or rare in several parts of the province. He had some 50,000 banana trees planted along streams, together with a great number of lime, "gesh-ta" (custard apple) and other fruit-trees. To improve the vegetable diet for all, large quantities of European vegetables --besides local ones-- were planted in gardens.

Most tribal diets were deficient in meat. So, 2,500 head of cattle and 2,000 goats, collected from the Dinka (Atwot), were distributed to headmen who owned no cattle, with instruction on how to breed and raise them properly. Wilson-Felkin recorded that at Deim Zubeir they enjoyed, among other delicacies, and to their great surprise, fresh butter.

CLOTHING - The end of hostilities caused trade to flourish once more, once the lives of merchants were no longer at risk. But although imported cloth would have been cheaper because of this, Gessi encouraged local production. Cotton was locally grown, spun and woven into stronger "damur(iya)". Wilson-Felkin saw, e.g. the delight of Sultan Kayango at his first cotton crop, with seeds provided by the Pasha, Casati, writing from Wau, speaks of eight looms at work; their number were soon to be increased to forty.

HOUSING- Villages, destroyed by war, were rebuilt. A big novelty is recorded by the two British visitors mentioned above in their description of Deim Zubeir. "The Governor's house is well built of burnt bricks, as are the large magazines". (p.192).

LOCAL INDUSTRY - Tanning mills were set up and shoemakers were at work, supplying the government personnel, troops included, with footwear made of locally produced hide.

At Wau, on the R.Bussere, a large boat-building yard was established; boats were built of local timber, locally sawn. Even the metal parts required for the job (nails, bolts, etc,) were all made in improvised workshops, from iron obtained in plenty from the neighbouring Jur. Three big nuggars , of a capacity of c.50 tons

each, were finished while Capt.Casati was there, to be sent to Khartoum with loads of ivory, India-rubber and tamarind. The cost of each totalled only 80 thalers, whereas at Khartoum they would be worth more than 500.

To favour trade and transport in general, roads were improved and Wilson-Felkin remembered, with obvious satisfaction, that at all rivers they found ferries to take their people and kit across. But one of the foremost feats of the short rule of the Pasha was the clearing of the river Wau-Jur-Bahr el Ghazal-Meshra, which had been practically closed on account of the sudd. Boats were plying regularly between the two ports, saving a great deal of money and man-power (porters).

EXPORTS - "Old" exports, such as ivory,etc., are not recorded here. It was at this time that the first load of India-rubber was shipped to Khartoum. Tamarind pods, too, were exported, with a view to their use in cool drinks for the North. Wax, which had been wantonly discarded in the collection of honey, was becoming a considerable source of income. Timber was also on the list of exports from Wau, by boat, and was destined to fetch high prices in the capital of the Sudan. But the greatest hopes were for cotton-growing, for which natives were already showing great enthusiasm, as witnessed by Wilson-Felkin at Ganda, in Chief Kayango's territory. In this way income was generated, most of which was supposed to go to the natives themselves.....Shortly before leaving Wau for good, (Gessi) confided to his friend Casati that, unless the Governor-General endorsed his plans for the improvement of the natives' condition,he would not stay, but would readily resign. He preferred to lose his high post rather than betray his high ideals of service.

The description of Gessi's achievements has been written in order to give a picture of what life was like in the country, and in particular at Wau, at that time. British literature, which is almost the only source of information to the general reader, has very little to say on this point, save for the often quoted Wilson-Felkin's. Deim Zubeir remained the "official" capital of the province, to which Gessi devoted much care. We have already seen that buildings of burnt-bricks -- the first in the B.el G.-- were

erected[1]. A school was established, likewise the first in the country. "to which 17 chiefs were already sending their children. They were receiving instruction (in Arabic) together with over 100 children of the local troops"[2]. A splendid new mosque was being built, and Gessi won many hearts by this act; he had designed the building himself, and it was being erected at government expense[3].

Wau, on the other hand, was going to be the commercial capital, on account of its transport facilities by river to Meshra and Khartoum. This is why the governor spared no efforts in implementing his programme of grass-roots development. Much more would have been done, had Gessi stayed longer and peace continued.

Junker

Junker has left two short, but interesting, descriptions of Wau. First, in Vol.I; from p.374 he describes his journey towards Wau mentioning the zariba of Abū Gurūn(=Qurūn) and the Bahr Jur or Gedid (p.402). At last he arrives at the "river Wau and its ferry. To my surprise I saw on the opposite bank a zariba which I had expected from Schweinfurth's map to find farther inland. I learnt that this zariba also had three years ago changed its site and had been brought nearer to the river "(p.411). - Thus we are reminded once more that Wau had changed place; Junker confirms and implements Felkin's narrative. - "The situation of the Zariba Wau, about five minutes from the left bank of the river, was distinguished by the attention which had been given to the charms of the landscape...". (P.412 - August 20-24,1877).

Second: in Vol.II(Junker's second visit to Africa). On Febr.28, 1880, he arrived at the Kyt, and after four hours at "the new station of Meshra er-Rek, a little to the southwest of the now abandoned Meshra-et-Tujār"(=Merchants' Port) (p.61). On March 10th, Gessi

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1.Cf.Santandrea, A Tribal History, footnote at p.47.
2.Ibid. p.48
3.Felkin, op.cit. p.202.

joined him at Meshra. On April 5, he started from Jur Ghattās bound for Wau, about which he wrote the following words, which confirm the concluding remarks of the preceding chapter. "As the reader may remember, Gessi Pasha had the intention of making Wau the chief station of B.el G.Province. For this purpose Wau was well situated, because it was positioned at a point on the river from which large flat-bottomed craft could convey goods throughout the year to Meshra er-Rek and bring back stores and supplies sent from Khartoum "(p.81). He goes on saying:" At Wau we were overtaken by Gessi....The Jur people, as well as the Wau tribe, which is settled in this district, and which gives its name to the river and the station, store away...grain in large earthen vessels, several yards high, and similar in form to "Burmas"(the local earthenware for water)". This last passage confirms once more the unavoidable confusion caused by the application of the same name, Wau, to the nearby district, as well as to the town proper.

The Fall of Old Wau

Lupton Bey, Gessi's successor, officially surrendered to the Dervish army led by Karamallah on April 28, 1884, at Deim Zubeir. Wau probably fell into their hands the next month. The confused accounts of local elders are of little use in fixing an approximate date. Of the old town almost nothing remains, as told above, on the spot known for many years as "Osmān Eff.'s Nukta". Things were probably the same when the French arrived in 1896, as the following passage by Emily bears witness: "Gessi's zariba, as shown in maps, is now an abandoned place, where one does not even see ruins, except traces of a trench (ditch) about 100 metres by side "(p.55).

2. NEW WAU - FORT DESAIX

There is no need to tell the story of the French occupation of B.el G. (1896-98) under the leadership of Marchand, whose name is principally connected with Fashoda (=Pacodo), in Shilluk country. Since there is an abundant literature on the subject[1], here we are going to deal with Wau and problems connected with it. At this point begins the story of the new Wau, renamed "Fort Desaix" by the French, after the general who, in Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, went furthest south on the Nile (Mangin,p.10). After their departure, scarcely two years afterwards, French names soon disappeared from written and oral usage: Fort Desaix became Wau again, Fort Hossinger regained its name Tombora and Fort Duplix Deim Zubeir. It should be remembered, however, that that the new settlement was born, though as a temporary one, at the confluence of the Jur and Bussere rivers (Emily, p.44; Mangin,III). Mangin describes in this way the work being done in their first abode. "I begin building huts with flat roofs, quite simply"(p.112, 8 Dec. 1897). Careful inquires and personal exploration led to the discovery of a fine site for the purpose: it is the site where Wau now stands. Emily records in his journal: 15.2.98 : "Work has already begun for the establishment of a definite fort. It is 8 kms downstream from the temporary camp, and 12-15 from Gessi's zariba" (45). It is difficult, however, to fix the exact date. In Mangin we read the following note, which comes after a letter written from Les Rapides[2] on 21.11.97. "At last we go". The next letter is dated 29 Nov. 1897 from Fort Desaix. Therefore the post was founded

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[1] Cf. Tribal History, 37-39; 52-54.

[2] Les Rapides, an encampment situated a little way upstream from Raffili Mission Station, but on the opposite side of the river. This is perhaps the only French name which has stuck for good to the spot, being taken up by the natives, who have slightly altered its pronunciation into: Raffili, Raffile, Lafiri, Lafire.....

between 21 and 29 Nov. 1897. The day of the official inauguration of the new, definite Fort-Desaix has been recorded by Emily as Febr.26th, 1898. When things were ready, the people moved into it from their former swampy encampment. The latter served its purpose tolerably well in the dry season, but would have proved impossible to live in during the rains.

Another strong reason for fixing their permanent home on the banks of the R.Jur was that the deeper water there allowed better the French fleet to sail for Fashoda, the ultimate goal of their expedition.

Needless to say, the final choice of the site for the new fort belonged to Marchand, the French commander who personally inspected the place and approved of it. But the tradition has been kept alive among the local population that it was a B.el G. headman who suggested the site for the new Wau. Who was he ? I believe that I have answered the question satisfactorily in an article published in the Messenger, May 1950, which I shall summarise here. Making inquiries of this kind among the natives, one always finds a number of people claiming such an honour for their tribesmen. But, out of the many claims made, only two deserve notice.

First; Chief Brinji, of the Faner clan of the Bviri tribe. By the time of the arrival of the French, his people were living by the side of the R.Jur (or Sueh) about 40-60 kms upstream from Wau, and thus were the first large tribal group to meet the new-comers (after their departure from Les Rapides). Their fame had preceded them through the customary African telegraph: via Tombora and Kojali it was rumoured that a steamer was on the Sueh and later had reached the Rapides. The Faranza (thus were the French called) with their Senegalese soldiers and Yakoma boatmen were the news of the day. Obviously there was a mixture of true information and fanciful additions. The passing of the Faidherbe, the almost legendary French steamer, by their hamlets, must have been a wonderful exciting sight! Think of it: such a big engine-worked boat, brought by carriers through the jungle beyond the boundaries of the Sudan and set up, piece by piece, on their river and steaming along noisily, so fast...! Chief and elders welcomed the French

leaders and offered them their services. After the new-comers had settled at the confluence of the Bussere-Jur, Brinji, followed by a convenient retinue, hastened to pay homage to Marchand[1]. On that occasion, or a bit later, the question of a suitable site for the new fort to be built was broached, and --the Faner say-- their chief suggested for the purpose the small hill on which it was actually founded.

Second: The Jur chief Kwol Ukel, clan Akwer(=Akwɛr). He certainly knew the territory well. Kutchuk Ali's zariba lay in the midst of his people and his home was about 12-15 kms from Wau. (Incidentally, the Jur chief Woll, mentioned above as quoted by Schweinfurth in Vol.II,p.335, probably belonged to the same family. In fact the clan head in 1955 was called likewise Woll:pronounced Wol in Jur). Living on the border of Jur-Bongo-Belanda-Zande land, he kept in touch with these other tribes. Also both he and his people intermarried extensively with them -- a rather exceptional case for the Jur. Moreover, as we shall see, he soon cooperated with the French, as recorded repeatedly by Emily and Mangin, who spell his name Koll. The tradition that it was he who showed Marchand the hill on which Wau was built remained alive in his family and tribe till the present day. After all, if such a claim was false, voices to the contrary would have been raised, for Kwol Ukel was widely known and lived to be a very old man: he died in 1922 and his memory was still fresh in the neighbourhood of Wau in the years 1930-40(1). On the other side, Brinji's claim never found credit outside his clan -- indeed outside his family's circle[2]. Personally I believe that a decisive proof on behalf of Kwol can be found in the testimony of a witness whose knowledge and sincerety -- for several complex reasons too lengthy to be explained here --cannot be doubted[3]. The witness is a Belanda woman of the Bɔ̄r branch, called Undubor, living at the time of my

[1] Marchand was known in the country by the name of Kimindant (from the French word Commandant), pronounced with slight variations according to various languages. His name, as well as Gessi's was given by a number of people in Central-west B.el G. to their male offspring.

[2] Cf.Santandrea. The Luo of the B.el G.(Sudan)Ann.Lat.XXXI, (1967)pp.65-66

[3] Cf.Santandrea, in Nigrizia, Nov. 1976,pp.21-23.

research (1940...) in Brinji's territory (Brinji Jr, the son and successor of old chief Brinji), about 12 kms southwest of Wau. As a very young girl she travelled with the French from Tombora[1] to Wau, and was sure that it was Kwol Ukel who showed Marchand the site which best suited his needs. Undubor made such a statement openly in my presence, though knowing that by it she would wound the pride of her tribal chief. A clear indication of her association to the French expedition can be gathered by her very name, Khartoum (Undubor-Khartoum) bestowed upon her --she would tell-- by Marchand himself, doubtlessly as a good omen in view of their final goal. But was not this Fashoda? Did not Khartoum sound too bold? ...

Who built Fort Desaix?

The hardships encountered by the French expedition have made almost every one a jack of all trades. Building was, of course, a top priority. The remnants of the fort built by them can still be seen, though somewhat restored, by the side of Wau Muderiya. Comyn, in 1905, noted that the bodies of four of the members of the expedition were buried a few yards from Fort-Desaix. "I feel sure that the French Government would raise a monument in Wau over the graves of four of the Marchand expedition which lie a few yards from the old Fort-Desaix, and so perpetuate the memory of intrepid pioneers, if reminded "(p.277).

