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This Journal, published half-yearly in March and September, aims to define simply, but with scientific accuracy, the social problems facing man in Central Africa, to record what is known of such problems and to report on research being undertaken and required in the future.

Contributions are not confined to research by the Institute's past and present staff : articles and notes are welcome from all those working in the field covered, or those engaged on similar problems elsewhere whose findings are applicable to the Central African field.

The standard length of articles is in the region of 10,000 words, but longer or shorter articles will be considered from time to time. Articles should be accompanied by summaries of 100-200 words.

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HUMAN PROBLEMS IN BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA

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(Articles and Reviews express the personal views of the authors)

Contributors to this Issue

Gordon D. Gibson has recently left the Department of Anthropology at the University of Utah, to become Associate Curator in the Division of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. He has contributed numerous articles to the *American Anthropologist*, and other American periodicals. The field work on which his article here is based was undertaken in 1953 under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council of New York.

A. Macbeath was Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the Queen's University, Belfast, until his retirement. He is the author of *Experiments in Living*, the Gifford lectures for 1948–9.

Elizabeth Colson was Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute from June, 1948, to July, 1951. She returned to the Institute in 1956, and worked among the Valley Tonga, prior to their removal to make way for the Kariba dam. She is the author of many books and articles on the Tonga; her latest book, *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, was published by M.U.P. in November, 1958.

Arthur Tuden came to Northern Rhodesia as a Ford Foundation Fellow in April, 1956, for eighteen months. While here he made a special study of the Ila.

EDITORIAL NOTES

WE must apologize for the late appearance of this number of the Journal. The Institute has not, however, been inactive on the publications front. 1958 has seen the appearance of three books: *Politics in an Urban African Community*, by A. L. Epstein; *The Birth of a Plural Society: the Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894–1914*, by L. H. Gann; and *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia*, by Elizabeth Colson.

In addition the issue of Communications, recently revived, has been accelerated to such an extent that three of the 1959 issues were ready before the close of 1958. This, it is felt, is all to the good, as these roneoed publications permit the results of research to be made available—frequently in unanalysed form—to interested bodies, without the delay associated with the production of Papers or full length books.

Finally, the Proceedings of the Eleventh and Twelfth Institute Conferences have been issued during the year. Like the Communications, they are presented in a new format, quarto pages between printed covers.

The present issue of the Journal is devoted to what might be termed Tribal subjects. Gibson's *Herero Marriage* takes us slightly beyond the strict geographic limits of Central Africa, but such latitude is justified by the fact that it forms such an interesting contrast to Mitchell's *Aspects of African Marriage on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia* (Journal No. 22). Just as this latter covers many more forms of customary union than fall under the strict definition of marriage, so Gibson's article could more properly be called *The Herero System of Mating*. Such in fact was the title under which it was originally submitted.

Macbeath's article covers entirely new ground and will be welcome as a stimulus to new lines of thought amongst field workers and social analysts alike.

Elizabeth Colson gives us in this issue a meticulous study of Plateau Tonga diet. Apart from its value as a record and its interest to nutritionists, this article serves a most useful purpose by revealing the variety which a rural African housewife introduces into her menus. The widespread myth that African meals are a monotonous repetition of *nsima* and relish (*sic*) is as unreliable as many of the other beliefs held by the European about the African.

It will be recalled that Elizabeth Colson, after her work on the Plateau Tonga, returned to the Institute to study the Valley Tonga prior to their removal to make way for the Kariba lake. Over the past year she has been writing up this material as an Associate

Professor at the African Research and Studies Program, Boston University, and we look forward to its publication, together with the complementary environmental study of the Valley by Ted Scudder, in the coming year. As we go to Press news has come in of Dr. Colson's appointment as Professor and Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at Brandeis University, on which we most heartily congratulate her.

Arthur Tuden's article on Ila Slavery extends our knowledge of an area of study which has in the past been confined to a few specialists. C. M. N. White's article on Luvale Slavery ('Clan, Chieftainship, and Slavery in Luvale Political Organization', *Africa*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, January 1957) is well known to Central African students, whilst the late Dr. Steiner of Oxford covered the field on a broader basis in his as yet unpublished thesis on forms of servitude.

These notes close with the inevitable plea for more members, both institutional and individual. This Institute has benefited greatly from generous contributions of funds both from Colonial Development and Welfare funds and from local sources. But our benefactors not unnaturally like to feel that their generosity is appreciated. One measure of such appreciation is to be found in the circulation of this Journal, so every new subscriber that existing members can secure is a 'thank you' for past services and an earnest that such services will continue to be provided in the future.

HERERO MARRIAGE

by

GORDON D. GIBSON

INTRODUCTION

THE universally recognized right of a man and a woman to form a connubial union is not invariably accompanied by the right of the man to claim as members of his descent group the children subsequently born to the woman. The sexual and domestic rights established between husband and wife are the universal features of marriage, while the children born to them may, for specific ritual and jural purposes, be counted as members of a descent group to which either the biological father or the biological mother belongs, or as members of both their groups, or they may be counted as members of a group to which neither parent belongs. It has become customary to classify societies and their descent systems as patrilineal or matrilineal according as the rights to claim the children as members of their descent group are acquired by the husband and his patrilineal relatives or are retained by the brothers of the wife and their matrilineal relatives. But even in a patrilineal system the rights governing the descent of children do not invariably pass to the husband at marriage, but may be vested in another. In her analysis of Dahomean marriage Laura Bohannan has clarified the distinction between the sexual and domestic rights which a man acquires over a woman at marriage and the variable rights to claim the children born to her. In Dahomey, she writes, a child ' has jural and ritual rights and status in that lineage which held rights *in genetricem* in the mother at the time of its birth. This may or may not be the lineage of its socially recognized father, i.e. the man who held rights *in uxorem* in the mother '. For example, though the Dahomeyans reckon descent patrilineally, ' children of a princess have full jural and ritual status only in the royal lineage ', thus descent for them is reckoned through the mother for these important purposes (Bohannan, 1949: 279 f.).

The distinction between rights *in uxorem* and rights *in genetricem*, which, following a suggestion of Clyde Mitchell, I shall call uxorial and genetricial rights, is also most useful in the analysis of marriage

[1] The author is grateful to the Social Science Research Council of New York for a grant which made it possible for him to spend nine months among the Herero of Ngamiland in 1953, and to the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute and its staff for the opportunity to discuss his problems with them. The author wishes also to acknowledge his debt to Professor Fred Eggan and to Professor Clyde Mitchell for their most helpful suggestions in preparing this paper, but he alone is responsible for its final form.

in various East and South African societies. Among the Nuer, for example, Evans-Pritchard (1951: 110) describes ghost marriage in which a deceased relative of the husband is endowed with genetricial rights, and he declares that such marriages are ' almost as numerous as simple legal marriages '. Among the Nuer also, but of course less frequently, a woman may marry a wife and arrange with a male relative to beget children for her, the genetricial rights here residing in the woman-husband. Gluckman (1950: 184) reports that both of these kinds of vicarious marriage occur among the Zulu. In these and many other patrilineal societies of East and South Africa leviratic marriage, in which a man perpetuates an established marriage by acting as genitor for a deceased brother or other senior male relative, is common. Here the genetricial rights in a woman are acquired and held by the husband's lineage, and they are not relinquished upon his death.

In a double descent system, such as obtains among the Herero, a woman produces children for two descent groups, one of which is matrilineal and the other patrilineal, and two kinds of genetricial rights must be distinguished. The matrilineal genetricial rights are never transferred at marriage but remain always with her matrilineage; the patrilineal genetricial rights usually pass at marriage to the husband, but here also there are varieties of marriage in which this is not the case. And among the Herero, in certain cases, partial patrilineal genetricial rights in a woman may be publicly and formally acquired while the uxorial rights, being privately arranged, are recognized as indefinite in content and duration, as will appear below in the treatment of concubinage.

Marriage is, of course, a two-sided affair in which the woman as well as the man acquires rights. Among the Herero, for instance, a husband is bound to provide support for his wife and the children she bears him, and she comes under the protection of his patrilineal ancestors to whom appeals are made at the sacred hearth. Furthermore, marriage gives a woman ritual and economic status in her husband's family and homestead. We may speak, therefore, of the joint connubial rights established by marriage, meaning thereby both the uxorial rights acquired by the husband and the reciprocal rights acquired by the wife. Similarly, the genetricial rights in a woman are balanced by reciprocal hereditary rights which her children enjoy in the group which holds genetricial rights in her.

The Herero of Ngamiland

The Herero of Ngamiland came to that area in north-western Bechuanaland from South-West Africa, most arriving there in flight from the German forces who were under orders to drive them out of the country or to exterminate them in the protracted hostilities which began in 1904, and which continued intermittently until the final defeat of the Herero in 1907. In Bechuanaland many of the refugees settled among the Tawana where they were permitted to

re-establish much of their former mode of life, relatively unrestricted by European rules and regulations. Today they pasture sizeable herds of cattle peacefully in Tawana territory, and they maintain their own headmen and courts under the higher authority of the Tawana tribe. Their patrilineal heads conduct the characteristic rites of the *oruzo*,[1] the patrician, at the local sacred hearth. The Herero homestead is formed around a patrilineal core, but it often includes in addition a few households of matrilineal relatives of the core males. Residence is virilocal, settlements are scattered, and patrilineages tend to remain in local areas not far from the homesteads of their heads, but patrilineages do not necessarily occupy exclusive territories.

Marriage and inheritance among the Herero are regulated by descent in two lines, patrilineal and matrilineal. Both the patrilineages and the matrilineages are exogamous, and both are grouped in larger clusters in successive stages until non-exogamous un-named associations of segments are reached. The Herero matrilineage, if such it may properly be called, is a group of people who trace their descent through women over several generations from a common ancestress whose name they take as their group name. Many Herero know the myths of origin of their own matrilineages. But the matrilineages are widely dispersed and have no corporate organization—they lack joint secular and ritual activities and have no leadership—and thus they do not correspond in all respects to the classical definitions of a lineage. The matrilineal system appears to function chiefly as a means of establishing kinship ties among the members of scattered local groups. A fuller description of the double descent system and related practices among the Herero of Ngamiland may be found in Gibson (1956). Politically the Herero of Ngamiland are divided into local units under their own district headmen whose positions are semi-hereditary in the male line with approval of the Tawana tribal authority.

Herero Marriage Customs

Herero marriage customs have been described by German missionaries working in South-West Africa since the 1840's (Dannert, 1906: 24 ff.; Hahn, 1869: 490; Irle, 1906: 105 ff.; Viehe, 1903: 303 ff.). Marriage practices found among the Herero of Ngamiland in 1953 differ from those reported by the earlier investigators in certain respects, however, and the older accounts need to be filled out in more detail. An outline of the rituals of marriage practised by the Ngamiland Herero will be presented here.

[1] Note on orthography: Symbols used for Herero words in this paper have approximately their IPA values, and they differ in certain particulars from those used in the older literature. My use of *y*, *j*, and *c* corresponds to *j*, *dj*, and *tj* in the older literature; also, I employ *y* and *w* for the front and back semi-vowels which are unstressed and precede other vowels, and which are designated by *i* and *u* in the older literature.

Initiation is a prerequisite to sexual relations for Herero males (excepting those who are baptised Christians, most of whom go through the initiation rite nevertheless), and there is an initiation or nubility rite with comparable function for females. For males initiation includes circumcision, the operation being performed on groups of boys who may range widely in age: in a sample of fifty-six initiated males the median age at circumcision was three and the range from under one year to seventeen. Boys' initiation, therefore, is clearly not a puberty rite; rather, it is a rite celebrating the collection of young men into discrete age groups and their preparation for eventual marriage. The Herero word for circumcise is *sukareka* which Brincker (1886: 227 f.) derives from *omusuko* ' maiden ', and he gives its literal meaning as ' to make fit for a maiden '. A newly circumcised boy is called *omusukorume* ' maiden-youth '. Boys initiated in the same year call each other *ekura* ' age mate '. Age mates have certain life-long rights and duties toward one another, but they do not form corporate age sets and do not have age set leaders.

Girls undergo the nubility rite individually and they make no special alliances with other girls initiated in the same year. In the nubility rite the girl is secluded in her father's hut and a beast is killed as an offering to the ancestors and to provide a feast for guests. The girl's head is then shaved, and her father or guardian places a covering on her head (cf. Irle, 1904: 104), she should not go uncovered thereafter in the presence of men outside her immediate family. Formerly the head covering was the *ekori* or three-horned leather cap (see Plates 1(*a*), 2(*b*) and 3), but in recent times it is usually the *ocikaeva*, the cloth turban (Plates 4(*a*) and (*b*)) presumably introduced by German missionaries. In addition to the head covering a Herero woman wears also the long-sleeved, ground-length, nineteenth-century, mission style dress (Plate 4(*a*)) from the time of her initiation, or she adopts the leather cloak and apron (Plates 1(*a*) and 2(*b*)) if she is non-Christian. A sheep called *ondu yokuhwana* ' sheep for menstruation ' is killed to make a small feast for the girl, and the girl remains in seclusion until the meat of the sheep has been consumed by the relatives who gather for the festivity. The nubility rite is usually performed one to three years after menarche, but it may be performed earlier, as when a girl is married before puberty. In a sample of 109 women who had passed through the rite, the median age at initiation was seventeen and the range from nine to twenty-four. Marriage, therefore, is always distinct from initiation for males and it may be a separate ceremony for females, although a girl's initiation often immediately precedes her marriage, and in such a case the two ceremonies are combined.

The preferred mate for a Herero man is his classificatory cross-cousin, especially one who belongs to his father's *eanda* ' matriclan ' (Gibson, 1956: 132). Any unmarried female who is the daughter of

PLATE I (*a*). *Left.* Young Herero woman in traditional dress (note shaved forehead).

(*b*) *Above.* Wedding Costume.

PLATE 2 (*a*). *Above*. Hood of leather headdress rolled down as worn by a widow in mourning and eligible for leviratic marriage.

(*b*) *Below*. Herero women in traditional leather dress.

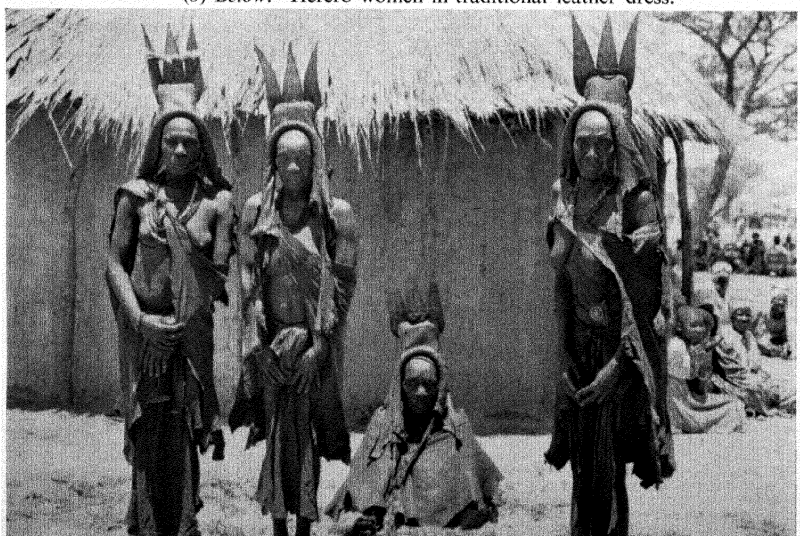

PLATE 3. Herero wives in traditional dress.

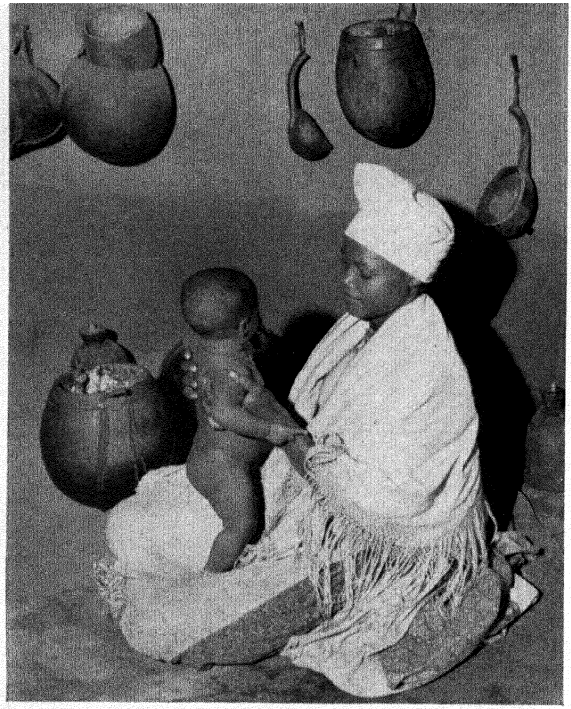

PLATE 4 (*a*). *Above.* Married woman and child in Herero hut.
(*b*) *Below.* Husband and young wife.

a Herero woman and who is not a member of either the man's patrilineage or his matrilineage is eligible to become his wife or concubine. She may even be the daughter of his wife by another man, as Schapera (1949: 111) has observed; but she may not be his father's widow or concubine, even in levirate.

The negotiations necessary to arrange a marriage are conducted by representatives of the couple, usually their parents. Proposal gifts (*oviyamba*—ornaments or money) are offered to the girl's mother, and acceptance of them signifies agreement to the match by the girl's mother and closely related elder males of the girl's matrilineage (cf. Dannert, 1906: 25). Usually approval by the girl's father and other paternal kinsmen must be obtained also, and this may be withheld until old disputes between the lineages involved are settled. But a father may relinquish his right to approve the marriage of the youngest daughter of a wife, saying ' the youngest daughter is for the mother ' and leaving the decision entirely to the wife and to her close matrilineal relatives. The suitor, on his part, may endeavor to hasten the negotiations by asking other of his kinsmen to speak to the girl's parents for him. But the boy's kinsmen also may delay, demanding to be paid something for representing him.

The initiative in arranging a marriage may be taken by a boy's father who may approach his sister to ask the hand of her daughter in marriage for his son. If his sister is willing, the father will tell his son to go to visit the girl and, if he loves her, to marry her. According to Herero mores the boy should marry a girl selected for him by his father, even if he does not love her; a divorce can be arranged later if necessary.

During the period of negotiations or engagement the boy and girl avoid each other because, say the Herero, the girl feels shy in his presence, and if she does not hide from him people will think that she does not respect him. But if they have played together as children and have grown up together, the avoidance is not strict and the engaged couple may talk politely with one another. An engaged man does not avoid his bride's parents, but he should not enter the fenced courtyard of her father's cluster of huts, and he must not drink the milk of her father's cows from the time of the start of the negotiations until after the marriage.

When all of the relatives concerned have agreed to the match, word is sent to the suitor notifying him of the day on which the marriage ceremony is to be performed and directing him to bring the *ocitunya* ' bridewealth '. ' *Ocitunya* ', say the Herero, ' is for children ', i.e. it establishes the husband's patrilineal genetricial rights to the children subsequently born to the bride. For the Herero of Ngamiland the *ocitunya* is a standard amount: either one ox, one heifer, and four sheep, or one ox and two cows. The ox is killed by the father of the bride for the marriage feast. The other animals are his to keep or to distribute. Usually he designates one or more for the girl's mother, and she may pass them on to her sister, her mother's

brother, or another matrilineal relative. Or if the girl had been adopted for a period during childhood—a common occurrence—the foster parents should receive part of the bridewealth. The variable distribution of the animals indicates that the transfer of patrilineal genetricial rights is not solely the concern of the bride's patrilineage. And the small amount of the bride wealth relative to the average size of Herero cattle holdings suggests that these genetricial rights may not be very firmly held.

If her parents are willing, a woman may be married ' on credit ', that is, the *ocitunya* payment may be postponed, all or in part, until the groom has accumulated sufficient livestock to afford payment. But if the *ocitunya* is promised and not paid, the woman's brothers and father may eventually claim any children born to her, and the husband must transfer the full amount to recover them. Since the woman's father is involved in such a case it is clear that it is the patrilineal genetricial rights which are in question; her brothers are also members of the claiming patrilineage, but their matrilineal relationship to the children makes them their guardians as well.

The major portion of the marriage ceremony is performed at the homestead of the girl's father. If she has not been previously initiated, her head is shaved, the headdress is tied on her head, and her forehead is rubbed with the powdered bark of the sacred *omuvapu* bush (Grewia sp.) to make her obedient to her husband and to ensure her fertility. If the bride is modern she wears a cloth, called *ocikeriva* (Plate 1(*b*)), over her head during the wedding ceremony, and she is not seen without it for a week or two afterward because of modesty in the presence of her in-laws. If she is old-fashioned she rolls the leader border of her headdress down (Plate 2(*a*)) to hide her face. Gifts of cattle, sheep, and goats, called *omakonde* (from *okukonde* ' to cut off relations '), are donated for the feast by patrilineal relatives of the bride—her father, father's brothers, the head of her patrilineage—often also by some persons related to her matrilineally. One beast at a time is slaughtered and prepared, and the feasting continues as long as the meat lasts.

Then the bridegroom, who has remained outside his bride's homestead except at night, takes his bride to his father's homestead where a second marriage rite called *onjova* is performed for the couple. Kapapu, head of Herero patrilineage and a priest of the sacred fire, described the *onjova* ceremony as follows.

When the married couple first arrive at the bridegroom's homestead they go to the great wife's hut, and there the bridegroom's father smears fat from the butter skin on both of them. A stick of the *omuhe* tree is put in the center, like the center pole of a hut. Then the *ondu yonjova* ' sheep of onjova ' is killed. This sheep is given by the father of the bridegroom. Before the sheep is cooked, some fat from it is smeared on the center pole of the hut, and the bride and groom seize the pole, and the bridegroom's father smears fat over their hands and the pole together.

The *onjova* sheep is cooked outside the little hut. It is brought to the

newlyweds, they touch it with their fingers but may not eat it. It is eaten by the guests outside the hut. Only married people can eat the *onjova* sheep. When the *onjova* sheep is finished, the father of the bridegroom brings the sacred milk pail, tastes it, and passes it to his son to taste, and he in turn passes it to his bride to taste. After that she can drink that milk, and she can milk the sacred cattle.

There is a stick used in the *onjova* ceremony called *okati yonjova*. The bride's father gives this stick to her, and she takes it to her husband's place when she goes there, and keeps it until she returns to her father. It is put in the roof of the *onjova* hut, projecting out in front. It is put there before the sheep is killed; after tasting the *onjova* meat it is taken down.

The *onjova* ceremony is the real marriage. Even if *ocitunya* ' bridewealth ' is given and the rites at the bride's father's place are performed, the woman is not truly married, and her children will not be *erumbi* ' senior ' to those of later wives unless the *onjova* ceremony is performed.

The phallic symbolism of the hut post and of the stick in the roof is obvious, and also the sexual symbolism of the sheep which may be eaten only by married persons. Quite clearly the *onjova* ceremony marks the establishment of connubial rights, but it also has to do with the children which the woman may bear, for it establishes her status and therefore also the status of her children in her husband's family. It is significant that *ocitunya* ' bridewealth ' is not transferred in the case of a bride who is past the age of child-bearing, but the *onjova* sheep must in every case be killed to establish a true marriage.

Although I was unable to elicit a word for virgin among the Ngamiland Herero, Brincker (1886: 225) translates the Herero word *oukazona* as ' Jungfräulichkeit ', virginity, and Meyer (1905: 45) indicates that virginity in a bride was highly valued in former times. Herero of Ngamiland say that if at marriage a man finds that his bride is not virginal, he may refuse to consummate the marriage and may demand that the bridewealth be returned, but that if he accepts his bride he may claim no refund. However, I could find no recollection of a case in which a man had rejected his bride because she was not virginal, and it would appear that great weight is not placed on premarital chastity nowadays. If an initiated girl conceives before marriage, she suffers only mild moral sanctions. Full bridewealth must still be transferred to her parents if she is later married and is capable of bearing children. Herero say that a woman who has entered into open concubinage will not make a good wife ' because she will always be thinking of other men and will not obey her husband '. But actually, most girls who experience premarital pregnancy do eventually marry.

A woman once married and later divorced or widowed is thought to be less desirable as a first wife. Two common Herero proverbs summarize the feeling about divorcees and widows: ' A divorced woman will divorce again ', and ' A man who marries a widow will die '. Also, unmarried men want their first wives to be younger than themselves. This is possibly a survival from a time when men

had to marry girls of younger age grades, but there is no evidence today that girls are grouped by age grade as are men.

