

Thesis

Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D. in the
University of London.

Title: Primitive Economics with special reference to
Culture Contact.



Margaret Read M.A. Cambridge
London School of Economics

October 1934

Chapter 1.

CHANGES IN THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF A PEOPLE.

Section 1- The field of Primitive Economics.

" 2- Changing Life in North Rhodesia.

" 3- A method of study.

Chapter 1. Changes in the Economic Life of a People.

Section 1. The field of Primitive Economics.

Between the economic life of a wife of a working man in South London and that of a wife of a Kaonde tribesman in Central Africa there is apparently a great gulf fixed. The South London woman receives every Friday night 35/- from her husband, having given him back 10/- for beer and "himself," she puts 25/- into the cracked teapot on the mantelshelf, then, knowing that there will be no more till next Friday, she sits down to consider its outlay in terms of rent, food, coal, gas, soap, with a "bit left over for the burial club and the boot club." The Kaonde woman, with her youngest baby tied on her back, goes out to hoe her field each morning in the hoeing season; returns to pound millet stored from the last harvest in the afternoon; prepares and cooks the evening meal. Her part in economic life seems entirely concerned with direct action; that of the London woman mainly with the manipulation and planning of a limited sum of money which alone can secure to her family the necessities of life.

Such an illustration may serve to indicate the apparent sharp distinction between life lived under modern economic conditions and that lived under primitive economic conditions. To the earlier anthropological writers, dependent for the most part on other people's observations, man in

primitive society lived a very simple economic existence. He appeared to be the 'economic man' of the earlier economists, driven only by the urgent physical needs of hunger and shelter to provide himself with the barest necessities, taking no thought for the morrow, having no form of economic organisation beyond supplying the needs of his immediate social group. With current economic theories in mind, some anthropologists saw primitive man as an individualist, some as a communist, just as in another sphere some saw him as a born fighter, others as a pacifist. Primitive economics were chiefly studied with a view to findings parallels and comparisons with the western world, and, as few of these were apparent on such information as was available, it was concluded that primitive man had no economic organisation worth considering. Possibly as a result of this there was a wide spread neglect of the study of primitive economics in field work. Material equipment, forms of social grouping, religion and magic held the chief place in field work, and it was only in relatively recent times that field workers, particularly those of the functional school, have drawn attention to the extent of economic organisation in primitive society, and to its important relation to the social grouping of the people.

It is now established as an axiom that primitive man "works for his living," and that some organisation of this work can be found even in the most so-called primitive societies. Attention was drawn to this phase of primitive life by Professor Malinowski in his analysis of the Intichiuma ceremonies in Central Australia. ⁽¹⁾ He pointed out there that the large numbers gathered together for the ceremonies necessitated some provision for the commissariat. In other ⁽²⁾ articles he has called attention to the general neglect of this field of primitive economics, and the resultant failure to appreciate an important aspect of a people's culture. His lead has been followed in England by other writers of the functional school, and both in America and on the Continent

1- B. Malinowski, "The Economic Aspect of the Intichiuma Ceremonies,"
in Festschrift tillagnad E. Westermarck, Helsingfors 1912.

2- B. Malinowski, "Ethnology and the Study of Society"-
Economica Oct. 1922.

"Primitive Economics of the Trobriand Islands"
Economic Journal March 1921.

"Labour and Primitive Economics"
Nature December 1925.

there has been some awakening to the need for research^s in this field.

The study of a comprehensive work such as Doctor Firth's⁽¹⁾ on the Maori shows that far from being narrow and simple as the older writers thought, the subject of primitive economics is both wide and complex. It includes such questions as land tenure, ownership and inheritance of property, exchange of gifts, trading and tribute, the relation of economic organisation to social/^{structure} and to religion and magic. Doctor Firth also adds chapters on the psychology of work, the nature of and education in industry, and the part played by magic as an incentive to work. Such topics, with special adaptations, would serve as a framework for studying economic life in other primitive societies. The aim of any such study should be to show, not only the nature of the economic^{life} of any given society, and the methods^α of principles on which it is organised, but also the place of economic activity in the life of the people, thus relating it to the other aspects of their culture, to social organisation, political structure, religion and magic, primitive law and primitive education.

At the end of his book Doctor Firth draws attention to a feature which cannot be ignored in the study of primitive economics to-day, namely that of culture contact. It is

1- R. Firth. Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori

virtually impossible to go to any area in the world to-day expecting to find a purely traditional economic life untouched by any contact with modern western civilisation. There are degrees of contact ranging from that of the occasional visits of a trader to a small Pacific island, to the establishment of a copper mining plant in Central Africa. But the fact remains that to some extent traditional primitive economic life is being modified and changed by contact with the western world.† In some areas the contact may even have reached the stage of a virtual economic amalgamation between the two cultures, as in the case of the Maori in New Zealand, where to a large extent the material equipment and standards of value of modern civilisation have been adopted.

The phenomenon known generally as culture contact has for some time been receiving attention from practical men of affairs such as administrators, missionaries, educationalists and employers of native labour. They find themselves faced with the task of changing native life to fit new conditions, with social engineering of a new type. In the years since the War the establishment of the International Labour Office and of the Permanent Mandates Commission have created international standards from which to regard problems of colonial administration and native labour, and the extensive literature on these subjects particularly in Africa furnishes evidence on the practical issues of culture contact. These

practical issues, such as the position of tribal chiefs under colonial governments, the setting^{up} of European law courts, measures to suppress witchcraft and slavery, the use and abuse of forced labour, the encouragement or discarding of the vernacular languages - all these issues have far-reaching effects on native life in all its aspects. The extent and nature of these changes in Africa and elsewhere has aroused a demand for scientific study; and in certain areas, notably in Africa, the help of the anthropologist has been sought to throw light on these changes and to advise on future ones. Such a demand for anthropological research which will have direct practical application puts before the field worker an entirely new task. Formerly he saw as his contribution to the science of man, the recording and analysing of the cultures of primitive peoples in their traditional setting, where little or no white influence was affecting them. The demand made by the man of affairs, for anthropologists to undertake the study of culture contact for practical ends, involves the study of a changing society, of native culture under the stress and strain of adjustment to modern civilisation. Whether the anthropologist has a technique adequate for the study of a changing society will be discussed in other sections of this thesis. It is evident however that the former neglect of the field of primitive economics hampers the work of the ethnographer in areas where culture contact has already gone on for

some years. From earlier accounts of the people he may not be able to get an adequate picture of their former traditional economic life. He is therefore at some loss when he is confronted with the problem of studying modern culture contact, which is often most evident in its economic aspects. Situations such as these, and the problems arising from them, can best be illustrated from a given area. The area chosen for purposes of illustration in this thesis is North West Rhodesia.

Section 11. Changing Life in North^{ern} Rhodesia.

Modern European contact with North^{ern} Rhodesia is of relatively recent date. The territory was on the route of Livingstone's first journey across Africa, and after his day explorers and hunters, Portuguese and English and others, brought back to Europe accounts of its river system and fauna^{all} and flora, and observations on its peoples. But the earliest intensive contact began with the coming of the first missionaries in the '90's and the granting of its Charter to the British South African Company in 1899. The work of the missionary societies and of administration under the British South African Company extended slowly through the early years of the 20th century, and tribal life was in general but little changed. The coming of the railway from the south, reaching Broken Hill in 1906 and the Conger^o border in 1909, led to a more extensive opening up of the territory through making main roads to connect with the railway. The extension of communications coincided with the first exploring of the rich copper deposits which extended from the Katanga Province of the Belgian Congo across into North West Rhodesia. It was this copper deposit which proved subsequently to be the outstanding feature of culture contact in north^N-Rhodesia.

The dramatic phase of the contact did not however take place until some years after the war. Favourable financial conditions including a good world market for copper led to

rapid development. Extensive plant was laid down, and seven big mines were operating in 1930-31, exerting a demand for labour which had a far-reaching effect on native life. Though the subsequent slump involved closing some of the mines and a much reduced demand for labour, yet the economic exploitation of the copper belt continued to influence the territory and the life of the tribes in it to a wide extent.

The statement that the development of the copper belt was the outstanding feature in ^{culture} ~~clature~~ contact in north N. Rhodesia calls for further examination. It is easy both to overstate and to understate its effects, and they cannot be estimated in precise terms either of the output of copper, nor of the actual demand for labour. In order to appraise the situation it is important to see the copper belt in relation to the rest of the territory in its present stage of development. Over the territory of 288,400 square miles is spread a native population of 1,295,081 with 13,846 whites. ⁽¹⁾ The native population varies in density from 20.76 to the square mile in the south east and 16.35 in the Barotsi valley, to 1.71 on the north western plateau.

1- Census 1931.

The Government maps show 69 different tribes which vary in numbers from 113,506 in the powerful Babemba tribe in the north east to tribes numbering only a few hundreds. ⁽¹⁾ Among this sparse population, split up by tribal divisions, the European contacts, apart from the railway and the copper belt, are few and scattered. There are some settlers in the north east and on the railway belt, and a very few in the extreme north west. Missions stations are unevenly distributed, being concentrated chiefly in the north east and south west. It might therefore be correct to conclude that, excluding the railway and copper belts, European contacts in north^{N.} Rhodesia have not caused sharp conflicts in native life, or at least have not brought in their train changes which could ^{not} be gradually assimilated. The main difference between the contact due to the copper belt and that due to other European influences was that the ^{former} ~~power~~ was concentrated, rapid and intensive. The building in a few years of a modern, highly-mechanised, mining plant in the bush is a contact of a wholly different type from that of a bush mission school or an occasional visit of a District Officer.

To set against the first impression of the rapid and intensive impact of the copper mines on native life in the territory, it is important to bear in mind certain factors.

It has already been stated that the chief effect of the mines on native life was the demand for labour. It was not however a new development for ^{N.} north-Rhodesian natives to go to work in mines. For many years some had been accustomed to go north across the border into the Belgian Congo, and south into ^{S.} south-Rhodesia. The figures given in the annual Native Affairs Reports show the extent of this migration to mines outside the territory. ⁽¹⁾ Major Orde Browne in The African Labourer ⁽²⁾ shows clearly how international and inter-territorial boundaries form no barrier to the African migrating in search of paid work.

A second factor to be remembered is that the numbers of natives coming to work on the copper mines has not been phenomenal. Even if to the actual mine workers are added those employed in other capacities on the miners' settlements, the total is still hardly a fifth of the total number employed by Europeans in the territory. ⁽³⁾

A third important factor was the relation of the copper mines to the world market. The closing of several mines during the slump, due to an agreement between the world's copper producers, involved a check in the demand for labour. Men still continued to come in search of work, and

1- They show also its decline in recent years.

2- G.St.J. Orde Browne. The African Labourer. London 1933.

3- See figures in Appendix to 1932 Native Affairs Report.

hence a certain number of natives were to be found in the townships waiting for a chance to be taken on, thus creating the beginnings of an unemployment problem. This was one illustration of the fact that the vagaries of world markets and world economic forces were destined to play their part in the changing life of the ^N north Rhodesian native.

While the native employed on the copper belt was being swept into the vortex of world economic forces, other tendencies in ^N north Rhodesia seemed to be setting in another direction. In 1924 the Colonial Office took over the direct administration of the territory from the British South African Company, and in 1929 inaugurated the policy of Indirect Rule. Under this policy it was intended to give the tribal chiefs a measure of responsibility for judicial and administrative work in their areas, increasing that responsibility as they showed themselves capable of following out the policy of the Government. The general policy as stated in several Native Affairs Reports was to keep the native on the land, to encourage him to grow both subsistence and commercial crops, and in this way to improve his standard of living and develop the resources of the land. At the same time the Government had before them the necessity of finding, largely through direct or indirect taxation, a revenue which would cover not only administration but also education, health and agricultural development.

While the above changes are influencing the present life of the natives, the influences of past history cannot be overlooked. Remote historical events in this area can only be a matter of conjecture. There is however sufficient data to show that the majority of the tribes at present in north Rhodesia were the outcome of the break up of the Lunda empire which formerly stretched across a wide area covering parts of the present Belgian Congo and parts of north Rhodesia. While in the 19th century the dissolution of this empire was taking place ^{involving} and a constant shifting and migration of tribes ~~was taking place~~, the slave-raiding tribes from the west and the Arabs from the east continued to raid the tribes of the interior and to carry off slaves. In the early 19th century two tribal inroads from the south swept through north Rhodesia; the Angoni who were an offshoot of the Zulu people and who went towards Nyassaland; and the Makololo, an offshoot of the Basuto, who went up the Zambesi valley and held a brief tyranny over the Barotsi. There were two main effects of this perpetual warfare and slave-raiding. The first was the decimation of the population, such that the Balamba, one of the broken tribes, told their ethnographer that formerly they were "as many as the leaves on the trees of the forest;" ⁽¹⁾ and with this depopulation went the impoverishment of great tracts of land.

1- C.M. Doke. The Lambas of north Rhodesia. London 1931.

The second was that the conquering tribes, secure in their position as overlords, were prepared to treat with the incoming white men, whose advent they welcomed as bringing guns and prestige to enhance their power. It was true that the enforced peace which followed the British administration put an end to further raiding and warfare. But it also secured the victors in their position, and I think it can be demonstrated that this factor has had a very important result in the reaction of different tribes to European contact.

Such then is the situation in north^N Rhodesia - as the result of European contact. How can the anthropologist approach the study of the changes in economic life in such an area, and can his study throw any light upon the nature of the main problems and upon their possible solution?

Section III. A method of study.

It is clear from the preceding section that there have been definitely two forms or types of culture contact in ~~north~~^N Rhodesia. The first included those influences, administrative, missionary, economic which penetrated through to the areas where tribal life was still to a large extent being lived on traditional lines. The second included those enterprises, chiefly of an economic character, which caused natives to be drawn out of their tribal environment and to live and work whether for longer or shorter periods under the direct control of European supervision. To the latter type of contact belong all questions connected with what is technically called "native labour." Reports on and inquiries into native labour conditions in different parts of the world show a more or less uniform line of approach. They regard the native worker as a unit in a modern commercial concern. They investigate his health, living conditions, wages, and hours, in terms of his output and efficiency. They sometimes recognise that he comes from and may return to a totally different environment, and they may attribute his poor output and inefficiency to this as to other causes. But there has so far been no adequate attempt to study the native worker first of all in his tribal environment, as a worker^k in his own community, and then to estimate the changes due to working directly under white control in a mine or factory.

These problems of native labour are not peculiar to Africa. They are to be found wherever it has been profitable to establish modern industry in the midst of native life, and to draw on the surrounding areas for the necessary labour supply. Though local conditions, such as pressure of population and good or bad methods of cultivation, may vary from one country and one area to another, fundamentally the problems of native labour are everywhere the same, and both their prevalence and their importance in the general study of culture contact demand a more thorough investigation.

At first sight it might appear as if the other type of culture contact in ^North Rhodesia was less acute in its influence on tribal life. It is however impossible to divide the two, for the men returning from mines and plantations heighten and hasten the effects of the slower changes due to the missionary, the official and the trader. These ^{two} demand a special type of study, on which at present very little has been done. † Missionary and Government reports may give some idea of the external changes evident in a given area, but the fundamental changes taking place in the life of the community demand a much closer analysis.

Some experience of these changes which are taking place in India, ⁽¹⁾ and of the inadequacy of approaching them by

1- M. Read. The Indian Peasant Uprooted. London 1931.

means of the usual economic or sociological survey method, led me to examine the approach offered by Functional Anthropology. I believe that in the theories underlying Functional Anthropology and in the methods of field work advocated lies the possibility of analysing and understanding the complex problems of culture contact. Two essential tenets of Functional Anthropology provide a starting point. First, that in any given society the traditional culture of the people forms an integral whole. Secondly, in studying economic or other institutions of a people it is essential to see them as they actually function at the present moment, and also to examine their relation to the other aspects of culture, and to find the importance of any one institution to the culture as a whole. The theoretical approach to this study of culture has been set forth in Professor Malinowski's article on Culture ⁽¹⁾ and will be illustrated throughout this thesis. It is therefore ^{un-}necessary to give illustrations at this point. The methods of field work advocated by the Functional School and demonstrated in such studies as those by Professor Malinowski, ⁽²⁾ Doctor Firth, ⁽³⁾ Doctor Richards, ⁽⁴⁾ Doctor Fortune ⁽⁵⁾ and others bear out the

-
- 1- B. Malinowski. Article on "Culture" in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, London 1930.
 - 2- B. Malinowski. Argonauts of the Western Pacific and subsequent books.
 - 3- R. Firth - op.cit.
 - 4- A.I. Richards. Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe. London 1932.
 - 5- R. Fortune. Sorcerers of Dobu - London 1933.

contentions of the two theories already stated. The analytical study of anyone aspect of culture such as economic life in its relation to the other aspects of culture, not only gives a picture of the culture as a whole, but makes clear the problems inherent in the working of that culture on traditional lines, and suggests problems likely to arise from changes due to culture contact.

Chapter 11.

THE FIELD : ITS RESOURCES AND LIMITATIONS.

Section 1- Material available.

" 2- The approach to primitive economics in

this area.

" 3- The chief economic changes.

" 4- The main problems.

Section 1- Material available.

It has already been stated that the area chosen for illustration in this thesis is north west^{N.W.} Rhodesia. When the anthropologist is confronted with a problem like that of primitive economics with special reference to culture contact he has to determine some principles of choice in order to set his problem in a concrete situation. The main factor which led me to choose north-west^{N.W.} Rhodesia as a field was the opening of the copper mines, because it presented a new and different type of culture contact from that formerly operating in the country. The second important consideration was whether there was enough material available in book form to provide an adequate field in which to set and study the problems of culture contact. It has been said already that these problems necessitate the study of the traditional economic life of the people, as well as the changes due to culture contact. For the purpose of this thesis therefore it was essential to have adequate material in the form of monographs and descriptive accounts of the people from which to build up their traditional economic life. The material on north-west^{N.W.} Rhodesia falls into two categories. In the first

are the scientific studies of the Ba-Ila⁽¹⁾ by Smith & Dale, and of the Balamba⁽²⁾ by Doke. In the second are the accounts of the Bakaonde by Melland,⁽³⁾ and the Barotsi by Coillard,⁽⁴⁾ and Arnot.⁽⁵⁾ I have considered it essential to include references to certain accounts of tribes in the Belgian Congo.† The account of the Balamba by Cuvelier⁽⁶⁾ is an important addition to Dokes material, and Arnot, Crawford, and others all throw some light on the economic life of the tribes.

Ethnographically the tribes included in this material fall into the Central Bantu group, with the exception of the Makololo element among the Barotsi which was of south eastern Bantu origin. It seems impossible with the material available to trace the tribes to their original habitat. Some probably came from the north at the break up of the Lunda Empire about the middle of the 19th century, others possibly from the south east. For our purpose we regard them as a congeries of tribes which can be grouped together linguistically as Central Bantu, some to be found in north Rhodesia, some in the Belgian Congo. Tribal boundaries are nowhere very clearly marked, and were cut across when

-
- 1- E.W.Smith & A.M.Dale. The Ila-speaking peoples of north-^{N.} Rhodesia. London 1920.
 2- C.M.Doke. The Lambas of north Rhodesia - London 1931.
 3- F.H.Melland. In Witchbound Africa. London 1923.
 4- F. Coillard. On the Threshold of Central Africa. London 1897.
 5- F.S. Arnot. Garenganze. London 1889.
 6- G. Cuvelier. "La Vie Sociale des Balamba orientaux"
Congo Jan. & Feb. 1932.

Africa was partitioned by international and inter-territorial divisions.

The material for the study of culture contact in this area is in the main Government Reports, mission reports, and the recently published report of the Merle Davies Commission. (1) Neither in the field material nor in the culture contact material is there much attempt at correlation. The one deals with the old, the other with the new. It is the analysis of the problems due to changes therefore which is the new material presented in this thesis. There is in the Merle Davies Report an attempt to review the changes due to modern industry in the form of the copper mines. But it has two major limitations as a piece of scientific investigation. In the first place its aim was the advising of missions on their work in north^{N.} Rhodesia in view of the new situation in the copper belt. It is therefore overweighted on the practical end. In the second place the sociological survey which should have 'set' the problem is inadequate and too general, and does not take sufficiently into account the other important economic changes taking place.

1- Modern Industry and the African -edited by J. Merle Davies.
London 1933.

Section 11. The approach to primitive economics in this area.

In view of the nature of the material available and of the scope of this thesis the presentation of the material will naturally fall under three heads: the examination of the traditional tribal economic life; the nature of recent economic changes; and the resulting problems. The scope of the first part which forms the foundation for the whole study is limited by the material available. We do not expect detailed observations on economic life from the descriptive accounts of tribes by missionaries and officials. But even in the two good monographs quoted, we find that the part played by economic activities in the life of the people is not as a rule made clear, and where we would wish to make correlations between social organisation and economic life or between economics and religion it is often impossible to do so. Within these limitations I have endeavoured to examine the economic life in this field, as a primitive community at work. We shall examine the land and its resources on the one hand, and the social groupings of the people on the other, and see how they are inter-related in the processes of production, consumption and exchange. We shall then examine more closely the organisation of work in the community: the units involved; the principles on which they are united; and the important features of the direction and control of work. After this more external aspect of economic life we shall attempt to make some

analysis of the motives and values in the work of the community, and the extent to which self-sufficiency and economic equilibrium can be said to have been maintained.

Section lll. The chief economic changes.

It is possibly anticipating the subsequent argument if at the outset we state the main economic changes which have affected primitive economic life in this area. I propose in Part ll, in the chapters on traditional economic life, to indicate at the end of each chapter the most significant changes, leaving the discussion and analysis of those changes to Part lll. It is important however at the outset to talk in definite terms and not vaguely of economic changes. I shall therefore indicate here what I consider to be, prima facie, the chief economic changes due to culture contact. Among these perhaps the most obvious ^{are} ~~is~~ the measures dealing with slavery. We shall see later how the institution of slavery functioned in many realms of tribal life and how the enforced peace put an end to extensive slave-raiding. One of the limitations of the material is evident on this subject: namely the absence of information on the present position of former slaves, and the readjustment of work in the community, ^{where} ~~where~~ slavery has been actually as well as virtually abolished. That is one of the most important problems awaiting further field work. Another of the obvious changes is the introduction of what is generally called 'a money economy.' We have some evidence on the necessity for the use of money at the present ~~time~~ time for the payment of taxes &c. But here again the material is limited and field investigation is needed on the extent to

which money is in use in tribal areas; what part it plays in the traditional forms of exchange; and how far there is anything approaching a 'money sense' in the natives. Other economic changes on which scattered information is available are the introduction of trade goods, ousting in some cases the native artisan and specialist; and the demand for native labour which at the same time enlarges the economic field of the native and dislocates his traditional economic organisation.

Section IV. The main problems.

The nature of the concrete problems arising from culture contact can only be examined on the basis of the material presented; and their full significance demands more extensive and intensive field work. It is perhaps possible to indicate at the outset where the main problems will lie, given a traditional economic life affected by contact with European civilisation. We shall have to examine the strains and stresses involved in this conflict of cultures, remembering the axiom that primitive culture is a whole and that therefore it is impossible to separate economic from other forms of change. In the examination of the strains and stresses we shall see tribal life in some cases adapting itself to new conditions, assimilating new elements of culture by a gradual process of adoption. In other cases tribal life may be resisting new influences, refusing to adopt new ideas and practices, setting up a barrage of traditionalism and magic behind which to take refuge. The sum of the strains and stresses, of the adaptations and resistances, will be a new mixed culture, neither the old traditional life nor European, but a resultant mixture. The nature of this new culture will call for examination in the field, and it is such an analysis which may give some lead to the ~~control~~ of economic culture contact. That economic culture contact must be subject to some degree of control is already admitted by Government regulations for control of labour

recruiting, licensing traders, allotting of land reserves etc. These restrictions are however at the moment concerned with preventing obvious evils.* The longer view inevitably takes into account more positive elements in controlling economic change. It is as a contribution to such policy of far-sighted planning that I believe the analysis of the results of culture contact can be of value.

Chapter 111.

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

Section 1- The nature of the Land.

" 2- Aspects of Land Tenure.

" 3- Land Tenure in economic life.

" 4- Land Tenure and the community.

" 5- Problems arising from ^{the} survey.

" 6- Changes ^{due to} from culture contact.

Chapter III. The Land and the People.

Section 1. The nature of the Land.

N.W. Rhodesia consists, as the physical maps show, of two important river systems, the Zambesi and the Kafue, and their tributaries and dividing watersheds. On the Congo-Rhodesian border is the watershed of these river systems and those of the Kasai, Lualaba, Lufira and other rivers draining into the Congo. The general configuration therefore is a gradual slope south-eastward from the extended plateau country of the north where the altitude is from 6000 - 3000 feet to the Zambesi river valley at a little over 1000 feet. The country varies from the flat grass lands of the river valleys in the south, to the dense forests of the west, to the more open veldt country of the north. Here and there extensive swamps are found, such as the Lukanga swamp north of the Kafue river and the Jiundu swamp on the Kabombo river, and in many areas swamps are formed in the rainy season.

In a country so well provided with rivers, the larger ones form an important feature, not only as a highway of communication, but as a possession. Moubray points out⁽¹⁾ that the rivers do not therefore form a boundary between tribes, a no-man's land where all have right of way. On the contrary a river and the lands immediately on its banks are the valued

1- J.M. Moubray op.cit. 62.

possession of one tribe, and the right to cross the river has to be sought and paid for. The boundaries between tribal lands are on the other hand to be found generally, though not always, on the watersheds between the river systems, on the ridges of less fertile ground. In the Zambesi and Kafue valleys the plains on either banks of the river become flooded during the height of the rainy season. Villages and settlements in these lands have therefore to be abandoned, and most of the population and all their cattle move to the ridges of higher land above the river level, thus establishing two dwelling places according to the seasons. The rainfall is generally plentiful throughout the area, and indeed makes much of the country impassable at times in the wet season.

The population depends on the rivers for fishing, and on the open forests and grass plains for hunting. Fish and game are plentiful; the forests also yield wild fruits, roots, and the valuable products of honey and beeswax; and Smith & Dale⁽¹⁾ speak of wild cotton growing on the rich alluvial soil of the Kafue river plains. North of the Kafue river the tsetse fly spreads in wide belts, preventing the keeping of cattle, but in the Barotsi and Ba-ila country conditions are good for cattle-rearing.

Beneath the soil the mineral deposits have proved to be the greatest potential wealth of this area - Iron was

1- Smith & Dale op. cit. I. 183.

known and worked by native smiths everywhere, and copper was worked in the north long before it was discovered by the Europeans. (1) The great copper-bearing ~~veins~~ now being worked by Europeans lie from N.W. to S.E. across the Congo border, the copper occurring in some parts as outcrops of malachite on the tops of hills, in others as deeper deposits.

1- J.M. Moubray. op. cit. 98.

Section 11. Aspects of Land Tenure.

"The land belongs to the tribe" is almost a commonplace in books about Africa. The frequent assumption that therefore land was owned communally and that individual rights hardly existed has been called in question of recent times by anthropologists, chiefly of the functional school. They ask certain pertinent questions about the ways in which land is used, allocated, inherited, disposed of, which reveal, instead of a simple communal ownership, an intricate system of rights supported by sanctions, to which in civilised areas the name land tenure is given. I shall assume therefore without giving ^{further} ~~proofs~~ that there is such a thing as primitive land tenure, and shall first ask under what aspects we should examine land tenure as it exists in this area. For this purpose we shall have to include also the somewhat broader point of view of land tenure in Africa.

Before getting down to questions of definition there is a primary hypothesis to be made which anticipates in some degree one of the main arguments of this thesis. I shall state it here without going into detailed analysis, as it will be evident in later chapters on what grounds I have based it. The hypothesis is briefly this: the land is the basis for the community. It provides the place of settlement, the habitat of the people. It provides the means of subsistence by which the people live. It provides the evidence, which is more than a symbol, of continuity between the past of the people, their

present, and their future.† This is, I know, a general statement which leaves much room for discussion. It does however gather up the reasons for the supreme importance of the land in any study of a people's culture, and pre-eminently in an economic study.

If we take land tenure in its broadest sense, we could say that it was the relation of the people to the land.‡ In the narrower sense in which it is generally used it is the system of land holding as practised in different areas and by different societies. In any discussion of land questions it is important to distinguish between these two meanings, and to make clear the system of land holding before passing on to broader questions involving the altitude of people to their land and the sentiments associated with it. Dr. L.P. Mair in an article on Native Land Tenure in East Africa (1) gives a list of rights to land which form an admirable starting point for a study of land tenure in any area.‡ These rights centre round the questions of usage of land, ownership of land, and sanctions, and lead from the most readily observable and concrete to the less easily perceived legal and political and religious aspects of this problem.

The importance of land problems in Africa is now recognised both as constituting an essential element in the progress and development of native life, and also as illustrating some of the major difficulties inherent in culture contact. Professor

(2)
 Westerman points out that "with the arrival of the Europeans
 1- L.P. Mair "Native Land Tenure in East Africa" Africa Vol.IV.
 2- D. Westerman. op.cit. 77. No.3.

Westerman

the holding of land was bound to undergo the same fundamental changes as happened with all other conditions of life." In the interests of science some study of land tenure under tribal conditions is desirable. On the practical side Colonial Governments need accurate information on native rights in land and their sanctions to guide them in their policy. Even a cursory study of a land situation such as that in parts of East Africa⁽¹⁾ of South Africa⁽²⁾ reveals not only the intricacy of the problems involved but the depth of emotional sentiment aroused in the African by any attempt to interfere with his holding or use of lands.

Looked at from a general point of view, in North Western Rhodesia there are two influences affecting land tenure which should be noted before passing on to a more detailed analysis. The first is that of the more recent history, the wars and raids following the break-up of the Lunda Empire, and further back still the legendary migrations of the Bantu peoples. The second is that of the area available for occupation. Over the greater part of our area the density of population is very low. There is therefore no question of "elbow room," nor has the allocation of reserves created as yet a land problem from the point of view of territory available for occupation. Just what part these two influences play in the relation of the people to the land is not evident in any of the material, and is one of the several questions awaiting field investigation.

1- Kenya Land Commission 1934.

(2- Native Economic Commission 1931.

Section lll. Land Tenure in economic life.

As Doctor Mair points out in her article already referred to, the first essential in inquiring into the land tenure system of any people is to ask the right questions. We are here up against an initial difficulty in the use of our material. In none of the accounts is there a chapter on land tenure, and indeed only in Smith & Dale is there enough information to get even a vague idea of how land was used and held by these tribes. We can however perhaps sketch out a skeleton method of inquiry, using such references as there are, and pointing out certain lacunae in the information.

We have already said in general terms that land was both the habitat of the people and provided their means of subsistence. Hence if we ask the question, given by Doctor Mair as her first one: what is the land used for? - we find that we are led into an account of the various activities by which the people supply their needs. These we discuss in more detail in Chapter V, but it may be useful here to indicate the kinds of use to which the land is put, linking these uses of the land with the social groups which will be analysed in the next chapter.

The main use of the land in this area is for cultivation. One of the results of a sparsely populated area is that land being plentiful it is used freely, and in this area cultivation is by cutting and burning the bush and moving the village lands whenever the soil becomes worked out. The

village is thus the social unit with which this migrating cultivation is associated, while these movements of villages take place within the territory of the district chief, as among the Balamba. In a tribe practising agriculture and cattle-keeping much more land is necessary, as grazing areas have to be allocated and changed according to the seasons in order to provide good feed all the year round. Among the Bailla the lands needed for cultivating and grazing are associated with the village, but more definitely with the "commune." The boundaries of the lands of the commune are well marked, and "no one may commit trespass on another commune's lands."⁽¹⁾ Such trespass would include hunting and fishing in the lands of another commune. Wherever there is information about hunting in this area it is made clear that

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. 388-9.

hunting rights are subject to the chief's prerogative which is marked by the huntsman sending to him certain portions of the game killed. Cuvelier⁽¹⁾ refers to the days in the Belgian Congo when the tax was paid in rubber. Then, he says, everyone came to gather rubber in the forests of the Balamba tribe. These people then gave freely the use of their forests for this purpose to all who came, and still continue to give that freedom for any other products from forest trees, because "they believe that trees were a divine creation and therefore belong to everyone."

It would be very illuminating to have information on the way in which two valuable properties of the soil were exploited: salt and copper. We know that in parts of the area⁽²⁾ salt pans were a source of wealth to the chiefs who owned them,

1- Cuvelier op.cit. I. 6.

2- See Chapter V.

and that copper mines and their products were regarded as riches by the village who worked them.⁽¹⁾ But we have no precise information as to how the usage and the rights connected with salt and copper were related to social groups, either to those resident in their neighbourhood, or to others who came from a distance to work them.

