

Cattle Husbandry and Trade in Bulozhi, a Historical Perspective C. 1880 – 1973

By

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**A Dissertation submitted to the University of Zambia in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in History**

University of Zambia

Lusaka

2015

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ABSTRACT

Cattle husbandry and trade in Bulozhi (much of present day Western Province Zambia) was a concern of people of Bulozhi for a long time. The purpose of this study was to examine, investigate and assess opportunities and challenges relating to the cattle economy in a traditional context of Bulozhi. More importantly was to examine why despite a long history of cattle keeping, cattle husbandry and trade did not make Lozi cattle keepers very rich peasants.

The study covered the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial phases from 1880 to 1973. The study utilised Archival evidence, secondary sources and interviews with relevant stakeholders in the sampled areas of Bulozhi. The analysis of both primary and secondary data indicated that cattle husbandry and trade were negatively affected by labour migration from rural to urban areas, cattle disease outbreaks, insufficient leadership involvement, ecological changes, inadequate local knowledge utilisation and conservative attitudes by traditional cattle keepers in relation to the cattle economy. All these were very important variables that affected the historical shifts. Why the Lozi cattle keepers did not become very rich peasants in their cattle husbandry and trade activities was tied to the foregoing variables acting upon each other.

Cattle keepers' opinion showed that government policy on the level of importance attached to cattle husbandry and trade was considered instrumental and important in stimulating or discouraging cattle husbandry and trade among traditional producers. The historical analysis based on the findings ranging from 1880 to 1973 showed that the Lozi cattle keepers were very resilient in cattle rearing despite the challenges faced. Some of the opportunities that availed themselves were utilised. To make cattle husbandry and trade successful, the cattle keepers, government and researchers needed to realize that they needed to co-operate and support each other. Prior to, during and after colonialism the Lozi people were cattle keepers at traditional levels. Evidence has shown that the lack of full co-operation between cattle keepers and government in cattle husbandry and trade, negatively affected the cattle economy in Bulozhi.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am greatly indebted to numerous critical contributions and criticisms from the lecturers in the Department of history at the University of Zambia like Professor M.C Musambachime, Dr.B.S. Siamwiza, Dr.E.K Chiputa, Dr. C.M.Chabatama, Dr.W.S.Kalikiti, Dr.K. Krishna, Dr.W.T. Kalusa, Dr.F.B. Musonda, Mr. F. E. Mulenga and Ms D. Mwansa. The exposition from them in lectures and seminars will remain impressed on this study. Special thanks also go to my supervisor Professor B.J. Phiri of University of Zambia for his direction that inspired me to forge ahead always. He was instrumental both as my supervisor and lecturer in the fruition of this study. Special recognition also goes to Dr. J. Simwinga of University of Zambia Department of Literature and Languages for those assuring encouragements, 'Never give up'. I say thank you to all my fellow post graduate students of history like P.Sikayomya, N. Machila, K. Kabani, L. Kikamba, C. Kakulwa, N. Zindaba and M. Kaonga with whom I shared those lonely moments of research work.

Equally significant were the contributions of Mwana Mulena Kusiyo M. Lewanika, Mwana Mulena M. Kufekisa, His Royal Highness Chief Imwiko of Lukulu, Induna Amukwe of Libumu, former Induna Ingangwana B.A. Kamitondo, Induna Macwani Mubiana Batuke and Induna Matindo Mwiya and Mr. N. Mumbuna for providing deeper insights on cattle husbandry and trade in Buluzi. Mr. G. Zimba (late) and Mr.P. Kalukango at the Ministry of Education Provincial Office in Mongu I say I am indebted to you for the official support in facilitating my study leave. For typing my dissertation gratitude goes to Mrs. Charity H. Witola Kaulule. To all individuals and institutions too numerous to mention from which I got valuable research material for this study, I say thank you.

Indeed the completion and fruition of this study is owed to all scholars, friends and acquaintances whose material and inspirational contributions I am greatly indebted to, but for the ultimate interpretation and conclusions reached in this work I bear full responsibility.

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DEDICATION

To my wife Chalwe and our children Sanana, Mwangana, Lutoombi and my friend Lubosi Ezzie
this is for you.

