

tribal units. The indigenous territorial organization was in terms of small independent neighborhoods.

A neighborhood might have no more than 200 inhabitants; the largest probably had no more than 1,000. Occasionally a man who had the ability to attract followers was able to dominate a neighborhood or a series of neighborhoods. People deferred to his wishes, followed his leadership, and looked to him to settle their disputes. But his status was a personal one created by himself. He did not occupy an institutionalized office which could be passed to a successor. He might be called *mwami*, the term today used for the official chiefs introduced by the British Administration, but in Tonga parlance it originally meant no more than "rich man" or "important man." There might be several such men within a neighborhood, or there might be none. Their power was ephemeral, but while it lasted such men, if they would, could give protection to strangers. With one another or with lesser men they formed alliances known as *bulongwe*, "bond friendship." Thus they expedited communication between independent neighborhoods and assisted in the exchange of goods and services. Their alliances, however, like their power, were personal, and created no stable continuing organization. They had no general right to tribute, though on occasion they were able to make good their claim to specified portions of certain game animals if killed within the areas where they exercised power.

Institutionalized leadership within the neighborhoods rested on a more secure basis. Each neighborhood has its own shrine, or sometimes a number of shrines, for community rituals. The shrine was under the guardianship of a hereditary priest whose authority was limited to the ritual sphere. A few shrines became famous and from time to time supplicants from many miles around might visit them to appeal for rains and good harvest or for protection from epidemics or other disasters. The priests of such shrines might have a wide reputation, but this was not accompanied by any spread of secular authority. The people of the priest's own neighborhood brought him first fruits and had the obligation to provide animals for sacrifice at the shrine if so ordered. Refusal to comply or infringements upon the ritual were punished by fines, paid either to the shrine or used for a community feast of reconciliation. Distant visitors brought gifts to the shrine which were left to disintegrate about it. They also brought gifts to the priest. He in turn provided his visitors with small quantities of grain which they mixed with their own seed to give it potency and ensure a good crop. Famous shrines provided a kind of focus for movement about the countryside, but the organization which they provided was again minimal. They could not give safe conduct which

would take their visitors through intervening neighborhoods; nor could they coordinate the arrival of missions from various quarters. Appeal to the shrine from those outside the neighborhood was voluntary and sporadic. No priest had the right to receive tribute; the material rewards which he received were minimal.

The shrines, therefore, important as they were in providing a permanent anchorage for neighborhood organization, did not become centers for any form of exchange system. No markets grew up around them, and indeed the idea of any regular market place was alien to the Tonga. Visitors to distant shrines might engage in trade with the people of the neighborhoods through which they passed, but usually they were in a hurry to complete their mission and to return to report to their own neighborhood leaders.

Community shrines and their priests provided an organization for ritual activities and for the regulation of the agricultural work of the neighborhood. Leadership in other spheres fell to other men. There were prophets who spoke under possession by spirits which had some control over natural phenomena. They could make innovations in ritual and occasionally command in other fields. There were diviners who sought to find the cause of misfortune or to predict the outcome of some meditated action. There were men recognized to have power, either magical or through the gift of some spirit, for success in warfare or hunting. Any of these men might exert leadership in the sphere for which he was noted, though in others he had no special role and in turn accepted the guidance of the appropriate experts. Finally there were the heads of homesteads, the elders of the community, who formed an informal council for the settlement of disputes and the discussion of neighborhood affairs.

Loyalty to a territorial group did not extend beyond the neighborhood. Though the Tonga recognized that they all spoke a common language and shared much the same culture, they saw this as no reason to outlaw war among themselves. A stranger, although he was recognized as a fellow Tonga, might be considered fair game, and the man who ventured into an area where he had no kinsmen or friends did so at his own risk. Usually a neighborhood tried to maintain the peace with others in its immediate vicinity with whose members its own residents came in frequent contact. Beyond this range, it might raid—for grain in a hunger year, for livestock when it seemed desirable, and for slaves. The last became more common after the middle years of the nineteenth century when the Tonga came into contact with foreign slave traders from Angola and Mozambique who set neighborhood against neighborhood and provided a market for the spoils.

That the Tonga could move as freely as they did was due to the importance which they gave to kinship ties which overrode neighborhood boundaries. A man was a member of small corporate matrilineage as well as a resident of a neighborhood. In many circumstances, lineage membership was considered more important than residence in determining allegiances. Lineage members had the right to inherit one another's property and the obligation to assist one another in times of dearth or other misfortune. It was the lineage which had primary responsibility to assist a man in collecting and paying debts and compensation for injury; in the event that a claim was not met, the lineage had the obligation to take vengeance. Equally, it was held jointly responsible for the act of any of its members.

Despite its corporate character and the occasional need for united action, members of a lineage did not share a common residence. Usually they were scattered throughout a vicinage of neighborhoods. They intermarried with the other residents, acquiring at the same time claims upon them and their lineage mates. These in turn had ties of kinship with those in more distant neighborhoods. If a man moved along the chain of kinship, he could travel safely for considerable distances provided he exercised caution in avoiding areas which had unsettled quarrels with his own neighborhood or lineage, or with those of his sponsors.

Those who wished a further safeguard could initiate a "bond friendship" with prominent men along the route or at the place of destination. The man who accepted such a pact agreed to guarantee his friend's person and property while he remained within the neighborhood. An attack upon either was considered an attack upon the host who could then summon kinsmen and supporters to retaliate against the offender. The "bond friendship" was initiated and maintained by an exchange of gifts, and was a favorite channel for trading activities. At the same time it was more than a commercial arrangement. Transactions were phrased in terms of gifts. When a "bond friend" gave, he did not expect an immediate return. That would be the height of discourtesy, indicating that the recipient viewed the transaction as one of direct trade and had no desire to maintain a permanent relationship. At some later date the recipient should either visit his friend carrying valuables to him, or he should summon him to receive his gift. Months and sometimes years might elapse between gift and counter-gift. Each partner to the pact had to be satisfied that it was to his long-term benefit and therefore that he received roughly equivalent value for what he gave, but bargaining was outlawed by the very nature of the pact.

Where kinship or "bond friendship" linked men together in a permanent relationship, they were expected to subordinate their cupidity to the advantage of the many other facets of their long-term association. At the same time, it was the obligations of kinship, the institution of bridewealth, and the existence of "bond friendships," all of which were mediated through gifts and payments, which provided much of the incentive behind the circulation of goods and services. Otherwise, men were willing to exchange their possessions only if they themselves had an immediate need. The Tonga were not traders at heart. Their ideal was the self-sufficient family unit which relied upon outsiders only in an emergency or for the occasional item which it could not produce for itself.

The Ideal of Self-Sufficiency.

Subsistence was based on agriculture. Each family had its own fields, where it grew the grain and vegetables which formed the staple diet. This was supplemented by wild produce gathered in the bush by the wife and by game and fish provided by the husband. In some areas, livestock provided a substantial contribution to the diet in the form of milk and butter, but they were valued primarily because of their utility in meeting social obligations or because in an emergency they could be exchanged for food or other necessities. Stock owners frequently kept few of their animals by them. Instead they dispersed their herds by lending animals to kinsmen, "bond friends," and to others with whom they wished to form alliances. By so doing they minimized risk of loss from raids or epizootics, while at the same time they retained their right to recall their animals when the need arose. When an animal was killed, it was usually for a ceremonial occasion, and then the meat was distributed according to set patterns to those participants who had the right to receive.

Labor for assisting in the clearing of fields and in weeding and harvesting could be obtained through work parties drawn from the neighborhood. These were rewarded with beer or a meal, and participants could expect their hosts to give their labor in their turn. Work parties also assisted in the building of homesteads, though most of the work fell upon the occupants.

Local craftsmen produced most of the tools and utensils required by the Tonga, although they were dependent upon outside sources for iron. In the distant past, iron may have been smelted locally. In the nineteenth century, the Tonga depended upon traders from western Northern Rhodesia who imported hoes in return for slaves, cattle, ivory, or skins. Local craftsmen reworked scraps of old iron into spears, axes, adzes, and other metal articles. They carved the

drums, the wooden mortars and pestles, and the stools. Along the Zambezi and Kafue, they made dugout canoes as well. Men were craftsmen in iron and wood. Women produced pots and baskets. Both men and women made woven mats.

Craftsmen were specialists, but their primary occupation was still farming. They did not expect to exchange their manufactures to meet their subsistence requirements nor did they necessarily produce for a market. Not everyone was expected to learn a craft; indeed, it was believed that a craftsman could be successful only if he had been chosen by the shade (*muzimu*) of some ancestor who in life had worked in the craft. The shade endowed its chosen successors with the skill and at the same time required them to use it. The recalcitrant could expect to suffer from the anger of the shade, who was assumed to have the power to send illness and other evils to its descendants. Craftsmen were therefore under an obligation to work in their crafts even though they had no immediate customers in view. They gave their products to friends and kinsmen knowing that they would eventually receive a return in some form or another. Customers who found them with stock on hand could usually effect a trade. They could also commission an article unless the craftsman was prohibited by some taboo from promising a product in advance. It might be months before the order was filled, since the craftsman worked at his leisure and when the spirit moved him. Only the blacksmith was likely to prove more amenable to his customers' urgency, for here men took old pieces of iron to the smith and stood about the forge, helping in the rough work, while the smith fashioned the pieces into the articles required. In return for his work, he retained unused scraps of the metal which provided him with material for his own purposes. This was his only payment when he filled an order. Craftsmen rarely sought a customer and then only when they felt the pinch of hunger. At such times they produced as much as they could and peddled their wares about the countryside in return for food.

Other specialists, such as diviners and herbalists, worked only for a fee—the amount depending upon the seriousness of the case. Medicinal plants and other substances, and red ochre for ornamentation were desired articles, as was tobacco. Salt, game, fish, wild fruit and vegetables, honey, garden vegetables, and grain were all in demand upon occasion and could be exchanged for other goods. In hunger-years people would sacrifice all other possessions to obtain grain which was the staff of life.

Natural features also ensured some degree of specialization between neighborhoods. Some areas had an abundance of fish and game, while others had little or none. Tobacco was produced most abundantly

on the alluvial soils of the Zambezi Plain. Groundnuts did poorly on the Plain but flourished in the hills and on the Plateau. Certain species of wild fruit and wild roots had a limited area of distribution, as did some of the medicinal plants. Salt deposits and outcrops of red ochre were found only in a few places. Villages close to sources of good potting clay produced pottery for areas less well endowed. The wooded areas of the Plateau provided wooden utensils for those who lived on the treeless portions of the Kafue flats.

The ideal of self-sufficiency was therefore only an ideal, but it was a potent one in determining the way in which the Tonga viewed trade and the way that they conducted it.

THE IMPACT OF THE EUROPEANS

The coming of the Europeans altered Tonga life, although the people of the Plateau were drawn into the main currents of change more rapidly than were their compatriots who lay behind the barrier of rugged hills. Explorers reached the region in the 1850's. They found the Tonga already in touch with Bisa traders in the northwest and with Mambari traders in the southwest. Through them they received cloth and other goods brought from the coast, but the traders had arrived so recently that ivory was still commonly used for posts at the local shrines. The explorers also found the Tonga in a state of turmoil which ended only with the 1890's, for the Tonga's lack of centralized organization left them fair game to Lozi and Ndebele war parties.

At the end of the nineteenth century the Tonga came under British Administration. This had an immediate impact throughout the region, for the Administration now guaranteed the peace and provided protection to the traveler. It also sought to develop a new form of political organization in the form of a hierarchy of chiefs given power to hold courts and to rule their people. In the late 1930's, the Native Authority system developed to provide an organ for local government. Such changes affected all the Tonga alike, wherever they lived, as did the imposition of a head tax payable annually by every able-bodied man.

Other changes centered on the Plateau. When the Rhodesian railway was built in 1906 it cut through the country of the Plateau Tonga. This, combined with the fertile soils and the absence of tsetse fly and relatively temperate climate, attracted European settlement. Blocks of land on either side of the railway were taken for European farms. The Tonga were moved into reserves. Even in the most remote portion of the reserves, none lived more than 30 to 40 miles from the railway and the small trading hamlets which began to grow up along

it and the highway which came to parallel it. Missionaries were early attracted to the Plateau. By the 1920's some seven different denominations had mission stations in the region and schools began to proliferate. In the 1930's, the Plateau was chosen as the site for the bases of the Agriculture and Veterinary Departments of the Northern Rhodesian Government. Technical assistance was immediately available to the ambitious Tonga farmer, who could also seek the advice of European farmers or of the missionaries.

In the early days, the Plateau people had little opportunity to earn the cash they needed for tax or for other purposes except by going out to work as labor migrants. With the development of the Rhodesian copper mines in the late 1920's and early 1930's and the creation of a demand for grain and other foodstuffs, the Plateau people took advantage of their good soils and their proximity to transport to develop into cash-crop farmers. They turned to ploughing, purchased wheeled transport in the form of carts and wagons, and under guidance from agricultural officers accepted a system of crop rotation. By 1950, some had invested in lorries and one or two in tractors whose services they rented to their neighbors.

Most of the people lagged behind their more progressive leaders. Probably no more than one per cent of the cultivators can be considered large farmers, but these expect to sell over 100 bags of maize per year and a few in 1950 had gross cash incomes of over £1000 from the sale of produce. Most of this comes from the sale of maize, but there is also a good trade in chickens and eggs and some sale of livestock as well as of other crops. Perhaps some 14 per cent to 20 per cent of the producers are in the class of small holders, who must be content with small returns. The rest are termed subsistence cultivators, but they too expect to trade their produce in sufficient quantities to provide minimum essential cash purchases and payments.

The Government has encouraged them to expand their production and at the same time to maintain soils in good condition by sponsoring an improved farming scheme and paying bonuses to those who meet the standards set. It has trained and paid Agricultural demonstrators to work among the people and demonstrate new methods.

As a result of the influx of cash into the region, trading stores proliferated, and some Tonga now devote themselves primarily to shopkeeping. Specialists have appeared who work at house-building, carpentry, or other trades when they are free from farm work. Hawkers ply the countryside on bicycles. After the harvest when the crop is sold, people throng to the railway townships where the stocks of goods reflect an increasing sophistication of taste modeled on that of the European.

These developments end at the point where the Plateau breaks into the Escarpment. Beyond its barrier, the people of the hills and Zambezi Plain have continued to live a life of self-sufficiency. They need cash for tax and for a few luxuries and this they have obtained over the years through labor migration. In any one year 41 per cent of the able-bodied men are away at work, but until recent years they could bring few goods with them on their return. No roads entered the Valley until 1950-51. The populous Zambezi Plain was 60 miles or more from the nearest trading store, a three-day climb over rough footpaths, which defeated even the bicycle. All transport was upon the back or head. Cultivators grew tobacco for export, but they usually preferred to move it through "bond friendship" pacts with men of trading tribes from western Rhodesia who visited the region annually. In return they received blankets or other goods in gift from the traders in the following year.