One form of using the land, and especially the rivers, is almost ignored in the material - that of communications and rights of passage.⁽²⁾ Arnot and Coillard both tell us of their difficulties in effecting a crossing of the Zambesi in their first attempts to get into Barotsiland.⁽³⁾ Crawford describes the tolls levied by the Balovale on caravans and traders using their lands.⁽⁴⁾ And Cuvelier,⁽⁵⁾ while saying that the Balamba allowed free passage across their lands, records that they invariably charged for the right of ferrying people over rivers. These restrictions and charges for passage were undoubtedly one form of asserting that the usage of lands and rivers for communications was important and should be controlled in the interests of the tribe owning the lands.

-
- 1- See Chapter V.
 - 2- Arnot - Garenganze 49.
 - 3- Coillard - *op. cit.* 57-143.
 - 4- Crawford - *Thinking Black* 116.
 - 5- Cuvelier - *op. cit.* I. 7.

Section IV. Land tenure and the community.

We come now to the more intricate issues of rights over land and the sanctions by which those rights were maintained. If a complete analysis of land rights were to be made in a field investigation, it would involve a study of the economic uses of land, of the social units involved, and of the legal system of the people by which land was inherited and allocated and perhaps bought and sold, or at least acquired and disposed of. In the scanty material at our disposal it is difficult to get any clear idea about the nature and exercise of rights over land. We can see that in some cases the holding and inheritance of land was more definitely connected with groups based on kinship; and in some cases that the acquisition and disposal of land was related to the exercise of the chief's authority.

Smith & Dale ⁽¹⁾ tell us that among the Ba-ila land ⁽²⁾ belonged to the commune and was vested in the chief, who apportioned the land to his people for their fields. It might happen that the individual wanted to cultivate land outside that of his own commune. In that case he asked permission from the chief of the commune owning the land, and "permission was readily and freely given." ⁽³⁾ Equally a stranger could apply to live on the land of a commune, presumably permanently, and if he was accepted by the chief and his council, he was allotted land and could settle there. ⁽⁴⁾ Occasionally land was sold and ⁽⁵⁾ the price, in terms of cattle, belonged to the commune.

1- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 387.

2- See Chapter IV.

3- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 136.

4- " " I. 387.

5- " " I. 388.

The commune, which was a local and political group, was not the only one exercising rights over land. The Ba-ila clans (1) were also associated with definite areas of land, and in these areas ^{members} ~~people~~ of the clans received "most favoured [^]nation" treatment in applying for lands to cultivate.

(2)
Doke records that among the Balamba boundary disputes between chiefs sometimes took place, and generally turned on the practical issues of what portions of game had been sent by hunters to the chiefs exercising authority there, or on the rights of justice and extradition in dealing with (3) fugitive criminals. Cuvelier also emphasises that exact (4) boundaries were recognised as existing between "chefferies" or chief's districts. The fact that these were Balamba chief's lands however did not prevent other tribes pushing in and forming small "foreign" settlements under the Balamba chief. He brings out also that the village headman in a village not directly under a chief had no rights over lands or crops, and was in fact only primus inter pares. To this position of equality in the owning of lands he attributes the weakness and lack of authority of the Balamba headmen. Within the village lands, plots were owned as "private property" by

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 286, 289, 292 - 310.
 2- Doke " 50, 51, 54-5.
 3- Cuvelier " 4.
 4- See Chapter IV.

heads of families who cultivated them with the help of their wives and slaves. These family plots were marked by small ditches as boundaries, but the right to hold them was only operative while the land was actually under cultivation. Fallow land and abandoned land could be taken by anyone and cultivated, and during that time it was his.

To discuss the sanctions ^{to} the rights surveyed above would be fruitless without a much more detailed knowledge ~~both~~ of the economic, of the religious, and of the legal systems of the people. There are however two references made by Doke and one by Smith & Dale which give us some idea of the kind of sanctions which upheld the land tenure of the people. (1) Smith & Dale use the term "spiritual ownership" in referring to the sacrifices made to the mizhimo or spirits of a part of the land where a man wants to hunt. (2) Doke gives an account of a significant ceremony which took place when a headman or villagers were considering a new site for their village. They camped for the night in a stockade on the new site, and put outside the fence a small heap of meal, saying: "Ye who sleep here, we have given to you this meal; we want to live with you. If you do not want us let us find that you have scattered the meal. If you do want us, let us find it all intact." If the meal was untouched, the villagers accepted it as a sign that the spirits of the former inhabitants of the land welcomed their

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 388.

2- Doke - op.cit. 86.

coming. If in spite of the adverse sign, they decided to stay on the site because they liked it, and then a man died, the headman would say: "Did I not tell you that they have driven us away, and you would not listen?" This ritual served the purpose of 'attesting' the right of the cultivators to the land, linking them with the spirits of the former inhabitants, and therefore giving them confidence in the future there.

(1)
 Doke's other reference is to the Balamba myth of the origin of chieftainship. Originally, said the Balamba, there was only one village and one chief. When it grew too big the chief sent headmen to found villages in other parts, saying: "Go and build at such and such a river and I shall send you people." He then sent minor chiefs, of the chief's clan, to found villages, saying: "Do not exploit the people, for they are not your people. All of you belong to me." Later when the inhabited areas were thickly populated, he sent out chiefs of renown, saying to them: "Go and look after those people. Such and such villages are yours - I have given them to you." This myth has I think at least two uses. It supports, "documents" the hierarchical order of chiefs and their mutual relations. It also asserts the power of the paramount chief to allocate tracts of land, and to bind the headmen and minor chiefs to

himself in one form of tenure, and the "chiefs of renown" in another form.

This myth demonstrates too very clearly the statement made earlier in this chapter that land was the basis of the community.)

Under the chief who "owns" both land and people the community is preserved, and if more information were available on the nature of the office of the chief, we might see how his religious and magical powers over the land enhanced and strengthened his position as being "between the land and the people."

Section V. Problems arising from survey.

It is necessary to say at the outset that such problems as are indicated here are suggested by the material available, but are also in the nature of questions for further field work. The much vexed issue for instance of communal or individual tenure in land, ^{the problem} questions of which actually exists and which is to be ^{preferred} prepared in future policy, can only be posed as questions. Certainly from our material a form of both types of ownership existed when the accounts were written. But even when Smith & Dale say that land is held communally, ⁽¹⁾ they qualify that by relating how strangers may come and settle, and how land may be bought and sold, making it evident that there was at least no 'communism' in the land tenure of the Ba-ila, but implying that there was some kind of a balance between public guardianship of the land and the necessities of individual usage. No one can foretell in what direction change will take place in this matter. As Professor Westerman

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 390.

(1
 points out: "The fact that communal ownership is the older must not lead us to consider it in every case as the better. In intensive agriculture or cattle-breeding the tendency is to private ownership of land, because a real cultivation of the soil is impossible in any other way." Perhaps the real key to the understanding of land tenure in this area lies not in accepting or rejecting communal or individual ownership, but in a careful study of social groups in relation to land holding and its uses, taking into account some of the more recent developments.

One line of study which cannot be overlooked is that of the relation of the chief to land tenure. He ^{is} ~~is~~ evidently, from our material, the keystone of the arch, holding both people and land in an essential relationship, which is at once practical and based on supernatural sanctions.

A third set of problems are those connected with such concrete questions as the density of population, the nature of the soil and potentialities of the land, and the forms of cultivation practised. These are the "material substratum" for any study of land tenure which is related to practical issues and not only to theoretical ones.

Section VI. Changes ^{due to} from culture contact.

The fundamental change de jure ^{is} the land situation, though it may have relatively little effect de facto, is that all lands are now Crown lands, and that the "spiritual ownership" of lands is challenged by a legal system incorporated in the Charters of the British South African Company. Under the rights taken over from the Company in 1924, the Crown now holds, and has the right to dispose of, all lands in this area.

The practical issue of that change has been the setting aside of some lands in the neighbourhood of the railway for white settlement, and the allocation of others for native reserves.

The modern tendency in agriculture and cattle rearing seems to be in the direction of a form of peasant proprietorship which guarantees the individual in his lands and gives him legal rights to it and its produce. On the other hand the ^{case} of potential wealth such as forests comes more and more into the hands of the State, which also has taken over the supervision of the upkeep of roads.

In certain directions these changes might be breaking down the old system of land tenure. But the changes are gradual as yet, coming slowly from the east where the railway hastens the process of cultural change, and the less touched areas of the west therefore may have time to adjust their

systems of land tenure to the coming changes so as to prevent too drastic a ~~re~~^volution in their traditional customs.

Chapter IV.

SOCIAL GROUPINGS.

- Section 1- The value of social morphology.
- " 2- Principles of social grouping.
- " 3- Groups based on kinship.
- " 4- Groups based on locality.
- " 5- Groups based on Rank & Political Leadership.
- " 6- Groups based on Voluntary Association.
- " 7- Resulting Problems.
- " 8- Changes due to Culture contact.

Chapter IV. Social Groupings.

Section 1. The value of social morphology.

In any good monograph on a tribe or a group of tribes we should expect to find a chapter or chapters devoted to the social organisation of the people. Such a chapter should contain not only an account of the various social groups to be found, but an analysis of the kind of ties which held the group together; the relation of each group to the rest; and the part played by each group in the life of the people. It would be possible therefore, taking a wide view of social organisation, to describe almost the whole culture of a people under such a heading. Yet in analysing the culture of a people, it is useful to delimit certain aspects of that culture, and to regard social organisation partly as social morphology, that is the 'plan' of society, and partly as "the standardised manner in which groups behave,"⁽¹⁾ that is the social institutions of the people and the principles on which they are founded and maintained.

In spite of the interest taken by anthropologists in social organisation, which with religion and magic has received the lion's share of attention in anthropological research, very few monographs can show a clearly set out exposition of the social morphology of a people. Various groups are referred to such as the family (always a vague term), the clan, the

1- B. Malinowski. Article on "Culture" in Encyclopædia of Social Sciences, ed. by E.R.A. Seligman-London 1930, Vol. IV. p. 784.

village, the secret society. But it is rare to find a succinct account of all the groups, tabulated so as to provide a groundwork for a study of the social institutions, and arranged so as to make it clear on what principles the groups are organised and what relation they bear to each other. Such an account, to be called social morphology, should be almost of the nature of a plan, taking the society as a whole and mapping it out in its distinctive parts. Actually it is exceedingly difficult to do this in diagram form, as the groups interlace on different levels and cannot be reduced to one-dimensional terms. Such a plan of society, in terms of a particular area, should be accompanied by a detailed demographical account of at least one part of that area, to include plans, maps and census figures, and arranged in such a way as to relate it to the general account of the social morphology of the people. In many African monographs for instance we are left completely in the dark about the average number of people to a village, the number of villages under a chief, the number of families in a village, the number of clans represented in a village - and so on. These concrete data are essential to the accurate analysis of the life of the people, for many factors will obviously be different if a village consists of 40 people and 6 families, or of 2000 people, including a chief and his court, ^{with} ~~into~~ numerous families and associations graded in rank and importance.

For the purposes of this study, which is the examination of the economic life of the people, it will not be possible

to go deeply into their social organisation. As has been pointed out however, it is essential to know the general framework of social grouping in order to understand which groups take part in the organisation of work. In the material there is unfortunately no data on demography, except a very occasional reference to the size of a village. We shall therefore, with such information on social groups as is available, endeavour to see on what kind of a plan society is organised and the principles according to which individuals find themselves in, or voluntarily join, groups.

Section 11. Principles of social grouping.

In the material on N.W. Rhodesia it is possible to perceive five main principles of grouping. The 'principles of association' do not necessarily run through each of the societies or tribes on which there is material. Moreover, on the data available it is evident that there is no uniform or rigid pattern of social grouping, which makes the principle of kinship, for example, all-important in determining the social relations of an individual to his fellows. On the contrary, when we attempt to analyse the principles on which the various groups are built up, we find a criss-cross pattern with conflicting ties binding individuals to groups whose interests are by no means compatible. Were this a study of social organisation we should have to go much more deeply into the nature of those ties, and the psychological situations which result from their clashing. As however we are examining social morphology with the object of understanding the groups involved in the organisation of work, it will be necessary to leave on one side this interesting and important study, contenting ourselves with noting certain effects of the diverse grouping on the individual members of the groups.

The five 'principles of association' which emerge from a review of the material are kinship, locality, rank, political leadership, and voluntary association. Kinship as a principle of association needs no justification as it is taken for granted in the social organisation of all primitive, and

indeed of all, communities. Perhaps in the past this principle may have been overstressed in general works on primitive society. That it is a fundamental basis of primitive society no one will deny. The relation of kinship groups however to other groups associated on other principles, such as those based on locality, has often been ignored, with the result that the picture presented of a society is incomplete. The second principle is that of locality, the links and loyalties created by the factor of residence in a common local group. In its smallest unit, the household, the local unit was coincident with the smallest kinship groups, the individual or extended family. In the larger units such as the village, the "commune,"⁽¹⁾ and the chief's district,⁽²⁾ the links were not necessarily those of kinship, and here the detailed study of one area would be essential in order to determine how important were the links of common residence; where they conflicted, if they did conflict, with those of kinship; and how both dovetailed in to form the community ties.

The third and fourth principles, those of rank and political leadership, are closely allied, and yet not identical. By rank is meant the division of society into freemen and slaves on the one hand, a characteristic formerly of this

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I.299.

2- See page 72 on district and "cheffeire"

whole area; and on the other the division into chiefs and common^{ers}men, or people of chief's rank and commoners, a distinction noted by Doke among the Balamba.⁽¹⁾ The principle of political leadership depended not, as in rank, on the factor of birth which could not be changed, but on the factor of organisation which was deliberate. Thus one tribe might subdue and dominate several tribes, forming a larger political unit, as the Barotsi in the so-called Kingdom of the Barotsi; or a chief might go off with his people and form a smaller independent, or semi-independent, unit, a process which from all accounts was one cause of the break-up of the Lunda Empire. Or again, a chief might invite or welcome a group of strangers to settle on his lands and become part of "his people," an event which was desired in the days of constant warfare, when numbers meant strength in organising defence. Nevertheless because the institution of chieftainship was basic in the political and social organisation of the people, these two principles of rank and political leadership had many inter-relations with each other and also with the local units, and here again a detailed sociological field study of one area would doubtless yield very interesting results.

The fifth principle, that of voluntary association, has been invoked to cover several types of groups, the common principle of which was that individuals were free to join

1- Doke. op.cit. 56.

them or not as they chose - that is, individuals were not born into them, nor did the groups result from residence or organisation by a superior power. Under such a principle would be placed the ties formed by blood-brotherhood, which, though primarily an affair between two individuals, had often far-reaching social ramifications. Here also would be placed what Doke calls the "professions" ^{††} such as those of hunter^s, smith and witch doctor. No mention is made in this area of secret societies in such terms, and it is quite possible that they did not exist. (2)

We shall now proceed to examine these principles with reference to the material available, bearing in mind that the theme of this study is economic life, and that therefore social organisation is primarily studied in relation to its bearing on economic organisation.

~~1- See page~~

2- Cuvelier - op.cit. 180

Section III. Groups based on kinship.

(a) The Family.

In the area under consideration there were two main groups in which kinship was the principle of association: the family and the clan - groupings which are to be found in the great majority of primitive societies. It is almost an axiom now of social anthropology that the family, in the sense of father, mother and children, is the basic unit of all social organisation whether so-called primitive or civilised. In this area the family was sometimes monogamous, polygamy being a mark of wealth and high social rank, and slave concubines and slave wives forming additional members of a man's household without having the legal status of wives. In the material however we find not very much discussion of the form of the family nor of its functions in society. As the basic social unit it is very much taken for granted, so much so that neither Doke nor Cuvelier nor Melland give any account of the family as such. There is even in Smith & Dale's monograph a certain lack of clear detailed information which a full demographical account of one or two villages would supply, giving the inmates of each household and their relationship.

(1)

In the Balila material on the family we read that "the domestic establishment consists of a man, his wife or wives, their children, the children under his guardianship, sometimes an aged parent, and slaves - all these dependents

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 283.

being grouped comprehensively as the man's bana (1
(children)." The groups were not large, and they quote
a family group of 25 with 10 absent members as a very
unusual number. The family, whether monogamous or
polygamous, was not a stable group\$, as divorce was common,
and the tribal law required that the children, though re-
taining the mother's clan, should stay with their father.
In Baila society there was an interesting balance in the
individual family between the claims and interests of the
father's and mother's side, (2 extending into the realm of
religion. It would indeed be a valuable study to put together
the various factors making for unity and those making for
divergence of interests in the Baila family, but it does
not fall within the scope of this thesis. Smith & Dale see
in the relationship between family and clan one of the
divisive forces in the family. "There is no assimilation of

1- Smith _ Dale. op.cit. I. 284.

2- " " II. 165.

clan," they say, ⁽¹⁾ "within the family - - - - if the interests of the clan conflict with those of the family, the former prevail over the latter, as a natural prevails over an artificial relationship." ⁽²⁾

This last point is brought out by Cuvelier. He gives us very little on the Balamba family as a social unit, because he says, ⁽³⁾ "la famille n'est guère constituée." "It is lost in the tribe or more precisely in the clan." The completeness of that statement might be questioned, more especially as Cuvelier in another context says that political organisation and political life were unimportant among the Balamba because all their activities were centred in family life. What is clear here however is that groups based on kinship were significant units in daily life. Perhaps in Sakania the Balamba family was an unstable unit, as it was among the Ba-ila, and therefore the more lasting ties of the clan prevailed. To establish this theory however definite information would be needed on the relation of the clan to land tenure and to residence, points on which Cuvelier gives no data.

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit.

2- italics mine - ~~See Chapter IV. p. and Chapter VI. p.~~

3- Cuvelier op.cit. 164.

Doke gives no account of the family as a unit, but we gather from his accounts of marriage, married life, polygamy, and divorce, that among the Balamba also the group known as the family was not a stable unit, though there is ^{not enough} data on which to estimate the forces making for cohesion and for disunity in the family. Doke makes it ⁽²⁾ clear that in marriage the parents generally took responsibility for choosing a wife for their son, and the popularity of cross-cousin marriage tended to bind the extended family group together. Polygamy was not very common, perhaps partly because of the rule of matrilocal residence for at least 2 years after marriage - a factor which meant that the family as a kinship unit tended to be a shifting group in relation to the village as a residential unit. Here again some account of actual families in a village, how long each had been there, whether it was the husband's or wife's home, and so on, would help to make clear the relationship. From the point of view of setting out the pattern of society this inter-relation of kinship and local units may not appear so important, but it has a definite significance in the organisation of work in a community.

There was among the Balamba one economic feature which brought out very clearly the tension between the family based on marriage and the clan based on descent. I refer to

1- Doke. op.cit. 160,169, 171, 173.

2- " " 160.

the payment of death dues by the widow or widower to the clansmen of the deceased partner. The data given by Doke & Melland I propose to discuss in detail in Chapter VI, only noting here that it is an instance of that conflict between clan and family which was stressed by Smith & Dale.

(1)
Melland gives us some figures on the incidence of polygamous marriages among the Bakaonde: - ⁴⁷⁷⁸~~478~~ with one wife, 1110 with 2, 100 with 3, 15 with 4, 4 with 5, and 2 with 6. He asserts that the majority with more than one wife were chiefs or important headmen, and points out that the extent of monogamy was influenced by such factors as matrilineal residence, lack of wealth, and the sex ratio of women to men - (2)
37 : 31. Divorce was fairly common and the children remained with the wife's mother.

1- Melland - op.cit. 57.
2- " " 66.

(b) The Clan.

The clan as a social institution in primitive society has received a great deal more attention than the family from anthropologists. This was due partly to the fact that a unilateral group of kin acting as a unit appeared as a strange phenomenon to western scientists; partly to the theory of group marriage which arose out of the study of the "classificatory" kinship terms; and partly to the attention given to the clan totem as a sociological as well as a religious emblem. I do not propose here to discuss the theories of the clan as an exogamous unit of society; nor to enter into a discussion of totemism in its various aspects. In this area, as clan descent was matrilineal among the Balamba and the Bakaond^c, and generally

(1
among the Ba-ila, there was a certain conflict of functions and of interests, to which reference has already been made, between the clan relatives on the maternal side on the one hand, and the father and his relatives on the other.

Smith & Dale make it clear that among the Ba-ila the clan had certain important functions to perform which directly affected economic life. Clan kinsmen discussed the suitability of a marriage and the amount of cattle to be paid in bride price, and they were responsible for its correct distribution when received. (2 They formed a mutual-aid society whose members were bound to come to each other's aid, and to show a generous hospitality which extended to clansmen even across tribal barriers. (3 They bore a corporate responsibility (4 for crime and together had to find the required compensation.

-
- 1- Smith & Doke. op.cit. I. 295.
 2- " " I. 297-8
 3- " " I. 296.
 4- " " I. 404.

Conversely homicide was an offence against the clan
 whose members jointly received the compensation. ⁽¹⁾ In
 relation to the main local groups among the Ba-ila, the
 communes, the clan played an important role. The authors
 speak of the clan as "a unifying force between the various
 communes," and point out that the members of any one clan
 belonged to several communes, and that a commune was made up
 of several clans. ⁽²⁾

We do not find in Doke's account of the Balamba
 any enumeration of the functions of the clan in society.
 From various references however we learn that the clan was
 an important institution for holding and transmitting
 property. ⁽³⁾ It was also connected with the grading of
 society according to rank. The members of the chief's clan,
 the awenamishishi, "have the highest honour," ⁽⁴⁾ and second
 to them ^a came the commoners who were members of the clans of
 chiefs in neighbouring territories. We gather however that
 it was after death, more than in life, that the ties of clan

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 414.
 2- " " I. 283.
 3- Doke " 193, 203-4.
 4- " " 193.

kinship were most clearly seen, in the demands made for death dues and the care of the dead person's spirit,⁽¹⁾

Melland does not speak of the clan among the Bakaonade as an organised group with certain rights and obligations among its members. He says⁽²⁾ only that members of the same totem (mukoka) would expect to give and receive hospitality from each other, and that to fail to do so would bring shame upon anyone. We get however some idea of the nature of the ties between fellow-clansmen in his account of the bulunda or blood-brotherhood. There,⁽³⁾ in discussing whether in a quarrel a man should help his mulunda against his clansmen, or vice versa, he concludes that the ties were much the same.^m

-
- 1- Doke. op.cit. 190-1
 2- Melland " 250.
 3- " " 113.

Section IV. Groups based on locality.

(a) The Household.

This was the smallest social unit based on the principle of locality. It might consist of a single hut, housing a man and his wife and children, or of a group of huts where a man had several wives or other dependents, all *related* to him as head of the household. The binding forces in such a group would include kinship ties, i.e. that they were all members of a family in the sense used by Smith & Dale.⁽¹⁾ The group would form an economic unit for purposes of production and consumption and sharing out of goods. Religion - the ties of a common ancestor worship - would unite the household.⁽²⁾ These bonds would be reinforced by ties of emotion and the building up of sentiments - the links forged in a common home which was the training place of children. Probably the household was united by some such combination of ties, and it was most certainly an important unit in the economic life of society. Yet in the material available on our area there is nowhere a description of the household, or of a household, and we can only presume that like the family it was so much taken for granted that no description was considered necessary. †

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 283.

2- But see " " II. 165.

(1
 Smith & Dale give us a plan of a house in connection with
 the description of house building but they do not tell us how
 many people lived in it, or how the distribution of children
 and dependents was arranged except in very general terms. (2

(3
 Doke gives us a glimpse of what he calls "hermit
 life," where a man, who could not get on with his headman or
 fellow villagers, might take his wife and family, and build a
 hut for himself in some fertile spot, and cultivate land there.
 Such an action was apparently accepted by the village headman
 who could raise no protest provided the man did not go outside
 the territory of the group chief. In such cases we should have
 an independent household living and working by itself without
 forming part of any other local unit, whereas in general a
 household was always part of a larger group.

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 119.
 2- " " " I. 122.
 3- Doke. op. cit. 128.

(b) The Village.

The fact that the village settlement, that is the group of huts (and shelters for cattle where they existed) was the centre or focus for an area of cultivation and of food production in general, made the village community^{as} a social group very important in economic life. Yet here again the nature of the village as a local settlement was taken very much for granted by the writers of our material. It was undoubtedly the village, consisting of households which formed the fundamental local unit, and constant references are made to the village and to village life, showing its importance as a social, political and economic unit. Only in Smith & Dale's material⁽¹⁾ however do we find any reference to the sentiments of "neighbourhood" as distinct from those of kinship and political leadership, and yet it would seem obvious that a group of people bound together by residence and by cultivating in proximity to each other must develop certain ties. These ties would have been further strengthened^e in the days of warfare by the fact that a village was the natural unit of defence.⁽²⁾ Moreover we shall see in Chapter VII that the village was the most important unit in the organisation of work. And I am inclined to think that, given the economic

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 283.

2- Cuvellier. op.cit. II. 182.

dependence on land for maintenance and the nature of the religious and magical beliefs about land, it was the aggregation of lands in a village which set and held the community who lived there. In a chief's village this was seen more clearly because the chief played an important **role** in land tenure and land distribution. We have practically no information about villages other than those of chiefs, but probably in the others too the holding of land was the determining element in the cohesion of the community as a social group.

(1)

Smith & Dale tell us that Ba-ila villages varied very much in size from 3-4 huts and 10 inhabitants to 200 huts and over 1000 inhabitants. In the arrangement of the huts within the chief's village of which they give a plan, ⁽²⁾ the kinship principles determined their grouping - that is each man's family with his dependents was grouped together, as also his cattle. Close by each group of huts were the spirit huts of the family's ancestors, while the spirit huts of the chief's family were just outside his enclosure. This plan reminds us how the ties of family groups within a village were strengthened by their common economic pursuits on the one hand, and by their common worship on the other.

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 109.

2- " " 1. 112-3.

(1

Doke gives us a plan of a chief's village among the Balamba, showing the grouping of the huts, the place for ^{the} chief's court, the children's playground, the special shrines of the hunter and the blacksmith, the smelting house, the goat house, the communal grinding house &c. This plan gives us at a glance some idea of the varied economic life within the village community - a variety of needs and occupations which enter into the organisation of work. Hospitality was in former

(2

days, Doke says, extended to any passer-by, whether stranger or kinsman, and the proverbs "A visitor does not carry a house,"

and "Your visitor means food" were quoted to illustrate this

(3

tradition. In describing tribal organisation Doke refers to three types of villages as having different standing in the tribe. The most important was the chief's village, where the headman was a man of the chief's clan, and these villages were again graded into the paramount chief's village, the group chiefs' villages, the villages under a prominent (but not a group) chief, and those under a minor chief. Below these came villages in which were the shrines of the paramount or group chiefs, in which the headman was called the umwinamulenda, the keeper of the shrine, and was a commoner who had succeeded a member of the chief's clan. Below these again were the villages where the headman was a commoner. These last were generally the largest because "many people

1- Doke. op.cit. 91.

2- " " 126.

3- " " 55.

prefer the headship of a commoner who does not lord it over them."⁽¹⁾ There is some indication here of how the principles of rank and leadership determined not only the status of groups within the village but also the villages in relation to each other. The haughty awenamishishi might oppress the commoners, but on the other hand the villages containing the shrines of big chiefs were cities of refuge whither the criminal could fly to evade summary justice.

We get some further confirmation from Cuvelier about the functioning of different groups within the village on the basis of rank; also about the duties of headmen, both of which belong to the next section. He notices however that in a Balamba village, "properly constituted," there might be several "agglomérations," and we gather in another

1- Doke. op.cit. 56.

context that these might be grouped according to clan,⁽¹⁾
and that the headman had to belong to one of these clans.⁽²⁾
This would look as though a large village might contain hamlets,
or sections, grouped on a clan basis.

1- Cuvelier. op.cit. II. 180.
2- " " II. 183.

(c) The Commune.

This is cited by Smith & Dale as the third (1) important, social group in Ba-ila social organisation. The term "commune" ^{is their} translation of the Ila word shishi, which indicated both the body of people and the locality (2) in which they lived. These shishi varied in size and population from the largest of 3000, to small ones of less than 100, and might consist of one large village and several small ones, or a number of equal size. We shall see in the next section their relation to administration under the chief and headmen. What is important to notice here is that, as in the village, it was the possessing of land which was an important unifying (3) element. The lands of the communes were strictly demarcated. The social group occupying the land might be all Ba-ila people, but might also, as given in the list of communes, be of mixed (4) tribes. However heterogeneity ^{of} the population was, still they were united on one territory under one chief.

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 283.
 2- " " " I. 299.
 3- " " " I. 299, 387.
 4- " " " I. 313-5.

(d) Chefferie

This term is taken from Cuvelier, and there does not seem to be an adequate English equivalent. It covers the land and the people under one chief or sub-chief, and would seem to correspond with the areas under group chiefs described by Doke. How far it was parallel to the Ba-ila commune we have not enough data to discuss. It had however these points in common: that it was a definite area of land, and a definite group of people, with a chief wielding power over both.

(e) Tribe.

The final and largest local unit - that is of people in terms of area - was the tribe. Smith & Dale, Doke, Cuvelier and Melland all give maps showing the territory occupied by the tribes, demarcated chiefly on the principle of a common language. Probably in determining tribal areas the important factor recognised by the people was the acknowledgment of political leadership, for there seemed little doubt about where the territory of a paramount or group chief began and ended. The general mix-up of tribes in N.W. Rhodesia due to wars and migrations led to the existence of other tribal units on what was nominally tribal land. Doke for example refers ⁽¹⁾ to "intrusive Lenje elements" in "Lamba land," and Arnot ⁽²⁾ to Balamba villages on the Lufira river in the Bayeke kingdom.

1- Doke. op.cit. 26.

2- Arnot. Garenganze - 174.

Section V. Groups based on Rank and Political Leadership.

The social groups to be considered here ^{fall} ~~pale~~ into two types: first those which might be called social 'classes' into which an individual was born and which were, generally speaking, ⁽¹⁾ unalterable; and secondly those which might be called administrative units dependent on the ~~political~~ system and often identical with the local groups which we have already considered. In the area under consideration it is comparatively easy to recognise grades of political organisation: an area under a strong Paramount Chief where power was centralised and highly organised, like the Barotsi; ^{one} ~~one~~ under a weak Paramount Chief like the Balamba where the lands and people were subject to constant raids, and to invasions, both warlike and peaceful; and an area with no Paramount Chief but a number of petty chiefs each exercising limited authority, such as the Ba-ila and the Bakaonde. Prof. Thurnwald in his ^{study of} ~~Primitive~~ ^{work} Economics speaks of certain societies as "ethnically stratified and socially graded".⁽²⁾ It is unwise perhaps to generalise on the nature of the historical material to be examined in this area, but I should be inclined to think that social status, that is rank, was definitely connected among the Barotsi, and perhaps in the other areas, with the position of the conquering tribe. How far the immigration of a successful military tribe caused the indigenous population to be "enslaved" it is impossible to say. It also depended on the meaning which was

1- But see Smith & Dole. op.cit. I.304.

2- Thurnwald - op.cit. 79-92.

given to "slavery." Warfare did undoubtedly account for the great majority of slaves. Among our authors none discuss a possible difference between slavery and serfdom, except Doke who speaks of a type of domestic slavery among the Balamba "from which the horrors of the slave-trading were to a great extent absent."⁽¹⁾ I think it is evident from the material that there were several types of slaves, with varying economic functions and with varying possibilities of escape from slavery. From the point of view of social grouping however the distinction between freeman and slave was clear. Whether a man was born a slave or became a slave for some misdeed or misfortune, as a slave he was definitely of a lower status than the freeman. It is this factor of slavery which stands out in the groups based on rank, just as the position and role of the chief stands out in the groups based on political leadership. Unfortunately in none of the material is there any discussion of the religious and magical functions of the chief, functions which would certainly have supported and enhanced his power over the land and the people which were united under his leadership.

1- Doke - op.cit. 80.

See also Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 411.

(1
 Among the Ba-ila Smith & Dale say that "the inhabitants
 of a commune are made up of two classes freeman and
 slaves; the former are Ba-ila par excellence, the latter
 are bazhike, i.e. 'the buried', of no status." One might
 suspect that the Ba-ila here in this epithet cherished a
 tradition of being once the immigrant, perhaps conquering
 tribe who enslaved the indigenous population, in order to
 compensate them for their subsequent conquest by the
 Barotsi. The authors however make it clear (2
 that there
 was no authentic historical tradition relating to the arrival
 of the Ba-ila in their present house. We find in the chapter
 on Slavery (3
 accounts of how people were enslaved, and of the
 "rights and obligations" of slaves vis-à-vis their masters.
 In other contexts we learn two important facts about slavery
 which are relevant to this question of social grouping.