Age Determination and Sampling

In the study of Herero family life sufficient marital histories were collected to permit statistical testing of some hypotheses concerning the norm and functioning of the Herero marital system. The determination of year of birth and age at marriage, divorce, and death was greatly facilitated by the Herero calendar of *ociwondo* [1] ' years ', which is paralleled in but few indigenous cultures in Africa south of the Sahara. Not only does every man know the name of the year in which he was circumcised, but both men and women are generally able also to name the years of other important events in their own lives and in the lives of their family members. Preliminary work had to be done on the Herero calendar itself, for although each year is named after an important event, somewhat different lists of names are used in different areas, and there is not always complete agreement among informants as to the proper order of the names of years in the more distant past. By comparing year lists from numerous informants who came to Bechuanaland from various places in South-West Africa with short lists covering some earlier periods published in older works on the Herero (von François, 1896: 150–7; Brincker, 1886: 209–10; Vedder, 1934: 185–7), it was possible to establish local lists of year names reaching back to 1830 which are of nearly certain accuracy. Correlation with the European calendar is possible at several points within the lists, for the events recorded in year names include eclipses, comets, floods, droughts, epidemics, and some human events which are well documented in the history of South-West Africa and Bechuanaland. Some slight errors may remain, there being still some doubt with respect to the order of certain pairs of names, but in no case is the error in the resulting list greater than a year or two. The Herero annual cycle begins with the rains (usually October), and the assignment of European year numbers to Herero year names therefore may introduce a slight additional error of a few months.

The sampling of a semi-nomadic group presents problems, especially if the sample is to be sufficiently representative to permit statistical analysis. Although pains were taken to select ' typical ' homesteads for the present study, the peculiar nature of Herero settlements appears to have led to some bias in the sample. On the one hand, younger sons of a wealthy cattle owner often live for long periods at remote cattle posts, and, if married, may keep their families with them; on the other hand, there is much extended visiting among relatives, visitors even constructing huts and taking up residence in a host's homestead during a protracted stay. Accessibility and cultural representativeness were the criteria on which the selection of the homesteads studied was made, and some cattle post

[1] Listed as *otji-ondo* ' Zeitepoche ' in Brincker, 1886: 209.

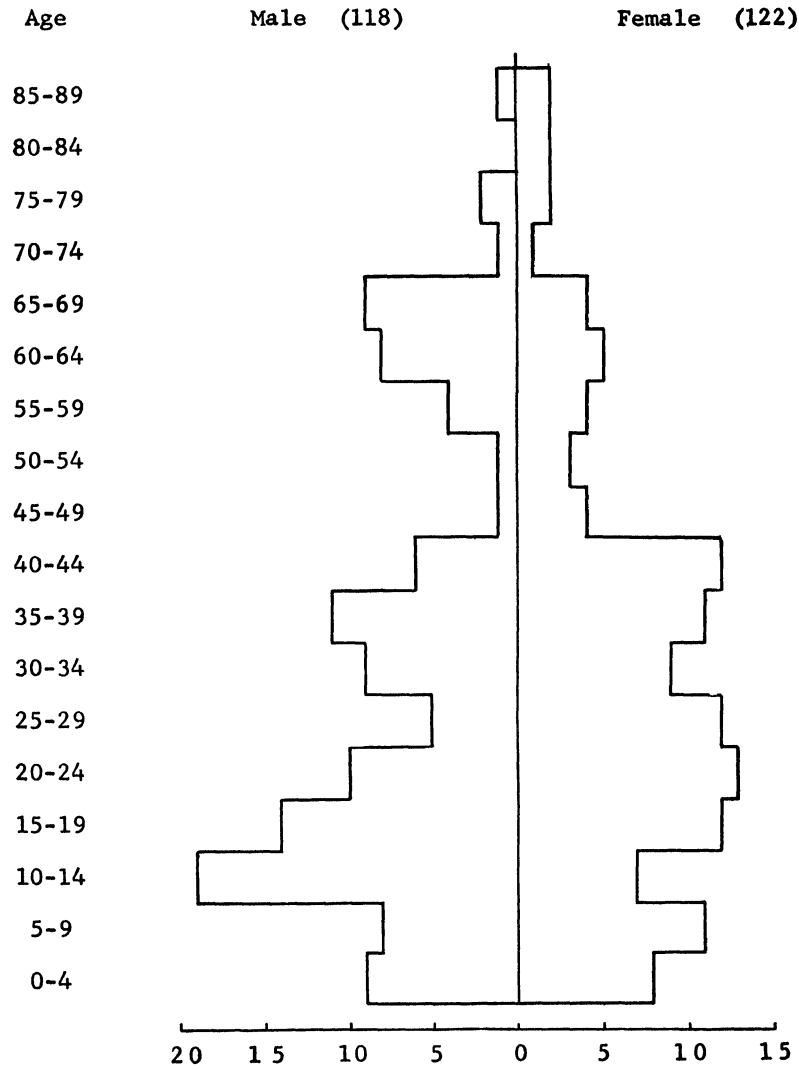

FIG. 1.—Age and sex distribution of a sample of Ngamiland Herero.

populations were included. In those places selected for study census schedules were filled out for all residents, in so far as that was possible.

The sample here used constitutes the total population of certain selected homesteads. Although the sample is small, consisting of only 118 males and 122 females from a total Herero population in Ngamiland of about 6,000, it does permit statistical analysis and indicates some significant relationships. (For certain statistics, namely those in Fig. 2, a somewhat larger sample, and for others, those in Tables 5 and 6, a somewhat smaller sample was available.) The sex and age distribution of the sample (Fig. 1), for instance, exhibits some peculiarities which are not difficult to explain. The severe contraction of the distribution in the age span forty-five to fifty-nine doubtless reflects the arduous flight across an arm of the Kalahari after the defeat of the Herero by German troops in the war of 1904–7: when their parents took flight to Bechuanaland, children up to the age of about five either had to be abandoned in South-West Africa or died crossing the desert. From the relatively large proportion of males aged sixty to sixty-nine it would appear that youths and young men were best able to survive the crossing; furthermore, since these survivors did not marry and reproduce at once, there is today a scarcity of persons in the age span forty-five to forty-nine. There is another pinching-in of the age pyramid in the age span twenty to twenty-nine, and this probably reflects a sample bias, insufficient representation being given to cattle-post populations. In the Herero type of cattle herding, young men, both married and unmarried, remain out at cattle posts during most of the year and have no huts of their own in their parents' homesteads. (Unlike men in many tribes in southern Africa including Bechuanaland, young men of the Herero tribe do not migrate to the mines in appreciable numbers; most families are rich enough in cattle to support themselves without engaging in mine work, and records in the District Office show that but seventeen Herero men from Ngamiland contracted for mine labor during a recent twelve-month period.) In the present sample eighteen sons of the thirty-nine men with children were not counted as resident in the area sampled and are therefore not included in Table 1; most of these men fall in the fifteen to thirty-nine year age span. The small number of children under the age of fifteen in this sample doubtless also reflects the same sampling bias, for children of young parents sometimes stay with them at the cattle posts.

There has been a legend for some years in South-West Africa that the Herero are committing tribal suicide by refusing to bear children. The small number of children in the first ten years of life in our sample cannot be taken as evidence for such a pattern, however, for it is too recent. This question may in the future be answered by a study of fertility on a representative sample of sufficiently large size.

There are some suggestive differences in sex ratio in portions of

the age sex pyramid: both sexes attain old age in about equal proportions, but there is a preponderance of women in the age span fifteen to forty-four—the sex ratio in this span is 131 women per 100 men, compared with a ratio of only 107 to 100 for the entire sample. The possible bearing of this disproportion of the sexes on polygyny will be dealt with after the types and frequency of polygyny among the Ngamiland Herero have been discussed.

Herero Polygyny

Marriage, which we define as invariably establishing connubial rights and obligations between a man and his wife and, for the Herero, also between their respective lineages, and which may or may not establish the man's genetricial rights with respect to the children born to his wife, occurs among the Herero in various plural forms. Senior and junior marriages in which the plural wives and their children are ranked with respect to their status in the family, especially in matters having to do with the inheritance of cattle, are to be distinguished. The sororate to provide a substitute child bearer for a living or dead senior or junior wife is practised, and also the levirate to beget children for a deceased kinsman. Sororal and leviratic marriages are secondary marriages in Schapera's sense of the term (1950: 152 f.), for they are extensions of existing marriages, but the offspring of such marriages may be senior in status. Thus the eldest male child of a leviratic marriage may be senior in succession to the priesthood if its mother was the senior wife of a deceased elder brother who held the priesthood, and the eldest male child of a sororal marriage may be its father's chief heir and successor if its mother is a substitute child-bearer for a barren elder sister who is her husband's senior wife.

Both wife inheritance and the levirate, as differentiated by Evans-Pritchard (1951: 112), occur among the Herero. In both, certain kinsmen of the deceased husband take precedence in proposing to the widow, and in this respect both involve inherited uxorial rights. But in the levirate genetricial rights remain with the deceased husband in whose name the widow's new mate may beget children, while in widow inheritance the genetricial rights are inherited by the new husband.

The senior wife of a Herero is clearly distinguished from junior wives by kin term, status, and role. Although an *onjova* sheep is butchered to establish connubial rights in every marriage, only the first wife a man marries is dignified by the title *omukaendu wonjova* 'wife with *onjova*'. The first previously unmarried woman taken as a wife by a Herero becomes his *omukaendu omunene* 'great wife', and her children count as senior to those of subsequent marriages in inheritance of his property and in succession to his office. The son of the junior wife of the leader and priest of a patrilineage normally may succeed to the priesthood only if his father had no adult living

brothers in his own or in a parallel patrilineage among those lineages attached to his sacred hearth and no adult male descendants by his senior wife, for succession to this office is adelphic and patrilineal. The senior wife of a Herero priest holds an important ritual office: she tends his sacred fire, carrying it out from her hut to the sacred hearth twice daily at about sunrise and sunset, she milks the cows of his sacred herd and has charge of the corresponding milk vessels, and she keeps in her hut the special paraphernalia used in healing and in marriage rites performed at the sacred hearth. In her absence one of her unmarried daughters or a junior wife may be delegated to take over her duties. When a lineage head and priest dies, his great wife may be taken as a leviratic wife by his younger brother who also inherits the priesthood.

If a wife is childless, she may go to her mother or to her sister and beg her to give a daughter to her husband as a sororal wife to breed children in her place. A sororal wife might also be sought by a husband to replace a wife who died. Bridewealth is not transferred for a sororal wife, for the genetricial rights were already acquired at the marriage of her sister, but the *onjova* sheep, which the Herero say is ' for welcoming a wife ', is butchered for a sororal wife just as for other wives. Giving of the sororal wife is a matter to be decided by the relatives, particularly the matrilineal relatives, of the wife to be aided or replaced, but the son-in-law can bring pressure for a favorable decision to bear indirectly by withholding his approval of pending marriages of his near kinsmen with other persons of his wife's matrilineage. A sororal wife makes her home with the sister or maternal aunt to whom she is linked, either occupying the same hut or building a new one beside it. She remains junior to her sister or aunt so long as the latter lives, but a sororal wife linked to a great wife becomes herself the great wife when her senior co-wife dies. Simple sororal polygyny with transfer of bridewealth to acquire independent genetricial rights, however, is more common than the true sororate.

The distinction between true levirate and widow inheritance with the aquisition of genetricial rights by the new husband is sometimes difficult to discern in Herero marriage. Cases of both the true levirate and the inheritance of the widow of an elder or younger brother were recorded among the Herero of Ngamiland, and also cases of the inheritance of the widow of a mother's brother. In the remarriage of a widow the usual bridewealth is one ox; but in many cases no bridewealth at all is transferred, and, if the woman's new mate is a brother of the deceased husband, then there is no difference in form between widow inheritance and a true levirate. However, if children are subsequently born to the widow, the question of the locus of genetricial rights may eventually arise. Occasional disputes over the social paternity of the children of a remarried widow do occur, for example, when her daughters are ready to marry and there are conflicting claims to the bridewealth, or when it becomes time to

divide the estate of cattle left by one of her husbands. It appears, therefore, that the Herero are themselves not always clear as to whether a true levirate or a simple widow inheritance is involved, or alternatively, that the structural model of a clear distinction between the two in the Herero system attempts to force the data into too sharp a mold.

While the mourning for a deceased husband (Plate 2(*a*)), which may continue for several months, is still proceeding and the widows are confined to the mourning hut, those desirous of wedding one of the widows send *oviwonda* ' gifts ' (formerly ornaments, but more often today money) to her secretly by messenger. First the elder brothers of the deceased propose to the widow in this way, and she indicates her preference by accepting the gifts of one and returning the others. If all of the elder brothers are rejected, the younger brothers next apply, and after them the sisters' sons of the deceased. If there is a successful suitor, he kills an *onjova* sheep for the widow after the conclusion of the mourning, and she is considered thereafter to be his wife. A single animal, called *ongombe oyomonjuo* ' ox for the hut ', also may be given to her parents. If the leviratic wife or inherited widow is past the age of child-bearing, she may remain in the village of her late husband where she may be visited from time to time by her new husband. A leviratic marriage is said to be less firm than a regular marriage: the levir cannot sue his leviratic wife for divorce on account of adultery, and he often has little control over her economic and social activities.

When, in simple plural marriage, a man wishes to take an additional wife, he should take his great wife to the home of the candidate to secure the approval of the former before he makes the initial gifts of *oviyamba*. If the great wife disapproves of the girl, the man should not marry her. When the husband brings a junior wife to his homestead, he stays with her for a few days in his great wife's hut and the great wife goes somewhere else for that period, or alternatively, the new wife may be allowed to use the small storage and eating hut which is usually found alongside the great wife's hut. Eventually the junior wife builds a permanent hut for herself, one which should not be as large as the great wife's hut, and thereafter the husband should divide his nights equally among his wives in rotation. If the husband takes a second wife before consummating the first marriage, as often happens in the case of child marriage, the child bride is still consdered to be his great wife and her children to be senior to those of any wife married later. The order in which the marriage ceremonies are performed is the determining factor in seniority, except in the case of the remarriage of a widow.

Although all of the above forms of marriage are permissible among the Herero, primary plural marriage is more common than secondary marriage. In the sample of 118 males the 48 who were or had been married had contracted a total of 88 primary marriages in which widow inheritance, levirate, and sororate were not factors. In

addition, eight of the 48 had contracted a total of eleven marriages with inherited widows, some of which were true leviratic unions, but none had contracted a sororal marriage with the matriclan sister of a present or former wife without transfer of bridewealth. Only two instances of true sororal marriage were encountered among the Herero of Ngamiland, both were outside the area sampled intensively, and in both cases the husbands were important men in the Herero community: one was a headman, and the other reputedly the richest Herero in Ngamiland. It would appear that girls and their parents generally disapprove of sororal marriage except when the advantages of the marriage far outweigh the disadvantage to the parents of marrying off a daughter with neither payment nor promise of bridewealth.

TABLE 1:

EXTENT OF POLYGYNY AMONG SOMETIME MARRIED HERERO MALES*

	Number of wives at a given time								
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*Total*
A. Current frequency (*s*) (number of men) .	3	32	9	3	0	0	1	0	48
Percentage . .	6	67	19	6	0	0	2	0	100
Total wives (*sw*) .	0	32	18	9	0	0	6	0	65
B. Among men aged 50 or over . . .	*Maximum number of wives*								
Frequency (*t*) (number of men) . .	0	9	11	5	0	0	0	1	26
Percentage . .	0	35	42	19	0	0	0	4	100
Total wives (*tw*). .	0	9	22	15	0	0	0	7	53

* Of all men aged 18 or over in the sample of 118 males, 23 had never been married; no males under 18 had been married.

Polygyny among the Herero is relatively common. Table 1 shows the number of wives married to men resident in the area studied, section A giving the current state of plural marriage and section B the maximum number of wives married to older men at one time during the men's lives.

Various summary measures of plural marriage may be devised. If we let w represent the number of wives simultaneously married to a man, s represent the number of men with a given number (0 to n) of wives at a particular time, and t represent the number of men with a given maximum number (0 to n) of wives at any time, then some

useful measures of plural marriage, viewed from the male standpoint, may be derived in terms of the formulae given in Table 2.

TABLE 2: MEASURES OF MARRIAGE PLURALITY (MALE)

Name of measure	*Formula*	*Value*	*Standard deviation*	*Number of males*
1. Current marital ratio (mean current number of married women per married man)	$\sum_{w=1}^{w=n}(sw) \Big/ \sum_{w=1}^{w=n}(s)$	1·44	·91	45
2. Index of current polygyny (per cent of married men who are currently polygynous)	$100 \sum_{w=2}^{w=n}(s) \Big/ \sum_{w=1}^{w=n}(s)$	28·9	6·75	45
3. Maximal marital ratio (mean maximal number of simultaneous wives per married man aged 50 or over)	$\sum_{w=1}^{w=n}(tw) \Big/ \sum_{w=1}^{w=n}(t)$	2·04	1·22	26
4. Index of maximum polygyny (per cent of married men aged 50 or over who are sometimes polygynous)	$100 \sum_{w=2}^{w=n}(t) \Big/ \sum_{w=1}^{w=n}(t)$	65·4	9·33	26

The difference between the current and maximal marital ratios is significant at the ·05 level, and the difference between the indices of current and maximal polygyny is significant at the ·01 level. More accurate measures of maximal polygyny might be derived from the marital histories of deceased men, but the data collected for the Herero were insufficient for this purpose.

Although statistical materials bearing on the extent of polygyny among African peoples are scanty, some figures have been compiled by Mitchell and Barnes (1950: 15, 47), Barnes (1951: 24), Richards and Reining (1954: 395), Fallers (1957: 112), and others, a summary of some being given by Mair (1953: 10, 136–7). In comparison with these data the incidence of polygyny among the Herero appears to be high for southern Africa and to be higher than in East Africa except among the people of the Nuba Hills in the Eastern Sudan were 67 per cent of all married men are reported to be polygynous and among the Soga where Fallers estimates polygyny at between 30 and 50 per cent.

Polygyny can be measured from the woman's standpoint, and some

comparative data are available in these terms. Table 3 summarizes the data with respect to the present conjugal status of Herero women resident in the areas sampled; from these data it appears that about 32 per cent of Herero women aged fifteen or older are the

TABLE 3: THE PRESENT CONJUGAL STATUS OF HERERO WOMEN

Conjugal status	*Present age*						
	Under 15	*15–19*	*20–29*	*30–39*	*40–49*	*50 and over*	*Total*
Never married . .	25	9	8	2	1	0	45
Wives of monogamists .	1	3	11	6	4	3	28*
Wives of polygynists .			3	8	9	11	31*
Divorcees, not remarried .			3	3	2	1	9
Widows, not remarried .				1	0	8	9
Total	26	12	25	20	16	23	122

* These figures differ from those of Table 1 inasmuch as the wives of some men included in Table 1 were not resident in the area sampled.

wives of polygynists and that 52 per cent of Herero women now married are the wives of polygynists. Similar data are available for the Yao, a matrilineal people of Nyasaland (Mitchell, 1949: 297), among whom 20·3 per cent of women aged fourteen or over are the wives of polygynists and 30·1 per cent of married women are the wives of polygynists; Richards and Reining (1954: 395, Table 82) show 16·3 per cent of women's unions among the patrilineal Ganda as polygynous.

Two complementary sorts of determinants may be sought for polygyny: first there are those demographic facts and norms of marital practice which govern the proportion of marriageable males and females, and second, where polygyny is found there would be expected a positive valuation and functional advantage favoring it. Neither sort of factor, taken alone, is sufficient to 'explain' a high incidence of polygyny, though a positive valuation and functional advantage may result in some cases of polygyny even if the ratio of marriageable males to marriageable females does not particularly favor it. Such might be the case if a few privileged males were able to monopolize more than their share of the marriageable females.

The high frequency of polygyny among the Herero suggests, then, some sort of disproportion in the ratio of marriageable males and females in the population due either to demographic factors or to

Herero norms of marital practice. Lifelong celibacy of males, which may provide such a disproportion, does not occur among the Herero. Normally all Herero expect to marry, but a few women follow a life of concubinage until past the age when marriage is easy for a woman, and some men postpone marriage until they are past forty. A preponderance of females is frequently suggested as being the predisposing factor in polygyny. But as Lorimer (1954: 100) has noted and as Sonnabend is reported to have first demonstrated (H. M. Gluckman in ' Introduction ' to Mitchell and Barnes, 1950: 15), a society in which polygynous marriage is common can be maintained, even with a perfectly balanced sex ratio, if, on the average, men marry several years later than women, assuming that all adults eventually marry, that both sexes die off at about the same rate, and that both widows and widowers remarry. There would, then, be fewer married men than married women, and the index of polygyny would be a function of the differential in age at marriage between the sexes and of the age distribution of the population. However, Lorimer's conclusion that ' in any case, the extent of polygyny cannot be very great in a stable population if all men are able to marry ' (Lorimer, *op. cit.*) is not in accord with the present finding, for polygyny is relatively high among the Herero of Ngamiland.

The sex-age distribution in the sample of living Herero (Fig. 1) shows a considerable preponderance of women in the ages over fifteen, and this, at first thought, may be taken as the major factor making polygynous marriage possible. Two questions need to be asked, however: (1) is the disproportion in sex ratio general or is it merely peculiar to this sample (for the positive valuation placed on polygyny is presumably a matter of culture, and we are interested therefore in discovering those demographic and social features which support the preference on a cultural level); and (2) is the preponderence of females in the sample sufficient to make the degree of polygyny found in the sample possible, or must we look for other factors as well?

The data collected among the Herero of Ngamiland provide a larger sample for the study of the sex ratio at various ages than those utilized in Fig. 1, namely, all persons, living and dead, born to individuals of the population sample. Table 4, compiled from these data, shows the number of females per 100 males at birth and at various ages. Looking first at all children born before 1954, it may be shown that samples of 368 individuals with 93 or fewer females per 100 males might be drawn by chance from an infinite population with a balanced sex ratio with a probability of ·23 (using a single tail of the probability curve), and therefore the sex ratio at birth in our sample does not appear to be significantly different from 100. Although the proportion of females to males appears to increase after birth in age groups of persons reaching twenty, thirty, and forty, a comparison of these values with the sex ratios in the samples of all children born before 1934, 1924, and 1914 respectively shows that

TABLE 4: NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 100 MALES AT BIRTH AND AFTER TEN-YEAR INTERVALS

Born before	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Female-male ratio*	*Reaching age*	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*	*Female-male ratio*	P*
1954	191	177	368	93						
1944	157	142	299	90	10	122	100	222	82	·19
1934	103	102	205	99	20	66	69	135	105	·70
1924	66	68	134	103	30	39	43	82	110	·75
1914	19	32	51	168	40	9	23	32	256	·15

* P here states the probability that the difference between the female-male ratio of a group at birth and the female-male ratio of those remaining alive after a given number of years is due to accidents of sampling. P is here determined by χ^2 with Yates' correction for small samples, and refers to both tails of the probability curve.

in no case is the increase statistically significant at the ·05 level. Thus although the sample of Ngamiland Herero here employed shows some disproportion in the sex ratio which may partially account for the degree of polygyny found in the same sample, an unbalanced sex ratio cannot from these data be said to characterize the Herero tribe as a whole. The data do not show that the sex ratio at birth is unbalanced and they do not show that death acts selectively with respect to sex up to the age of forty to a degree that is statistically significant.

In the case of our sample of Herero, however, it appears that polygyny, notwithstanding the fact of eventual marriage for nearly all adults, is made possible by both an unbalanced sex ratio and a differential in the age of the two sexes at marriage. Our Herero sample shows an excess of females, there being a ratio of 103 females per 100 males in the sample as a whole and a ratio of 117 for Herero aged fifteen or older. But this degree of unbalance in the sex ratio is not sufficient to account for a current marital ratio of 1·44 (as shown in Table 2), particularly when, as Tables 1 and 3 show, there are 18 unmarried widows and divorced women (23 per cent of all women some time married) and only 3 widowers and divorced men (7 per cent of all men some time married) who have not remarried.

The differential age at marriage is clearly the other factor involved in setting the conditions for Herero polygyny. Fig. 2 shows the age distribution of Ngamiland Herero men and women at marriage. There is an eleven-year difference in the median ages of Herero men and women at the time of first marriage. Furthermore, since many women's first marriages are second and later marriages for men,

there is more than a sixteen-year mean difference in the ages of husband and wife at the time of women's first marriage, as may be seen in Table 5.

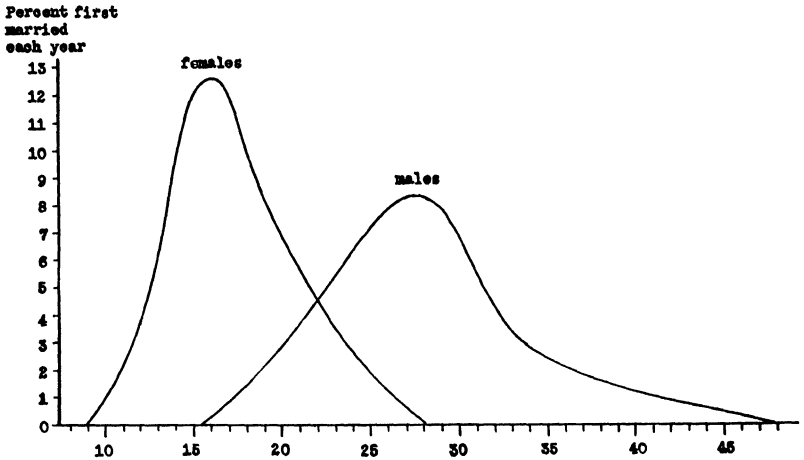

FIG. 2.—Age of male and female Ngamiland Herero at first marriage. (Smoothed curves fitted to data collected on 60 married men and 98 married women. Median age at first marriage: males 28, females 17.)