No Europeans lived in the region. The few schools took children only through the first four years. It was the rare child who went on to boarding school. Few could read or write, and few wished to do so. Their interests were centered in their homeland.

With the first roads came trading stores, an increase in mission activity, the building of schools, and a general stir of activity. Immediate access to European goods gave the people a new desire for money. Export of their cash crop, tobacco, was simplified, and they began to find some sale for sheep and occasionally for groundnuts or other crops. Nevertheless, these changes occurred so recently that they had no time to alter fundamental patterns of life before the building of Kariba Dam brought even more drastic change in its wake.

THE DUAL ECONOMY

Despite the radical change in their circumstances, the Tonga of all regions, with the exception of the most advanced of the Plateau people, still cling to the ideal of the self-sufficient household unit which grows its own food and provides for most of its necessities. To this extent, they can still be considered primarily subsistence cultivators; though where conditions are favorable they also raise a deliberate surplus for sale. On the Plateau especially they count upon the surplus, but they are not willing to subordinate all other interests in order to obtain it. Neither has all exchange been drawn into the field of commerce, to be governed by the profit motive. Many of their products and some of those supplied by Europeans circulate among themselves in accordance with the old emphasis upon the importance of maintaining ties with kinsmen, neighbors, and "bond friends."

Men continue to lend their livestock rather than raise them for the market. When they exchange goods among themselves, even where no long-term association is at stake, they are likely to operate in terms of traditional Tonga ideas of wealth and the roles of buyer and seller.

Thus the Tonga of all regions are involved in a dual economy in which their exchange transactions are carried out through two different systems. The first, the internal system, encompasses those transactions where conditions of trade are defined by the Tonga. The second, the external system, covers exchanges ultimately regulated by reference to controls stemming from aliens. Hill and Zambezi Tonga are the more firmly bound to the first system which still dictates their basic attitudes toward production and exchange. The progressive farmers and shop-keepers of the Plateau are absorbed almost completely by the second system. Their compatriots, though involved perhaps equally in both, associate themselves in their thinking more closely with the internal system. Even the most progressive must deal with it and be governed by it on occasion.

Each system interacts upon the other. Goods may move from one system to the other, although some appear almost exclusively in one. Tonga craftsmen still ply their skills and their products are still desired by their fellows. Wooden bowls and certain types of pottery are almost the only local products which have been completely replaced by European manufactures. Craft products, goats and pigeons, game and dried fish, and various other local foodstuffs circulate only in the internal system. Eggs, cattle hides, sunnhemp seed are local products aimed solely at the external system. Grain, groundnuts, tobacco, cattle, sheep, and chickens as well as European goods and money belong to both. So does the pig, for Tonga trade breeding stock with one another, although they claim to produce them only for sale to European buyers.

The external system is dominated by money; it has its trading centers where most transactions take place. The internal system depends upon no centers to facilitate trade, and although money circulates within it many transactions are carried on through direct barter. Ideally it has no middlemen and depends upon direct personal dealings between buyer and seller, but on occasion middlemen who are working primarily in the external system also operate within the internal system. Because of the different ways in which goods are evaluated within the two systems, the man who can operate in both finds it profitable to do so.

The Tonga concept of "wealth" appears to be ruled by the internal system.

"Wealth" is a free translation of the term *lubono*, which in ordinary

speech also has two secondary meanings. When a man uses the term, he may be referring specifically to bridewealth payments or to livestock, or to "wealth" in general. In the last sense, it includes cattle, sheep, goats, chickens and pigeons, and today probably pigs. Among western Tonga, where a good hunting dog may be exchanged for a cow, dogs are also classed as *lubono*. Tools, weapons, household equipment, clothing and ornaments also belong in this category. Today money is also regarded as a form of *lubono*. Fields, houses and granaries, stores of grain and other food stuffs are not considered to be *lubono*. Mr. M. Chona, a Plateau Tonga trained in law, is of the opinion that the word derives from the term *ku-kona*, to inherit, and that it applied only to such property as could be inherited. If so, the term has not been adapted to the widening scope of inheritance. In the Zambezi Plain, river gardens and stocks of grain have been subject to inheritance for generations, yet neither is considered *lubono*. On the Plateau, fields, grain, and homesteads have begun to be inherited in recent years, but no one calls them *lubono*. On the Plateau the sale of homesteads and the illegal sale of land have also made their appearance, and the greater proportion of all income is derived from the sale of maize. Men may call a farmer who cultivates many acres and sells many bags of maize a rich man, *muwubi*, but his "wealth" consists of his farm equipment, his livestock, his household furnishings, his clothing, and his money. Grain can become *lubono* only by being converted into some other category of goods.

I believe that the basic concept underlying the term is that of goods which can continue to circulate as identifiable objects. In the past, at least, grain and other food might be exchanged but they were obtained for immediate consumption by one of the partners to the exchange; they did not circulate further. Items of *lubono* could be exchanged again and again, and their utility was beyond that of immediate consumption.

Lubono therefore referred to goods which entered freely into exchange, and where the demand for them was in part created by their exchangeability. This is still true. Today grain is freely exchangeable among the Plateau Tonga, but this is because of the external market rather than because the Tonga themselves desire it as grain. They therefore do not classify it as *lubono*, although on occasion they use it almost as though it were currency.

Items of *lubono* were not of equal value, nor are they today. In the past, the Tonga had no way of stating prices. Certain categories of *lubono* were classed together, as having equivalent value, for exchange purposes. Thus slaves, hoes, livestock, and *impane* shell ornaments could be quoted in terms of one another, but not in terms

of other items considered to be *lubono*. Over the years there might be a change in the terms affecting this class of items, but it had no obvious effect upon the terms at which other items were exchanged since they fluctuated independently. Today the common use of money within the internal system does make it possible to have a price structure, but the Tonga in many instances prefer to ignore it.

Frequently they treat money as though it were an equivalent of some other valuable, at least in certain circumstances. Throughout the 1940's, the Plateau Tonga maintained the ruling that damages in cases of adultery should consist of £4 or two cattle. By 1949, cattle were selling at from £7 to £8 per head. Men grumbled, and few were willing to pay in cattle. If necessary they sold a beast, and paid the £4. The successful claimant swore that he was being cheated. Nevertheless, there was widespread resistance to any attempt to alter the ratio in terms of current prices. When men buy at the trading store, they plan their expenditures in terms of prices, as "a pot that is the 10/-kind," "a blanket that is 25/-kind," "bread for 3d." Price changes disturb them, even when these are in their favor. A man who has planned to pay 25/- for a blanket, may not be pleased to find it on sale for 22/-. He wants a blanket equivalent to his 25/-, and a blanket selling at 22/- is only equivalent to 22/-. This, however, is not a sign that they are completely unconscious of differences in value and unaware of the advantage of seeking the lowest price for a particular ware. They know that they get more for their money in the shops in Bulawayo than they do at the trading stores on the railway line and that these in turn have lower prices than trading stores away from the line of rail. This they accept; fluctuation in price is another matter.

Money is also not yet accepted as standard of value through which other items can be equated. Men may be prepared to sell both a chicken and a watermelon for two shillings, but this does not mean that they consider a chicken equivalent to a watermelon or that they would ever trade on these terms. In the trading stores in the reserves, a four-gallon tin of maize may be worth 10/-, yet it may be exchanged for a child's dress which sells at 7/6, without the purchaser feeling that he has been cheated. In his view he is trading grain for the dress, and the money value of each may be irrelevant.

It is also possible for the money price to be set in terms of the object which a person hopes to buy with the proceeds of his sale. This is particularly true of the Zambezi and Hill people who have least acquaintance with a full-scale money economy. A woman on her way to the trading store to buy a blouse worth 5/- may try to sell her chicken en route for this sum. This may be exorbitant in terms of

local exchanges, but she is not concerned with this. She does not want money as such; she wants her blouse. If she cannot obtain her 5/-, then there is no point in selling her chicken. If on the other hand her intended purchase will cost only 3/-, then she will sell her chicken for 3/-.

This last example highlights the fact that the Tonga in large part still see themselves engaged in trade because they want some particular item or items. In this sense they are target traders. It also governs the way they view the role of buyer and seller and the direction of trade.

To develop this point, I shall discuss the trade in grain, for this is probably the most important commodity at the present time.

In the past, the Tonga did not plan their production of grain to provide a surplus to be disposed of through sale to other Tonga, and it is doubtful if they would do so today. This would mean planning upon the misfortune of others since in general people do not expect to purchase grain except when misfortune strikes. The man with large fields and big harvest is still suspected of sorcery, the brunt of the ill-will of his neighbors, although on the Plateau this is minimized by the knowledge that he is growing grain for the external market rather than in an expectation of profiting from his fellow's misery. In times of shortage, the man with grain has a first obligation to share with kinsmen and friends who have a right to receive assistance from him. Nevertheless, the man fortunate enough to have grain when others are hungry has always been able to derive some profit from it.

He does not seek a buyer, for he does not envisage himself as the person who desires an exchange. In transactions between Tonga, it is left to the one who desires a commodity to take the initiative. He is the buyer and therefore the supplicant. The one who meets his need is the seller and is in a position to control the terms of the exchange. If there is a permanent association between the two, the seller is expected to be merciful. If there is none, he may extort what he can. Although the Plateau Tonga are thoroughly involved in maize production for a cash market, this rule still applies. When a man sells grain in a hunger-year or in an emergency to a kinsman, a "bond friend," or to someone of his village or neighborhood, he is likely to take much less than the price he would receive if he sold his grain through the Maize Board. But when he deals with strange Tonga from a distance, he demands the full market price.

Grain-rich areas in a hunger-year attract customers from grain poor areas. The producer does not need to sell, and it is not for him to undertake a rigorous journey and the problems of transporting grain. He might carry grain to a "bond friend" or kinsman, but that is a different matter.

Regular exchanges also take place between certain regions, but the flow of trade depends upon who undertakes the role of buyer. Cultivators of river gardens along the Zambezi, and to a minor degree along the Kafue, yearly grow green maize, cucurbits, and cucurbit leaves in their winter gardens at a time when residents in other areas have none. Some of the produce is given to kinsmen and friends; some is traded. The direction of the traffic depends upon the current needs in the different regions. If the river dwellers are short of grain, they carry their vegetables to neighborhoods where they can expect to find grain. If they have sufficient grain, they wait for inland dwellers to seek them out. They are then in a position to sell their vegetables, whereas before they were in the position of buying grain.

All trade in the internal system follows this same pattern. It has already been noted how the Tonga craftsman waits for customers to visit him and only attempts to peddle his wares if he feels some pressing need.

When the average Tonga, even of the Plateau, is involved in the external system, he tends to adhere to the pattern of the internal. He envisages himself as a buyer rather than as a seller. Because he wants particular goods, he is willing to buy money with grain or other produce, with which in turn he can buy the goods he wants. Then he is prepared to make the effort to market his surplus. If his wants are not pressing, he sees no reason to exert himself. If a buyer appears, he will sell, but it is not for him to seek out a purchaser.

The expanding range of goods now available in the trading stores is continually raising the standards of living desired by the people. More and more of their efforts are going towards finding means whereby they can continue to buy. But only the big farmers of the Plateau and the shop-keepers have learned to envisage themselves as sellers, who must dispose of their goods. They sell even though they have no immediate need to meet, and they use the proceeds to finance new businesses. A few have also put money in savings schemes. The majority of the Tonga like to have a little money on hand—"It can help you in time of trouble." For the most part, however, they prefer their "wealth" to be in other assets, in goods which can be used as well as exchanged.

CHAPTER 25

Bridewealth and other Forms of Exchange among the Herero

BY GORDON D. GIBSON

The Herero are of great interest for a comparative study of African economic systems because, like other Africans, they are beginning to sell their labor and their ritually important domestic animals in market-like transactions. Before European contact they transferred cattle at marriage, in the form of bridewealth. However, unlike most other African examples, bridewealth among the Herero has not undergone inflation. This matter is worthy of detailed attention, and this paper sets out to review the history and to comment upon the economic aspects of Herero exchange, including bridewealth payments.¹

The Herero in South West Africa, like many other pastoral peoples of sub-Saharan Africa, must have been nearly self-sufficient in pre-European times. The available records indicate that, in contrast to many African peoples who lived in large settled communities and who developed specialized crafts, each Herero extended family itself produced nearly all of its material cultural inventory. However, contacts with other cultures in the century or so prior to European penetration apparently had generated certain needs that were not readily satisfied by the techniques known to the Herero, and in consequence some trade with outsiders had developed, chiefly in metals, tobacco, and glass beads.

Early accounts are in agreement that at the time of European contact the Herero cultivated no crops, with the possible exception of tobacco (Alexander 1838a : II 167). Calabashes, apparently in general use for the churning and storing of milk, must therefore have been obtained through trade. It is possible that dagga, also, was obtained in trade from cultivators, but the record is extremely scant with respect to trade in this narcotic; J. Hahn (1868 : 216) records the smoking of wild Cape dagga (*Leonotus leonurus* and *L. orata*) by the Herero, but does not mention the cultivated variety (Indian hemp).

The family-level self-sufficiency of the Herero fitted well with their

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V. LAND RIGHTS AND LAND USE AMONG THE VALLEY TONGA OF THE RHODESIAN FEDERATION: THE BACKGROUND TO THE KARIBA RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME

ELIZABETH COLSON

In 1955 the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland undertook the building of a hydro-electric dam at Kariba Gorge on the Zambezi River. The resulting Lake Kariba, already in process of formation, will eventually flood some 2,000 square miles of the Middle Zambezi Valley, i.e. of the Gwembe Valley. By 1958 some 52,000 Valley Tonga had been moved from their old neighbourhoods to areas away from the flooding. The Zambezi River forms the boundary between Northern and Southern Rhodesia, though in the past it has been no barrier to the movement of Valley Tonga from one side of the river to the other. Each Government moved those living within its borders into its hinterland, thus breaking the old bonds between communities which had formerly faced one another along the river.

It is inevitable that the resettlement will have major repercussions upon Valley Tonga life, but in this paper I shall be concerned with the situation with regard to land-tenure, outlining the system of land holding as it existed prior to the resettlement and indicating the changes which can at present be foreseen. I shall also deal specifically with the Valley Tonga living within Northern Rhodesia since our knowledge of conditions on that side of the Zambezi is greatest. Finally I shall deal primarily with the people who inhabited the narrow Zambezi river plain since the majority of those resettled came from this region.