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 299.
 2- " " I. 18.
 3- " " Chapter XVI. I. 398.

The first is the rite which bound a new slave to his master. This was performed at the lwanga or village "altar," sacred to the village "divinities." It would seem as though the fact that this rite was performed at the village lwanga and not at the one in the master's own house gave the rite a public character, announcing to the village community in the presence of the village divinities that here a specific new social relationship was set up. In another context we read that a slave might so far escape from his low rank as to be elected to the chieftainship. A boy bought as a slave and brought up in his master's house was actually elected chief, thus showing that in exceptional circumstances there was a dramatic escape from the lowest rank in society to the highest. Slavery among the Baila ^{as} ~~was~~ throughout this area was the recognised penalty for certain for certain crimes, involving both economic servitude and social degradation. Whether there was any distinction made in the treatment of the two kinds of slaves, marking a different social standing, we are not told. It is made clear however that a person enslaved for crimes was redeemable, and that their relatives made

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. II.172-3
 2- " " I. 304.
 3- " " I. 398.
 4- " " I. 402.

efforts to assist them to this redemption. ⁽¹⁾ Though there was always hope for this type of slave, yet he was, while enslaved, "a real slave and not a mere serf" - - - and "his lot was not an enviable one."

(Also) ⁽²⁾ Doke gives us a chapter on Slavery, showing how individuals became slaves: "in settlement of debt, by ⁽³⁾ misdeed, by capture in war, and by self-enslavement." The examination of slavery, ^{as a} punishment for crime belongs properly to the realm of law which falls somewhat outside this present thesis. Self-enslavement as described by Doke ⁽⁴⁾ was sometimes a result of failing to get on with one's relatives and fellow villagers, which led a man to transfer his allegiance to another headman. Here stepping out of one group based on political leadership involved stepping into another, ^{lower} ~~however~~ ^{for} one, based on rank. Another motive of such an action might have been hunger and failure to raise a crop on his lands. Industrious ⁽⁵⁾ slaves however could "buy" their redemption. This we shall consider later in Chapter VIII when analysing motives of work.

Among the Balamba in addition to the social ranking ^{two} of freemen and slaves, Doke tells us of two other types of

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 411.
 2- Doke " Chapter V. 79-84.
 3- " " 80.
 4- " " 80-81.
 5- " " 83.

social ranking: the men of chief's rank and commoners; (1)
 and the social rank assumed by members of certain clans who
~~punished~~ furnished the chiefs of neighbouring tribes. (2) It appears
 therefore that a kinship connection with a ruling house gave
 a definite status, but Doke does not tell us in what ways
 this was manifested, except where the "proud awenamishishi" (3)
 were not popular as headmen of a village.

Cuvelier gives considerable data on slavery, and
 in some points he differs from Doke. He says for example
 that orphans who had no relatives to support them formerly
 became slaves to their protector. (4) With regard to enslave-
 ment of debt he says (5) that the debtor himself could not be
 enslaved but that some relative of his might be seized instead.
 He suggests (6) that there was something approaching to rank
 among the slaves in the special treatment which was meted out
 to old and trusted slaves. He is nevertheless emphatic that

-
- 1- Doke. op.cit. 56.
 2- " " 194-7
 3- " " 56.
 4- Cuvelier " II. 167.
 5- " " II. 170.
 6- " " II. 176.

slavery was absolute,⁽¹⁾ and that a sharp distinction existed between slaves and freemen.

Cuvelier speaks of "reigning families" among the Sakania Balamba having special ranks,⁽²⁾ which from his description seem to correspond to the clans of chiefs in N. Rhodesia. He also tells⁽³⁾ us that strangers who came to a village, if they followed the profession of smith or hunter would have no difficulty in reaching an important position in the community, thus recognising that certain "professions" carry with them social rank.⁽⁴⁾ The warriors formed no special caste because there was no standing army and in case of an attack all were called on for a general levy. Certain individuals did however hold offices in the army which gave them a special rank but this operated only during the period of warfare.⁽⁵⁾

As the history of Barotsiland would lead us to expect, it was there that social ranks were most clearly marked, and the degradation of slavery most evident. The explorer Bertrand noticed⁽⁶⁾ the sharply marked ranks in society, shown among other things by the size of the hut and the amount of decoration allowed on dwellings and possessions. Slaves,

-
- 1- Cuvelier. op. cit. II. 177.
 2- " " II. 169.
 3- " " II. 181.
 4- " " II. 182.
 5- " " II. 180.
 6- Bertrand. " I36.

he notices, were part of the annual tribute from subject tribes, but Barotsi themselves could never become slaves. (1)
 Arnot, the first missionary to the Barotsi Valley, made Lewanika (2)
 very angry when he began to teach Christianity to the slaves.
 "Those are matlanka, the lowest slaves" the king announced. (3)
 "They are not people; they are our dogs." Coillard tells us
 how Lewanika found much difficulty with his slave population.
 "They grumble at everything - that black rabble!" In examin-
 ing the organisation of work among the Barotsi we shall see
 how Coillard emphasised (4) that slaves were the foundation of the
 social edifice, and how wide the gulf was between slave and
 free.

In the groups based on political leadership the focus point was of course the chief. We have already (5) discussed
 the position of chiefs with regard to Land Tenure, and we shall
 in Chapter VI and VII discuss their function in regard to
 ownership of wealth in general and to organisation of work. We
 are not here directly concerned with the foundations of their
 political power, nor with its implications in the judicial
 system of the tribes. In the economic life of the people the
 chiefs play an exceedingly important part which is not brought
 out clearly in the data available. And it was in terms of the

1- Bertrand. op.cit. 154.

2- Arnot. barenganze. 73.

3- Coillard. op.cit. 279.

4- " " 65.

5- See Chapter III.

"people of Nsenje" or "of Kasempa" or of "Mungaila" that those groups were known, which were units larger than villages and communes. The accounts of the installation of a new chief given by Smith & Dale ⁽¹⁾ and by Doke, ⁽²⁾ and the homage paid to the shrines of former chiefs, show how deeply embedded in the social organisation was this leading political office, and Coillard ⁽³⁾ points out how the mystery surrounding the person and acts of the "king" enhanced the dignity of his position.

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 300.
 2- Doke " 60-61.
 3- Coillard " 171, 594.

Section VI. Groups based on Voluntary Association.

I have included under this heading two groups of very different types: the blood-brotherhood, and the "professions" as Doke calls them, because there is in these two groups a common principle of association: that of voluntary joining. People were, generally speaking, neither born [^]not coerced into them. There was one other group, recorded among the Ba-ila only, for which place has to be found in this scheme of social morphology. It was the musela or age grade ⁽¹⁾ which seemed to confer the same rights and duties on its members as the blood-brotherhood. Moreover as it was possible for an individual to "buy himself" into another musela than the one to which by age he naturally belonged, there is some justification for including it in this category. The covenant of blood-brotherhood, a pact of friendship, was something held in high esteem among all the tribes. If we were searching for origins we might regard it as a would-be extension of the kinship ties, where the similarity was marked by the actual exchange of blood. From the point of view of economic life however this association was very important, because of the economic obligations incurred. The groups of professional

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 309-10.

artisans we find holding positions of great importance in the various communities. Here the tie was not that of covenant but of initiation and apprenticeship into mysteries.

(1)
Among the Ba-ila Smith & Dale speak of two types of friendship covenant, one temporary "for the exchange of food and medicines;" the other, the blood brotherhood, so permanent and so binding that death was the penalty for breaking it. The mulongo, as also the musela, was for mutual aid in general terms, and served to strengthen ~~the~~ Uwulunda an individual's position with his fellows by binding him to others than his relatives on whom he could count in time of need.

(2)
Doke says that the Balamba also valued the Uwulunda or "lasting personal friendship," and that they had a proverb "Friendship begins by barter." The giving of gifts to the extent of sharing almost every possession was indeed a marked feature of these covenants.

(3)
Melland has a whole chapter on blood-brotherhood, bulunda among the Bakaonde and ubwambu among the Alunda.

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 308.
2- Doke " 128.
3- Melland " Chapter VIII.

"It ranks" says Melland ⁽¹⁾ "next to (possibly equal to) marriage as a civil contract and has definite obligations on each side." The nature of the association was the same as that already described. Melland points out ⁽²⁾ that it was "so popular as to be almost universal" and also that it extended across tribal boundaries.

⁽³⁾ Coillard mentions that some Barotsi men formed blood brotherhood ties with some Balovale, as a result of which his party was told of the plan to massacre them, the implication being that the covenant was such that secrets could not be kept from the partners to it. Arnot ⁽¹⁾ and Crawford ⁽²⁾ both state that it was a tie of bulunda between the Basanga king and the father of Msidi, which led to the support of Msidi and his guns in the Katanga and the subsequent establishment of the Bayeke power there - a political result of the bulunda of the first importance.

The professional groups we shall consider in detail in Chapter V and VII. Here we need only note that the professions of witch doctor, hunter and smith were the outstanding ones. Some of these trades may have been hereditary though we are not told so specifically. They certainly had the nature of craft guilds, and required both initiative ^{on} and

-
1. Melland. op.cit. 109.
 2. " " 110.
 3. Coillard. " 612.
 4. Arnot. " 231.
 5. Crawford. " 181.

(1. and apprenticeship. Undoubtedly they held a special
 place in the community, and both Arnot⁽²⁾ and Crawford⁽³⁾
 record how even the great Msidi stood in awe of the mechanics
 and blacksmiths in his kingdom.

-
- 1- Doke. op. cit. 269. Melland op.cit. 136,201,267.
 2- Arnot " 238.
 3- Crawford " 275.

Section VII. Resulting Problems.

This brief survey has shown that the pattern of society in this area was by no means simple nor unified in principle. The ~~clear~~ groupings based on kinship and rank would be found in a local group such as the village and might tend to split up the otherwise strong bonds of common residence. On the other hand the influence of a powerful chief in his village might be to hold all under him in such a grip that other groupings seemed by comparison of less importance. One result of this criss-cross pattern may have been that an individual had more opportunity for self-assertion if his ambition led him that way. If he had strong links with his village and several useful blood-brothers, or belonged to a craft guild, he might flout the claims of his own or his wife's kin if they irked him. On the other hand supernatural forces might be deemed to be stronger than human support. There must certainly have been a constant balancing of claims and obligations in the light of their various sanctions.

There is evidence that cohesion was not strong in some social groups, and that the family was not a stable unit. Among the forces making for cohesion however it might be surmised that land tenure and economic ties in general would hold together social units, who but for them might have disintegrated. Somewhere therefore in the region of the social - economic - religious life of the people we should expect to find those features of a "community" which gave at least to some institutionalised groups an effective entity in economic life.

Section VIII. Changes due to culture contact.

The most sweeping change in the social organisation of the people was probably the enacting and enforcing of the Ordinance abolishing slavery. De jure, slaves ceased to be a class apart. Whether de facto in social life this distinction continued is a problem for field investigation. Another effect of culture contact which has many ramifications in social life is the exodus to work in ~~wage-causing~~ ^{wage-carrying} occupations under European supervision. Not only does this involve temporary or permanent breaking of former social ties, but it means a new set of influences and standards being brought to bear on individual attitudes and applied to the traditional social institutions. While these influences come mainly from men who have gone away from the villages for work, the influences from Christian missions come directly to the villages. Christian teaching on marriage and monogamy, and the influence of the bush school affect directly the tribal standards of social life, and strike at the root of that fusion of social-economic-religious ties which has been suggested as the basis of the community. Whether a new native community, based on a new set of social-economic-religious beliefs and practices, is replacing the old, is a problem for field investigation.

CHAPTER V.

PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION.

Section 1. Methods of Analysis.

" 2. Food Production.

" 3. Food Consumption.

" 4. Industries.

" 5. (Professions.)

" 6. Problems arising from ^{the} survey.

" 7. Changes due to culture contact.

Chapter V. Production and Consumption.

Section 1. Methods of analysis.

We have in Chapters III, and IV, surveyed briefly the land and its resources and the different groupings of individuals who inhabited it. We come now to the further examination of the use of the land and its resources by these social units in order to satisfy their various needs. This satisfaction of needs, known in economic parlance as production, and consumption, we have already seen to have been considered by earlier anthropologists as necessarily very simple. In this area under review the use of by man of the material resources at his command is anything but simple. We are confronted with a multitude of activities aimed at satisfying man's needs, which as Professor Malinowski (1) has pointed out include both the bare physiological needs, and the derived needs which culture demands. The organisation of these many sided activities is the special subject of this thesis, and in order to prepare the ground for that analysis we have first to set out the processes of production and consumption. Within the scope of the material available there are two possible methods of analysing the process of production. The first is according to the time element, namely examining

1- B. Malinowski - Article on Culture - op.cit.

the work done at different seasons as set out in the calendar of work, a method which is followed in three of the monographs. The second is that of dividing production into food producing activities, industries, and activities such as that of the witch doctor, which Doke calls "professions". I have chosen to follow the second line for the following reasons. It is evident that the food producing activities of the people occupy the major part of their time and energy. Dr. Richards (1) has shown us how important food production is in relation to the social organisation of the people, and how ^{ke}satisfying of the needs of man for nutrition binds together the kinship groups. There are however other occupations which I have called "industries," some satisfying "necessities" such as huts for shelter, others "luxuries" such as musical instruments and ornaments. These occupations form part of the organisation of work in the community, and are also the point at which tribal economic life comes into first contact with European culture through the introduction of trade goods which may displace the native products. The "professions," though in a narrower economic sense they are relatively unimportant, nevertheless have their place in the fabric of organisation, and when culture contact eliminates them, another dislocation of economic life takes place which has to be reckoned with.

1- A.I. Richards. Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe -
London 1932.

These are all the activities of production. The side of consumption, as Dr. Richards has shown in relation to food, has been widely neglected in anthropological field work. In the material on this area such a criticism can be made with justice, with certain exceptions. Using such material as there is I propose in the following sections to deal first with the food producing activities; then to refer to one or two aspects of food consumption; then to examine the "industries;" then to see in what ways the "profession" of witch doctor can be said to be part of economic life; and finally to discuss the resulting problems and culture changes. Dr. Richards has dealt so fully and adequately with the aspects of food production and consumption and the problems arising therefrom, that I feel justified in giving more space to the productive activities included under "industries" and "professions."

Section 11. Food production.

The classical division of primitive races into hunters and collectors, past^ooralists, and agriculturists, each producing resultant types of society, has been applied to various parts of Africa, as also to other parts of the world. In N.W. Rhodesia such a division would be false from the start. It would be possible to show that all the tribes under review practised all the three methods of food production to some degree. The determining factors in the relative amount of time given to hunting, collecting, pasturage and agriculture depended partly on the nature of the land, partly on the presence or absence of the tsetse fly, and partly on good or bad seasons, the latter necessitating the collecting forest of/produce on an extensive scale.

All the tribes in this area of which we have any record practised some form of agriculture except the Awatwa of the Lukanga Swamp where the nature of the land precluded it. (1) Moubray relates how they went through a form of "silent trade" with the people of the mainland, exchanging dried fish for corn. But they also, he says, made a kind of flour from the

1- J.M. Moubray. op.cit. 58.

roots of the water lily, to which Doke says ⁽¹⁾ the Balamba
 in time of famine also had recourse. The method of cultivat-
 ion was everywhere much the same, that is by cutting down
 branches of trees and burning them together with the grass
 and low bushes, thus forming a top dressing of ash which
 acted as a potash fertiliser. Cereals formed the basis of
 the food supply and were the main product of garden cultivat-
 ion, varying according to the soil from maize to poorer forms
 of millet. ⁽²⁾ Doke ⁽³⁾ and Smith & Dale both give lists of food-
 stuffs, Doke dividing them according to the Lamba terms into
 "foods" and "relish," food including cereals, certain vegetables
 such as beans, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, and ground nuts;
 and relish including greens, meat, fish, birds, caterpillars
 &c. The work of cultivating included clearing and firing the
 ground, fencing it when necessary to keep out wild animals,
 hoeing, sowing, weeding and bird scaring. In the Loange
 valley in Barotsiiland which he calls the ⁽⁴⁾ granary of the
 country, Coillard speaks of trenches being dug to drain the
 swamps in order to plant manioc and sweet potatoes on the
 borders. Elsewhere we do not read either of artificial drain-
 age to make low lying river land cultivatable nor of artificial
 irrigation on the higher lands. Smith & Dale speak of the

1- Doke. op.cit. 107.

2- " " 100-108.

3- Smith & Dale. op. cit. I. 142-6.

4- Coillard. " 240.

very rich alluvial lands of the Kafue river banks⁽¹⁾ which repaid their possessors with a rich harvest if they were industrious enough to anticipate the river floods. Apart from the fact that artificial drainage and irrigation were not resorted to, there appeared to have been some empirical knowledge of the properties of certain soils for certain crops and of the value of wood ash^h as a fertiliser.

We should hardly expect to find in anthropological material of this kind any estimate of the relation between actual production under tribal cultivation to the potential capacity of the land. Smith & Dale tell us⁽²⁾ that the harvest of a "family" on their gardens of about 3 acres would average 600 - 1000 lbs. an acre, and on this basis they say the Ballaⁱ were amply fed in normal seasons. Neither Doke nor Melland give any idea of the amounts cultivated and consumed, but they speak of "hungry months"^h implying that the supplies of cereals were not enough⁽³⁾ to last through the year."

It has to be remembered that the standard cereals, though the basis of the food supply, were not by any means the only source of food. They were however so much the basis

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op. cit. I.8.
 2- " " I. 140.
 3- Doke " 107.

of every meal that their lack or shortage constituted a famine and recourse to wild forest products. Doke gives a long list of "famine foods,"⁽¹⁾ and Colliard speaks of the widespread shortage in Bafotsiland⁽²⁾ in 1886 when men and women went to the forests to gather roots and fruits. Famines were not however only due to bad seasons or to failure to cultivate an adequate area. The constant warfare and incessant raiding in pre-European days set a severe check on normal cultivation, and it was possibly these experiences added to their flight to forest uplands which taught the people the value of forest products. In addition to the collecting of forest products in times of shortage we should add two other forms of "collecting" which were important in normal economic life. One was honey, valued not only as a food but for making a much esteemed and powerful form of beer.⁽³⁾ Colliard tells us how honey formed part of the tribute brought in to the king in the Barotsi capital, and Bertrand reports⁽⁴⁾ that all honey found there had to be taken to the king. Smith & Dale describe⁽⁵⁾ the making of honey beer from the honeycomb full of young bees and the honey.

The other food product dependent on "collecting" was salt - a necessary and much valued ingredient in native diet.

-
- 1- Doke. op.cit. 105-7
 - 2- Colliard " 259.
 - 3- " " 271.
 - 4- Bertrand " 156.
 - 5- Smith & Dale. I. 149.

To an inland people before the days of extended trading the making of salt was a source of revenue to areas where there were salt pans or soil highly charged with salines. As we shall see later salt in lumps or in baskets was a medium of exchange, 5 baskets in the Balala country⁽¹⁾ being worth a male calf, and 15 kilo in Sakania⁽²⁾ worth a male slave. Doke describes⁽³⁾ how the Balamba in N. Rhodesia obtained salt from burning salty grasses and using water drained through the ashes to cook meat. Crawford tells⁽⁴⁾ how the Balamba at Muachia owned large salt pans and people from many tribes came thither for it. He also tells⁽⁵⁾ how a Luba woman on the Congo border established her reputation. She was tending the big earthenware pots^{of salt water} which were kept boiling all night to cause evaporation, when a lion attacked her. Dodging behind the fire, she threw the pot of boiling salt water at the lion and killed it!⁽⁶⁾ Arnot related that in the Bayeke country the salt pans were a great source of wealth. The salt was drawn out by the sun's heat and was so plentiful that in 20 sq. yards they swept up 50 lbs, of salt.⁽⁷⁾ He also described how Msidi's own salt pan was opened once a year with a religious ceremony which included a human sacrifice to propitiate the spirits of the departed chief of that area, Msidi himself being an invader.

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 148.
 - 2- Cuvelier " I. 12.
 - 3- Doke " lll.
 - 4- Crawford. Through the Long Grass. 227.
 - 5- " Thinking Black. 105.
 - 6- Arnot. op.cit. 240.
 - 7- " op. cit. 239.

New paragraph In a country so rich in rivers, fishing supplied a needed
 article of diet. Smith & Dale say ⁽¹⁾ that fish was the staple
 food in January when the flooded country prevented hunting.
 Melland speaks ⁽²⁾ of three ways of fishing: by spearing,
 trapping and poisoning. ⁽³⁾ Doke gives a full description of
 seven methods of fishing, all done by men except one, and
 reports ⁽⁴⁾ that certain men and communities, who acquired special
 skill, dried fish and traded it. Among the Ba-ila, the Bakaonde,
 and the Balamba there seems to have been no stigma attached
 to the occupation of fishing, nor to using fish as an article
 of diet. ⁽⁵⁾ Arnot however records from the Bayeke kingdom that
 only certain families had the right to fish, and that they
 were despised because fish was considered an unclean food.
 On the Zambesi ⁽⁶⁾ Coillard tells us that the conquered and despised
 river~~ain~~ tribes like the Masubia were the skilled fishermen,
 but that nevertheless it was a privilege reserved for chiefs

-
- | | | | |
|----|---------------|------------|-------|
| 1- | Smith & Dale. | op.cit. I. | 144. |
| 2- | Melland | " | 267. |
| 3- | Doke | " | 342-6 |
| 4- | " | " | 343. |
| 5- | Arnot | " | 238. |
| 6- | Coillard | " | 237. |

to fish with nets; commoners had to use weirs and traps. ⁽¹⁾

Hunting among all the tribes was not only a source of food supply, but an exciting and often dangerous sport. The river plains and open forests teemed with game of all kinds. The hunting exploits of men like Selous and Bertrand, and their adventures with elephant, hippo, buffalo and lion, emphasise# the intrepidity with which native hunters pursued the same quarry with their inadequate weapons. At the period to which our material chiefly refers, that is the end of the 19th. century and the beginning of the 20th., muzzle-loading guns had already been introduced by the Portuguese traders and were indeed an important medium of exchange. In native equivalents they were costly possessions, but the desire to acquire guns and the speed with which they circulated can be partly explained by the love of hunting and the superiority of guns over iron-tipped spears and arrows. Hunting was not however only by the chase but also by trapping. Doke points out ⁽²⁾ that among the Balamba "trappers and fishers are quite a different category from hunters. They are looked upon as ordinary folk and their calling not as a profession. This is mainly due to the fact that in the ordinary way no ubwanga (charm) is used in the pursuit of their occupation."

1- Coillard. op.cit. 250.

2- Doke " 339.

new paragraph
 We have here an indication of the great esteem in which hunters were held in the community, and of their use of and command of certain medicines and charms. Smith & Dale, Melland and Doke all speak of special 'medicine' for hunters, and Doke gives ⁽¹⁾ a full account of the necessary initiation and training for the profession of huntsman. What we do not find in the material is any indication as to the number of hunters in the community, that is in the local unit of residence. In the plan of a village given by Doke, ⁽²⁾ there is a hut of a hunter with the special court for dancing the hunting dances and the shrine for offerings to Kaaluwe the guardian spirit of the animals. The place of hunters in the community will be more fully discussed in Chapter VII but we can see its importance here in relation to the food supply, for if hunters were scarce, meat would be scarce and vice versa. Coillard ⁽³⁾ tells us how the inundation of the river flats was the time for hunting in Barotsiland. When the ground round Lealuyi, the royal capital, became a lake, then the king and most of the Barotsi proper retired to the wooded ridges bordering the valley for "hunting and masquerades of both of which they are

1- Doke. op.cit. 321-42.
 2- " " 91.
 3- Coillard " 327.

passionately fond." The king had several "hunting boxes" where he kept his trophies and "medicines." As Coillard tells us the slaves were left to guard the inundated villages, hunting among the Barotsi seemed to have been the sport of the aristocracy.

The cattle-keeping tribes in this area were the Ba[̄]ila and the Barotsi. The other areas were infested with tsetse fly, and therefore impossible for cattle, but Doke (1) mentions a goat house in the village though he does not say in what ways goats were utilised for food, i.e. either as meat or milk. Smith & Dale say (2) of the Ba-ila: "Above all their possessions, above ^{kik}birth and kin, wife or child, they love and value their cattle." The authors describe the Ba-ila aesthetic attitude towards the cattle as well as their care of them. They also call them (3) a "hostage for their good behaviour." The main use of the cattle as food was their milk and its derived products, killing a beast taking place only as a rule at times of sacrifices and feasts. In the past they had to defend their cattle from invaders, and at all times they had to protect them from the in-roads of wild beasts. Coillard says of the Barotsi (4) that in spite of large numbers of cattle in the country, "they were not at all a pastoral people."

1- Doke. op. cit. 90.

2- Smith & Dale " I. 127.

3- " " I. 134.

4- Coillard " 297.

Coming from Basutoland, he was amazed that the Barotsi
 were willing to sell their cattle,⁽¹⁾ and quite horrified at
 the "universal butchery" of cattle which sometimes took
 place during famines.⁽²⁾ Such a wholesale slaughter of
 cattle and subsequent feasting was the prelude to a raid on
 neighbouring cattle keeping tribes, and the war cry of
 "To the Mashukulumb^wine" was less a call to battle than to
 repl⁽³⁾enish their stock. Coillard moreover gives us no
 picture of the Barotsi caring for their cattle with the display
 of emotion and aesthetic feeling shown by the Ba-ila.

-
- 1- Coillard. op. cit. 205.
 2- " " 297.
 3- " " 298.

Section 111. Food Consumption.

We have already referred to the fact that anthropological field workers generally pay very little attention to the general problem of consumption of food. They may note taboos on certain foods and occasions of feasts &c, but it is rare to find anything like an economic survey of the food eaten even by a small unit in the community. In some communities where food is plentiful and the population not too large there may be apparent lavishness and even waste; in others there may be lavishness at some seasons and scarcity at others; in others there may be a prevailing scarcity which calls for a very careful allocation of food all the year round, possibly almost to the extent of 'planning.' We find in our material some indication of the first two categories. The Ba-ila appeared to be plentifully supplied with food of varying kinds, and never experienced real destitution. ⁽¹⁾ Three lbs of grain per day per person was said to be an ample food ration, ⁽²⁾ and a "meal consisting of 10 lbs of meat was said to be a fair one." ⁽³⁾ It would be interesting to know how far everyone in the household unit was served lavishly and ^{what} was done with the surplus of meats ^{if} there

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 143.
 2- " " I. 146.
 3- " " I. 145.

was any. It appears ⁽¹⁾ that individuals having eaten at home often went visiting to see what was going in another household, and thus it was impossible to estimate how much was eaten in a day by any one person.

The Balamba were probably an example of the second category. Doke says ⁽²⁾ that at times they were "hard pressed" and had to rely on forest products. Melland seems ⁽³⁾ to imply that the Bakaonde could, if they would, raise enough food, but that the man who neglected cultivation would have to spend much time hunting and collecting or 'cadging' food. These two accounts illustrate how in 90% of field work records all the attention is turned to production of food and little or nothing to consumption.

Under the rather general heading of consumption of food there should be several aspects considered. There is first of all the preparation of food which may include the threshing, winnowing and grinding of corn, soaking and scraping of manioc or cassava, and all the preparing of meat, vegetables etc. preparatory to cooking. After the preparation of food comes its distribution, though it should be remembered that

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I.146.
 2- Doke " 107.
 3- Melland " 119.

part of the distribution of raw products may take place earlier in gifts of food made to relatives and friends.

(1
Dr. Richards has shown how important are the ties formed by common eating and the nature of the sentiments associated with it. There seem to be two kinds of 'eating customs' to be observed here; those of normal times, that is the regular day to day household meals; and those on special occasions which called for hospitality to guests or feasts to mark some important social event. In connection with normal times and still more with special occasions, the use of food for making beer must be taken into account. It would be interesting to know here whether there was any considered or 'planned' setting aside of meal or honey for brewing, or whether if a big beer drink consumed a quantity of meal, people just went short of cereal food in consequence.

On this distribution of food in meals and feasts,

1- A.I. Richards. op.cit. Chapter lll.

there were certain checks. It is evident from our material (1) that there was no effective taboo on people eating the totem of their clan. Smith & Dale give a list of foods tabooed to the Baita but not according to clan totems. The taboos on food apply rather to people in special states, e.g. pregnant women, and small children, or to men before undertaking some dangerous pursuit such as hunting or warfare. How far these taboos acted as checks on over-consumption of certain articles of diet, and therefore had a directly economic result, it is impossible to say without further field study. A form of economic taboos (2) was recorded by Coillard who introduced bananas as food into Barotsiland. Lewanika liked them so much that he declared them to be royal food and forbade them to all but his immediate relatives. Besides the checks due to taboos there were those due to shortage caused by drought or floods. Precisely how these shortages were met we are not told, except that Doke gives us a list of famine foods. It would be interesting to know for example whether the whole household fared alike in such circumstances, or whether the staple food was eked out for the men, and the women and children had to do on famine foods.

-
- 1- Doke. op. cit. 193. Melland. op.cit. 250. Smith & Doke
op.cit. I. 150.
- 2- Coillard " 278.

The problem of storage is really one which falls mid-
 way between production and consumption. All the cultivated
 foods when harvested had to be stored for future use. Doke
 (1) speaks of the permanent grain houses which lay outside the
 village but he does not say how many each household had and
 whether they were different for different grains. Smith &
 Dale (2) speak of temporary and permanent grain bins built on
 the garden sites, of clay grain pots standing on a platform
 (3) in the huts, and of ground nuts stored on high platforms
 (4) in the village. Melland speaks also of temporary and
 permanent grain bins. None of the writers speak of any
 magical or religious ceremony connected with the storage of
 food on the opening of the bin, except that the Baïla women
 (4) decorated the bins with pairs of mammae and serpents.

How far the diet as usually taken was considered
 adequate by the tribes themselves and how far it was scientifi-
 cally adequate we cannot say. The Baïla used to say: (5)
 "I am suffering from meat hunger" because they enjoyed meat
 most of all, but among the other tribes we get no indication
 of what was prized or despised as food, nor of what was con-
 sidered a 'square meal.' Judging by the lists of food given
 by Doke one would say that the ingredients were there for a

-
- 1- Doke. op. cit. 114 - 89.
 2- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 138.
 3- " " I. 121.
 4- " " I. 139.
 5- " " I. 144.

balanced and varied diet, but it is not all clear how much, for example, of protein and vegetable salts were contained in an ordinary meal, nor how much the normal diet was preponderantly starch foods.

Section IV. Industries.

The study of 'technology,' or of primitive arts and crafts, has been for long a subject matter of anthropology. It has for the most part however been limited to the purely technical processes by which primitive people made their tools, ornaments, houses &c. This description of the processes, useful though it may be in understanding the art and scientific skill of a primitive people, needs amplifying before it can be related to the general economic life of the community. For our purpose, what we want to know is not only the exact details of house building and all the articles used in it, but what group of people do it; in what ways they are related to each other; what rewards are given for assistance; who uses the hut when built; what ceremonies if any are connected with it. Moreover it is important to know whether this group of people build a new hut every year; or every 5 years; or when it falls down; or when someone in it dies - and so on. A study of technology alone therefore is barren without these essential correlations with social organisation and economic life. And it is important to add also an essential correlation with magical and religious ceremonies in housebuilding, and with the handing on of the knowledge of housebuilding to future generations. *

New paragraph

~~He~~ ^{We} could go not only further afield to aspects of culture correlated with technology, but further back, and ask what makes men spend time and energy and skill in building houses. The answer to this is that man has to satisfy certain primary needs, and among these is the need for shelter and safety. Round this primary need of safety he has built a group of derived needs which are culturally determined. Hence in the area which we are considering, houses were built in a certain way and arranged on a certain plan, because that form and plan were part of the traditional culture of the tribes. The same was true of tools, ornaments, weapons, clothes. Their form and precise technique, though interesting, are relatively unimportant when taken from the context of their cultural setting and of their place in the economic life of the people. Moreover when European contact causes Lancashire cotton stuffs to replace bark cloth as clothing, it is not enough to record the former method of making bark cloth and then to say it is dying out or is extinct. Formerly it occupied a definite place in the economic life of the people. What is the nature of the change which has taken place? Not only a change of raiment. For Lancashire cotton stuffs cost money, and money must be acquired, and men must find some way to acquire it which may involve leaving the

village to work for wages.⁽¹⁾ Thus the intrusion of contact problems makes only more clear the necessity of giving to 'industries' their right place in tribal economic life.