ABBREVIATIONS

BNS	-	Barotse National School
BRE	-	Barotse Royal Establishment
BSAC	-	British South Africa Company
CBPP	-	Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia
GART	-	Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust
IKS	-	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
INDECO	-	Industrial Development Corporation
NAMBOARD	-	National Agricultural Marketing Board.
UDI	-	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNIP	-	United National Independent Party
YWCA	-	Young Women Christian Association
ZCCM	-	Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines
ZIMCO	-	Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation
ZIMT	-	Zambia Independent Monitoring Team.

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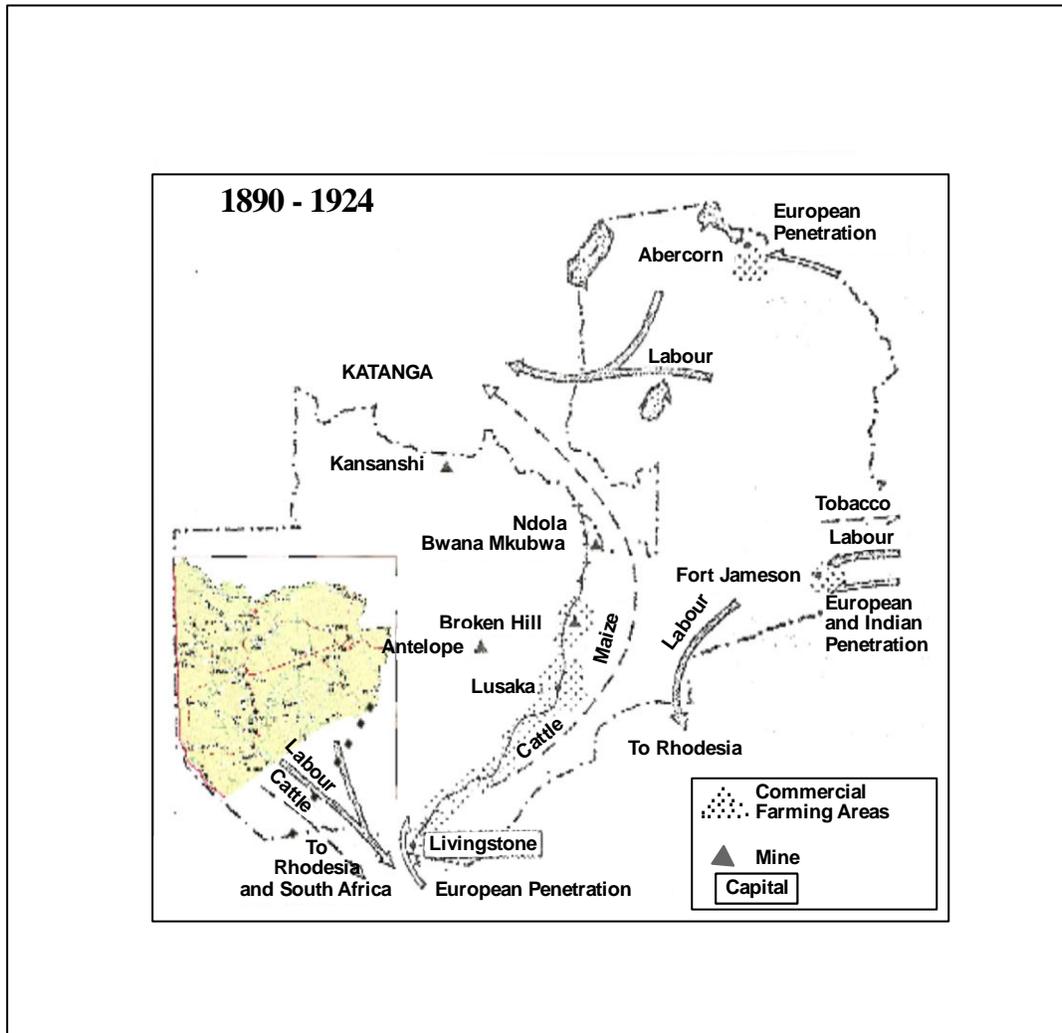
Table 1 Lewanika's cattle posts for Mafisa.

Table 2 sales yard site and sales programme 1960 to February 1964.

Table 3 cattle distribution by district 1955- 1962.