¹ The field work upon which this article is based was carried out by myself and my colleague Thayer Scudder in the period October 1956-September 1957, under the auspices of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. This was the first phase of a long-term project which will seek to assess the changes brought about in Valley Tonga life by the resettlement programme. The first phase consisted of a study of the people in their old environment before resettlement took place. In 1962-63 we will undertake a study of the resettlement areas.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The Northern Rhodesian section of the Gwembe Valley forms a single administrative District, Gwembe District. In 1956 it had an estimated population of 51,000, the majority of whom were Tonga-speaking. Some 29,000 people, or 56.8 per cent, of the total population, have been resettled. With only a minor exception of some 3,000 people, all have been sent to new areas within Gwembe District. Some 6,000 have been settled on the river plain below Kariba Dam. The rest have been dispersed among the hills which rise above the Zambezi and separate it from the high plateau of Northern Rhodesia.

In the past the over-all population density for Gwembe District was low. In 1956 it was estimated as 7.9 to the square mile. At first glance it might seem that the District contained large areas of untouched land which could easily absorb those displaced by the creation of Lake Kariba. Much of the land, however, has been considered uninhabitable because of the absence of arable soil, the shortage of water during the long dry season, or the prevalence of big game and tsetse fly. The hills are rugged and offer little opportunity to the settler. The sparse population lived in small communities associated with the better soils found along the courses of tributary rivers. In the Zambezi plain, where people had access to large concentrations of alluvial soils and an abundant water supply, densities in some neighbourhoods might rise to between two and three hundred to the square mile.

Here the people were accustomed to a system of fixed agriculture based on permanent fields whose alluvial soils required no fallowing, rotation or application of manure for the maintenance of fertility. Much of this land could be cultivated twice a year, first during the rains and again during the dry season after the annual Zambezi flood. River land with its high yields and permanency was greatly valued, but it was insufficient by itself to support the dense populations in river neighbourhoods. Most cultivators also had fields in the poorer soils of the plain beyond the river margin. These had to be fallowed intermittently, but during fallow periods

the rights of the cultivator and his heirs did not lapse unless land was so plentiful that there was no reason to maintain one's claim. Along the Zambezi therefore long-term rights in land tied people to an area and discouraged geographical mobility. The majority of the inhabitants of the river plain lived within their birth neighbourhoods.

Some fifty to seventy miles of rugged hills separated the Zambezi plain from the high open country of the Northern Rhodesia Plateau; similar terrain was found on the Southern Rhodesian side of the river. Until recently therefore, Gwembe District was isolated from the rest of Central Africa. As late as 1950 only one road penetrated to the river and this was at the extreme downstream end of the Valley where there were few inhabitants. Elsewhere the only access was by rough footpaths, unsuitable even for bicycle traffic. Thus, although the Zambezi plain is only some seventy-five to eighty miles from the Northern Rhodesian railway, it is more remote than many regions which are much further from major transport routes. Until the building of roads began in 1950 it was rarely visited by Europeans except for the occasional administrative officer. Schools were few, medical services non-existent, trading stores conspicuous by their absence. There was some demand for foreign goods, and to purchase these and also to meet tax and other cash requirements, the Gwembe people depended largely upon labour migration. Its men went out repeatedly to find work, usually on the farms or in the towns of Southern Rhodesia. In 1956 it was estimated that some 41 per cent. of the able-bodied men were absent from the District in wage work at any one time. Much the same had probably been true in every year since the end of the nineteenth century. Labour migration had become an accepted way of life, and Valley Tonga were fully aware of the value of money. At the same time the Valley had not become fully involved in a cash economy. Money was little used in local transactions until after 1950. Labour migrants could bring back only such goods as they could carry with them, and there were no trading stores where cash could be exchanged for goods. This began to change in 1950 with the building of the roads. Until then imports consisted chiefly of hoes, cloth and blankets, salt and ornaments. In hunger years,

and these were numerous, people also bought grain from the Plateau or from Government stations.

Difficulties of transport and the shortage of cultivable soils discouraged the development of cash crops on any large scale. The Valley did support large herds of goats and sheep, and in some areas cattle. Recently a trade in sheep began to develop with the townships on the railway. The chief export, other than labour, was tobacco moulded into rough cones or cakes. Much of the tobacco left the area through a system of gift exchange entered into with African traders of other Rhodesian tribes. The trader visited the Valley to receive tobacco from men with whom he had entered into a bond of friendship. He then sold the tobacco on the Plateau and the following year returned with a load of cloth and other goods which he distributed among his friends. Cash rarely entered into the transaction. Since tobacco was grown on river land otherwise used for maize, only those with a sufficiency of river land could produce tobacco in quantity. Until about 1950 even these had little incentive to do so since disposing of the crop was uncertain. After 1950, a few men began to raise tobacco on a considerable scale. We heard of a number who sold tobacco to the value of £100 in 1956. The majority of cultivators needed such river land as they had for the production of food, and they usually sold or traded but one or two cakes of tobacco. Occasionally other produce left the Valley. There was a small internal market for grain and other produce, but this was sporadic and unorganized. If people had a surplus they were prepared to sell or trade. They did not produce for a market. Land was valued for its role in subsistence activities rather than for any cash return that could be obtained from it.

Maize, bulrush millet, and sorghum were the important grain crops; various cucurbits the most important subsidiary crops. Most cultivators still depended upon hoe cultivation, although in a few areas ploughing had been introduced. Prior to the rinderpest epidemic of 1896, tsetse fly excluded cattle from most of the Gwembe. Then the tsetse disappeared, and cattle were introduced from the Plateau. The densely populated southern portion of the Zambezi plain continued to be tsetse free, and here ploughing began in the 1930s. Further downstream, tsetse fly again occupied

the Zambezi plain from 1922 to 1950. Only after 1950 was it again possible to build up cattle herds and at the same time to introduce the plough.

Agriculture provided the bulk of the food supply, but the gathering of bush produce was of considerable importance. Flocks and herds provided some milk and meat, though small stock were valued primarily as a form of wealth and cattle chiefly as plough animals. Fishing was of importance at certain seasons of the year; hunting had become a minor activity since much of the big game had been driven from the Zambezi plain into less populated regions.

LAND-TENURE

Rights in land were defined chiefly with respect to arable land. The right to graze stock, gather bush produce (with some exceptions), hunt, and fish were unrestricted although exercised chiefly by members of a neighbourhood community (*cisi*).

The basic principle underlying the system of land-tenure was the right of the individual cultivator over any land which he had brought into cultivation. Arable land pertained to a neighbourhood community; it did not belong to the community. No authority within the community had the right to allocate land. Prior to 1900 each community was an autonomous political unit under the ritual leadership of a man known as the *sikatongo*. This position was vested in a lineage which was spoken of as having the *katongo* of the neighbourhood, but this did not give either the lineage or the *sikatongo* special rights in the soil or produce of the area. The ritual association between *sikatongo* and neighbourhood persisted up to the time of resettlement in 1958, but no *sikatongo* had secured land rights which differentiated him from his followers. Nor had any of the headmen or chiefs appointed by the Administration. If there was unused land within a neighbourhood which had not been subject to cultivation, anyone, including strangers, could clear it without consultation with headman or *sikatongo*. It was possible for a man to live in one neighbourhood and have fields in another. There was no feeling that as land shortages developed, the fields should be redistributed in order to give all claimants a share.

Those without land or with insufficient land could either emigrate, as many did to the Plateau, or they attempted to persuade their own kinsmen to share with them.

Since most fields, with the exception of recently cleared bush land, had been under cultivation for many years, the right of the present holder was subject to other rights vesting in small lineages. Most river fields had been brought into cultivation in the distant past, and the original cultivators were dead. Very often their names had been forgotten. But death did not terminate the interest which the original cultivator had in his fields. His rights over them formed part of his estate and were presumed to vest for all time in his lineage.

Initially the first claim upon it vested in the member of the lineage who became associated with the shade (*muḡimu*) of the dead man. If the shade holder wished to keep the fields, he could do so, or he might give them to another member of the lineage. The new holder was now spoken of as the owner of the fields, and he had the same rights as the original cultivator except that he could not give the fields absolutely to anyone outside the lineage. He could give them as he wished to lineage-mates. He then had no further claim upon the fields which now formed part of the estate of the recipient. The donor and other members of the lineage had no control over the use to which the recipient put the land so long as the latter did not attempt to transfer it to a non-lineage member.¹ Once a man was in possession of lineage land, he could not be forced to share it with other members of the lineage even if these were unable to find fields. When he died, they entered upon his estate and it was again reallocated among them.

The right to receive lineage land was not determined by sex. Men and women were equally eligible. Many women had considerable holdings in the valued river land which they had received through their lineages.

¹ The District Notebook records an instance of the sale of lineage land to a non-lineage person. This provoked a court case, and the Native Authority is reported to have stated that land could be sold in hunger years without permission of the lineage and at other times with permission. I have no other evidence that sale did take place. Informants denied that it could. They also denied that land was ever rented.

Since river land was the most valued and also the land which was most restricted in supply, lineage rights in it were more rigidly maintained than they were in the fields beyond the river margin where fallowing was essential. According to some informants there was a sufficient supply of this land in former days so that rights were not maintained when fallowing became necessary. Then as the population increased, people found it expedient to treat the margin fields as permanent assets. By 1956 it was assumed in most areas that all land, once cleared, whether in the bush or near the margins, would ultimately become lineage land and subject to the same rights as the old river fields.

Valley Tonga are matrilineal in descent, but have no fixed residence rule. Lineages were usually small, rarely numbering more than thirty to forty members, and many were smaller. They tended to be localized in a particular neighbourhood, though some members might live elsewhere. Lineage-mates were not expected to build together or to work their lands in common. When a woman married, she joined her husband in his homestead. Her sons might continue to live with their father or if they wished they might found their own homesteads anywhere within the neighbourhood. Most marriages took place between men and women belonging to the same neighbourhood, and the children of the marriage had no reason to move to join lineage-mates. When a woman married a man of another neighbourhood, her sons might have more reason to move back to her home, but frequently they could obtain land in their father's vicinity. If they cleared this land, upon their deaths it became the property of their lineage which had the right to install another holder.

He might move to live near the fields, but if they lay near the borders of his own neighbourhood he might cultivate the land without changing his residence.

In time a lineage might have claims to land scattered through a number of contiguous neighbourhoods. Even within the neighbourhood with which it was primarily associated, it did not control a consolidated block of land. Its members might have cleared originally in various localities. In the 1950s when men were bringing new bush land into cultivation, fathers and sons and close

friends tended to take up adjacent fields while lineage-mates might be clearing distant fields. It was assumed that these fields would eventually swell the land pertaining to the various lineages of the original cultivators.

Lineage land therefore consisted of a large number of small fields scattered through the cultivated area of a neighbourhood. The scattered nature of the holdings was also due to the fact that land did on occasion come to be transferred from one lineage to another. This came about because both men and women cultivated fields allocated to them by kinsmen who did not belong to their lineages. In some instances, the cultivator was almost entirely dependent upon such fields, but almost every one cultivated some land to which he had no ultimate claim.

The holder of lineage land although he could not transfer full rights in it to a non-lineage member could allocate a portion of his fields among his wives and children. Most men did so. At any time the holder could reclaim all or any portion of the allotted land, but usually he left his children in possession. When he died, his lineage could recover the fields, but the shade holder who was now the legal father of the children of the dead man usually left them in possession of the fields which they had been cultivating. When they in turn died, the lineage might still be prepared to let the land pass to their children since these were grandchildren of the lineage and closely associated with it. On the death of the grandchildren, the lineage should recover the land, but by this time the memory of the original transaction might well be forgotten. In this event, the land was assumed to form part of the estate of the last cultivator and thus passed to his or her lineage.

Lineage land therefore consisted of scattered fields in the hands of a large number of holders, some of whom might be members of other lineages. Over time the fields also became highly fragmented since they were frequently subdivided. By 1956 many river fields consisted of tiny plots sufficient only to grow a few cucurbits and a little maize. Their holders still clung to them, especially because they provided green vegetables during the long dry season.

At the same time, the fields in the possession of a man or woman

usually consisted of a number of small plots, frequently at considerable distance from one another. In addition people were cultivating larger fields on the margins, sometimes at a distance of two or three miles from the river, but these too might consist of a number of separate fields. Frequently the dispersal of the fields reduced the efficiency of cultivation since the cultivator had to divide his time among the various small plots, all of which might need attention at the same time. There was also the problem of guarding the various fields against the inroads of stock, birds, and the animals of the bush. People were aware of the difficulties of the situation, but they made no attempt to exchange plots in order to consolidate their fields into more efficient holdings. They thought of each field as a separate entity. Each had its well-marked boundaries, and any attempt to encroach upon a boundary was furiously resented.

Consolidation would have been extremely difficult in any case. The Valley people had no way of evaluating one field against another except in very rough fashion, either in terms of size or productivity. Furthermore the various plots used by a cultivator were rarely held under the same form of legal tenure.

Valley Tonga do not distinguish the various forms of tenure with any precision of vocabulary, though they have a large number of terms to describe different types of fields. They are well aware, however, that rights in fields vary. We can therefore speak of a man having the use of land under four different types of tenure. The first applies to land which a man has cleared himself. By 1956 most of this land was bush land since river land had since been pre-empted in most neighbourhoods. Here the cultivator had the greatest right, including that of full transfer to a non-kinsman. Secondly he might have lineage land where the only impediment to his full possession was the right of the lineage to veto his transfer of his rights to anyone outside the lineage. Thirdly he might have land allocated to him by a father or grandfather. Usually he would be referred to as the owner of this land, but he was well aware that he held it at the pleasure of others. He could be dispossessed at any time; he would not re-allocate it without the permission of its lineage owners; it did not form part of his estate and his heirs had no claim upon it. Finally there was land allocated to a cultivator by

a spouse or affine where the right to use the land is largely dependent upon the continuation of the marriage but even then might be revoked. No men to our knowledge had fields given to them by their wives, but a few had received fields from affines. A husband should provide his wife with fields, and almost every married woman had one or more fields allocated to her by her husband.

Rights in land varied with the source of the field rather than with the age or sex of the cultivator. When a woman had received fields from her lineage or from her father, she had exactly the same rights that any man had in comparable land. A woman could give lineage land to her children or other members of her lineage without consulting her husband. She could cultivate her land as she saw fit and refuse to share her crop with her husband or co-wives. Divorce or widowhood did not affect her status as a land-holder. On the other hand, land allocated to a woman by her husband was always subject to his control. He could dictate her use of it. At any time he could resume a portion of her fields to give it to another wife or to his children. On divorce or widowhood, a woman lost her right to use such land although she could remove the crop which she had tended. Women therefore felt little security of tenure in land allocated to them by their husbands. They preferred to marry within their home neighbourhoods where they had independent claims upon land. They much preferred to work their independent holdings, and here they worked with pride and enthusiasm. They were also more tenacious of existing rights in land than were men since they had little opportunity to acquire full rights in new fields by clearing bush land. Occasionally a woman could obtain the assistance of a son or son-in-law in preparing a new field. In that event, the full range of rights in it vested in her. Most women received bush land only from their husbands. This meant that they held it at the husband's pleasure.