Given a population sex ratio of 100 and equal mortality rates for men and women, and assuming that both widows and widowers remarry, an eleven-year differential in age at first marriage would alone be sufficient to account for a current marital ratio of 1·44. Taken together with the unbalanced sex ratio, these factors permit both a high rate of polygyny and a larger number of divorced and widowed women who have not remarried than of single, divorced, and widowed men.

Polygyny does not occur with high incidence only because of favorable demographic features and a mean difference in the age of the sexes at marriage; it must be individually desired and socially approved. Among the Herero the high valuation placed on children is a major factor fostering polygyny. Sons are necessary to assist in caring for and protecting the large herds of cattle. Formerly raiding, both within the Herero tribe and between it and other tribes, was a common activity for which the small local group had always to be prepared. Today, even though raiding is no longer a danger, the value of having many sons is still stressed, for political power depends upon the number of a man's followers and herdsmen. Formerly, when the pattern of matrilineal inheritance was still strong, men desired many sons because they would inherit cattle from their mother's brothers and so increase the size of the family herds—the more women a man married, the greater the number of mother's

brothers from whom his sons would inherit. Daughters also are desired, not so much for the bridewealth which they bring at the time of their marriages, for that is small, but for the matrilineal ties which relate those in widely dispersed camps who may be relied upon to provide assistance to a Herero in times of distress. Mitchell (1949: 298) has generalized this point, stating that in groups among whom kinship is the principal method for recruitment to corporate groups, a high valuation is placed on reproduction, and Lorimer (1954: 90, 93 f.) has shown this hypothesis to be widely applicable. The Herero materials not only support this thesis, but they suggest that it can be extended to certain non-corporate groups, such as the Herero matrilineage.

Polygyny and Sterility

A reason sometimes given by the Herero for taking a second wife is that the first wife was barren. A sororal marriage may be negotiated in such a case, but far more often it is a simple plural marriage. In nine out of thirty polygynous families the first marriage was fruitless at the time the second wife was taken, but in several of these the second marriage followed the first by only a short time, and the first wife later produced children. Only two out of forty-one men who were first married five or more years before the time when this study was made were childless and still monogamously married to their first wives. Lack of children in the first marriage, therefore, does appear to have some relation to polygyny. A fruitless marriage is generally assumed to be the fault of the wife, for the Herero explain that ' all women sleep with men other than their husbands some time, and so if a woman never had a child it must be because she is sterile '. However, a full study of the relation of polygyny to the fruitlessness of earlier marriages would have to deal with the number of children surviving infancy and the sex ratio among the surviving offspring, and the present data are not sufficient to permit this for the Herero. Furthermore, polygyny is not the only solution possible in the case of a fruitless marriage—a wife may die or be divorced before her husband remarries, or the husband may take a concubine.

Differential Age at Marriage

An explanation for the differential in the age of men and women at marriage may be sought in the authority which fathers maintain over their sons. Long after sons have attained physical maturity they are, reminiscent of the situation among Irish countrymen (Arensberg, 1935), dependent on their fathers or on their fathers' brothers for cattle, and they have no right to dispose of cattle without the consent of their elders. Older men wish to keep their younger brothers, sons, and brothers' sons attached to their homesteads in order to provide guards for the cattle and to develop the political strength which every man desires. Cattle guards must be prepared

to spend several months of the year out at the cattle posts, often several days' journey from the central homestead where married women and their children usually remain, and therefore they often do not desire to marry until they are ready to take their place in the permanent life of the homestead and to give over their herding activities to younger men. Sons need to acquire the animals necessary to make the marriage payment and to support a new household as well as to obtain the approval of their elders before they are free to marry and to establish households of their own. When a man wishes to marry, therefore, he may experience considerable resistance from his father and his father's brothers unless the family's herds are large and unless there are other young men to take his place at the cattle posts. Many men, it appears, postpone marriage for this reason.

Girls, on the other hand, hope to marry within a few years after reaching puberty, and some are betrothed even earlier. Although girls may form pre-marital sexual alliances and even bear pre-marital children, only those children born in wedlock are in a position to inherit significant numbers of cattle. A woman who bears no legitimate child will not be certain of support in her old age, but a woman whose children are born in wedlock is better assured of support, especially if she is her husband's first wife.

A father's authority is felt by his daughters as well as by his sons. Fathers generally urge the early marriage of their daughters, even when the match is not agreeable to the latter. A young wife may find her marriage so odious that she attempts suicide in order to escape from it. In those cases recorded, the woman attempted suicide either because her father forced her to contract a marriage which was disagreeable from the start, or because her husband became oppressive and there appeared no chance of divorce when her father would not support her case against her husband.

These two forces, one maintaining sons in dependence and the other encouraging girls to marry early for security, combine to foster marriage between young initiated women and men several years their senior. This large differential in the ages of men and women at marriage means not only that there are more married women than married men; it also means that wives, being generally several years younger than their husbands, survive them, and there is then always a supply of widows available for levirate, simple widow inheritance, remarriage, and concubinage.

It is sometimes said, in discussing polygyny among African peoples, that the older men monopolize the young marriageable girls by taking them as junior wives. If this is so, it should be reflected in a greater differential in the age of husband and wife for men's second and subsequent marriages than for first marriages, and Table 5 shows that for the Herero this is true to a significant degree. But while the mean differential in age between husband and wife rises with successive marriages of the husband, it falls with

successive marriages of the wife, older women apparently tending to marry men more nearly their own age. However, the mean age at first marriage is not significantly lower for women who married first as senior wives than for women who married first as junior wives. It does not appear, then, that the early marriage of women is related to the higher status of a first wife.

TABLE 5: MEAN EXCESS IN AGE OF HUSBAND OVER WIVES

	Marriage				
	First	*Second*	*Third*	*Fourth to n-th*	*All*
Men's marriages:					
Excess in age of husband .	10·8 yrs.	16·0	20·2	28·4	14·88
Cases	41	24	11	6	82
Women's marriages:					
Excess in age of husband .	16·2 yrs.	12·7	10·0		14·88
Cases	55	21	6		82

The extent to which older men monopolize younger women as wives is more directly measured by the proportion of women whose first marriages make them junior wives. Among Herero women marrying for the first time, about twice as many enter into men's first marriages as into later marriages, and women with previous marital experience become junior wives about four times as often as they become senior wives (Table 6). The χ^2 test shows that these differences are statistically significant, and there is a moderate correlation ($r = \cdot 36$) between the order of men's and women's

TABLE 6:
CORRELATION BETWEEN ORDER OF MARRIAGE FOR MEN AND WOMEN

Women's marriages	*Men's marriages*				
	First	*Second*	*Third*	*Fourth to n-th*	*All*
First .	36	12	4	3	55
Second .	5	8	5	3	21
Third .	—	4	2	—	6
All . .	41	24	11	6	82

$r = \cdot 36$, $\chi^2 = 20 \cdot 13$, $P < \cdot 01$

marriages. With the differential in age of husband and wife held constant, the partial correlation between the order of men's and women's marriages is considerably higher ($r_{HW.X} = .52$).

The data of Tables 5 and 6 may be combined and a linear regression equation relating the differential in age of husband and wife to the order of husband's and wife's marriages derived. For the present sample of Herero the equation is $X = 12.3 + 7.1H - 7.2W$ where X is the excess in the age of the husband in years, H is the order of the husband's marriage, and W is the order of the wife's marriage; the coefficient of multiple correlation for this regression equation is $R = .63$.

Divorce and Widowhood

It may have been anticipated from earlier remarks that divorce is fairly common among the Herero of Ngamiland. In fact, in the sample at hand Herero marriages are terminated by divorce more often than by death. Barnes' (1949) three measures of divorce have been computed for the sample, and the pertinent data are

TABLE 7: FREQUENCY AND RATE OF DIVORCE

Data:	
Current marriages *	65
Marriages ending in divorce or annulment †	43
Marriages terminated by death ‡	38
Total marriages	146
Measures of divorces	
A. Divorces and annulments/total marriages	29·5 per cent
B. Divorces and annulments/divorces plus deaths	53·1 per cent
C. Divorces and annulments/current marriages plus divorces	39·8 per cent

* Among men resident in the area sampled. Only 59 wives are resident in the area.

† In the history of couples, at least one member of which is resident in the area sampled.

‡ One partner still alive and resident in the area sampled.

presented in Table 7. In using these figures it is important to remember that they and the ratios derived from them are based on the life experiences of a sample of living individuals, and the ratios are not necessarily the same as those that would be derived from vital statistics collected over a longer span of time.

In comparison with data cited by Barnes (*ibid.*), divorce among the Herero, a people with a double descent system, is about as common

as among some matrilineal peoples of Northern Rhodesia (Fort Jameson Ngoni, Lamba, and Yao), and is much more common than among some patrilineal peoples of East and Central Africa (Nuer, Ngwato, Tlokwa). Among Ganda and Soga, patrilineal Bantu of the lacustrine area of East Africa, however, divorce is about as common as among Herero (Richards and Reining, 1954: Table 83, p. 395; and Fallers, 1957: 114).

The causes of Herero divorce will not be dealt with here except to observe that a woman's failure to bear children or her desertion of her husband are common complaints, although neither invariably results in divorce, while a man's desertion of his wife or his persistent failure to provide for her and her children usually leads to divorce. Statements made by earlier students of the Herero concerning the return of bridewealth at divorce are somewhat at variance with what I was told by Herero in Ngamiland, and this matter requires further investigation. At any rate, the compensation adjudged due a man who successfully brings suit against another for stealing his wife is usually greater than the bridewealth, and the wife also may be required to return all cattle which her former husband had given to her. One consequence of divorce is that it increases the number of women for whom extra-marital sexual alliances are permitted, adding to the number of women (initiated but unmarried girls and widows) already in this category. The number of divorced but not remarried women, classified by age span, is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 8: PRESENT AND FORMER MARITAL STATUS OF HERERO WOMEN AGED FIFTEEN OR OVER
(*including one fourteen-year-old wife*)

Former status	*Present status*			*Total*
	Husband's first wife	*Husband's later wife*	*Unmarried*	
No previous marriage . .	26	10	20	56
Widow of last husband . .	0	10	9	19
Divorced from last husband . .	4 *	9	9	22
Total . . .	30	29	38	97

$\chi^2 = 18{\cdot}76$; $P < {\cdot}001$

* Among women divorced from their last husband and now married as first wife, none was a widow by an earlier marriage.

Both divorcees and widows may remarry, but whereas a divorced woman may occasionally become her second husband's first wife, widows are married only by men who are or were formerly married. This was discovered in the analysis of Table 8. A distribution as skew as that shown in Table 8 would occur by chance alone in less than one sample in a thousand, and there can be little doubt, therefore, that the avoidance of widows as first wives is real. Furthermore, a remarried widow was not found to hold the position of senior wife in any polygynous family, except for a single case where a true levirate was in effect. Herero informants declared that if a man married a widow and later also took a previously unmarried woman as a wife, the children of the latter would be counted as senior to the children of the former. And on one occasion a similar statement concerning the inferior status of the children of a remarried divorcee was recorded.

Concubinage

Although men postpone marriage on the average until they are twenty-eight, young unmarried Herero do not remain celibate until the time of their marriage. Herero informants declare that all boys sleep with women before they are married, some boys starting early in puberty. Their companions are often older women who have been widowed or divorced, but not infrequently they are girls who have been initiated but not yet married. Some uninitiated girls also indulge in heterosexual relations, but most are said to refuse. Married men also form extra-marital alliances, or they may continue their pre-marital alliances after marriage to another woman. Such informal sexual partnerships, of indefinite duration and with only potential legal rights and obligations dependent on later formalization of the relationship, are of two sorts. The first, the open alliance of a man with a woman who has been through the initiation ceremony but who is, at the time, unmarried, I term 'concubinage', the woman and man involved being 'concubine' and 'concubinator' respectively (this meaning of 'concubine' agrees fairly closely with the usage of the term in ancient Roman law). A concubine may bear children of which the concubinator is the genitor but not the legal father. In the Herero custom, if the genitor wishes to claim genetricial rights with respect to a concubine, he must pay a fee to her father or to her recognized guardian, and this establishes his claim not only to the first child born to him by the concubine but also to any additional children which they may have. Payment of the fee to claim the children is not a marriage ceremony, however, and it does not establish full connubial rights and obligations between the man and woman. The concubine, in such cases, may be termed the man's procreatrix but not his wife. The child of a concubine is counted a member of that patrilineage to which the concubine herself belongs, i.e. to her father's patrilineage, and it is to a representative of that patrilineage to which payments must be made

when the child of a concubine is claimed by its genitor. If compensation is accepted by the father of the concubine, her child thereafter is a member also of the patrilineage of its genitor, i.e. may inherit in both patrilines and must observe two sets of *oruzo* ' patriclan ' restrictions.

A second type of extra-marital alliance found among the Herero is the clandestine affair which is kept secret because the woman either has not yet been initiated, or has established open concubinage with another man, or because the participants, though not otherwise restricted or committed, still are shy about making the affair public. Avoidance of conception is often attempted in this type of alliance, but if the woman is unmarried, conception may be the event which changes the clandestine affair into a concubinage or, alternatively, precipitates marriage. I shall call the clandestine alliance an ' amour ', the woman a ' mistress ' whether married or not, and the man her ' lover '.

The distinction between amour and concubinage is also made in Herero: a mistress in an amour relationship is called *omusuko* (*omusuko* also means ' maiden ' or ' daughter '), and her lover is called *ombakire* (from *okuvakira* ' to have illicit relations '); on the other hand, each partner in an openly recognized concubinage is called *ociwateka* (from *-teka* ' broken ', probably referring to the transgression of a rule introduced by missionaries). However, the term *omusuko* may be used in a generic sense for any female paramour.

There is an exchange of gifts (*okuondasane*) between a concubine and her concubinator. The gift offered by concubinator is called *ociwonda*, the same as the gift offered to a widow when proposing a leviratic marriage, but if the present is a sheep it goes by the special name of *onjonda*. The concubine makes a return gift a short while later, also called *ociwonda*: this was traditionally *ovanda*, a delicacy made by mixing pounded berries with fat, but nowadays gifts of money are more usual. The payments made to a concubine begin small and become increasingly larger the longer she remains true to him; they may start as small as 6*d*. and increase to as much as £5. The amount and interval between payments depends upon how much the man cares for his concubine as well as upon his resources; some men are said to spend large sums on their concubines and to deplete their resources seriously thereby. The return gift made by the concubine to the concubinator should be of lower value than that received: if the concubinator makes a gift of £1, the return gift would be about 5*s*.

Even in this informal kind of alliance certain limited domestic rights are acquired by the concubinator, the acquisition being symbolized by the exchange of gifts described above. The man's gifts are largest and the domestic obligations of the concubine to her concubinator are correspondingly greater than his duties to her. A concubine may accompany her man on journeys, cook and mend

for him, and he often refers to her as *omukaendu* ' wife '. A concubine also will come to a man's homestead to care for him in illness. But in the case of the amour the mistress cannot perform these services lest her attachment be discovered. Even when a concubinage is generally recognized, a partner's brothers, sisters, parents, and parents' siblings do not readily discuss it, and they ordinarily act as though they were unaware of the relationship. It is considered respectful behavior for a man to wait until his father has retired before going to visit his concubine, and he should return home before his father awakens.

The preferred relative for a concubine is said to be a man's father's sister's daughter—or her classificatory equivalent—she who is also the preferred relative for marriage. Such a cousin, say the Herero, will be willing to stay with her man when he is sick because she will not be shy with the boy's father, her mother's brother; and further, because her companion, if he is her closest cross-cousin, has the right to prevent her from deserting him for another more distant cousin. The daughter of a mother's brother is also desirable as a concubine for similar reasons.

A concubine or mistress generally remains true to one man over a considerable period of time, but the rights of concubinage are not formally recognized. If a concubinator finds his concubine in compromising circumstances with another man, he may beat her or abandon her, but he has no legal recourse. A concubine has no special legal rights over her concubinator, but if he beats her severely she may appeal to the headman's court for compensation as in a case of battery.

The father of a concubine may ask his daughter's companion to help him, depending upon his need and taking into account his wealth relative to that of the concubinator. If the concubinator is a rich man owning many cattle, the father of his concubine will not ask for his help ' because he knows that he cannot command the services of a rich man '. But a poor man is willing to help the father of his concubine ' because he hopes to be provided with food by him when he visits his homestead '.

When a man wishes to marry, the parents of his intended bride often demand that he abandon his concubine, and they may delay approval of the match until he agrees to do so. This is to assure that their daughter will receive proper care and consideration from her husband. A concubine, on the other hand, may try to persuade her concubinator to marry her first. The man usually insists that he must marry a young girl in order to have many children, while the concubine argues that he should marry her for love and later take a young wife to bear his children.

The Herero also recognize clandestine relations with a married woman as a form of amour, and the term *orukamburo* ' adultery ' is sometimes used to describe such a relationship. Although a man may bring suit against his wife for adultery, he usually does not do so

unless she has abandoned him. One Herero baldly declared that it made no difference whether other men came to sleep with his wives, for the children would belong to him regardless. And Herero men in general are very sceptical about the faithfulness of their wives during their absences.

A kind of reciprocal adultery, in which two husbands who are age mates or who are great friends agree to lend each other their wives, is also a recognized custom among the Herero. Or if a man finds another sleeping with his wife, he may, if he wishes, demand the same privilege with a wife of the adulterer. The men involved in a wife-lending agreement must be classificatory cross-cousins and not brothers as defined in the Herero system of kinship terminology (see Gibson, 1956: 128 ff.), and they must also stand in cross-cousin relationships with the borrowed wives. A wife-lending agreement between two men is made with respect to only one specific wife of each and does not include any of their other wives. A husband makes a deliberate excuse to absent himself when his wife-lending partner comes to visit, and he pretends not to be aware of what is happening during his absence. Herero wife-lending, called *oupanga*, has been described briefly in the earlier literature (Dannert, 1906: 40–1; Viehe, 1903: 304).

Illegitimacy

Among the Herero it is difficult to determine the number and average duration of pre- and extra-marital affairs because they are informal and often secret, but there is no attempt to withhold knowledge of extra-marital alliances which have led to progeny. From the analysis of data collected in 1953 concerning the parentage of children, it appears possible to infer something about the proportions of extra- to intra-marital births, the frequency with which pre-marital alliance leads to initiation of the girl and to marriage, and the bearing of men's and women's marital histories on their involvement in concubinary alliances. In order to draw accurate inferences concerning Herero concubinage in general from data on the legitimacy of births, full knowledge of Herero practices of contraception would be required. Concubines are said generally not to be averse to begetting children, but secret mistresses and stolen wives avoid intercourse during the first four or five days following the cessation of menstruation as a precaution against conception. Since knowledge of the frequency and efficacy of this and other contraceptive practices of the Herero is lacking, and since biological parentage is in doubt in cases of adultery involving married women, the following statistical study of Herero concubinage is necessarily restricted to cases which led to progeny and involved women who were unmarried at the time of conception.

Illegitimacy among the Ngamiland Herero depends upon the mother's status alone; the children of unmarried women are ineligible for patrilineal inheritance and succession regardless of the marital

status of their genitors, but the offspring of married women are counted as legitimate children of their husbands whether begotten by them or not. A bastard is called *ekombezumo* (from *omukombe* 'unmarried person', and *ezumo* 'belly pregnancy'); this word carries only slight moral stigma, but it is resented if applied to one to whom it does not properly apply. An illegitimate child claimed by his genitor ranks below a legitimate child, even though compensation has been paid for him. But if a man marries his concubine, all of her children fathered by him become his legitimate heirs and successors, their rank in the order of inheritance and succession being determined by their mother's marital order and their own birth order.

Illegitimacy is not exceptionally common among the Ngamiland Herero: 47 or 17 per cent of the 276 children born to 54 men of the sample who had progeny were born out of wedlock, and 12 of these were eventually legitimized by the marriage of their parents. Comparative data on the rate of illegitimacy are scant, but it appears that the rate among the Herero is significantly lower than among Africans who have been in closer contact with the white civilization of South Africa (Mair 1953: 34) where the figures range from 27 to 65 per cent.

First children tend to be born out of wedlock more often and later children less often than would be expected from the proportion of illegitimate children in the sample as a whole. The illegitimacy rate rises to 25·5 per cent for men's first children, but the difference between the proportions of first and later children born out of wedlock is not highly significant statistically ($\cdot 05 < P < \cdot 10$).

TABLE 9: EXTRA-MARITAL PREGNANCY AND SUBSEQUENT MARRIAGE

	Marital history of the concubine		*Total*
	Not previously married	*Previously married*	
Extra-marital pregnancy followed by marriage to the concubinator .	10*	3	13
Extra-marital pregnancy not followed by marriage to the concubinator . . .	19	14	33
Total . . .	29	17	46

Q (Yule's coefficient of association) = ·42; $\chi^2 = \cdot 78$; $\cdot 3 < P < \cdot 5$

* Cell values indicate number of couples involved in each type of alliance and not number of children born to such couples.

From the greater frequency of illegitimacy among first-born children it might be expected that pre-marital pregnancy often leads to marriage. Table 9 shows that extra-marital pregnancy did lead to marriage more often in cases where the concubine had not been previously married than in cases where the concubine was a widow or divorcee. But the association between a history of no previous marriage and marriage after extra-marital pregnancy is low and is not statistically significant. A concubinage often persists beyond the birth of a single child if the concubinator has paid *okacivereko*, the fee which establishes his genetricial rights in the woman, for he may then also claim any subsequent children born to the concubine, assuming she does not marry another, without paying additional compensation.

The marital history of the concubinator also has bearing on illegitimacy. In cases where the marital history of both the concubine and concubinator was known, only married men had children by unmarried divorcees or widows, while both married and never-married men had children by never-married women. The distribution is given in Table 10; Yale's coefficient for the distribution

TABLE 10:
MARITAL STATUS AND NUMBER OF SEXUAL ALLIANCES RESULTING IN EXTRA-MARITAL OFFSPRING *

Marital status of men	*Marital status of women*		*Total*
	Never married	*Divorced or widowed*	
Never married . .	13	0	13
Married . . .	8	10	18
Total . . .	21	10	31

$Q = 1{\cdot}00$; $P < {\cdot}001$

* Some alliances resulted in the birth of several illegitimate children, but in this table such are counted only once.

is unity, and the probability that such an extreme distribution should occur by chance alone in a sample with the same marginal totals, drawn from a population in which there is a zero statistical association between married men and divorced or widowed women, is only ·00099 (computed exactly by the laws of combination since χ^2 is grossly inaccurate in fourfold tables with very low cell values). Thus, although unmarried men often form pre-marital alliances with divorcees or widows (several cases were known to the writer), pregnancies from such alliances are successfully avoided to a significant degree. The data of Table 10 confirm those of Table 8

in which it was shown that first marriages with widows are avoided, and they indicate in addition an avoidance of begetting first children by divorcees, at least in extra-marital relationships. These avoidances may sometimes be due to the desire of unmarried men that their first children be also their legitimate heirs and successors. But if this were always true, one would expect that an unmarried man who has a child by an unmarried girl would always marry the girl, which is not the case—in seven out of the thirteen alliances of this type recorded, marriage did not ensue.

Whether a man has legitimate children appears to have little bearing on whether he takes a concubine. Among twenty illegitimate children born to the concubines of men who were married at the time of conception of the child, eleven were born to men who had legitimate children living. Although the number, sex ratio, and age of the living legitimate children may be factors governing the establishment of a concubine as procreatrix, a much larger sample than that collected would be required for proper investigation of these relationships.

In contrast to the lowered desirability of a widow or divorcee as a first procreatrix is the position of a woman who has borne a pre-marital child. A history of pre-marital pregnancy does not make a Herero woman less marriageable, neither does it prevent her from becoming her husband's senior wife. Among ninety-seven women aged fifteen or over or married (i.e. including one fourteen-year-old wife), the proportion of those with a history of pre-marital pregnancy was 11·7 per cent among the seventy-seven who were sometime married and 15·0 per cent among the twenty who had not yet married. This difference is not statistically significant at the 0·3 level. (Among both those sometime married and those never married were some women who had not yet experienced pregnancy, some of whom may be sterile; it has been assumed here that truly sterile women are distributed randomly among the two groups.) More than half of the women marrying after a pre-marital pregnancy became their husbands' senior wives, and some of these became the senior wives of men other than those responsible for their pre-marital pregnancies.