Figure 1

Economic History of Buluzi Cattle 1890-1924



Source: J.E. Gardner "Economic History" in D. Hywel Davies (ed)

Zambia in Maps, (Oxford University Press, London, 1971), p.41

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Historical Background

Cattle husbandry and trade refers to the acquisition, rearing, buying and selling of cattle. These activities were important among the Lozi of Buluzi (much of present day Western province of Zambia). These activities have taken place in the area since time immemorial. The resilience of traditional cattle keepers has always been of interest to researchers. Cattle among the Lozi has often been viewed as a status symbol and old age security. Cattle was regarded as insurance as well as a medium of exchange and draught power.¹

Buluzi in the scope of this study covers Mongu-Lealui, Senanga, Shangombo, Lukulu, Kalabo, Kaoma and Sesheke. The important role of Mongu-Lealui, which served as both Lozi aristocracy capital and colonial administrative centre for Buluzi will be highlighted in the chapters that follow.

Most of the original Lozi area of influence is in present-day Zambia, specifically, Western province and the history of human settlement dates back to the iron age.² Western province is one of the regions classified as rural Zambia. Angola forms a substantial part of the Zambian border to the West and North of Western province. Trade was negligible on this border. The concepts of cattle husbandry and trade are wider historical perspectives to embrace acquisition, rearing, buying and selling along with the challenges and opportunities pertaining to cattle socio-economic activities. As much as human labour, attractive greenery and ever flowing riverine system centred around the Zambezi river attracted settlement and trade in Buluzi, so did the wealth derived from cattle.

The core area of this research covers the central Barotse plain fed by the Zambezi river. That was an area characterised by the annual floods to which three quarters of Buluzi cattle are subjected to in the areas of Mongu, Senanga and Kalabo. Along with the central Barotse plain will be the forest zones that are found in all areas that make up Buluzi.

The centralised nature of Buluzi traditional leadership makes Mongu-Lealui of special interest in the study. It was from there that cattle husbandry and trade in the region were directed. The central location of Mongu-Lealui provided a natural location for both the traditional and colonial

administration to over see the area. To the West of Mongu is Kalabo, South is Senanga and Sesheke occupies the South- Eastern area of the province. To the East is Kaoma and the North is Lukulu district. Mostly during pre-colonial and colonial periods, cattle husbandry and trade in all the adjoining districts were undertaken with supervision of the Lozi aristocracy stationed at Mongu-Lealui. This happened from the pre-colonial through to the post-colonial times. Activities involving cattle were considered important in the whole area of Buluzi.³ Cattle provided source of food security and trade.

The challenges relating to traditional cattle husbandry and trade in Buluzi hinged on the ways traditional keepers kept,acquired,disposed and utilized cattle which differed from the way colonial authorities and later nationalist government desired to approach cattle husbandry and trade. The successes and failures in cattle undertaking can also be attributed to differing marketing strategies and purposes between traditional cattle keepers and upcoming cattle entrepreneurs. This study shows that some of the earliest (Pioneer) Europeans in Central and Southern Africa depended on animal draught power for transport. The Lozi chiefs guaranteed security to travelers in the kingdom. Most of those travelers and traders were using draught oxen bought within Buluzi. Cattle trade existed in Buluzi for a long time.

The problem in the context of this study is that despite many cattle related activities in the area, the traditional cattle keepers became peasant producers (producing for home use and extra for sale) or simply remained traditional producers. Further challenges pertaining to trade and husbandry in the area were lack of co-operation between agricultural researchers, ethno-scientists and other stakeholders in animal husbandry. The reasons attributed to that inadequate co-operation is what this study endeavoured to look into. The negative attitude towards rural life, especially by some colonial officials seem to have set a precedence that some Africans emulated.⁴ This affected cattle husbandry activities in the area. Labour migration to the Copperbelt, Southern Rhodesia and South African European oriented settlements also affected the cattle industry in Buluzi.

The history of cattle related activities were so intertwined with the social, economic and political life of the Lozi society that attempts to look at cattle husbandry have led to overlapping into cattle trade activities in the districts. The rule of Mawaniketwa Lubosi Lewanika had a lot to do with cattle acquisition and distribution through tribal wars and other social economic functions.⁵

The cattle keepers were resilient in that, animal diseases and ecological upheavals had an effect on their stocks, but they recovered and sustained their cattle herds up to the end of the period this research covered. Historically, the potential for this trade was not fully exploited. Both the colonial and post-colonial governments did not tap fully this vital economic resource.⁶ It is with this kind of historical background that this research endeavoured to probe the opportunities and challenges pertaining to cattle husbandry and trade in Bulozhi. Even though the people in this area have been keeping cattle from generation to generation, they did not develop a cattle complex culture comparable to many pastoralist people in Southern Africa and those dotted all over the world particularly the Dinka and Masai.⁷ This could have allowed the Lozi to become rich cattle peasants since they could have sold their animals to a larger extent without cattle complex inhibitions.