A group of Zande labourers, provided by Chief Tombora, had accompanied the French to Wau and worked under the supervision of Wandu, Tombora's representative. But they were not enough. Moreover the French officers would willingly have done without them, because their presence reminded the local population of Tombora's recent raids. French sources, speaking of this period, mention that the small tribes around Wau, the Jur, the Belanda and the centro-western tribes, cooperated willingly with them --foodstuff supplies depending wholly on the latter group. Mangin (p.115) lists

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[1] This name is spelt in various ways, usually Tombora or Tombura. Fr.F.Giorgetti(Gero), an expert on Zande matters, maintains that the right spelling is Tombura, as he got it from Tombura's own daughter, Nanzio, who explained its etymology and meaning to him.

them in full: "Djours, Golos, Ndoggos, Bellandas and Barés"(now commonly called Bai). All these peoples had previously become subjects to the Dinkas, especially after the last heavy raid by Tombora in the preceding year. Now, by paying allegiance to the new conquerors, they hoped to ensure their freedom. Here are Mangin's own words: "These peoples that live at present on the banks of the rivers Pongo(=Kpango) and Gitti (=Gete) may be divided into two groups: those deported to Tombora by Gadi (alias Gedi) as a consequence of last years raid may be included in this classification, which also comprises great part of the tribal units grouped up by the Egyptians around their zaribas, and who,after the Mahdist invasion, have suffered similar vicissitudes. Their common history, and the mixing of blood (through intermarriage. M. of Ed.) have assembled them, without distinction of race, around certain chiefs who form a fairly united confederation...Raided by Zemoi up to 1892 (cf.Tribal History, 65-67), pillaged by Tombora last year, they are under the protection of the Dinka: the group of Biselli's zariba depend on Mokoatch(=Makwac), the group of Dembo from Ahmet and Kangi, who live near the Sué at about 8° 10'. They pay very dear for this protection which assures their safety when attacked by the Zande: they must provide sesame oil and cannot own cattle. Moreover they are subject to odd tributes which they cannot control. Yet, they hesitate to leave their homes and take up residence with us. This is because they are afraid that we might behave like the merchants from Khartoum, who were a little shy to start with, but became arrogant and exploitative once their position was assured. At present, however, they ensure our communications with Deim Zubeir; they supply our best food and watch the Dinkas. Bimbo (Lingbo,Lengbo, the Ndogo paramount chief) has advised us to build a stockade, adding that he was well informed about the Dinka and, at the first alarm, he would send ten armed men to warn us" (pp.113-14) 23 Dec.1897).

The same applies, more or less, to the Bongo and Belanda. The Jur, too, had long since been forced to seek the protection of their powerful neighbours, the Dinka, who wanted obedience despite the orders of the French officers. Emily informs us that

on the occasion of the visit of chief Ayoum(=Ayom) the Dinka "refuse all kinds of personal aid, and, moreover, want to forbid their vassals --Jur,Ndogo,Golo,Belanda....--to come and help us. Ayom, in our presence, prohibited Koll from bringing us bamboos and grass for the construction of our post"(p.47).

Problems with the Dinka

We have seen why Gessi chose Wau as the future capital of the province: it was better situated than Deim Zubeir for transport and communication facilities. But another reason should be added: for controlling the Dinka, who formed the great majority of the population. Similarly the French soon realised that, though Wau was not actually in Dinka land, it was, so to speak, Dinka-conditioned. That is why their concern to bring about friendly relations with the Dinka appears in all their reports of the time. Their rejoicing at the quick success in contacting the minor tribes is marred by the difficulties encountered in dealing with the Dinka, who not only refused to acknowledge their authority, but occasionally threatened to take up arms against them. Mangin to Marchand, from Fort-Desaix (30 Nov.1897) says: "The situation here is very good..(People coming for work, bringing in food supplies..)..Nevertheless one result has not yet been obtained: the visit of the Dinka chiefs Ayom, Makwac and Daha(?) (p.110)." Emily, from Fort-Desaix on 19/20 Febr.1898 says: "All the routes have been closed (by the Dinka). Our messengers cannot circulate in their country". But on the 25th he writes: "At last we have received a message from Mangin. He announces that he has settled at about 9 kms from the old Egyptian zariba of Jur-Ghattās. Three Dinka chiefs, it seems, have taken up arms to attack him.."(p.50).

— French books dealing with Marchand's expedition often show a poor opinion of Dinka tribes. This is partly due to the strained nature of French-Dinka relations at the time. The French were in a hurry to prepare for their expedition down the Nile towards

Fashoda. To do this they had to secure their base at Wau, so they were anxious to be on good terms with the population, especially the Dinka, the largest tribe. This explains why any approach by them was welcomed. Mangin wrote from Fort-Desaix to Germain on 8 Dec.1897: "The situation, already very good, has become excellent. I have seen Ayom, and Mayar, besides Makwac's authorised representative.."(III).

The other tribes were all aware of Dinka attitude and explained them to the French, as Emily records: "Fort-Desaix: 18.2.1898. In all conversations with the chiefs of the tribes which surround us, Jur, Belanda, Bongo, Golo, Ndogo, appear the same feelings they entertain in regard of the Dinka. While the former are happy about our arrival, the latter are irritated and would be very glad if we fixed our tents elsewhere. They are afraid for their cattle ! Their cattle, for which they have a real cult, which constitutes their wealth.., have always been plundered by the peoples who have occupied their country: the Nubians, and afterwards the Egyptians. They fear the same raids from us. For them we are "Turks". They cannot believe that we have not come to their country except to steal them "(pp.46-47).

Besides the natural distrust of any foreign ruler, at the heart of their resistance there lay a strong craving for independance (cf.Tribal Hist. 41-42, and Luci e Ombre, 23-30). Had the Dinka been united together in resisting foreign campaigns, the history of B. el G. would perhaps have taken a (partly) different course.

The friction between the French and the Dinka gradually diminished. Two rather interesting details have been recorded in this connection: one by Emily and the other by Mangin. Speaking of Gessi Pasha, Emily notices: "The natives, even the Dinka, have kept the best remembrance of him. He must have been a just and good man. When our newly administered peoples want to pay us a compliment or show of confidence, they call us"Gessi's brothers" (p.57). Mangin points out that several Dinka chiefs nearest Wau were gradually getting on better terms with them, and mentions that some

of those further away, like Atektek (Awutiek, Chakchak !) were also won over. "Through Atektek --he adds --chief of the Malual, it will be easy to maintain (good) relations with these tribes, who can supply us with food and horses, if not porters, in case of a march by land along the river "(pp.115-116).

The End of the French Occupation

The French rule did not last long. The first post, at Tombora was established in 1896; Fort-Desaix at the end of 1897. Marchand evacuated Fashoda (=Pacodo), the Shilluk capital on the Nile, on 10 July 1898. As soon as the news of the agreement between the British and their government reached them, the French left all their posts in the B.el G. Thus Wau, too, was deserted, but only till the Condominium was established. Then it resumed its old name for good.

3. THE CONDOMINIUM

A) EARLY TIMES

Re-Occupation of the Country

We quote now, for the benefit of the reader, passages from the Handbook of the Bahr el Ghazal Province (1911).

1898 - In Sept.1898, a gunboat proceeded up the B.el G. and the Egyptian flag was hoisted by Major Peak, R.A. at Meshra El Rek. On the 18th Dec., 1900, an expeditionary force of five British and thirteen Egyptian officers, 82 regulars and 266 irregulars, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Sparkes, arrived at Meshra El Rek. No carriers were obtainable, and the journey to Tonj and Wau was performed under considerable difficulties.

During Jan. and Febr.,1902, military posts were established at Wau, Tonj, Rumbek, and Shambe, and the uphill task of gaining the confidence of the natives and impressing upon them the pacific intention of the new Government were commenced. A few local chiefs paid visit to the Government posts, and embassies and letters were received from other important chiefs, including Sultan Nasr Andel of Telgona and Sultans Chak Chak (=Awutiek), Tembura and Yambio. The majority of the natives regarded the advent of the "Turks" either with indifference or the open suspicion born of their long and consistent ill-treatment at the hands of the northern races.

In Jan. 1902, Lieut. Scott-Barbour was treacherously murdered whilst on a journey through the district of the Agar-Dinkas, and a small punitive expedition was despatched to punish the guilty parties and assert the Government's authority.

1903 - Early in 1903 patrols visited the Western district and penetrated to Hofrat El Nahas. They were well received by the principal chiefs and the natives....A friendly mission to Sultan Yambio was not equally successful. After crossing River Jur on 9th March, it was attacked by Mangi, a son of Yambio, and compelled to withdraw...

1904 - In Febr.1904, a force of three companies of the XVth Sudanese, which was despatched in order to establish friendly relations with Sultan Rikita, met with opposition, and returned via Tonj and Rumbek to Shambe.

In June of the same year a small friendly mission, under Capt. A.B.Bethell, R.A., was well received and hospitably entertained by Sultan Tembura.

Two stations of the Central African Catholic Mission were established during the year in the neighbourhood of Wau. Recruiting depots for Sudanese battalions were formed at Wau and Rumbek. In December, H.E.the Governor-General visited Wau and received a number of the principal native chiefs.

1905 - An expeditionary force...arrived at the village of the hostile Sultan Yambio on the 7th Febr.,1905. The Sultan himself was wounded in endeavouring to escape, and died in hospital on the 10th idem...Sultans Mangi and Yango (of the Ngulgule, or Njangulgule) and some minor chiefs were present at a "durbar" held by the Governor (the late Major W.A.Bulnois)...In December, posts were established at Rikita, Yambio and Zungumbia, in addition to the one formed previously at Meridi....

1907 - ...The headquarters of the Western district were transferred from Dem Zubeir to Raga (pp.59-61).

Life in Town

From Comyn

From government archives it will be possible to reconstruct with exact or approximate figures the number of people filtering into the capital. Comyn, who resided there for some time in 1904, and for a longer period in 1905-1906, has left an incomplete and desultory picture of Wau town and its milieu in those early times: interesting strokes painted with a lively brush, which make us regret that they are too few and too short. His personal ideas and feelings, pulsating in every page, enhance the vividness

of his description, but may occasionally cast some doubts in the mind of certain readers about the objective evaluation of facts. Here is his first impression on Wau.

"The much-abused headquarters, Wau, proved on reaching it a most picturesque spot. Before there was any chance of my going there it had been described to me as a hideous swamp. The person who so described it said that he had to keep a dry suit in the mess as he was compelled to wade there from his house. This is probably a traveller's yarn...The present Wau is the Fort Desaix of the Marchand expedition, while that town known to Gessi was further south. It is built on the side of a low and beautifully wooded hill on the left bank of the Jur or Sueh. On the right bank of the river is an open plain a mile or so wide, which in very rainy years is swampy. The dwellings were native huts, or adaptations thereof...The place was a hive of activity. Each man worked hard at his appointed job to make it presentable for the visit of the Sirdar(p.129). The following daybreak the visiting sheikhs and their retainers were busy putting finishing touches to it. The Sirdar inspected the records of the province in the morning and in the afternoon reviewed the troops. About 300 Sudanese and 100 Jehadia (local irregulars) marched past. Then came the levee. I marshalled the Sheikhs outside while the chief inspector, Fell, called them into the audience tent, where they drank a cup of coffee in the Sirdar's presence --a greatly appreciated honour. Following the levee came the distribution of presents, which ranged from a gaily caparisoned donkey for Sultan Tambera (who sent his apologies for absence when he heard that there were presents awaiting him) to a small mirror. Alas, all were discontented. Not only were merchants more generous, but the French had spoiled the market four years before "(131).

Two of Comyn's statements require comment. First, the French generosity towards local chiefs is in sharp contrast with their conduct in the adjoining province of French Equatorial Africa (now the Central African Empire). I have tried to explain the reasons

for this in Tribal Hist.(52-53). Second : a minor slip has occurred in the writer's reckoning: the market was spoiled more than four years before, as the French left the country in 1898 and it was now 1904.

After a short stay in Wau, Comyn was promoted D.C. of the Western District. Of his activities in this new field one detail deserves mention, for it is connected with the "Dinka question", a crucial matter for the Wau authorities, as indicated above. In his frequent travels about the country, he met "the Dinka Sultan Atiok Chiok (=Awutiek, whose name is usually spelt Chak-Chak), the only important man of the tribe (the Malual) with whom we were in touch". Comyn paints a sympathetic portrait of the chief, whom he had already met in Wau, and is not sparing in his criticisms of "junior and sometimes tactless native officers", which threatened the government's desired friendly relations with tribal authorities. (150-151).

In 1905, Comyn went back to Wau as D.C.. The following is an impressionistic account of what a D.C.'s work was like in those days in the capital of B.el G. "..There was a complete deadlock on the carrier question. It was thought that the food supply would not last till the river Jur rose to allow a steamer to bring some...I introduced several reforms and I am proud to say that this question solved itself while I was in charge and sorry that it became disorganised when I left...A very slight knowledge of the customs of the people, which enabled me to converse with and show the interest in them which we all felt, was a help. I was always present at the distribution of loads and the payment for work done, and saw to it that weak and sickly men were seen by the doctor...(256)...The continued emigration was a great source of worry. It was in full flow when I took over the district, and could not be stopped. All wished to escape carrier work. A village of fifty families of Jur moved to their relations, the Dinka, for the purpose. Carriers were conscripted. Complaints were rife that no payment had been made for grain supplied and work done in the

previous years. I can well believe this. The faults was altogether that of the complainants. The sheikhs in my time were too lazy to come in to receive even the capitation grant on carriers due to them. I very often had to send one of the Jehadia to bring a man, who was owed a considerable sum, in to receive it. The sifting of complaints was difficult. Till Capt. Weny after the destruction of the province's offices in 1905, took the records of the province in hand, and by dint of endless hours of work straightened the tangled mass of unanswered, unregistered correspondence and chaotic accounts, and left behind a complete record of what had gone on since the occupation in 1902, we were at sea "(259-60).

Now there comes information about Wau buildings, a metter of considerable interest in the story of the town. "The Wau buildings were truly awful. I started making burnt bricks as soon as I could. However picturesque a hut may be, it is a danger and expense if it needs rebuilding every year. Shortly after my arrival, I found that the Governor, Maj. Sutherland..., had spent one night, when down with fever, in moving his bed from place to place in his hut to dodge the dripping from the roof. Another time I visited a sick native clerk. The beams of the roof of his hut had been eaten through by "sūs" and it was kept up by a scaffolding inside. Two umbrellas protected his head and feet, and he stoically remarked that only in the middle he was wet! No wonder that, to the native officer or clerk, being sent to the B.el G., stupidly held up as a punishment by a few who should have had more sense, seemed a sentence to death "(261)...After a patrol, "back to Wau work begins in earnest. The "loose stone" walls of Fort Desaix fall, and slowly those of a brick Fort Wau arise "(269).

Some praiseworthy experiments were made in agriculture, but with little success. "The grain obtained from the experimental farm, rice and wheat, also the cotton, was produced at an enormous cost. A practical agriculturist explained to me that the choice of locality was no doubt the cause. No native would have dreamt

of placing the farm where it was. The landolphia rubber seedlings of which we grew a lot, did not stand transplanting "(262). "I met Capt. Percival (Rifle Brigade). He took over charge of the Western District. As he and I had agreed before he went away, he brought a great lot of fruit trees back with him. Some of these were left at Wau. These came as companions to the orange trees I had brought. I hope those who now enjoy the fruit remember the planters thereof. Other fruit trees did not exist, till their advent, in the B. el G.".