Rights in fields determined the organization of labour and the division of the crops. Nominally the producing and consuming unit was the family composed of husband, wife, and young children. Frequently it was the polygynous family since some 40 per cent. of the married men had two or more wives. The husband was the acknowledged head of the unit, and he had a right to the

labour of his wives and children. But he could organize the members of this family into a work team only in relation to the fields which he retained for himself. Food from these fields was also shared within the unit. Each wife worked independently in her fields, and could refuse to share her crop with her co-wives and her co-wives' children. Where one wife had river land and the other none, the latter was at a definite disadvantage, especially during the dry season. Inequalities in holdings therefore affected the relationships inside the family unit.

Between families, or individuals, there were considerable differentials in land holding, and status tended to be related to the amount of land which an individual controlled. Until the late 1940s it was control of river land which was of the utmost importance. An individual's opportunity to acquire such land depended very largely upon considerations of kinship. The various lineages had differential holdings in river land, depending upon the amount its members had originally brought under cultivation, the extent to which it had been able to accumulate land from other lineages, and the extent to which it had permitted the dispersal of its holdings among children and grandchildren. Where the lineage had increased in size, it might be unable to provide for all its members. Those who controlled land allocation because of their association with the shades of the dead might also monopolize the various fields and refuse to share with younger members. Members of old lineages might therefore be largely dependent upon fields on the margin, but they had at least a hope that they would eventually be in a position to acquire river land as older kinsmen died and estates became available for re-allocation. Each neighbourhood also had a few immigrants, who had no hope of ever acquiring river land since they had no kinsmen who controlled such land. Among such people feeling ran high about their exclusion from the valued land, but they were powerless to change the situation. In the late 1940s, people in some portions of the plain found it possible to develop bush gardens beyond the old borders of cultivation. Ambitious men with an insufficiency of river land acquired big holdings which were highly productive, at least initially. Inequalities in land-holding were thereby minimized for a period of some ten

years, but by 1956 such neighbourhoods were again feeling the pinch of a renewed land shortage.

In 1956, probably there was still adequate land available in most neighbourhoods to provide subsistence for each family unit, though men complained that they could not find land enough for their ambitions. We have complete information on the land holdings in only one village, in the middle portion of the plain. Here the average acreage cultivated by an adult married man or woman was 2.51 acres. The average acreage in river land which could be cultivated during the dry season was only 0.26 acres. Ten people had no river land and had to rely entirely upon the rainy season cultivation. The range in holdings of adults was 1 to 6 acres. In the next village, where unfortunately we did not obtain a complete census of the holdings, lived two of the biggest land holders in this portion of the plain. One had some 5.75 acres in river land which could be cultivated during the dry season as well as in the rains, and 6.23 acres which could be cultivated only in the rains. His effective acreage therefore was 17.73 acres. The other man had a comparable acreage with equally valuable holdings of river land. The wives of the two men had their independent fields, unfortunately not measured, which might well bring the effective acreage used by each of the two family units up to 25 to 30 acres.

The existence of river land which could be kept in perpetual cultivation, and the relative shortage of such land, had led the Valley Tonga to develop a system of land-tenure based on the maintenance of permanent inheritable rights vested ultimately in small lineages. Ownership could be distinguished from occupation. The right of access to permanent fields discouraged geographical mobility. No mystical ties bound people to a neighbourhood or to their fields. Only the *sikatongo* and his lineage were in any way bound to the land. If they left, the shades might send illness until they returned to the neighbourhood with which they were associated. The rest of the people could come and go as they wished, but those who had adequate fields or the hopes of obtaining fields remained within the closely knit neighbourhood community where they cultivated the same fields year after year.

LAND-TENURE AND RESETTLEMENT

The resettlement problem as seen by Government consisted largely in technical problems relating to the provision of adequate facilities in the new areas: the location of cultivable soils, the provision of water supplies, the eradication of tsetse and game, and the building of roads and schools. Government also faced the problem of persuading people to move, and in the end of compelling the removal of those who refused to leave the plain. It was well aware that the Valley Tonga resented the move and that they were firmly attached to their old neighbourhoods. Some of the hardships that the resettlement involved were inevitable, given the conditions of the region. Since there was inadequate land for all those living in a plains neighbourhood to be settled together, closely knit communities were broken up. Some villages were settled fifty to sixty miles apart, thus separating lineage mates and other kinsmen. Property rights and claims to status were extinguished by the mere fact of removal.

The Valley Tonga were peculiarly vulnerable to the impact of resettlement because of their land-tenure system. At one blow they were faced with a reorganization also of their methods of land usage. The majority of the people have been settled in the hills where they have been allocated land which normally would be subject to shifting cultivation only. Since there is insufficient land in the hills to permit shifting cultivation given the increased population now dependent upon it, new techniques will need to be introduced permitting a conservative type of agriculture based on rotation and possibly on the use of fertilizer. There is probably too little land to permit even of short-term fallowing, which is the only conservative measure at present known to the people. In their old areas they had permanent fields, but they had not needed to develop any techniques to maintain fertility.

Even given the introduction of new techniques, it is doubtful if there is sufficient land in the resettlement areas to provide the whole of the population with adequate fields for subsistence purposes. The Administration hopes that a commercial fishing industry in

Lake Kariba will eventually absorb those who cannot be provided with land.

Initially, however, cultivation may be more efficiently organized than it was in the old areas. For the moment the old pattern of scattered small fields has vanished, as men are clearing land for themselves and their wives in a contiguous strip wherever it is possible to do so. The old bone of contention between co-wives has disappeared since each wife will now have approximately equal fields of equal value. The position of the husband as head of the family work team has also been enhanced since he is the ultimate owner of all land worked by members of his family. He will have the right to direct his wives more closely than he did in the past and will have a say in which crops are to be planted in the various fields. The distribution of produce among households belonging to a polygynous family unit will be equalized.

This advantage, however, may be of temporary nature. Although the resettlement has wiped out the existing lineage rights in land in the old neighbourhoods, these will become re-established unless some formal change is made in the rules of land-tenure.

Initially all fields in the resettlement areas will approximate to the newly cleared bush fields of the old neighbourhoods. The man who clears each field will be the owner with full rights to dispose of such land to whomsoever he will. He may give it to sons and daughters or to wives without his lineage having the right to reclaim it on his death. Since there is little land for expansion, he will have considerable incentive to provide for his children by subdividing his fields among them. Any fields which are still in his possession at the time of his death will become subject to the claims of his lineage. Since its members too will be short of land, they will undoubtedly exercise their prerogative to take the fields even if these lie at some distance from those which other members are cultivating. One can foresee the accumulation of scattered small plots in the hands of those who are installed as the holder of the shades of the first cultivators.

At this point differences in the size of holdings are likely also to be re-established. Initially because of the shortage of land, men were not permitted to clear such land as they wished or considered

appropriate to their needs. An attempt was made to allocate land on a *per capita* basis. The old status differences between the man rich in land and the man poor in land were eliminated, and with it no doubt much of the influence of the wealthy land owner who tended to serve as a focus for community organization. Since the Valley Tonga do not believe that all members of the community should have equal rights in land, the ambitious men will attempt to gather into their own hands those fields to which they can lay claim through their position in the lineage. They will not thereby acquire large consolidated holdings, since lineage-mates are not clearing land in a single block. Rather they are taking up fields at various points throughout a resettlement area, and sometimes in adjacent regions. Where they are now separated by many miles, the lineage claims will probably lapse.

Women's rights in land have been seriously compromised by the resettlement. They lost their old rights without an opportunity of immediately establishing new ones. Although land has been allocated to men with regard to the number of wives which they have, this does not mean that the wives have become the owners of such land. Since the husband has the responsibility for clearing the fields, the Valley Tonga concede him the rights of ownership. Few women, except widows and divorcees, have had fields cleared for them by other men and only they can claim undisputed ownership. The rest hold land only at the pleasure of their husbands. If they seek a divorce or separation, they also vacate their fields. At the same time it will be almost impossible for them to acquire new fields since their kinsmen now have little land at their disposal to share with them. Widows, unless they have received a field in gift from the husband, are also likely to be deprived of land. Over the years, women may eventually acquire independent fields again as daughters or as members of land-holding lineages. Until then they are left in a highly ambiguous position. Their pride as land holders has been attacked, they have lost in some measure their independence, and have in general become much more vulnerable to the demands of their husbands and their husbands' lineages.

The resettlement of the Valley Tonga although it wiped out existing rights in land did not destroy the legal system under which

land is controlled. The people themselves when they learned of the impending move were concerned with the loss of their old fields and the quality of the soil and other characteristics of the regions into which they were to go. As far as I know neither they nor the Administration raised the question of the legal rules which should be applied to the new holdings. What happens next depends very largely upon whether the technical officers are able to develop conservative techniques of agriculture applicable to the new regions and whether they can persuade the people to accept them. If they cannot, most of the fields will be subject to rapid loss of fertility, and the question of the establishment of permanent rights in land loses importance. If new techniques are introduced successfully, then it becomes of considerable moment to consider the possibility of altering the customary rules of tenure. Given the present shortage of available land which is somewhat offset by the present consolidated nature of the holdings, and given the tendency under customary law for holdings to become subdivided and fragmented, some change seems essential.

RÉSUMÉ

La construction de la centrale hydro-électrique et la formation du lac artificiel de Kariba avaient nécessité en 1952 le déplacement de 52,000 Valley Tonga. L'A. étudie le système de la tenure foncière antérieur aux mouvements de repeuplement ainsi que les changements prévisibles, apportés par ce système, pour le groupe Tonga habitant la plaine du Zambèse en Rhodésie du Nord (vallée Gwembe). Dans cette vallée seule, en 1956, 29,000 personnes – soit 56.8 pour cent de la population totale – avaient été déplacées, en majeure partie, vers de nouvelles régions du District Gwembe. En 1956, la densité moyenne était 7.9 au mille carré. De larges parties de terres étaient inhabitées à cause de l'absence de sols arables, le manque d'eau pendant la saison sèche prolongée et la présence de gros gibier et de tsetse. La population clairsemée vivait en petites communautés associées aux meilleurs sols. Ainsi donc certaines densités, sur les terrains d'alluvion, variaient entre 200 et 300 individus au mille carré. Ici l'agriculture était fixe, les champs

permanents; deux cultures par an pouvaient être faites sur les mêmes terrains. Cependant, la plupart des agriculteurs avaient aussi des champs sur les terrains plus pauvres de la plaine en dehors des limites des crues du Zambèse; ici la mise-en-jachère était nécessaire. Sur ces jachères les droits des cultivateurs et de leurs héritiers étaient maintenus, à moins que la terre disponible soit fort abondante.

Les droits à long terme qui lient les gens à une région déterminée diminuent donc la mobilité géographique, de sorte que la majorité des individus vivaient dans leurs voisinages de naissance. La vallée étant fort isolée et séparée des plateaux de la Rhodésie du Nord par 50 à 70 milles de collines accidentées, le travail migrant était fort répandu, à tel point que 41 pour cent des hommes adultes étaient absents de la région. L'agriculture était essentiellement de subsistance, maïs, mil et sorgho étant les cultures principales. Ramassage et pêche étaient importants, mais la chasse était une activité mineure.

Les droits fonciers sont essentiellement définis en relation avec le sol arable. Les droits de pâturage, de ramassage, de chasse, de pêche sont cependant essentiellement exercés par les membres d'une communauté de voisinage (*cisi*). Le fondement du système de la tenure est le droit du cultivateur individuel sur toute terre mise en culture par lui. Aucune autorité n'a donc le droit d'attribuer la terre. Avant 1900 le *cisi* formait une communauté politique autonome, placée sous le leadership rituel du *sikatongo*. Cette position, dévolue au lignage qui avait le *katongo*, ne donnait aucun droit spécial sur le sol ou les produits de celui-ci. Cette association avait continué à exister jusqu'au moment du repeuplement. La terre non mise en culture dans une communauté donnée pouvait être défrichée par n'importe qui, même par un étranger, sans même consulter le chef ou le *sikatongo*. Il était, en outre, possible de vivre dans une communauté et d'avoir des champs dans une autre. Ceux qui n'ont pas de terre ou qui en ont trop peu sont obligés d'émigrer vers les plateaux ou de convaincre leurs parents à partager avec eux.

Les droits du premier cultivateur étaient, à sa mort, perpétuellement dévolus à son lignage. En principe, cependant les prétentions majeures étaient exercées par celui du lignage qui fut associé

à l'ombre du défunt. Le 'détenteur de l'ombre' conservait le champ pour lui ou le donnait à un autre membre du lignage. Le nouveau détenteur du champ avait maintenant les mêmes droits que le premier cultivateur, sauf qu'il ne pouvait léguer le champ à quelqu'un qui n'était pas membre du lignage. D'autre part, en le donnant à un membre du lignage il n'avait plus de droits à faire valoir sur le champ. Un homme en possession d'une terre lignagère ne peut être forcé de la partager avec d'autres membres de son lignage.

Quant à l'acquisition de droits sur les terres lignagères, hommes et femmes avaient les mêmes droits. A noter aussi que les droits lignagers sur les terrains d'alluvion sont plus rigides que ceux exercés sur les terres en dehors de la limite des crues. L'accroissement de la population produisit cependant un attachement plus grand à ces derniers champs.

Les Valley Tonga sont matrilineaires, mais ils n'ont pas des règles de résidence fixe; ils sont groupés en petits lignages de 30 à 40 membres; ces lignages tendent à être localisés dans un voisinage déterminé. Les membres du lignage ne construisent pas ensemble et ne font pas les champs en commun. Le mariage est virilocal; les fils continuent à vivre avec leur père ou fondent une habitation n'importe où dans le voisinage. La plupart des mariages ont lieu entre membres du même voisinage. Même lorsqu'une femme a été mariée à un homme d'un autre voisinage, les fils très souvent mettent en culture une terre située à proximité de celle de leur père — terre qui passe à leur mort aux membres de leur lignage. Ainsi donc le lignage peut avoir droit sur des terres dispersées dans une série de voisinages. Dans le voisinage même la terre lignagère consiste en grand nombre de petits champs dispersés à travers l'aire cultivée du voisinage. Aussi les terres peuvent elles être occasionnellement transférées d'un lignage à l'autre. En effet, le possesseur d'une terre lignagère pouvait attribuer une partie de ses champs à ses femmes et à ses enfants; il avait le droit de les réclamer à nouveau, cependant il laissa généralement ses enfants en possession de ceux-ci. A la mort du père, l'héritier de l'ombre de celui-ci pouvait les reprendre, mais comme il devint le père juridique des enfants du premier il n'exerçait pas nécessairement ce droit.