A girl's initiation is generally a part of the marriage ceremony, but if a girl is not engaged to be married within a few years after puberty, she goes through the initiation and assumes the headdress anyway. If a girl who does not wear the headdress conceives, she and her family are disgraced and her lover is liable to a fine of several head of cattle. But a girl who wears the headdress may make informal sexual alliances, and if she conceives, her shame and that of her family is much less, and her lover is not required to compensate her parents. Parents, therefore, generally see to it that their daughters go through the headdress ceremony within a few years after reaching puberty, and of course they prefer that they also marry at the same time. One father known to the writer, however, postponed his

daughter's initiation, apparently intentionally, until eventually, at the age of twenty-four, she became pregnant; he then sued for and was granted a penalty of twenty head of cattle, ten of which the headman wisely set aside for the child.

If it is discovered that a girl who has not yet been initiated has become pregnant, it is said *wakana ka ohungu* ' she is pregnant without horns ' (i.e. without a headdress—the old form of headdress carried leather ' horns ') and her people fear punishment of a supernatural nature. The girl is usually taken at once to the sacred hearth of her lineage priest, smeared with the powdered fiber of a holy bush (*omuvapu*) to forestall evil, the headdress is placed on her head, and an ox is killed for a sacrifice and to provide the usual feast accompanying initiation. It is then said of her, *wakutiswa wiyakana* ' she was tied (i.e. the headdress was tied on) by (on account of) pregnancy '. The girl goes through an abbreviated period of seclusion, remaining in her parents' hut until the meat of the sacrificial ox has been consumed. The man involved is revealed by the girl to her mother, and he must bring her a gift of a sheep called *ombwana* ' the sheep for pregnancy '. If the lover is willing to marry the girl, he provides the usual bridewealth, other relatives contribute beasts, and the feast is prolonged; if he is not willing to marry her, he is liable to suit for damages, amounting to as much as twenty head of cattle, unless the girl's father happens to be his mother's brother who, because of his relationship, will not bring suit against the boy. If the lover agrees to marry the girl, the initiation is sometimes postponed to make it coincide with the wedding, i.e. to make it appear normal.

The seduction of an uninitiated girl is considered very wrong, and a girl's father tries to prevent its happening. But after the girl has reached puberty and undergone the initiation ceremony, she builds her own hut and may entertain men freely. Concubinage during this period is expected, and pregnancy results in little censure. Sometimes a girl is married and acquires the headdress before puberty, but she does not go to live with her husband until she is pubescent. If, after reaching puberty, she refuses to go to live with her husband and if her husband respects her wishes, her father must return the bridewealth. But the girl nevertheless retains her headdress and can accept lovers. The headdress, therefore, is clearly a symbol indicating the wearer's right to engage in sexual activity. It does not, alone, indicate that a woman is married.

The fact that a girl is not yet initiated at the time of her pregnancy does not make her subsequent marriage certain. Among the twenty-two pre-marital mothers who had no history of either earlier pregnancy or marriage and for whom the data are available, sixteen had not yet gone through the initiation ceremony at the time when their pregnancies became known. In six of these sixteen cases marriage to the concubinator followed the discovery of the pregnancy, while of the six girls who already wore the headdress before

their first pregnancy, only one married her lover after she conceived. The sample is very small, however, and analysis of these figures does not show that lack of the headdress at the time of conception makes marriage to the concubinator more certain to a degree that is statistically significant.

An examination of the figures on illegitimacy among women with various marital histories shows no significant relationship between the number of a woman's illegitimate children and the number of her marriages.

The kin relationship between concubine and concubinator may be a significant factor in the frequency of concubinage, but a larger number of cases needs to be studied before a definite answer can be given to this question. In none of the cases of extra-marital pregnancy was the concubine related as true mother's brother's daughter to the concubinator, but two of the concubines who conceived before their initiation were their lovers' fathers' sisters' daughters, and in both of these cases marriage to the concubinator followed.

Summary and Discussion

Herero mating practices not only complement one another so as to form a consistent and interrelated ideal system, but many of them have quantifiable aspects or consequences which permit their interdependences in practice to be investigated statistically. In this paper statistical analysis, employed as an aid in the study of interrelationships of mating practices which are explicit in Herero cultural ideals or which are suggested by functional analyses of the Herero and other social systems, has also revealed some unsuspected relationships which require further study. But perhaps the greatest value of quantitative analysis is that it forces one's reasoning to become explicit and should, therefore, provide a firmer basis for the formulation of generalizations of wide application. We make here only some small beginnings toward these goals.

We have shown that in Herero society initiation is the ideal prerequisite to sexual mating for both men and women, but that in actual practice alternatives are available for both sexes. It appears that the rite of female initiation, i.e. the social recognition of a woman's nubility, is at least as important as the marriage rite, i.e. the social recognition of a man's exclusive claim to uxorial rights in her, in reckoning the moral status of a child-bearing woman. Proper observance of these rites has greater moral force than the condition of pre-marital chastity, in the Herero system of mating. Still, in a considerable proportion of cases initiation follows rather than precedes pregnancy. Among the Herero the pre-marital pregnancy of an initiated female is not considered a great wrong, and it is reflected neither in reduced bridewealth nor in damaged marriageability; it may even be looked upon as an advantage for it proves that

a girl is not sterile. Previous marriage, terminated by the death of her husband, does, in the Herero system of values, lower the desirability of a woman as a senior wife, unless the woman was the great wife of her former husband and is taken as a leviratic wife by her husband's younger brother. Divorced women are acceptable as first wives but do not become either great wives in polygynous households nor procreatrices for unmarried men.

The Herero patterns of residence and corporate activity are patrilineal in major emphasis, but, in correspondence with the wider compass of the Herero system of double descent, the system of mating provides near equality in the social position of the sexes. Both men and women are permitted a great deal of sexual freedom outside of marriage which, although generally known, is on an informal and semi-secret level. Since initiated girls, widows, and divorcees are permitted to form extra-marital alliances and to bear children without incurring great shame or severe penalties (except that unless marriage follows, their extra-marital children will always be of junior status), it appears that it is felt important for them to reproduce, whether married or not, to assure matrilineal continuity. And this is consistent with the view that, in the Herero system, matrilineal links are more important than marital alliances in tying together the scattered local patrilineal groups.

The Herero preference for marriage with a woman who is a classificatory father's sister's daughter is in some opposition to the Homans-Schneider hypothesis which holds that '. . . societies in which marriage is allowed or preferred with father's sister's daughter but forbidden or disapproved with mother's brother's daughter will be societies in which jural authority over ego male, before marriage, is vested in his mother's brother or mother's brother's lineage' (Homans and Schneider, 1955: 51). Homans and Schneider, if I understand them correctly, reason that in patripotestal societies men avoid marriage with a father's sister's daughter because they wish to avoid subjecting themselves to additional jural authority through closer ties with their father's sister. And indeed, in comparative study they report a high degree of association between patrilineality and matrilateral (i.e. Mo Br Da—Fa Si So) cross-cousin marriage on the one hand, and between matrilineality and patrilateral (i.e. Fa Si Da—Mo Br So) cross-cousin marriage on the other. However, among the virilocal and patripotestal Herero, whom Homans and Schneider presumably would classify as 'effectively patrilineal', patrilateral cross-cousin marriage is about four times as common as matrilateral cross-cousin marriage; in fact, over forty per cent of men's marriages are with women who are members of their fathers' matriclans. I fear that Homans and Schneider have considered marriage arrangements chiefly from the male point of view, whereas in virilocal societies it is the woman who must make the greatest adjustment in marriage. Among the Herero the daughter as well as the son of a man's sister is a privileged relative in his home. A girl's

parents favor a match with her mother's brother's son because they expect her mother's brother to see that she is well treated. The bridegroom is little concerned about an increase in jural authority at the hand of his wife's mother, for she usually lives at a distance. A man's mother's brother's daughter, on the other hand, holds no position of special favor in his father's household, and her parents see no particular advantage in marrying her to her father's sister's son, even though he is a favored kinsman in their own household.

If Herero matrilineages were strong corporate groups, one would expect some representation of the matrilineage at life crisis ceremonies. Among the Ngamiland Herero, members of the matrilineage of a deceased man claim certain animals from his herd during the mourning ceremonies, but I found in Ngamiland no symbolic recognition of matrilineal genetricial rights at marriage. According to Brincker (1886: 168) and Irle (1906: 106 ff.) the *eanda* ' matriclan ' of the husband was announced in the marriage ceremony in former times among the Herero of South West Africa; but there is no mention of an announcement of the *eanda* of the wife, as might be expected inasmuch as the wife will produce new members for this group. However, an expectant mother must return to her mother's home to bear her first child, who, therefore, is born among its matrilineal kinsmen. Entrance into the patrilineage of the father is symbolized by the rite in which the father or other senior patrilineal kinsman of the child gives it its name.

In a patrilineal society in which children are produced for the father's lineage, the procreative potential of wives is often highly valued, and once acquired by the patrilineage it is not lightly relinquished. But in a matrilineally oriented society children are produced for the mother's lineage and her procreative potential would not be of special value to the husband's group. Gluckman (1950: 192) has shown that the difference in the valuation placed on a woman's procreative capacity in patrilineal and matrilineal societies is generally reflected in both the rate of divorce and the amount of bridewealth, for in many matrilineal societies divorce rates tend to be higher and marriage payments lower than in patrilineal societies.

Although among the Herero the bridewealth transferred to acquire genetricial rights is small and is usually provided by the bridegroom from his own stock of animals, the rights so acquired may be claimed by his patrilineage, for they have been paid for with stock which otherwise would be inheritable by his younger brothers. There is also a transfer of ritual rights, for a married woman comes under the protection of her husband's patrilineal ancestors. Fallers' (1957: 121) reformulation of Gluckman's hypothesis concerning the association of low rate of divorce with patriliny, namely that ' where a woman, either through the complete transfer of her child-bearing properties or by other means, is socially absorbed into her husband's lineage, patriliny tends to stabilize marriage . . .' would not at first appear to be supported by the Herero case, for we have the transfer

of genetricial rights and ritual status of a woman at marriage but not stability of marriage. In the Herero system, however, the transfer of genetricial rights is not absolute as among the Nuer or Zulu, for widow inheritance as well as the true levirate occurs. There is, also, the additional factor of matrilineal descent, and consequently not a *complete* transfer of a woman's child-bearing faculties to her husband's patrilineage. Even though Herero matrilineages are not fully developed corporate groups, ties to matrilineal kinsmen are strong and do provide alternative means of support and inheritance, though not of ritual and political status, for the children of a woman who chooses to leave her husband. Gluckman's suggestion that in patrilineal societies 'it is rare divorce which allows high marriage payment, rather than high marriage payment which prevents divorce', because stable marriage is generally valued and high marriage payments could have been used by matrilineal cattle herding peoples to stabilize marriage if that alone were effective (*loc. cit.*), does, on the other hand, seem well supported by the Herero materials. Among the Herero it appears that the condoned extra-marital sexual freedom is a major factor contributing to marital instability and making high marriage payments impractical.

In sum, it appears that the authority system and herding practices of the Herero require that men postpone marriage, but that the desire for a son who will be his father's legal heir and who can therefore provide well for his mother in her old age encourages women to marry early. In agreement with these practices the Herero deem it right and desirable for a man to be several years older than his wife. Herero do not rely upon high marriage payments to enforce the late marriage of their sons, but they do sanction pre-marital alliances which permit young men to carry on their herding duties without insisting upon early marriage. Under the Herero system of easy concubinage some men might postpone marriage indefinitely if it were not necessary for them to provide legitimate heirs and successors, not only to inherit their sacred cattle and to succeed to the position of headman, but also to perpetuate the line of male descendants who, by sacrificing to their paternal ancestors, benefit both the living and the dead. When Herero do marry, the nearly fifteen year mean differential in the ages of husband and wife coupled with the rule that all persons normally marry set the conditions for a high degree of polygyny. The economic and political advantages of having many children provide the rationale.

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THE STUDY OF TRIBAL ETHICS

by

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IN most fields of study the pursuit of knowledge is a co-operative enterprise. My purpose in this article is to try to promote such co-operation between social anthropologists and moral philosophers who are interested in tribal morality. I am confident that such co-operation could be fruitful and I want to try to suggest some lines of enquiry to further such co-operation, and to try to indicate the sort of information about the morality of tribal peoples which would be helpful to the student of ethics.

I realize how difficult it is to get accurate and precise information about moral beliefs and attitudes and emotions, motives and purposes and ideals, even from our friends and fellow-countrymen. It is still more difficult to get such information from people whose beliefs, customs and value judgments we do not share, whose conduct we observe as external spectators, and who are not themselves given to reflection or stating their views clearly and accurately. I am not therefore expecting that field workers can supply precise answers to all the questions which I am going to ask. As to how far they can do so, only they can tell. But at least it may be helpful if I mention the sort of facts or data for which the student of ethics is looking, the sort of questions to which he would like to have answers when he tries to interpret the reports of field workers about the ways of life of tribal peoples.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, I should like to make two preliminary points. First, I am aware that some field workers tend to resent what they regard as the bungling interference in their work of armchair anthropologists, more especially if the field workers feel that they are being told how to do their work. I want, therefore, to state that I am not, and that I do not pretend to be an anthropologist, even an armchair anthropologist, and that nothing is further from my mind than to tell field workers what they ought to do, or how they should set about doing it. But as a student of ethics it seems to me that the morality of tribal peoples is part of the data which I have to consider, for I take the view that an adequate ethical theory must be able to explain the morality of all men everywhere, not just the morality of our own countrymen in the twentieth century. And when I turn to the reports of field workers about tribal peoples, I sometimes find it so difficult to discover the answers to some of the questions which I want to ask, that the results of my investigations can only be described as conjectural interpretations of obscure and fragmentary materials. That is my reason for discussing the

subject. Indeed, I should not have presumed to do so were it not for the kindly encouragement of Professor Gluckman.

Secondly, not all ethical theorists take the view that the morality of tribal peoples is relevant to their enquiries. No doubt most of them describe the data of ethics in a way which would seem to include tribal morality as part of it. To give one or two examples, here are descriptions by different writers of the subject matter of ethics, the data on which they profess to base their theories and by reference to which they think their theories should be tested: ' the large body of beliefs and convictions to the effect that there are certain kinds of acts that ought to be done, and certain things that ought to be brought into existence '; ' our own and other people's conduct, and the judgments which are passed on conduct '; ' the moral judgments which express approval and disapproval of certain kinds of human conduct '; ' the accepted modes of common life and the judgments and feelings about it and the institution in which these judgments and feelings are partially embodied '; and ' human conduct from the point of view of what is good for man to aim at and right for him to do '.

But having stated the subject matter of their enquiries in these general terms, few recent writers on ethics seem to realize the extent of the material or the difficulty of collecting even a representative selection of it. I sometimes suspect that the ethical theories put forward by different writers differ at least as much because the facts or data from which they start are different as because they give different interpretations of the same facts or data. Some of them proceed as if reflection on their own experiences were sufficient to provide them with all the materials which they need for their study. Some of them explicitly hold that the moral views and judgments of other people, and especially those of tribal peoples, are as irrelevant to their purpose as tribal peoples' views about mathematics are to the proof of a mathematical theorem. Such antiquarian phenomena, they think, may be a legitimate object of curiosity to those who are interested in the vagaries of the human mind, but for the serious business of throwing light on the nature of morality, they have no value.

But it is no part of my purpose in this article to discuss the merits or the demerits of the ethical views of such writers. I am concerned only with those who believe that an adequate theory of morality must take account of the moral attitudes and judgments and ideals of all men everywhere. They regard tribal morality as part, though only part, of the data of ethics, and they look to the social anthropologist for information about it. It is the sort of information which would be helpful to them which I want to try to indicate.

Perhaps the simplest way of approaching the subject is to describe the subject matter of ethics as precisely as I can without raising issues on which moral philosophers differ. If in doing so, I seem to be labouring the obvious, I should quote the words of Samuel Alexander, that ' a writer on ethics is not at liberty to shrink from platitudes '.

The subject matter of ethics is moral conduct; but conduct is exceedingly complex; and some of the elements in it, including elements that are peculiar to moral conduct, are not open to the public gaze, and therefore cannot be directly observed. Moreover, not all conduct is moral conduct, and the conduct which is moral is not a separate compartment of conduct in the way in which, for example, economic or political or religious activities tend to be separate departments of conduct. No conduct is merely moral conduct, but all conduct is potentially moral in the sense that moral considerations may arise regarding it. The moral is one aspect of conduct which has other aspects as well.

What then is conduct? Not just bodily behaviour, but behaviour which is the expression of a certain condition of mind. The person behaving must know what he is doing, and do it voluntarily—at least in the sense that it would not happen if he had chosen otherwise. Thus conduct is consciously purposive behaviour in the sense that the agent has an idea before his mind of what he is going to do, as distinct, for example, from accidental happenings, reflex or instinctive actions, actions under hypnosis or in a fit. The behaviour which we call conduct is consciously intended—the outward expression of an inner attitude or motive. But many activities which are conduct in this sense are normally regarded as morally neutral—such activities, for example, as turning on the wireless; opening the window; poking the fire; or going for a walk. These are bits of conduct, but they may have no moral significance. Indeed, most of the actions which we do in the course of a day when considered by themselves in isolation may be morally neutral. But in fact they are not normally by themselves. They may be parts of carrying out wider purposes, as for example, turning on the wireless may be part of fulfilling a promise to a broadcaster to give a critical estimate of his Third Programme talk. Or again, they may conflict with or prevent other actions either of our own or other people, as, for example, going for a walk may be inconsistent with keeping an appointment or attending a meeting, or turning on the wireless may interfere with other people who want to carry on a conversation. Such actions may conflict with other actions either because we can only do one thing at a time, or because they are in principle incompatible with other purposes of our own or of other people. Whenever this happens we are faced with alternatives and forced to make a choice.

But more than choice is needed to make the action moral conduct. The agent must have made the activity in question the subject of a value judgment, i.e. a judgment of approval or disapproval; a judgment that the conduct is good or bad, right or wrong. And even this is not sufficient, for not all judgments of value are moral judgments. For example, I may call an action right in the sense that it is the action required to realize a certain end, such as the action of taking a particular road to a particular destination; I may call an

action good in the sense that I like it; or I may approve of an action in the sense that it serves my purpose or suits my convenience. But none of these judgments of value is a moral judgment in the strict sense. They do not claim that the actions in question are morally good or right. Perhaps I should not be going to that destination; what I like may not be worthy of being liked; my purpose may be a selfish purpose. These judgments consider the actions to which they refer in a limited context, or they consider only some elements in them, for example, their success in producing certain results, or the feelings of the agent in regard to them. The same considerations apply to the judgment that an action is expert or clumsy, economically efficient or inefficient, legally right or wrong, ritually commanded or forbidden.

The moral judgment—the judgment that an action is morally right or wrong, morally good or bad—is distinguished from these relative and limited judgments in being more comprehensive or inclusive. It considers an act in a wider context, and it takes account of more of its elements, including the attitude of mind or motives of which it is the outcome, or the character of which it is the expression. Indeed, the more deliberate and careful and considered moral judgment is passed on the whole act in both its inner and outer aspects, in its whole context, and not only its context in the situation and the life of the individual agent, but in the context of the life of the group or society of which the agent is a member. Some people would confine the term moral to conduct which directly or indirectly affects the interests of other people. But without going so far as that, we can at least say that morality is possible only in a social medium, and that to render it intelligible we must take account of the agent's relations to other moral agents, and the conditions of effective co-operation and mutual trust and goodwill between them.

In a complete account of moral judgments it would be necessary to distinguish between the judgment of moral goodness and the judgment of moral rightness. All I need say here is that the judgment of rightness refers primarily to the relation of the act to the context in which it takes place, while the judgment of goodness refers primarily to the condition of mind, the intention, the motive, the inner attitude of which the act is the outcome and expression. But the two aspects of the act are very closely connected. The right act is the act which a morally good and enlightened man would perform, and a morally good state of mind normally issues in right acts. I shall therefore neglect the difference between the judgment of rightness and the judgment of goodness, and consider the characteristics which distinguish moral judgment from the more limited types of judgment which I have mentioned. In the first place moral judgment claims a certain disinterestedness. It claims to be independent of the person who passes the judgment. It makes no direct personal reference to him or to his feelings or convenience as the judgment of liking does. In the second place, it claims a certain

impartiality. It does not depend on whose action is in question. It applies to actions of a certain sort in certain types of situations, irrespective of who are the particular individuals who perform them. In the third place, it claims a certain universality. It expects other people who understand the action and the situation to concur in the judgment. In the fourth place, it is a judgment on the whole act, both as a piece of behaviour and as the outcome of a certain state of mind, in its whole context both in the life of the individual and of his group or society. It is true that in the rough and ready judgments of ordinary life, a moral judgment may be passed on one aspect of or on one element in an act, but in such cases the other aspects or elements tend to be taken for granted. For example, the judgment may be passed on the character of the agent, but on the assumption that the agent knew what he was doing, and intended to do what he did, and that only an agent of a certain character would intend such an act. Or it may be based on the thing done, but again on the assumption that only a person of a certain character would do such a thing. Or again it may be based on the result of the action, but on the understanding that the agent foresaw the result and intended to bring it about. Thus we find special attention concentrated at different times on (1) the externally observed piece of behaviour, (2) the intentions and motives of the agent, (3) the result which the action brings about, or (4) the disposition or character which finds expression in the act. But the more considered and deliberate moral judgment takes account of all these aspects, and similarly it takes account of the whole context in which and in relation to which the action is done. Accordingly, in the fifth place, the moral judgment is the ultimate or final judgment of value, the judgment from which there is no appeal to a higher court, as there is from the more restricted judgment, such as the economic or the legal or other judgments which are relative to a particular end or purpose, to the moral judgment. Finally, the moral judgment provides a good reason, and in the end the only sufficient reason, for doing or avoiding an action and it supplies an incentive, and sometimes an obligation, to perform or refrain from performing it.

In trying to understand the morality of an action or the moral judgment which the agent passes, we must also take account of the agent's general level of knowledge and intelligence—the beliefs he entertains about matters of fact, about man and nature and the operation of supernatural forces. We must see the situation to which the action or the judgment is the response, not as it appears to us with our knowledge and experience, but as it appears to the agent with his.

There is yet another distinction to which I must draw attention. Many of the judgments of approval or disapproval that are passed by many people in all societies, and by most if not all people in some societies, are imitative or habitual—taken over without much thought from their social environment and repeated without much reflection

or discrimination. People can learn to use the moral terms which they find other people using with reasonable accuracy in typical situations without much understanding of their meaning or the reasons which make them applicable. But their use of them is apt to be loose and undiscriminating. These rough and ready judgments of ordinary life do no doubt throw light on the state of moral opinion in a society, but they must be distinguished from the more discriminating judgments of the more thoughtful and reflective members in their more thoughtful and reflective moments. The distinction between these two sorts of judgments is not really between two kinds of judgment. The two are rather the extreme limits of a graded series of judgments, for all men have their more and their less thoughtful moments, and even the most reflective do not always live up to the level of their best moments. Both the imitative and habitual judgments which have been embodied in the traditions and customs of a people and the judgments of their best men in their best moments throw light on the morality of a people. But the more considered judgments, whether of the many or of the wise, are the most important data of ethics.

Let me then try to indicate some of the questions to which the moral philosopher would like answers in his attempts to understand the morality of a primitive people. To begin with, he will want to know what factual beliefs the people concerned entertain about the moral situation—the situation in which the action on which moral judgment is passed takes place, factual beliefs, for example, about the causal efficacy of actions, about the operation of natural or magical or supernatural forces, and so on. These things are not part of moral judgments, but without information about them we cannot understand moral judgments because we cannot understand what the agent believes he is doing.

In the next place, he will want to know what considerations seem to the people concerned relevant in justifying or condemning actions, whether their own or other peoples'. What sort of actions seem to them right? What general moral rules do they recognize, for example, rules of truth telling and promise keeping, or respecting other people's persons and property, of making a return for services rendered, and so on? In what relations do they regard these rules as binding, for example, in their relations to the members of the enlarged family, the clan, the tribe, or to all men? What reasons do they offer, if they offer any, for regarding these rules as right, for example, that they are the customs of their people, that they are the conditions of social welfare, that they are just or fair to other people, or that they are afraid of the consequences to themselves or their society through the operation of social or supernatural sanctions if they fail to comply with them? Do they find difficulty in giving any reason, and feel surprised that anyone should ask for a reason? What exceptions to these rules do they recognize as morally justifiable, and what justification do they offer for such exceptions?

Do they regard all the moral rules as having the same range of application? If not, what reasons do they offer for regarding one rule as binding only in their relations within the family or the clan or other group, and other rules as binding in their relations to wider groups or even to all men? What do they regard as the relative urgency of the different rules when their requirements clash, and why? Do they feel uncomfortable when they break the rules, or fail to live up to their own ideals of good behaviour, and if so, is the feeling one of regret or remorse, or just one of fear of consequences?