Comyn's enthusiastic words about those 'bright' beginnings suggest, on the contrary, a sad consideration. This has been one of the main shortcomings of the British administration in the B. el G., on which I have commented at some length in my Luci e Ombre (pp.66-70). Desultory attempts were made every now and then in this direction, with no appreciable results, owing to an almost complete lack of skill and imagination. During my stay in Wau, an experimental farm and similar enterprises were started, but nothing materialised. One is naturally tempted to compare these much later efforts, with more means at one's disposal, with Gessi's activities and substantial results. Only the 'Government' garden, situated along the stream that cuts Wau town in two halves yielded some vegetables and fruits, a number of prisoners being employed to do the work. Yet even this was some time later abandoned. Just a few years after my arrival in Wau (1928), the local D.C., thinking that it was not worth while keeping a garden where such a lot of labourers were employed with such meagre results, decided to sell it to the Catholic Mission, who owned a small garden adjoining it. But, if I remember right, two years later a new D.C. reclaimed the garden.

In Comyn's description we see what a D.C.'s work was like in the early days. Together with the army and the Mission, it comprised practically the whole activity of Wau town --let aside merchants' business. The administration of justice was no mean task..

for a foreigner new to the country, and it took plenty of time, patience and good sense. It would be too long to quote Comyn in this connection, but the following passage, outlining his daily routine, should not be omitted. "At 5,30 A.M. one would get up by candle light, have one's bath,..At 6 (dawn) proceed to the parade ground, where one would find the various workmen paraded under the native officer of the Jehadia or the Mamur. They would be told off to the various jobs about the place. Some were in regular employment. The smith would go to his forge to make nails, as a rule, from iron sent in porous balls about three inches in diameter, by the Jurs. The carpenter would repair to his workshop, and there make cart bodies (we got the wheels sent from Khartoum), doors, and so on. The wood cutters would repair to the forest, and generally sit and smoke till they heard someone coming. The sawyers would repair to their stands and make boards out of block of native mahogany. The boatbuilders, with their adzes, would build "feluccas" at the "meshra" (landing place). The gardeners go off to the experimental farm, and there work the "sakias" or weed the crops. Then we would have the waiting carriers, for, of course, it was useless to have them in the village earning nothing wherewith to pay their board. They would go out and repair the houses of the place, to cut wood for the fuel of the steamers, and the thousand and one jobs that cropped up. There was no lack of work, I assure you. The hundred or two hundred men being dispersed, the native officer would go one way, I another, superintending, explaining, urging on. At 8 A.M. came breakfast and rest. At 9 A.M. all started again. Special jobs seemed to draw one's interest, e.g. the brickmaking of the building of red brick....This would busy one till about 11 A.M. At 1.P.M. or half-past one, we would go to lunch. More often than not Sweny would not appear till past three.."(265-66).

From the figures to be found in Comyn's pages we may reckon Wau population at this time at about 1,000,viz.300 regulars,100 irregulars, about 100 workers (or more); merchants and attached staff amounting, let us say, to some 50; about 100 odd individuals; about 350 women and children.

Comyn speaks in particular of the first sons of Zande Sultans, sent to Wau after Yambio(Gbudue)'s defeat and death. The fact must be remembered for its considerable importance not only for the life of Wau town, but for the whole province. As will be seen further on, mission work also will be closely associated with their presence in the capital. "The 'politicals' at Wau consisted of the baby son of Sultan Rikta (A'sendie: sic!), sent by him as a hostage. Little N'bur'mba was about eight years old, a cheerful child. He had, as following, an aged servant and a nurse. We had also two cannibal sheikhs of importance, Bazimbi and Bokoti[1]. By way of impressing them I sent these two chiefs to Khartoum. The former's son, not to be left behind, stowed himself away in the steamer they were on. On their return they swaggered more than if they had discovered the North Pole. I have no doubt that when these two intelligent chiefs are allowed to return to their people they will be a great factor in keeping peace"(270).

Sometimes Comyn's views were far-sighted. Speaking of the mixed population forming the Ndogo-Golo-Bai... group, he foresaw the tribal redistribution which actually took place in the thirties. "Round Wau were to be found the Golos, Barei (=Bare or Bai), N'Dogo, etc..., and south, the Belanda...I wrote a rather comprehensive report on the central district before I left...After pointing out that the sultans were like landless lords, mere holders of titles, I point[ed] out that to facilitate taxation....it would be well to, say, give to Kiango the Golos (his own people), now under Morgan Kali, and return to the latter the Barei, now under Kaingo, and carry this right round.."(258-59).

In connection with the "Dinka question"--an important one then as now--- Comyn made some good points, even though sometimes

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[1]The proper names mentioned above should be respelt as follows: Rikita;Rumba, his [short]le son; Bazimbi is also spelt--probably more correctly-- Ba[n]gbi; Bokoti leaves me doubtful: can it be identified with Bak[u]a ?

his language is exaggerated and caustic. Keeping faith to his own realistic appreciation of persons and facts, he observes quite outspokenly : "We have a great deal to learn about this highly interesting people. Real republicans, they stand aloof from us. They have all to gain by doing so. They are strong enough to defend themselves from their neighbours, and submitting to us would merely mean paying taxes...We create wants, if we can, and supply them --is it an advantage to the native?-- and ensure peace in our jurisdiction. On the other hand, the resources of the country are developed for our benefit principally "(280).

Of the local Jehadia, the Sudanese irregulars, with whom he was in intimate touch during his Deim Zubeir period, he has words of sympathetic praise.

Comyn has been much criticised by the British administration for his criticism of the "high authorities", i.e. the central government. Whatever be the value of his judgements on particular issues, I am convinced that if his voice had been heeded with more attention by those gentlemen, it would have helped them to cast some necessary doubt on the infallible myth of the Sudan administration, to their own and to the public's advantage (Cf.Luci e Ombre, 75-77).

Finally it must be remembered that Comyn has written warm words of appreciation for missionary activities. He praises especially the fact that "they teach children trades, such as carpentering at Wau, iron-work at Tonj (He must have meant Mbili among the Jur. N. of Ed.) " (p.272). Elsewhere, however, he had openly blamed such policies, which, according to him, did not serve to educate natives(pp.77-78, speaking of the American Mission at Doleib Hill).

When he left, Comyn took with him his "orderly", Saleh Allah Gabu, a Golo") this was undoubtedly the man who later became "shawish" and then chief of Wau town.

From Mission publications:

"La Nigrizia"

The first information worth recording is that of Mgr. Geyer, dated Wau 7 Sept.1908, which is here summarised. "On our arrival in Wau (Febr.1904) the town contained ca 1,000 souls (a figure which agrees with my reckonings), but now there are 3,000. In the government quarters, by the Jur R., there are several buildings in stone, with wooden trusses and corrugated iron roofs --among which are the Governor's office (Muderiya), the Post office, the Hospital and several houses of the British. These --one for each official-- cost 900 pounds each. The whole quarter, seen from the opposite bank, looks very picturesque, whereas all the rest is rather dull in appearance: native huts with thatched roofs. The shops of the Greek merchants, with stone walls, have likewise grass roofs. The native quarters are divided by race: Golo and Ndoko(=Ndogo), Jur, Belanda, Dinka, Kresh, Niam-Niam---There is a continuous trickle of immigrants from all parts of the province to the capital, consisting mostly of people who, harassed by tribal chiefs or others, seek the protection of some 4-5 British officials.

On the whole, but especially in outward appearance, the town has a Mohammedan look. For this reason, at first, we did not intend to establish a mission here, but it was the governor himself who asked us to take charge of an elementary and trade school for local children. The first site was by the river-side, but later, in drawing up the plan of the town, the area was assigned to government offices and dwellings, and therefore the missionaries had to move. Several plots were offered among which to choose, and the superior, Fr.E.Firisin, selected the site where the mission stands at present; for, though not so beautifully situated, it assures stability and is nearer to the native quarters.

The school has 20 boarders and 23 day-boys from all the tribes mentioned above, plus the 'Jebelawi'[1]. Their progress learning is so astonishing that Bishop Geyer invited the Gover to go and see for himself what was going on there. The Govern paid a visit to the school a few days afterwards, and was so favourably impressed that he promised to come again before Christmas. He offered to attend the prise-giving ceremony at end of the school year. There is another school in Wau for th Sudanese Battalion, where Arabic is taught, but non-Moslem children are not allowed to attend. "Pagans go to the mission school, where they are free to follow catechism lessons. Out the grand total of 43, there are 25 under religious instructio (1908, pp.161-67).

An article by Fr (later Bishop) Stoppani (Jan.1909, pp.28 adds no substantial information, but contains a hint worth rec ing: the arrival of the steamer "Redemptor" with provisions f the three Catholic Missions, viz.Wau, Kayango and Mbili. (In later years, the steamers "Pio XI" and "Fatima" were to follow her wake)[2]. The arrivals of government steamers, as well as t belonging to the mission, were always exciting events, which brought a change in the monotonous life in Wau in those times. In that same year, a small church and pupils' quarters were ere

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[1] In B.el G., the name "Jebelawi" is applied to all the tribes living in the "mountainous" area of Amadi-Yei-Maridi ("Jebel" means "mountain" in Arabic). Thus the Jebelawi tribes are the Moru, Nyangbara, Avukaya, etc.., besides foreign tribal groups living in the same territory, e.g. the Logo.

[2] The steamer "Redemptor" was acquired in England by Bishop Roveggio of the Cath. Mission, in 1901, assembled in Khartoum dock-yard and put into services on the Nile tributaries to ensure communications between Khartoum and the newly founded missions in the South. It was in service until 1914, when it foundered in the Blue Nile opposite Khartoum North. --"Pio XI" a two-propeller steamer in service from 1930 to 1940. --Fatim a diesel-engined steamer in service from 1955 to 1961, then sold to the S.G.

made of stone and bricks, with corrugated iron roofs. The Fathers' house had also been finished. These buildings provided better accomodation, of course, but there was another reason for them: the boys' dormitory and adjacent stores and chapel had been deliberately burnt down (pp.157-70).

In 1911 (pp.56-58) we have the most detailed account of the "Princes' College" by Bro.A.Consolaro. As he says, it is no exaggeration to call this college a "princely" one, for there are 18 princes in it: 5 brothers, all sons of Sultan Tombora, 2 sons of Basimbi(=Bazimbi), one of Sultan Rikita, one of Yango, one of Basongoda, one of Gangura and one of Mborli (?), all from the Zande tribe. The children of Sultan Nascer (=Nasr) of the Jangungle (=Ngulgule or Njangulgule), 2 of Sultan Musa Fartak of the Feroge tribe, one of Said Bandas, Kresh, and lastly a son of Sultan Abdallah, a Dinka. Together with these, there are five "commoners" as boarders, and a number of day-boys, attending the same classes. They are taught Arabic and English, Arithmetic and History. Religious instruction is done both in English and in Arabic, and Zande for Zande pupils.

In this same year, 1911, the first three pupils were baptized: Francis-Xavier Rumba son of Rikita, Joseph Malek son of Jubbara and John Abdel Latif. The first was Zande-Vongara and the other two Jebelawi[1].

In 1912 (pp.50-52), Mgr.Geyer reckons Wau population to 5,000, but the number of mission pupils shows no relevant increase. For the first time the Bishop speaks of Wau neighbourhood, remarking that in the immediate vicinity of the town --we may speak of suburbs-- no direct Christian propaganda is yet possible, or at least advisable, owing to the prevailing Moslem atmosphere and the instability of the population. On the other hand, at a

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[1] Many years afterwards, I found that Joseph was from the Logo tribe and John from Nyangbara.

distance of 2-3 hours' walk, there are villages where missionary work could be hopefully started.

On 30.5.1913, the B.el G. Mission is detached from the Vicariate Apostolic of Khartoum and Mgr.A.Stoppani is appointed Prefect Apostolic of Bahr el Ghazal (to become later Vicar Apostolic and Bishop in 1917(p.105).

In 1914, a memorable increase takes place in the number of school boys: nine young slaves, who had fled from their owners and found shelter in the Government office at Kafia Kingi, are entrusted to the mission for education. They belong to various tribes of the central-northern Sudan: Darfur and Chad area. In the course of time most of them entered government service: they were the pioneer clerks of the Southern Sudan, forming a rather closely-united group, and played an important role in the life of Wau town as well as of the whole Southern Sudan[1].

In 1917 we have Fr.Bertenghi's comprehensive report, which contains a summary of Wau Mission activities from the beginning up to the end of first World War (99-114; 109-115; 125-31). Only the main points will be mentioned here, and these most briefly.

The first trial encountered by missionaries was malaria: in a few months' time (1906) five died, three of them from Wau. Later another died. The shock was so terrible that the authorities responsible for the staff gathered (in Khartoum) to discuss the matter. Finding themselves in doubt, whether to carry on the enterprise or to stop it for a while, they delegated someone to consult the Governor-General himself, Sir R.Wingate, who is reported to have answered in the following terms (p.103): "As a Governor, according to human wisdom, I should advise you to withdraw; but as a Christian, I say: Remain and go on with your work, in spite of such lamentable losses, indeed on account of them. God will certainly take into account the sacrifices of those young

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[1] Among them, we must mention Stanislaus Abdullahi Paysama, a government official; in 1948 he entered the political career, was later elected Member of the House of Senate and the Legislative Assembly, and became a Minister.

lives and later on bless your enterprise".

The second difficulty was perhaps harder then the first: the opposition of a few fanatical Moslems, but particularly of "one", who went so far as to have the mission buildings set on fire, as mentioned above. Fr.Bertenghi ends his report, however, in an optimistic tone. Calumnies against missionaries have been so utterly defeated that, not only natives, but also Moslem immigrants --merchants above all-- are now in friendly terms with the mission, appreciating their efforts in the education of children, including Moslems, and for their contribution to the progress of the people at large. Mission workshops formed in those times-- and for long years to come-- the greatest attraction for an ever-increasing number of men of different belief and culture, who, by work and trade, cooperated for the welfare of the country.