Doke says ⁽¹⁾ "With the Balamba the ^{tree} ~~s~~ important things have always been food, shelter and clothing, in that order of importance." In an area where sharp seasonal changes of temperature took place, and where wild beasts were many and fierce, the shelter of a well made house was essential. We find in the material both of Doke ⁽²⁾ and of Smith & Dale ⁽³⁾ detailed descriptions of house building given in connection with the founding of a new village, and Melland mentions the work done on houses by men and women at different seasons of the year in his calendar of village life. ⁽⁴⁾ Among all these tribes the building of new houses seemed to occur at frequent intervals owing to the need of moving the villages to cultivate

1- A District Officer told me (June 1934) that owing to the shortage of wage-earning work people were taking to bark cloth again.

2- Doke. op.cit. 99.

3- " op. cit. Chapter VI. Smith & Dale. op. cit. I. Chapter IV.

4- Melland " Chapter IX.

new land. Moreover among the Balamba⁽¹⁾ the creation of a new village site involved putting up first temporary huts - inkunka - and later, after the first harvest had been reaped, permanent huts - intanda. There is sufficient evidence to show that the building of houses, and also of grain stores, formed an important element in the organisation of the economic life of the people.

It was the experience of all the first Europeans coming into this area that their possessions which were most coveted by the tribesmen were their clothes. From the Portuguese traders had come calico as a regular medium of exchange and payment, also supplies of second hand clothes and it was these made-up clothes which were particularly coveted. Coillard describes⁽²⁾ his giving Akafuna, the young usurper in Barotsiland, a St Cyr military cloak which was the envy of all, and how the Prime Minister endeavoured to cram his feet into a pair of boots that were much too small for him. "The Barotsi" says Coillard⁽³⁾ are passionately fond of clothes and despise such tribes as the Mas^hukulumbwe who wear none."⁽⁴⁾ Coillard says moreover that "all their clothes are bought" and that they had only a rudimentary idea of

-
- 1- Doke op.cit. 89-90
 2- Coillard " 175.
 3- " " 536.
 4- " " 536.

spinning and weaving. Smith & Dale⁽¹⁾ say of the Baïla
 "they are content to be naked but anxious to be fine," and
 corroborate Coillard that formerly the men went naked while
 the women wore petticoats of antelope skins. Perhaps for this
 reason the Baïla were not skilled workers in leather, being
 ignorant of tanning,⁽²⁾ only scraping the skins and rubbing them
 with fat to soften them before use.

Among the Balamba and Bakaonde in pre-European days
 their clothing consisted of bark cloth. Melland says⁽³⁾ that the
 Bakaonde cut and made bark cloth at any season of the year.⁽⁴⁾
 Doke gives a long description of the process and points out
 that it was "no small undertaking." It involved an expedition
 to find the right trees and a stay of several days in the bush
 to collect the bark. Doke says this was done by "a party of men."
 The most tedious part of the process was the hammering of the
 bark fibre to get it the requisite thickness and width, which
 took place after the return to the village. Besides the general
 need of bark cloth for warmth and modesty, young men had to
 have a supply of it to give gifts to their intended bride and
 her relatives. If still more costly gifts were demanded as
 a marriage pledge⁽⁵⁾ they sold bark cloth in order to get goods
 or money for this pledge.⁽⁶⁾

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 96.
 2- " " I. 183.
 3- Melland " 126.
 4- Doke " 120.
 5- " " 119.
 6- " " 121.

New paragraph There is no need to go into detail here on the making of ornaments. Suffice it to say that like all peoples, some adornment added to beauty and other kinds of adornment to the preparations for war. From our material we find also that there was a variety of pots, articles of wood, ropes and mats, and canoes made for local use and occasionally traded.

It is interesting to note that Coillard as also Bertrand ⁽¹⁾ was struck with the 'industry' of the Barotsi. He noted their skill in working with wood and iron, and observed that the king had his own workshop which only he and his workmen might enter. Lewanika himself took part in the designing and making of a state barge which was surrounded with great mystery and secrecy until the day of its launching. ⁽²⁾ He urged Coillard to open an industrial school to teach crafts and to take his, the king's, ⁽³⁾ nephews as the first pupils.

This element of mystery, suggested in Lewanika's workshop, supported by religious and magical rites, clung around the art of the smith throughout the area. Moreover throughout this area, they were among the most distinguished individuals in society, forming their own guild and the

1- Coillard. op.cit. 292.

2- " " 354.

3- " " 292.

earliest European travellers to Msidi's kingdom
 reported ⁽¹⁾ them as an "aristocracy of wealth ^{lik} and power"
 and the confidantes of kings. They were of course an
 essential economic element in the community. Not only
 did they make the more important tools, the axes, knives
 and hoes without which no cultivation was possible, but
 they provided the weapons for the armies, and even rose
 later to supplying spare parts for the imported and all
 powerful guns. ⁽²⁾ In the copper bearing districts the
 smiths made copper wire which was a coveted ornament and
 article of exchange, and the copper crosses which were used
 as currency in Katanga.

⁽³⁾ Melland, ⁽³⁾ Doke, and ⁽³⁾ Smith & Dale all give
 accounts of the work of the smith and the ritual and taboos
 accompanying it. It was moreover a profession~~d~~ and not a
 mere occupation. It was not a case of every man his own
 smith. The smith had a recognised place in the economy
 of production, and the fact that his work was skilled, and
 not to be le~~ar~~ned by trial and error, enclosed the profession
 in a circle of mystery into which initiation had to be sought.

1- Crawford. Thinking Black 275. Arnot. op.cit. 238.

2- Arnot. op.cit. 238.

3- Melland. op.cit. 136-8, 159, Doke. op.cit. 347-51. -
 Smith & Dale, op.cit. I. 202-22.

(1)
 Doke describes the necessary apprenticeship with the master smith, and also the organisation of assistants and bellows-workers. He tells us too of a "guild of smiths" uniting the iron workers across the village barriers, which is also referred to by Melland⁽²⁾ and Smith & Dale.⁽²⁾

Reference has already been made to the potential wealth in part of this area contained in the copper bearing reefs, and that these riches were known before the recent coming of the Europeans. P.J. Baptista, one of Lacerda's survivors, speaks⁽³⁾ of the wealth of copper in Cazembe's lands, and describes the 'green stones' (malachite) and the pits whence they were dug. He mentions the head copper smiths who owned the lands, and who "order the bars (of copper) to be made by their sons and their slaves and pay such bars as tribute to the Muatayambo." This was in 1809. 50 or 60 years later Msidi of the Bayeke was making a blood-brotherhood pact with the Paramount Chief of the Basanga, which was later to place him in control of the rich copper

1- Doke. op. cit. 347.

2- Melland " 136. Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 219.

3- Lacerda " 222.

lands of Katanga. It is a matter for regret that there is not more historical material available for discovering the part played by copper or its working in the pre-European days. From the references, slight though they are, of the first European visitors to the country and the data they collected, we can see how important was the ownership of the rich copper bearing reefs and the exportable wealth which they produced for their owners. This wealth in copper took its place beside the wealth of ivory and 'black ivory.' Most of this scanty information refers to the copper deposits now in the Congo. About those in N.W. Rhodesia we know even less concerning their pre-European value and working. Moubray writing in 1912 tells us ⁽¹⁾ of old Arab workings at Bwana Mkubwa and has a photo showing the deep clefts and gullies from which the Arabs took the malachite. In his mining survey he reported ⁽²⁾ copper mines on the Kafue stretching westward over 100 miles from Broken Hill, but he does not say whether these were ever

1- Moubray - op.cit. 117

2- " " 72-90.

(1)
 worked by natives. He does however speak of several copper mines in the north part of the Kaonde country which had been worked by the natives for many years. They were operated by means of small blast furnaces with charcoal as fuel and the blast supplied through clay twyeres attached to goatskins. From these, he says, a good grade of copper was produced, and made into copper ornaments, and copper 'rods', $\frac{1}{4}$ inch thick, made in hollow reeds. These 'rods' were used as bracelets and anklets. In addition hoes and spears were made of copper, and, less often, axes.

Arnot when he settled in Msidi's ^b Kingdom about 1887
 (2) observed that the smelting of copper was in the hands of certain families and was a "hereditary trade", following strictly traditional forms of working. He describes the digging out of malachite from small round ^{pits,} 15-20 feet deep on the tops of the hills, and notices that they do not use any lateral workings. The copper was there chiefly made into small Maltese crosses used for currency, "somewhat in the form of an H," he says, moulded in sand moulds made with the fingers, with such accuracy that the finished articles varied in length less than $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch.

1- Moubray - op.cit. 98

2- Arnot " 238.

Paragraph The only full description of native copper working which
 I have found was given by Monsignor de Hemptinne. ⁽¹⁾ He
 observed and described copper mining in 1911 and again in
 1924 at Nkuba between the Lufira ^{and} ~~in~~ Lualaba rivers in
 the Central Katanga area formerly occupied by the Basanga
 and Bayeke. ⁽²⁾ He says of these copper workings: "We find
 among these primitives the law of division of labour and
 spontaneous organisation of associations of workers.
 These associations have their professional secrets, their
 traditions, their superstitious rites which are closely
 allied with the technique of work. The profession is a
 "bwanga" - a sect which presupposes an admission and an
 initiation". ⁽³⁾ The term bwanga which Mgr de Hemptinne uses
 here is the same as that explained by Doke as "The power
 behind the witch doctor (or smith or hunter), a power
 which the uninitiated may well fear to dabble with."
 Copper smelting therefore among the Basanga was a 'profession'
 involving both technical skill and religious and magical ritual,

1- Mgr de Hemptinne - "Les Mangeurs de Cuivre de Katanga-"

(1)
for Mgr de Hemptinne goes on to say that the metal workers practised an ancestor cult and a cult of the former master smelters.

The nature of the rights over the copper reefs, together with the method of production of the copper, resulted in a distribution of the proceeds between the 'professionals' and the members of the tribe which is clearly brought out in Mgr de Hemptinne's article. He illustrates this point by quoting Chief Nkuba who, when (2) asked which was the richer, the elephant hunters or the copper miners, replied "With elephant hunters, riches belong only to the chief and the men who hunt; with the copper mines, everyone is rich." The method by which the production and distribution were carried out fully bears out this type of (3) cooperation. Mgr de Hemptinne describes how the announcement at the village of Chief Nkuba that mining operation would begin was received with general enthusiasm; both among the copper smiths and the rest of the population. The formula

-
- 1- de Hemptinne op.cit. 375.
2- " " 400.
3- " " 380.

of announcement was "Tuye tukadie mukuba" "Let us go to eat the copper."⁽¹⁾ While the copper smiths refurbished their tools and equipment, the women made preparations for carrying food in large quantities. When all was ready the chief and the witch doctor and the ^SSmiths ⁽²⁾ invoked the ancient chief of the Basanga tribe and Nkuba's own dead father.* "You have preceded us, it is you who have opened the entrails of the mountain; ^{grant us to find the Treasure: Then he continues} "the moment of departure comes. Men women and children take the road for the mountain, only leaving in the village the necessary guardians."

We shall discuss in Chapter VII the division of labour at the mining camp and the part played by the copper miners and the rest of the ^ppopulace. Mgr de Hemptinne gives us a detailed account of the various stages:- the establishment of the camp; the extraction of the malachite; the sinking of shafts; the preparing of fuel, and the smelting which is the final stage - the climax of the operations. In his account it is very clear what a leading part was

1- de Hemptinne - op.cit. 381. Mgr de Hemptinne translates the technical tribal name for coppersmiths as "mangeu^s du cuivre."

2- de Hemptinne. op.cit. 382.

played by the smiths,⁽¹⁾ especially during the final operation of smelting, when ritual washing and songs heightened the emotional atmosphere and all eyes were turned to the smith awaiting this signal for each subsequent stage. The unworked copper was then carried back to the village⁽²⁾ and there, when the mass of the people returned to their work in the fields in the rains, the smiths refined and hammered out the copper into the required forms.

1- de Hemptinne op.cit. 385.

2- " " 393.

Section V. "Professions."

The discussion of certain occupations as "professions," to use Doke's terminology, belongs to Chapter VII. We are only concerned in this Chapter with reviewing the processes of production in relation to certain individuals and groups in the community. We have already thus reviewed the professions of hunter and smith, both of which require initiation and a knowledge of 'medicine' - ubwanga. The remaining profession as listed by Doke was that of witch doctor, and it is perhaps necessary to establish his place in the economic organisation of production and consumption. If the economic term production is to be taken to mean "to produce goods for use or exchange" then I think the witch doctor's work can be included in this category. Doke points out the important distinction between ubwanga (power), and umusamu (medicine) - "umusamu is the visible form which the unseen ubwanga takes when it is being manipulated by the witch doctor."

The witch doctor therefore had to make use of the material environment for herbs, roots, parts of animals etc.

-
- 1- Doke. op.cit. 291.
 - 2- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 256-275.
 - 3- Doke. op.cit. 274.
 - 4- " " 269.

which formed the basis of his 'medicines.' This stock in trade of his he took pains to advertise. ⁽¹⁾ On arriving at a village he announced, like the patent medicine seller in an English village market, "I am wise, I have medicine to prevent one being caught by a lion; and a snake charm I also have." These 'goods' of the witch doctor in their material form had a computable value, just as the hoes and axes of the smith. They were sold for cash in advance - the witch doctor as a rule taking no chances on his success ⁽²⁾ but making sure of at least a part of his reward irrespective of results. In order to learn the profession of witch doctor the young initiate might pay his teacher by fees earned in his first 'cases.' ⁽³⁾

In addition to the witch doctor Doke classes ⁽⁴⁾ the witch also among the professions for the same reasons which we have just reviewed. The witch however commanded no respect from the people, unless fear and horror can be an aspect of respect. Moreover he worked in secret and took his payment

- 1- Doke. op. cit. 291.
 2- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 256-275.
 3- Doke. op.cit. 274.
 4- " " 269.

in secret. Doke says of the witch that his profession
involved "considerable social degradation and abhorrence." (1

1- Doke. op.cit. 269.

Section VI. Problems arising from^{ku} survey.

It might be argued that in this rapid survey one essential aspect of production and consumption had been overlooked - namely ownership. I propose however to discuss it in the next chapter when^{^c} I have tried to gather up the problems of distribution. One of the problems which await further field investigation is the type of food producing activities carried on by the people in relation to the potential productive capacity of the land. Certain disabilities such as the presence of the tsetse fly and of a highly saline soil would be easily recognised. But in the non-cattle areas where production is generally below the necessary amounts for consumption, methods of cultivation and the balance of agriculture with other food producing activities need careful examination.

Another problem which was often ignored by earlier anthropologists was that of foresight in economic life. It would be interesting to pursue the inquiry of how far there was any attempt at 'planning' production in relation to consumption, ^{or} and whether it was all a grand gamble in which seasons and appetites played their part. Here the part played by the chief in initiating and organising economic activities is of great significance.

Related to this problem is that of the place taken by various occupations such as industries and crafts in the economic life of the community. Here the effects of culture contact loom

large, because some of the traditional industries have perished since European goods were traded in the area. How far the skill is lost or whether it is cherished could be seen in the present times of depression when bark cloth is again being hammered in the villages because the people have no cash for traders' cotton. In the same way the smith's craft may be revived, and such household industries as the making of soap.

Section VII. Changes due to culture contact.

In food producing activities there have been attempts made at development both of cattle-keeping and agriculture. Propaganda by Missions and Government has aimed at less wasteful methods of cultivation and better results, with a view to raising the general standard of living. Appetites and desires too have changed, because men and women have been away to towns and mines and mission centres, and have seen new things and tasted new foods, and are therefore more ready to try out new ideas. The fact that mining centres create a market for foodstuffs has to some extent encouraged natives to grow food crops for sale. This is ^a highly important change, and one which may have a far-reaching effect on native cultivation.

Probably the 'industries' have been most deeply affected by the machine-made products of Europe. Here however the native artisan may be falling out of his calling altogether, or he may be adapting his ability to learn new trades and new methods.

The witchdoctor has been technically 'suppressed' by law, and at the same time his skill and knowledge may be called in question by those who have learned something of modern science in schools. Moreover mission influence has joined with Government in putting down both witchcraft and the ~~smelling~~ out and destruction of witches, and it is no longer legal for the witch doctor to take fees for his medicine or for his advice.

CHAPTER VI.

OWNERSHIP AND EXCHANGE.

Section 1. Problems of distribution.

" 2. Ownership.

" 3. Exchange.

" 4. Problems arising from the survey.

" 5. Changes due to culture contact.

Chapter VI. Ownership and Exchange.

Section 1. Problems of distribution.

It was evident in the previous chapter that after considering the processes of production, the only aspect of consumption treated was that of food supplies. A review of our material leads me to think that the consumption of goods other than food can best be regarded from the angle of ownership, with which are allied closely the questions of wages and exchange. I propose to use the term distribution to cover these problems of ownership and exchange, being well aware that distribution is used in a somewhat narrower sense in general economic parlance. ⁽¹⁾ In reviewing primitive economics however there is a need for a comprehensive term under which to include what might be called the static and dynamic aspects of the allocation of goods. By static is

1- Dr.Firth uses the following definition of "distribution" -
 "sharing out of the income of the community among the
 classes and individuals which compose it." Firth. op.cit.
 272.

meant the aspect of ownership, the placing of material goods in their relation to the human groups seen in social organisation. By dynamic is meant the transmission of these goods, by inheritance and by exchange. Such problems of the distribution of goods prove baffling to field workers and perhaps sometimes too clear to the theoretical anthropologist. In this realm possibly primitive economics differs most patently from modern economics, though I think, as we shall see in later chapters, that this difference is superficial rather than fundamental - that is, it lies in outward form rather than in inherent values.

I have grouped the aspects of distribution to be considered under the two main headings of Ownership and Exchange. In discussing these somewhat intricate problems it will be important to keep the main theme of this thesis in view - namely the organisation of work in a primitive community. Pragmatic questions relating to ownership are therefore here of more importance than theoretical ones which belong rather to the aspect of primitive law. Law and economics are however so closely related in primitive, as in modern, society, that ^{reference} ~~conference~~ from one to the other is essential from whatever angle questions of ownership are approached. In the realm of exchange we are introduced to a confusing and intricate movement of goods which it is difficult from the nature of our material to 'catch' and analyse.

In attempting to make such an analysis we are led at once into questions of motives and values which are more fully discussed in Chapter VIII. There we shall find ourselves discussing ~~more fully~~ Professor Thurnwald's statement ⁽¹⁾ that "all observation of primitive peoples teaches us that the social motive, the desire for an exceptional position in the group, has outweighed the economic motive." The problem of social status in relation to wealth and economic activity is one which will be evident throughout this chapter.

1- R. Thurnwald. Economics in Primitive Communities -
Oxford 1932. p.179.

Section 11. Ownership.

In considering the relations existing between the material goods of a community and the members of that community, it is necessary to put certain leading questions in order to classify the issues involved. I have already made an arbitrary division between land and other material goods, and have discussed in Chapter III the ownership of land and the nature of the rights to land. Putting aside therefore questions associated with the land we have to ask the question: what was wealth to the people of this area? We must then proceed to ask how it was 'owned'; how used; how accumulated; how transmitted. It has already been suggested that the ownership of objects of wealth, e.g. slaves and fine houses, was a mark of rank and status among the Barotsi. The nature of the position of the chief was evidence that with effective political power went the 'possession' of wealth. This question of ownership therefore is closely linked with the groups manifested in the social organisation. The nature of the rights of ownership and the sanctions attaching to those rights belong rather to the realm of law, but are an important factor in the regulation of production and the organisation of work.

(a) Wealth.

To discuss the nature of wealth would lead us far into the realms of economic theory and might obscure the

object for which the question is put: What is wealth?
 Having excluded land from this category, we are then faced
 with the practical issue of what were the goods and beings⁽¹⁾
 available for apportionment within the community for 'owner-
 ship', for use, for accumulation, for inheritance and for
 exchange. I do not here mean necessarily to imply the
 concept of value in the use of this term 'wealth.' This
 implication of value in using the term 'wealth' is however
 implicit in Professor Thurnwald's statement on the difference⁽²⁾
 between wealth in primitive society and in our own.

"Among primitive peoples" he says "the values representing
 wealth may, according to the mode of life of the particular
 tribe, be either arm-rings or necklaces, sago or yams, bear
 skins, mats with fine birds' feathers, iron lanceheads or
 cocoa beans; they are thus purely qualitative and are 'values
 in kind.'" In another connection however he says:⁽³⁾ "Wealth
 assumes a particular aspect in the more primitive forms of
 civilisation. . . . Economic goods do not appear in the form
 of abstract values but as concrete object of consumption or
 use." I propose here to give 'wealth' a comprehensive and
 general meaning, and under its head to list the categories
 of goods and beings which could be regarded as wealth in this

1- Where 'goods' is used in this chapter, 'goods' and 'beings'
 are implied to cover material goods, slaves etc.

2- Thurnwald. op.cit. 179.

3- " " 176.

area, in much the same way as a field worker would note down a rough inventory of the 'wealth' of the village and households of which he was making a detailed study.

Taking the area as a whole there appeared to be ~~6~~ six main categories of 'wealth'. The first consisted of slaves, undoubtedly the most valuable possession among all the tribes. The second was cattle and livestock in general. We have seen how the tsetse fly made impossible the keeping of cattle among the Balamba and the Bakaonde, but to the Balila and the Barotsi the possession of cattle was a mark of rank and wealth in the community. The third was the possession of food supplies stored in grain bins or other storage places, representing the accumulated wealth of the agricultural activities. The fourth was the dwellings, where among the Barotsi at least the size and decoration of the huts were an indication of rank. ⁽¹⁾ The fifth were the weapons, tools, ornaments and clothes which 'belonged' to individuals and which, though apparently of little importance quantitatively, had, as ⁽²⁾ Professor Thurnwald pointed out, an important qualitative value.

1- Bertrand. op.cit. 136.

2- Thurnwald " 179.

The sixth was what might be called 'money' - that is the possession of articles such as the small copper crosses which formed a standard currency in the Katanga area, and of actual coins of European make. That such coins could be accumulated Doke gives us a hint in speaking of the payment of the death dues. ⁽¹⁾

There was one other category of 'wealth' which might be specially mentioned as it was so designated by Lewanika - that was the ivory from elephants tusks. ⁽²⁾

"The riches of my country are ivory," he said to Coillard, "What shall I do when all the elephants are exterminated?" To the earliest European and Arab traders in this area its riches were white ivory and "black ivory." To the chief therefore who desired European goods and esteemed them higher than all their indigenous products, ivory and slaves had a value set which was probably out of proportion to their use and value within the country. Here we see the influence of external trade setting values on indigenous forms of wealth, and creating within the community a new set of values.

1- Doke. op.cit. 204.

2- Coillard " 222.

(b) Owners.

A question which has been debated by anthropologists for a long time is whether there is among primitive people such a thing as individual ownership. The controversy as we saw in Chapter III has raged chiefly round the question of ownership of land. Though there is in our material evidence of a wide range of beings and objects in addition to land to be 'owned', there is nevertheless relatively little information about the individuals and groups who could own them. We have already seen how little precise data there is on the ownership and distribution of food supplies among these tribes, and the same criticism holds true in general of other forms of wealth. The Balla material is an exception here. Smith & Dale tell us⁽¹⁾ that "property may be classed according to whether it is held by one person or held conjointly by a man and his wife, or by a clan, or by a community as a whole." They go on to say that the Balla recognised individual ownership, and also the holding

1- Smith & Dale. I.380.

of property by women. Cuvelier tells us ⁽¹⁾ of the Balamba that it was a principle that "he who makes anything owns it." That might be taken as a general principle in this area with regard to tools and ornaments and weapons. It does not apply for example to bark cloth for clothes which was made by men and given by them as presents to their bride and mother in law.

'Communal property' among the Baïla was limited to land and its uncultivated products. ⁽²⁾ This applied also to copper mines in Katanga as Mgr^e Hemptinne tells us. ⁽³⁾ Then mines as a whole were not considered as private property, but only the actual shaft being worked at the time belonged to the individual or group who worked it. "The mine belonged to the tribe just as the land." ⁽⁴⁾ Probably in all areas the huts were regarded as belonging to man and wife jointly. Slaves could be owned by men and women individually, or by the household as a group.

There is evidence therefore, apart from land, of a limited amount of 'communal ownership.' →

-
- 1- Cuvelier op.cit. I. 3. See also Thurnwald op.cit. 190.
 2- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 387.
 3- de Hemptinne op.cit. 377.
 4- " " 378^g

Though the existence of private ownership is sometimes definite, it is difficult to conceive of a very exact meaning to ownership. Smith & Dale say ⁽¹⁾ "all personal property held by a Mwila is subject to the rules that his elder relatives on both sides have the right to take from him what they want." In order therefore to understand the precise nature of ownership it would be necessary to study in detail the legal system in regard to usage and inheritance, and also the code of customary law for dealing with theft, debt and wanton destruction. The existence of such customary laws pre-supposed some 'rights of ownership,' and those pre-supposed a recognised relation of individuals to goods and beings. One avenue therefore of exploring the economic nature of ownership is to study the legal penalties for crimes of theft and debt.

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 385.

See also I. 385 re seizing goods.

(c) Usage of wealth.

It is possible in a given community to list the inventory of its wealth in terms of goods and beings and to list the owners of the wealth, and yet to give no adequate idea of the part played by these goods and beings so owned in the economic life of the community. We have already noticed how meagre are the accounts of consumption of food among the tribes of this area. The same is true of the 'consumption' or usage of other forms of wealth than food supplies. The use of goods such as dwellings, tools, weapons &c. we cannot examine in detail because we have not the data. It can be said for example that the usage of huts as dwellings formed the material setting for family life and the upbringing of children. We know also that certain goods were used more than others for various forms of exchange. Coillard describes ⁽¹⁾ how after a military expedition against the Balovale, Lewanika took 4 days to distribute the booty/won, which was partly slaves and partly

1- Coillard op.cit. 471.

cattle. Bertrand describes ⁽¹⁾ the distribution of tribute brought into Lewanika, who kept all the elephant tusks as his special property.

(d) Accumulation of Wealth.

Here we are again faced with blanks in the material which make it impossible to give any adequate analysis of the kinds of goods accumulated, nor of the economic or other values attached to their possession. Except in the case of cattle there was probably little accumulation of wealth in the modern sense - that is of storing it up for future and not for immediate use. Some storage of food was essential from one harvest to the next. We have already referred to the ^{rich} husband among the Balamba saving in order to leave money for his wife to pay the death dues should he die first. But it is probably that in communities where an active exchange took place in the form of tribute, gifts, trade etc. and where material possessions were relatively few, there was little opportunity for accumulating wealth.

1- Bertrand. op.cit. 155.

Moreover as Thurnwald says: ⁽¹⁾ "The villager is always in danger from the envy of his neighbours." Doke ⁽²⁾ in his account of witchcraft among the Balamba shows how the possession of better gardens and of fuller grain bins than his neighbours called down upon a man the charge of witchcraft, of having achieved such superiority by foul means, and he might lose his life on that account.

(c) Inheritance of wealth.

The problems of ownership, usage and accumulation of wealth become a little clearer when we come to the question of inheritance. In all the tribes in this area there were definite and socially accepted rules governing the inheritance of goods and beings. The importance of the correct procedure in inheritance is brought out very clearly in

1- Thurnwald - op.cit. 182.

2- Doke " 315.

(1)
 in Melland's account of the guardian or trustee who was appointed to look after the goods of the deceased until the heir was ready to take possession. Broughall Woods (2) in his Kaonde Dictionary further amplifies the meaning of this term mumbelunga, as "one who holds and looks after the effects of a deceased person pending the succession of the heir. He may use the property (e.g. may wear the dead man's bangles, walk out with his gun etc.) while he occupies this position, but hands everything over to the heir at the inheritance rites."

Questions of who is the heir, of the principles by which he or she is determined, of the sanctions upholding his position, and of penalties attaching to a breach of these rules, all belong to the realm of law rather than economics. But the definiteness of these rules and the stringency of the penalties for breaking them make clear the importance to the community of wealth and its inheritance by the socially accepted heirs.⁽³⁾ Nevertheless Smith & Dale report that cases were known when feelings over the distribution of an inheritance grew so tense that all orderly proceedings stopped and a general scramble for possessions took place. This flouting of ordinary social behaviour, though contrary to all rules, nevertheless brings

1- Melland. op.cit. 101.

2- R.E. Broughall Woods. A short introductory dictionary of the Kaonde language. London 1924. p.105.

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I.390.

out also the general desire for possessions, and in this tribe where cattle were so much coveted, stronger acquisitive feelings may well have been roused than among a non-cattle owning people.

Section lll. Exchange.(a) Forms of exchange.

In seeking the origins of the practice of exchange in its various forms some anthropologists and economists have presupposed a state of human existence where the smallest social unit - the family or household - was to all intents and purposes self-sufficient. Their conclusion was that this self-sufficiency represented a making and using of all the necessities of life by the unit in question, and that therefore forms of exchange were reduced to a minimum. (1) In more recent times there has been much discussion both of the origins of barter and trade and of the various forms of gift-exchange, (2) and the inter-relation of one to the other. Closer field study of primitive peoples has made evident the fact that, however apparently self-sufficient a community or unit in a community may be, there exists in that community a complex mechanism of exchange of goods which may take any of several forms.* In a study of the system of exchange in any one area the anthropologist would naturally look both for the mechanisms

1- See Thurnwald - op.cit. 141.

2- B. Malinowski - Primitive Economics of the Tribes and Lands.
 Economical Journal XXXI. 1921. Argonauts of the Western Pacific.

M. Mauss^{au 15}. Essai sur le Don - Année Sociologique 1923-4.

E. Hoyt - Primitive Trade 1926.

of exchange, and for the motives. In the latter we see one of the many links between economics and social life, as also between economic and religious life - the whole interwined in the systems of customary law and social etiquette which demand and regulate this constant flow of goods both within and outside the community.

I propose in this chapter to consider chiefly the mechanisms of exchange in this area, as we shall discuss the general question of motives in Chapter VIII. It is profitless however to consider the forms of exchange without examining their function, and into their function the question of motives enters extensively. The very analysis of forms of exchange which I propose to give here postulates their function in relation to the organisation of economic activity. On the basis of the material available I have listed six forms of exchange, the first being trade and barter for what might be called in modern terms 'commercial purposes.' The next three forms, tribute, dues and fees, and fines might be called compulsory forms of exchange, as, under given conditions, these exchanges ^{were} required by the society and there were definite penalties for their non-fulfilment. Even the fifth and sixth forms of exchange, namely gifts, and loans and debts, though in one sense they were voluntary, had at least an element of compulsion in the social codes which required them and inflicted more subtle penalties on those who sought to evade them.

New paragraph
 This constant flow of goods within and outside the tribal areas was obviously an integral part of the organisation of work. We are however here regarding it as the sequel to production - the process by which goods circulate instead of being immediately consumed by their producers. Though the material available shows many gaps and leaves us without much necessary information, the amount which we can draw out of it on the subject of exchange is in itself an index of the complexity of the economic organisation of these people.

(b) Trade.

Professor Thurnwald in his Economics in Primitive
 (1)
Communities has 2 chapters, headed Barter, and Trade, without making clear any supposed or actual distribution between them. The usually accepted difference is that barter is the exchange of goods for goods and that trade, though as a general term it might cover all exchange for commercial purposes, in the particular sense suggests exchange of goods or purchase through a recognised medium of exchange. Both forms of commercial exchange existed in this area but I do not consider that the distinction is a sufficiently important one to warrant a division on those lines. I propose instead to consider trade and barter first of all in relation to the goods produced, that is in relation to the natural resources combined with the

1- Thurnwald. op.cit. Chapter V. 141-4 and VI. 145-58.

traditional skill of the producers; secondly in relation to the medium of exchange and the current rates of values; thirdly in relation to the facilities and methods of trading, and fourthly in relation to the personnel involved. We have to bear in mind that in this area we have in one sense no "pre-contact" data.⁴ Arab influence from the North East⁽¹⁾ and Portuguese influence from the South East and West⁽²⁾ had affected these tribes for some time before modern European culture came into contact with them. As the object of both Arab and Portuguese penetration was predominantly trade, whether "legitimate" or in the forms of raiding, it profoundly affected the circulation of goods within and outside the various communities. It is impossible to reconstruct the forms of indigenous trade prior to Arab and Portuguese influences; nor do I think it profitable to attempt to distinguish between foreign and native influences. I propose therefore to take the material as our authorities give it, and analyse it as a composite whole.

(3)
(1) Trade goods.

As none of the accounts contain a special section or chapter on trade or barter, it is difficult to make any

1- Chiefly Swahili and other native traders.