Ainsi donc des terres pouvaient être laissées même aux petits-enfants du lignage; à leur mort le lignage propriétaire devait récupérer ses droits, cependant les premières transactions ayant parfois été oubliées les terres changeaient définitivement d'appartenance lignagère.

Les droits fonciers exercés par les femmes étaient strictement comparables à ceux des hommes. Cependant les terres attribuées par leurs maris continuaient à être intégralement contrôlées par ceux-ci. Les femmes préféraient donc être mariées à un homme du voisinage afin de pouvoir travailler leurs propres parcelles. Elles défendaient leurs droits avec plus de ténacité, puisqu'elles n'avaient que peu d'opportunité pour acquérir des droits par premier défrichement.

Les droits sur les champs déterminaient l'organisation du travail et la division des récoltes. Chaque femme travaillait ses champs; seul sur ses propres champs le mari pouvait organiser les membres de sa famille en un groupe de travail. Aussi les inégalités des parcelles, détenues par les différentes femmes affectaient-elles les relations familiales. Le rang social était mis en rapport avec la somme des terres contrôlées par un individu. Avant 1940, surtout les terrains alluviaux étaient importants à cet égard; plus tard, des hommes ambitieux avaient réussi à acquérir et à mettre en valeur de larges parcelles situées en dehors des terrains alluviaux. Ainsi, pendant une dizaine d'années, les inégalités foncières étaient réduites. Cependant vers 1956, ces voisinages ressentirent une nouvelle pénurie de terres.

Pour le Gouvernement, le problème du repeuplement a été avant tout un problème technique. Certaines difficultés furent inévitables. La pénurie de terres nécessita la séparation de groupes locaux d'une structure serrée. Le déplacement impliqua aussi la perte des droits de propriété et du rang social. L'insuffisance des terres nécessitera également de nouvelles méthodes d'usage des terres. On peut considérer que certains progrès réalisés dans le cadre du repeuplement sont provisoires et que les anciens droits lignagers seront rétablis, à moins que les règles de la tenure ne soient formellement changées. Les différences de taille des parcelles s'accroîtront à nouveau. Les droits fonciers des femmes sont

considérablement diminués. Le repeuplement des Valley Tonga n'a pas détruit leur système juridique de contrôle foncier. Si les nouvelles techniques agricoles peuvent être introduites avec quelque succès, il devient essentiel d'envisager les possibilités de modifier les règles de tenure traditionnelles.

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Conversion and Tradition: the Impact of Christianity on Valley Tonga Religion

ELIZABETH COLSON

Ethnographic data on Valley Tonga of Gwembe District, Zambia, are examined for the light they shed on conditions appropriate to the development of revitalization movements. From 1957 through 1963 the majority of Valley Tonga went through a series of disrupting experiences sparked by external events which demonstrated their vulnerability to foreign control. Old communities were broken up by resettlement, their familiar environment was destroyed by a hydroelectric dam, and the political assumptions of their order were outmoded by the ending of the colonial era. It was a time of crisis but the majority of people did not respond with anything comparable to a revitalization movement. In one neighborhood a strong religious zeal associated with Christianity did appear in 1962, shortly after the African victory at the polls brought European power to an end. This movement is examined in terms of its membership, ideology, and impact upon the community. Its highly selective appeal and the content of its message are evidence that the significant factors in its development were local, and that it was a revolt against the domination of the elders rather than a response to a general crisis.

I

ALTHOUGH MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES have been common elements in African life for generations, it is sometimes still possible to observe the first significant impact of mission taught Christianity upon an unconverted population. This paper deals with such a situation and analyzes the enthusiasm for Christianity which for a few months in 1962-1963 waxed strong among some of the residents of Chezia, a Gwembe Tonga neighborhood in the southern province of Zambia.¹ Since then it has waned again, but in its beginnings and in its early manifestations it resembled the revitalization cults so prominent in anthropological literature though it was based on mission teaching and remained within a mission church. The present paper demonstrates the highly selective adoption of proffered teaching and the degree to which the adoption was a cloak for local discontents, though at first glance it seemed to be a response to a general crisis. It also demonstrates

¹ This paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Denver, Colorado, 1965. Field work in Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia) in 1955-1957 and 1962-1963 was supported by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (now the Institute for Social Research in the University of Zambia). Field work in July-August, 1965 was supported by a grant from the Social Science Council; the Institute loaned field equipment and helped to arrange the trip. I thank my colleague Dr. Thayer Scudder for the use of his field notes for 1956-1957 and 1962-1963. For background information see Howarth 1961; Colson 1960, 1964, 1966, 1967; Scudder 1962.

the importance of paying careful consideration to both membership and belief if we are to probe the meaning of new religious movements.

The Christian movement in Chezia occurred after a time of upheaval. Chezia lies in the Gwembe Valley, and its people, like a great many other Gwembe Tonga, were resettled in 1958 when Kariba Dam began to flood their former homes with the waters of Lake Kariba. Against their protests they were moved to the desolate hills which lay above the future shoreline of the lake, and here they had known some years of helpless indignation, hunger, hardship, and much labor in pioneering the bush. Only with the harvest of 1960 did they begin to grow enough food to feed themselves; only in 1962 did they have an abundance of food. In 1962 the countryside still showed signs of its recent occupancy, though it was no longer regarded as frighteningly strange.

The resettlement had shaken whatever faith the Chezia people had in the good will of the European-dominated government of the country. Any doubts that they may have had about its ruthlessness ended when the police were ordered to fire upon men rioting against being moved to a distant portion of the Gwembe Valley. At the same time the power of the Europeans had been amply demonstrated by their ability to carry through the move against local opposition and by the technical miracle of the dam which transformed a vast area of country into a lake. The belief in the power of various local spirits which had been held responsible for rains, harvests, and general well-being in the old neighborhood areas had been shaken, if not completely lost, when these spirits failed to protect the people from the move or to punish the Europeans for their acts of sacrilege in the destruction of local shrines. People also doubted that the old spirits could be effective in the new areas in which both they and the people were strangers. Local rituals for neighborhood purposes were largely abandoned between 1958-1962. The big harvest of 1962 was proof to many in Chezia that they did well enough without the local spirits and that it was pointless to believe in them or their prophets. The shades of the dead continued to be propitiated in family and kinship rituals. They were commonly adduced as the cause of illness or other misfortune, but the disruption of vicinages by a move which had sent kinsmen who were former neighbors to different and distant areas made it difficult to carry out the offerings at the appropriate times. Attention to the cult of the shades seemed more cursory than in 1957; scepticism was more apparent.

During the five-year period in which their material local world was revolutionized, the Chezia people also found the external political framework of their lives dissolving around them. They had grown up in a world dominated by Europeans, though in their own area they encountered Europeans only

rarely. Ambivalent as they were towards European authority, most of them still regarded it as a necessary condition for the maintenance of law and order. The oldest people could remember the days of raids and anarchy before the coming of the Europeans. They doubted their ability to maintain a law-abiding society if the Europeans left. They were also certain that most of the material goods they desired depended upon the continued presence of Europeans who provided the jobs whereby they earned money and the stores, in which they exchanged money for goods. Now the Europeans were being challenged by the rise of African parties which initially demanded increased participation in government and then the right of the African majority to provide the government. Chezia people, like other Gwembe residents, had early committed themselves to the first powerful African party to appear, the African Nationalist Congress; the Congress had championed their rejection of cassava growing in the early 1950s and their struggle against resettlement in the late 1950s. But only the most embittered amongst them wanted to do more than moderate European power and obtain a voice in decisions which affected them. The rest were prepared to let Europeans continue to govern as they had in the past; they wanted to be assured only that the government would be in the interest of Africans. Few Gwembe men had gone beyond the first few years of primary school or had acquired any great proficiency in the skills regarded as European. Only one had managed to create more than a local reputation in the political arena. Gwembe residents did not view their fellows as capable of rule, and they had little desire to be ruled by other Africans. They were strongly opposed to UNIP, the United African Independence Party, on a variety of grounds. Among their reasons was the fear that it would precipitate self-government and the exodus of the Europeans, and the conviction that it was a party of foreign Africans from other districts who did not share their concerns or their ideas.

In October 1962, the first Zambian election in which African voters were in a majority, returned UNIP to power with a program for speedy independence. A government largely composed of UNIP African political leaders was formed. In the Gwembe, the local administration began to prepare the people for the transfer of power and the end of the old regime. The men who had once been denounced by the administration as the enemies of law and order whom all must reject were now presented as the government which all must accept. Many in Chezia were incredulous. They felt that the Europeans who had first thrown them away into the desolate hills had now abandoned them to anarchy and poverty. As they saw it, the perfidious Europeans had transferred their power to the leaders of UNIP without regard for local wishes.

II

It was at this point, immediately after the election, that Chezia developed its first strong urge towards Christianity. It is tempting to see this as a response to the uncertainties of the period and to the sense of discontinuity with the past which was common at this time. Certainly some of the African evangelists at work in the Gwembe preached that the second coming and the end of the world were at hand, interpreting the African rejection of British control as an instance of the sons rising against their fathers foretold in Revelations. They also used the Cuban incident with the confrontation of Russia and the United States, the war between India and China, and the fighting in the Congo as further evidence that the last days were at hand; for clearly nation was warring against nation. They preached that those who wished to be saved must decide immediately and declare themselves as Christians, for the time would soon be upon them when it would be no longer possible to choose. Nevertheless, only in Chezia was there a noticeable response to such preaching, though almost all Gwembe neighborhoods had been affected by the resettlement and all were equally exposed to the impact of the political revolution. Elsewhere, as far as I have been able to discover, people remained indifferent to the appeal of the evangelists and missionaries. Furthermore, no other form of religious movement appeared at this time in response to the general feeling of crisis.

In considering likely responses to the resettlement crisis it was assumed that the thorough-going upheaval which beset the Gwembe during the resettlement period would be conducive to the appearance of religious reactions of the revitalization variety. This was not borne out by events. If the recent history of the Gwembe has any relevance for an understanding of the circumstances under which such movements are likely to occur, it appears that crisis periods involving external threat to a people do not in themselves encourage revitalization responses. This is true whether the external threat represents changes in the material environment, or the impingement of outside social, political, or economic forces.

III

The fact that Chezia, and Chezia alone, developed an enthusiastic religious reaction at this time may throw further light upon the conditions that favor the rise of a new movement. In Chezia the ground had been prepared: there was a potential following susceptible to the religious formulation and profoundly unhappy about its role in local affairs. Further, the requisite leadership appeared at the critical moment.

Chezia had long since received its first exposure to Christianity, and odd elements had been adopted into the local scene on a non-religious basis.

Christmas had long been a general secular holiday throughout the Gwembe, as it is everywhere in Central Africa. Satan was a common term of abuse. Since the late 1930s or early 1940s, Chezia children had attended a local school sponsored by the Pilgrim Holiness Church, an American fundamentalist sect. Between 1950 and 1958, the neighborhood came under more direct mission influence, when a sub-mission with resident American missionaries was established three miles distant.² Periodically the missionaries held services in the villages for any they could persuade to listen; in the school, children were given Bible instruction by teachers trained by the mission. At the time of resettlement, the few early students of this school were young elders in their mid-thirties or early forties, but only two of them had finished as much as Standard IV (approximately the sixth year of school). Two young men had recently completed primary school, but both had taken jobs outside the neighborhood. The school, the missionaries, and the African pastor stationed at the mission had all been unsuccessful in making converts in Chezia, but at least the school had begun to have an impact on the people. Older school boys in 1957 did not accept mission teaching in so far as it dealt with the truth of Christianity, but they had become doubtful of the truth of their own religion. They had noted that neither school teachers nor missionaries made offerings to the dead but that they still seemed to thrive. They questioned whether the dead had any power to affect the living, and they were prepared to put their doubts to the test by refusing to take part in offerings.

From perhaps 1958 on, it was generally accepted that school children would not be present at offerings. These children were the young adults of 1962. Girls and young women who had been pupils in the schools continued to accept village standards, but the young men looked to another world for at least some of their ideas. A few who had gone on to the mission boarding school for further education had been baptized as part of the way of life at the mission. Baptism for them seemed only a form and was not regarded as an indication of further commitment to Christianity once the school life was abandoned.

Early in 1962 the first large number of Chezia youths finished primary school and began the search for jobs. Once, their education would have given them access to clerical jobs, the goal and justification of schooling. All three Chezia men who had finished primary school in earlier years had found such positions and had left the neighborhood. This year, however, marked a point at which Zambia discovered that it had more primary graduates than it had white-collar jobs to offer. School leavers found only unskilled work

² After resettlement the Chezia people were located some twelve miles from the new mission site. Between 1958 and 1962 the missionaries were more engrossed in rebuilding and developing the station than they were in proselytizing in the villages.

available, which those who had never been to school could do equally well. Most of them returned home to face the ridicule of their guardians, who had sent them to school under duress, and to find that the village had no use for their training. Neither did villagers accord respect to young men who earned no money and remained dependent on their elders.

The youths formed a discontented group, anxious to impress someone with their knowledge and sophistication, and at odds with their elders who demanded an increasing load of work from them in return for their keep. With them were a few contemporaries who had been unable to go to boarding school but who still yearned for the skills acquired in school. They, too, were in the village because of the shortage of work, and they were equally dependent upon elders who exploited their labor and treated them as of little account. All of these young men were faced with the necessity of finding money for elopement damages and bridewealth, and with the shortage of work they could not hope to earn enough to meet their needs. Their elders, who had livestock and hoarded savings, had a better chance than in earlier years to dominate the youths who could no longer look to labor migration as a sure escape from the village.

Two school teachers constituted the natural rallying point for the youths as they provided visual evidence that education paid and a continuing link with the world outside the neighborhood which at least claimed to value education. The teachers were strangers to the Chezia neighborhood, and were often at odds with the local elders. They stood with the young men. Perhaps their nominal Christianity and their actual position as religious instructors of the local children reinforced any leanings the youths may have had towards Christianity. Certainly they were involved in the occasional long discussions the young men held about the relevance of the Bible to their own lives; these discussions were marked by scepticism or by suggestions that the Bible was after all something for Europeans rather than Africans. The school teachers made no attempt to acquire converts to Christianity. Their enmity to the resident missionary who supervised their work as manager of the local schools left them with no desire to enhance his position by helping to draw people to the mission.

Immediately after the election, when people were still busily canvassing the future, the situation was galvanized by the arrival of two preaching missions. First came a Tonga evangelist who preached the second coming of Christ and the fate that would overcome all who failed to follow him. He also taught that sorcerers could not harm those who loved Christ. The second mission included a Pilgrim Holiness missionary from outside the district and six Tonga candidates for the ministry. They spent three days in the neighborhood, visiting homesteads and urging people to turn to Christ.