Do they pass moral judgments on the agent doing, or on the thing done? Do they distinguish between an act which complies with a moral rule and one which is directed by a moral judgment or springs from a good motive? When a rule is broken, how far do they take account of the state of mind, the intention and motives of the agent? Do they distinguish between accident and design, and if so, do they do so in all cases or only in the case of some actions? Do they distinguish between impulsive and deliberate actions; between actions which result from thoughtlessness or carelessness and deliberate wrong-doing; between the unforeseen and perhaps unforeseeable consequences of an action, and its foreseen and intended consequences; and if so, what degree of merit or demerit do they attach to each? Do they take account, and if so, how much, of extenuating circumstances, such as provocation or strength of temptation? Do they pass moral judgment on immature children or imbeciles or animals? If not, on what ground do they distinguish between their conduct and that of normal adults? Do they admit degrees of goodness and badness, and if so, by what criterion do they assess them? Do they regard an evil intention as morally blameworthy, even if the agent has not succeeded in carrying out his intention?

What is their ideal of the good man? How far does it include reference to his motives and character, or his sensitiveness to the claims of other people, as well as his external conduct? Do they recognize a personal ideal of the good man as distinct from the loyal member of the group? No doubt the good of the group is always in their minds, and helps to determine their moral judgments, but do they allow any degree of freedom, and if so, how much, to the individual to form his friendships and loyalties and develop his character in his own way, as long as these do not conflict with the requirements of the group welfare as they conceive them, and if so, what is their personal ideal of the good man? What virtues do they admire in him, and in what order of preference? Do they recognize an ideal type of man or of life which is different from and higher than the socially operative ideal—the ideal which is embodied in their customs and institutions, which determine what others expect of them, and which is operative in their normal moral judgments on themselves and other people? Do any of them regard any of the customs of their society as bad or imperfect, and if so, on what

grounds? Is it in the light of a theoretical ideal of the good man, as we might, for example, recognize the life of the average Christian as imperfect in the light of the ideal of the Sermon on the Mount? If any of their people regard any of their customs as imperfect and would like to see them improved, how far—if at all—does his society distinguish between such a prophet or reformer and the common criminal who falls below the level of the socially operative ideal?

Which, if any, of the rules which they regard as morally obligatory in their relations to their fellow men do they regard as having a supernatural or religious sanction, either in the sense of having been in times past promulgated by a personal supernatural agent or in the sense that their observance or non-observance is liable to bring reward or punishment either here or hereafter through the operation of impersonal supernatural forces or the action of personal supernatural agents? How far, if at all, do they distinguish between moral rules such as rules against killing or stealing or telling lies, and other rules such as rules of manners, ritual rules, economic rules, legal rules and so on, either in the sense of obligation which attaches to the rules, the feelings which breaches of them evoke, the grounds of their rightness or the sanctions by which they are enforced? Is there any evidence of differences either of kind or of degree of intensity in the moral attitudes or beliefs of different individuals? And finally, what ethical or moral terms or concepts do they use, and what experiences correspond to these terms? How far, if at all, do they distinguish between the strictly moral use of a term such as ' right ' or ' good ' as in a good man or a good act, and its non-moral use, as in a good knife or a good canoe?

It may well be asked, how is one to get this information about any man or society of men? I realize that it is difficult to get precise and accurate answers to some of the questions which I have asked. To get even an approximation to reasonable certainty one must know the man or the society concerned very intimately, and they will reveal their beliefs and attitudes to the outsider not so much in answers to his direct questions as by their spontaneous utterances and in their unguarded moments, and not so much by what they explicitly assert as by what they assume or take for granted.

I can only tentatively suggest some of the sources from which the information can be derived, and call attention to some of the pitfalls to be avoided in looking for it. Perhaps the chief difficulty is to disentangle the observed facts of other people's morality from our own theories about morals, and so prevent the facts reported from being coloured by the reporter's moral views.

Let us imagine a person going to a remote society whose language he doesn't know, and about whose people he knows nothing except that he assumes them to have the same nature and needs, the same emotions and reason as himself. It is easy enough for him to pick up the words they use for objects which can be observed and pointed to, but how is he to get to know the meaning of words expressing

moral concepts which refer to states of mind or aspects of conduct which are not directly observable. He sees situations and types of conduct which he himself would regard as morally significant. He observes reactions to them, and terms used in regard to them. He watches the ways in which the terms are used in varying situations, and he may then try to equate them to the moral terms in his own language, for example, right and good, duty and obligation, motive and intention, and so on. But in doing this he is liable to commit one or other or both of two errors. The moral terms in his own language are the result of abstraction and analysis and classification of experiences, and they embody theories which he may not have disentangled from the facts and experiences which they describe. Accordingly, in trying to equate the terms in the new language to those in his own, he may be distorting the meaning of the former. The fact is that the moral terms in one language can seldom, perhaps never, be exactly translated into those of another. Words are used against a background of associations derived from the context of the way of life of the people who developed them, and these associations tend to enter into, or at any rate to colour, the meaning of the terms. On the other hand, our observer may not find a word in the new language which seems to correspond to one of the moral terms in his own, and he may conclude that the people concerned have no such moral concept. But that would be a risky conclusion to draw. It has often been pointed out, for example, that in classical Greek there are no words exactly equivalent to our terms duty and will, but it would be unwise to conclude from this that the Greek people had no sense of duty and concept of volitional activity. But they classified their experiences differently from the way in which we do, and their methods of approach to moral problems and their emphasis on different aspects of morality were different from ours.

Moreover, moral valuations are mainly practical, and embodied in practical behaviour. People may act as if they had an idea, even though they can give no articulate or intelligent account of it, and have no term to express it. This is specially true of people who do not indulge in much reflection or abstract thinking. They may be feeling after an idea which they only dimly discern, and cannot clearly express. Developing thought, especially on its practical side, sometimes outruns language, and distinctions are recognized and acted on in practice before they find adequate linguistic expression.

How then is the new arrival among a people to learn the meaning of their moral terms? We might answer, as the child learns his mother tongue. But the position of the field worker is in some respects easier and in others more difficult than that of the child. On the one hand, he is already a developed adult with moral experiences of his own. He therefore knows what situations and forms of conduct are morally significant. This helps him to decide what to look for and where to look for it. On the other hand, he already

knows a language in which and by which he thinks of his own and other people's experiences, and this language embodies forms of classification of experiences and theories as to their nature, and he is apt to read these theories and classifications into the facts before him. Unless, therefore, he is careful, and gets behind his own language to the experiences to which its terms correspond, he is in danger of distorting the facts of tribal life and of misunderstanding the meaning of terms.

And he has to understand the moral situation, the situation in which an action takes place, and the nature of the action itself, as a tribesman sees it, in the light of the tribe's factual beliefs about man, nature and supernature. He will then have to observe whether, and if so in what ways, the tribesman's moral attitudes to and judgments on what is externally the same action vary with unobservable or not very clearly or only indirectly observable differences in the mental conditions or aspects of the action—the motives, the intentions, the extenuating circumstances, the degree of temptation, and so on—and the reasons which the people themselves offer for the differences in their judgments on different occasions on what is apparently the same conduct. He must get behind the words used to the experiences to which they refer, observe the situations in which the terms are used and the conduct of which they are used, and the emotional and other attitudes and reactions of the individuals concerned as they use the terms. He must attend not so much to what people say in answer to his questions, as to how they behave in the presence of concrete moral situations, and he must continue this process till he can anticipate with reasonable accuracy the way in which the natives will react to actions and situations as well as the terms which they will apply to them. For as I have said, people may recognize differences and act on them in practice without being able to formulate them clearly or to express them in words. But it is more difficult to be sure whether such recognition is merely operative in the minds of the people determining their behaviour, or more or less consciously before them, determining their attitudes and judgments. There is always more in the mind and operative in the practice of an individual than is consciously before his mind. For example, the principle of the uniformity of nature is operative in the mind and practice of the burnt child who shuns the fire, but it is not consciously before the child's mind as an object of knowledge, and only what is consciously, however dimly and obscurely, before the mind is morally significant.

The simpler peoples have one advantage over us in passing moral judgments on one another's conduct. In the main they all live the same kind of life, do the same kind of work and pass through the same sort of experiences. As a result it is easier for them to put themselves in one another's places, and enter into one another's experiences. It is therefore easier for them to judge one another's inner attitudes and motives, and this may enable them to pass moral judgment on one another's conduct without appearing to enquire

into or pay attention to motives and intentions. It is, however, necessary to distinguish between the rough and ready moral judgments of practical life which take account mainly, if not only, of outward conduct and which are based on average cases, and the more considered and reflective judgments, even of the ordinary man, and still more of the more thoughtful and reflective and morally sensitive men who are to be found in every community. The attitudes and judgments of the latter are the best clue to the moral standards and ideals of the society—the standards and ideals which others dimly acknowledge but seldom scrupulously apply in their moral judgments.

In some cases the reasons given even by the more reflective and self-critical individuals for their judgments of approval or disapproval whether on themselves or on other people, and still more those given by the average individual, may not be the real reasons which prompt their judgments. They may be rationalizations, and while rationalizations throw light on aspects of the character and ideals and attitudes of the people concerned, they have to be interpreted with caution and recognized for what they are. Or again, the reasons offered for approving or disapproving a particular form of conduct may be the sanctions, social or supernatural, which attach to it, that is, what the individual thinks will happen to him if he fails to behave in that way. That is more obvious and concrete, and therefore easier to describe than, for example, the sense of obligation which attaches to the conduct, or the dim recognition that it is just or fair to other people, or that it is a condition of social welfare. Indeed, he may draw no clear distinction between what makes a rule right and what will happen to him if he fails to comply with its requirements.

Two other considerations have also to be borne in mind. First, moral codes come into existence before people begin to reflect on them and on the reasons for them. When they do begin to reflect, the reasons they offer for them are not always, and perhaps not normally, the reasons why they first came into existence. And secondly, the individual finds the moral code of his society already in existence, commended to him by those whose judgment he respects, and enforced on him by social and it may be supernatural sanctions. Now what he at first accepts or complies with as the result of training and education, backed by hope of reward or fear of punishment, he may in time come to do spontaneously because he finds it satisfying, and he may come to regard it as good in itself and needing no further justification.

All these considerations suggest that a person's attitudes and emotions and reactions in concrete situations provide a safer clue than his verbal statements to the real reasons for his judgments on conduct. Moreover, even if we master a people's language and their use of moral terms in their ordinary contacts with one another, the distinctions which they draw and the reasons which they give for them, the analysis of these, important as it is, is not our only source of information about their moral beliefs and attitudes.

Among other sources are the instruction which they give to the young, and the reasons which they give to the young for acting or refraining from acting in certain ways. Probably nothing causes people to reflect on their rules of behaviour and their reasons for them and the sanctions which attach to them so much as passing them on to a new generation—a generation which is likely to ask questions as to why they should or should not behave in the prescribed ways. No doubt much of this instruction is conveyed indirectly, by imitation and suggestion, by gestures and tones of voice, but much of it is also given directly in explicit verbal forms such as we find in maxims and proverbs. Maxims and proverbs themselves contain much of the accumulated wisdom of the people, and they are therefore further sources of information about what they consider just and right, but they are usually less revealing about the states of mind or motives which should find expression in such conduct.

Other sources of evidence are their customs and institutions. Also, the administration of justice and the punishment of wrongdoers, whatever forms these may take, are, like the moral instruction of the young, consciously moral and usually deliberate activities, and likely to be especially revealing of moral attitudes and emotions and the grounds on which they are based. Still another source of such information is to be found in folk-lore—stories about ancestors and heroes. In these and the attitudes of the people towards them we see the sort of character which they admire, the sort of conduct of which they approve or disapprove, the qualities which they would like to imitate or to avoid.

What is not so easy to discover is whether, when people approve or disapprove of a piece of conduct, they do so because they regard it as morally right or wrong, or because they consider it as conventionally appropriate or inappropriate, or as commanded or forbidden by religious authority, or as economically efficient or inefficient, or as prudentially expedient or inexpedient, or perhaps, as more often happens both among tribal and westernized peoples, from a combination of several of these reasons. Among small and simple peoples, where the group is at once the economic and the educational, the religious and the political unit, and where all relations are personal relations between individuals who know one another, it is difficult to distinguish between the moral and the other relations, for moral considerations and qualities of character are apt to be involved in all of them. For example, a breach of manners may be a deliberate insult to another person, and in that sense morally wrong as well as conventionally inappropriate, or economic inefficiency may involve disregard of the interests or rights of other people, and so be condemned from a moral as well as from an economic point of view, and so on. Nevertheless, it is important to try to discover how far, if at all, the ordinary members of a society in their ordinary moments, or even in their more deliberate and reflective moments, or the more

reflective or discriminating members, distinguish among the rules which they regard as obligatory—either explicitly in their judgments, or implicitly by their conduct and feelings—the specifically moral rules which are the conditions of social welfare everywhere, and which could not be altered without endangering any form of social life, and other rules such as rules of manners or economics or the requirements of particular institutions which might well be different without serious consequences to the life of the community; and if so, in what way they explain or betray the difference.

These are very difficult questions to answer about any people, and especially about people who are not given to introspection and reflection, but if the people do recognize the differences, even dimly and intermittently, they are likely to betray the fact in one way or another to the discerning observer.

PLATEAU TONGA DIET[1]

by

E. COLSON

THE Plateau Tonga live in Mazabuka District (now subdivided into Choma and Mazabuka Districts) in the Southern Province of Northern Rhodesia. In the last few decades, they have changed from a subsistence economy to one based on cash-cropping, with maize as the primary crop. They are still largely self-supporting with regard to the food which they eat.[2] This comes from their fields, from their herds of cattle or from small stock, and from the wild resources of the area. They depend upon the trading stores, or upon outside sources, only for salt and soda as necessities, though most families also make occasional small purchases of luxury goods such as sugar. The more prosperous, especially if they live near European townships on the railway line or close to one of the African trading stores which are now proliferating throughout the reserves, also buy quantities of bread, tea, cocoa, jam, syrup and sweets, and occasionally buy cooking oil, curry powder, butchers' meat, and tinned meat, fish, and fruit. Only a few have come to consider such items as an essential part of their diet. Men are the most frequent purchasers, as they are also the most numerous and persistent patrons of the tea shops in townships and reserves. Women and children receive a much smaller share of the luxury foods which are rarely incorporated into the make-up of the family diet.

The Tonga expect to have two meals a day, one at noon and the other in the evening, but their eating habits are not as regular as this implies. Hungry children are fed between times with food left over from the previous meal. During the harvest period both children and adults may spend most of their waking hours munching green mealies, roasted groundnuts, and the peeled stalks of maize or of a variety of sorghum grown specifically for this purpose. The housewife during this period frequently does not bother to prepare

[1] This paper is based on information collected during September 1946–September 1947, and July 1948–July 1950, in the course of a field study of the Plateau Tonga sponsored and financed by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute under a grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. The material refers primarily to two areas, Nampeyo in Chona Chieftaincy and Mujika in Mwansa Chieftaincy. Both lie to the east of the railway.

For a general description of the Tonga, see E. Colson, *Marriage and the Family Among the Plateau Tonga*, Manchester University Press for the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1958. A full bibliography of items on the Tonga is included in that volume.

[2] This was true at least until 1950, the last date to which this paper applies.

a meal at noon, and the household gathers for a formal meal only in the evening. If guests arrive, the housewife will cook for them no matter what the time of day, and those who are about the homestead may share a portion of this food in addition to their regular meals. Most ceremonies involve the preparation of at least a small feast which need not coincide with either noon or evening meal; at large funerals food is distributed on a number of occasions throughout the day. Wild fruit is eaten at any time of day except at mealtimes. Children, especially herdboys, catch and roast small birds and mammals which they eat on the spot. During the season when milk is plentiful, both children and adults drink fresh or soured milk throughout the day. Both children and adults drink considerable quantities of the nutritious light beer (*cibwantu*), which is not incorporated into the regular meals. Adults, both men and women, drink the strong regular beer (*bukoko*) which is never served as an accompaniment to a meal. Many Tonga, especially adherents of certain Christian sects, abstain from this beer; others drink it only sparingly. For others, especially at certain seasons of the year, it is a major element of their diet. Even children may receive a little of the strong beer, and they and the women also eat the sediment of meal left after the beer has been decanted from the cooking pots.

The Tonga thus consume a good deal of their food at times other than the two regular meals, but it is dogma with them that they eat twice a day. They are quite as convinced of this as the European is that he has three meals a day despite the fact that he supplements these with morning tea or coffee, afternoon tea or coffee, sundown drinks and snacks, and a bedtime raid upon the larder. He does not define these as constituting a meal, and no more does the Tonga regard his extra-mealtime munching as belonging under this rubric. Both are likely to consider that food is what is eaten at mealtime; the rest is a pleasant way of passing time. The Tonga questioned about what he has eaten during the day is likely to reply with what he ate at the noon and evening meals, ignoring the length of sorghum-stalk protruding from his mouth or the half-eaten mealie cob in his hand or the pot of beer at his feet. The European with equal blandness forgets the cup of coffee and biscuit, the glass of beer and cheese straw, the packet of chocolate. The nutritionist who wants reliable information on diet would be foolish to take either of them at his word and confine attention to what is eaten at the accepted formal meals. Some Tonga foodstuffs, such as wild fruit and maize- or sorghum-stalks, are rarely or never incorporated into the defined meals though they may be of considerable qualitative importance in the diet. The housewife does not handle or prepare all that members of her household consume during the day, and the question ' What did you cook today? ', even if honestly answered, will give neither the quantitative nor qualitative information for an adequate study of the diet.

This paper is no substitute for a detailed study of Tonga nutrition done by a competent nutritionist. During the period that I lived in Tonga villages, I did not attempt to collect quantitative data on food consumption. I did record the types of food which I saw being eaten and also asked people about what they had eaten during the day. Other information on food habits was recorded in the course of investigations primarily focused on other problems. I have drawn this material together and am presenting it here in the hope that it will be of use to those working in the area and also to those with an interest in the general problem of food habits in African rural communities.

Tonga Foodstuffs

The staple food for the Tonga, as for many of the peoples of Central Africa, is a thick porridge. The Tonga call this *insima*, and again like many of the other peoples of the area they are inclined to restrict their definition of food in such a fashion as to make it apply to porridge alone. Only porridge is thought to give the sensation of a tight full stomach which is the sign of a satisfying meal.[1]

Until about 1920–30, millets and sorghums were of equal importance with maize in providing the basis of the porridge. The development of a cash market for maize, spurred by the development of the Copper Belt, led the Tonga to abandon other crops to concentrate on maize both for sale and for their own consumption. This change had already taken place by the early 1940's. Today millets and sorghums have practically disappeared except in a few restricted areas. Shelled maize is commonly reduced to a flour by stamping it in a large wooden mortar. The husk is sifted out and fed to chickens and pigs. Women stamp, sift, stamp again, and repeat the process until all the bran has been removed and the residue is a fine powdery flour. One of the signs of the good housewife is the fineness and whiteness of the flour which she prepares. In hunger years, when every scrap of food is precious, the whole of the maize is used for human consumption. Women turn to the grindstone rather than the stamping block, and by this method of preparation the husk is incorporated in the resulting flour. The ground flour is more nutritious than the stamped, but the Tonga prefer the texture of the latter. Their prejudice against flour made from the whole grain is only slowly being overcome by the spread of new labour-saving methods. Already many households are using mechanical hand-grinders for which there is now a considerable demand in the reserves. A few take their grain to mills in townships to exchange for flour. Neither method supplies a flour as fine as can be obtained by stamping and discarding the husk, but

[1] See, B. Thomson, *Two Studies in African Nutrition*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper 24, 1954; A. Richards, *Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia*, pp. 34–99, Oxford University Press, 1939.

the saving on labour and the prestige of the new methods are considered to offset this disadvantage among those who have money enough to finance the change. At the same time the nutritional value of the staple food is being increased, though this is a fact of which the people themselves are unaware.

Porridge is made by casting handfuls of flour into boiling water, with constant stirring, until the result is a thick doughey mass. It is then removed from the cooking pot and shaped into rounded balls in the eating containers. To make it palatable, it must be eaten with a sauce or relish (known as *cisyu*). This may be made of vegetables, meat or fish, or of a combination of vegetables with either of the other two. The diner detaches a lump of porridge from the ball in the dish, shapes this lightly with his fingers, and then dips it into the relish to coat it with sauce. Sufficient sauce must be taken at the first dip to coat the porridge, for it is a sad lapse of etiquette to redip any remaining portion after the porridge has been taken to the mouth. The relish is thought to give the flavour to the meal and also to enable the rough porridge to be swallowed more easily. For the latter reason it must be cooked to the point where fibres have disintegrated or it will not adhere to the porridge and coat it thoroughly.

The relish or sauce is stewed for a long time in a small clay or iron pot. The clay pot is said to produce a better sauce, but cooking with iron pots is quicker and therefore preferred by the women. Little water is used and all of it is retained in the sauce save for what evaporates in cooking. Salt is added during the cooking process. Today this is usually coarse salt from trading stores which is ground at home before using. In the past native salt was obtained in trade from the Ila to the west; when none was available, women burned certain plants growing in the area and leached the ashes to obtain a salt substitute. For certain vegetable relishes, women also use washing soda, again from the trading stores. This is added to the cooking vegetables both to offset their bitter flavour and to break down the fibres to reduce the vegetables to a mucilaginous consistency, which gives the best coating for porridge.

The Tonga complain that their diet is monotonous and that the same sauce appears day after day with unfailing regularity until sometimes they are tempted to rebel against fate and demand a change in menu. I have heard people complain, 'If it is cucurbit leaves again tonight, I am not eating!' Then they go hungry to bed or possibly make the rounds of other households in the village in the hopes of finding a housewife who has cooked some other variety of sauce, for most people refuse to eat porridge without relish just as they do not eat relish without porridge. Despite the complaints, to which there is considerable point, there is more variety in sauces over the year than the casual onlooker is likely to think. Not only does a housewife try to vary her menus by providing different types of relish from day to day, but when this

is impossible she seeks to cook them in slightly different combinations to vary the flavour. In times of plenty, several sauces may be provided at a single meal, and this is especially true of large homesteads where several women will cook and bring their contribution to the common meal.

The relishes which appear most frequently are greens. Wild greens are gathered from bush or fields. Those most commonly used are *citezi* (which probably includes a number of different species of plants with leaves like nettles), *hahipa* (the common black-jack weed) and *cimowa*. From the fields come cucurbit leaves of a number of different varieties (pumpkin, melon and the native cucumber), bean leaves (beans are a recent introduction), okra, and a small plant known as *luyuni* or *ciyuni*. These last two may be planted either in the fields or in small relish patches close to the dwellings. The leaves (and the pods of okra) are stripped from vines or stems, chopped up with a knife, and then boiled with water and salt or soda. Sometimes they are bruised by stamping in the mortar before being cooked. During the early rains, the flower of a lily-like plant known as *imbolomombo* is cooked in the same fashion as green leaves, but women say that it must always be cooked with soda to offset the bitterness.

Other vegetables also provide relish. Pumpkins, gourds, and native cucumbers may be stewed into sauce. A few Tonga have begun to grow vegetables recently introduced by Europeans—cabbage, tomatoes, onions and chilli peppers are most commonly grown. A few also raise lettuce and carrots. Tomatoes and onions are occasionally eaten fresh, but the common use of all is in the preparation of sauces. Groundnuts, beans, ground peas, and cucurbit seeds are all stamped or ground into a meal. Groundnut meal is usually added to any vegetable relish if it is available, and sometimes to meat or fish, in order to improve the flavour. It may however be used to provide a groundnut sauce, by boiling it with water, and salt or soda. Occasionally the groundnut meal is added directly to the cooking porridge, and in that event no additional sauce need be provided. Groundnuts, beans, ground peas, and cucurbit seeds are all roasted with salt and then ground into meal which is not further cooked. The porridge is dipped into the meal which provides the flavour to make it palatable though it does not ease the swallowing of the porridge as do the sauces. Mushrooms, gathered in the bush during the early rains, are used perhaps more commonly as an ingredient in other sauces than as the main constituent of a sauce, though this may be due to the fact that in the areas in which I worked mushrooms were not abundant.

Mushrooms, greens, and cucurbits may all be sliced and dried in the sun to be stored for later use in the months when fresh relish is hard to find or on days when there is no time to gather fresh supplies. They also serve to vary the menu since in drying the flavour of the fresh plant is changed.