2- " native traders.

3- See foot note page ¹³² 5 re "goods."

comprehensive statement on the kinds of goods traded either within or outside the community. There is least information on the trading of staple foods. Smith & Dale record that (1 among the Ba-ila a host if offered payment or a gift in return for food would be offended, and say "Do I sell food?", thus implying that food which was a necessity to all men could not be also an article of trade. On the other hand Cuvelier tells (2 us that the Balamba paid for "foreign goods" from neighbouring tribes partly with slaves, partly with crops, and mentions those grown on a sufficiently large scale to leave a surplus for trading purposes. He also specifies one or two crops which were used only for inter-village trade, and not for external trade. Coillard also mentions (3 very poor people in Barotsi land coming in with food stuffs to sell for cloth. He was (4 much surprised that the Barotsi were willing to sell cattle for blankets and cloth, and he implies that the uncertainty of life and property in Barotsi land due to constant warfare led to an attitude of carpe diem very different from the careful

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I.265.
 2- Cuvelier " I. 16.
 3- Coillard " 186.
 4- " " 205.

conserving of herds among the Basuto in the South. He describes the first sale of books to pupils in the mission school when the boys demanded calves and heifers from their fathers to pay for the much coveted books. Smith & Dale speak ⁽¹⁾ of large white glass beads treasured by some of the chiefs because these beads had been used in the very early days of the Ba-ila to buy their first herds of cattle.

We have already referred to the general demand for foreign cloth and clothing.* Calico and glass beads were the articles most generally used by early traders and travellers in this area to obtain the necessary foodstuffs. But a general survey^v of the material shows quite clearly that there were three main articles of trade which were exchanged both within the tribes, inter-tribally, and with foreign traders. These were slaves, ivory and copper. Smith & Dale record ⁽²⁾ how in former days "a man wishing to buy slaves would equip himself with merchandise such as hoes and go through the country seeking somebody to trade with." →

1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 106.

2- " " I. 399.

(1)
 They speak also of the Mambari traders from Angola who had
 "two objects - slaves and ivory: where they could, they
 bought both with the goods they carried with them, but when
 it was to their advantage they did not mind bartering the
 one for the other. They bought much ivory from the Ba-ila
 for slaves." Doke reports (2) that the Balamba said the Ovimbundu
 from Angola were "peaceful traders who brought calico, guns,
 and beads to trade for ivory and slaves." Lacerda's survivors
 in their journal say (3) "there may have been many articles of
 trade but it is now confined to two: ivory and slaves." They
 add however that copper, both in bars and as malachite, formed
 an important article in the caravans going West. De Hemptinne (4b)
 in emphasizing the division of work in Katanga says that a mining
 chief who wanted ivory would trade copper for tusks, and
 similarly a hunting chief tusks for copper. Arnot (4)
 who makes clear the importance of copper in the Katanga area as a trade
 article, when writing of the Balovale further West speaks of
 their trading among themselves singing birds in cages at a
 regular market rate.

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 40.
 2- Doke " 79.
 3- Lacerda " 129.
 4- de Hemptinne " 379.
 5- Arnot " 155.

(2) Media of exchange and rates of value.

We have already referred to calico, guns, beads and hoes as media of exchange, based both within the tribes and by traders and travellers when visiting the area. Melland gives ⁽¹⁾ the price of a slave wife as 7 cloths, 5 blankets, 1 gun, 1 packet of gun powder and 3 strings of beads. Smith & Dale ⁽²⁾ speak of buying a woman for "a cow, a calf and a bull," and another woman "for salt." Doke ⁽³⁾ gives the 'tariff' of exchange used by Swahili slave traders, including calico, guns, and ivory and the tariff of the Mbundu slave traders in terms of different types of beads. Coillard speaks ⁽⁴⁾ of paying women who were building houses for the mission with "white beads, the current money of the country. With a string or two of these beads one can get anything - a pick axe, a skin or a fish; it pays a doctor

1- Melland. op.cit. 58.

2- Smith & Dale " I.400.

3- Doke " 45.

4- Coillard " 79.

or a story-teller or propitiates the gods."⁽¹⁾ But when his white beads ran out and he offered blue ones instead there was a strike among the work women, until they were persuaded to accept a mixture of blue and white.

It is from Cuvelier⁽²⁾ however that we get a regular list of media of exchange in terms of rates of value. Salt, tobacco, calico, beads, copper wire, tusks, slaves and cattle - are all listed. Copper wire, he says, was used chiefly to buy slaves and tusks, and tusks only to buy guns and copper wire. De Hemptinne⁽³⁾ tells us that in eastern Katanga small copper crosses were the accepted currency, while the Bayeke⁽⁴⁾ in the centre used copper wire. In earlier days he says the Basanga cast huge copper crosses weighing up to 50 kilo, and that the largest sized cross was the price of a female slave.

It is impossible on this amount of information to make any general statement on rates of values. It was evident however that over some areas there were currently accepted rates of exchange, at least for goods sold to traders from outside. There are hints too that accepted rates prevailed

-
- 1- Coillard. op.cit. 524.
 2- Cuvelier " 1.12.
 3- de Hemptinne op.cit. 373.
 4- " op.cit. 376.

within the tribal areas, especially for the staple articles of trade such as slaves, copper and ivory, and, later, guns. How far the rates of value were set by the demands of external trade it is difficult to say, but it appears likely that ivory at least had an artificial value set upon it by the outside demand, while glass beads and ancient muzzle-loading guns and possibly also calico, being greatly desired by the tribesmen, required also an artificial value. To analyse these values thoroughly however far more data would be necessary than is at hand in the material. Moreover to make this a functional study of trade among these people at the present time, the whole would have to be taken in relation to the introduction of European currency.

(3) Facilities and methods of trading.

As there is little information about the forms of distribution of food and property so here too we are left mostly with blanks about the methods of trading in these areas. Smith & Dale speak ⁽¹⁾ of women selling pots and baskets and buying hoes etc but do not say how or where it was done, save that it was "among their neighbours." The early travellers, naturally, observed this aspect of native ⁽²⁾ life because their own needs emphasised it. Bertrand speaks ⁽³⁾ of markets announced by the chief; Coillard ⁽⁴⁾ of slaves bartering goods and of people coming 6 days journey to sell one or two gourds of manioc flour or ground nuts. Moubray tells us of the "silent trade" practised by the [^]Awatwa of the Lukanga Swamp, where the mainland villagers left corn on the edge of the swamp by day, and the [^]Awatwa fetched it by night leaving dried fish in exchange.

We find however no general data on routes used for trading, on the organisation of markets, nor on whether internal trading was done by individuals, by small groups or by caravans. Alone among the authorities Cuvelier gives us

-
- 1- Smith & Dale op.cit. I.382.
 2- Bertrand " 103
 3- Coillard " 143,186
 4- Moubray " 58.

some data on the conditions of trading among the Balamba, and points out in what way it corresponded to the needs of their particular situation. He however, after saying that trade was chiefly internal among themselves, leaves it at that and goes on to speak ⁽¹⁾ of the goods imported from outside, and the ready market for handicrafts among the Balamba ⁽²⁾ owing to their being poor workers themselves. He says also that the Balamba were poor traders and very timid, and ⁽³⁾ seldom left their land to trade with strangers. The result was that traders came from all sides "with manufactured articles which circulate rapidly among a people who make almost ⁽⁴⁾ nothing." The Balamba had no organised markets among themselves, but the neighbouring trading tribes visited the country and met there regularly to exchange among themselves as well as to sell their goods to the Balamba. The country therefore was really a neutral marketing ground, and Cuvelier describes the Balamba even coming from the far country with cattle to sell, mounted on their oxen.

-
- 1- Cuvelier op.cit. I. 15.
 2- " " I. 16.
 3- A contrary view is held by Doke - op.cit. 30.
 4- Cuvelier op.cit. I. 19.

(4) Personnel.

It is clear that among these tribes there were no regular traders or trading groups. Both men and women engaged in trading, though Cuvelier says ⁽¹⁾ that formerly only men traded. Nor was trading only the pursuit of commoners and freemen. Slaves might trade *though* ~~but~~ their profits belonged to their masters, and chiefs like Lewanika and Msidi took interest in and directed some of the most extensive trading operations in ivory and copper. There are suggestions that the chiefs had a monopoly of ivory, but not of copper or other exportable goods.

1- Cuvelier. op.cit. I. 16.

Section 111. (c) Tribute.

Professor Thurnwald sees in the relation of ruler to people in certain societies evidence of a feudal bond ^{with} ~~into~~ parallels to feudalism as it was known in Europe. "Feudalism," he says ⁽¹⁾ "is an institution which very soon makes its appearance in stratified communities ~~where~~ when political domination is so far rationalised as to make economic exploitation possible." I do not think there is any need to argue the existence or non-existence of parallels ^{with} ~~into~~ feudalism in our area, but it is important to understand what tribute was in the area and what its function was in relation to the culture of the people. By tribute I mean goods or services rendered to chiefs ^{by their people or by subordinate chiefs} to a Paramount Chief. The payment of goods or rendering of services fulfilled two functions. It expressed the political relation of chief and people, or chief and sub-chief, and was an acknowledgment of sovereignty or over-lordship. It also suggested a reciprocal relationship between chief and people which though not very clear in the accounts was nevertheless at certain points implicit. As we should expect, the amount and nature of tribute varied according to the type of political

1- Thurnwald. op.cit. 195.

organisation. Regular tribute was the rule in the Barotsi kingdom; a modified form of tribute, not so-called, in the Balamba area; and no direct tribute in the Bailla country. Among the Bailla where there was no Paramount Chief Smith & Dale do not speak of tribute at all. They refer ⁽¹⁾ to certain means whereby chiefs acquired wealth through annexing the lion's share of fines and taking bribes in judicial cases. ⁽²⁾ The chief received the fees paid by strangers for the right of hunting and fishing in the lands of the commune; ⁽³⁾ and they had a right to the loins of all game killed in their area and the ground tusks of all elephants. ⁽⁴⁾ But there was no suggestion of gifts or dues brought by the people to their chief, nor of the chief's reciprocal duty of providing food in time of feasts or of need. Nevertheless Smith & Dale point out that the relation of chief

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 305.
 2- " " I. 360.
 3- " " I. 305.
 4- " " I. 385-6.

to people was that of a father to his children,⁽¹⁾ and though provision of food was not expressly mentioned among the services of the chief, that may well have been understood to accompany the others stated.

Among the Balamba where there was a weak Paramount Chief there was no required tribute.⁽²⁾ Doke says there was a "gift of respect" - umulambu - rendered by the headman of a village to the chief, to which all the villagers contributed. The chief was expected to make a counter gift of cloth to those periodical presents of food. The group chief acknowledged the Paramount Chief's authority by sending him meat when animals⁽³⁾ were killed, and also gifts of grain and bark cloth "as gifts, but never as dues." Hunters had to send to their chief the tusks of elephants, skins of lions, and breasts of elands. For a lion skin the chief made a return gift of a slave. Cuvelier⁽⁴⁾ corroborates Doke that Balamba chiefs could not claim any tribute. He refers to presents of game from hunters and occasional gifts

-
- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 307.
 2- Doke " 59.
 3- " " 51.
 4- " " I. 180.

of food, though he says also that "the inhabitants of the chief's village were expected to contribute to the food of the chief and his family." Doke it is who records that the chief had a reciprocal duty to his subjects to provide food for feasts and crises.⁽¹⁾ "In olden days" he says "the village of the Paramount Chief was known for the generosity of the chief who always treated his visitors well." "It is at the chief's residence that one eats sumptuously." There is a Lamba myth about the origin of cultivated crops which might be regarded as 'documentation' for this function of the chief as a food provider.⁽²⁾ The first chief Chipimpi, with his sister, introduced seeds and began to cultivate gardens. When the crops were reaped word went round "There is food at the royal village. Let us go and receive from the chief." Hence the possession of food became the sign of chieftainship, but Doke does not tell us in what ways this prerogative was exercised, as for example in times of famine.

It is as we should expect in the Barotsi kingdom that tribute was a most definite sign of sovereignty. →

1- Doke. op.cit. 127.

2- " " 32.

(1)
 Bertrand speaks of slave children being brought in to the capital as part of the annual tribute to Lewanika and his sister, the 'Queen.' Other forms of tribute he says were all tusks of elephants, all wild beasts killed, all honey; and a certain number annually of canoes, horned cattle, spears, hoes and axes, and baskets of grain. Coillard says (2) that this annual tribute was brought to the king in his Council - the lekhothla - with great ceremony, and there distributed by him to the chiefs who lived at court. The collecting and sending in of the annual tribute was organised by the sub-chiefs who lived in the villages. (3)


(4)
 Across the Congo border Crawford described how Msidi buttressed his power by demanding tribute from the neighbouring chiefs who swore allegiance to him and received in return the coveted omande shell decoration. Mgr. de Hemptinne also reports how at the occasion of the copper mining in the Basanga villages, tribute in copper was given by the people to the chief who led them on the expedition. Baskets of copper ore were set aside for the chief, (5) whose reciprocal services in this case seemed to have been his part in the religious ritual connected with copper mining.

-
- 1- Bertrand. op.cit. 154.
 2- Coillard " 271.
 3- Bertrand " 273.
 4- Crawford " 191.
 5- de Hemptinne " 383.

(d) Dues and Fees.

It is exceedingly difficult to sort out satisfactorily the various kinds of payments required on certain occasions and at certain places. No where do we find any kind of a list, and from the stray references it is hard to make a classification. Apart from fines, which as a penal payment I treat separately, there seem to have been three kinds of dues and fees. The first were definitely connected with certain places like ferries; the second with the relation of two social groups to each other such as in marriage payments; and the third might be called individual fees such as those paid to doctors.

(1) Dues connected with places.

These would be called in modern terms customs or tolls, and were reported from several areas by the early travellers. Coillard in his voyage up the Zambesi from Lealui had to pay the Balovale chief a musapo⁽¹⁾ - a tax imposed on all traders entering the country. 

1- Coillard. op.cit. 611.

(1)
 Crawford calls the Balovale a "road blocking tribe" because the chiefs demanded payment for the right of passage. The Balovale happened to be at that period living on the direct route between Msidi's kingdom and the Angola coast, and hence had a chance to get some benefit from the rich caravans passing through their territory.

(2)
 Cuvelier, writing of the Balamba, said that anyone, including strangers, had a right of passage through the tribal area, except for the passage across rivers. There the 'ferryman' had the right to collect a toll which belonged to him and not to the village chief, and anyone wanting to cross a river and having no gift or payment for the ferryman "would find him without mercy" - even to the extent of refusing to point out the nearest safe ford.

(2) Dues connected with group relationships.

These covered chiefly payments on occasions of marriage and of death, where the individuals concerned were in one sense representatives of their group. Among a cattle

1- Crawford. op.cit. 116.

2- Cuvelier " I. 7.

keeping people marriage dues were much more important because more valuable than in cattle-less tribes. The Barotsi however did not exchange cattle at marriage, and to this Coillard attributes ⁽¹⁾ the instability of their marriages. This was not born out by Smith & Dale among the Ba-ila. There the marriage payment varied both in kind and in amount. It might be as little as three strings of beads or 2 or 3 hoes, or as much as 30 head of cattle for a chief's daughter. ⁽²⁾ In general they reckoned the chiko or marriage payment at about 4 - 5 head of cattle, from £12. - £15. This payment however did not insure stability of marriage for Smith & Dale report "how fragile the marriage bond is among the Ba-ila." ⁽³⁾ Nevertheless from the point of view of the economic life of the community, the Ba-ila marriage payment represented as a rule a considerable turnover of wealth.

In sharp contrast with this is the Balamba marriage pledge, the ichyupo → In former days

- 1- Coillard. op.cit. 284.
 2- Smith & Dale " II. 50.
 3- " " II. 54.

(1)
 Doke says this was a 4 yard piece of bark cloth, with an addition of 4-5 hoes if between well-to-do families. * Latterly it was from 10/- to 20/- paid in cash, calico or blankets. Together with the present of cloth to the bride's mother, the bridegroom had to go and work in his father-in-law's village and assist him with cultivation for a period of up to 2 years and sometimes more. Thus here personal service among the Balamba^y was the equivalent of the more valuable marriage payment of cattle among the Baⁱlla.

We have already mentioned the payment of death dues among the Balamba and the Bakaonde. Crawford also
 (2)
 mentions the payment of death damages" - chipeshi - among the Balovale which he says were assessed on the basis of a wife's services to a man; * so much for having cooked his food, drawn water, caused him to laugh etc. Among the
 (3)
 Balamba Doke was explicit that death dues were (a) only payable for married persons and (b) applied equally to men and women. * The payment was a gun of value about 50/-.

-
- 1- Doke op.cit. 161.
 2- Crawford " 133.
 3- Doke " 190.

Until it was paid to the clan relatives of the deceased, the partner left could not marry again, and this freedom to remarry was symbolised in a ceremony of throwing meal and saying "Go brother - you are redeemed; go and marry." Moreover until the payment was made the spirit of the dead could not return to its own village and be honoured by a spirit shrine. Hence the ichiwanda or attendant demon of the dead person might be "the messenger of the clan of the deceased" causing evil to befall the defaulter who had not paid up.

Melland has even fuller material on the death dues among the Bakaonde. The amounts he records ⁽¹⁾ were sometimes as much as £2 - £4, though formerly they were a gun or slave and some beads. The heir of the dead person, in addition to receiving the death dues, had to cohabit with the relict of the deceased in order to "release the spirit of the dead" from that person. ⁽²⁾ The economic consequences of death dues might involve a family in several such payments at once; ⁽³⁾ and the result was a state of debt which might drag on interminably. The supernatural ^{sanctions} ~~connections~~ exercised a strong pressure on the family

-
- 1- Melland op.cit. 103-8
 2- " " 103
 3- " " 105.

to pay up, because they feared lest evil come upon them from the spirits of the dead.

(3) Fees paid to individuals.

These covered all the payments made to individuals for special services. They might be for hoes made by the smith, or charms by the witch doctor, or stories by the story teller, ~~w~~ all of whom were in a sense professionals, pursuing their occupations for profit. Or they might be occasional payments such as those mentioned by Doke ⁽¹⁾ paid to undertakers and to men who blew the bellows for the smith. ⁽²⁾

All these payments mentioned under dues and fees were recognised and required, and if not paid would involve a state of debt, possibly social ostracism, and possibly also supernatural reprisals.

(e) Fines.

Fining as a penalty for misdeeds was a frequent punishment among the Ba-ila and the Balamba. Cuvelier says

1- Doke op.cit. 182.

2- " " 350.

of the Congo Balamba that there was no fining, ⁽¹⁾ that
 all such payments were only 'damages' for an injury done, ⁽²⁾
 Doke however speaks of fines inflicted by the Paramount
 Chief, and Smith & Dale report ⁽³⁾ that "fines were inflicted
 and damages awarded by decision of the elders." The Balamba
 fines were a gun, a tusk, beads, cloth, or grain; the Ba-ila
 from 20 head of cattle to an ox-calf. Doke does not specify
 what degree of compulsion if any was used to extract the
 fine, nor whether a man's relatives were liable if he could
 not meet the fine himself. ⁽⁴⁾ He speaks however of the custom
 of seizing a hostage ~~by~~ ^{or} property in the case of non-payment of
 dues, and this might have been the resort in case of fines.
 Among the Ba-ila responsibility definitely fell on a man's
 clan to find the penalty payment. ⁽⁵⁾

-
- 1- Cuvelier op.cit. I. 170.
 2- Doke " 64.
 3- Smith & Dale " I. 359.
 4- Doke " 65.
 5- Smith & Dale " I. 296.

(f) Gifts.

The exchange of gifts, on a 'quasi-voluntary' basis, on regular and special occasions is a recognised mark of primitive as of modern economic life. It is necessary to modify the term "voluntary" because frequently the gift exchange is regulated by as rigid rules as the payment of fines or damages. There have been many theories put forward on the motives for gift exchange by Bücher, Spencer, Mauss, Crawley and others.⁽¹⁾ In order to examine these theories in relation to this area however it would be necessary to have much fuller information than is available. A full analysis therefore of the exchange of gifts must await further field work.

From the references to gifts it is evident that a considerable exchange of goods went on which did not fall under any of the other headings of exchange. It was, in two customs recorded by Doke and Melland, clearly related to the reinforcing of the bonds of association, of kinship in one case and of blood-brotherhood in the other. Of the latter Doke

1- See R. Fisher^{1k} op.cit. 417 seq.

(1) says that the friendship between two blood-brothers was kept up by a constant interchange of gifts, cloth, food, fish, meat &c. But he adds that the Balamba ridiculed the custom of the Bakaonde in extending such gifts to the temporary lending of a wife. Melland records (2) that both the Bakaonde and the Alunda recognised a wide obligation to give gifts in the bulunda relationship - such gifts when not reciprocated in kind being regarded as debts. (3) The other custom was called lubomboshi among the Bakaonde and uwuwomboshi among the Balamba. Melland says (4) that on a day when rain was falling a man (or woman) might go into the hut of someone of the same clan as his grandfather and say "lubomboshi," and that he would not leave the hut until some present was given to him. This present he might have to share with someone else to whom he stood in the same grandparent - grandchild relation, and then a 'game' began of hunting for gifts from the recognised possible donors.

-
- 1- Doke op.cit. 128.
 2- Melland " 113.
 3- " " 114.
 4- " " 253.

Doke says⁽¹⁾ the asker was always a child and that he could not enter the hut, ^{or} if he did he would get no gifts. These two forms of gift giving, the one reciprocal, the other apparently not, would seem to bear out Radcliffe Brown's theory⁽²⁾ that gifts help to create bonds of good will. Both the bulunda gifts and the lubomboshi gifts were evidently intended to strengthen ties which were not in the first place very close ties and which therefore needed reinforcing. Whether the factor of ambition and display in gift giving stressed by Professor Malinowski in his account of the Trobriands⁽³⁾ was present here also, it would be impossible to state without further research.

1- Doke op. cit. 198.

2- A.R. Radcliffe-Brown - The Andaman Islanders - 237.

3- B. Malinowski - op.cit.

(G) Loans and Debts.

The recognition of loans and debts and the penalties attached to them belong perhaps more to the realm of law than of economics. Nevertheless Doke tells us ⁽¹⁾ that the Balamba were inveterate borrowers and frequently had lawsuits over debts. Cuvelier reports ⁽²⁾ that the headman of the village might act as 'moneylenders,' paying up a debt for one of his villagers, and trusting to his power and prestige to recoup himself. Smith & Dale report ⁽³⁾ cases of difficulty in recovering debts. And Melland says ⁽⁴⁾ that bulunda debts ranked with other debts, as 'recoverable' in a court. What is not clear from any of the material is the extent to which loans and debts were an individual's private concern, or to what extent his relatives and friends shared the responsibility. Obviously there was an extensive system of borrowing, and indebtedness was common. The important step to be followed up seems to be to determine the extent to which borrowing and indebtedness affected economic life in general, that is stimulated or retarded cultivation and exchange.

-
- 1- Doke op.cit. 75
 2- Cuvelier " I. 167.
 3- Smith & Dale op.cit. I.407.
 4- Melland " 114.

Section IV. Problems arising from the survey.

Several problems awaiting further research have already been indicated in the course of this chapter, and I do not propose to recapitulate them. One extensive group of problems centres round the existence in the community of classes and individuals who by their acquisition of wealth have attained prominent positions. If in some of these communities there was suspicion of a man who was more successful than his neighbours, how could individuals rise to power on the wings of riches? Questions such as this involve not only field study of a particular kind, but also the taking into account of changing standards and ideas due to modern contacts.

Allied to this group of problems are those centering round the principle of reciprocity. * The modern economic system does not demand a quid pro quo from the individual who becomes rich and powerful through the labours of others. If reciprocity was an essential principle in primitive economics, and if material success had to be shared with a group of kinsmen and friends, what were the steps by which an individual succeeded in acquiring and keeping a reserve of wealth and its consequent power?

Yet another group of problems are associated with the relation between the forms of social organisation and the circulation of goods. To a large extent it would be true to say

that our material shows that the nature of society and its ^{organization demanded certain forms of exchange} forms of exchange, such as tribute, death dues, marriage payments etc.

Section V. Changes due to culture contact.

Pre-eminent in these changes in the sphere of exchange and ownership was the introduction of money as the medium of exchange and the symbol of wealth. Though barter by goods still exists to a great extent, money is nevertheless established, and it is on a basis of money-exchange and money-earning that future development will be built up. There have been certain checks due to Government action on tribute to chiefs and on the enactment of tolls. On the other hand the demand for taxation, to be paid if possible in money, has stimulated exchange in order to obtain the necessary cash. A further stimulus to trade has been furnished by the traders' stores and hawkers, bringing in European goods and setting up new standards of desires and also of exchange values. The establishment of magistrates' courts has had some influence on customary rules about the recovery of debts and also on the regulation of fines,

CHAPTER VII.

THE ORGANISATION OF WORK.

Section 1- The Community and its work.

" 2. The Nature of Primitive Labour

" 3. Factors operating in the organisation of work.

" 4. Resulting Problems.

Chapter VII. The Organisation of Work.Section 1. The Community and its work.

The four previous chapters should have given the factual basis for the theoretical examination of the main theme of this thesis namely the organisation of work in a primitive community. We saw in Chapter IV the units in the social organisation of the tribes which were concerned with economic activity, and found that these units varied in types of grouping. They varied so much in size and form and nature that it is possibly misleading to speak in any concrete terms of "the community." Nevertheless, with the framework of the social organisation in mind, I believe it is possible to discuss the theoretical aspects of work in the community in such a way as to arrive at certain fundamental problems. As Chapter IV answered this question 'What are the units of society?' so Chapter III, V and VI answered the questions "What are their needs"? and "How are they satisfied?" We have had therefore the bare bones of the economic structure set out before us. Our task in the next three chapters has already been indicated. We are in this chapter to examine the organisation of work and the principles which regulate it. In chapter VIII we are to make some attempt at understanding the nature and power of the motives and values in work. In Chapter IX we shall discuss the problems of self-sufficiency

and of equilibrium in economic life.

I am well aware that in these three chapters we are treading on dangerous ground because of the inadequacy of the material in these particular directions. But I do not consider that the inadequacy of the material is an obstacle in putting forward certain questions and certain theories, arising out of the situation as it is described and suggesting further lines of research. As I have stated before, I believe that the challenge of culture contact which is already a fact demands some attempt to understand the organisation of primitive economics on tribal lines, and if we stop short at a descriptive account we have only half the story. Moreover the examination of the nature of changes due to culture contact and their resultant problems shows that certain changes produce new situations, while others modify the old system, and in order to understand both, a comprehensive review of work under tribal conditions is essential.

Section 11. The Nature of Primitive Labour.

It is not necessary here to review and discuss the various theories of primitive labour built up upon the researches of the earlier anthropologists. This has been done so admirably by Dr. Firth in the preliminary chapter ⁽¹⁾ to his Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori that subsequent writers can well take their stand upon his analysis and its results. That primitive labour is worthy of study has been amply justified; that it has nevertheless been largely neglected is evident from an examination of the literature on the subject in the search for some theoretical guidance in analysing concrete problems such as those presented by the present study. In Mr. Dudley Buxton's "Primitive Labour" ⁽²⁾ for example his whole treatment of the subject is dominated by the theory of the evolutionary development of society by stages which he characterises as savagery, barbarism and civilisation. ⁽³⁾ It is true that in reviewing possible approaches to the study of primitive labour he rejects those of the examination of a single industry ^{or} of specific

1- Firth. op.cit.

2- L.H. Dudley Buxton - Primitive Labour London 1924.

3- Buxton op. cit. 9.

tools and devices, and adopts what might be called a
"modified functionalism." He elects ⁽¹⁾ to study the arts
of life in various types of society - - - to estimate
the relative importance of the various industries - - -
to see the part which each plays in contributing to human
welfare and to human happiness - - - and to see the im-
plements of each craft not as museum specimens - - - but
lying ready to hand for the craftsman to gain his daily
bread or to triumph over his enemies." Nevertheless a
close perusal of his book, following his introduction, leaves
the impression that he is looking for evidence of emergent
stages of society as also for emergent inventions, that is
the processes of the technological development of tools and
devices for economic use. We have seen that in N.W. Rhodesia
there are several different types of society practising
different forms of economic activity. It would neither be
profitable nor possible to put them into categories which
could then be classified as stages in social and economic

(1- Buxton. op.cit. 14.

evolution. Nor is it useful for our purpose to pursue the evolution of the various devices for example for the making of fire from the fire ~~DRILL~~^{DRINK} to Bryant & Mays matches. The main problem of the use of fire in economic life does not revolve round the spark which kindles it but round the hearth whereon it burns, whether to cook food for a family and household, or to consume a sacrificial beast, ^{or} ~~as~~ to smelt copper and iron.

(1
 Mr. Dudley Buxton summarises the main factors determining economic activity as the material resources; the stage reached by the society in question and the degree of specialisation of labour; and the physiological needs imposed by the climate. His survey both in the earlier part of his book and in the descriptive sections does not raise the main problems concerned with primitive labour. Certain of these will be discussed later in this and subsequent chapters. Two however I would specify here as they are entirely ignored by Mr. Dudley Buxton. One is the balance to be sought for and estimated in primitive economic life between individual prowess and ambition and the claims of

communal work, a problem hinted at but not fully discussed
 (1) by Lowie and by Goldenweiser (2). The other is the balance
 between cultural tradition in economic life on the one hand
 and the utilitarian attractions of novelty on the other.

Professor Hobson in Work and Wealth (3) deals much
 more fully with the relation of work to human welfare, hinted
 at in Primitive Labour (4) but not discussed there in any detail.
 In his review of the origins of industry he sees two important
 trends, and these the student of primitive economics should keep
 constantly before him. (5) The first is, "that we can trace in
 every rudimentary industry the promptings of vital utility,
 laying foundations for an economy of efforts and satisfactions
 which further the organic development of the individual and
 of the race." And the second is, "that we find everywhere what
 we call distinctively economic motives and activities almost
 inextricably intertwined, or even fused, with other motives and
 activities, sportive, artistic, religious, social and political."
 The inter-relation of work to human welfare leads directly to
 the question of values in economic life. Professor Hobson
 makes it abundantly clear that economic activity cannot be
 adequately studied from a purely mechanistic standpoint. He
 declares (6) that a "human valuation of economic processes is
 possible and desirable," and goes on to ^{an} analysis which is most

1- R.H. Lowie Primitive Society - 1921 p 426.

2- A.A. Goldenweiser Early Civilisation - 1921 p 300.

3- J.A. Hobson Work & Wealth 1914.

4- Buxton *op. cit.* 14.

5- Hobson " 26.

6- " " 3.

suggestive of the relative part played by individuals and by society in this valuation.

It is this insistence on human valuation in primitive economics which marks the work done by the functional school, as distinguished from that of the technologists and the followers of the evolutionary and historical schools. It is perhaps possible to attain much greater precise scientific accuracy in describing the exact technique for the making of a fire drill or a reed mat. But such precise accuracy has no direct correlation with the function of the fire or sleeping mats in terms of human valuation, which can only be understood when a variety of factors are taken into account. Professor Malinowski in his writings on Trobriand economics suggests a number of lines which intending field workers might follow, in aiming both at a comprehensive descriptive account of primitive economic life and at a theoretical analysis of the main features in terms of the culture as a whole. ————— →

(1
 In his review of Primitive Labour he outlines certain of
 these problems arising out of a study of primitive labour
 such as he has developed recently in his Coral Gardens.⁽²⁾
 In this review he defines labour as "purposeful systematic
 activity standardised by tradition and devoted to the sat-
 isfaction of wants, the making of means of production and
 the creation of objects of luxury, value, and renown." He
 raises the question of motive in work: "What is it that in
 culture drives man to strenuous prolonged and often very
 unpleasant effort?" In discussing the effective incentives
 to effort he makes it clear that labour as an economic
 problem cannot be dissociated from the psychological problem
 of value. This problem of value, as also that of motives and
 incentives to work, will be more fully discussed in Chapter
 VIII. I lay stress on it here because I think it is one of
 the essential links between economic effort and social

1- B.Malinowski - Labour & Primitive Economics. Nature
 Dec. 1925.

2- " Coral Gardens - London 1934 (?)

organisation. As Professor Malinowski points out,⁽¹⁾
 the organisation of labour is a distinct problem from
 that of motives and stimuli, though related to them in
 that it is the cultural tradition of work which both
 determines forms of cooperation and of specialisation,
 and provides in acknowledged leadership and anticipated
 rewards some at least of the incentives to work. He
⁽²⁾
 defines the organisation of labour as "the sum total of
 the factors which command the spatial and temporal placing
 of tasks; the distribution and dovetailing of functions, and
 again the integration of these functions by customary schemes,
 mutual agreement and leadership."