They preached the love of God and emphasized the fact that Christ had died for people's sins. The missionary who led the group was a magnetic person, fervent in his preaching, vehement in his belief in the truth of Christianity and the obligation of all to follow Christ. At the same time he treated with the local people as equals, and preached to them as his brothers. Even those who were deaf to his preaching spoke of him with respect. Some listened eagerly because his leadership was no threat to those who were seeking to find their role as intermediaries between the neighborhood and the external world. Coming from outside the district, he did not expect to remain in close contact with the neighborhood or its people. His was a preaching mission, not a long-term commitment to a mission congregation. Neither he nor the candidates for the ministry expected to lead any congregation that might form. As such, presumably, they aroused no apprehension in the minds of the school teachers or the young men who might become rivals for leadership.

Immediately after the preaching mission left enthusiasm for Christianity was high, with large attendance at the Sunday services held at the school, the formation of a Bible study class leading towards baptism, and the frequent gathering of little groups intent on discussing the Bible and the superiority of Christianity. Those who joined the movement were the school children, the discontented youths, a few senior young men who for one reason or another were in peripheral positions, and two elders somewhat at odds with their world. Though the other elders were at least equally perturbed by the resettlement and by the recent political revolution, they showed no interest in Christianity as a solution to their problems. Nor did the women; only the foreign wives of the school teachers took part in the services. Elders and women continued to accept the standards of the village and were more content with the status accorded to them and with the religious beliefs which reinforced this status. Even school girls, who continued to think of their role in life as similar to that of their mothers, were lukewarm attendants at the new Christian meetings. The real zest for Christianity had its focus among school boys and youths. The teachers who led the services had to accept their failure to find a following among elders and women. The movement thus was one of young people, and it was tailored to their desires and to their view of life.

The Chezia congregation was content to accept at face value the rituals introduced by the mission. Both Sunday services and prayer meetings followed the standard format of the Pilgrim Holiness Church, and the hymns and prayers were those used at the mission. Sermons reflected mission sermons. On this plane, the acceptance of mission teaching was overwhelming. The hymns, prayers, and order of service were treated almost as though they

were magical formulae which would bring about the desired result, the control of European knowledge, if carefully observed.

Yet from the beginning, the beliefs the enthusiasts quoted, the arguments they used in attempting to convert others, the statements they recited to one another, and the rules they attempted to live by reflected little either of the sermons preached by the missionaries, or of the general teachings of the church which had sent them forth. The congregation called itself Christian, but its Christianity was one in which Christ was largely absent.

The faith appeared to be founded on a number of tenets. Perhaps of first importance was the belief that the Bible was the ultimate source of truth. It could be cited as an authority under all circumstances, and it was considered in fact to be literally true. Few people tried to put this tenet into daily practice, for in effect they were only saying that the truth was open to those who could read, and only to them or to those who would listen to them. By equating the Bible with truth, they undercut the authority of the elders, who could not read. They had founded their beliefs and actions on something beyond the control of the elders. So I later heard children say, "God wrote down ten, and only ten commandments. Then he taught the Europeans to read so that they could read these." When elders queried the children as to what they meant by such nonsense, the children rolled their eyes in horror and muttered, "Some older people have never learned to read!" This faith in the Bible reflected the fundamentalist creed of the Church from which the group sprang, but it had a new meaning in the Chezia context. It provided the one secure defense that youth had against those who because of their seniority could claim to know the rules of life better than did the young. In the name of the Bible, the young men and children could claim authority equal to or higher than that of any elder. An outsider who evinced scepticism of the truth of the Bible in all its aspects was disconcerting to the new Christians, to say the least. In consternation, one young man said: "If the Bible is not true, then how are we to know what to think? What shall we believe in? What is true?" For him the repudiation of shades, spirits, divination, sorcery, and much else depended on the assurance that the Bible was indeed true and that therefore other aspects of European belief were also true.

The Bible was then the source of truth, and its truth assured all the things that the Europeans had taught. It was the source of European power and wealth. This belief convinced the new Chezia Christians that those who learned to read could acquire the knowledge and power of the Europeans. They may have upheld this contention the more strongly since many of them had suddenly realized that they would be required to cope with a rapidly changing world in which other Africans had already made major

strides in the acquisition of European skills. Their adherence to the Bible may have been an attempt to acquire a similar competence by an easier means than the long road through secondary education which none of them had attempted. The power and the position of the Europeans was there for the taking; the Bible was a means to an end.

In the new belief, Christ had little place; he was rarely mentioned save in one context. Christ had never interested the Gwembe people. After all he was so obviously a wealthy European that few felt any fellow feeling for him. The statement that "Christ had died for our sins" had little appeal to them since they did not feel sinful, though they frequently felt helpless. It was only when Jesus was presented as curing the sick that a momentary interest in his life was aroused.

The members of the Chezia congregation usually mentioned Christ only because of his death. He had been killed; that was clear from the story, and the Europeans thought this an evil deed. Who had killed him? The Europeans. Therefore the Europeans were a very wicked people who had started all the troubles of the world. Those among the congregation who were most violent in their political views or most concerned for their own leadership were those most likely to raise again and again the cry, "Who killed Jesus?" Perhaps for them this justified the downfall of the European and the triumph of the African. It certainly suggested that Africans were better than Europeans and that the European was not a necessary medium between them and God. They could now read the Bible and had an equal opportunity to find its message. They had not killed Jesus and so had a better opportunity to be right in their interpretations. In their catch phrase they reflected the earlier use of the same slogan by the African Nationalist Congress leaders on the Copperbelt. But Congress leaders had used it to discredit mission-led churches in favor of the separatist Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina, which they saw as an African Church. In Chezia, the cry was used not to form a new church outside the mission orbit but to displace the missionary from his position as oracle and arbitrator in favor of the local leaders. Since European political power was on the wane, the school teachers allowed their antagonism to the missionary free play. No doubt they used the charge of "killers of Jesus" to offset the claim to religious leadership of the missionary who occasionally appeared to hold services in the school, but they were not attempting to lead the people away from the mission orbit. It was accepted that baptism could only be obtained at the mission, usually at the hands of the African pastor stationed there. Presumably the shift in political power led them to visualize the mission without the missionary. Africans then would step into control in the mission, as they

were doing throughout the country. In the circumstances it was foolish to attempt to found a movement outside the formal structure of the mission.

In the meantime the accusation that the Europeans had killed Jesus also justified the refusal to accept the missionary's rulings about the implications of Christianity for daily life. The Pilgrim Holiness Church opposes the use of alcohol and tobacco, gambling, plural wives, and a great many other pastimes to which Chezia people adhere. Only one of the adults among the Chezia converts accepted the ban on alcohol and tobacco as part of Christianity. No one accepted the church's views on gambling or plural wives or love affairs. They too could read the Bible and could draw their own conclusions. They said the missionary lied, for the Bible made no such demands. Lying was not Christian. The missionary was a poorer Christian than his opponents.

The authority of the Bible as a written word and the contention that it was the Europeans who had committed the crime against Jesus gave the local congregation and its leaders both a degree of independence which they cherished and a weapon against both local elders and local missionary.

But what did the Chezia Christians believe other than that the Bible was true? Basically their beliefs were simple. They believed in God, who had always been a feature of Tonga religion. Now he moved into the forefront of religious thought. A person who believed only in God was taken to heaven when he died. A person who made offerings to the shades of the dead or to other spirits was burned up with his own shade. Again and again the new Christians said, "It is wrong to put one's trust in dead people." "There is no point in putting trust in only a man, only a dead person. It is better to put one's trust in God." Or, "When someone dies, his body goes into the ground. His spirit goes to God. It has no power to stay about and give rain or cause illness." The important things for a Christian were to bear witness to his belief in God by attending service on Sunday, by praying directly to God, and by refusing to take part in any offerings to spirits. Most Christians also said it was stupid, though not wrong, to go to a diviner, because diviners only deceived one. Since they refused to accept the shades of the dead as active in causing misfortune, they were left with the problem of accounting for evil and misfortune. This they solved either by attributing evil to the sorcerers, for unlike the evangelist they did not see Christianity as a protection against the sorcerer, or they invoked Satan. Satan, as a fallen angel, was the leader of the wicked unconverted, who delighted in sending misfortune to men.

The Christians' refusal to put faith in a dead man may have underlined their lack of interest in the figure of Jesus, as did their refusal to believe that the dead could return—this made them also unwilling to admit to the second

coming of Christ and the rising of the dead. They repeated again and again that the dead are dead. This, perhaps their most basic belief, was again a slap at the elders who by and large controlled the cult of the shades. It deprived the elders of one of their most important sanctions for exacting elopement damages and bridewealth. It furthermore declared roundly that the elders themselves would have no role after death in controlling those who remained behind. They would die and be ended. Those most sympathetic to the elders, perhaps influenced by their affection for their mothers, maintained only that the unconverted would die; their spirits would journey to God and no longer be about to trouble men on earth. Others held that one who did not believe in God as a Christian did or who made offerings to other spirits would have his own spirit burned in hellfire on his death.

The most important part of the new doctrine was therefore a reaction to local conflict, reflecting the youths' demand for greater recognition and their anger with the elders who sought to maintain control over them.

IV

The fate of the Chezia congregation is worth tracing. The first to drift away were the two elders and the senior young men who sought in the new religion a surcease for particular troubles. They had previously accepted the sway of the shades; now in their first enthusiasm they denied that shades could affect men and they cited the variations in divinations they had experienced as evidence for their scepticism. Yet their acceptance of the new religion was highly tentative and betrays the caution typical of so much of Gwembe action. When asked why they had begun to attend church, they said they were trying out the new religion; perhaps it would be good, perhaps not. Until they had tried it, they could not know. This was late in December 1962 within several weeks of the founding of the congregation. By August most of them no longer attended services. They were consulting diviners. They were making offerings to the ancestors. The new religion had failed the tests put to it. Perhaps too they had been reassured by the fact that life continued in the old routine. Government persisted, although now it was an African government. Law and order could now be seen as an attribute of government rather than of the Europeans. By August the alarms of the election were ancient history.

The discontented youths, already agnostic with respect to the old religious beliefs, continued to attend services but showed a slackening in fervor, especially when the growing season was over and they were no longer under constant pressure from the elders to work in the fields. Some had again left to find work; others had gone to the fishing camps. Even those in the village were likely to be dilatory in their attendance at services, but they said their

faith was still strong and that they persisted in their rejection of the shades. A few were preparing themselves for baptism, though they had no intention of keeping the promises required of them by the church before baptism. Even the school teachers were growing lukewarm in their adherence, as they formed a new alliance with some of the influential elders.

It was only among the school children that the fervor of December was still increasing in August. The children built enclosures within the villages for frequent evening prayer meetings conducted by themselves. The most active participants were boys from about 10 to 15 years old, who herded the goats and cattle of the village. They still had complete conviction in the Bible and stressed with happy ferocity the role of hellfire and Satan in destroying those who drank beer, smoked cigarettes, ignored Sunday, and made offerings to the shades—i.e., the typical adult Gwembe male. They were very much at the beck and call of the older men, who rose from the beer pots to drive them out to collect livestock which had wandered far through the bush. The boys had been rebellious through the year, evading their duties, threatening to run away, sullenly responding to the outcry of enraged fathers who were happily drinking up the excess harvest and depending upon children and wives to carry out the regular daily routine. The children were not interested in who killed Jesus. They gloried in the fact that those who were not Christians would burn, while they who could read had access to the truth.

The religious movement, which may have begun as a partial response to a time of uncertainty and the political crisis of late 1962, had become by mid-1963 almost entirely a revolt of youth against those in authority. In another year it was dead—perhaps because by then it had lost its novelty and its adherents had found some new amusement. For the youths and young men it may have been outmoded by the final victory of UNIP in the elections prior to the granting of Independence. By that time all the old struggles had been recast in new terms: it was no longer African against European but African against African in the new world. To take for oneself the religion of the European and thereby acquire and extract his power was not a viable solution in the new world that was evolving. The Bible and Christianity as European imports may have begun to seem outmoded to those conscious of the results of the political changes, i.e., the youths and the teachers. But something else must have been at work to damp the enthusiasm of the youngsters who cared not at all for the political struggle and the new world but a good deal about their own struggles with their guardians.

In 1965 I found the people of Chezia forgetful of the old congregation and the period of enthusiasm. Many young men claimed that they still prayed and that they still refused to take part in offerings. They purported to remember little more. This reflects the unconcern that Gwembe and Plateau

Tonga have for the past, but it may also reflect their habit of disassociating themselves from dangerous situations. In July-August of 1964, the government of Zambia acted to suppress the Lumpa Church, which defied its authority in the north and west of the country. The people of the Gwembe had learned about the fate of the Lumpa believers during their encounter with the police and army. They themselves have never valued martyrdom. Basically they believe that it is better to be alive than to be right. So long as the enthusiasm for Christianity was no danger to the community, the elders would have little concern about it. They are tolerant of the games of children and youths if these do not interfere with the performance of normal duties. For them, prayer meetings and Sunday services were only another form of children's game, harmless enough and beneath the interest of the elders. If, however, they had viewed such services as sources of trouble, they would have brought pressure to bear to terminate the meetings and to forbid any discussion of them with outsiders. They were, further, suspicious of the intentions of the government. They would reason as follows: Government has sent troops against one enthusiastic Christian group which is not directly controlled by a missionary. Obviously the government dislikes enthusiastic Christians. Therefore it is poor tactics to have an enthusiastic Christian group in a community already suspect for having supported the opposition party. The Tonga are quickly forgetful of the past, but sometimes they are deliberately forgetful.

V

In the space of something like two years a Christian movement began and ran its course in one of the resettled Gwembe Tonga neighborhoods. It quickly developed a doctrine which related it directly to the local situation rather than to what had been offered in the mission teaching which first roused enthusiasm. It developed at a time of crisis but drew its fervor from local clashes rather than from the national crisis with which it coincided. The movement derived its strength from the fervent revolt of the young against the continued attempt of the old to exploit them and their labor, and from their anger at the refusal of the elders to respect the new skills the school generation had acquired. Within the movement there were anti-European elements, and attempts to use religion as a means of acquiring European power and skill for coping with the new world in which power seemed open to acquisition, but these aspects waned as younger and younger elements took control. Finally the enthusiasm disappeared, perhaps from boredom when ritual and belief produced no permanent satisfactions, perhaps when young and old once more drew together before what was seen as a common threat to all the people, this time not from resettlement or from the Europeans, but from the new dangers of party politics.