To finish this chapter on Wau Mission life, we note that Fr.Bertenghi, writing in "La Nigrizia", the magazine of the Society, could not publish such details as would compromise the reputation of the Administration. Fr.A.Vignato, the founder of Kayango Mission and one of the most distinguished members of the Comboni Missionary Society (1878-1954) supplies them in his historical notes (private circulation) on Kayango and Wau stations.

The first arson took place on Febr.1909. Fr.Vignato had left Kayango with two carts, drawn by oxen, to go to Wau and carry home the yearly supplies awaiting there. On the third day, as he was entering the town, he met a British official in charge of the caoutchouc plantations, who told him the sad story: all the provisions had been burnt, fire having been set to both store and boys' dormitory while the community was in the chapel for morning prayer. About six days after, during supper, another big building, which was temporarily being used half as a chapel and half as boys' dormitory, was set on fire. A man was seen disappearing into the tall grass, with a blazing torch in his hands. After careful and prolonged enquiries, the person responsible for the arsons was discovered, though in a secret way: it was the Mam

himself, an Egyptian. A case was raised against him in the court, but owing to his high post - he had the rank of Captain in the Egyptian Army - no action was taken. But help came from an unexpected source. A traveller, a British citizen of German extraction, whose name Fr. Vignato did not remember[1], happened to visit Wau in those days. Being himself a Protestant missionary on an official errand, he gained the confidence of Fr. Firisin, the superior of Wau station, who told him confidentially what had happened. Not long afterwards an article was published in a British newspaper, under the headline: "How Catholic Missionaries are treated by British officials in the Bahr el Ghazal". The story hurt the feelings of the Governor-General, Sir R. Wingate, who immediately wrote to the Governor of Wau to refute the article and uphold the honour of the Province staff. One can easily understand the annoyance of the Province Governor, but, after due investigation, he was forced to acknowledge that Fr. Firsin had no connection with the article in question. Moreover, it became evident that the writer of the article had got the facts correctly and therefore could not be expected to recant. The case was closed, but justice was done discreetly: the persons responsible were transferred, and thenceforth the British officials changed their attitude towards the mission for the better.

"The Messenger"

In 1933, I myself wrote a concise draft of Wau mission history with the help of old residents, natives and missionaries. Here I shall give only details concerning the various sites of the mission, which may interest anybody trying to reconstruct the plan of Wau in the various periods of its early life (Messenger, Dec. 1933). The first chapel, a tent, was pitched near the R.Jur, 14 metres north and 74 west of the Nilometer. A few metres north of the chapel, a rather big native hut served as the missionaries' dwelling, and a few metres to the west there was a small kitchen (1905-06). In 1906 and 1907, the mission quarters were situated on the hill, where the army moved later. Taking as a starting

[1] From the details supplied by Fr. Vignato, there is every reason for identifying the visitor as Mr. Karl Kumm, the author of "From Hausalard to Egypt through the Sudan". (London, Constable 1910). The two arsons proved for Fr. Firisin such a terrible shock that over 30 years after, he would be heard at night crying loudly in his sleep: "Fire, Fire!"

site
point the Office (the exact 12 me of which can be easily identified from local archives), ., and res to the east and 25 to the south of it, lay the chapel about ca. 30 metres to the west, the house. The boys' dormitory that 40 metres to the southwest. The third and final site ish occaoccupied from the end of 1908 up to the present time, wit tion c sional enlargements.

The following informag centoncerns the workshops. Built by the government as a traininrthwesre for young artisans, the first school lay ca. 55 metres nolandint of the wireless shaft, close to the road leading to the e Missg-stage. Some 47 m. northeast, there was the workshop. Thablishion lay-Brothers were in charge of both. Later on, the eston maiment was moved to the open space lying in front of the Missiouilt a entrance, until the time came when the whole had to be rebit wasn a larger and more modern scale. This marked a new step, for on sch rebuilt within the mission lease, thus becoming a missic (Cf. pol, with a"special" government grant of 100 pounds per year ici e Ombre, p.58).

B) From 1910 to 1932

: "the
This period, coming after the early times" represents the
ime of transition from the firsre inte of regular administration
: the country to a second of mos kind ensive and planned develop-
ent. Although divisions of thisen dis should not be considered as
.ear-cut, the two stages have be tinguished here for the
ike of clarity.

ie Population

overnment servants

This class includes all those who worked on behalf of the ministration, in every field. Their number was considerable comparison with the total population. Besides the higher thorities --Governor, D.C. and A/D.C.-- there were Mamurs

and Sub-mamurs and several other officials in the Governor's office (Muderiya) and D.C.'s and Mamur's offices (Zaptiya), and the Chiefs' Court. There was the Hospital with doctors, dressers and workers; the Public Works Dept.(P.W.D.) with office, workshops and a number of employees, some of whom controlled outstations (e.g. log cutting camps). The greatest number, however, was accounted for by the army and police.

The Army consisted of a battalion of the Equatoria Corps, who had taken the place on the Northern Sudanese troops[1]. Two or three British officers (Bimbashi), several Northern officers (Yuzbashi), with a substantial number of Southern privates--with their junior officers-- were quite a lot in the capital that was just a village at that time. As everywhere in the army, but especially in colonies, there was a sharp difference in standards of living between officers and privates. The latter, because of their great number, required a lot of things, above all food-supplies. Moreover, the presence of such a great number of men implied the presence of a proportionate number of women: wives, concubines, prostitues,

With regard to the Jehadiya(the regular police), the same holds good, though on a minor scale, because men began sooner to acquire wives locally, in case they were not already married. Some idea of the military population is given by the fact that in the early 30's the battalion of Aweil, composed of recruits from the Zande District, contained 33 children per 100 women. "A distressing dearth of children-- commented the British commandant--who had been formerly in Torit, where the proportion of children was roughly 300 for 100 wives".

We may mention here also the prisoners, always numerous in Wau, for two reasons: first because they were entrusted to the police for custody, secondly because they performed a number of services for the town, for which, otherwise, the administration would have had to engage a considerable number of servants. Among their jobs was bringing drinkable water from the river to the

[1]Cf.Beshir: "The Equatoria Corps was established and on Dec.7, 1917, the last of the Northern Sudanese troops left Mongalla"(p.

houses of subscribers; emptying W.C. buckets, the upkeep of roads in town and roundabout; working in government gardens and doing other odd jobs, including the upkeeping of compounds of higher officials.

To supply food-stuff for such a lot of people was no easy job, and occasionally defeated the local staff. The following story illustrates the situation. In 1930-31, locusts and ill-timed rains had brought about a terrible famine in the B. el G., where a good number of natives, mostly Dinka, died. I had a foreboding that the same would happen in the next year, and therefore I took every precaution to ensure a sufficient amount of staple food for our institutions: durah and sesame. The latter cer was purchased locally, but durah was not available. We were informed, however, that there was plenty of it among the Shillukluk I contacted the A/Governor of the Upper Nile, through D.C. Wau, and got an abundant supply by boat, the cheapest mode of transport. The administration, through which I had obtained our supplies, had taken no step in that direction. The famine came as I had feared, and struck the country as severely as the previous year. Men were found dead with grass in their mouths. Others had such weak stomachs from the prolonged fasting that they could not tolerate ordinary food, and despite eating bread, they died. For the same reasons babies died because they could not tolerate the milk offered to them. Fortunately the Mission was able to supply grain to the hospital, prison and Khor Malang Leper Camp, as well as to a number of people who were in extreme need. (I cannot remember whether the army and the police had durah in stock or not).

Northerners - Arabs

Southerners used to denote peoples from the North with various terms, sometimes rather vague: "Arabs" was the commonest, but the old folk still used such denominations as "Bahara" and "Turuk" --the latter, however, being often applied to all "whites" in general. Gradually they became more proficient in distinguishing two main sections according to race and activity: Jallāba and

Fallāta (=Fellata). The former was applied to merchants. The latter to cultivators, or, more precisely, experts in vegetable-gardening.

To the Jellaba goes the credit of having been the pioneers of trade in the South, though formerly their name was often associated with the slave traffic. But, by the time, with government's authority firmly established, there was little chance that such deeds could be repeated. Occasionally infringements took place in the far north-west, in Kafia Kingi (later Raga) District, and quite rarely in Wau itself. But such were isolated cases, and no serious blame could be put on the administrators, a mere handful of British officials with a limited number of Egyptian and Northern subalterns, many of whom --especially among the former --looked upon service in the Southern Sudan as a kind of "confinement", owing to the unhealthy climate and poor conditions of livelihood[1]. We must add that, normally, slave-dealers had no connection with Wau community. They were, as a rule, itinerant individuals, still trying to carry on their old trade in spite of the socio-political changes which had meantime taken place. Once, however, after the famous escape of a group of boys at Kafia (later entrusted to the Mission for education), it was found out, through

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[1] A similar statement has already been seen among Comyn's notes quoted above. The following anecdote serves as a counterproof. As late as 1948, at the Custom House of Alexandria harbour, an old employee, hearing that I was bound for Wau, abruptly asked me: "Leh? 'Amalta eh?" (=Why? What (wrong) have you done?) --as if I had been condemned to forced labour. Of course, he said it jokingly; yet his first spontaneous reaction betrayed the old Egyptian mentality concerning the Southern Sudan. As a matter of fact, the first carpenter working in the government workshops was an Egyptian convict, about whom it was rumoured that he had commited homicide in mysterious circumstances.....

contact between them and other children in town, that something of the kind was going on in Wau itself. This was instantly put to an end.

The Fallata's work and role differed widely from that of the other Northerners. In the Sudan at large, and particularly in the South, they are vegetable garderners. As for their tribal identity, the term "Fallata" covers all immigrants from West Africa, mostly Haussa, who originally crossed into the (A.E.) Sudan with the intention of going on pilgrimage to Mecca, but eventually settled in the land, whether they had performed the pilgrimage or not. Their skill in gardening is beyond dispute. They and the Fathers and Brothers of the mission were always in good terms, exchanging seeds and seedlings, and helping one another in various ways. The Fallata's gardens were better kept than government and mission gardens, in both vegetables and fruits, despite the fact that the administration had plenty of prisoners working for the purpose.

The produce of the Fallata's gardens was the main contribution to the vegetable diet of the town. For example, they grew a great quantity of onions, so much appreciated by natives, which otherwise could only be obtained at high cost from the North, when the steamers arrived at Wau or Meshra. The following case gives some idea of their ingenuity. About 1933, a Fallata obtained permission to cultivate a wide stretch of land near the bridge lying north of the "suk", on the road to Khor Malang: a dry flat clayish soil bordering the (former) airfield, apparently unfit for growing anything. But pegs were seen fixed on the ground, ropes tied to them and a complex series of orderly lines drawn. Then for a week or so Dinkas, under the direction of the Fallata, were seen digging small straight trenches and filling them with manure. In due time onion blades were springing up and at the harvest time a considerable quantity of the previous vegetable was marketed. In such ways, with their blend of skill and imagination, the Fallatas succeeded in obtaining the max. results with the minimum

of means at their disposal. I well remember that while in Rumbek (1955) I was one of the subscribers to the produce of the government garden. The latter must have weighed heavily on local finances. There was an agricultural overseer and a clerk, 4-5 minor employees and gardeners, with lower wages; prisoners provided unskilled labour, free, but their maintenance should, of course, be taken into account. Then there were the buildings (office, stores, etc), watering installations, a number of tools, etc. With all that, the yield in vegetables and fruit could not stand comparison with the output of 2-3 Fallatas. The argument is not intended to rule out modern development techniques, but simply to suggest that schemes of the kind should be more intelligently devised and more practically organised to render them profitable, and that in the meantime, and even alongside them, skilled local hands should be encouraged in their activities for the benefit of the community.

Greeks and Others

If to the Jallabas goes the credit of starting trade, to the Greeks goes that of having developed it on a wider scale and on modern lines. Moreover their competition prevented their rivals from exploiting the natives. There was, of course, government control of prices; but what could the administration have done without the competition of these experts against the shrewd and experienced Jallabas spread all over the country? Gradually also the Greeks, realising that the other merchants ran a training scheme for apprentices, began to engage shop-keepers who already had experience in the job with the Jallaba. Subsequently they began to train their own assistants. Usually the latter were recruited from former mission pupils, who could write and keep accounts; but it took rather a long time before they proved efficient shop-keepers. In several documents (e.g. Beshir, op.cit.50) one reads about merchants of other nationalities, mainly Syrians. I wonder on what ground such information is based. That elsewhere in the Sudan, e.g. in Juba, Syrian merchants thrived, is not in

estion. But as far as Wau is concerned this view is mistaken. cal archives should contain clear evidence on the matter. I member that when I went to Wau (1928), there was only one rian merchant, a certain Francis....,who soon left the country cause --it was said-- he was unable to stand the competition of e Hellenic community.

From other nationalities, I remember only one Jewish erchant, popularly known under the name of Baghdādī, from his ative city, Baghdād.

e Mission

The Mission formed a large part of the life of a small town ike Wau. First, there were its workshops, whose activities are oo well known to need further appraisal: a matter of fact admitt-d by all, even by writers not at all sympathetic to missionary ork (e.g. Beshir, p.31). The furniture produced by the carpentry hop, for example, was admired by all. The extraordinary skill f the Brothers in charge made up for the lack of suitable machi-ery. Progress continued in later years, until in 1927-30 a new pacious workshop was built. Huge pieces of machinery, both for arpenters and mechanics were provided by Bishop Stoppani from taly: St.Joseph's Trades School was thus erected to provide a ore decent accommodation for the young apprentices[1]. one fact

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Several details deserve to be mentioned, though in a footnote, for they are closely connected with the life of Wau town. The new engines were so heavy that the British "muhandis" (popularly engineer", but in fact a foreman) declined the responsibility for their unloading at Wau Quay. Mission personnel had to see to it. - Similarly the British muhandis in charge of the P.W.D. declined the responsibility for their transport through the town, fearing that the bridges could not stand their weight. Mission personnel managed to get the whole stuff through, by using special cart, very long and fairly light, and strengthening the bridges-- at the moment of its passage-- by means of large wooden planks. - Contrary to what many people think, and some wrote, all this was done to mission enterprise, without any financial help from the government. Only later, the Secretary of Education, in his official visit to the South (1930?), acknowledged the"fait accompli", and granted a subsidy of 100 pounds towards the construction of the workshops and as many for the building of the school.

should not be forgotten which speaks eloquently of Mgr. Stoppani's broadmindedness and foresight. As early as 1922 he sent the three most promising pupils of the Trades School to Alexandria for a three years course at the Technical School run by the Salesians, to be trained as mechanic, carpenter and shoemaker respectively.