I have given Professor Malinowski's views at
 some length because they gave me the starting point for a
 theoretical approach to problems of labour in a field quite

1- B. Malinowski - Labour & Primitive Economics - op.cit.

2- " " " "

other than that with which the present thesis is concerned.⁽¹⁾
 It is true that as he says "the problem of labour still awaits its theoretical launching." It is necessary however to have a starting point in theoretical approach which will lead from problems of tribal economic life to those of cultural change. For this reason therefore as Professor Malinowski⁽²⁾ says "It is highly desirable that the subject of labour should be well under the control of theory and of empirical study, for it is one of practical importance in Colonial legislation, and in the regulation of the manner by which native races are to work for or with the white man."

Further suggestive lines of approach to primitive labour are offered in studies such as those by Landtman,⁽³⁾ Barton,⁽⁴⁾ Mannier⁽⁵⁾ and Redfield.⁽⁶⁾ In all but the first study the factor of culture contact is recognised and finds its place in the general descriptive accounts given in these studies. The particular nature value of the studies by Barton and Redfield is their approach to primitive labour as a study of a community at work. Though Mannier and

-
- 1- M. Read - The Indian Peasant Uprooted. 1931.
 - 2- B. Malinowski - op.cit.
 - 3- G. Landtmann - Papuan Magic in the Building of Houses -
Abo 1920.
 - 4- R.F. Barton - Ifugao Economics 1922.
 - 5- R. Mannier - La Construction Collective de la Maison en
Kabylie 1926.
 - 6- R. Redfield. Tepoz Han - 1930.

Landtmann are concerned with the specific work of house building it is chiefly of the sociological aspect of the work done that they write and not only of technological processes.

As a further guide to a tentative theoretical approach to this problem Professor Durkheim's De la Division du Travail Social ⁽¹⁾ is suggestive. His study embraces a much wider field than that of economics and deals with some much more fundamental philosophical questions than I propose to treat here. Nevertheless his discussion of the function of the division of work and the social need to which it corresponds, and his review of the economic value of the division of work in relation to its social value is very pertinent to the problems of primitive labour. His insistence that collectivity and specialisation are both necessary for the cohesion of society illuminates the somewhat jigsaw ⁽²⁾ pattern of primitive labour, and the following quotation might well head the chapter on the complex systems of exchange in the area of this thesis: "But if the division of work produces solidarity, it is not only because it makes of each individual an "exchangist" as the economists say; it is that it creates between men a whole system of rights and duties

1- E. Durkheim - De la Division du Travail Social 1902.

2- Durkheim - op.cit. 402.

which bind them to each other in a lasting manner."

Have we therefore a sufficient theoretical foundation based on empirical studies of primitive economics to justify an attempt at an analysis of the organisation of work in a primitive community? In answering such a question the difficulties of working on second hand material become apparent. I think, notwithstanding, that we may say with some justification that two essential principles can be recognised in the organisation of work in a primitive community, though perhaps they are so obvious that they are hardly worth recording. The first is that it is out of the interaction of social groups and the material substratum, that is natural resources, climate &c. that economic activity, that is work, is born. The second is that in the organisation of this work the more instinctive and individual types of work are moulded and dominated by cultural tradition and communal needs. The majority of anthropologists would unhesitatingly accept the first principle. The functional school would undoubtedly also accept the second. Yet it is here that the gap in theoretical treatment is most obvious. When we think we have discovered the economic institutions in a given community and found out the culturally determined way in which they work, we are then faced with the fact that they are constantly changing in the modern world, and that human valuation is by no means always expressed in standardised forms of behaviour but may find expression in adaptability to new

ideas and new processes. We have not therefore as yet, any satisfactory theoretical approach to the economics of a changing culture. The following sections in this chapter will be an attempt to set out a modus operandi which cannot be considered in any way as an adequate theory until it is tested out in actual field work.

Section 111. Factors operating in the organisation of work.

We must now turn our minds to the descriptive accounts of economic activity given in former chapters, and take a broad view of the work performed in the various communities. On the basis of such a broad view there are certain obvious factors which influence the organisation of work, others which are only apparent on analysis.

Seasonal changes. Perhaps the most readily evident factor is that of seasonal changes. It is a commonplace of all economic life dependent directly on the soil and its products, that different kinds of work are determined by the different seasons, yet such a commonplace finds little place in theoretical discussions of primitive economics. In the material available on our area however three authorities give a seasonal calendar of work which shows at a glance the seasons for clearing bush, hoeing the soil, sowing, harvesting, and the various industries such as house repairing which have to be adjusted to the slack agricultural seasons. In the Kafue and Zambesi Valleys the annual flooding of the low lying river lands marked the most important change-

1- Melland op.cit. 121-2; Doke op.cit. 94-5; Smith & Dale
op. cit. I. 140.

over in work. The Balla⁽¹⁾ just before the floods occur return to the villages with the cattle who have been grazing on the richer grass lands by the river where also there was plenty of water. The Barotsi, when the floods began, took to the hills for an orgy of hunting, leaving the slaves to carry on in the semi-flooded villages. Arnot⁽²⁾ pointed out in 1883 the elaborate ceremony with which this annual ~~departure~~^{departure} to the hills was celebrated by the Barotsi, and the immense barge that was made for the occasion, large enough to transport the entire royal court at a sitting. The same season of flooded rivers and fields meant everywhere a greater opportunity for fishing, while the end of the dry weather, whereⁿ fires might have consumed much of the long grass, marked the time for visiting and travel whether for purely social or also for economic purposes. Crawford speaks of the coming of the rains as the African's dinner gong, calling him imperiously back to his fields whatever other pursuits may have occupied him in the previous months.

In considering the seasonal changes of work we should not overlook the fact that there are processes and activities

1- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 131.

2- E. Baker. Life of F.S. Arnot. 68.

which cannot be completed in one season. Such was the making of a canoe by the Balunda which is described by Arnot⁽¹⁾ as lasting over two seasons and involving various processes. It would be interesting as well as important to see how these more lengthy processes dove-tailed into the usual routine of work. Also how far an incurable social passion for visiting and the economic incentives to such visits interfered with or formed part of the routine set by the seasonal changes. Such inquiries however await more detailed field work as they would involve a rather close study of one or more localities over a period of time.

We can note here in passing that these seasonal changes of work were based on an empirical knowledge of the soil and its properties, the climate, and the habits of both domesticated and wild beasts. When rain did not fall at the expected date in the calendar, then supernatural aid was sought. But the routine of work set by the seasons and the material resources available was no haphazard affair, and the relation of one process to another, as for instance sowing seed in ash covered soil, was well understood and involved no magical aid being invoked.

1- E. Baker - op.cit. 319.

(2) Traditional spheres of work.

Evidence on the organisation of work into traditional or cultural spheres was provided by every traveller in this area, and lists of men's and women's work is given in all the monographs. This sex dichotomy of labour has possibly been overstressed in the past by anthropological writers who were intrigued on the one hand by the apparently rigid division of work between men and women, and on the other hand found some vent for their humour in describing certain situations. But while stressing the obvious traditional spheres of work, certain implications have been perhaps sometimes overlooked. One of the most important of these is the vehicle for transmitting these cultural traditions. Doke describes ⁽¹⁾ the amansanshi or play huts of the children outside a village where small boys and girls learned in play the relative spheres of work they would perform in later life, ⁽²⁾ a feature which is common to many African peoples. That the tasks of the household both within and outside the hut should be divided between men and women was a common-sense necessity, except - and this is an important exception - where slave labour was employed. In our material we are here faced with a lack of evidence about the spheres of work allocated to slaves of both sexes, and in what ways they supplemented or substituted the ^{see} foramen or ^{see} forawomen of the household. →

1- Doke op.cit. 143.

2- See H.A. Stayt. The Havenda.

Travellers and missionaries comment on the fact that slaves were working in the fields, and Smith & Dale speak (1) of female slaves going out to hoe the fields. The presumption would be that slaves did the hard and unpleasant work. On the other hand the possession of domestic slaves in a household may have resulted in a domestic economy such as we read of in mediaeval households (2) where the mistress of the house both directed and shared in the work to be done in and around the house, and the master did the same for the cultivation and cattle tending. But this is pure conjecture, and as it remains to be seen whether further field investigation can elucidate in what way former slaves, whatever they are called to-day, had a traditionally assigned sphere of work. Undoubtedly the area of Barotsiland which showed in former days the sharpest distinctions in social rank also showed evidence of a sharp demarcation of work into the spheres of slaves and freemen. And among the other tribes we should expect to find rank and spheres of work more evident in a chief's village than in one consisting ^{only} of commoners.

To the allocating of special tasks in what might be called the daily economic routine, must be added those activities which were traditionally assigned to particular

1- Smith & Dale - op.cit. I.408.

2- See Coillard - op.cit. 214 on the household of Mokwae the "Queen" at Nalolo.

people and their assistants or kinsmen. Such activities were those of the smith, hunter, witch doctor. It was evident to observers and much more to the writers of monographs that the cultural traditions of north west Rhodesia set aside certain kinds of work as specialised and not to be undertaken by any ordinary person. What that specialisation involved we shall consider in a later connection. We only note here that it was a recognised element in the traditional organisation of work, apparent to any observer.

(3) Existence of certain social groups.

While observers remarked that certain types of people, men and women, slaves and freemen, specialists, did particular kinds of work, we also know from the accounts that there were certain social groups who played a distinct part in economic life. The most evident of these were the family and household, representing both the smallest kinship and the smallest local unit. Just how these groups functioned as a unit organised for work we have very little information beyond the fact that to them fell the task of obtaining and preparing food, the economic activity absorbing the greater part of people's time and energy. We have already referred to the allocation of work on the basis of rank, and to the groups represented by specialists. There are however those other groups, one associated on the principle of kinship, the other two on the principle of locality, all of which must have played an

important part as units in the organisation of work.
 I refer to the clan, the village, and the commune⁽¹⁾ or
 "chefferie."⁽¹⁾ We know from Smith & Dale that the clan
 groups among the Balla served as "bankers" for the cattle
 which were given and received as marriage pledges;⁽²⁾ and
 also that the clans had definite relationship to the holding
 of land in certain areas. Elsewhere we do not hear of clans
 or groups based on clan kinship acting as a unit, though
 there is a suggestion that they did so in collecting and
 paying up death dues among the Balamba and Bakaonde. It
 might not be out of place to mention here the part played
 by the clans among the Bushongo. E. Torday recorded⁽³⁾ that
 in that tribe certain clans had definite economic functions,
 and were in fact craft guilds based on kinship principles.
 He went on to say that the supreme political Council of
 the 'kingdom' included a representative from each of these
 clan guilds, thus uniting strong social and economic ties in
 the political system. How far this principle of kinship
 operated in the specialist groups such as the Smiths and
 hunters is left very vague in the accounts of the Balamba

1- See Chapter IV. p 26 and 27.

2- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 296-7

3- E. Torday. On the Trail of the Bushongo.

and Bakaonde. It would be rather surprising if it did not operate at all, either in the patrilineal or matrilineal line, but only further investigation could elucidate that point.

The village seems on the face of it the most tangible group related to economic life, yet we have to bear in mind that though there may have been a permanent nucleus in ^{personnel} the ~~personal~~ of the village in most areas, there was nevertheless a constant shifting of population among the tribes where matrilocality residence for a year or two years after marriage was the rule. Except for the hints already referred to about neighbourhood feeling in the Ba-Ila communes, we find no records of the manner in which neighbourhood feeling developed or manifested itself in the villages. In the chief's village, such as that of which Doke gives a plan, ⁽¹⁾ the neighbourhood feeling was doubtless based on kinship, that is built up on the degree to which individuals and groups were related or not related to the chief. But Doke himself says that commoners' villages, that is villages where the headman was not a member of the chief's clan, were larger and more popular, and there, certainly, sentiments built up on common economic interests must have been developed. Such events as the moving of the village site to new lands, the

1- Doke op.cit. 91.

the laying out of the new site, the fencing of fields, the use of communal grindstones, prayers for rain, the expeditions of the young men to get bark for bark cloth - all these must have been regulated and organised on some traditionally accepted plan, known to and handed on by the villagers. Moreover when physical calamities such as drought, floods, locusts, fell upon the land, it was the villages as units who suffered, and their inhabitants must have united to meet the situation and to find a way out.

In the larger groups, the communes and the 'chefferies', economic ties were probably less marked except in relation to the holding of land, to hunting rights and to the position of the chief in the economic organisation. There is so little data on this that one can only note it down as a problem for further investigation. I should be inclined to conclude however that the village as a unit, being closer and more compact, would be the group par excellence where economic activities were most definitely organised on a regular pattern. To discover that pattern, and to see the part played by kinship ties as distinct from and yet related to the ties of neighbourhood, would be to see some way into the organisation of work in a primitive community.

Factors evident on further analysis.

Beneath the superficial and the obvious factors I believe there are others which only a close sifting of data can reveal, and which perhaps would only be evident if the problem of the organisation of work is approached with a background of theory. These less patent factors are not peculiar to primitive economic life, * in fact they might be regarded as the three points of a triangle ^{within} which the work of any community must be organised. The first two factors, * those of specialisation and cooperation, * are antithetical. * The tendency of the first is to split up society into demarcated economic groups, leading to more intensive development of each particular activity. * The tendency of the second is to draw together the different members of the community, sometimes in associations based on economic pursuits, sometimes in co-operative work of an economic nature but for social purposes. The third factor, that of direction and leadership, might be regarded as the apex of the triangle. Effective leadership, political, religious and social, holds together the specialist elements within the community and provides the necessary direction for cooperative work. If this be a true diagnosis of the main factors in the organisation of work, it is also further evidence of the way in which social and political and religious forces influence and permeate economic life.

(4) Specialisation.

The account given by Mgrde Hemptinne of the organisation of the mining camp of the Basanga contained interesting evidence of the organisation of work within a specialised enterprise. To some individuals was allotted the task of preparing gardens, to supply the community with food during their stay there; to others the cutting of wood and converting it into charcoal for fuel for the fires; to others the collecting of malachite which lay in heaps on the tops of the hills. The copper smiths themselves had their special part to play when all was ready for the smelting. When this same community returned to its village habitat, the smiths alone remained a specialised group; the rest melted (apparently) into the background of cultivating their fields.

Both Doke and Smith & Dale give us detailed accounts of the work of the blacksmiths in the villages, and Doke records how the smith gathered round him a group of helpers, bellows-blowers and others, whom he paid for their work but whom he did not necessarily teach the secrets of his craft. Reference has already been made to the important parts played by smiths in the councils of the great chiefs like Msidi.

(1)
Arnot records that Msidi's sons were all taught crafts and worked at them with their own hands. And the other great despot in this area, Lewanika, was evidently himself a master-craftsman in many crafts including the designing of boats.

New paragraph Emphasis has been laid on the specialised work of the smiths because the records give most data on this. But the probability is that the 'professions' of hunter and witch-doctor worked on much the same lines, and there may have been other specialised work not noted in the records.

It is sometimes asserted that specialisation is a mark of a "less primitive" type of society, that specialisation increases as the society develops on higher levels, and that conversely society becomes 'less savage and less barbarous' to the extent that specialisation is a feature of economic life. How far that is true of the past history of these people of north-west Rhodesia it is impossible to say for there are no written records of their past. The 50 years of European contact should have produced some evidence on this point but it is not to be found in the material available. It is true that since European contact began, the issue has been further complicated by the introduction of European goods which in some cases ousted and destroyed the native crafts, as for instance calico for bark cloth and Birmingham iron for the product of the native smith. The problem however of the part played by specialisation in the organisation of work only reasserts itself in a new form. We are led to ask first whether new processes and new tools acquired from Europeans have improved and extended the work of the specialists. (1) And secondly, if the native crafts have

1- See Coillard op.cit. 496. on Smiths making nails, spare parts of guns etc.

died out, what has happened to the former craftsmen, and have new ones arisen for new types of specialised work as e.g. motor mechanics?

In all highly specialised work, particularly in primitive communities, certain personal characteristics come to the fore which distinguish the specialist among his fellows. Such characteristics as skill in the craft, understanding and control of the magic accompanying it, the acquisition of wealth, its relation to political power and influence, and finally the element of personal prestige - all these are the hallmarks of social status, and hence not only a reward for the specialist but a strong incentive ⁽¹⁾ to others to join their ranks. Here we find that our records show in two important institutions the standardising of the part played by the specialist in the work of the community. Doke makes it quite clear that the 'professions' of smith, hunter and witch doctor could only be entered through an apprenticeship. The apprentice had to attach himself to a professional man, and pay him a recognised fee to learn the tricks of the trade. Only by going inside the

1- See Chapter VIII.

profession could he learn its secrets - observation and imitation would not make him a smith nor a witch doctor. One reason was that only from the professional man himself could he learn the secret of ubwanga, ^{the} the hidden source of power which it was dangerous for a ^lgyman to meddle with.

In addition to the institution of apprenticeship as a safeguard to the specialists, there were in certain areas associations formed of specialists to protect their own interests. Melland speaks ⁽¹⁾ of the guild of smiths. Mgr de Hamptinne writes ⁽²⁾ of the small and close associations of copper smiths, kept small to safeguard the secrets of their trade, but existing also for the purpose of mutual help. Such a type of organisation is very familiar in India in the caste panchayat which both regulates the particular craft or trade, and supervises the social and political rights of its members. How far the organisation of these craft associations had gone in this area it is not possible to say from the records. But we can see the same principle operating in the Bushongo craft clans described by Torday, in that case reinforced by kinship ⁽³⁾ sentiments.

A critical reader of the material on this area might at this point ask: "Why lay so much stress on specialisation of work when so few occupations were in the hands of specialists,

-
- 1- Melland op.cit. 136.
 - 2- de Hemptinne op.cit. 378.
 - 3- See Coillard op.cit. 252. re Matotela tribe having monopoly of iron-work.

and apparently there were relatively very few specialists compared with the number of workers in other occupations?"

The answer is, I think, not far to seek. We have it is true no 'census' in any of the monographs which tell us the number of smiths or witch doctors in terms of the general population, though the implication is that their numbers were small. Their importance however was out of all proportion to their numerical strength, and they held their position in society by virtue of their empirical knowledge and technical skill, and still more by their ability to handle magic in their craft. The products of their work moreover, whether axes, spear tips or 'medicines,' was definitely for the community. Agricultural workers, speaking generally, produced and consumed their own goods. The smith looked to the community as consumers of his goods, and they looked to him as the essential producer of them. Hence his position was established in the eyes of his neighbours, and to the headman or chief he was an important person, standing out from the common herd. One extremely interesting contact problem to follow up would be to discover what new crafts or 'skills' have taken similar positions in the changing community of to-day.

(5) Cooperation.

It would be a truism to say that in a closely knit community much economic activity would be undertaken on a cooperative or communal basis. An examination of our material

shows a constant reference to groups undertaking various tasks but there is little specific data on the number of individuals in these groups nor on the nature or degree of cohesion in them. We can perhaps detect three kinds of groups acting together. The first I would call the set groups, corresponding to those already described, ⁽¹⁾ based on kinship, rank and locality. The second are small groups united temporarily, and the third large groups on a temporary basis. Instances of the first are found in Doke's account ⁽²⁾ of the founding of a new village site when the "men of the village" act as a group in the choosing, laying out, and initial work on a new site. In Mgr de Hemptinne's description of copper mining, it is the village under the chief which departs to the copper camp, men, women and children. Smith & Dale in their account of the kuwila and kubola, ⁽³⁾ the annual departure and return of the cattle to the river flats, speak of the "herdsmen of the village" as the group concerned with the work as also with the accompanying ceremonial.

1- See Chapter VII. Section III. part (3)

2- Doke op.cit. 85 seq.

3- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 131-2

New paragraph
 The second type of group, a small temporary unit, was that of the party of men of the Balamba who went to look for bark for the preparation of bark cloth. ⁽¹⁾ Coillard describes the boat ^{area} of Lewanika's ^a state barge of 40-50 men, ⁽²⁾ "all Barotsi and all chiefs," who were summoned as an honour to paddle the barge, but who soon skinned their hands in the unaccustomed hard work! Other small and temporary units might be a group of kinsmen going to put their case before a chief's court ⁽³⁾ and being required to work in his gardens before the case was given a hearing. Further investigation into ^{the} field would doubtless produce numerous instances of such cooperation.

Larger temporary groups were evidently formed as occasion required. Among the Ba^ala, clansmen would sit in council on the adequacy of a marriage pledge offered for one of their number, ⁽⁴⁾ and in such an important matter as the acquiring of new cattle ^a and large group collected. At Lewanika's capital on the eve of a raiding expedition

-
- 1- Doke op.cit. 120.
 2- Coillard " 344. (354)
 3- Doke " 59.
 4- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 297.

(1
"All the women" were mustered to prepare food for the army, and the town "echoed to the pounding of pestles."

It would be possible to go on multiplying forms of cooperation in economic activity, but such an enumeration would not make any more evident the importance of such cooperation in the organisation of work. There are however one or two problems, not discussed in the monographs, which a field worker might pursue further. One of these is to ascertain the range of economic tasks in which cooperation was essential from the nature of the work. Such would be the making and putting on of a roof on to a hut; the paddling of a large canoe; the skinning and cutting up of an elephant. Another problem would be to find out those activities which could be undertaken individually but which from various motives, social, and political and religious, were actually carried out by groups. Such would be the expeditions for bark cloth among the Balamba, carrying the tribute to a chief, acting as

undertakers to a relative or fellow-villager.⁽¹⁾ It would be important also to note the various forms of cooperation in production, consumption and exchange, and here the distinction would be clearer than in the factor of specialisation.

(6) Direction and Leadership.

In discussing the organisation of work in a Maori community⁽²⁾ De Firth analyses leadership as "one of the most important factors in accomplishing that organisation." Later on he says that "the headman of the village or tribe always had great authority in economic matters." He summarises the chief factors on which his status depended as follows:⁽³⁾

- "1- His command of technical skill and knowledge of economic lore, coupled with his industry.
- 2- His authority as leader of his people in social matters and head of the kinship group.
- 3- His wealth, as the owner of valuable property and custodian of tribal treasures.
- 4- His sacerdotal position and tapu as chief."

- 1- Doke. op.cit. 179.
- 2- Firth " 222.
- 3- " " 227.

new paragraph
 It would not be possible from our material to parallel these functions of the Maori chief, and indeed in none of the monographs is there a full discussion of the part played by the chief or headman in economic life. It is permissible however to conclude that the political and social head of the community was also the head of its economic system and in that sense was the chief factor in organisation of work. We have seen the part played by the chief in land tenure/ and the close relation of the holding of land to productive activities. Smith & Dale make it clear that the chief fixed the dates for the annual exodus of cattle to the river banks ⁽¹⁾; that the acquisition of wealth was a necessity to his tenure of office; ⁽²⁾ and that in many cases he was known to be possessed of great magical power. Mgr deHemptinne in "Les Mangeurs du Cuivre" shows how the chief initiated the move to the mining camp, and directed the preparations for the camp both material and spiritual. ⁽³⁾ In the accounts by Arnot and Coillard of Lewanika and Msidi we see how those powerful chiefs had their hand on every side of life in their kingdoms. Arnot describes Msidi organising transport by caravans to the west coast. ⁽⁴⁾ And in another place ⁽⁵⁾ he gives us a picture of Msidi leading out a "band of hoers" and standing in the fields watching them at work while the rain poured down. On his way

- 1- Smith & Dale. op.cit. I. 308.
- 2- " " I. 305.
- 3- See Chapter V. (V)
- 4- Arnot op.cit. 188.
- 5- " " 202.

into Msidi's capital Arnot was received by his second in command Chief Molenge. On going to call at his house one morning Arnot found that Molenge had gone to the fields, and was there "directing 25 stalwart men with long-handled hoes which they were using in fine style, hoeing to the beat of a drum."⁽¹⁾

There is another aspect of the directing of work which was in the hands not of the chief or headman but of the man who owned either the thing that was being made or the essential skill to make it. Professor Malinowski has drawn attention to the part played by the owner of a canoe during the process of making.⁽²⁾ In an account by Arnot of the making of a canoe by the Balunda⁽³⁾ he tells how the owner's wife brewed quantities of beer, how invitations were sent to all the neighbours and how "beer, songs, talk, and laughter" helped in hauling the canoe to the river. All the writers who describe the work of smiths, whether in iron or copper, make it clear how the smith himself was the centre of all the work, directing his assistants and keeping the crucial tasks in his own hands.

Although these instances are rather fragmentary, and much is left to be done in field investigation, yet I think there is sufficient evidence on the importance of leadership

1- Arnot. op.cit. 180.

2- B. Malinowski - Argonauts of the Western Pacific.

3- Arnot op.cit. 319.

investigator
 to justify the earlier statements. A field investigation
 to-day would however be aware of the fact that the chief might
 be becoming less important in directing economic activity to
 the degree that the specialist and expert took a more leading
 part. Such a change could only be expected with the coming of
 European tools and devices, the beginnings of education in
 industrial arts, and the general lessening of the authority of
 the chief.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to fading and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to be a continuation of the text above.]

Section IV. Resulting Problems.

All that has been attempted in this chapter has been to suggest a modus operandi for the study of the organisation of work in this area. I propose here to indicate what appear to be three important problems, arising out of the review of the factors operating in the organisation of work, and related to possible changes due to culture contact.

The outstanding problem to be pursued is I think the relation of economic effort to social structure and social cohesion. It is accepted that the economic life of a community is not a thing apart, but is linked intimately with social organisation, with religion and magic, with the legal and political systems. A close examination of the material in this area leads me to believe that, at least in the days before European contact, the community was the chief concern of all - to be preserved and maintained at all costs. Instances from two widely different situations will be enough here. On the one hand was Lewanika considering, accepting, rejecting offers of white men to shower wealth on him for concessions, and after such offers his council, so we are told by Coillard, sat for days pondering on the fate of the kingdom which loomed largest in their eyes and in that of the king. On the other hand in a Balamba village the man whose gardens showed much better crops, whose grain bins were fuller, than those of his neighbours, was suspected by them of witchcraft, because outstanding economic success by an individual could not be in the

interests of the community as a whole.

The kind of question which arises from this hypothesis is a very fundamental one, and not peculiar to primitive economics. Is the community based on economic needs or is it above them? That is, does it so exist in the social and political organisation of the people and in their traditional ways of thinking, that it can survive economic changes? Does modern culture contact strike at its foundations, and can it survive only if it changes its form? Conversely do changes in political structure vitally affect economic activities?

A further set of questions revolve round the relation of the organisation of work to the types of economic activity. If new kinds of work come ^{with} into culture contact, so that traditional forms of work are changed, or new ones provided outside tribal life altogether, what kind of adjustments will be necessary? How will these adjustments in economic organisation affect the balance of the three factors of specialisation, co-operation and leadership?

We have asserted several times in this thesis that work in a community on tribal lines was largely dominated by cultural tradition, both as regards spheres of work and the organisation of labour. How will this be affected by modern education with its agricultural or industrial 'bias?' What effect too will changes in the physical health of the people have on their capacity for work? Such changes might be

detrimental on the one hand, due to the importation of diseases; beneficial on the other, especially where treatment is given for such endemic complaints as hookworm and malaria which are known to affect vitally human capacity for work.

These problems I leave in the form of questions for the reasons already stated. I believe however that to have formulated such questions will be some aid in planning a theoretical approach to field work.

CHAPTER VIII.

MOTIVES AND VALUES IN WORK.

- Section 1. The psychological approach.
- " 2. The inter-relation of motives and values.
- " 3. General theoretical analysis of motives to work.
- " 4. Some observed stimuli to work.
- " 5. Resulting Problems.

CHAPTER VIII. Motives and Values in Work.Section 1. The psychological approach.

In approaching the problem of the community at work from the psychological end, we cannot but be aware of the many attempts to set up theories of primitive psychology by writers using material at second hand. The unsatisfactory nature of much of the writing on primitive psychology is in itself a warning against falling into the same trap. The obvious difficulty is that in any attempt to plunge beneath the surface and to analyse the deeper lying motives urging people to work, the student is dependent on the data given by other writers. Personal observations in the field aiming at an analysis of a community at work might produce a totally different set of data from which to draw psychological conclusions. It follows therefore that any such attempt is limited by the second-hand nature of the material and still further hampered by the general scarcity of relevant data. In spite of these evident difficulties and pitfalls however I believe it is essential at least to open this question of the psychological approach to the problem of work, and if after further field work ~~the~~ the conclusions prove to be wrong, then a new theoretical approach will be demanded based on a new set of field data.

It is self-evident that the problems of value and motive are very important in this general analysis.

We have already quoted Professor Malinowski ⁽¹⁾ that "the problem of labour can be treated only against the background of the psychological problem of value." The problem of value ⁽²⁾ raises vital questions not only psychological but also philosophical, * questions which are brought sharply to the fore in any examination of the problems of culture contact. Professor Westerman emphasises the importance of these issues in several references in The African Today. In discussing the overstocking of cattle in south east Africa ~~the~~ he says that "the solution will lie partly in replacing the emotional attitude to the cattle by more rational ideas." ⁽³⁾ In another connection ⁽⁴⁾ he says: "It is not unimportant whether a man is able to enjoy his work because he shares in the proceeds or because the doing of it is a moral duty, or whether it is felt as a tiresome yoke borne unwillingly and solely as a means of subsistence. The latter must end in a blunting of the faculties, when the individual and the group have no values in ^{(4) 5} life, and no real aims to prevent them from spiritual extinction." In these two statements Professor Westerman has raised some very fundamental questions, such as the degree to which rational processes entered into values and attitudes standardised by

-
- 1-B.Malinowski- "Labour and Primitive Economics" - op.cit.
 2- Value is throughout this chapter not treated in modern economic terms - i.e. an exchange value - See Firth op.cit. 386.
 3-Westerman op.cit. 70.
 4- " " 49.
 5- Italics mine.

cultural tradition; the relation of work as a necessity to work as a means of expression; the interrelation of individual and group attitudes towards value in life.

At the risk therefore of suggesting conclusions on insufficient evidence, these questions must be raised and some theoretical approach attempted, because they are too important and too fundamental to be laid on one side. The ultimate aim in this modus operandi will be the understanding of the effects of culture contact. But to arrive at that understanding some hypothesis about values and motives in traditional tribal life is essential.

Section 11. The inter-relation of motives and values.

The no-man's-land between psychology, philosophy and economics is very evident when we approach the problem of economic value in a primitive community. This problem of value is basic to our whole study, though it is impossible to pronounce definitely upon it from the material available. I do however consider that we can take our stand upon the hypothesis suggested at the end of the last chapter, * namely that the community was the chief concern and must be preserved and maintained at all costs. * Two results would follow from this. First, that to the individuals in a community, that community, and all it stood for in social, economic, political and religious life, was the summum bonum and hence all that made for strengthening and binding together the community was 'good', * all that made for weakening and disintegrating it was 'bad.' This I think is the key to the elaborate system of taboos and crimes and sanctions described by Smith & Dale. (1) The second result is that, the community being predominantly important as an ethical value, all other values were set and

1- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. Ch.XIII. XIV. XVII.

determined and enforced by it. That I think explains the weight and power of tradition in economic life, and the set pattern of economic values which the individual was taught and to which he was expected to give at least nominal adherence. Reference has already been made to Professor Thurnwald's statement ⁽¹⁾ that among primitive peoples the social motive outweighed the economic. If we try to get behind the motive to the value underlying it, we find the sense of the community, and the desire of the individual to see himself favourably in the eyes of his fellows, and possibly also to bring his own prestige or skill or wealth into the service of the community.

We are here in agreement with many writers on African society. Major Orde Browne in his preliminary chapter to The African Labourer ⁽²⁾ lays stress on the dominance of the group over the individual in social^{or} economic and political organisation. † "Such a social structure would tend to stress the importance of the welfare of the tribe rather than the individual; each person learnt to think of himself more as

1- Thurnwald op.cit. 179.

2- Orde\ Browne " Ch.II.

(1)
 a unit in a group than as a separate entity.
 The primitive African was thus to a marked degree dependent upon and influenced by his companions; crowd psychology thus dominated behaviour, and the individual separated from his fellows was liable to great instability of conduct." (2) Without subscribing to a theory of crowd psychology I think we can here underline certain points in Major Orde Browne's diagnosis of African society. Given that the community was the chief value; that the community set and established other cultural values; and that each individual grew up and was trained in these values, it is not unreasonable to conclude that any individual viewpoint was apt to be dominated by group ideas, and that the assertions by individuals setting up new values would have been regarded as inimical to the community and its welfare. Durkheim discussing this subject from the point of view of modern society, points out that the cohesion of society is the determining factor in allocating shares in economic life to specialisation and cooperation, and in determining and enforcing legal codes and sanctions. It is owing to the "collective ideal," he

 sa

- 1- Orde Browne op.cit. 8.
 2- " " " 9.