Sauces made from meat or fish are preferred to those of vegetable nature, but it is more difficult to obtain the ingredients and they appear therefore more rarely. The Tonga raise cattle, goats, pigs, chickens and pigeons. About 1930 they began to keep pigs for sale to European buyers, but they consider the pig a dirty animal not fit for their own consumption. If a pig is killed for raiding the fields or if one dies, many people do eat the meat because of their craving for flesh-food, but they do not like comment to be made upon the fact. The meat of the other animals along with game meat is a delicacy. There are few game animals now in most areas, but both fresh and dried game is obtained in trade. Every portion of an animal is eaten with the exception of hooves, horns, and usually the skins. The meat is roasted over the fire or cut into chunks and boiled in a small quantity of water. The gravy then serves as a sauce with porridge while the meat is eaten separately. Dried meat is usually stewed into a sauce. Fresh and dried fish are treated in the same fashion. Termites roasted with salt are usually eaten as titbits but may also be stamped and stewed as a sauce. The quantity is rarely sufficient to provide more than one or two meals during a year, and in some of the more sophisticated areas their use has been abandoned as ' uncivilized '.

Fresh milk and soured milk (*mabisi*) are most commonly drunk as a beverage, but in the absence of other relish they may be used as an accompaniment to porridge. Butter finds its chief use as a body ointment, but it may also be added to a sauce to enrich it. Those who buy cooking oil at the trading stores also use it as a sauce ingredient as a substitute for butter.

Sweet sauces are practically unknown. Occasionally someone obtains wild honey from the bush. The comb is eaten, or porridge is dipped into the honey. Porridge may also be dipped into sugar or syrup purchased from the stores, but only a few have the money to indulge their craving for sugar very often.

The above are the relishes or sauces used as an accompaniment to porridge. Several ingredients may be combined into one sauce —thus greens may be cooked with meat or fish gravy; mushrooms may be added to greens, meat or fish; groundnut meal may be combined with any of the three; onions or tomatoes may be added; butter or cooking oil may enrich the gravy; chilli peppers or curry powder may give it added flavour. The result is often extremely good eating, especially in combination with porridge where texture complements texture.

At least one meal a day should be composed of the porridge and sauce combination. Frequently both meals consist of this combination. But one meal may consist entirely of other cooked food; and other cooked foods may be served in addition to porridge and sauce or eaten as snacks between meals. These foods are likely to be seasonal dishes, while porridge is eaten throughout the year.

Maize is the basis of many of the dishes. Green mealies are either roasted or boiled. The Tonga prefer to let the kernels ripen past the first tender stage before plucking the cobs. They admit that in the young milky stage the cobs are sweet and flavourful, but they do not satisfy hunger as does the more mature grain. A few women know how to make the maize at this stage into a form of bread by stamping the grains into a paste which is wrapped in husks and then either boiled or roasted on the fire. But this is not a common dish. Once the kernels have hardened and begun to dry out they form the basis of a stew known as *mushozya*. The kernels are removed from the cob, soaked in water to loosen the outer husk which is then removed by stamping, and boiled in water with beans or groundnuts. Sometimes the maize alone is used for this dish, and it can also be varied further by adding soured milk. Sometimes sugar is added instead. Maize flour is cooked with milk or water to form a thin gruel chiefly for invalids or small children, but sometimes eaten as a family meal especially if sugar is available to sweeten it.

Shelled beans are sometimes boiled alone, but many people complain that boiled beans give rise to indigestion. Groundnuts are occasionally boiled alone as a stew, but are more commonly roasted in their shells. Pumpkins and gourds are cut into chunks and either roasted on the fire or boiled in a small amount of water. When done there is usually only a trace of water left in the bottom of the pot. The native cucumber is less frequently cooked as a separate dish. It is either stewed to provide sauce, or it is eaten fresh. This is one of the few vegetables which the people like in a raw state. Water melons are eaten raw and considered a great delicacy; cattle melons which are more abundant are eaten only as a famine food. Not many people grow sweet potatoes, but through sale and gift these are distributed fairly widely, and most families have an occasional meal of them. They are usually boiled in their skins. Occasionally they are roasted. Only a little cassava is grown, though the Administration has been encouraging its cultivation as a resource in times of drought when other crops have failed. I have never seen it eaten by people in the villages, but a few people claimed that they had eaten cassava on some occasion or other.

Wild roots today provide only a very small portion of the diet. The most common is the *lwidi*, in taste rather like an Irish potato, and usually boiled with its skin. This is growing increasingly scarce, and in some areas is already unobtainable. It was probably never common to the whole of Tonga country but the roots used to be sufficiently common to be traded. Today this is no longer the case. The only other wild roots used extensively are the *masyabe* and *munkoyo*, which are occasionally eaten raw, though they are dug chiefly for use in making light beer. They too are becoming scarce, and the Tonga are now using the roots of the bean plant as a substitute. Other roots or bulbs are regarded as famine foods

and are gathered only in periods of dearth. Either they are bitter, or their preparation is a lengthy affair.

Fruit is a much appreciated part of the diet, but it is never cooked nor is it included as a portion of a meal. Most of the fruit eaten comes from the bush. I have noted about twelve different wild varieties, some of which are to be had in considerable abundance at the right season. Perhaps the best liked is the *masuku* which grows in a restricted area but so abundantly that it is traded and sent as gifts to people in other areas. Cultivation of orchard crops is not traditional among the Tonga, and only a few so far are growing fruit. In many villages all attempts to start young fruit trees have been abandoned because of the difficulty of protecting the young plants against the depredations of goats, pigs, cattle and chickens. Mulberries and mangoes are grown most commonly with paw-paws a good third. A few men have planted bananas or plantains. Even fewer have planted citrus trees, and from these they seem to harvest only lemons. One or two men are said to be growing guavas, but I have never found these trees growing in any Tonga village. Besides the fruit from their own trees, the Tonga obtain a certain amount from the orchards on European farms near the reserves. But probably many Tonga do not taste orchard fruit from one year's end to the next, though they are extremely fond of it.

Stalks of maize or of sorghum meet some of the demand for sweet substances. The sorghum is grown only for this purpose since it is of a variety which does not provide grain. The stalks are peeled, and the pith is chewed to extract the sweet juice. In season it is eaten in great quantities throughout the day.

The common beverages other than water are fresh and soured milk, sweet beer, and strong beer. The last two are today made almost entirely from maize although the older people maintain that strong beer made from maize is inferior to that brewed from millets or sorghums. But they have concentrated on the growing of maize to the exclusion of the other crops and usually have no other grain even to provide the ferment. A few people grow a little *lusili*, a red sorghum, for beer making or at least to provide the ferment. Most have resigned themselves to a beer entirely composed of maize.

Food Avoidances

Food taboos and prejudices play their part in restricting the diet of the Tonga as they do for any other people. The Tonga do not use all the possible foods available to them, and individuals further restrict their diets because of medical reasons or because of personal antipathies.

Food avoidances are not tied to clan membership. The Tonga eat the animals associated with their clan unless these are classed as unfit for human consumption. Monkey, baboon, domestic cat, dog, hyena, crocodile, snake, lizard, tortoise and frog fall into the

latter category, as does the vulture and certain other birds. The recently introduced domestic pig also belongs in this class, though many people disregard the general contention that pig meat is dirty and should not be eaten. Zebra, lion, and leopard were eaten in the past, but many people would refuse to eat their meat today. Once many people refused to eat eggs, but this is no longer true in progressive communities. Goat milk is not used on the ground that it will turn the drinker's hair to a brownish colour. These avoidances are general to the Tonga.

Other avoidances apply only to restricted categories of people. Some of them have been recently introduced by mission teaching. The Seventh Day Adventists do not use pork or fish such as barbel which have no scales. They do not eat the flesh of animals which have died from illness or unknown causes or of trapped animals which have died before the blood could be let. Furthermore they ban the drinking of coffee, tea, cocoa and strong beer. A very strict sect, the Reform Branch of the Seventh Day Adventists, which has only a few adherents in the area, refuse to eat meat or fish of any description. They do not eat eggs. And they carry the general ban on the use of coffee, cocoa, tea and beer to include light beer and soda water. All other sects, with the exception of the Anglican and Roman Catholic, prohibit beer-drinking among their adherents, and all seek to discourage the eating of the flesh of animals which have died from illness. Roman Catholics in the villages where I lived did not abstain from meat on Fridays or fast during Lent, but presumably there are those who do.

Other taboos or avoidances apply to those in particular stages of life, such as pregnant women or children. But the particular foods denied to them are either most uncommon today or the taboos are generally ignored.

Individual restrictions are still of considerable importance in determining what is eaten. Many Tonga refuse to eat one or other food in the belief that it will sicken them. When someone is ill, the diviner may attribute it to the eating of a particular food which the patient is told to avoid in the future. It may be that the diviner gives no reason for this other than that the food will continue to disagree with the person; he may say that the food was used as a medium for sorcery and henceforth must be avoided; or he may attribute the illness to an ancestral spirit which is now enforcing an avoidance similar to the one he observed when alive. In any case, the patient henceforth avoids the food and is permitted to do so even on ritual occasions when sharing in the common meal is enjoined upon all participants. These avoidances apply to both plant and animal foods, though the latter are probably the most common. In some instances the avoidance is probably tied to a genuine allergy. Another type of avoidance may be imposed upon the man or woman who obtains medicine for some curative or magical purpose. He or she is told that the medicine will only

work so long as certain substances or objects are not used, and generally a taboo on some food is included in the list.

Finally many people refuse to eat some particular food, most commonly a vegetable, for the very good reason that they dislike it, more rarely because they associate it with some unpleasant experience.

Individual food avoidances are illustrated in the following two examples. Maria of Nampeyo eats neither chicken nor fish. She ate both as a girl. Then as a young woman she was barren. She consulted a diviner who treated her for her condition and ordered here henceforth never to eat fish nor chicken. She has followed his instructions for fourteen years, during which time she has had four children. Ruth of Mujika now eats meat, but for many years she refused to touch it because of a personal antipathy. She traced this to a childish misapprehension. When she was a tiny girl, her mother brought home meat obtained at a funeral. Ruth heard the older people refer to the dead man as being *wazimina*, which may mean lost but is also a euphemism for death. She thought that he was lost in the bush and that people were hunting for him until her mother explained that the man was dead. She connected the meat with his death and became convinced that it was his flesh. (Incidentally the Tonga have no tradition of cannibalism, they do not believe that sorcerers eat human flesh, and cannibalism is not an element in their folk tales.) She refused to eat it though her mother assured her it was beef from one of the cattle slaughtered at the funeral. Next her father returned from the hunt with butchered game. She asked if it was human flesh. Her mother said, ' No, your father killed an animal while hunting. You always eat this meat. It is the same as always .' Unconvinced, she ate a piece and immediately vomited. After that she refused to eat meat of any description, including chicken. Her father worried lest she have nothing to eat and bought some pigeons which he presented to her. These for some reason she was willing to eat. Her phobia against other meat disappeared only after her marriage and the birth of her first child.

The first instance represents a fairly common type of food avoidance, the latter is more exceptional. But both indicate the acceptance by the Tonga that individuals will have their personal quirks about food, and that these must be catered for.

Catering for them, however, may make the preparation of daily meals difficult for the housewife. In one family two small children are unable to eat beef, pork, goat or game, though they can eat chicken and other birds; the mother herself cannot eat chicken; an older son who is able to eat anything does not like cucumber and refuses to touch it. If any of these items is included in the menu, the mother must provide some other relish as well or some member of the family goes hungry or has to hunt for food in another homestead. In another family, the mother cannot eat chicken and none

of the others in the family will eat two of the wild greens. Nearly every household has at least one member whose personal idiosyncrasies must be taken into account in preparing food. Furthermore, men frequently complain if they are fed vegetable relish day after day, though they may make no effort to provide meat or the money with which to buy it. Wives like to have a small hoard of dried meat or fish which they draw upon to provide a separate dish to pacify complaining husbands, while they cook a vegetable relish for themselves and their children.

Sources of Food

Planning the daily meals is the task of the housewife. A man may provide relish by bringing home meat or fish which he has either caught or purchased but he does not tell his wife when to cook it or how to prepare it. She decides what to provide at any particular meal just as she decides the quantity which she will cook.

Each homestead and frequently each household within it caters for itself. Both husband and wife are responsible for providing grain which they grow in their own fields. If they have had a bad harvest the husband is expected to make good the deficit by trading his livestock for grain or by purchasing with cash. But either husband or wife may beg supplies from kinsmen to carry the family through the year. Vegetables are provided by the wife who either gathers them from her garden or collects them in the bush with the assistance of the girls attached to the household. Groundnuts, ground peas, and cucurbits are women's crops, though with the growth of a commercial demand for groundnuts men are also beginning to interest themselves in this crop and production is expanding. Meat and fish are usually provided by the husband, though women also contribute their share. They fish for fingerlings and are prepared to sacrifice their own chickens to feed their families. They also trade grain for meat and fish when this is available. Men own most of the cattle, and milking is done by men and boys.

The Plateau has only one rainy season and there is but one yearly crop. Food supplies are therefore seasonal in nature and dependent upon the rains. The quantity of food varies considerably from one year to the next, and the types of food available vary with the seasons. The rains usually begin in November or December; planting starts immediately; crops begin to ripen in February, and harvest takes place from April to June. Green mealies and sweet stalks are available from February through April. Bean leaves and cucurbit leaves have a longer season. Cucurbits can be stored for some period after ripening to be eaten later in the season. Groundnuts and ground peas are usually harvested in June. Wild greens spring forth in abundance with the first rains, and are then most tender and least likely to be bitter. The rains also revive the pastures, and it is only during the rains that there is likely to be milk for human consumption. As the rains decrease and the

grasses dry, the milk supply also diminishes and finally tapers off. The most difficult months from the point of view of relish are those of the dry season, especially from about July to November. If the harvest is poor, a grain shortage is likely to be felt between November and April. This is particularly serious because these are the months into which the heaviest labour of the year falls. The shortage of grain, moreover, is not offset by the abundance of the green relishes, for these are eaten only as sauces to accompany porridge and if there is little porridge the housewife is unlikely to cook a large quantity of greens. In the early years of the century, the Tonga expected a hunger period every year at this time, and every few years when the harvest failed due to drought there was general famine. Today the Tonga are producing enough grain so that they can feed themselves throughout the year and still have a surplus for sale, but this is only if the rains fall at the right time and in sufficient quantity. Rainfall is uncertain, and hunger years still occur. In 1947 the harvest was disastrously small and food had to be imported and sold at a subsidized price before the end of the year. In 1949 again many areas were seriously short of food. In both years the people in the villages showed obvious signs of a shortage of food. The harvest of 1948 was phenomenally good, that of 1950 was abundant. Some maize may be carried over from one year to the next, but insect infestation makes long term storage in the village granaries impossible. People expect to make their grain last only from one harvest to the next, and any surplus is sold or made into beer. To obtain cash to satisfy other wants, some households also sell more maize than they should and even if the harvest has been adequate to meet their need for food they may still be short before the new crop ripens. Individual households may also suffer shortages in the midst of general prosperity because of illness or of some other misfortune such as the destruction of the crop by invading herds of cattle. These are made good through the assistance of kinsmen or by the purchase of grain.

Some community control restricts households in the use of their crop. No one should eat green mealies before these have been ritually eaten by the assembled village or hamlet. Today this rite has disappeared in most neighbourhoods, and even where it is still ostensibly observed most people violate the ruling. They eat green mealies in the fields or in the privacy of their houses where other members of the community will not observe their disregard of the ritual. Most people still observe the restrictions placed on the use of new grain for brewing beer. In June or July, after the harvest has been completed, each neighbourhood has its harvest festival for which each household should brew from the new grain. Until that time any brewing must be made from grain held over from the previous year. After the festival all are free to brew when and as they wish from the new grain. The months of July through October are therefore the months when beer is most abundant.

New grain is not made into flour for porridge until the grain has thoroughly dried. But this is not due to any ritual restriction. Women say that the new grain is hard to stamp and that the flour quickly goes mouldy, and they will therefore use it for this purpose only if pressed by a shortage of old grain.

The supply of meat and fish is also somewhat seasonal in nature, though less so than the vegetable food. Most families have a small flock of chickens. Some are sold to railway line settlements for cash, but the rest are used either to provide relish for guests or to feed the family. Few families have sufficient fowls to eat chicken more than once a month, and many probably do not eat it that often. Goats are occcasionally slaughtered to honour a guest or a returning labour migrant, but goats and cattle are killed usually only on ceremonial occasions when large numbers of people must be fed. These are fairly frequent and the meat is widely shared among the people of the neighbourhood and other visitors from further afield. The steady killing of cattle, goats and chickens for funerals and girls' puberty ceremonies is the most important source of meat in the Tonga diet. That which is not consumed immediately is divided out among those who attend who carry it home to feed their families. Even children who do not ordinarily attend funerals thus receive their share of such meat. Puberty ceremonies and visiting take place mostly in the dry season after the harvest. Pork is most likely to be available during the growing season when outraged cultivators spear pigs which are devastating their fields. Throughout the year animals die, and the meat is eaten. Owners also slaughter animals which are ill or seriously injured. The meat is then either divided with kinsmen and neighbours or it is sold for cash or grain. Some of it may also be dried for future use. In some areas it is also common now for men to kill stock which is no longer of use either because a cow has become barren or because an ox is past working, but this practice is largely confined to the more progressive areas where people have enough grain or cash to provide a market for the meat. Here there is now enough meat so that people are able to exercise a choice, and if the animal slaughtered is reputed to be tough and thin many will refuse to buy.

From domestic sources, the Tonga therefore obtain a fair supply of meat, but this is likely to be irregular with long meatless periods intervening between days of abundant meat. Game meat is of less importance. Over most of the country there is little game today except for the occasional duiker or oribi. Game birds such as guinea fowl, quail and francolin are also rare. Small birds are mostly killed and eaten by children. Small mammals such as otters, civet-cats, etc., are occasionally taken, but no serious effort is made to hunt for them. In the areas near the escarpment, people still eat field mice and rats; those who live nearer the railway line deny that they eat such animals and sneer at the practice as

uncivilized. Despite all this a certain amount of game is eaten throughout the Tonga area. Along the Kafue and in the Gwembe District game is still fairly plentiful, and both fresh and dried meat is traded into Tonga neighbourhoods though the trade is illegal. Most families seemed to buy game at least several times a year. The wealthier bought considerable stocks of dried game.

Fishing also provides relish though the amount varies with the neighbourhood and with the season. When the rivers are falling at the end of the rainy season and the pans begin to dry out, fishermen from the surrounding country gather to take the fish left behind by the waters. This they keep for their own use or sell to others who are buying either for their own consumption or to hawk throughout the country. A portion of the catch is also dried for future sale. During the dry season, men journey to the Kafue river to purchase fresh and dried fish from the Lozi fishermen who now monopolize the Kafue fishing. Much of their purchases they then hawk in the villages. Throughout the dry season women fish small pools in the river-bed for fingerlings. In the dams built by the Government fishing is forbidden, but a certain amount of discrete poaching takes place by those who live in the vicinity.

The following table shows something of the variation in food which occurs over the period of a year. It does not pertain to a single village, and records from several different years were combined in order to cover as much of the year as possible. On the whole, the data for the months May through October are based on recording at Mujika; the rest of the year is based on recording done at Nampeyo. Mujika is considered the more progressive area and has a much higher average cash income than does Nampeyo. The last week in each month is several days longer than the other three weeks since I included here any extra days in the month. Starred items were those most used at the period of recording. Obviously I failed to note everything that was being eaten during the course of each week. But the record does show something of the change in diet with seasons of the year, the fact that at times it is extremely monotonous and that at other times a large variety of foodstuffs is available.

FOOD EATEN THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

January:

1st Week	*2nd Week*	*3rd Week*	*4th Week*
porridge*	porridge*	NO RECORD	NO RECORD
wild greens*	wild greens*		
groundnuts*	groundnuts*		
mangoes	milk		
milk			

February:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge
groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts	groundnuts
wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens
milk*	milk*	milk*	milk*
	green mealies	green mealies*	green mealies*
	wild roots	beef	pumpkin*
	mangoes	pork	pumpkin leaves
	bananas		cucumbers*
			stalks
			sweet potatoes
			pork

March:

porridge	porridge	porridge*	No Record
groundnuts	porridge, new maize	groundnuts	
wild greens	groundnuts	wild greens	
milk	wild greens	green mealies*	
green mealies*	milk	pumpkin*	
pumpkin*	green mealies*	pumpkin leaves	
pumpkin leaves	pumpkin*	cucumber	
cucumber	pumpkin leaves	stalks	
stalks	cucumber		
pork	stalks		

April:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge*
groundnuts	groundnuts	groundnuts	groundnuts
wild greens	wild greens	wild greens	wild greens
green mealies*	green mealies*	green mealies*	green mealies
pumpkin*	pumpkin*	pumpkin*	pumpkin*
pumpkin leaves*	pumpkin leaves*	pumpkin leaves*	pumpkin leaves*
cucumber	gourds*	gourds*	gourds*
stalks	beef	beef	bean leaves*
gourds*		fish	wild fruit
wild fruit			game
game			fish
beef			tomatoes
tomatoes			wild roots
onions			
wild roots			

May:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge*
groundnuts	groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*
pumpkin*	wild greens	pumpkin	pumpkin
pumpkin leaves*	green mealies	pumpkin leaves*	pumpkin leaves*
stalks	pumpkin	gourds*	green mealies
gourds*	pumpkin leaves*	dried cucumber*	dried cucumber*
bean leaves*	gourds*	melons	tomatoes
sweet potatoes	stalks	wild fruit	game
game	dried cucumber		beef
honey	dried meat		fish
	beef		chicken
	melons		honey
	wild fruit		

June:

porridge*	porridge*	No Record	No Record
groundnuts*	groundnuts*		
green mealies	wild greens*		
pumpkin leaves*	pumpkin leaves*		
stalks	cucumber		
gourds*	milk		
cucumber	beef		
milk	chicken		
maize & bean stew	bean leaves*		
	tomatoes		
game & small birds	okra		
	dried mushrooms		
dried meat	maize & bean stew		
honey			
tomatoes			
okra			

July:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge*
groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*
wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*
pumpkin leaves*	cucumber	pumpkin leaves*	pumpkin leaves*
cucumber	bean leaves*	bean leaves*	pumpkin
bean leaves*	milk	maize & bean stew	bean leaves*
maize & bean stew	sweet potatoes	sweet potatoes	cucumber
	beef	game	maize & bean stew*
milk	pumpkin leaves	chicken	sweet potatoes
sweet potatoes		bananas	beef
beef			game
goat			small birds
chicken			chicken
fish			dried fish
small birds			wild roots
wild fruit			tomatoes
			lettuce
			wild fruit

August:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge*
groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*
wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*
pumpkin	cucumber	bean leaves*	bean leaves*
cucumber	pumpkins	cucumber	cucumber
bean leaves*	maize & bean stew*	pumpkin	maize & bean stew*
maize & bean stew	game	maize & bean stew*	sweet potatoes
	small birds		wild roots
milk	beef	sweet potatoes	
sweet potatoes	chicken	wild roots	
wild fruit	fish		
	milk		

September:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge*
groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*
wild greens*	cucumber	wild greens*	wild greens*
pumpkin leaves	wild greens*	maize & bean stew	pumpkin
bean leaves*	maize & bean stew*	eggs	maize & bean stew
maize & bean stew*	cucumber	chicken	melons
pumpkin	beef	fish	ground peas
wild roots	fish	dried meat	fish
pork	cabbage	small birds	chicken
game		game	game
		wild roots	eggs
		milk	cabbage
		wild fruit	onions
			wild roots
			wild fruit

October:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge*
groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*
wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*
maize & bean stew*	pumpkin	maize & bean stew*	maize & bean stew*
dried meat	maize & bean stew*	wild fruit	melons
fish	sweet potatoes	termites	milk
wild fruit	beef		wild fruit
	fish		termites
	small birds		
	wild roots		
	wild fruit		

November:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge*
groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*
wild greens	wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*
maize & bean stew*	maize & bean stew*	maize & bean stew*	maize & bean stew*
fish	fish	milk*	milk*
wild fruit	game	fish	beef
	chicken	small birds	dried fish
	eggs	termites	dried meat
	pork	goat	small birds
	milk*	mushrooms	goat
	wild fruit	wild roots	game
	termites		wild roots
			wild fruit
			mushrooms

December:

porridge*	porridge*	porridge*	porridge*
groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*	groundnuts*
wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*	wild greens*
maize & bean stew*	beans	maize & bean stew*	milk*
dried pumpkin	beef	goat	beef
milk*	fish	eggs	chicken
beef	goat	termites	wild roots
wild roots	game	mushrooms	
mushrooms	small birds	milk*	
	milk*		
	wild fruit		
	wild roots		

ILA SLAVERY

by

ARTHUR TUDEN

THIS paper has two objectives: to add to the descriptive literature on the institution of slavery in Africa; and to analyze the function and structure of slavery within the socio-cultural environment of a kinship society.