Workshops were undoubtedly a great asset, not only for the mission, but for the whole town and their fame spread. A group of British tourists, who happened to call at Wau on their way from Mombasa to the North, expressed their admiration saying that they had not seen workshops so well equipped throughout their African tour (ca.1931).

In 1927, when all other motor vehicles available were being used to quell the "Nuer disturbances", the late Fr.Galli, then in charge, succeeded in making a bearing for the only lorry left in Wau, without which it could not travel. Spare parts had to be ordered from London !

The academic side of the teaching, never neglected in the past, was organised regularly in 1929-30, pupils being divided in three classes. The morning was spent in school and the afternoon in workshops. After these three years, if they passed their examinations, they were given a low grade certificate. For the high grade, they had to stay two more years, mostly spent in practising their particular craft under the supervision of the Brother in charge, who gave them also lessons, mainly in mechanical or carpentry drawing.

A primary school was started by Fr.Firisin in 1905, which, after a difficult initial period, gradually gained ground and pupils. Boys were taught English and Arabic, each language prevailing at different times, according to the policy of the Education Department. When the first pupil had completed the elementary course, to further their education "informal intermediate" classes were automatically started, which were more regularly organised with the passing of years. For the teaching of Arabic, Arabic speaking masters, mostly Syrians or Copts, were obtained,

subsidized by the Education Dept. Also, from 1918 onward, the most promising pupils, after completing their training in Wau school, were sent to the college of Khartoum Mission in order to improve their Arabic. (When I arrived at Wau, in 1928, some of them were still there). In fact, 1918 was a turning point, not only because of what has just been said, but also because in that year the first mission-educated youngsters entered government service, in the Muderiya and elsewhere, as clerk apprentices. Probably this was the reason why it was decided to send some pupils to Khartoum for further education.

The primary school took a long time to become popular, for few parents cared to have their children educated. Gradually, however, boys came in number from all conditions of life, race and faith. In 1929 class I, the lowest form, had to be split in two, for there were over 40 pupils in attendance. In the intermediate school (still "informal"), though Christians were more numerous, there were Moslem and pagans, too. Among the earliest attendants, for instance, there was Babeker, who became the chief of the Kresh Naka? always in friendly terms with missionaries, though remaining a pagan all his life. In 1928-30, likewise, the first two years of my residence in Wau, several students completed their course at the Stack School--Higher Intermediate-- after their training at the mission, some of whom remained as they were entering the school. Among the Moslems I remember Hassan and Ahmed Najūmi, children of a Northern merchant, and among the pagans Nataki, son of Azrag, the paramount chief of the Banda tribe. It is sad to realise that some writers on the Southern Sudan seem to ignore, or even deny, these facts, owing to political or religious prejudices, or both. Yet some of the early pupils of Wau Mission Schools are still alive (among whom Mr. Stanislaus A. Paysama, former MP and Minister) and can bear witness to their truth[1].

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[1] I shall quote a "typical case, to illustrate "our" policy in connection with the subject in hand. On one occasion the above mentioned Nataki Azrag expressed to me his wish to become a Christian. In view of his particular position and actual circumstances, I advised not to take such a step, at least for the time being. "Later on in life--I suggested--he might eventually think it over and decide more maturely what to do. He never turned a Christian.

Girls' education suffered from the same difficulties to e found all over Africa: parents, whether pagan or moslem, were oath to break tribal-social customs, which dictated that their aughters should be kept at home and in seclusion. In Wau, in the 930's, there were 3-4 classes of girls; the older ones were beginning to get further education to qualify them to teach in the Junor classes. Only later was it possible to organise higher educaion, both locally (Wau-Nazareth) and in government centres (Maridi). hristian parents, of course, had no objection against their aughters being taught at the mission, either as boarders or as day- upils; pagans, too, gradually were convinced of the advantage of aving their girls educated, especially if they were prospective iancées of Christian youths. But moslem families, who sent their oys to school, did not send their girls. There were a few exceptions to this in the case of parents who were natives, only superficially islamised, and who had consented to give their daughters n marriage to Christians.

Another mission asset, which had an important bearing on ultural activity, was the printing press, which produced occasinal papers and pamphlets, and later books, both for religious and eneral instruction. To give an idea of its activities, I mention ome of the earliest publications: "A simple Christian Catechism" n Southern Arabic, of over 100 p. (1928); "A Zande Simple Supplementary Reader" (1932) and an "Appendix to Zande Supplementary Reader" (1931), containing notes on Hygiene, Agriculture, Civics, etc.

But the foremost result was the starting, in the middle of 931, of the first "newspaper" in the South, "The Messenger", first s a monthly, then as a fortnightly magazine. "The Messenger" is o well known in the Southern Sudan that any comment would appear uperfluous. Besides its primary aim-- that of circulating news-- t played a relevent role in spreading sound ideas on education

:n general, hygiene, agriculture, and, above all, religion and
orals[1].

latives

Natives are dealt with last because, being the most impor-
ant part of this study, they need more detailed treatment. For
he sake of clarity, I shall divide them in three sections: town-
hip, outskirts of the town and rural population around it. As
nly a cursory hint had been given on this subject concerning the
early times", what is going to be said covers, partly, also that
eriod. After all, it would be impossible, for lack of official
ata, to make a clearcut chronological division.

ownship

After a period of increase, the flow of immigrants in town
ubsided. The need of more hands for work was growing slowly, and
rplus "mouths" were undesirable, for food-supplies remained a
rious problem. A plan of the town, even if drawn only approxima-
ly, shows fairly clearly the distribution of population in Wau.

Government servants occupied an irregular parallelogram-sha-
d area, with its shorter side east-west, and its longer one south-
rth. It spread from the riverside westwards, comprising the
ll on whose slopes the barracks lay. It was, no doubt, the fin-
t and healthiest part of the town; where the army was, the mission
d previously been, but soon had been "invited" (i.e.ordered) to

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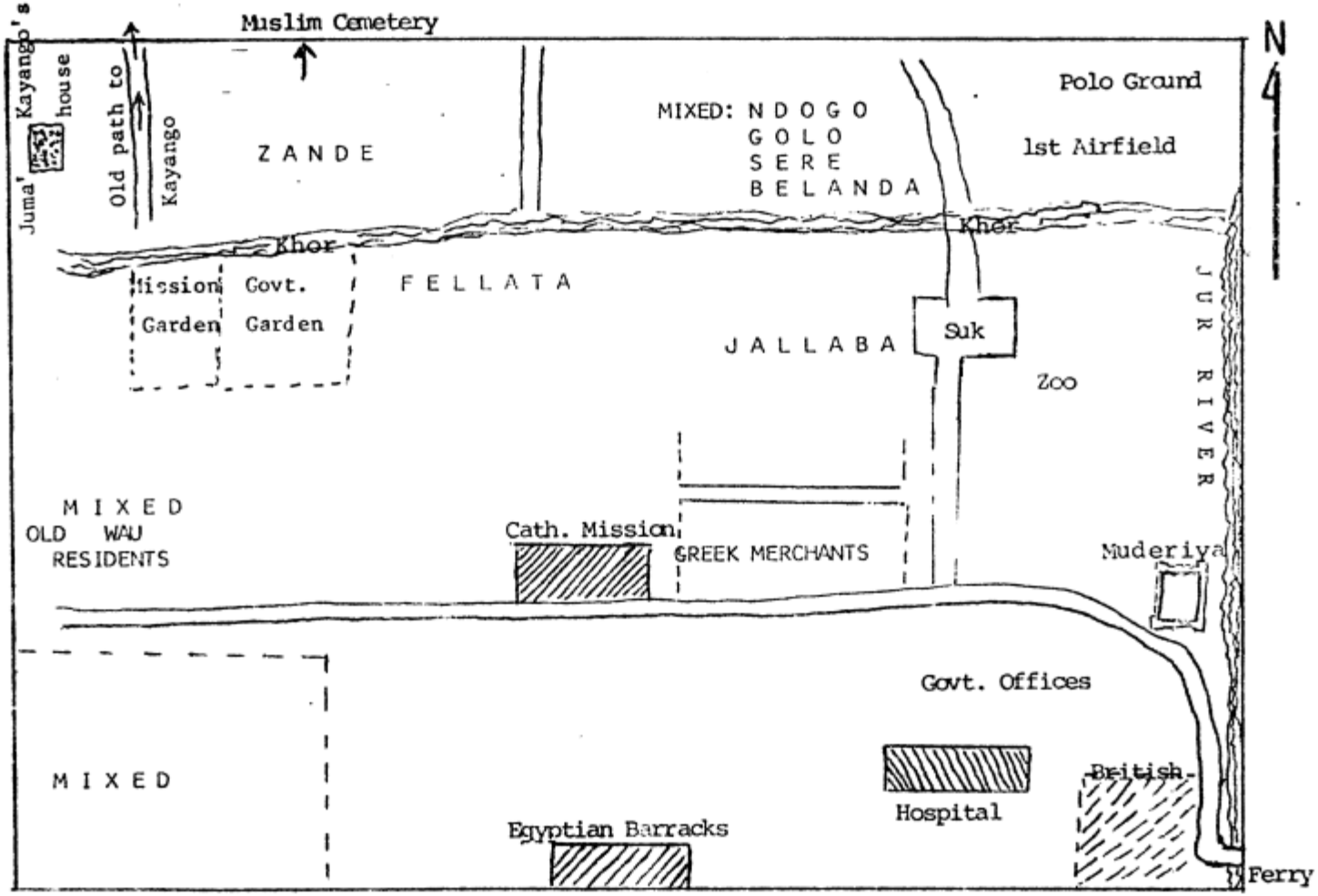
n addition, "The Messenger" started publishing articles on tribal
istory and folklore under its various aspects. Fr.Nebel's notes
n the Dinka and Fr.Santandrea's on a number of tribes, are still
source of useful information for students of Southern Sudanese
atters. -The following item of recent date (1975?) adds consid-
rable credit to this little mission paper. A foreign graduate,
reparing a thesis on the much debated problem of the "Sudan ques-
ion" (North-South), had a doubt about a "political" detail --of great
mportance for the kind of study he was engaged in-- concerning
he first general elections in the Sudan and the official propaganda
onnected with the same. He duly consulted Oxford libraries and
British) experts, but the doubt remained: no document was forthcoming
o support the point at stake. In order to check and complement the
terial already gathered, he was advised to come and consult our library
nd papers in Rome..Well, in The Messenger he found the document which



SKETCH MAP OF OLD WAU TOWN

withdraw.

The Greek community was located just north of that area on a narrow strip of land that was short from north to south and long on the east-west axis. Their shops lined both the main street going to the Muderiya westward and another street parallel and just to the north of it. Behind these shops were their private compounds.

Along the road that branched off the main one in a north-westerly direction, towards the market place (and thence turning north-wards) were the Jallaba shops, generally with a small compound behind them; for, owing to their "way of life" (harem), their homes were situated in their quarter, further to the northwest, up to the stream that cuts Wau in two parts.

Further westward lay the Fallata quarter.

The Mission compound was just west of the Greeks', with an empty place -- a wide square-- between them. Beyond them all, to the north, were the Fallata. West of the Mission, on both sides of the main road going to Deim Zubeir - Raga, was a mixed quarter, inhabited mostly, but not exclusively, by natives, among whom many were from the northwestern B.el G. This area, however, had been subject to so many changes, that, to be exact, its inhabitants should be specified period by period. Later on I will make brief references to them.

The undisputed native quarter lay beyond the stream, and was popularly called "Muqta'"(beyond, understood:the stream). In 1957, when I left Wau, it was divided in the same way as in 1928, when I arrived there. To the east there was the mixed central-western population: Ndogo, Golo, Belanda.., and other minorities; to the west, the Azande. A depression, or natural ditch, along which ran a strip of vacant land, formed the boundary between them[1]. The end

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cont. from p.51.

solved all doubts: one of the papers frequently passed on to us for publication by the local administration.

[1] The ditch is the result of soil erosion due to the uncontrolled cutting of wood-and-bush, around and in Wau. It is wellknown that the town itself was originally a hill, with thickly wooded slopes. A number of huge trees, scattered all over the area, still hovered

of the settlement, to the west, was marked by the old road to Kayango-Chakchak. Formerly one of the main tracks of communication, it reverted to a simple path, though much used, after Ariahn-Dit's uprising in 1922, which led to the organisation of the Northern District (Dinka-Malual), with headquarters at Aweil, linked to the capital by a new road.

A little to the west lay, in 1928-29, the homestead of Juma' Kayango, the younger brother of the more famous chief, Kayango, near the residence of whom the Kayango Mission was founded. Along the stream, especially on the right bank, flourished the gardens: government, missions and Fallata. The bridge bore the name of "Borotolo", after the name of Bro.Bortolo Fabris, who built it and many times repaired it, until the administration re-sited it for good[1].

A special category of citizens, commonly called "Marfudīn" or "Rafīd", deserves mention. They lived partly in the native quarters, mostly among the Azande, and partly just outside the town, in the midst of their cultivations, often mixed with their tribesmen (about whom we shall speak later). The Marfudīn (literally "the rejected --or, rather, dismissed-- ones") were practically "veteran soldiers on pension", who had come back from the north, mostly from Omdurman, after the Anglo-Egyptian campaign. Included among them were a number of elders repatriated from the north on similar terms. A great many of them were former slaves, who had been captured by the Dervishes (Mahdists) as young men, and brought to Omdurman to be enrolled in the Mahdi's army. Roughly 90% were

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(cont. from p.52).
up solemnly with their green foliage in 1928: mahogany, buu and pai (Daniella thurifera and Afzelia africana, respectively). But, year after year they disappeared one by one, and consequently rain eroded the soil, leaving the bare red stone to the surface.

[1] Near the left northern bank a wide stretch of land contained excellent clay for brick-making. Brother Bortolo (1880-1943) used it as a quarry and built a bridge, to facilitate the transport of the material. Whenever the bridge collapsed under the weight of carts or was washed away by floods, Bro.Bortolo used to rebuild it, until he made it into a solid structure.

from the Zande and kindred tribes, especially from Congo(=Zaïre).