(1) says that "each nation has its school of moral philosophy en rapport with its national character." In an interesting analysis of psychology and primitive culture ⁽²⁾ Professor Bartlett discusses certain phases of culture contact, not only in terms of European contacts. He analyses certain underlying conditions which determine the effects of culture contact. These are "(a) the primitive instinctive relationship forms of comradeship, dominance and submissiveness; (b) the special social instinct tendencies of conservation and constructiveness; (c) the group difference tendencies which differentiate one group from another; (d) the individual instinct tendencies; (e) the influence of the individuality of important personages."⁽³⁾

We have here, in terms of social organisation rather than of economic life, and expressed in psychological formulae, certain ^{conclusions} ~~conclusions~~ which emerge from the previous discussion. Without entering the lists on the ^{theory} ~~theory~~ questions of instincts and tendencies, we get from Professor Bartlett's analysis what is ^{almost} ~~at most~~ a recasting in other language of Professor Malinowski's "standardised cultural values." Professor Bartlett's first three conditions summarise the inter-play of forces within the group, which in the economic sphere I have called cooperation, specialisation and leadership; the mechanisms by which the community guards and standardises, but also

1- Durkheim op.cit. 392.

2- F.C. Bartlett. Psychology & Primitive Culture. Cambridge 1923.

3- " op.cit. 158.

adapts its values; and the characteristic form of living in different groups which, whether expressed in the social, political, economic or religious sphere, is an expression of the values inherent in a community, expressing in Durkheim's phrase "its national character in its moral philosophy."

Perhaps we can now leave this misty no-man's-land where we can easily be blinded or led astray by brilliant coloured ~~VERY~~^{very} lights, and return to a plain economic question, suggested indeed by Professor Bartlett's fourth condition. It is accepted that the basic motive in economic life is the satisfaction of certain primary needs of hunger, shelter and safety. If that is so, why do individuals and groups in their economic life go far beyond the minimum effort required to satisfy the bare needs? Why do they build and decorate elaborate houses, risk their lives hunting buffalo, grow a wide variety of pumpkins and other vegetables? The answer to this question, which supplies the motive for all this apparently extra work, is in Professor Malinowski's term "culturally determined or secondary or derived needs" - a standard, that is, of economic life which is ~~set on by~~^{determined} a cultural, traditional set of values. (1) Professor Westerman points out how "the African loves to make even the simplest domestic utensil with care and to give it a decoration however modest. He may devote a good deal of time to the preparation of a tool and he values it accordingly. We have here aesthetic values, part of the cultural tradition of the community, being expressed by an individual as a motive for work,

L Westerman. op.cit. 95.

This traditional standard of value among the Barotsi expressed itself in two somewhat opposite directions. Coillard spoke on the one hand of their industry and application but also of their carpe diem philosophy which led to holocausts^u of cattle and orgies of feasting. (1) Which was fundamentally the traditional attitude of the Barotsi we are left guessing. In any case a traditional standard of value would have first to be standardised and then handed on. There is more than one reference in our material to the methods of handing on this kind of tradition in economic life. Reference has already been made to the regular apprenticeship for specialised work, and to the children's games in which house building and other economic pursuits were learned and practised. (2)

I do not consider that we have done more than open up this important problem of value and motive in economic life. I have however tried to show how intimately the two are related and how they both emanate from what Durkheim calls the ideal collectif.

-
- 1- Coillard op.cit. 205.
 2- Doke " 145.
 Smith & Dale " I. 242 seq.

Section 111. General theoretical analysis of motives to work.

Professor Westerman speaking of the effects of contact of the African with the technical culture of the European says: (1) "It is more apt than anything else to suppress the life of the emotions and to replace it by cold intellect and pure mechanism. Formerly, work was for the African a source of pleasure; even when it demanded real effort, it was such a stimulus to him that the effort became a sport rather than a task." I do not think that even on the inadequate data which we have on this area, that it would be possible wholly to endorse Professor Westerman's statement, in the sense that whatever the African did formerly as work, it was a pleasure to him. It might be true to say that most work under tribal conditions was more likely to be pleasurable than work under European supervision. But the situation revealed by the material on north-west Rhodesia is more complex than that. I wish here to distinguish between motives to work, which can be analysed in a general theoretical sense, and stimuli to particular work which can be observed. I think it is possible to recognise four main categories of motives to work arising from different desires or impulses. The first is work done under compulsion whether physical or moral. The second work done for

1- ~~E. Baker - Life of F.S. Arnot - 202.~~

Westerman. op. cit. 48

its own pleasure. The third work done for the sake of future reward, whether material or immaterial. And the fourth work in relation to leisure and recreation. It is evident at once that such main categories of motives overlap, and that much work might be done both for its own pleasure and also for future reward. Also work done under compulsion might bring future reward, or at least be related to periods of leisure and recreation. Some kind of grouping on these lines is however a corrective to general statements about motives for work, and would at any rate guide the field worker in observing and correlating data on work.

Under the first motive was obviously the work done by slaves for their masters, which is described in all the accounts of this area. There might be included here also routine work which was distasteful but required by social custom, and which a man had to do for fear of ridicule or social ostracismsm, such as the work of undertaker in a funeral, or of arduous tree cutting in the case of a lazy man. Here also might be put the picture of men working in the fields in the rain under the eye of Msidi given by Arnot, (1) who caustically adds that if Msidi had not been there the hoers^{would}/certainly have taken to shelter.

paragraph
 The two most striking examples of work done for pleasure in the work itself is hunting by all the tribes and cattle herding among the Balla. (1) Of the latter Smith & Dale say: (2)
 "It is difficult to imagine the Balla without their cattle."
 They are a hostage for their good behaviour. Should calamity or plague befall them, the seeds of unrest and dissatisfaction now latent and subdued would find a fruitful soil." From that it might be deduced that the care of their cattle was as Westerman put it "a source of pleasure" giving the Balla an outlet for emotional expression harnessed to the necessary work involved.

Work for a future reward is such a universal phenomenon that examples here are hardly necessary. It was probably the main motive for all work of cultivation, and possibly for other kinds of work which was ^{rewarded} recorded on a definitely material basis, such as that of the smith's assistants or the men with a lawsuit working in the chief's garden until he would hear their case. There was however one motive in this class in the early days which was possibly much stronger

1- See Chapter V.

2- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 134.

than the rest, and that was the work of a slave who by application and industry might win his freedom, such as Duke⁽¹⁾ describes among the Balamba. In this class also would be included work for the reward of social prestige and distinction, but beyond the references to the power of the smiths in society there are no definite instances given of this.

In one sense work performed in order to enjoy subsequent leisure and recreation is work for a future reward. But it is in primitive economic life a particular kind of motive which was recognised by Karl Bücher in his⁽²⁾ theoretical treatment of the rhythm of work and play, has been so ably illustrated by Professor Malinowski in all his writing on *Trobriand Economics*. It is primarily the seasonal changes which set this rhythm and which allow for ~~but~~ periods of slack work when visiting and travelling and ceremonials can take place, and periods of intensive work when energy must be displayed to get the necessary field operations performed to fit into the cycle of the weather. This might be called the major rhythm, and dependent on the seasons. There were however also minor rhythms, dancing on moonlight nights, beer drinks to celebrate a village event, feasts for family occasions, all having their influence on the work done

1- Duke op.cit. Chapter V.

2- K. Bücher - Arbeit and Rhythmus 1897.

between times, and heightening or lowering its tension before and after such interludes. It is precisely here that the change over to work under European supervision marks such a drastic readjustment for the African. His motives for work were 'tuned in' to the cultural pattern of work in his community which was part of the wider pattern of alternating work and recreation, determined in its turn by the seasonal rhythm. It would not be worth while to speculate on the nature of this change without some first hand observation, but I am inclined to think that in reviews of labour conditions and estimates of 'work efficiency' enough attention has not been called to this particular motive to work, and the results of its abrupt removal.

Section IV. Some observed stimuli to work.

One of the many excellent contributions to primitive economics given by Dr. Firth was his enumeration and analysis of the stimuli to work in Maori economic life, (1) and it is an incentive to future field workers in the same line to make their study as thorough as his. As none of the material on north-west Rhodesia ^{N. W.} purported to be a special study of economic life, we do not expect to find any such enumeration of incentives to work. I have however picked out from the accounts certain stimuli to work which struck the eye of the observers though they did not discuss them in any theoretical setting. As all these instances come from descriptions of work in references already given I do not propose to go into any details here, and their implication in the general problem of motives and values will be reserved to the next section.

(a) Cultural tradition.

The best comment on this stimulus would be that given by Smith & Dale in their account of the regulation of

1- Firth op.cit. Chapters IV, VI, VII.

communal life: "what is done, should be done." ⁽¹⁾ Enough has already been said of what was required by the community and by an individual's feeling of being part of such a community, as a motive for work. Cattle keeping among the Balla was an outstanding example, and perhaps an unusual one was the picture of the Barotsi chiefs rowing the king's barge with sore hands, and being unceremoniously flipped into the river if they did not pull their weight.

(b)

Rhythm.

This has already been discussed. The one instance related in the material of actual work being aided by a rhythmical accompaniment was that of Chief Molenge's men hoeing in the beat of a drum. ⁽²⁾ But a field worker would expect to find that accompaniment of work to songs and drums a frequent occurrence.

(c)

Cooperative effort.

Here again there are few actual instances described sufficiently in detail to see that the element of cooperation

1- Smith & Dale op. cit. I. 344.

2- E. Baker - Life of Arnot - 180.

was a stimulus to effort though it undoubtedly must have been in a number of cases. Mgr de Hemptinne's account ⁽¹⁾ of the copper mining camp is an exception, and there plainly the organisation on a cooperative basis greatly stimulated and heightened the tension and enjoyment of the work.

(d) Leadership.

The stimulus of effective direction and example has been referred to in Chapter VII in relation to organisation. The most outstanding examples here are from the tribes where the paramount chief had a great deal of power, namely the Barotsi and Bayeke. In a less^c degree the leadership of the specialist directing his assistants, as the smith for example, should be noted, such leadership being based on skill and knowledge rather than on power of a political nature.

(e) Social prestige of specialists.

Several references have been made to the prestige acquired by smiths and witch doctors, and to the consequent incentive to young men to apprentice themselves to their ranks. Doke makes it clear that in the case of the withh doctor mere apprenticeship did not give the entre and it was necessary for the aspirant to prove his own personal skill before he

could be accepted by the community as a fully qualified
 (1)
 practitioner.

(r) Magical and religious power.

This must undoubtedly have acted as a stimulus to effort, not only in the professions where the secrets of the powerful ubwanga could be learned, (2) but also to men and women in any positions of authority where magical knowledge of a socially accepted kind would enhance their prestige. Lewanika, (3) Coillard tells us, claimed in open council to possess magical powers to bring him success in hunting, and such would most likely have been the claims of other chiefs though actual instances are not given. (4) Arnot describes a scene in his early travels on the Zambesi when "the men had a sort of religious service over their guns. Laying them in a row they all sat round, and one began to sing a dirge and to tap each gun; they then sprinkled the guns with water and finished up with a long shout. They say it is to make their guns kill well." This use of magic to inspire confidence has been demonstrated in so many areas by anthropological field workers that it must have found a place in the economic life of this area.

1- Doke op.cit. Chapter XVI.

2- See Chapter VII. p 31.

3- Coillard op.cit. 223.

4- Arnot " 42.

(g) Trading and gift-giving.

We have seen in Chapter VI how trading and gift-giving and other forms of exchange were carried on extensively over the area. The obligations to give gifts, especially perhaps in the bulunda relationship, must have provided a sharp stimulus to effort among the Bakaonde who had very few possessions to give away, and as Mr Melland tells us ⁽¹⁾ had to go round trading or 'cadging' in order to fulfil their obligations. The ivory trade, in its flourishing days, must have provided a strong motive for elephant hunting. Doubtless also the demand for copper 'totems' in Katanga ⁽²⁾ as an article of trade stimulated the copper smiths to produce as many as possible. A particular form of gift giving, exacted under stringent religious penalties, was the death dues. ⁽³⁾ Here a man would exert himself strenuously to find the necessary payments, even, as Mr Melland tells us, ⁽³⁾ to the extent of neglecting his cultivation.

(h) Novelty and Fashion.

Here we come to a stimulus which seems to run counter to all the theories we have asserted - that is, it generally begins as a somewhat individual attitude, and it seems to flout the traditionally established values of the community. ⁽⁴⁾ Yet here we come to a characteristic of the African emphasised by many writers, namely his adaptability. Coillard tells us how the Barotsi were passionately fond of European clothes. →

1- See Chapter V and VI.

2- " " VI.

3- Melland op.cit. 119.

4- Thurnwald " 275.

Section V. Resulting Problems.

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to open up the question of economic value and to relate it to the observable incentives to work. It is evident even from the scanty material available on this area that economic value was definitely related to the ideal and actual existence of the community. Hence if we summarise the argument we can say that there were certain contributing factors to the establishment of economic value, and that these contributing factors arose from the social and political obligations of the members of the community to that community and to each other as members of it. These social and political obligations were further reinforced by the system of religious and magical beliefs which set up penalties of a kind that it was impossible to ignore. Hence in the payment of death dues the individual was driven by fear of what might happen to his clan and kinsmen if the payments were not made to his dead wife's clan. Hence also in the choosing of a new village site, if unfavourable omens were disregarded and subsequently calamity fell upon someone in the village, there were not wanting members of the community to point out that that disaster was invited, and that the value of a good site should have weighed less

than the welcome refused by the spirits of the land.⁽¹⁾

In addition to these traditional factors contributing to economic values must be added the new ones brought by modern culture contact. As however they create a new situation I shall postpone the survey of their effects until we have reviewed the methods for conserving traditional values.

Mr. Bartlett in his survey of the conditions underlying culture contact speaks of the two "social instinctive tendencies of conservation and constructiveness."⁽²⁾ In the realm of economic life the community safeguards its own values in certain institutions where these traditional values are standardised and preserved and also handed on to succeeding generations. Such institutions as those centreing round cattle keeping among the Balila or the cultivation of gardens among the Balamba, or the associations and apprenticeship of the smiths and witch doctors, or the institution of chieftainship

1- Doke op.cit. 86.

2- Bartlett " 134.

in relation to land tenure - all these would point to the safeguarding of traditional economic values within the community. Probably more intensive investigation on economic lines would show more particular methods of this 'tendency' to conserve economic values.

Our data gives us still less insight into the actual processes by which new economic values were introduced and implanted in the traditional culture. Writers on African society often stress the adaptability of the African to new conditions of life and new ideas, - a faculty which is illustrated in the recent books by Professor Westerman⁽¹⁾ and Major Orde Browne⁽²⁾. Mr. Bartlett, basing his study on other fields than Africa, points out how the other "social instinctive tendency" of constructiveness acts in order to work into the former culture new ideas and practices so that they result in a "new pattern."⁽³⁾ It is possible to go astray here down paths which lead inevitably to the quagmires of evolution and diffusion. Nevertheless we must have some theory to guide us in the study of culture contact which goes deeper than the observation and analysis of material forms of change. Moreover in any such theory we have to make room for the new vehicles of handing on new economic values, such as modern education, labour under European supervision, and agricultural propaganda by Government, including such developments as the cooperative movement which inculcates the value of thrift and various forms of "uplift."⁽⁴⁾

1- Westerman op.cit.

2- Orde Browne op.cit.

3- Bartlett

"

134.

4- C.F. Strickland, Cooperation for Africa. London 1933.

I would suggest that in order to study both the new and the old, and to try and estimate how far and in what direction new economic values have supplanted or transformed the old, it is essential to work with the hypothesis of the community as the supreme value, and to relate changing values of a specially economic nature to the changing ideas of the community. This conclusion inevitably sounds vague because it is not based on field observation, but it is only of the nature of a modus operandi for field work. Somewhere in these complexities of changing values and changing institutions lies the way to the analysis of the much abused term 'standard of living.' I believe that the standard of living of a community consists in those material aspects of economic life which express its economic values, always bearing in mind that those economic values are in themselves derived from the social, political, religious and magical values inherent in the idea of the community. Hence when light-hearted references are made to 'changing the standard of living' of a people, the anthropologist can perhaps be of value in pointing out the complex situation involved and the inherent difficulties.

CHAPTER LX.

SELF-SUFFICIENCY AND INTER-DEPENDENCY^E.

Section 1- The Primitive Community and Self-Sufficiency.

- " 2- Economic self-sufficiency in this area.
- " 3- Equilibrium in the Community.
- " 4- Problems relating to equilibrium.

Chapter LX. Self-sufficiency and Inter-dependence.

Section 1. The Primitive Community and Self-sufficiency.

Professor Maunier writing of North Africa makes some illuminating comments on this question of the economic self-sufficiency of a primitive community⁽¹⁾. The earlier anthropologists depicted the primitive community as essentially self-sufficing, but as Professor Thurnwald points out⁽²⁾ "one of their chief defects was that they took no account of complications arising from contact with foreign communities." There is no need here to discuss the earlier theories of self-sufficiency and the grounds on which they were based. Whether in the ideal primitive community economic self-sufficiency was complete or not, is not really germane to the present thesis. Our records^S show us quite definitely that in this area economic self-sufficiency was modified by some forms of commercial inter-dependence. Hence it is more important to discuss the factors contributing to economic self-sufficiency; the factors contributing to its breakdown; and the relation of both to equilibrium within the community. Here again lack of specific

1- R. Maunier - Mélanges de Sociologie Nord Africaine 1930.

2- Thurnwald op.cit. 7.

information makes it only possible to open up these questions and to relate them to the main issue of culture contact.

There would appear to be three chief factors influencing the degree of self sufficiency in a primitive community. The first of these is the nature of the physical environment and the adequacy of the natural resources. Professor Maunier points out ⁽¹⁾ how in Kabyle society the inaccessible nature of the villages contributed to make them largely self-supporting communities, and their possession of summer grazing grounds and arable lands gave them the chief necessities for their food supply. The second factor is the standard of living of the community, already discussed in the previous chapter. ⁽²⁾ To the extent to which the natural resources of the area provide the community with what its cultural traditions demand as 'essential,' to that extent the community may be self-sufficing. But in the degree in which its 'needs,' not bare necessities but culturally determined needs, have to

1- Maunier op.cit. Chapter IV.

2- See Chapter VIII.

be supplemented by foreign trade, to that degree the community will be dependent on outside economic relations. (1) Professor Maunier speaking of the strongly patriarchal organisation of the Kabyle household points out how it is always the head of the "groupe familiale" who goes to market and who decides what articles are to be "bought and sold", * that is, chiefly bartered. This is an interesting side light on the control by the head of the small community of that community's 'needs.' The third factor is the desire of the community for independence, which may involve using economic means to acquire a political end. It is a feature very well known in the modern world under the form of economic nationalism, but it has been very little discussed in writings on primitive economics. If however the theory put forward here of the dominant value of the community is a correct one, we should expect to find this factor entering into the organising of economic relations with other communities. The subject would form a very interesting study in many parts of Africa, where before European penetration there were continuous wars and raids. It is forced into the foreground as an important subject for investigation to-day owing to the effect of modern European contact. If we

1- Maunier op.cit. 76.

(1)
hold, with Professor Bartlett, that the social tendencies of conservation and constructiveness in a community have a strong selective character, then it would follow that one motive in influencing a community towards economic relations with another would be the value set on its independence, in which political considerations would be related to economic ones.

1- Bartlett op.cit. 134 - 9.

Section 2. Economic self-sufficiency in this area.

The accounts of trading and exchange given in Chapter VI would make it appear that the peoples in this area were not by any means economically self-sufficient, either within or outside the larger political groups.* But such a generalisation would probably be too sweeping, and any definite statement would have to be supported by statistics which are not available in the material at our disposal. One tribe was referred to which must have come very near to self-sufficiency - the Batwa of the Lukanga Swamp, who, Mowbray tells us, ⁽¹⁾ could even do without the grain which they obtained by 'silent trade' with the people of the mainland. From Smith & Dale's account the Balla seemed to be almost self-supporting. There are occasional references to women trading baskets and pots in other villages, but it appears they could get on with-
outside
out/products. Nevertheless Cuvelier tells us of Balla traders riding on their oxen to trade in the Sakania district of

1- Mowbray op.cit. 58.

(1 Lambaland, and Doke (2 tells us of Balamba traders who were said by Lacerda to come to the junction of the Luangwa and Zambesi Rivers for trading. On the other hand in his monograph Doke makes no mention of outside trading, (3 and Cuvelier tells us that the Balamba hardly ever went out of their lands to trade. Their country was a neutral trading ground where traders of other tribes met, and where they also exchanged handicrafts with the Balamba for food (4 stuffs. Crawford speaks of the Balovale making large sums in tribute from caravans who were obliged to cross their territory. And we know that both Msidi of the Bayeke and Lewanika of the Barotsi organised extensive caravans. If my reading of Arnot's and Coillard's material on the Barotsi is correct, I should conclude that Lewanika organised external trade in the interests of his kingdom, excluding all strangers who had not his express permission to enter, and preserving his political independence even at the loss of economic wealth offered by some of the concession seekers.

The general conclusion I would draw from this area illustrates the point I have made in Section 1. On the whole, as far as economic necessities were concerned, the communities were to a large extent self-sufficient, or at least they could

-
- 1- Cuvelier op.cit. I. 15.
 2- Doke " 30.
 3- Cuvelier " I. 16.
 4- Crawford " 116.

be if they chose. But in addition to economic necessities, established tradition demanded that most of the tribes possessed certain 'luxuries' introduced through Arab and West Coast traders. We saw in Chapter VI that the chief articles of trade were slaves, calico, guns, and salt. The last named was possibly an economic necessity to communities where the process of making salt from infusing grasses was long and tedious. The other three articles of trade were 'culturally established needs'.⁽¹⁾ In the efforts to acquire these 'needs,' other goods were sacrificed, and thus a certain measure of dependence on outside communities for other goods than the luxury articles was set up. That at least is my reading of the situation, though it may be a conclusion based on insufficient evidence. The lack of easy means of communication in parts of this area would certainly militate against extensive trading relations. The caravan routes in the north, towards the west coast, were well marked, but the accounts of early travellers make it clear how inaccessible were many parts of the area.⁽²⁾ The one relatively easy route of communication, the Zambesi, was so strictly guarded by Lewanika that tedious and seemingly⁹ endless delays beset the travellers who would come into his kingdom.⁽²⁾

In so far as it is possible to judge of the area to-day without the opportunities of field investigation,

1- Cuvelier op.cit. I. 12,13 for tariff of exchange.

2- See Arnot - Coillard - Bertrand.

it would appear that the results of modern culture contact have been ~~the-fe~~ largely to break down the former self-sufficiency. Instead of the three 'luxury articles' which cultural tradition demanded 50 years ago, a variety of European made goods are now offered to tempt individual appetites. Once the culturally established standards are assailed, and opportunities given for acquiring many novelties, self sufficiency is doomed.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to fading and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to be a continuation of the same subject matter, discussing the impact of modern goods and cultural change.]

Section 111. The Equilibrium in the Community.

From the nature of our material it is extremely difficult to say whether under tribal conditions, there was within the community a state of economic equilibrium. Though it is not specifically designated as such, there was evidently a principle of reciprocity at work in the various β systems of exchange, while in trade relations, current ideas probably determined the exchange value of goods. That is not to say that no one, and no community, did not get 'done'. Cuvelier indeed hints as much in his account of trading among the Balamba, and points out, which may confirm it, that the Balamba had different forms of striking a bargain and pledging their word among themselves and with outsiders. ⁽¹⁾

I would suggest that there are, according to our material, three factors which would have aided equilibrium within the community. The first was the relative isolation of the units of the population, which meant that at least a modus vivandi had to be established among the members of the community leaving no permanently disgruntled minority. Where such disgruntled minorities or individuals existed they evidently changed their habitat, and the stray references we have to people moving out of a village or transferring to another chief, may have been partly due to a failure to achieve economic equilibrium. The second factor is indicated in the widespread acceptance of service in lieu of goods, such as

1- Cuvelier op.cit. I. 15.

slavery for debt, labour given by a young man to his prospective parents-in-law, help given by men to the chief in cultivating his gardens in expectation of subsequent help in time of need. Even on the scanty evidence, it is possible to see some such balance working out, which was fixed up in terms of value by the community's standards and therefore accepted by them. The third, and possibly the strongest stabilising force in economic life, was the system of land tenure and the fact that there was plenty of land available. In the founding of the village site described by Doke we can see how each man chose his own plot in consultation with the rest, thus giving everyone a fair start in cultivation. The fact that the chief was 'lord' of the land and arbiter in all land disputes imposed an acceptance of his 'justice,' and stabilised not only the basic economic relations of each man in the community, but also of the various communities or villages dependent upon himself. I put this forward as a hypothesis for further field investigation, as our material does not give us enough data to be in any way dogmatic. But I think there is an essential relation, at least worth exploring, between the institutions of chieftainship and land tenure and the general economic equilibrium within the community. One study which would throw light on the theory would be that of the economic life of 'detrivalised' natives in a township location.

Section IV. Problems relating to equilibrium.

In the examination of the process of 'unbalancing' or upsetting the economic equilibrium in a community, it would be important to know an area well from the inside, before making any pronouncements. These suggested problems therefore are set in the form of questions for guidance in field work. How far did the wars and raids prior to European occupation affect the economic equilibrium of the community? Perhaps that is so far past history that no answer is possible. How did the existence of a slave class in the community affect equilibrium? Coillard says ⁽¹⁾ that when the periodic famines fell on Barotsiland, the slaves had to tighten their belts and exert themselves to see that their masters did not suffer unduly, while they had a thin time. It may be impossible to find out how conditions were in the days of slavery. It would be interesting to know however just where ex-slaves stand now in the general economic life of the community, and how far they as a class contribute to or detract from the general economic equilibrium.

I have already said that European contact must definitely disturb native economic equilibrium. Possibly two phases of that contact are most direct in their effects:- taxation, and the opportunities for wage earning. If however in times past the African community in this area ^{did} adjust itself

1- Coillard op.cit. 327.

to economic changes, such as migrations, wars of conquest, advent of the tsetse fly, etc. it may now be adapting itself to the latest and more dramatic changes. If however these changes have disturbed deeply the foundations of economic equilibrium, we should expect to see manifestations of this in social and political and religious forms of reaction or upheaval. Here again if it is true that the community was all important, and if its nature and existence is threatened by these economic changes, we should expect to find some expression of resistance, possibly taking unexpected forms, in a blind endeavour to readjust the equilibrium.

CHAPTER X.

The nature of economic and other changes.

Section 1- The study of culture contact

- " 2- Economic changes due to culture contact.
- " 3- Other changes due to culture contact.
- " 4- Some emergent problems.

Chapter X. The nature of economic and other changes.

Section 1. The study of culture contact.

(a) The general approach.

In the previous chapters attention has been drawn to several phases of culture contact and also to problems ^{arising} among from this contact of modern civilisation with tribal life. It is one thing however to indicate changes and to ask questions; it is quite another to evolve some satisfactory method of studying not only the phenomena presented by culture contact but also the process of change. We can tabulate laws affecting native life; we can list the number of pupils in schools and the types of curricula taught; we can enumerate the new economic 'weapons' introduced by the west, such as the plough, the dipping tank, and the bicycle. But this is merely making an inventory, and does not really enlighten us as to what is taking place in native life. We can go a step further and say that certain new things and processes have displaced the old; that Lancashire cotton has taken the place of bark cloth, enamel bowls of pottery, coins of the realm of beads and guns as currency etc. Yet we are not even then at the root of the problem of culture contact. Neither enumeration nor displacement enlighten us about the real nature of the changes taking place, unless we pursue the implications of these new things and displacements, and find out what kind of new culture is emerging and what new sets of motives and values are being adopted;

in short how the idea of the community and of economic life in relation to it are being modified and transformed.

. In this attempt to arrive at some adequate means of studying culture contact attention is called anew to two fundamental tenets of the functional approach to anthropology. The first is that culture is a whole and that no part of it can be studied in isolation from the rest. That has been demonstrated many times over in the previous chapters, in reviewing both the mechanism of economic life and the driving motives in its organisation. It is even more clearly evident in studying the effects of culture contact in economic life, when a change in administration giving certain powers to the chief will make him responsible for the issuing of orders on sanitation, care of live stock, protection of timber etc.⁽¹⁾ The other fundamental tenet is that the form of any institution has only meaning in the culture of which it is a part, in terms of its function. We have seen this illustrated in relation to the shapes of houses and the plans of villages. I think it is permissible to apply this tenet also to such institutions as a new legal

1- Native Authorities Ordinance 1929. See Nat. Report 1930 p.b.

code. We can read over the lists of laws passed in North⁽¹⁾ Rhodesia, but their full meaning in terms of the life of the people only becomes apparent when we can see how they are working out. It is at this point that the inadequacy of second hand material becomes again apparent, and it is in effect impossible to gauge the full effect of legislation without detailed observation in the field. The same is true for statistical information about labour at the mines, about agricultural improvements, about new facilities in communications, about attendance in schools. Only an intensive field work study can link up these 'forms' with their function in a changing culture.

(2)
In The African Today Professor Westerman quotes from the Five Year Plan of Research of the International African Institute as follows:-

"The research work undertaken by the Institute shall devote special attention to the changes that are being brought about by world economic conditions in the traditional social order of selected African communities, and in particular to the changes in the economic organisation of native society. The material conditions of life influence in deep and fundamental ways the outlook and disposition of a people, and radical changes in these conditions have far-reaching moral and social

-
- 1- Statute Laws of north Rhodesia 1889 seq.
2- Westerman op.cit. 92.

consequences." Professor Westerman continues as a comment on this quotation:

"It is with good reasons that the economic evolution is placed in the foreground, for it is indeed to-day the dominating factor in the influences on native life." The argument which was set out in Chapters VIII and IX would lead us to look not only at the external signs of change in the economic sphere, but at their implications on the rest of the culture, especially in relation to values in economic life ^{and} to tendencies towards conservation and constructiveness. (1) In this connection it is interesting to note the general conclusion reached in two recent studies of culture contact problems, one in Africa, (2) the other in the Pacific. (3) Both writers, after analysing the changes due to modern economic, administrative and missionary contacts in the light of the traditional life of the people, maintain that a process of adaptation is taking place, and that new material goods and new ideas are being gradually woven into the fabric of native life, without causing any violent upheavals and dislocations. It is true that Dr. Kel^csing points out that the elements of unrest and upheaval are present in Samoa and

1- Bartlett. op.cit. #58.

2- L.P. Mair. An African People in the 20th. Century -
Routledge - 1934.

3- F.M. Kel^csing. Modern Samoa. Unwin: 1934.

might flare up if the disintegration of old Samoan life were accelerated by sudden changes. It is evident nevertheless from these studies of Samoa and ~~and~~^u ~~Nganda~~ that the 'tendencies' of conservation and constructiveness have so far balanced as to make possible the emergence of a new 'pattern' of culture, to use Bartlett's phrase, ⁽¹⁾ or a new resultant mixed culture, ⁽²⁾ as I have called it in Chapter 11. The terminology for these processes and results has yet to be worked out in the course of studies of culture contact, and is not vital at this point. We are however driven by necessity to seize at phrases and concepts which, however inadequate, will serve as tools to hammer out a theory which can be applied to this new study.

1- Bartlett. op.cit. 149-50.
 2- See Chapter 11. p.11.

(b). Some initial difficulties in this area.

It was made clear in our earlier chapter that in a study of culture contact in north-west Rhodesia the student was faced with an almost complete absence of discussion of changes recorded in the material ~~asse~~ available. This absence of reference to the phenomena of change has already been referred to several times in the main authorities for our material, namely the monographs. In proceeding from these monographs to the present time we are obliged to collect information from certain limited sources, already referred to, such as mission reports, government reports and special surveys such as the Merle Davies Report. From an anthropologist's point of view this material is most unsatisfactory. But possibly its inherent unsatisfactoriness makes it at the same time provocative, for it cannot be read without a number of questions coming to the fore, and these in themselves suggest possible problems to follow up in field work. In collecting these questions I found that they grouped themselves under certain essentials of information which were missing. I looked in vain for a historical survey of changes due to culture contact, one which would show the changes as part of a time process. It is possible to put down a list of a few significant dates such as the Charter of the British South African Company, Lewanika's Proclamation abolishing slavery, the opening of the railway, the imposition of the tax, and so on. But dates do not give the required information, which is some idea of the sequence of

changes due to the different types of contact, missionary, administrative and modern economic changes such as the mines. Probably such a historical survey is hardly possible now that the changes have gone so far. On the other hand the actual time which has elapsed is relatively short. It is hardly 50 years since the first missionaries settled in north west Rhodesia, and it might yet be possible with careful research to compile such an account of the historical process of culture change. References to sections of this process are evident in the missionary reports, but nowhere it is possible to find anything like a complete survey. The value of such a historical approach to this subject might be called in question by anthropologists. I think however it could be established that it is important in studying a changing culture to know that the prohibition of tribal warfare preceded the proclamation abolishing the status of slavery, and that the advent of European trade goods preceded the opening of the mines and the opportunities they afforded of gaining ready money. In relating technique to theory it has not yet been established what part this time process plays in the evolution of a changing culture. Nor do I think that part can be estimated until we have for one area as complete a historical survey of modern changes as possible.