Had both the colonial and nationalist governments committed themselves fully to the cattle husbandry and trade activities in this area, the Lozi could have broken through from mere traditional and peasantry level to a very rich peasant community.⁸ Inadequate co-operation between livestock keepers and central governments delayed a positive break through in cattle husbandry and trade.

This research covered the period 1880 to 1973. This is of interest in that it stretches from the pre-colonial to colonial and post-colonial era. The implication was that the Lozi cattle keepers had experienced what can be referred to as indigenous cattle practices and the European cattle practices along with the nationalist involvement in cattle related issues. These phases had historical implications that may still help to point to the resilience and determination of cattle keepers. If cattle husbandry and trade were well harnessed in Bulozhi, the ordinary peasants would have become very rich peasants.⁹ Cattle husbandry and cattle trade are very important rural occupations that provide food security for a community. Bulozhi cattle keepers evidently form a good study for potential in livestock that could support a vibrant national economy. Through some of the historical phases outlined above, these cattle keepers interacted with some very rich cattle traders, yet the traditional livestock keepers did not take off to become very rich peasants themselves.¹⁰ That inability by the traditional and peasant cattle keepers to become a rich peasant farmers remains of interest to research.

Statement of the Problem

The research problem in this study was to examine the factors that contributed to traditional livestock keepers' inability to become rich peasant cattle producers to the satisfaction of both the colonial authorities and nationalist government in the period 1880 to 1973. The research focused on why despite a long history in cattle husbandry and trade the Lozi cattle keeper never became very rich peasant cattle producers.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were:

- i) To examine the traditional ways in cattle husbandry and trade.
- ii) To investigate the factors that determined the successes and failures of cattle husbandry and trade.
- iii) To assess the benefits of cattle husbandry and trends in trade to Buluzi.

Rationale

This study is a contribution to the body of knowledge pertaining to cattle husbandry and trade in Zambia, by drawing upon the experiences of the Lozi case. The study is hoped to generate further interest in livestock history and research. Buluzi cattle husbandry and trade centred at Mongu-Lealui was a symbol of development from within. Therefore, this study will contribute to the understanding of the usefulness of cattle husbandry and trade in other parts of Zambia.

Literature Review

An interaction with various scholars' works relating to the role cattle played in the social and economic activities of the peoples of Western province of Zambia was interestingly revealing. One work of interest is that by R.W.M Langham.¹¹ This work brings to the surface the observations of *Litunga* Lewanika of Buluzi (1842-1916) on what propels economies of nations forward. The observation was made in England in 1902, when Lewanika saw how organised the British livestock industry was. This was very useful since the *Litunga* seemed impressed by the livestock practices in Britain. Perhaps the *Litunga* had taken keen interest in the work habits of

the people he admired so much (The British). Another author of interest is E. Knowles Jordan who comments on cattle trade by one Dawson, a former aide of King Lobengula.¹² It is reported that Bulozhi took active participation in trade that included horses, game, milk and wild fowls. The mention of milk evidently brings to mind the existence of cattle husbandry in the area. This as observed in the case of Dawson and Susman Brothers must have drawn settlers, travelers and traders to the region. Cattle husbandry and trade were both associated with organised social and political settlements. Furthermore, the author argued that there was lucrative cattle buying among the Ila people who in turn paid tribute to the Baroste King.

According to L.V. Horn Bulozhi was spared from the cattle losses from rinderpest in Central and Southern Africa at the end of the 19th century due to the natural barrier of the Zambezi River.¹³ Seed cattle to restock southern Africa were established at Darwendale farm in Southern Rhodesia.¹⁴ O.C. Lawson evidently showed that the Darwendale project procured seed cattle from Bulozhi. As risky as the trade might have been, Mongu-Lealui is reported to have provided leadership and security to which trade in the region owed credit.

Fagan further showed that apart from their traditional Baroste breed of cattle the Lozi were also marauders who raided cattle from the rich Tonga-Ila region.¹⁵ Neil Parsons noted that it was the Lozi cattle that helped Khama and the Tswana to recover from the rinderpest outbreak.¹⁶ The breeding stock to build up the cattle herds in Botswana was imported from Barotseland. Parson's work goes further to show that the spared Bulozhi cattle from the rinderpest outbreak was very useful to the region. Therefore Lozi cattle keepers along with the surrounding areas in the orbit of the *Litunga's* jurisdiction must have replenished or supplied livestock needs in devastated areas. W.G.Clarence Smith extensively wrote and made valid observations on cattle trade in this area when, he clearly linked the increased demand for ivory and enrichment of some Lozi, who in turn acquired cattle.¹⁷ This was a linkage between firearms, raids, wealth, cattle acquisition and extensive cattle transhumance. This transhumance or seasonal removal of cattle and people from the flooded plain was evidently directed by the Lozi chiefs and the Litunga, the peak being the Kuomboka ceremony.