According to my calculations, there were about 100 such men. A good number of them had left their children behind them in the north, where they had families and jobs. In many cases, the men had brought their wives with them, or at least one of them. On the other hand, those who had come alone, had easily found a wife in Wau, either from among women repatriated together with them or from the local population. The real "marfudïn" received a pension (if I remember right, 30 Pt. per month) which, though small, just about sufficed for their needs, as they lived very frugally. Moreover, those who lived in the country managed to support themselves with the produce of their cultivation, because, though advanced in age, they worked steadily. Those who stayed in town sought, or supplemented, their livelihood by doing odd jobs. A job in which they specialized was as night watchmen to merchants' shops, sleeping under the verandah attached to them. In fact they enjoyed a well deserved reputation for extraordinary honesty. (I can assure, from personal experience, that they did deserve it). Some of them dressed in genuine Dervish style --long Jallabias made up of 20-30 or 40 pieces of cloth of different kinds and colours-- and formed one of the typical sights of Wau.

As hinted above, women also came from the north, though not in such great number as men. Among them there was Margerita (=Margaret) Cassina, a Ndogo, who had been a pupil of the Khartoum Mission in the time of Bishop Comboni (+1881). When she became too old to support herself, she was lodged in a comfortable hut within the mission compound (in Wau), where she lived up to her death. Mgr. F.-X.Geyer, on his first visit to Wau in 1904, was deeply moved on meeting, on the bank of the R.Jur, this Christian woman, a Wau citizen, who had returned home at the very beginning of the Condominium (Cf."La Nigrizia" 1905, pp.23-24.

Mulukiya[1]

This category comprises the population living in the outskirts, or suburbs of the town, who were considered almost as Wau citizens, and were actually ruled by "town" chiefs, as will be shown further on. Here is a description referring to the years 1928-30. The attached map will help to visualize the location of the principal groups dealt with.

On the right bank of the Jur, at the beginning of the road branching off in two directions --Meshra er-Rek and Tonj/Rumbek-- there was a Zande colony, distinct from the one living in town, under Chief Wad Ali. Details about them will be given later.

Near them, and partly mixing with them, along the Tonj road lived the remnants of a formerly numerous Jebel group, who were unwilling to leave their cultivations and come in town. (Jebel, or Jebelaw., a term--as already explained in a footnote-- locally applied to all tribes living, roughly, between Amadi and the Nile/Congo Divide).

About 2-4 kms to the south of Wau, near the road leading to Tombura, was the village of Ngobu, where Chief Rabeh Nga resided. In the bush nearby were some scattered hamlets. Though himself a Bai(or Bare), Nga's subjects belonged to different tribes, each unit having its own sub-chief or headman. Close to his home, the Ndogo prevailed; but a little way to the south, in the locality called Mumoi after the nearby swamp, there was a big Zande settlement. Similarly to the south, scattered around in the countryside, was a fairly numerous Sere colony, with subchief Rahmat-Allah at their head. A few of them actually had two homes, one in town and one in the midst of their cultivations. The same was true, though in a lesser degree, of the Azande of Mumoi.

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[1]This name appears under several spellings in government and other papers: Mulukia, Mulkia..,Mulki. It is,apparently, a collective to indicate houses which are the private property of the dwellers.

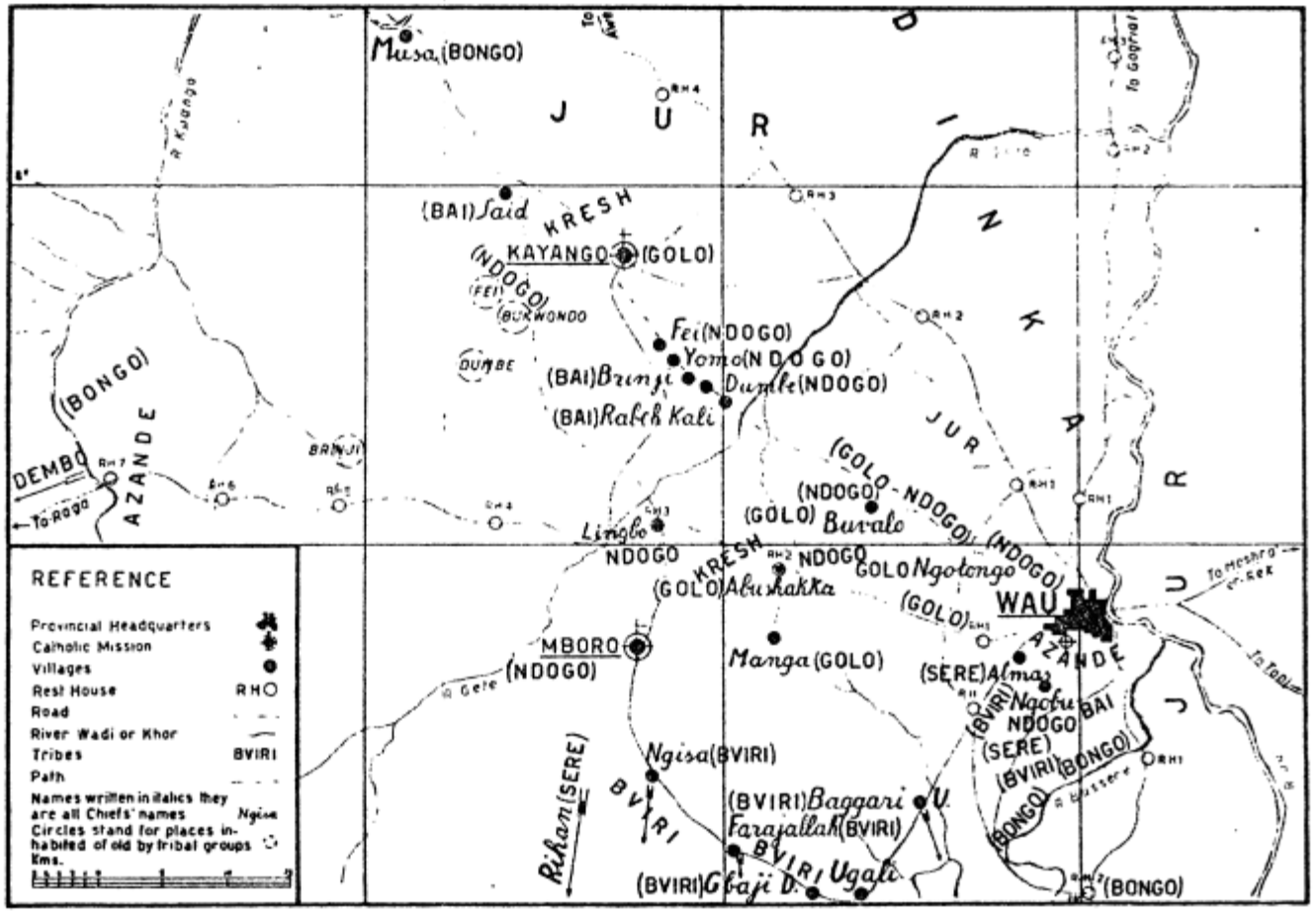
Neighbourhood

Other tribal groups lived in the vicinity of Wau, some near and some further away, but all connected with the life of the town. In the general redistribution of the population, to be described later, they were scattered here and there, and are therefore likely to be forgotten by historian. Yet, they should be remembered not only for historical curiosity, but also because they played a relevant role in the development of Wau itself, supplying such vital elements as labour and foodstuff. Moreover, as will be seen, some of them had much closer connection with Wau than the average person from B.el G. thinks. I cannot tell whether the headquarters archives have kept records of their numbers, whereabouts and activities, but I am sure that Maps, drawn in that period, witness most clearly to their presence, marking such minute details as hamlets, names of headmen and the like. The difficulty lies in knowing how to read them. The small map here attached, taken from Tribal History, is sufficient to make the average reader acquainted with the principal settlements in question.

Around Wau, at a distance of about 10-15 Kms, ran a circular road called Sharia (Share'), lined with rudimentary rest-houses at regular intervals. In 1928 the road was already uncared for, gradually deteriorating into a path for the local population. Starting from the south, we should remember that, to reach it from Wau, one had to follow the "old" government road to Tombura, which started from the British quarters and crossed the Bussere at 12 Kms from the town. On its left bank there was a small rest-house for travellers:that was the beginning of the Share' which then turned westward.

Scattered along it, but mostly in the bush nearby, one saw first a number of Bongo hamlets: a mixture of people partly repatriated from the north and partly assembled here from various localities of the district. Yet, outwardly, they formed a fairly homogeneous group.

MAP OF TRIBES NEAR WAU BEFORE 1930



Beyond them there was a small Sere settlement, lying just to the west of the present Wau-Tombura road, under subchief Almās (1928-30). The spot was quite pleasant, with a rather comfortable rest-house, and, above all, with a spring of good cold water, by far the best in all the neighbourhood. Here too, not unlike the Bongo described above, the population belonged to diverse clans.

Proceeding still westward, one arrived at the (semi-) circular road, also called the Belanda road, linking Wau to Mboro. Nearby was the residence of subchief Bandās Vito --better known to the natives as Bandās Umbili-- later chief of the mixed population centred on the Kpango River. The people were Bviri, as their headman, but Bandās ruled also over other tribal groups. More will be said about him later. The place is now known as Brinji village, after the subchief of the strong Bviri clan who settled here much later. It has (at least it had, before the tragic events of 1962-72) a flourishing outschool and chapel to meet the needs of the local population.

Continuing along the Share', one encountered more Seres and Golos, the latter being particularly numerous near the place where the Share' met the main road to Deim Zubeir - Raga. The place is still known as Ngo-Lengbo, from the marshy stream nearby. Golo hamlets extended also west of the swamp, along the Wau-Raga road. Taking again the Share', more Golo hamlets could be found as far as Ngotongo, a Ndogo village of some standing, crossed by the Wau-Chakchak path. The Share', which from Ngo-Lengbo onward had an easterly direction, continued eastward, until it reached the Wau-Aweil road, where the Jur lived. Another Ndogo settlement, however, must be mentioned. It lay between Ngotongo and Khor Malang and was crossed, too, by the Wau-Chakchak path.

To these groups, more closely connected with Wau town, we must add three more:the Bongo of Dakungu(=Dokungu), the Sere of Rihān Wademoyo and the Bviri of the Wau-Mboro semicircular road.

Dakungu's Bongos had been a rather numerous group in the past, but they made no exception to the general decline of the tribe. Their (late) chief Dakungu, after whom they were named,

:ad a strong personality, struggling hard to keep independent from
ijor potentates, but his successors had failed to maintain
s stand[1].

The Sere mentioned above had left the Zande country as soon
; they had been allowed to do so, after Gbudue-Yambio's defeat
id death (1905): happy to shake off Tombura's heavy yoke. Some
them had joined their tribesmen repatriated from the north,
it the bulk kept together in the bush. At first they settled
ither far in a place south of the R.Bussere, then near Ngo-Alima
; the north-eastern side of its swampy marsh[2]. There I visited
.em and saw several times their chief, Rihān, an offspring of
old family of chiefs (Trib.Hist., p.102). Later, as we shall
:e, Bandās Vito took them along with him to the Kpango.

There remains to say a few words about the Bviri, the Ndogo-
ke speaking section of the Belanda. There is a fairly ample
terature on them, mostly in SNR, a summary of which, with my
rsonal additions, can be read in Trib.Hist.(107-31). Like the
re, they had left Zande country from 1905 onward. (I have said
ande country", but it should be remembered that a great part of
.e land they came from was originally their own land). Like the
re, at first they had kept rather far from Wau, settling mostly
uth of the Bussere, whence they gradually moved north. Eventua-
y they established their homes more or less where they are now

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bout the Bongo, see Trib.Hist.,131-40, and SNR,XXXVII (1956),
p 61-79("Notes on the Bongo" by S.Santandrea). Schweinfurth est-
mated their number ca 200,000 before the Egyptian occupation and
lave-trade, and ca 100,000 in 1872. In 1950 they numbered about
.000 near Wau and 4,000 or less near Tonj. In Bongo names, one
often finds the component da (originally do=head, beginning..)
nd kungu (or kongo:the vowels sound between "o" and "u"), meaning
road".

he stream is called, in official files,"Halima", and gives the
ame to the local Chiefs' Court: Halima. Actually, the name should
e spelt "alimo"(or "alima"), from the shrub of this name, which
bounds in that territory.

(1964), i.e. along the "Belanda semicircular road" from Wau to Mboro, with a by-path branching off at Ugali's and going to Akanda (saw-mill), on the Bussere. Altogether, according to official lists of 1952, the Bviri numbered 1,312 tax-payers. If we add the 311 near Deim Zubeir, the grand total amounts to 1623. Thus they were the largest tribe of the Wau-Raga district after the Kresh, who numbered 1661. Taking into account the greater number of their children, we may safely assert that they equalled the Kresh in number. Of course, if we add up all the Bviri of the Southern Sudan, they are undoubtedly the largest tribe of the central-western B.el G.

Juma Kayango[1]

To introduce this personage I quote a passage from Trib.Hist. written many years ago and published in 1964, which I consider still correct. "A few more words must be said about Kayango's younger brother, whose Arabic name, Juma', was so often used that his native Golo name, Muse, was practically forgotten. A deeply rooted enmity sprang between the two brothers, which led to their separation till death. The elder brother, since he was a Sultan, was officially much more important, but actually he ruled over a small community; his younger brother, on the contrary controlled the people of Wau town and its neighbourhood. Having settled in the headquarters as the local headman from the very beginning, from there he managed to contact all new comers near the capital, helping their headmen in every possible way. In this manner he shrewdly won over their allegiance, which substantiated in a personal tribute paid to him (Such is the information I gathered from a number of trustworthy elders, among whom several headmen). In this way Juma' gained Bviri who streamed down from Zande country in the years 1906-1908 into a "new land", meeting

[1] His name is always spelt "Goma" in official papers (The same letter is pronounced "g" in the north, and "d" in the south). The average southerner, like official papers, ignores the final "ain", here marked "'", for lack of a proper symbol, " ".

swampy stretch of land near Khor Malang. Juma' approached him together with the Jur headman, Abdallah. The former abruptly told Fr.Vignato that, if there were a real government in the place, even one composed of Dervishes, they would have imprisoned the Mamur. Evidently he knew who was responsible for the arson in the mission compound. Vignato, then, asked him whether he was ready to tell the truth if the case were raised before the D.C.'s tribunal. In reply, Juma' threatened Fr.Vignato with retribution if he mentioned his name to the authority. (Speaking of the Golo headman, the missionary says that he "was a famous interpreter and a despotic ruler of the natives of Wau)."