Another kind of essential information which is missing in north-west Rhodesia is what I would call the geographical aspect of changes, or the spatial process as distinct from the time process. This method of study, namely

beginning with areas most remote from white influence, and working in towards those most closely in contact with European life, was admirably expounded by Dr. Richards (1) after her first period of field work in north^{N.E.}-east Rhodesia. She makes it quite clear that working on such a plan it is possible to see how various changes in economic and social life are affecting tribal standards and ways of living. I have found however in the material on north^{N.W.}-west Rhodesia no kind of information on these lines beyond the obvious deduction that natives living on mining compounds are living to some extent for the time being under conditions of "detrribalisation." It is also obvious from many casual references that the influence of culture contact in this area decreases as the distance from the railway increases. The new conditions set up by the railway, the growth of towns, white farming settlements, and mining compounds, influence chiefly the communities living near them. This may not be altogether true in Barotsiland, and I am inclined to think that the general course of culture contact there has been definitely controlled by the type of political

1- A.I. Richards - Anthropological Problems in north east Rhodesia. Africa Vol. No.2. April 1932.

administration, both before and after it was taken over as
 (1)
 a British Protectorate.

There is a third type of missing essential information which probably applies to any area where a special survey of culture contact has not yet been made. I believe that in studying culture contact we have to recognise that the problems arise from an actual meeting of two cultures, namely in this case, tribal culture and modern European culture. The material which we have been using throughout this study gives us information about tribal culture, varying as we have seen in adequacy and completeness. There is nowhere however any kind of summary of the various influences which have been brought to bear on tribal life, influences which I have summarised at the beginning of this thesis under the heads of administrative, missionary and modern economic changes. To use an unscientific expression - it is a new world which has come to the African's door, whether it be seen at the Government Boma or the central mission station, or the copper mine. Some kind of total estimate of all these forces making for change seems to me essential before it is possible to begin to analyse their effects.

One further set of questions is related to a hypothesis which I have indicated in the early chapters. There is nowhere

1- See special note on Barotsiland in section on Problem of Government in Merle Davies Report - p 247.

in the material any statement that the course of culture contact at the present time is influenced by the effects of pre-European contact in this area. Nevertheless if general impressions may serve as a guide, it seems that culture contact in Barotsiland for example has taken a somewhat different course from that among the Bakaonde. In the former there appears to have been some kind of conscious control of modern features to be adopted and assimilated. ⁽¹⁾ In the latter such features of contact as appear seem to have been thrust upon the people willy nilly, and the question inevitably arises whether the preponderance of witchcraft in that area may be related to some kind of defence mechanism against unwelcomed changes. That theory may be erroneous, but it is put forward as a problem suggested by a reading of the material and by some attempt to see behind the epithets of 'progressive' and 'backward' which are applied to the Barotsi and the Bakaonde respectively.

1- See Report of Paris Mission May 1916, on changes directed by Lewanika.

Section 11. Economic changes due to culture contact.

It would be profitless here to attempt to sum up the economic changes referred to in previous chapters, or even to comb anew the material for as complete a list as possible of all the innovations. Such inventory - making as we have seen has its place, and that an important one, but it is only the prelude to further analysis. Moreover, working on our type of material, such an inventory could not be complete, and in any case only actual field observation could make any estimate as to the extent and effects of these innovations. I have made therefore some attempt to group together the different forms of economic change into those which affect but do not radically change the tribal economic system, and those which introduce a completely new economic system. Inevitably the two are inter-related, and the modified tribal system passes imperceptibly into the new economic system. But there is nevertheless a distinction, and it is one which can profitably be maintained as a modus operandi, especially with a view to studying in the field the 'tendencies' to conservation and constructiveness, and the process of adaptation.

(a) Changes affecting the native economic system.

We made some attempt in Chapters V, VI and VII to review tribal economic life as a system and see how a community organised its production, consumption and exchange of goods, and its labour. We saw there that in the organisation of work

there was a definite relation between the production of food supplies, and the 'industries' or handicrafts which were necessary for village life. Some of these industries, such as pottery, iron working, bark cloth weaving, were directly affected by the introduction of enamel ware, Birmingham hoes, and Lancashire cotton. If we may give a general name like 'trade goods' to these articles for use and adornment which traders have brought to the villages, we can say that the introduction of trade goods has directly affected economic life by supplanting the making of village industries. We have seen already that the acquisition of such trade goods depends upon the possession of cash or its equivalent for purchase or barter. Thus this change is conditional in one sense on other changes, and when the power to earn money has temporarily been withdrawn, then the purchase of trade goods decreases and village industries revive again.

The second major change in this category is the improvement in communications. It was as we have seen partly due to difficult communications that certain areas in the past were ⁱⁿ a very slight economic contact with other areas. Improved roads, freedom of river traffic, bicycles and the motor lorry - all these have opened up the country and brought people and areas into touch with one another. This must have had considerable influence on indigenous forms of trade, as well as stimulating new ones. The Reports on Native Affairs record a gradually increasing number of native owned stores and of

hawkers even in the more 'remote' areas⁽¹⁾ They also record a number of wayside 'booths' for refreshments on the main roads leading to the mining centres, where the men going in to work at the mines can get food and shelter.

The third type of changes are those centring round the opening up of new markets and the disposal of crops or other goods for sale. The native storekeeper "carries on a trade in local produce and manufactured articles. He purchases grain, rice, tobacco and groundnuts from the producers who have a surplus and retails these to the people in the vicinity of his store who are short of supplies."⁽²⁾ District Officers have attempted to stimulate the holding of markets in some areas but not with very much success.⁽³⁾ The markets in the European settlements, on the railway line and at the mines offer a steadier demand for agricultural produce, but even so the stimulus to produce for commercial purposes is slow to act. "The native of today may be tempted to become a farmer but will not be persuaded to live and cultivate in his village if he is unable to secure an income as good as those who work for wages."⁽³⁾ There are two inherent obstacles to this policy of developing peasant farming, which cause this change to be a very slow one.

-
- 1- 1933 Native Affairs Report. Barotsi Province 15 stores
43 hawkers.
- 2- 1932 Native Affairs Report p. 22.
Liangwa-Kasempa 5 stores 24 hawkers.
- 3- 1930 " " p. 13.
- 4- " " " p. 13.

The first is the cost of transport for agricultural supplies which discourages any but those actually near centres of demand from growing commercial crops. The second is the varying prices given for these crops due to the influence of the world market. To the village producer whose standard of bargaining was in the past roughly a ^{balancing} ~~blancing~~ of supply and demand with his neighbour, ~~as~~ a fixed rate of exchange for certain commodities like salt, it is confusing and discouraging to receive a good price for his maize one year, and a much lower price the next, though in 'costs of production' to him the crop has the same value. How far such deterrents work against economic changes and how far the need of ready money counterbalances them is one of the problems to be pursued in field work.

(b) Changes introducing a new economic system.

In general terms perhaps the most fundamental of these ~~changes~~^{changes} is the introduction of a money economy. How far that change has gone it is impossible to find out from our material. Here and there are references to a "dawning money sense;" in many other instances it is said that natives trading with each other do it entirely by barter; in some 'remote areas' muzzle loading guns are still said to be made used "almost as currency."⁽¹⁾ As an illustration of the 'dawning money sense' the figures for Post Office savings show a steady increase, and "although employment has been difficult to secure and wages are lower than formerly, the habit of saving on the part of the natives is steadily increasing."⁽²⁾

This money economy has been stimulated more than anything else by the opportunities for wage-earning offered by employment under European supervision. Possibly this opportunity for wage-earning is the outstanding economic change in this area. As far as it is possible to tell from the material it is something entirely new. There was apparently in the old tribal economy no such thing as regular paid labour for a livelihood. There was on the one hand slave labour, and on the other occasional assistance given for a definite reward, as at funerals or in the smith's work. The opportunity for earning

-
- 1- 1932. Native Affairs Report 23. See also 1933 Native Affairs Report where mention is made of muzzle loading guns "quite past work but used as currency.
- 2- 1932. Native Affairs Report 13.

money as a means of livelihood came with the advent of the white man, when the African found that having nothing else to sell he could sell his labour and earn the money he needed for taxation and for buying trade goods. The impulse to come into the mines to earn wages has been spreading further and further into areas remote from the railway. In the Mwinilunga and Balovale Districts men have recently been coming into to work on the mines, driven by the need of cash and the lack of other opportunities to earn it. Many of these men, after a 400 mile tramp, have ^{had} to be repatriated because they are ⁽¹⁾ rejected by the mines on grounds of poor physique.

I have put into this [~]group of changes the introduction by the Government and by Missions of new methods of agriculture and animal husbandry. In one sense of course these affect the tribal economic system, but by introducing new implements and scientific farming they ~~do~~ bring in a wholly new element into economic activity and therefore can be regarded as part of a ⁽²⁾ new system. In 1931 the Native Affairs Report said that ploughs had increased from 207 in 1928 to 328 in 1931, due largely to pressure from the women "who will no longer agree to work in the fields with the hoe." In 1933 it was

1- 1933 Native Affairs Report p. 31.
 2- 1931 " " " p. 17.

(1)
 recorded that in the districts near the railway ~~and~~ *hand* hoeing was now a thing of the past, and women "will not marry a man without a plough." We can see here an interesting relation between economic standards and marriage, which definitely influences the tendency towards monogamy, since with a plough almost at work ^{many} ~~wives~~ do not mean increased cultivation but are an expense not lightly undertaken. The introduction of new crops to withstand drought and pests, the scientific breeding of cattle, the beginnings of drainage and irrigation, the cultivation of crops for additional grazing, the use of manures - all these and many other innovations are slowly changing the type of economic activity carried on by the villagers whether in the cattle country or in the tsetse fly areas. It is evident from the government and mission reports that these changes are very slow, and radiate out gradually from mission stations, schools and other centres of ^{instruction} ~~introduction~~. Without field observation as to the extent of these changes and their real effect on tribal economic life, it is only possible to note them here as they are recorded, and to call attention to the fact that they bring ~~an~~ a new economic system which is definitely part of the other changes we have been recording.

Section III. Other changes due to culture contact.

I do not propose in this section to attempt any inventory of changes, ^{an} an inventory which would be even more difficult to compile than the one on economic changes ^{which} which are for the most part apparent on the surface. It is necessary however to have some sort of principle for grouping these other changes, and they fall naturally into those effected by government and those effected by missions. The division however does not altogether hold. For while the changes wrought by administrative action seem to be mainly concerned with the mechanism of social and political life, and those achieved by missions to be mainly in the realm of ideas and attitudes, yet the administrative changes of government inevitably affect the people's attitude towards their chief and their slaves for example, and the effect of mission schools and training in industrial work and hospital services must be realised to underly all the changes in mechanism introduced by legislation. This will perhaps be clearer when we come to definite instances.

In the first Missionary Conference held in north ^{N.S.} ~~west~~-Rhodesia in 1914, the President (the Rev: E.W. Smith) summarised the three chief services rendered to north ^{N.} ~~west~~ Rhodesia by the British South African Company as (1) putting an end to the slave-trade; (2) putting an end to inter-tribal warfare; and (3) preventing the traffic in imported liquor. Probably the establishment of the Pax Brittanica was the most

far-reaching of the administrative changes inaugurated by Government. It stabilised the existing tribal boundaries and prevented any further distribution of people and territories and cattle on a large scale. Underneath the external effects of peace however we have to search for what might be called the positive effects as compared with the negative. Warfare under tribal conditions stood for something more than acquisition of slaves and cattle. It was definitely connected with the authority of chiefs, with the prestige of warriors, and with the outlets for adventure and excitement for the young men. Possibly also it was related to a strong force for the cohesion of the community, whether in the attacking or the defending tribes. One result ⁽¹⁾ of the cessation of wars and raids was a tendency for villages to split up into hamlets, and for small family groups to go off by themselves, a tendency which is ⁽²⁾ deplored as detrimental to effective local rule. What the effects of enforced peace have been on the position and outlets for the young men has yet to be investigated, but possibly here the excitement of going to work in the mines may be in some

1- 4th. Missionary Conference 1924 - Address by D. Mackenzie Kennedy on "Native Village Life."

2- 1933 Native Affairs Report- 7-

degree a substitute.

The second major administrative change was the introduction of taxation. A hut tax was instituted in 1904 which was changed to a tax on every male over 18 in 1905, and amended at several later dates. ⁽¹⁾ The history of the imposition of the tax in the different districts and its reception by the people would be illuminating, but would probably have to be extracted on the spot from district records. The necessity of finding cash for taxes has had apparently various results which can only be enumerated here, In some cases it has led to movements of population across the Congo or Angola borders where the tax was lower. ⁽²⁾ It has undoubtedly stimulated emigration to the mines and to towns where work for wages was available. "One cannot but admire their pertinacity in seeking means to acquire cash." ⁽³⁾ In 1933 when employment at the mines was much less than the demand for work, a proclamation was issued authorising officials to take the tax in stock, grain or

1- Statute Laws of north Rhodesia 1889 seq.

2- 1933 Native Affairs Report- 16.

3- " " 26.

(1)
 produce such as beeswax. The willingness of the people to pay the tax if possible was illustrated by men bringing in anything that seemed at all possible to sell, even a young jackal, and by offering themselves voluntarily for imprisonment as defaulters. (2) In one district the village clubbed together their savings and sent out a hawker with salt. This he bartered for fowls which he sold for cash to Europeans. The net sales from these transactions/used for taxes for the males of the village - an interesting instance of a co-operative attempt to meet an admittedly difficult situation. (3)

The third type of changes are those connected with the actual system of government. A measure of Indirect Rule (4) was introduced in 1929, and each subsequent Native Report has commented on the progress of Indirect Rule and the use of their authority by the chiefs. For our purpose the general comments in the Native Reports are not of much value, and it would be necessary to follow the detailed District reports to see how the change was working out. We have already seen that the change involved other spheres of life than the purely administrative and judicial. In English terms it involved vesting a measure of local self-government in the tribal units, and, as in England, local government covered a number of economic

-
- 1- 1933 Native Affairs Report. 4 S.
 2- " " 5.
 3- " " 26.
 4- Native Authorities and Native Courts Ordinances 1929.

interests such as sanitation, care of stock, protection of forests, upkeep of paths etc. At present this local government is divorced from financial responsibility, and also from any direct relation to education and health measures. A detailed study of villages and of a chief's area should therefore yield interesting data on how far this division of functions within the community is actually working out, and how both the chief and his people conceive of his authority in terms of the old and the new régime.

The fourth set of administrative changes are those set up by proclamation and by ordinance, touching many sides of native life from witchcraft to recruiting for labour at the mines. For our purposes the most important change is probably the various ordinances dealing with slavery. Slavery was abolished by edict in Lewanika's dominions in 1906,⁽¹⁾ and the law "was taken to extend to the Ba-Ila." There ^{it} ~~is~~ was "understood that there is no such thing as slavery recognised, and that any slave on paying £2, or having it paid on his behalf, is free to go where and do what he pleases."⁽²⁾ Elsewhere in ~~north-west~~ ^{N.W.} Rhodesia I have found no direct reference to the abolition of slavery, nor to how it was carried out, and how

1- Smith & Dale op.cit. I. 411-2

2- " " I. 412.

far it is a fact. The last report of the Committee of Experts in Geneva however comment on the 1927 Ordinance in ~~north~~^N-Rhodesia which abolished the legal status of slavery. Slaves, they say, can still exist de facto though not de jure, and if both desire it a former slave can remain with his master though no law court can protect the ~~rights~~^{rights} of the master. The report goes on to enumerate the different influences such as missions, schools, openings for paid work, police service etc. which give a new outlook and new prospects to former slaves. "The progressive disappearance of women slaves proceeds much more slowly." ⁽¹⁾ As we have already stated, the investigation of the position of former or present domestic slaves is a problem for future field workers.

The changes effected by missions are even less easy to enumerate as the sources for information are less easy of access. I have said that the changes effected by missions are mainly in the realm of ideas and attitudes, but that must not be taken to imply that direct conversion to Christianity is the chief result of the work of missions in this area. It is impossible to ~~read~~^{study} the reports of missionary societies in this area without realising that their outstanding contribution to the changes due to culture contact is in their schools. Certainly these schools are Christian in basis, and teach Christianity to the pupils. But they also bring knowledge of

many other kinds which profoundly influences the outlook and prospects of the younger generations of Africans. They gave a Sekolo^{to} Reader to the Barotsi giving the history of the Barotsi, ⁽¹⁾ thus making conscious and accessible to all the 'national' background and feeling of that strongly knit community. Among the Ba-Ila the Kafue Institute, in addition to scholastic work, had a model farm, built model cottages made of bricks, and taught modern hygiene.* The general effect of all this teaching, particularly that of scientific method, was to set pupils against the old tribal beliefs in magic as

1- Report of 1st. Missionary Conference 1914.

(1)
the origin of disease and disaster.

Parallel with the work of schools is the health services of the missions and the opportunities they offer for wage-earning employment of different kinds. Their teaching of the Christian religion therefore would appear to the African to be part of a new way of living, not only in the spiritual but even more in the material sense. Just as under tribal conditions religion and magic were interwoven in social and economic life, so in the Christian communities new religious ideas found expression in new forms of social and political life. How far these new ideas have supplanted or merely been grafted^t into the old is one of the important problems for field investigation. A full report for example of the Watch Tower Movement in one area should throw some light on the medley of ideas and on the ferment caused by preaching which emphasised the connection of religious fervour with political
(2)
unrest.

1- Report of Primitive Methodist Society - 1931.

2- 1933 - Native Affairs Report - 6.

Section 1V. Some emergent problems.

"The economic problem of ^{N.}North Rhodesia to-day is the re-establishment of equilibrium in the face of cumulatively increasing forces making for disequilibrium. The earlier problem of adjustment caused by the establishment of peace and the opening up of trade has grown gradually more difficult with the steady improvement of means of transport, with the increase of trading companies, with the steadily developing taste for foreign products, and with the growing need of Government to raise revenue in cash to finance administration, education, road-building and a multitude of other services."⁽¹⁾ This was the conclusion of the economic expert on the Merle Davies Commission, and he was, by his terms of reference, concerned with the problem of economic equilibrium. We have seen however in Chapters VIII and IX that under tribal conditions economic life could not be separated from the matrix of social, political and religious life. If our hypothesis of the dominant importance of the community in economic life was correct, we should expect to find some attempt under the new régime to adapt new ideas and new methods to a new form of the community. It is perhaps possible to see some hint of this in the mission accounts of Christian villages. In any case it is evident that the effects of culture contact are focussed round the

1- Merle Davies Report. Part III. 133.

changing community, and that both the mechanisms of change and the new ideas must tend to produce new social and economic groups which may retain some of the old features and may be something quite new. Such innovations as the 'peasant holdings' near the railway line, and the small holdings on the mining properties ⁽¹⁾ would point to the evolution of a new outward form of social and economic life. Only close investigation could discover how far beneath the surface the changes had penetrated.

It is evident that under new conditions and influences new forms of organisation of labour, new motives for work, and new values must be emerging. Here again this type of problem would need studying in different areas, and from such a geographical survey some comparative material might be culled which should give some light on the process of change.

1- 1933. Native Affairs Report 21.

CHAPTER XI.

'PROGRESS' and 'DEVELOPMENT.'

Section 1- The general issue.

" 2- The control of culture contact.

" 3- The contribution of anthropology.

Chapter XI. 'Progress' and 'Development.'

Section 1. The general issue.

"Everywhere the people are progressing in one way or another."⁽¹⁾ As illustrations of this 'progress' it is said that the people are "anxious to obtain knowledge, keen to acquire property, and desirous of a higher standard of living."⁽²⁾ It would appear therefore as though the test of progress and its evidence lay mainly in the economic sphere. It is generally assumed as an axiom of good government of a 'backward' people that they shall steadily improve their standard of living. Some observers would say that this is aimed at in order to make of the area a good market for European trade goods; others that a higher standard of ^{living} ~~good~~ is necessary in order to finance the essential social services such as education and health; others again that an improved standard of living is good in itself. Reduced to plain terms an improved standard of living generally means that a family shall eat more, live in better houses, and have cash at hand to buy necessities and luxuries, and possibly also to pay school fees and to travel.

The terms 'progress' and 'development' are used so loosely in relation to native races that it is important to try and make clear in what sense they should be used in

1- 1933. Native Affairs Report 6.

2- " " " "

speaking^e of culture contact. It would be clearer for instance if development were used mainly in the economic sense, that is of development of the land and its resources and of the native population as producers. The copper mines therefore in ^{N.} north-Rhodesia would be an instance of development, as would also the railway and other means of communication, and the propaganda for better agriculture and cattle-raising. In a strictly economic sense development in a given area could be assessed on the basis of production and exchange and communications, and compared with other more developed or less developed areas. Such an assessment would form a useful part of any study of culture contact in an area, on the assumption that development lay in the path of transition from tribal methods to western and scientific methods.

The concept of progress on the other hand implies a judgment of value - i.e. that one stage is further advanced or 'better' than another. Ploeghs would be taken as a sign of progress, also the fact that schools increased in Barotsiland from 1600 to 2700 between 1921 and 1932.⁽¹⁾ In speaking of culture contact it would be useful if progress could be regarded from the point of view of the culture as a whole, and if it could be related in some way to the cohesion or disintegration of

1- Paris Mission Report August 1932.

tribal society. It is not however generally so used, and in any case opinions differ as to what constitutes progress in social institutions and often also in political life. Hence the signs of progress are often taken to be the same as those of development, namely the material and outward signs of change in economic life. Because it is now accepted that modern education is a 'good thing' the establishment of schools is an admitted sign of progress, even though the results of learning may lead to a break-down of tribal cohesion and authority. Opinions again would differ widely as to whether the growth of economic and other forms of individualism was a mark of progress. It is however an inevitable concomitant of certain forms of economic development, and hence may influence profoundly the general life of the community.

The meaning of these terms, and the analysis of the processes which they are designed to indicate, is one of the important issues in the study of culture contact. ^c It is the more important because the contact of European with native has led to the frequent use of allied terms such as exploitation and trusteeship, again with no clear definition but with a wealth of emotional content which often obscures their intended meaning. It is therefore essential to realise that the relative newness of the scientific study of culture contact involves the analysis of certain of these current terms and concepts, and if possible the investing of them with a clearly defined and unequivocal meaning for purposes of anthropological usage.

Section 11. The control of culture contact.

The discussion in the previous section leads us inevitably outside the scope of this thesis for the time being. Yet the fact that development, or economic change, cannot be regarded apart from questions of policy or administration is but another proof of the anthropological tenet that culture is a whole and that no part of it can be studied in isolation from the rest. ⁽¹⁾ It is impossible here for reason of space to discuss fully questions of policy and administration in relation to culture contact. We have already emphasised that culture contact involves the meeting of two cultures, and the adaptation of each to the other. The most cursory glance at the material on culture contact in ~~north~~^{N. W.} Rhodesia makes it evident that Government, Missions and economic enterprise such as the mines, have all had to make adaptations to meet the situation in the country, and also that, progressively, there has been some attempt to direct and control the course of change. It is illuminating for instance to read through the reports of the missionary conferences in ~~north~~^{N.} Rhodesia and find at every one several representatives of Government expounding their policy and discussing with the missionaries questions of 'progress' and 'development'. The Merle Davies Commission was an attempt to see what part missions

1- See Chapter X. p 3.

could play in the drastic economic changes introduced by the copper mines; and doubtless some consultation takes place between Government and the mines' managements on questions of labour, recruitment, settlement etc. There is therefore to some degree an interchange of ideas among the 'agents of change' in ^{N.W.} north-west Rhodesia, and some recognition that the course of change is capable of being controlled in the interests of a definite policy.

In the economic section of the Merle Davies Report a chapter is given to the difficulties and problems of economic transition, and the questions are raised: "Do we wish to control and direct this transition? Have we the ^Wpower to do so if we wish to?" ⁽¹⁾ It is taken as an axiom that "we must have in mind the effects of economic changes upon the political, social and moral life of the country, and upon the future political ⁽²⁾ problems of the country," The writer maintains that we do wish to control economic transition and points out that there are three main weapons of control: fiscal policy, Government enterprise, and education. ⁽³⁾ After examining these three weapons, the conclusion is that by far the most potent weapon of control is education taken in its widest sense. Education is now in ^{N.} north Rhodesia almost entirely in the hands of the missionary

1- Merle Davies Report 204.
 2- " " 204/5
 3- " " 211.

society⁽¹⁾, with the exception of a very few schools under direct Government control.⁽²⁾ Hence again the three agencies of change play into each other's hands, Government subsidising and to some extent directing the educational work of missions, who in their schools can "create an atmosphere in which the necessary changes and modifications of the present Native economic organisations ^{can take} ⁽²⁾ ef-~~the~~ place." There is an illuminating comment in the 1933 Native Affairs Report on the type of education being given at the Jeanes School for training supervising teachers at Mazabuka: "The most successful Jeanes supervisor is often the son of a Chief."⁽⁴⁾ The compiler of the Report suggests that possibly this type of training is the most suitable for future chiefs and leaders. To those who know the general policy and programme of the Jeanes training, the alliance of this particular type of education with the future development of Indirect Rule in ^{N.}North Rhodesia is most suggestive. The emphasis in the Jeanes training is mainly on the idea of the community, equipping the teacher not only to teach scholastic subjects but to promote hygiene, modern agriculture, handicrafts etc. The training advocates therefore all the factors making for the general 'progress' of the people, but keeping in mind always the importance of maintaining the community and reinforcing social cohesion within it.

1- Merle Davies Report 216.

2- 1933 Native Affairs Report p. 40: (8 such schools - 4 at Mazabuka.)

3- Merle Davies Report 217.

4- 1933 Native Affairs Report 41.

new paragraph. -
the essential sequel and test of these observations
from printed material lies of course in field work.

It is probably however useful to have some idea of how
the problems look in the large before examining them in detail
in a particular area, and it is for that reason these issues
have been raised in this section.

Section III. The contribution of anthropology.

In the first chapter of this thesis the outlines were laid down of the research to be undertaken in the study of culture contact in north^{N. W.}-west Rhodesia. It was there assumed that such a study could fall within the scope of anthropological field work, and the subsequent chapters should have demonstrated the validity of this assumption. I have endeavoured throughout this thesis to make it clear that, given the material that was available in printed form, it was not possible to reach any definite conclusions, but only to suggest questions and hypotheses which might serve as a starting point for field work. It is important to emphasise anew the fact that the realms of culture contact are an almost uncharted sea.* Each research worker must chart his own channels and reefs, using the tenets of the functional school as a means of taking observations.* As anthropologists we start from the basis that ~~the~~^{we} study people as they are and as they live, endeavouring to get below the surface of the material phenomena of culture to the ideas and values inherent in that culture. Herein the anthropologist has the advantage over the sociolo^gist, if it is legitimate to make such a distinction. The sociologist is for the most part trained to study modern western culture, mainly in its urban forms. The anthropologist's starting point is that of a relatively 'primitive' society, where the technique of observation and

recording may differ considerably from that of modern urban society. Though the two sciences are bound to play into each other's hands, and to learn much from each other's technique, I believe that for the study of a primitive people in the process of change, the most adequate approach is that of the functional anthropologist. The difficulties of finding any adequate technique have been apparent throughout this thesis. Nevertheless it becomes gradually clearer that our goal in studying a people in transition is to discover the strains and stresses to which their culture is being subjected; to assess if possible the resultant adaptations and resistances to the process of change; and to discover the emerging new culture which must inevitably replace the old. Only by successive and extensive field work researches on these new lines can anthropology establish a technique and principles which will make good its claim to ^{be} the science for the study of culture contact.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(a) Primitive Economics

- Bartlett F.C. Psychology and Primitive Culture
Cambridge 1925
- Barton, R.F. Ifugao Economics . Berkeley 1922
- Bücher, K Arbeit und Rhythmus. Leipzig 1897
Industrial Evolution. Tübingen 1901
- Buxton, L.H.D. Primitive Labour, London 1924
- Durkheim, E. De la division du travail social. Paris 1926
- Firth, R. Economic psychology of the Maori. J.R.A.I. 1925
Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori.
London 1929
- Goldenweiser, A.A.. Early Civilisation. London 1921
- Grimshaw, H.A. Memorandum for Temporary Slavery Commission
Geneva 1925
- Hobson, J.A. Work and Wealth. London 1914
- Hoyt, E.E. Primitive Trade. London 1926
- Landtmann, G. Papuan Magic in the building of houses. Abo.
1920
- Leroy, O. Essai d'introduction critique a l'étude de l'économie primitive. Paris 1925
- Lowie, R.H. Primitive Society. New York 1920
- Malinowski, B. The Economic aspect of the Intichiuma ceremonies. Helsingfors 1912
Primitive economics of the Trobriand Islanders. London 1921
Argonauts of the Western Pacific . London 1922
Crime and Custom in Savage Society. 1926

articles on: Anthropology in Enc. Brit.

Culture in Enc. of Social Sciences.

Maunier, R. La construction collective de la maison en

Kabylie. Paris 1926

Mélanges de Sociologie Nord-Africaine. Paris 1930

Mauss, M. Essai sur le don. Paris 1924

Nierboer, H. J. Slavery as an industrial system. The Hague. 1910

Pitt Rivers, G. L. F. The Clash of Cultures and the Contact
of Races. London 1927

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. The Andaman Islanders. Cambridge. 1922

Redfield, R. Tepoztlan. Chicago. 1930

Rivers, W. H. R. Social Organisation. London 1924

Thurnwald, R. Economics in Primitive Communities. London 1932

Van Eerde, J. C. Ethnologie Coloniale. Paris 1927

~~Waskerman, D. The African Today~~

(b) N. Rhodesia and other African material.

- Arnot, F.S. Garenganze. London 1889
- Baker, E. Life and explorations of F.S. Arnot. London 1921
- Bertrand, A. Kingdom of the Barotsi. London 1899
- Burton, R.F. Lacerda's journey to Cazembe. London 1873
- Coillard, F. On the threshold of ~~South~~ Central Africa.
London 1897
- Crawford, D. Thinking Back. London 1912
Back to
~~Through~~ the Long grass. London
- Cuvellier, G. La vie sociale des Balamba orientaux.
Congo. Jan and Feb. 1932
- Doke, C.M. The Lambas of N. Rhodesia. London 1931
Lamba Folk lore. 1927
- Earthy, E.D. Valenge Women. London 1933
- Gouldsbury, C. and Sheane, J.H.W. The great plateau of
N. Rhodesia. London 1911
- de Hemptinne. Les Mangeurs de cuivre du Katanga.
Congo. March 1926
- Junod, H. The life of a South African tribe. Neuchatel 1927
- Livingstone, D. Missionary Travels. 1857
- Mair, L.P. An African people in the 20th century. London 1933
- Melland, F.H. In witch bound Africa. London 1923
- Merle Davies, J. Modern industry and the African. London 1933
- Moubray, J.M. In South Central Africa. London 1912
- Orde Browne, G. St. J. The African Labourer. London 1933
- Richards, A.I. Hunger and work in a savage tribe. London 1932

Schebesta, P. Blancs et Noirs ~~en~~ au Congo Belge.

Congo Mar. 1934

~~Smith and Dale~~

Smith, E.W. and Dale, A.M. The Ila-speaking peoples of N .

Rhodesia. London 1920

Stayt, H.A. The Bavenda. London 1931

Westerman, D. The African Today. London 1934

Journal~~s~~ articles in Africa

Congo

Journal of African Society.

Reports.

Colonial Office. Native Affairs Reports

Statute Laws of N. Rhodesia, 1889 seq.

League of Nations. Reports of Committee of Experts

(former slavery Commission)

Missionary Societies. Paris Mission

Primitive Methodists

S. Africa General Mission.

Reports of General Missionary Conferences in N. Rhodesia