A superordinate-subordinate role relationship between owner and slave, based on capture or purchase, entailing some degree of sexual, political, or economic exploitation is characteristic of slavery and has had a world-wide provenance. This relationship between owner and master, however, has assumed highly variable organizational features, and has encompassed such components as fixed, inferior status, social separation from society with slaves utilized as a form of property as in 19th century U.S.A. (Tannenbaum, 1947), temporary pawning in lieu of debts on the West Coast of Africa (Herskovits, 1935: 180), mass, rapid incorporation of captured peoples, essential to a burgeoning political system among the Ngoni (Barnes, 1954: 30), and a modified form of clientship among the Assam peoples (Leach, 1954: 160). Among the Ila,[1] on whom this paper is based, slaves occupied a transient status with slaves being gradually incorporated into the society. This form of slavery is mentioned as occurring among the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard, 1940: 193), and seems widespread in East and Central Africa.[2]

The analysis, therefore, will describe the particular form, organization, and status of slavery and the underlying principles structuring the slave relationship.

The Ila, a Northern Rhodesian tribe numbering 22,000, were divided into small autonomous territorial divisions, at times maintaining shifting temporary alliances with neighbouring communities, but usually existing in a constant state of intra- and inter-tribal warfare. They possessed a warrior tradition, distinct from their peaceful neighbors. Warfare was a means of gaining property, and cattle raids, attacks on the nearby villages for water and fishing rights, and passage to seasonal cattle camps initiated frequent and never-ending internal feuds. In addition, communities hired

[1] The paper is based on material collected during an 18-month field trip, from January 1956 to June 1957, sponsored by the Ford Foundation. I would like to express gratitude to Dr. E. Colson and Dr. P. Hammond who commented on an earlier draft.

[2] This form of slavery seems to appear among the Tonga and associated tribes, and among the Dinka and Shilluk groups in East Africa, and has been labeled 'household slavery' by Siegel, Bernard, 'Slavery During the Third Dynasty'. *Ur. Am. Anthropologist*, 1947.

themselves out as mercenaries to neighboring groups and received cattle and spoils as payment for their services.

The political units of the Ila varied in size from a few hundred individuals to over a thousand in exceptional cases. Within this political framework, a process of absorption and splintering constantly occurred. Smaller chieftaincies were conquered by larger communities which themselves later split into smaller groups. The authority structure was diffused; no highly centralized political system was present. Effective political authority in the smaller territories rarely extended beyond the boundaries of the kinship units, their affiliated kinsmen, and slaves. The political ties in the more populous territorial divisions were composed of spurious genealogical extensions including groups which had been captured in warfare which maintained an uneasy equilibrium. In some cases, there was a concentration of kinship units in fertile areas or by water-ways, with the wealthiest and largest kinship unit exerting a slightly greater degree of authority in village councils.

The economic basis of Ila economy was cattle and agriculture. As wealthy cattle-keeping people, the movement of the herds greatly influenced village residence patterns and agricultural practices. Formerly, one maize crop was grown at a dry season cattle camp, and a second crop produced near a permanent village. Herding and warfare were the principal male occupations—the former being considered an irksome task. The duties of milking and herding plus the necessity of constant protection from neighboring communities required a supply of laborers and warriors. The cattle herds represented the wealth of the community, and as with many cattle-keeping people, they played a crucial role in maintaining kinship relationships and extending them to non-kinsmen by means of loans of cattle for milk, marriage payments, debts, etc. Contrary to reports on other cattle-keeping people, however, among the Ila allocation of property was uneven, not only between kinsmen, but between the various kinship groups (Schneider, 1956: p. 281; Gulliver, 1955: passim). Distinctions between the poor and wealthy were sharply drawn, and the struggle for property was a noticeable aspect of the culture. This orientation towards an accumulation of property was tempered by kinship demands and obligations. Kinship heads represented distributors of property not consumers. Men representing kinship units controlled as many as a thousand head of cattle, while others owned as few as ten. Control of property, primarily in the form of cattle, was one of the more easily discernible sanctions behind the amorphous political authority. Property was translated into authority within the kinship units, and where councils existed, within the councils.

The Ila social structure manifested a typical Central African feature: multiple affiliations between small, localized, shallow kin groups. A segmentary system of unilinear descent groups was lacking. Horizontal extension rather than a vertical depth in

kinship ties was a dominant feature. The basic kinship unit was an extended patrilineal family—a *mukwaashi*, or *chibuwe*—a cattle-owning group composed of father, brothers, sons and their children. Residence was patrilocal. Mutual contributions for marriage, control of property, participation in ancestral cult ceremonies, ownership of land and responsibility for debts resided largely within this patronymic group. However, equal in importance and sharing in the kinship obligation was a linkage with the mother's patrilineal *mukwaashi*. And in addition, each individual was connected by matrilineal links with the patrilineal extended families of the grandparents. The amount of inheritance, aid and visiting diminished with the genealogical distance until the affiliations were forgotten or ignored.

The Ila had a very low birth rate as offspring were not highly desired by the women; infanticide and abortion were common. In addition, a two-and-a-half year post-parturition taboo restricting intercourse diminished the potential fecundity of the women. As a consequence of these factors, plus a high rate of venereal disease, the birth rate was not high enough to maintain a stable population (Evans, 1950: page 40). The Ila depended, to a large extent, on a constant flow of slaves to bolster the population. A genealogical survey of 18 villages indicated that as many as 40 per cent of the population were of slave ancestry. The percentage may be even higher as slave ancestry may have been forgotten or concealed in some cases. Slaves were distributed unevenly throughout the kinship units. The wealthier kinship units were able to purchase a larger number of slaves. The highest number of slaves attached to a village recorded was fifteen while some villages had only one or two.

Sources of slaves were threefold. Some were obtained from raids on neighboring communities. The villages were attacked, the cattle seized, and younger children and women captured. No organized distribution of slaves during the raids existed. Each warrior seized what he could. Other slaves were received for payment of debts, or fines. A large number of offenses were punishable by fines, and if cattle or property were not available, children were accepted as payment. However, the majority of slaves were purchased from nearby culturally similar groups—the Mbala, Tonga, Totela, and Twa. Cattle, salt, hoes, or grain were the standard media of exchange. The accepted price for a male slave was sixteen bags of salt, manufactured locally (roughly sixteen pounds), and twenty-one for a female slave. One small heifer, or medium-sized beast, was the standard price for a male. A female brought a slightly larger beast. The Ila were hard bargainers. The amount of grain exchanged for slaves fluctuated with local crop conditions. Tobacco, locally grown, skins, or impande shells were also used as media of exchange. Characteristics most highly sought by the purchasers were youth, lack of physical deformities,

and ' good looks '. The survey indicated that female slaves purchased roughly outnumbered males four to one. It was ten times more usual to buy slaves under twelve years old than over. The discrepancy in price and number of female slaves does not, however, indicate a radical preference for females. Both males and females were desired and eagerly purchased. No preference for sex of slave was stated by an informant. Informants explained that female slaves would add cattle to the family herds when married, or if they did not marry would produce children, or work in the fields. Males, on the other hand, were necessary for herding and for fighting. Dealings with Arab slave traders were minimal; the Ila slave trade was primarily an internal affair, and never greatly stimulated by external factors.

The internal slave trade was suppressed in 1917, and the great majority of the slaves were freed by Chief Lewanika of the Barotse who exercised nominal control over the Ila, and by the British South Africa Company.

Although the majority of slaves were obtained by commercial transaction, it was impossible clearly to differentiate slaves from free Ila. No rigid dichotomy existed, and the term ' slave ', therefore, only indicates a person who was not reared in the village. The ambiguous role and indeterminate status of slaves were reflected in the terminology, attitudes, and comments on slave status. An elaborate stereotype concerning slaves was lacking, and slaves were described as people ' who didn't know where their ancestors came from ', or ' women who did not receive property in marriage '. The terms applied to these acquired members, or slaves, were *mushike* (sing.) or *bazhike* (pl.) translated either as slave, serf, or servant. *Bantu bulyo* (pl.) also referred to the acquired persons —its translation is ' people inside '. *Nabutema*, meaning either unmarried, or heifer, connoted a special category of women slaves. A joking name, kinship term, or spirit name—the customary method of referring to a free person—was the accepted procedure of addressing the individual who had been purchased. Slaves were regarded primarily as kinsmen, and supposedly received treatment as such. The Ila stress the unlikelihood of slaves being directly referred to by the term *bazhike*, *nabutema*, or *bantu bulyo*.

As soon as an individual was purchased or captured and brought to a village, attempts were made to incorporate or provide a semblance of kinship affiliation by extending religious protection and identity. The slave's head was shaven and the individual assigned a spirit name associated with a deceased member of the patrilineal unit. The ancestral spirits were informed of this addition and told during a communal ritual to recognize and protect the new member. Thus the relation between the slave and owner was structured within a kinship relationship. The slave's owner was called mother's brother; this genealogical fiction was adopted and extended

to the other relatives. The owner of a slave was responsible for the debts and fines incurred by the slave. The Ila rationalized the lack of manumission—although slaves could be resold during hunger periods, as were their own relatives, or accepted as payment for debts—by asking ' how a man could buy himself from his relatives '.

In outward appearance, the role and status of the younger slave were indistinguishable from that of the free Ila child. In village life, no striking differences in behavior, costume, or duties distinguished the younger slaves from the other children in the village. No differentiation seems to have existed at all in eating, sleeping, and work patterns. Both free man and slave lived in the huts serving as kitchens within the village, and without exception aided in the herding of cattle, milking, running errands and performing minor tasks. When the inevitable disputes arose between the younger slaves and relatives of the owner, the members of the village were warned to accept the slaves as kinsmen, and never to refer to their slave ancestry. Older informants indicated that they would, in most instances, support the slaves unless they were blatantly wrong, and reprimand the kinsman. Subtle preferences, such as choice foods or presents, were shown to the actual kinsmen, but impartiality was the rule and the fact of slave ancestry was minimized.

Participation in village activities was not barred to the younger slaves. Slave children underwent the same initiation rites as free Ila, and without any curtailing of the ceremonies. The slave boys were members of ill-defined Ila age groups (*musela*) and in some cases were the leaders. The emphasis was on indoctrinating and enculturating the children as Ila and kinsmen. During the slave's youth ties of an economic type, but symbolizing kinship affiliation, were established. Cattle were presented to the younger slaves by their owners from the patrilineal herds. These cattle were the property of the slave, and represented the nucleus of his private herd; and as kinsmen these cattle were liable to kinship demands of the patrilineal unit with which the slave was identified.

Under normal conditions, slave status for the younger children approximated a kinship affiliation with the concomitant duties and obligations; however, this fictitious bond was ignored under particular conditions and the younger slaves regarded primarily as property. On the death of an owner, for example, if debts were outstanding, or if a slave had been purchased with property originally belonging to matrilineally affiliated groups, younger slaves would be inherited by these groups. Related kinship groups exerted a right to inherit younger children, and slaves would be taken to either the deceased's mother's or grandmother's village. Older slaves were rarely, if ever, distributed in this fashion. Informants were vague as to the exact dividing age line, but insisted that if a slave had lived in one village for a greater portion of his life, he was a quasi-kinsman, and would not be considered property to be distributed.

Young slave girls functioned as a form of conspicuous display

and accompanied the newly married daughter of a wealthy Ila man to her husband's village. As an indication of the wealth of the patrilineal group, the slave worked in the fields, and performed most of the tasks ordinarily carried out by the wife. The husband had sexual access to the slave girl, and her children belonged to him. If the slave was kept at the village, the husband was expected to send a girl or cattle to the wife's *mukwaashi* at a later period. In some cases the slave girl was only temporarily assigned to a man's daughter and would return to his household, but in other instances would be assigned to the daughter and resided permanently in the village as a *nabutema*. The gift of a slave was described as sending a 'sister' with the bride to aid her and slave status was not mentioned. The procedure was merely a variation of a traditional Ila pattern. If no slave girl were available, a sister or classificatory sister might accompany the young bride and would leave the husband's village after two weeks.

The role of some adult slaves showed greater divergence from the norm of kinship relationships. Those slaves who had been obtained later in life, or those who were refractory, or troublesome, were restricted in movement and spatially separated from each other. When possible, housing patterns followed a prescribed arrangement: the slaves' houses were set between those of the owners' and his true kinsmen. These older slaves were exploited as a source of labor, relieving the owner and his kinsmen of onerous tasks. When cattle were driven to the flood plains during the dry season, the slaves performed most of the arduous work, building and repairing the temporary houses, rebuilding the cattle fences, herding and milking the cattle, while the owner remained in the permanent village as long as possible. Throughout the year as well, a greater portion of the herding was performed by slaves. Agricultural tasks, such as clearing fields, hoeing, and assisting in the harvesting, were also informally assigned to the slaves. Although these jobs were also performed by the sons and kinsmen of the headman, slaves seem to have supplied the greater share of the labor. Only a minority of male slaves did not possess their own fields, and worked exclusively in the owner's fields or herded cattle. The great majority of male slaves who accepted their role, and who had been reared in the village, participated in religious ceremonies, beer drinks and work patterns without any obvious discrimination. No clear-cut role differences appeared between male slaves and free Ila.

The status of certain female slaves indicated more obvious discrepancies between the verbalized kinship affiliation and actual practice. Women seemed to have been absorbed into the kinship system with more difficulty than men. A special category—the *nabutema*, or unmarried slave woman—displayed a marked difference in its role and function from that of male slaves. This group was composed of divorced slave women or older unmarried

slave women. They lived in the center of the village in smaller, inferior huts, and performed manual tasks: clearing fields, planting and gathering wood. If desired, they were assigned to visitors for their sexual pleasure. This group was clearly separated and identifiable as slaves. Earlier reports emphasized the uniquely unfavorable position of these women (Smith and Dale, 1920: p. 408).

Not only did slaves function to strengthen the kinship units; they were also instrumental in the formation of new kinship units. Wealthy women purchased female slaves, who were then impregnated by either male slaves or kinsmen of the owners. The female owner adopted the role of sociological father and the children formed the nucleus of an extended patrilineal unit bearing her name. In this fashion, slavery functioned to circumvent the sex factor associated with the founding of a new kin group. But this method of forming a new kin unit was not usual and only three cases were recorded. Usually when a woman purchased slaves they were sent to her father's village and followed her patrilineal affiliation and belonged to her patrilineal unit.

Original slave ancestry represented no definite barrier to inter-marriage with free Ila, and variations of inter-marriage took place: Ila free women with slave males, slave women with free Ila men, and inter-slave unions. However, a preferred type of marriage existed: the senior wife of a headman was usually the daughter of another headman, the bride's wealth taken primarily from the husband's father's patrilineal family herds. A second marriage might be arranged and, ideally, paid for by the mother's brother's group. This wife was considered as belonging to the mother's brother's patrilineal *mukwaashi*. Sometimes additional wives of the headman were slaves from within the village or from other villages. The genealogical fiction of kinship affiliation with slaves was ignored and the slave women were married by sons or kinsmen of the owner. There were no regulations forbidding the marriage of a free Ila woman with a male slave. When this occurred, the owner of the slave or the slave himself, if he had cattle, would present the woman's group with cattle and the formal marriage ceremony could take place. Inter-slave marriage within a village existed, but fell outside the usual marriage patterns as no cattle changed hands.

The children of a marriage between a free Ila and a slave served further to blur the vague distinction between slave and non-slave. Slavery among the Ila implied a lack of kinship connections but the second-generation slave established affiliations either through marriage or residence. The children of a slave union were given more opportunity to establish relationship by residence and interaction than their parents. Ila informants summarized their conception of this looseness and ease of kinship affiliations by stating that 'anyone born within a village was considered a kinsman'.

The fact of slave ancestry, or slave status, did not hamper participation in the economic system. Slaves owned property, and were not barred from owning other slaves. They obtained property by the same means as free Ila: through cattle raids, maize trading, inheritance, and from the natural increase of their herds. It was unwise for slaves to possess more property than the owners. Then it would have been possible for slaves to rival their owner in prestige and potential authority. Thus former slaves preferred to establish their own patrilineal units by purchasing other slaves or by collecting the dissatisfied relatives of their previous headman. Crucial to the slavery role among the Ila was the fact that slaves contributed cattle to form the bridewealth necessary for a marriage of their spurious kinsmen, and in return, shared in the distribution of property of bridewealth from marriages within the village. In addition, on the death of a headman, a person of slave ancestry inherited a portion of the cattle held in the name of the patrilineal unit. But a broader economic exchange was not permitted, and a slave's economic activity was restricted to only one section of the total social structure. Participation in the economic network was open to the Ila slave, but it was partial and generally restricted to the patrilineal unit of the owner.

At funerals, cattle were slaughtered by affiliated kinsmen of the deceased. Slaves slaughtered cattle on the death of their owner, or his child, and shared in the inheritance of the property, but they were not allowed to slaughter cattle at the funerals of the more distantly related kinsmen of their owner. Slaves, as tenuous kinsmen, were outside the usual inheritance regulations. On the death of a former slave, the owner would ' eat the name ', and inherit a majority of the slave's property. A slave's son or sister's son, if one existed, was virtually excluded from inheritance. One headman inherited the property of eight deceased former slaves. The Ila freeman's property or that of a second or third generation slave circulated among a large number of affiliated relatives, but due to his narrower affiliation, the distribution of his property was restricted to within the patrilineal group.

In Ila social structure, various specific factors aided the incorporation of slaves into the kinship society. The lack of a rigid unilineal descent system and the presence of a multiplicity of affiilations with kinship units appear to be factors contributing to the rapid process of merging slave role with non-slave role. The relationship of the slave to society in general, as indicated above, was dependent upon a spurious kinship affiliation and participation with only one kinship unit. Other members of the community maintained multiple ties with the various patrilineal units of their mother and grandmother. These genealogical relationships—although providing economic aid and support for the participants—resulted in conflicting loyalties and responsibilities. As a result, the Ila headman's goal was to have individuals residing within

their villages who ' had no place else to go '. Slaves approximated to this category. They were without wide kinship affiliations and their orientation was towards one kinship unit. This particularistic aspect of a slave's role was to his advantage. The multiple bonds of loyalty which members of the community held were exemplified by the distribution of and claims on property. A slave, because of his unique structural position, was usually chosen to inherit the name of the headman in cases of bickering between sons of different mothers. They were considered the most responsible persons to supervise and to retain the patrilineal family herds. These adopted slaves represented compromise figures serving to lessen and delay stress resulting in the fissioning of the patrilineal family group. When sons of different mothers opposed the election of a half-brother, a slave would be accepted. Slaves, being outside the inter-locking network of affiliations, were integrating factors contributing to some degree of centralization within the family group. In this way, differences between slave and non-slave roles were minimized in many respects.

A further factor contributing to their absorption within the kinship system was the lack of centralized leadership, the weakly defined power structure and the continual struggle between kinship units for political power. Authority and power did not automatically accrue to kinship heads, or specific roles within the community. The most clearly defined authority role was the kinship head. But the headman sought to retain and strengthen his position principally by kinship bonds, aided by a distribution of property and gifts at strategic periods; his authority essentially depended upon the number of dependents he could control. The large percentage of slaves living in the village played a crucial role within this political framework. Both kinsmen and slave IIa were necessary for a strong headman's position. Slaves, as all individuals, were necessary for defense, support, and aid in the constant bickering for property and regulation of village life. A slave unfairly treated could leave his village and approach a neighboring village where he would be gladly accepted. This constant threat of desertion tempered his treatment; the façade of kinship was maintained by the owner to strengthen his own position. A new owner or fictitious kinship member would reimburse the previous owner for the slave and he would be quickly incorporated into the village on a quasi-kinship basis. The owners were careful never to unduly antagonize or punish ' their adopted kinsmen ', or to make the status of a slave so onerous that he would leave the village.

Although attempts were made to maintain an amicable relationship between slaves and their owners, force could always be resorted to. Slaves who were refractory, who refused to work, or were untrustworthy were punished. Their tendons were cut, their ears branded, and in some instances, they were killed. Actual physical punishment, however, was not a persistent factor of a slave status.

Sanctions controlling slave behavior were similar to those applied to actual kinship members.

Few societies exist where the totality of social relations is confined solely to kinship units. Some, however, place greater emphasis on the principles of kinship relationships than others. Among the Ila, as in other kinship societies, the primary referent of social behavior was the kinship system, and the social structure in general approximates to the kinship system in particular (Eggan, 1950: p. 10; Fallers, 1956: p. 13). Not only are the kinship units the most strategic structures within the society, but behavior within this system of relationships was based upon a single criterion, that of kinship affiliations. Authority, economic organization, and religious system while displaying differentiation due to ranking, sex factors, and age were ordinarily determined by membership within kinship units. Slavery in this type of society represented an extension of the bonds of kinship. Ila slavery did not place individuals outside the rubric of kinship system or inject a new criteria into the social structure and introduce an entirely different series of roles and regulations or a radically different principle of organization. Ila slaves, therefore, never developed into distinctive social groups.

The differentiation of slave and non-slave was based on the degree of extension of the kinship obligations and participation in the kinship system. Gradual incorporation into the kinship system for the majority of people of slave ancestry was assured. The fact of slave ancestry was forgotten or minimized, and what differential status or behavior existed soon disappeared. In a period of two generations, slaves formed their own kinship relations, thus further blurring the differences existing between slave and non-slave. No roles or positions within the kinship community were barred to people of slave ancestry; there was no permanent superordinate-subordinate role differentiation.

Although the structure of slavery and its functions closely approximated kinship behavior, a certain degree of economic exploitation occurred. Only under very few conditions were slaves regarded as property and utilized as such. Slaves did provide labor, but their labor was not necessary for the maintenance of society. A more crucial function of slaves was their value as an addition to the kinship units as members.

One factor operating to create a greater discrepancy between a slave role and that of an actual kin member seems to be the period when the slave was obtained. If purchased at an early age, the likelihood of fuller merging into the kinship society was greater than if he were obtained at a later age. In addition, some women were more difficult to absorb into the social structure, and remained as distinct groups, clearly distinguishable from the majority of members in the society. Other than the category of *nabutema*,

and slaves obtained at a later age, slavery among the Ila was structural as a gradual extension of kinship ties. Certain socio-cultural factors operated which were unique to the Ila and served to facilitate the extension of kinship rights and obligations to slaves. The need for recruitment from without the community due to a low birth rate, a warring tradition, and structural features such as multiple bonds of loyalties and a well-defined socio-cultural basis of authority, readily accommodated the negation of slave status and aided the process of fusing slave and non-slave.

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NOTES

The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Conference

THE twelfth of the Institute's series of conferences was held in Bulawayo in September, 1958, on the invitation of the Municipality, who proved to be most generous hosts. They made available the City's Council Chamber for our meetings and provided transport for the afternoon excursions—which included visits to factories, African housing, and a final excursion to the Matopos. They also provided a Sundowner in the City Hall which enabled the Institute staff and the visitors to make many interesting contacts with the citizens of Bulawayo.

The subject of the Conference was *Social Relations in Central African Industry*. The main representatives of the Institute were Messrs. Matthews, Fosbrooke and Clack, while Dr. Biesheuvel of the National Institute for Personnel Research at Johannesburg was a welcome visiting participant. Interested government departments in all three Federal territories sent delegates; other speakers were leaders of commercial life in Bulawayo and Southern Rhodesia. The proceedings of the conference consisted of symposia on the impact of administrative decisions on social and economic development, labour policies, social group relations at the plant level, and personnel control in Central Africa. The following three papers were given by David Matthews, Head of the Industrial Sociology Section of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute: *the Study of Social Relations in Industry*, *the Systematic Study of Large-scale Group Conflict*, and *the Impact of Industrialization on Race Relations in Underdeveloped Economies*. The proceedings ended with an assessment of some social research needs in the Central African industrial field.

Copies of the conference proceedings are available from the Librarian of the Institute, at 7*s.* 6*d.* each. They are roneographed, between printed covers, edited jointly by David Matthews and R. J. Apthorpe.

Communications

As announced in the last issue of this Journal, roneoed Communications of the Institute are now summarized in these Notes to enable members to write in for issues they specifically require. There are five new numbers to note, the first two bearing the date 1958 for distribution purposes, the last three, 1959.

Communications Nos. 11 and 12 are by D. G. Bettison. They are both primarily factual reports on an Institute research project just ending which will be finally written up in a more interpretive

manner, as a full-length book. The area studied is peri-urban Nyasaland, Blantyre-Limbe. Communication 11 is on the demographic structure of seventeen peri-urban villages, by sex and age, tribal affiliation, marriage type, religious affiliation, scholastic achievement, population stability and migration etc. In Communication 12 various sketches of social and economic structure are given for the same area.

Communication 13 is an account of Aushi village structure in the Fort Rosebery District of Northern Rhodesia, by E. M. Richardson, based on her field research in this area in 1953. The composition of nine villages is described, and tentative conclusions advanced on the main types and trends to be seen, in some comparison with other village structures in Northern Rhodesia.