To give a fairly exact idea of the number of people over whom Juma' had power, I shall produce some official data which, though belonging to a slightly later date, provide a sound basis for an estimate. The lists in question were supplied to my office as Mission Procurator and co-editor of The Messenger, in which selected items from the Province Diary were published for public information. Fortunately I have kept copies of some for my studies on local tribes[1].

The most "ancient" list at my disposal is dated 1927 and signed by Mr.Owen. Unfortunately the figures given "are exclusively of Wau town and the Mulukia area..; statistics for which are not obtainable". It is a pity that the item most needed at this point of my study is not available. The next list is dated 1932, probably January, when the general meeting of the chiefs was held, and contains useful references to previous years. Thus it brings us quite close to the period under examination[2].

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[1] For the benefit of any historian who might, in the future, work with the H.Q. files, it may be worth mentioning that, when Mr. Bethell was in charge of the District, the enormous amount of papers in his office must have annoyed him; he therefore ordered a bonfire to be made of all the material which he considered useless.

[2] When the spelling of proper names is wrong, or does not suit the method I have so far followed, I shall give the correct spelling between brackets throughout this study. N-B. TP = tax-payers.

...r chief	tribe	place	in 1932	1931
...i	Zande	Meshra-Tonj Road	200	651
... Allagabo	Golo	Wau Town	300	
...lah-Jabu)				
... Nga	Bai(=Bare)	Wau	719	828
... Vito	Belanda-Bviri	Wau-Raga Rd.	769	782
...a Ombaga	" "	Halima	847	848
...āri Ungbanga)				

...ās Vito is better known locally as Bandās-Umbili, the latter ... his Bviri name, the former his "Arabic" name, and Vito the ...f his father. - The spelling Baggāra may be more correct ...aggāri, but all natives pronounced his name in the latter ... If I remember well, his Bviri name was Nidomgo. -Ombaga is ...-spelling for Ungbanga. -The following comments, taken ...lly from the same official lists, and the brief illustration ... follows, form part of Wau history in those times.

... Wad Ali, "originally District Zande interpreter, was ap... this year to take charge of all the Azande in Wau on their ... collected into one village on the Tonj Road. He is quite ...e and works well" (Mackintosh, 1931).

... An item of particular interest in this report is the fall ...ber of his subject in one year's time. What was the reason? ... is prompted by the same report which goes on saying: "Has ...ell in maintaining order and collecting taxes from his floa...opulation" (Mackintosh,1932). But the fact that his popula...as "floating", however, does not explain sufficiently the ... fall in numbers. Another fact should, I think, be taken ...onsideration. The collecting of these people (mostly carri...o had left their country to seek work in order to make cash) ... the river, outside the town, was unpopular. Many of them ...ave managed to settle elsewhere (e.g. among their tribes... the countryside near Wau, as subjects of Rabeh Nga), whence ...robably succeeded, in course of time, in returning to the ... or sought a better livelihood in the Forests Dept. (saw-mills ...mber camps).

Name c... / Wad Al... / Saleh / (=S.Al... / Rabeh / Bandās / Baggar... / (=Bagg... / --Band... / being / name c... / than B... / way. / a mis- / litera... / which / pointed / being / capabl... / in num... / A clue / done w... / ting p... / tion w... / great / into c... / ers wh... / beyond / must h... / men in / they p... / town, / and ti...

Saleh Allahjabu "joined Police Force in 1905 (he is mentioned by Comyn, p.284), was appointed Shawish in 1910 and Bas-shawish in 1915 to 1930, when he was appointed chief of Wau town. Speaks Arabic, Dinka, Jur, Ndogo, Zande, Umberodi[1], Biri, Golo, Sere, Bare fluently and a little English. - Note: 843 taxpayers are under him for administration, but their taxes are collected by Chief Rabeh Nga who works with him".

Rabeh Nga - "Appointed chief of the Mulukia area at the death of Juma' Kayango (5th Dec.1928). He had done well as a subchief of Juma' for 7 years (Wallis,1929). - Does quite well. Has a difficult command because his people are drawn from all tribes of the province. A number of his people have joined other commands, particularly Golo, Shairi(Sere) and Ndogo. Next year he will lose about 15% of his existing people, on move to tribal areas (Mackintosh,1931). - All his Shere (Sere) Golo and Ndogo units have been moved to their tribal areas. The first four miles of the Bo road have been reserved for Mulkieh Zandes under his command. In addition to being responsible for the collection of poll tax from these people, he is responsible for the poll collection from 5 subchiefs who have Northern elements under their command, viz, West.Dis.persons, Darfur inhabitants, Fellata and Hausa people, and Zande residents in Wau town. Is energetic, capable and invariably cheerful (Mackintosh,1932).

Bandās Vito - "Appointed chief over all the lesser subchiefs of Chief Juma Kayango when the latter died. He also took over the Bongo of Chief Kerjok who was deposed (5th Dec.1928). -Capable, conscientious and hardworking. He has this year been put in charge of the whole Raga road from No.10 -No.1 and has been given Jurisdiction to sit on the Bisellia Court as well as the Pongo

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[1] Umberodi (=A mbe-Rodi) are the Belanda section speaking a Jur-like dialect, whereas the Bviri(alias:Biri) speak a Ndogo-like language. A-Mbe-Rodi is a foreign name: they call themselves Bor.-Four of the languages listed above are just dialects of one language, as appears clearly from my : Comparative Outline-Grammar of NDOGO-SERE-TAGBU-BAI-BVIRI-Bologna,"Nigrizia" 1961.

(Kpango) Court. Able to speak the four languages of his area, he controls the mixed command well, and is popular (Mackintosh, 1931). He has taken over and settled Bari(Bai) and Shere elements with the minumum of fuss (ibid.,1932).

Comments - First. These extracts from Wau official files confirm the information gathered by me orally from headmen and elders about Juma Kayango's control over men in Wau town, Mulukia and neighbourhood (Baggari's people and the mixed population formerly under Chief Bandas Vito had been his subject). -Second. This official document provides useful data for the problem illustrated in the next chapter.

DEVELOPMENT

Contribution of the various groups

Much has already been said about this topic, and therefore here only a sketch-list is given, almost as a reminder.

Merchants

Whether Jallaba or Greeks, with their numerous branches scattered all over the country, they contributed to the opening and progress of trade. The presence of these two groups in competition made for lower prices and costs more than any legislation could have obtained. Of course, people engaged in business are primarily concerned with their own profit, and natives have repeatedly complained of the greed for profit of numbers of them;to the detriment of the welfare of the inhabitants. From my long-lived experience, the worst accusations of extortions were made against many of the small shop-owners scattered throughout Dinkaland, who charged excessive prices and bartered at exorbitant rates in time of famine. To be exact, rather than "owners" they were agents, mostly of the Jallabas.

Fallata

Educated Sudanese surmise that these born gardeners might improve their efficiency if they were instructed in the use of modern techniques. But it would be a pity if thereby they were to set aside their life experience and, above all, their ability to obtain the maximum of results with a minimum of means.

Azande

Leaving aside the question of the heterogeneous elements of which the Zande nation is composed, there is a peculiar feature about them which should not be overlooked. On the one hand, the power of their chiefs, the complex and efficient organisation of the tribe: all these, and many other points, cause a feeling of admiration for them. On the other hand, the individual, when left alone or away from home, is simple, unpretentious, ready for any kind of work, even the humblest ones, which other natives refuse to do. At the same time, he is often clever and shows a considerable degree of ingenuity in several crafts. With regard to Wau, one often wonders how the administration would have survived without Zande porters. In addition, the timber camps of the neighbourhood were kept going for many years because of them. In several mission outstations, too, wood-cutters, cooks and the like were recruited mostly from them. Last, but not least, the children of the Vongara chiefs educated in Wau mission school and workshop proved amongst the brightest in all kinds of intellectual and practical achievement.

Central - Westerners

These tribes (Ndogo, Golo, Kresh,.) have already been mentioned as providing the best craftsmen of B.el G., and, we may add, of the whole South. In fact, their fame spread beyond the boundaries of the province: in Juba, Malakal, Kordofan, Khartoum they were (and are) much appreciated for their varied skills. In the years 1940-46, while I was in Wau, a group of these craftmen had developed a kind of "Carpenters' society", which produced pieces of furniture, with timber brought from the Forests Dept.

and the mission saw-mill. On the eve of my departure, in 1955, I saw in Rumbek a group organised by a Kresh clerk who worked part time with them, for the same purpose. Another more sophis-

ompany, which erected houses in
dations, walls and windows,
grass (the thatchers were engaged
rrugated iron sheets.

ticated group formed a Building C
a completely western style-- foun
timber roofs covered either with
separately), or with co

ld be added to the central-western group.
igin, they were in fact more closely
than any of the others, for they lived
ide, the capital, where they had settled
an campaign. Some of these Jebel indeed
the average, and might have proved a success
Suffice it to remember Jubbāra's family,
community, and individuals like John Abdel
was still alive in 1973. After the comm-
u mission school, he started work as a
ood at it. In the meantime he became a
of assisting younger trainees to improve
arnt some other things including western
such progress that he was able to play
struments in the band, though he special-
Thus he was in a position to assist effic-
ce, the conductor, teaching players the
even writing the scores for them. This
fter he had heard performances. Father
music expert and an eye-witness, still
iances with amazement (1977), commenting
id such a clever person even in highly

Jebelawi

The Jebelawi shou
Though foreigners by or
connected with Wau town
either in, or just outs
before the Anglo-Egypti
showed abilities above
anywhere in the world.
the leading one in the
Latīf, a Nyangbara who
unal training at the Wa
teacher and was quite g
clever builder, capable
their work. He also le
music. In this he made
almost all the usual in
ized in the clarinet.
ientl/, and often repla
various instruments and
he often did by heart a
Fil.Gero (Giorgetti), a
speaks of John's perform
that seldom does one fi
musical Italy.

Mission pupils

The first pupils
belonged to different et
(Borgo or Borqu, Fur or

onfided to the Mission for education
hnical units; Zande; Northwestern Sudan
For, Jallaba..); northwestern B.el G.

(Kresh, Feroge..). With the passing of years, they came to form a kind of "clan", not based on common descent but on common or similar activities, interest and mode of life. It was through them, rather than through mission employees, such as teachers and catechists, that Wau Mission came to be known, first in town and then further afield. This sort of publicity was continued, as former pupils became government clerks and craftsmen of various kinds. While the government clerks played a paramount role in this field, mission-taught craftsmen, employed in various departments, greatly contributed to the reputation of the mission schools.

Race relations

In the beginning, Army and Northern merchants were the main influences in town life, which almost had the appearance of a northern enclave. Natives, mostly seasonal workers, were comparatively few. Moreover, those who had a permanent home in town were likely to copy names, dress and way of life of the dominant element. This was especially true, as already noted, with new recruits to the army and Jehadiya, who were regularly circumcised and followed in public the rules of Islam. Also outside the town, a certain number of chiefs were in close relation with Northern merchants, and some openly professed their faith. In the course of years, when natives settled in Wau in greater number, each tribal group gradually showed its character and preference. Honestly, it must be admitted that the presence of the mission caused a kind of split in the community, which was thereby divided in its feelings, for reasons already explained at length. But to complete the picture we must add that the gap between the two "factions" was gradually reduced, through the good will of both and mostly because the mission workshops and schools were open to everyone.

Coming now the various B.el G. tribesmen: Muslim-influenced groups from the northwest-- Feroge, Ngulgule, Kresh-Hofra...-- naturally made friends with Muslim Northerners, occasionally as guests. Central-westerners --Ndogo, Golo, Belanda, Bongo--settled

together in their own quarter across the stream, whereas some sections of Kresh preferred the ill-defined quarter just west of the mission compound. Azande, needless to say, joined their kinsmen in town and outskirts, whereas the Sere divided between Zande and central-western groups, according to their place of origin or former relationship. The Dinka, though forming the great majority of the population of the province and having settlements not far from the capital, were reluctant to live in town: to pastoral people, town life meant giving up their traditional mode of life. The few who came to town, generally driven there by poverty or famine, usually settled with Jallabas or Fallatas, working as servants or gardeners. Some Jallabas owned cattle which they asked the Dinka to look after. Some also had bulls working at their oil-mills, which the Dinka also looked after. Apart from this, however, Dinka influence on town life was practically nil. For the Jur, the town offered a convenient market in which to sell at a good price the produce of their cultivations. But, on the whole, they liked to remain at home. Town dwellers were quite exceptional in earlier periods. The Azande from the south, almost all of them adults, liked the Mission since it provided work, especially as timber-cutters. Central-westerners, except the Bviri, were extraordinarily eager to learn, and filled our workshops (as apprentices) and schools. The Bviri, on the contrary, though numerous and comparatively near the town, showed themselves extremely slow to accept "the new order": it took a fairly long time before they submitted to the discipline implicit in any kind of training. The reason, I believe, must be sought in their historical background. Subject to the Azande for a considerable period, they had only recently (1905-07) emigrated to the centre of the province and still felt like aliens, suspicious of any form of domination. From Raffili, where the Belanda-Bōr had settled before to escape from Tombura's rule, several pupils had entered Wau School to get higher education. The same had done the Jur from Nbili Station, after having gone through the primary lower classes at home. It was not until 1933-34 that I succeeded in getting Bviri volunteers for the elementary classes, whence in due course some proceeded to the intermediate

school. The same was more or less true of the Bviri lying within the sphere of Mboro Mission.

Social Life

There was not much of this in Wau. The British had their "mess" and their tennis club. Natives had their communal dances, first on Friday, then on Saturday evening and Sunday; but, as a rule, it was rather a dull affair. The same may be said of the dances held by the army and Jehadiya. Religious festivities, both Christian and Moslem, caused more stir and attracted more followers, especially the Mulid (the Prophet's Birthday) and Christmas. On the latter occasion we may say that almost all Wau inhabitants wore new multi-coloured clothes as a sign of rejoicing.