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LAND LAW AND LAND HOLDINGS AMONG VALLEY TONGA OF ZAMBIA¹

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WHEN WE ANTHROPOLOGISTS speak of land tenure, we may mean any one of a number of things, such as: the legal rules regulating the acquisition and use of land, the pattern of holdings existent in a community at some given moment of time, the distribution of rights in land among a population, or a combination of these. All may be interrelated, but there is no necessary close reflection of one in another. The pattern of holdings depends upon a great many circumstances which do not have a place in the land law of the community. The same legal rules may therefore be conjoined with quite different patterns of land holding depending upon the circumstances within which they are applied. A knowledge of the land law does not permit an observer to predict the likelihood of finding any particular pattern of land holding unless he can also predict a great many other influences which may be operating upon the community.²

This lack of a close relationship between legal rules and actual rights in land was brought home to me when I began to analyze data on the land holdings of residents of three villages of Chezia, a Valley Tonga neighborhood in the Southern Province of Zambia.³ I have quantitative data on the ownership of fields at two different periods in Chezia history: 1956-1957 and 1962-1963. In both years men and women were asked how they had obtained each field they claimed. The data refer to a universe of fields, not to the total acreage of land; even so, they

1 The research on which this paper was based was sponsored by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Zambia. The paper was read at the April 1965 meeting of the Southwestern Anthropological Association. I wish to thank my colleague, Dr. Thayer Scudder, both for use of his field notes on the Valley Tonga, and for reading and commenting on the manuscript.

2 Some aspects of the problems examined in this paper have been discussed by Leach (1961), Biebuyck (1963), and White (1963).

3 For further description of the Valley Tonga, see Colson (1960, 1963, 1964), and Scudder (1962).

show that very significant changes had taken place in the system of land holding and the distribution of land rights in the interval between the two periods.

In 1956-1957, Chezia men had obtained 57.4% of their fields from maternal kin, 17.1% from paternal kin, and only some 22.8% from their own efforts in clearing unclaimed bush land. In 1962-1963, they had obtained 4.3% of their fields from maternal kin, and 5.3% from paternal kin; 88.1% of their land came from the preemption of unclaimed bush land. The changes were only slightly less spectacular when women's land-holdings were examined. In 1956-1957, women had received 31.8% of their fields from maternal kin, 11.4% from paternal kin, and some 53.0% from their husbands. In 1962-1963, 70.2% of their fields came from husbands. Only 14.4% of the fields came from maternal kin, and 5.5% from paternal kin.

The shifts described above, which relate to methods of obtaining land, can be easily summarized. In 1962, men depended almost entirely upon their own efforts in clearing land to obtain holdings; and women depended upon their husbands to supply them with fields, for those who turned to their own kin for land were usually widows and divorcees who had no husbands to supply their needs. For both men and women, dependence upon either maternal or paternal kin for land was at a minimum, though widows and divorcees might be cultivating land cleared for them by sons or brothers. This contrasted with the earlier period when men received the bulk of their land from their kin, and women depended upon their own kin almost as much as upon their husbands to provide them with land.

Since the way in which land is obtained affects the rights of the holder, actual rights in land also altered rather drastically between the two periods. Men had greater control over their fields in 1962-1963, neither kindred nor villages having any competing rights which could restrict them in their use of the land or in their disposal of it. Women, on the other hand, had less security; most of them now held fields which would revert to their husbands in case of divorce or separation, whereas previously much of their land had not been subject to any rights of the husband.

These changes have taken place without any revision of the land laws recognized by the Tonga. Changes in the laws may be in the offing, but so far neither Chezia residents nor other Valley Tonga have suggested this. They are well aware that their relationship to their fields is now quite different from what it was a few years ago, and that they no longer hold land which has come down to them from their ancestors. But this is not because the rules have changed. What has altered is the circumstances within which the rules are applied. In 1958, when the building of Kariba Dam turned this portion of the Zambezi Valley into a lake, the

Chezia people were moved against their will into a lightly populated region in the hills above the new lakeshore where they had to pioneer the thickets and bring new fields into cultivation.

In acquiring fields, they proceeded to operate with the land law which had been in force in their former home. This recognizes that any unappropriated land may be claimed by the first comer, who then has full individual rights over it. Adherence to this feature of the law conflicted with the arrangements of the Administration for an orderly allotment of land in the resettlement areas and against any pretensions that chiefs and headmen may have been encouraged to raise as to control of land distribution. The Administration had planned to distribute land on a per capita base, so many acres to each man and woman. Headmen and chiefs had argued that they had the right to distribute fields to their followers. But the Valley Tonga examined the land, decided where they wished to cultivate, and then cleared fields as rapidly as possible. The ultimate size of the holding depended upon the owner's ambition and to some extent upon the amount of labor he could mobilize for clearing. Men might mark an area larger than they could personally clear, and then allot a portion to a dependent who proceeded to bring the plot into cultivation. In this case, the dependent was said to have received his land from the original claimant, who could recover it if he quarreled with the holder or if he needed the field for his own use. Thus wives and daughters and sons and younger brothers, who might have done the major amount of work in preparing the new land, did not thereby acquire full rights to their fields and stood in danger of forfeiture if they came in conflict with husband, father, or brother. Some women took steps to safeguard themselves and claimed land apart from that taken by their husbands. This they cleared for themselves and thereby established their own individual rights in the fields. They were then free to give such land to their children or to other kin without consultation with their husbands. If they were divorced, they kept possession of the land. If they died, their land was inherited by their kin and did not revert to their husbands.

The action of both men and women shows a clear awareness that other aspects of Tonga land law were also still in full operation. The individual rights of the first claimant to unappropriated land are his to dispose of as he pleases. He may retain them or transfer them to others either as a loan or as a permanent gift, and neither his kin nor fellow villagers have a right to restrain him. If he dies without disposing of his rights, they form part of his estate and are inherited by his legal heirs. These heirs, in the first instance, are his matrilineage. The matrilineage as a corporate body then continues to maintain reversionary rights over the land, though one or two of its members will take possession of the fields and have full

rights of use in them. The holder of such lineage land has only a life interest in it. He may use it himself or he may loan any portion of it to a spouse, child, or friend. He may not make an outright gift, for the lineage may resume control of the land at his death and appoint another occupier.

These rules were still in force in 1962-1963. Men were allotting some of their cleared land among children who were reaching maturity after most of the available land in the region had been preempted. Few land-owners had died in the years between 1958 and 1962, but where inheritance had taken place, the new fields formed part of the estate and were inherited by the lineage, which then allotted them to lineage members for cultivation.

The pattern of land-holding and the distribution of rights in land found in 1962 are therefore transition states. They represent the short time interval that has elapsed since Chezia people entered their new homes, not a radical revolution in land tenure. Can one predict, then, that given a sufficient period of time the new Chezia will develop a pattern of land holding similar to that of old Chezia in 1956-1957? This would be to assume that the pattern found in 1956-1957 in old Chezia was the inevitable outcome of the working of the legal rules of land tenure, without regard to any other circumstances which might affect the situation. This is certainly an oversimplification.

In 1956-1957, the Chezia people were living in their old homeland on the Zambezi River where they cultivated fields of various types. Alluvial soils on the banks of the Zambezi and in the delta of Chezia River were the favored soils and probably it was their presence that stabilized the neighborhood. Such soils could be kept in long-term cultivation and once cleared were not abandoned. Most river fields had been cleared in the distant past. Few were in the hands of the first cultivators. In addition to these alluviums there were old fields above the normal limits of the annual Zambezi flooding which needed periodic fallowing to renew fertility. These had become badly exhausted by 1956-1957 and for the most part were in long-term fallow. Finally there were new bush gardens, some miles from the Zambezi, which had been opened sometime after 1946 and then rapidly expanded. These too would require fallowing, but few had completed the cycle of use and depletion in 1956. The major portion of this land remained in cultivation, most of it by the men who had first opened it. Almost all land suitable for clearing had been occupied, and young men were already having difficulty in acquiring bush fields on their own.

The pattern of holding found in 1956-1957, therefore, is also demonstrably an unstable one, based upon the recent occupation of new land which had previously been disregarded. This pattern was determined by circumstances which had little

to do with the legal rules as such. Unfortunately, we have no quantitative data for earlier periods, but it is almost certain that if we could reconstruct the holdings for 1946 still another pattern would emerge. The Chezia people were then almost entirely dependent upon the land long in use near the river, for at that period the new bush fields had not been cleared.⁴ Men would, therefore, have received the bulk of their land holdings from their kin, perhaps the majority of it from maternal kin though this would be difficult to prove. Women almost certainly held a greater proportion of their fields from their own kin, for much of the land which women held from their husbands in 1956 lay in the newly cleared area rather than along the river. Their holdings on the river were more likely to have come to them from their own kin.

Associated with the changing land patterns in the two periods, 1946 and 1956, were changes in a variety of other aspects of social life. There is evidence that people were acutely aware of land shortages in 1946, much more so than in 1956; that they vigorously maintained their claims even to marginal land and that quarreling within a lineage was exacerbated by land problems. There was also bitter resentment on the part of recent comers to the region at their difficulty in obtaining fields, while some members of old established lineages had more than enough land for their immediate use. By 1956, the situation had been eased with the opening of the bush fields. The distinction between old inhabitants and recent settlers was no longer particularly apparent. Quarrels about land, especially river fields, still occurred, but newcomers and young men had been able to clear large gardens for themselves in the new area and were in some instances producing more food than those who controlled river land.

The situation as we can reconstruct it for 1946 probably no more represents a stable equilibrium based upon the functioning of land rules than do the later stages. It may well be that in the early 1930's quite a different pattern was in existence, for at that time Chezia and other Valley Tonga neighborhoods were losing population to the Zambian Plateau. When it became difficult to find land on the Plateau in the late 1930's because of population increases and the increasing use of land for cash crops, this emigration largely ended. Fragmentation and subdivision of holdings may well have come to the fore in the Chezia of the 1940's, and land rights may then have been maintained more tenaciously than in the earlier period.

All other things being equal, we might expect that in time the land holdings of new Chezia would most closely resemble those we think to have been current in

⁴ See Scudder (1962:52-61) for a discussion of the reasons underlying the delay in developing the bush fields.



old Chezia in 1946, the time of greatest land pressure. But other things are not equal. New Chezia lacks some of the essential features that conditioned the system of land tenure in old Chezia. It also takes its place in a rapidly expanding world, in which it is no longer protected by poor communications from full participation in a commercial economy.

When the Chezia people were moved into the hills fifteen miles west of their old homeland in 1958, they found themselves in a region which could provide them all with adequate fields, but only if they would adopt a system of crop rotation. The little alluvial soil available lies in small patches along the banks of streamlets; men concentrated rather on clearing the thickets to give themselves broad fields which they could cultivate with the plough. Variations in soil type exist, which make some fields suitable for maize and sorghum production and others only for millet; but these variations are insignificant in comparison with the major differences in fertility and long-term cultivability that marked the fields of the old area. So far the first cycle of cultivation has not been completed in new Chezia, and few have made an attempt to adopt a form of rotation to check soil deterioration or faced the fact that there is little land available for clearing when the soil is exhausted. For the moment Chezia exists on its land capital happily enough and it is impossible to predict what its people will do when this is dissipated. Land quarrels are practically nonexistent. The distinction between old inhabitants and newcomers has disappeared. All are newcomers and all have had equal opportunity to acquire fertile land. Though there are variations in wealth this appears to have lost its sting. Most people seem to believe that land is no longer a difficulty, and rights in land are no longer something which must be maintained at all costs. Men are willing to give fields to friends or kinsmen or to abandon old fields when they cut new ones without thought to a future resumption of rights. Those who maintain their claims most tenaciously are those who seek to establish control over the labor of wives and other dependents. These are ambitious men who need labor because the availability of land and the introduction of ploughs have given them the opportunity to cultivate a larger acreage than was formerly customary. They have also begun to think of their fields in a cash nexus, since a market for foodstuffs is now developing. In the meantime some of the younger men are beginning to envisage a way of life which is no longer tied to land. They are specializing in other occupations, as fishermen, craftsmen, traders, clerks, etc. Most of these men still expect to have fields and to supply their wives with fields, but in nearby neighborhoods a few have abandoned cultivation to live on purchased food. Other men now take wives and children to the towns and no longer think it essential to maintain claims over land in the rural area.

Land pressure may not become acute in new Chezia for many years, if a portion of its people abandon cultivation and import food from other areas, or if there is rapid emigration to the cities. New devices may also be developed for the distribution of land. The emergent phase of land-holding may be one in which lineages relax their rights to inherit land, if possession of land is no longer crucial to subsistence, or are willing to sell such rights to those in search of land. This would require no change in the basic land law now in operation, but only a willingness of people to convert existing rights into cash. This has already happened among Plateau Tonga, who have the same land laws as Valley Tonga, but who have long since faced the implications of land shortage, cash crops, the development of land improvements, and the need to maintain fertility in fields which must be kept in cultivation.

In this paper I have traced some of the changes that have taken place in the land tenure system in one Valley Tonga neighborhood over several decades. The rules governing land tenure have remained the same, so far as we can judge, through all the vicissitudes of the last forty years, but the actual patterns of holdings have varied widely, and with it the distribution of rights in land. The evidence seems to indicate that it is unwise to speak of Tonga land tenure in general terms. There is certainly no ideal form of land tenure. No Tonga envisages an ideal model to which the land holdings of his community should conform. He can give the legal rules, as I have outlined them, but these rules in themselves generate no model descriptive of any pattern of holdings. The patterns found at any one time are, of course, statistical models, or rather statements about what in fact can be or has been observed. Such models no doubt have their importance for precision in description. They do not represent stages in any natural or recurrent cycle; they are not the inevitable consequences of the working of a set of ideal norms. They represent the outcome of the interplay between a large number of social and natural factors, none of which are necessarily to be regarded as constants.

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THE ALIEN DIVINER AND LOCAL POLITICS

AMONG THE TONGA OF ZAMBIA

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- 1/ Material for this paper was collected between 1946 and 1963 in the course of five periods of research among the Tonga of the Southern Province of Zambia. In all I have spent something like five years with the Tonga of the Plateau and the Gwembe Valley. All research was sponsored by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka.

The evidence for the analysis here presented is not as firm as I would like. I have talked with Tonga about witchfinders but have never seen one at work nor talked with one at any length. Both Plateau and Gwembe neighbourhoods are said to have summoned witchfinders in recent years, and they have also worked on European owned farms in the railway belt. Informants remember similar occasions in the past, and I have no evidence that belief in the efficacy of the witchfinder is any greater now than when I first visited the Tonga. It is possible that I am misinformed about the lack of involvement of Tonga chiefs with witchfinding sessions. I am better satisfied with my information on the role of diviners. I have known, talked with, and watched many diviners at work, and have collected information on some hundreds of divinations, most of which attribute misfortune to the anger of the shades of the dead.

I have to thank my colleague, Dr. Thayer Scudder, for access to his field notes on the Gwembe Tonga which corroborate my own findings on the lack of involvement of the Middle River Tonga in witch-finding movements. I also have to thank Dr. Ronald Cohen, of Northwestern University, for his comments on the original draft of this paper.