Communication 14 is a preliminary survey of the Bantu languages of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, by G. Fortune, S.J. A 'linguistic weekend' held at the Institute, with Father Fortune, Mr. C. M. N. White, Mr. G. Wilson and Mrs. H. Carter, enabled the manuscript of this preliminary survey to be revised and enlarged. Communication 15 will be available in February or March, 1959. It consists of two papers: a blindness survey by Dr. C. M. Phillips in the Kawambwa district of Northern Rhodesia, and notes on the preparation and uses of African medicines in the Mankoya district of Northern Rhodesia, by S. A. Symon. Kawambwa district appears to have one of the highest blindness incidences in the world, and it is Dr. Phillips' conclusion that this is mainly a result of harmful eye treatments. Mr. Symons' survey is of a more general nature but it also includes some notes on eye medicines. For financial aid towards the publication of this Communication we are most grateful to the Smith, Kline and French Laboratories, Philadelphia.

Affiliation with The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute

Research workers in the social sciences are now coming from overseas to Central Africa in greater numbers than ever before. This movement is extremely welcome as it contributes to a wider understanding of the social and economic life of Central Africa, and at the same time forms a stimulus to the social scientists more permanently here.

For an Institute acting as host to such workers, however, this presents two problems: firstly that of resources and secondly that of responsibility. The Institute is primarily designed to serve its own workers so the margin of services available to visitors is necessarily limited. Housing or study room may not be available or, if provided, somewhat inadequate.

In the matter of responsibility it will be appreciated that anyone working at the Institute, or travelling in Institute transport, is immediately associated in the minds of the public with the Institute itself. For this reason some selection may be necessary, so workers

who wish to use our resources must apply for formal affiliation providing the same information concerning himself, and his project, as would be required by a Foundation granting him funds or a University accepting him for membership. Only in the case of those whose standards reach those expected of our own workers will formal affiliation be granted. The fee for affiliation is £25 (70 dollars) per year or part thereof, which helps to cover the overhead costs of the services provided (library, administrative, conferences, etc.). The affiliate then has access to our library and field note files on the same terms as members of the Institute staff. Accommodation at the Institute cannot be guaranteed but when available will be placed at the disposal of affiliates on terms similar to those applied to the Institute's own workers, i.e. 15 per cent of salary.

There may be those who are either not accepted, or do not wish to apply for affiliation, who none the less wish to make some use of the Institute's resources. Associate membership is open to such persons as to any other member of the public, providing library facilities and the supply of publications.

It is hoped that these arrangements, far from discouraging overseas workers, will act as a stimulus and attract the best type of research worker to assist those already in the field in grappling with the multitudinous problems in the field of social research in Central Africa.

Reproduction of Out-of-print Journals and Papers

Enquiries into printing costs and the potential market has shown that the reprinting of our early Papers and Journals would be entirely uneconomic for the limited demand for these that still exists.

It has been decided to meet this demand by the reproduction of these works by microphotography. They are now available in microfiche form, whilst consideration is being given to reproduction on microfilm.

As microfiche is a relatively new method, a short description would not be out of place. The works are photographed on a flat film approximately 5″ by 3″ which can be stored as a file index card. It is, in fact, with the headings clearly reproduced in typewritten form, its own file index. As can be seen from the accompanying list, a 75-page Paper can be reproduced on three such cards, leading to great economy in postage and in storage space.

The types of reader available for microfiche are varied and not expensive. A pocket reader, the *Minilook*, and a similar model, the *Minilux*, with an illuminated background cost £2 5*s*. and £3 5*s*. respectively. They are obtainable from:

International Documentation Centre,
Postfack 405,
Stockholm-Vällingy, Sweden,

who also market a *Minibox* for storing the microfiche.

A more expensive type called a *Dagmar* markets at £25, being obtainable from the Microfiche Foundation,

c/o Library Delft Technological University,
101, Doelenstraat,
Delft, Holland.

A film holder which enables the Dagmar to be converted into a microfilm reader is charged extra at £4 10*s*.

A third type is the *Iota*, obtainable from:

Iota Services Ltd.,
38 Farringdon St., London, E.C.4.

Their standard reader costs £47 10*s*. and can be adapted to read microfilm at either 16 mm. or 35 mm. for £6 15*s*.

The Editorial Board would be glad to know if a demand exists for microfilm as well as microfiche reproductions of our out-of-print Papers. If this demand were sufficient, the Institute is in a position to make these available. The cost per Paper would be approximately double that of the microfiche.

MICROFICHE REPRINTS

Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. and Title	*No. of Sheets*	*Price*	*Posted Surface*	*Posted Air U.K. 2nd Class*	*Posted Air U.S. or elsewhere*
1. The Land Rights of Individuals among the Nyakyusa. Godfrey Wilson	1	2/6	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6
2. The Study of African Society. Godfrey Wilson and Monica Hunter	2	5/-	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6
3. The Constitution of Ngonde. Godfrey Wilson	1	2/6	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6
4. Bemba Marriage and Present Economic Conditions. Audrey Richards	3	7/6	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6
5. An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia. Pt. I. Godfrey Wilson	2	5/-	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6
6. An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia. Pt. II. Godfrey Wilson	2	5/-	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6
7. Economy of the Central Barotse Plain. Max Gluckman	4	10/-	6*d*.	1/-	5/-
9. The African as Suckling and as Adult. J. F. Ritchie	2	5/-	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6
10. Essays on Lozi Land and Royal Property. Max Gluckman	2	5/-	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6
16. Malinowski's Sociological Theories. Max Gluckman	1	2/6	3*d*.	6*d*.	2/6

Note: If more than one paper is ordered at a time, postage will be proportionately reduced.

Staff Changes

The notes in Journal No. 23 expressed the hope that our librarian, Mrs. U. Stevenson, B.A. Cantab., F.L.A., would eventually return to the Institute. This hope has now happily turned to fact: we were glad to welcome Mrs. Stevenson back to her old office in the library in August, 1958.

Fresh ground was broken in our staffing policy when negotiations were opened with Voluntary Service Overseas, 1958, a charitable organization established for the purpose of facilitating the provision of overseas experience to the youth of Britain, particularly for those who, having completed their Sixth Form work at school, cannot immediately take up the place awaiting them at University.

Through the good offices of this organization we now have with us Robert Sutcliffe, late of Buxton College, who is due to take up his place at Worcester College, Oxford, in October, 1959, with the aid of a Derbyshire County Major Scholarship. He will work through all departments here at the Institute and will, it is hoped, be given an opportunity to do some field work also. It is anticipated that his year at the Institute will at a minimum prove profitable to both parties. It may, however, yield a further dividend in the future, should either Mr. Sutcliffe or those with whom he comes into contact during his University career, be stimulated to take up a career in social research here in Central Africa.

Just as we go to press final approval has been received for the engagement of Michael Richardson, as a Human Geographer/Ecologist on the Institute staff. Mr. Richardson graduated with a 1st Class Degree in Geography at Durham, in 1955, since when he has been one of the team of Durham geographers engaged on the Malta Survey currently being undertaken under the auspices of the Colonial Economic Research Council. On his arrival in February he will be posted to Fort Rosebery, where his services are in demand in connection with the Food and Nutrition Scheme established by the Northern Rhodesia Government assisted by the World Health Organization.

Rockefeller Students

Over the past two or three years the Institute has endeavoured to give vacation employment to promising Sixth Formers from the neighbouring African Secondary School, Munali. The demand for such employment has risen since undergraduates from the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have also become available.

This demand would soon have exceeded the slender resources of the Institute but for the happy intervention of the Rockefeller Foundation, who recently gave a grant of 1,000 dollars per year, for the next three years, to enable this scheme of vacation employment to be maintained and extended.

Already we have employed three African and one European undergraduate from Salisbury, four Upper Sixth and six Lower Sixth students from Munali. These have been distributed through the various departments of the Institute here at Lusaka, whose work has been assisted by this additional help. We hope, however, that the scheme will also yield a long term dividend by interesting some of these students in social research, so that they ultimately develop into qualified workers in this field here in Central Africa.

Library Expansion

Certain developments in the Sir Gilbert Rennie Library, viewed against the broader background of library expansion in the Federation, can best be reported by the reproduction of the following letter from the Director which appeared in *The Times* of 19th September, 1958.

2nd September, 1958

To the Editor of *The Times*

SIR,

The letter which you printed from Mr. J. A. Allan, Honorary Secretary of the Booksellers' Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has only just come to my attention by virtue of the fact that a portion of it was reprinted in the number of *East Africa and Rhodesia* published on 12th June.

As phrased, it would appear that the gift of 500 books from American sources to certain libraries in Southern Rhodesia was a combined operation of the United States Information Service and the Carnegie Corporation. As the library of this Institute has also been a beneficiary from these two sources I am in a position to know the facts which are set out hereunder.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York assembled some 200 booksets comprising 350 volumes apiece for distribution to libraries throughout the Commonwealth. The beneficiaries in this Federation were the two Bulawayo libraries mentioned in previous correspondence, the library of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at Salisbury and the Queen Victoria Memorial Library at Salisbury: the library of this Institute will also be provided with a set.

Simultaneously with this generous gesture by the Carnegie Corporation the Public Relations Officer at the United States Consulate-General in Salisbury found himself in a position to offer books to various libraries throughout the Federation. This Institute was one of those approached. We were most generously given *carte blanche* to examine the available stock and choose what we thought to be of use. Some 60 volumes of sociological significance were chosen and form a most useful addition to our library here.

The phrase that ' several African libraries have also benefited from this open-handed measure ' not only suggests that numerous libraries other than those mentioned received gifts in the nature of 500 volumes: it also implies that there is a distinction between ' European ' and 'African ' libraries here in Central Africa. This, unfortunately, is a fact in so far as the Municipal Libraries are concerned for owing to circumstances which need not be detailed here, no African is a ratepayer and in consequence is deprived of the right of borrowing from Municipal Libraries. In this connection I might mention that I am myself not a ratepayer but have never been refused Municipal Library facilities.

Of the libraries receiving the Carnegie book sets, the University College is, of course, available to readers of all races, as is the library of this Institute. Likewise, the National Free Library distributes on a non-racial basis, though I am uncertain of the policy of the other two recipients.

Whilst it is not, of course, the policy or duty of a scientific institute such as this to ' carry the specialist stock necessary for the portrayal of Great Britain as a power house in inventive genius, ability, and moral strength . . .' the valuable sociological library which has been built up here by local endeavour, with the assistance of monies from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund does, in fact, contain a wealth of material illustrating that very point.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

H. A. FOSBROOKE,
Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

REVIEWS

African Farming Improvement in the Plateau Tonga Maize Areas of Northern Rhodesia. By C. E. JOHNSON. Department of Agriculture, Northern Rhodesia, *Agricultural Bulletin* No. 11 (Lusaka, 1956). Pp. v + 62. 2*s.* 6*d.*

THROUGHOUT Africa, and indeed in many other parts of the world, administrators and technical officers are concerned with situations in which indigenous people are altering their traditional methods of land-usage and land-holding under the stress of increasing populations or lured by the potentialities for cash cropping. Often enough, both push and pull operate together. But it is not an easy matter to change over-night from a system of land-usage evolved to meet local conditions and of proven merit so long as these conditions are not radically altered. Those concerned are usually content to make a minimum number of innovations, though it may be obvious to the technical expert that even one change implies a thorough-going readjustment of agricultural techniques if the land is not to be destroyed. There are obvious reasons why the advice of the technician may be ignored or even scorned. The technician is free to press for the techniques which seem to him best suited to the agricultural potentialities of the land just because he is an alien to the society. He does not feel the impact of the innovations upon his customary relationships with others nor does he have his accustomed working schedule torn to shreds. Members of the society may be as concerned with these aspects of the innovations as they are with the effect of new techniques upon the productivity of their land. Equally, it is perhaps not unreasonable for people to hold back when invited to become the guinea-pigs upon whom experiments in new agricultural techniques are to be made. And it must be emphasized that in many instances programmes presented by technicians as the answer to the problems of a particular region are experiments. Techniques developed in another area are to be tested under new environmental conditions; crops successfully grown on an experimental farm are to be tried out under actual farming conditions. Sometimes the results are as predicted. Sometimes there is little obvious advantage over the old methods. Sometimes the experiment is a dismal failure. The technician narrowly engrossed in his own field is likely to assume that he alone is capable of evaluating the success or failure of the experiment. He is unaware that the people through whom he works are also evaluating the programme, though frequently from a different standpoint than his own. Refusal to co-operate he may lay to stupidity, laziness, or native conservatism, forgetting that until the programme

has provided its worth it is naturally suspect. To the people themselves, the only rational reason for agreeing to co-operate may be the desire to curry favour with one in authority.

The Plateau Tonga live in the maize area of Northern Rhodesia and produce a substantial proportion of the African grown crop which finds its way into the market. Fortunately, by now, we know a good deal about the Tonga, enough to begin to chart their progress from subsistence farming based on shifting-cultivation to a cash-crop economy with fixed-farming as the necessary basis. Trapnell and Clothier in their ecological survey of North-western Rhodesia describe indigenous farming practices and the changes brought about by a shift to the production of maize for the market. Their report relates to the early 1930's before the Agricultural Department built the first station in Tonga territory and began agricultural extension work among them in 1936. Ten years later a team composed of three agriculturalists and one anthropologist made a survey of agricultural conditions among the Plateau Tonga, the results of which were published as Rhodes-Livingstone Paper 14. Since 1945, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute has sponsored an intensive anthropological study of the Tonga, and the Agricultural Department has intensified its work among them.

Between 1953 and 1955, Mr. Johnson, then Chief Agricultural Officer of Northern Rhodesia, devoted much of his time to assessing the successes and failures of Tonga agricultural development. The result is a stimulating and well-written report by a man who has known the Tonga for 20 years. He is well aware of the problems posed for the agricultural expert by the social organization of the people, and he surveys the effect of customary patterns of land-holding, inheritance, assistance, and co-operation upon the success of the attempt to combat erosion and soil deterioration and to raise productivity. He is also aware that the agricultural schemes have been experiments which need to be assessed in terms of proven results.

As he reviews the work of twenty years, the changing emphasis in the programme sponsored by the Agricultural Department becomes clear. By the middle 1930's, Northern Rhodesia was in the midst of the world-wide depression. Maize prices had fallen steadily. The Maize Control Board had been instituted to stabilize production. It was to no one's interest to increase the yields and flood the market with an unsaleable product. The work of the Agricultural Department was thus primarily concerned with arresting soil erosion by building contour ridges and combating decline in fertility by introducing a simple rotation. The Tonga had turned to fixed cultivation and maize monoculture under their own impetus in the early 1930's, attracted by the high prices then paid for maize. The Department also concentrated its attention on the building of dams and sinking of wells to permit the spread of the population and check overcrowding. By 1945 when the survey team visited the area, the market for maize had revived and once again was a

stimulation to production. The team therefore saw the problem as involving not only the persuasion of the Tonga to adopt and support the existing programme of the Agricultural Department, but also to find some means to stimulate production. They recommended the institution of a registry of producers who agreed to abide by rules of improved farming and a bonus to be paid to these producers. The Improved Farmer Scheme was instituted in the 1946–7 season, and continues in effect to the present time though the rules to which the farmers must adhere have been altered a number of times and also the method by which the bonus is assessed.

By 1955, the emphasis of the Agricultural Department has again changed, in part because of the success of its earlier efforts. Average yields per acre have not declined since 1945, indicating that fertility is being maintained. On the other hand, only a small proportion of producers have been willing to register as Improved Farmers eligible for the bonus, and the difference in yields reported by Improved Farmers and unimproved farmers is not sufficiently great to prove that the system of improved farming has obvious advantages. What in effect seems to have happened is that certain aspects of the improved farming scheme have found general acceptance among the mass of Tonga who are thus maintaining the fertility of their fields. The rest they consider to be too expensive in time and cash to be worth their while, even with the bonus to compensate them. Their attitude is not unreasonable since some aspects of the scheme, such as the inclusion of legume crops in the rotation cycle, are under question by the technicians themselves.

The change in attitude is perhaps best summed up by quoting from Mr. Johnson's recommendations for the future: 'The true nature of the problem has to some extent been obscured by misconceptions arising from the limited approach to it. It is possible that there has been a tendency to regard arable farming improvement perhaps too exclusively as a question of crop rotation, manure and contour ridges; and the necessity for better farm equipment and more consumption by the unimproved farmers in order to raise themselves out of subsistence agriculture has been insufficiently recognized as a basic requirement for progress' (p. 45). The significant shift here is that from a primary concern with the land to the interests of the people. Mr. Johnson makes this point trenchantly when he writes, 'It is not sufficient for a farming system to be based on good theoretical principles: it will not be adopted unless it meets the practical needs of the farmers.'

This is a long review for a brief report, but the report is much too good to be passed over with only a paragraph or two. It is obviously of vital importance to all who must work with African farmers in the maize belt of Northern Rhodesia. But it is also of considerable interest to anyone who is concerned with implementing programmes of social change or who is interested in the processes of social change.

There are two errors of fact. On page 34 we are told that 'Women can hold rights in land acquired by inheritance of transfer'. In fact, they can hold rights in land acquired by clearing. Few do so, but if a woman wishes to hire someone to clear land, she has as much claim on that land as any man would have. On the same page, it is stated that it is now possible for a Tonga farmer to make a will. An order permitting the making of wills has been before the Tonga Native Authority periodically since at least 1946. As late as the end of 1956, no such order had been passed. Tonga farmers sometimes make wills, but these have no legal validity.

Program of African Studies, Boston, Mass. E. COLSON.

The Bantu of North Kavirondo. By GUNTER WAGNER. Vols. I and II, Economic Life. Vol. I, 1949. Pp. xx + 511. 45*s*. Vol. II, 1956. Pp. viii + 184. 36*s*. Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, London.

THE two-volume work under review is of descriptive anthropology, rather than a study aiming to advance sociological theory. It is exhaustingly comprehensive down to the very minutiae of the social life of the Bantu peoples of North Kavirondo of Kenya. Individual aspects of kinship structure, magico-religious beliefs and practices, traditional economy, land tenure, cattle ownership, technology, diet and trade are all painstakingly described and their component parts clearly distinguished and delineated. By original design there were to have been included in the second volume an analysis of the organization of labour and a discussion of incomes, movable property and the values associated with it, and a third volume on language had been planned. Unfortunately by the author's untimely death this has not proved possible and this has prevented what one can well believe would have been not only a definitive work on these tribes but a copy-book model of how far description can go. Indeed it is only under the editorship of Dr. L. Mair that the second volume has now been able to appear at all.

The work as it now stands is still very thorough; it is extremely detailed and it is rather boring. It is a handbook, with all the virtues and vices of such respectable publications. It contains a wealth of material which will be gratefully dipped into by anthropologists in search of comparative data. Wagner's description of, for example, the magico-religious elements in these people's lives is excellent; the same may be said of his detail on customs of all sorts related to birth, marriage and death, or those related to land rights and usage, or to rights in cattle, or to beer-brewing or diet or clans or kinship terminology. It is all there, and doubtless all that could be said on these topics has been said.

The reviewer, who, unlike most other readers probably, has to plough his way through all this, begins to wilt under the strain and the sheer pressure of it all. The connecting links, the types and

degrees of inter-relations and influences and limitations amongst the many and different features of the social life portrayed are largely missing. One cannot see the wood for the trees, and is not ultimately able to emerge with any kind of balanced synthesis and comprehension—if the reader wants that he will have to rewrite the book for himself without the initial advantages which the field-worker himself had. This, then, is a work which should be in every library for reference, but not on every student's bookshelf unless the student is preparing to specialize on this part of East Africa.

The recently issued second volume is expensive, even for these days, and one wonders whether considerable cutting might not have reduced the price and the difficulties of the work and increased its general value. The description of the economy of the middle 1930's is of limited historical value, for instance, and could surely have been profitably pruned. Changes in the economy and indeed in all aspects of these tribes' life have been tremendous during the interval of two decades between the field-work and final publication, and this fact will severely reduce the books' usefulness to those who are involved on the spot in Western Kenya, and will add fresh fuel to common criticism of the allegedly historicist attitude of anthropologists. It was an unavoidable pity that the delay should have been so great, but the author's and editor's use of the historical present tense in all accounts of activities is a little unfortunate. Orthodox historians seldom find the need for such slightly misleading procedure, and surely a twenty year old description of a rapidly changing African tribe is largely history.

Again it is unfortunate that the old, now disused and disliked term ' Bantu Kavirondo ' should have been used at all either in the title or inside the books as late as 1956. The people themselves use their own tribal names individually or the collective term 'Abaluhya ', and the Kenya Government have for quite a number of years called the area North Nyanza. This is another misplaced use of the historical present.

Nevertheless an important ethnographic gap has now been filled, very well filled, by these two volumes, and the valuable data are now on record to be made use of by ethnologists, social anthropologists and others in search of material.

Government Sociologist, P. H. GULLIVER.
Arusha,
Tanganyika.

An Atlas of African History. By J. D. FAGE. 1958. Edward Arnold. Pp. 64. 30*s.*

FIRST in a new field on the continental scale, Professor Fage of the University College of Ghana has performed an invaluable service for all those interested in African history. After two small scale maps of the principal geographical features of Africa and the

present-day distribution of its peoples, and a map of Roman Africa in the third century A.D., the first map on the main subject of this *Atlas* shows the penetration of Islam into Africa. Fifty maps follow, of many indigenous African states and the main lines of exploration and settlement of immigrant peoples. Finally, five maps show the continent's modern economic developments. Besides the achievement simply of producing such a useful compendium, it is surely another that this *Atlas* successfully steers between historical archaeology on the one hand, and geography on the other, although a stronger historical character could be given to the maps of modern economic changes by including on them dates other than those of railway developments and by giving some indication of whether the various crops shown are produced by peasants, larger scale farmers, or plantation companies.

In the present edition, this *Atlas* is understandably indefinite for Central Africa since the study of tribal history in this area has barely begun. Nevertheless, Map 21, which is intended to show the major central Bantu states in the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, makes no mention of the Maravi peoples (e.g. the Chewa, the Nyanja), although the Kamanga, their neighbours on the north-west, are shown. Further, although this map shows the Kunda as being in the Luba area in the sixteenth century it is doubtful firstly whether the Kunda (at present in the eastern province of Northern Rhodesia) were known by that name before migrating from the Uluwa area, and secondly, whether the Kunda have any higher claim than the Nsenga or the Ambo, for example, to be shown on such a general map. This map would be improved as a whole by the addition of the Luangwa river.

It is a comment on the *Atlas* generally that for the study of tribal history it gives no information on present-day tribal distribution. For Central Africa, however, we are most fortunate in having Professor Mitchell's map of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, at eighty miles to the inch (published December, 1957), together with a gazetteer. This excellent contribution would be still further of value if in future issues it could indicate tribal sizes. Other Central African maps are Brelsford's of tribal and linguistic groupings in *Tribes of Northern Rhodesia* (1956), and Fortune's language map of the Federation in the *Rhodes-Livingstone Communication* No. 14.

Another comment on the *Atlas* generally is of a geographical nature. Isohyets are shown on some maps although a more relevant factor than mere rainfall quantity—for example, rainfall reliability (e.g. see the maps accompanying the East Africa Royal Commission 1953–5 Report), or a soil type, which is only of a limited distribution in the given rainfall zone—has been distinguished in the historical phenomena concerned. Rather than omitting such information altogether, could it not be included in brief outline in the explanatory notes accompanying the maps?

The remarks above are in the nature of small emendations to be considered for the future editions and printings of this *Atlas*, for which demand is sure to call. Professor Fage's own hope that his atlas will be received as better than none at all, is far too modest. Within the limits of scale—which the author constantly laments, and of black and white as the medium of representation rather than colour, this well drawn and produced work will prove to be invaluable to the student no less than the teacher.

Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, R. J. APTHORPE.
Lusaka.

Transition in Africa: Studies in political adaptation. Editors, G. M. CARTER and W. O. BROWN. African Research Studies No. 1, African Research and Studies Program, Boston University, 1958. Pp. 158. $3.

THIS is the first of a most welcome new series of African studies. It is published by the African Research and Studies Program, founded in Boston University in 1953, though contributions are not confined to its members and associates. In the words of the Director of the Program, Professor William O. Brown, the series has a dual purpose: ' to present informed discussion of current trends in Africa; and to contribute to basic research in the disciplines of the social sciences which are today drawing an increasing body of data from research in Africa '. In the present volume, these two aspects are particularly well combined in Apter's and Lystad's essay *Bureaucracy, Party and Constitutional Democracy: an examination of political role systems in Ghana.* The remaining three papers on government and politics choose rather to present informed, pragmatic discussion not in a manner of striking methodological interest. L. G. Cowan discusses *Local Politics and Democracy in Nigeria*; E. P. Dvorin describes *Emergent Federalism in Central Africa*; and finally, C. G. Roseberg, Jr., discusses *Political Conflict and Change in Kenya.*

This series promises to be most valuable, in a sphere insufficiently served by both systematic publication and research.

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