I am not aware of the existance of a club or similar institution except that of the Hellenic community, organized in a very simple way. If I remember right, attempts were made in this direction but in vain. Even the efforts on the part of the Mission for the same purpose, in 1932-34, and again afterwards, were not successful. Probably neither the people nor the organisers, were enough for that. On the other hand, a band was formed which, though apparently more difficult to set up, proved straight away a success and flourished in the mission for long years. It was founded by Fr.A.Stoppani, who used to compose music, and came to Wau first in 1911. Even when he was elected Prefect Apostolic (1913) and later Bishop (1917), he managed to look after it and keep it going, helped by some of the mission staff, to whom he finally handed it over. We may safely say, however, that Wau band reached the peak of success in 1930-32 under the leadership of Father Giorgetti (known as Gero among the Azande). He was a well known expert in music. Performances were held not only within the mission compound, but also elsewhere, in public gardens and wedding feasts. Even concerts, with the piano accompanying the band, were given on several occasions, and at times there was a display by a four-voice choir. One wonders what Gero might have produced in this field, had he come back to

Wau after his studies and experiences in Zande music. He would probably has set up a new type of afro-western band, in which African music, both vocal and instrumental, was at its best, with more sophisticated instruments enhancing its capability of expression.

C) MODERN TIMES

From 1930 to 1940

The new southern policy

It is not my intention to discuss the wisdom or otherwise of this policy, or the way in which it was carried out. Whatever the ideas and plans of the administration had been in past years, by this time it was evident that the new policy had the purpose of forming a "southern entity", to become in course of time self-sufficient. It was a plan of southernisation, which implied the discouragement of Arabic elements in favour of local ones, with English as a medium of higher instruction to further the progress of the community, under British guidance until the southerners were able to take over. Tribal languages were to be taught in primary schools with a little English, the latter then serving for higher education. Northern officials in all quarters were to be gradually transferred north and replaced by southerners. As a rule, no more immigrants were to be admitted from the north, and among existing northerners it was recommended that "some undesirable" elements should be sent back home.

The last point was perhaps the most disputed one. Very much has been spoken and much has been written about it, often with exaggeration, but understandably so on the part of people who were hurt in their personal interests or in their socio-racial-religious feelings. With the passing of years, however, statements on this matter should be rethought and expressed in milder terms. It is possible that figures of repatriated Arabs-and-kin can be found in Wau archives. Doubtless it was in the west, in Raga area, that the most drastic measures were taken, whereas Dinka country, which constituted 80% of the whole province, was

the least affected. For instance, in 1955, many years after the big exodus, all the merchants at Rumbek were northerners; in town there was only one Greek at the head of a Transport Agency. In 1956, at Aweil there were only two Greek merchants the rest being all Jallabas; their agents, with their small shops, actually formed an immence network covering almost the whole of Dinkaland.

It is unfortunate that the 1927 list of taxpayers (quoted above) does not include Wau town. Neither does the 1932 list contain detailed data in this connection, although some useful information can be drawn from it. Chief Rabeh Nga had 719 taxpayers in 1932 and 828 in 1931. We can gather from this report --though not very clear-- that this figure includes the Azande of the Mulukiya, northerners and westerners under five subchiefs. According to the same report, in 1933 the total were to be reduced to ca 600, the loss being due, as before, to the return of other natives to their tribal groups. Thus reckoning his Zande subjects as a minimum of 300, the northwestern community would total 300 as well (Saleh Allahjabu's taxpayers were in all likelihood Ndogo-Golo-Belanda). Does this total represent the number of Northerners before or after the exodus? As the figures probably refer to 1931, they represent the situation before the exodus, for in the highly susceptible milieu of Wau Arab community the unpleasant task of "sending away" their kinsmen had to be done cautiously. Lists of undesired persons had to be drawn up carefully and reasons had to be stated for each one, such as "an empty shop doing no business, bad character,etc."[1]. "There is a number of traders only in name. They pay no business Profit Tax. Their removal would be advantageous from the point of view of southern policy and would in no way be detrimental to trade"[2].

As the Memorandum on the southern policy was issued in 1930, those on the "black list" almost certainly included Rabeh Nga's subjects in 1931. So the figures given above can be compared with

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[1] Cf.Beshir, p.49 (5)

[2] Ibid (3)

those shown in detail for the year 1946 (14th May).

	WAU TOWN	TAXPAYERS	
1.	Jellaba or Jaali	83	
2.	Fellata	91	
3.	Kresh	74	
4.	Jebel		25
5.	Ndogo, Golo....		178
6.	Zande		212
	Total	248	

Kresh and B.el G. westerners in general were among Rabeh's people under 5 subchiefs, totalling, as we have suggested, ca. 300. Thus the number of northerners had not much diminished. Certainly the number of Kresh might have increased, but it should be noted that under the general title "Kresh" such westerners used to be included who figure as members of the Moslem community. Why the Azande had decreased in number will be explained later.

Redistribution of tribes

As early as 1906, Comyn, noting the great variety of tribes to the west of Wau, had advocated their systematic redistribution (p.258). I doubt whether his reports were heeded at all by higher authorities, for he did not enjoy their favour, owing to his unorthodox frankness and perhaps whimsical character, which hurt their feelings more than once. Eventually his plan was resumed and carried into execution in the period of other important changes, as mentioned above. The lists of tribes, already seen, show how this plan was effected, particularly in Wau.

The Mulukiya area and the town neighbourhood, for a radius of five miles, were cleared of all non-Zande peoples. The Sere who were not enlisted as town dwellers were taken by Chief Bandas Vito to the Kpango R., and other odd inhabitants were ordered to join their tribal groups. In this way -- as we have seen-- Rabeh Nga had lost over 100 taxpayers in 1931-32, and was due to lose 15% more in the following year. "The first four miles of the Bo road had been reserved for the Mulukiya Zande under his

command". But even this measure was a temporary one. In fact some time later even the Azande moved in bulk to Akanda, up the R.Bussere, where they joined another Zande colony. Formerly subject to Zemoi Gedi, a Vongara, who lived ca 40 Kms south of Wau, together with the Bviri of subchief Brinji. Although the 5-Mile limit was sometimes joked about, for some it proved a disturbing order. For instance the Golo village by the first stream west of Wau were obliged to shift west of Ngo-Lengbo, much to their distress, for most of them found their daily work almost regularly in town. At the same time even town dwellers were discouraged from remaining unless they had a permanent job in Wau. Generally speaking, it was to clear the capital of idle or troublesome individuals, but, unfortunately, the implementation of the plan injured quite a lot of innocent people.

The plan of redistribution of tribes, in itself, as far as I know, met almost universal approval. Personally, I think that there is room for criticism. First, one cannot approve of the way in which it was carried out in connection with some of the peoples concerned, e.g. the aged and those far away from the new home. For instance, the Kresh living near Wau, Mboro and Kayango, who were ordered to join their tribesmen west of Raga. Next, the officials responsible for the execution of the plan should have studied it well beforehand in all its details, so that mistakes might be reduced to a minimum. For this purpose they should have consulted those who knew more than they about the tribes concerned; but they did not. Perhaps they thought it unbecoming for British authorities to "depend" on missionaries! (Later on, as a rule, they showed themselves more open-minded in this respect) Thus it happened that several tribal groups had to be moved again with considerable hardship, which might have been easily avoided. Chief Bandas V. took along Golos and other families, who later claimed their right to rejoin their tribesmen and were allowed to do so. On the other hand, some units were not touched, but had to be moved years later, e.g. the Golos of Khor Jamūs, on the border of Wau and Raga subdistrict. Similarly the big Bviri village of Brinji, 40 Kms south of Wau on the Bo-Zande road, was

not touched, because the chief of the Belanda-Bōr declared that they were Bōr. The villagers connived at this, for they did not like to change. But later on, when friction arose between them and the chief, it was easy for them to prove their real identity and thus be allowed to join the Bviri of Chief Baggari, settling in the present "Brinji village", ca 12 Kms southwest of Wau.

A case of pacific resistance, in which good sense prevailed over strict interpretation of the law, is offered by the Ndogo living at Kongo-Moko[1], 6-10 Kms south of Kayango. In spite of the official intimation that they should move to the Wau-Raga road, near the Kpango R., they remained on the spot. A compromise was agreed upon: their headman gave assurance that his subjects would repair and maintain properly the stretch of road assigned to them: which they did.

As far as I know, there is only one case in which no attempt was made to join members of the same tribe together: the Bviri. When they left Zande country, the bulk of the people settled near the Bussere R., from where they later moved nearer to Wau, becoming "Baggari's" Bviri. Others, instead, went to Deim Zubeir and eventually settled at some distance to the west of the old headquarters (12-40 Kms); there they were joined, at irregular intervals, by groups of "dissidents" from the bigger section under Chief Baggari. The resettlement plan did not press the matter of reunion of these two groups any further, probably on account of their great number--a wise decision, in my opinion.

The removal of people to a newly assigned area proved a complete failure in the particular case of the Sere, whose story has been told at length in my Tribal History (pp 95-104). In their new home, just west of the Kpango, they had an extremely bad time:

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[1] Kongo-Moko might also be spelt Kungu-Moko. Kongo/Kungu (the vowels sound between "u" and "o") is a Bongo word for "road", and Moko means "fight, slaughter..". The place (stream and village) is thus called because a bloody battle took place there in old times. Present Ndogo-Golo-Bai-Sere land was all formerly Bongoland.

all sorts of diseases, above all blindness, struck them heavily. Their protests, repeated at intervals, for being allowed to go back to their old homes, were left unheeded. Every now and then groups of families would stealthily leave the infected area to resettle in the bush, near Wau, but policemen would burn down their huts and chase them away. One day, however, the whole population spontaneously fled "for safety". The administration was thus forced to accept the fait accompli and gave their consent to move a year afterwards !

But now, leaving aside anecdotes of this kind and errors of detail in the plan's implementation, what about the wisdom or otherwise of its strategy? I have already stated that, as far as I know, it met with general approval: a rare case in such matters, It would seem that a regular division of peoples by tribe, each one settled in its own territory, is the ideal arrangement. Ethnographers might even point out further advantages: each ethnie resuming or promoting better their language and peculiar customs, which were in danger of being lost in the "common cauldron". Yet equally there were good reasons for not disturbing so many natives in order to carry out a plan which satisfied more the administrators than the "administered". In fact, even the French in the short period of their conquest(as already mentioned) had noticed that these mixed populations had grouped under leaders of their own choice, irrespective of their race. They saw in them men capable of "saving their souls" from their enemies in those hard times and ruling them with justice. After all, no great racial difference divided them. Most belonged to the same ethnical stock-Ndogo, Bai and Sere- though the latter had lived rather far away from the others. Misfortune, fighting, etc. had brought them together. The Golo, racially akin to the Banda, had been closely united first to the Sere historically, then to the Ndogo, with whom they had mixed freely as if forming one tribe. The same may be said, more or less, of the Kresh-- all belonging to the Kresh Ndogo section-- who had been since old times in close relation with both Golo and Ndogo. Their intermingling had advantages that should

not be overlooked or undervalued: it was a living lesson of how different tribes can meet and mix together in a friendly way. Freedom to choose their own leaders, with its converse of freedom to flee from a tribal chief in feud with family or clan, were surely positive values. This intermixing also favoured a pluri-lingual society and furthered the development of relations between different peoples. Only in such a milieu can one understand how Salah Allahjabu spoke fluently so many languages ! Last but not least, marrying regularly outside the tribe (e.g. Golos liked to marry Ndogo or Kresh girls, and viceversa) led to genetic improvement. Tiny tribes, living in isolation and sticking to endogamy, are bound to decline rapidly both socially and biologically, as several cases happening in the Western District bear witness.

Re-Organization of Wau town

Together with the redistribution of tribes, the town quarters were also re-organized. Natives, without exceptions, had to gather in their tribal quarters, huts had to be built in straight lines, more or less of the same size, surrounded by similar fences, and so on. The slogan was: Order first ! -Here again, and perhaps more so than in the tribal resettlements, the moves were often highly disturbing, because plans of this kind were made at different periods, which implied, for example, the continuous changing of place and pulling down of old houses. Clerks and skilled craftsmen, for instance had originally been given (possibly on payment) large plots, where they had built big houses of baked bricks, planted fruit trees and even started small vegetable gardens-- as I saw in 1928-30. But all this had to be destroyed and work to begin anew. Moreover the reordering of huts along fixed lines implied, in many cases, pulling down trees that occupied the area assigned for the purpose. In addition, many other huge trees, left thus in absolute isolation, soon fell prey to erosion and were easily pulled down by the first heavy hurricane.

But, above all, it was Wau citizens that suffered from the way in which the plan was carried out. It seemed that the severe measures taken on that occasion were really meant to discourage people from living in town. If they belonged to a tribal group outside Wau, e.g., they had to pay double poll-tax: one to their tribal chief and one to their chief or subchief in Wau. For several years the job of seeing that orders were regularly carried out and restrictions enforced (e.g. the prohibition of settling within five miles around the town) was confided to the Mamur. He usually concluded his orders, reprimands, etc, --very frequently indeed --with the word: "Mafhūm" ?(i.e. understood?). Yet, as a rule, he was not exceedingly strict; on many occasions he knew how to settle disputed cases with intelligence and humour. It was the very nature of the task in hand that made him unpopular, and his surname, "Mafhūm", became a byword in the mouth of Wau inhabitants.

As these events are comparatively recent, I feel sure that many people still remember circumstances, details and episodes concerning those days, and possibly a good few jokes that used to pass from mouth to mouth. The Mamur himself, with his innate sense of humour, did not forget his Wau adventures. I was told by a confrère --a former resident of Wau mission-- that one day in Omdurman he was greeted by someone whom he did not recognize at once. "Don't you remember me, the Mafhūm of Wau?" he said. A friendly laugh and a hearty handshake concluded the encounter.

Before closing this narrative, I would like to say that, although I am very much attached to Wau, the town cannot be described as aesthetically pleasing. I have travelled comparatively little outside the Sudan. Practically the only trip worth recording is one made in 1951 from Yubu to Obo, Zemoi, Rafai, Bangassu in C.A. /E and back through Zaïre . One of the things that most impressed me, especially in the Central African/. . Empire, was the beauty of the spots chosen for headquarters and the nice way in which towns, often simple villages were laid out. The British may be better administrators and organizers, but usually lack

that aesthetic sense with which Latins are generally endowed. After all, it costs little and helps much to make living quarters nicer to look at and more pleasant to live in.

In releasing these pages for publication, I would like to extend an invitation to residents of the "old" Wau still living there to check this story from both oral and written sources, viz. the town archives. In this way the story I tried to tell could be considerably improved.