Recently anthropologists have begun to pay new attention to the importance of the stranger or alien as an agent used by competing groups within a community. His presence permits them to maneuver for position without committing themselves irretrievably to a stand which might force a major confrontation and the breakdown of all on-going relationships. In practice, of course, there are degrees of strangeness and different categories of alienness. A community is likely to choose as its agents those aliens or strangers who are most suitable to its purposes in particular situations.

In this paper I shall be concerned with the use the Tonga of Zambia make of one particular type of stranger -- the impartial stranger of the same social universe, who shares with them a common set of values. The alien diviner or witchfinder is precisely this, an alien whose behavior is predictable because based on standards accepted by the patron community and whose findings are therefore intelligible and acceptable. An alien diviner, however, is useful only in internal difficulties. Where other aliens, with radically differing values and interpretations are also involved as protagonists and judges of the action, the stranger status of the diviner or witchfinder becomes irrelevant.

Diviners and witchfinders: The Tonga of Zambia consult diviners on numerous occasions, in emergencies involving illness, accident, death or other misfortune and to find explanations for untoward events of one kind or another. They also seek from them prognostications on various planned courses of action. The one who consults the diviner may be concerned only with his own private concerns or he may appear as the representative of a kin group. He may consult either the local or strange diviners, who may use a variety of divination techniques. Any diviner visiting a new area, whether he be a Tonga or a complete alien, is likely to find local clients who say that a man from a distance knowing nothing of local affairs is more likely to give a true divination than is the local man who knows all about the one who seeks enlightenment. Tonga will also travel considerable distances to consult diviners of reputation.

For minor matters, people are usually content with the services of local diviners who are part of their community. The only rule they follow is that a man or woman should seek a neutral tool. No man may divine his own matter. It may be enough that the diviner is outside the immediate household group: this removes him sufficiently from the situation so that he counts as a neutral intermediary between the inquirer and the divining power. Important matters, including death divinations and the divination of misfortune to men of importance, are usually submitted to a number of diviners, one of whom is sought at a distance. The pronouncement of the



stranger is then likely to be preferred and remembered as the correct diagnosis because it has come from someone outside the community and because it has cost a good deal more in effort and money than any local divination. The famous diviners who attract customers from distant areas have impressive foreign techniques usually learned in areas whose people are reputed to have powerful medicines. They charge high fees for their services. Where the local diviner may have to be satisfied with a fee of a 6d and a small basket of grain, the famous diviners can expect to receive fees of several pounds and even more in very difficult cases.

But the local man with a small reputation and the foreign diviner known throughout the countryside have the same role and one can be substituted for the other. A man may consult one or the other or both though he may feel that one gives the better divination.

Consultations with such diviners is a private matter or at most the affair of a kinship group even where matters of sorcery may be suspected. Men consult them to confirm suspicions against kinsmen and neighbours. A man may also consult a stranger in a distant neighbourhood to test the validity of accusations that he himself is the sorcerer who has killed. But the one who consults a diviner in such matters is under no obligation to circulate what he has been told once he returns home, or at most he is under obligation only to share the findings with his kinsmen. They may or may not give the findings credence. No publicised action follows. The action taken is either secret or it is cloaked in some explanation that saves the face of the sorcerer lest he be provoked to further malevolence.

It is a different matter when the Tonga consult a witchfinder. Here the client is a community and not an individual or a kin group. The Tonga habitually use the same term for both witchfinder and diviners, and indeed the witchfinder may also be a practising diviner. I am adopting separate terms for clarity in writing and have adopted the common English term of witchfinder which fits well enough with Tonga ideas on the subject. They stress that his primary task is the discovery of the sorcerers who are killing

the people and making life miserable for all. ^{1/} But in fact, he is a proclaimer of sorcerers rather than a discoverer. The people have long since decided who are their local sorcerers. Private divinations have named them

- ^{1/} The Tonga do not believe that people have an inherent power for evil which can be inherited. I am therefore translating the term mulozi as sorcerer rather than as witch, and the verb ku-lowa, as using sorcery, and the form bulozi as sorcery.

Diviners and witchfinders may be called usonde, 'he who divines', or munchapi. This latter term apparently came in with one of the great witchfinding movements of the 1920s. In the 1940s, I noted that munchapi usually referred to diviners whose technique included the use of mirrors into which they gazed to find their answers. More recently, at least in some areas, it becomes a general term for any diviner. The term munganga, includes both herbalists and diviners. I am not certain that it would also be used of the witchfinders.

and the gossip has been whispered through village and neighbourhood. The Tonga summon the witchfinder not to discover their sorcerers but to proclaim them publicly in a manner that permits people to cope with them. Occasionally it may happen that the witchfinder clears a suspected sorcerer and probably all suspects hope that this will happen. Among those he accuses there may be one or two about whom suspicion has not previously hovered. A complete reversal of the general expectations would hardly be tolerable.

The witchfinder is therefore the mouthpiece of suspicion through whom the community proclaims its knowledge and the medium through which it comes to terms with its known sorcerers.

Sorcery is most effective at close quarters, and it is most likely to be used by those who have their reasons in personal enmities or ambitions. In individual instances of divination it is upon kinsmen and neighbours that the accusations usually fall. The witchfinder sought to cleanse a village, when sorcery is believed to be rife, must therefore of necessity be an alien, a stranger. This ensures his neutrality; for as an unknown man from a distance he cannot have been involved in the local misfortunes which are the pretext of his summoning. He is no kinsman who would seek to shield the guilty. Even if he is a sorcerer, and his clients assume that he is, his sole interest in this matter is his business contract with the village and

the earning of his fee. Sorcerers do not have a society that links them together against non-sorcerers, and one sorcerer has no reason to protect another unless they have some other form of close association.

The witchfinder's client is the village, not an individual. His report is to the village. He is empowered to discover all the sorcerers causing trouble to the people, and he is expected to test everyone living in the village or in the neighbourhood. For this reason he enters village or neighbourhood only at the invitation of the headman who acts after consultation with other senior men and women. Those disclosed as sorcerers are publicly accused. For the first time they can be brought to account openly. They have a choice. They may repent, surrender their charms and medicines, and drink the medicine that will destroy them and their kin if they revert to evil ways. Or they may remain proclaimed sorcerers, the inevitable butt of all accusations when things go wrong. Accused but reclusive headmen would find their villages melting away; heads of homesteads might be abandoned by their followings; household heads might be deserted by spouses and children. The accused sorcerer who accepts the verdict has the opportunity for reform which allies him again with his fellows though at the cost of that influence which his medicines had gained for him.

Despite the fact that the witchfinder is a stranger with no local interest in the community in which he works, he affects the balance of power within the community. The Tonga like many others suspect those who have wealth, power, and influence of using sorcery to bring themselves forward, though they also suspect those who lack power and advantage of turning to sorcery through envy and malice or in an attempt to best those who have been successful. Leaders of the factions within a neighbourhood are usually suspected sorcerers. They are commonly said to be in a relationship known as basikulowanyina, which can be translated as 'those who are bewitching one another.' They are certain to have powerful medicines. A man would be a fool, so the Tonga think, if he sought to acquire prominence before he had acquired the medicines to protect himself against all those who would feel envy at his rise. The line between having powerful medicines for protection and using these medicines against others is believed to be exceedingly thin. A man of prominence

should therefore be treated as though he were potentially dangerous. Tonga society has few institutionalized positions of leadership. Ambitious men acquire influence over others, but this influence depends at least to some extent upon the belief in the efficacy of medicine. The sorcerer is one who has become irresponsible in his use of medicine and magic and therefore a general danger. His reform, since it involves the loss of his medicines, also undercuts the basis of his influence.

The invitation to the witchfinder implies that leading men and women as well as the lame, the halt, and the blind, will stand accused. The public confrontation and discrediting of one or more such men is likely to be the outcome of the invitation.

Chiefs and Headmen: Given the possibilities in the situation, it seems strange that the witchfinders are patronized by village and neighbourhood, the smallest local units, rather than by the chieftaincy, the larger political entity. Certainly those most likely to be suspected of sorcery lie close at hand, but this does not explain why witchfinders are not used by chiefs and their rivals for these too are very firmly immersed in the local setting, and most of their quarrels are comparable to those found within village and neighbourhood.

Until recently, politics among the Tonga has been of the village pump variety. Tribal organization and chieftaincies were imposed from above in the early days of colonial administration. Only in the past few years has the tribal organization of the Native Authority (or Local Government as it is now) become meaningful to more than a small handful of chiefs and educated men. Chieftaincies had a much closer impact upon the people through the chief's court and its officials and through the direct association of the chief with his people. Nevertheless, most Tonga think of chieftaincy as an alien institution and their own chief they view as a village headman who happens to have received special powers from the Administration. Closely closely as the chief is involved in local life as a private individual, this fact tends to remove the office from the local situation. The office has been defined by aliens, in this case Europeans, and the authority of the office and of the incumbent chief exist because the chief is the agent of the Administration and has its power behind him. Until very recently, the chief as chief was controlled by those outside the scope of any political maneuverings carried

on in terms of a common set of values shared by the people to which chief and opponents could appeal for justification. The chief was subject to local pressures. Local interests were involved in the filling of the post. Short-term groupings sometimes emerged to support one or another candidate for the chieftaincy. But on the whole the system served to protect the chiefs from immediate responsibility to their people. Indeed, the chiefs became responsible to public demands for the first time with the rise of national political parties. Since extra-local power had created the chiefs in the first place, it is not surprising that parties based on more than local interests were required to make them concerned about popular support.

Until the appearance of the parties, the Tonga attitude toward chief and district messenger was much the same. It was worthwhile to intrigue for or against either one, or indeed with him, but there were limits to this intrigue since chief or district messenger could only be deposed from above and the intrigue had to be phrased in terms acceptable to the Administration. It is for this reason I would suggest that Tonga chiefs did not become involved in their chiefly capacity with witchfinding. A chief consulted diviners, as did his subjects, in his private capacity; some were even recognized diviners of some fame. Private consultations might accuse the chief of sorcery against the people of his village or chieftaincy, as they might accuse his rivals as the source of his own misfortune. Open accusation through the witchfinder did not take place. After all it could have done little good to make a formal charge of sorcery against a chief. There was nothing that could force him to accept the judgement and abandon his sorcery. The Administration did not regard a witchfinder's pronouncements as evidence nor recognize the sins he denounced. The witchfinder's impartiality, based on his alien character, was therefore irrelevant. Effective action against a chief in his official capacity meant presenting him as nepotistic, corrupt, inefficient, biased, arbitrary, or treasonous. These were the sins recognized by the Administration, though not of course by the Tonga who expected men to favour their kin, to know a good thing when they saw it, to procrastinate before interfering with others, and to evade if not oppose the demands of the Administration. Killing by sorcery or the use of medicine

to produce drought or plague were not crimes against which the Administration could act. It could only punish the accusers. The techniques of the witchfinder could therefore not be used to depose the chief, or to threaten him with deposition if he refused to reform. Public discovery and conviction of the sorcerer would have left his people still at his mercy. They could not leave him, as they could a recalcitrant headman, for a mass movement from the chieftaincy would undoubtedly lead to an inquiry in which the crime of witchfinding would be compounded with the crime of encouraging treasonable action against authority. The people had to stay under the jurisdiction of the chief where they continued to be answerable before his court. Thus the chief was not vulnerable as was the headman who could be pressured into retiring or forced to reform by a threat that he would be abandoned. The headman was far enough removed from the alien sphere of authority so that no official investigation was likely to follow the disappearance of his village. He had no court before which his villagers must appear. He was vulnerable. The chief was not.

On the other hand, the witchfinder could not be used by the chief as an infallible ally against his own enemies. He could not produce such evidence before the Administration in justification of any action he had taken against his rivals. The people could also ignore the findings, for the chief himself as a continuing sorcerer could be held to have corrupted the medicine of the witchfinder and forced it to indict the innocent. Opposing factions could argue that there had not been a fair test and that the real cause of trouble remained undetected. The opposition was well aware of the laws on witchcraft and sorcery. In a contest between a chief and his opponents his seeking to submit them to the rulings of a witchfinder would have supplied them with ammunition that counted with the Administration.

In other parts of Zambia and elsewhere in Africa, chiefs have used witchfinders and controlled the oracles which accused men of sorcery, even in the days of colonial rule. The Tonga chiefs' abstention is therefore due to more than a simple appreciation of the attitude of the Administration. I suggest that it rested upon the realization by the chiefs that they were not regarded by their people as holding legitimate offices which must be upheld at all costs. No chief could argue that he had the right to use medicines which were necessary to protect chieftaincy and the nation against



the forces of evil. The people did not see chieftaincy as a necessary institution and they trusted to their own medicines to protect themselves individually or at most the members of the homestead.

Tonga chiefs as chiefs therefore did not involve themselves with witch-finding. But they shared the beliefs of their people in the prevalence of sorcery, and in the efficacy of the witchfinder in controlling sorcery. If a witchfinder operated in a chief's territory to free people from the evil of sorcery this was a good thing so long as the man did not attack the chief. The fact that headmen, the lowest office in the official hierarchy, might fall under attack from the witchfinder did not affect the chief's tolerance. He took no responsibility for his headmen who were neither his appointees nor considered his men. An attack upon a headman was not an attack upon a chief. In the chief's eyes the people were behaving in a reasonable fashion if they rid themselves of a sorcerer headman, and if necessary he would help them to disguise the facts of the case behind a tale more palatable to the Administration.

The Alien Witchfinder: The witchfinder is acceptable to Tonga clients because as an uncommitted stranger he can catalyze a situation in which local people are too closely involved for a solution to be reached. But he is a stranger only in the sense that he is uncommitted to any group of contestants, and has no reason to shield the guilty or accuse the innocent. He is not a stranger to the system of beliefs, or standards, that controls the situation in which he is called upon to operate. He is there to perform a specific task set for him by his clients and his behavior is predictable. He will not suddenly redefine the situation in his own terms and demand that his clients accept his dictation. He can be used because those who consult him are prepared to carry out the decisions which he helps them to reach. Thus he is effective on the village and neighbourhood level, but not on the chieftaincy level where others than his clients would be implicated in the carrying out of any decision arising from his work. Here where the standards of those involved differ radically, the impartiality of the uncommitted stranger becomes irrelevant.

The Tonga use the alien witchfinder not only because he is a stranger but because he is a stranger of a certain type: a stranger to the people

but not to their society. He is disinterested in local quarrels and uncommitted to the various factions; but he is committed to the same standards of judgment. He can therefore be used as a neutral implement in forcing evil men to come to terms with the rest of their fellows.

The Tonga as communities do not consult other aliens whom they know though they seek to manipulate them to their private ends. These are Europeans who may be known to the people but who remain strangers to their standards. Since they are not committed to the same ends, they do not accept the limitation on their action which those who might consult them would think desirable. The alien witchfinder is usable for community purposes because the result is predictable; the alien administrator, missionary, or other official is not usable in the same way since no one can predict the outcome if he is consulted.