W.G.C. Smith further argued that wealth in cattle enabled members of the aristocracy and other well placed Lozi from being recruited as forced labour migrants since they were able to meet their tax obligations to the colonial authorities and even sent their children to school. Keith

Shear, Wayne Dooling, Mc Gregor and Morris Szeffel in their joint work ably portrayed and argued that labour bureaus were hiring tens of thousands of Lozi who worked and lived in ethnically segregated communities in the mining centers of South Africa and Rhodesia .¹⁸ This state of affairs implied that, Bulozzi Cattle husbandry was affected negatively. The negative effect was on the drain of adult male labour that was critical to cattle husbandry. Many able bodied male adults were away in pursuit of wage employment, therefore, cattle related activities were neglected.

Writing on the 'Global Perspective of the Past' Jerry H Bently and H.F Ziegler indicated factors that drew old and new capitalists to areas of cheap labour.¹⁹ These authors pointed out that labour and cattle wealth attracted capitalist investors. As such, Bulozzi was also drawn into the world of international capitalism through the capitalist traders who traded in both cattle and labour.²⁰ Many capitalists came to Bulozzi with the aim of buying cattle that they later sold in European settlements in central and southern Africa.

Mutumba M. Bull and Ben Kakoma's contributions on the role of Luyana aristocracy are equally valid since, they portrayed how internal opposition was dealt with and how valid *Kuta* politics were, in trade generally.²¹ They argued that cattle raids were partly a way of diverting political upheavals from home. Kakoma noted that the strength of the Lozi kingdom on the eve of British Imperialism was what Britain used as stepping stone in central Africa. Bull further shared the view that the institution of *Kuta* had to find a delicate balance between local agitations and foreign incursions by way of empowering the subjects with cattle wealth. David Livingstone's Cambridge lectures²² and journals²³ revealed evidence that cattle wealth in Barotse country had been something remarkable at the time the missionary had encounters with people in the region.

Bulozzi entered the world capitalist economy through links with Europeans particularly the British. This was evident in the writings and perspectives shared by Gerald. L. Caplan who indicated that Lozi cattle wealth was partly used to help the British against their enemies in the World War One.²⁴ That again, showed the pivotal role cattle wealth played. The Lozi aristocracy gained some respect and esteem before an imposing European power like Britain. In further presentations, Caplan showed that the cattle husbandry and trade were negatively affected by the outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia epidemic that wiped out a large proportion of Bulozzi cattle, but

somehow what remained was able to regenerate their stocks. This was an evident indicator of some persistence and resilience in cattle husbandry despite disasters.

Edward C. Tabler indicated how vital the Lozi and Tswana cattle had been in opening up the wagon routes to the Zambezi from Tati and Shoshong.²⁵ The same wagon routes are what became modern highways. The the Lozi cattle trade entered the world capitalist economy far back in the days of colonial era. D. Michael Warren, L. Jan Slikkerveer and S. Oguntunji Titiola in their presentations on Indigenous knowledge systems in Agriculture strongly showed that many times very vital indigenous knowledge was ignored in Africa only much later was it realised how useful it could have been if utilised.²⁶ This helps in a way to explain why the scientists, colonial and nationalist authorities might have missed out on important aspects of livestock production and development in Buluzi. The previously ignored African knowledge has evidently become useful particularly in cattle production and pest control. This has become evident because researchers have realized some benefits of preserving indigenous livestock breeds due to their high resistance to certain diseases.

The contribution by Joseph Lutke-Entrup also shared the view that the acquisition and rearing of cattle in this area was there from generation to generation, yet there was no clear break through to the level of commercial keeping.²⁷ Max Gluckman's findings are also of great interest in showing that *Luyana* rulers (Lozi ruling class) and people had for a long time been trading in cattle in exchange for other scarce items in the riverine environment.²⁸

Another author of interest is Richard Sampson who extensively highlighted the activities of George Copp Westbeech, Emil Holub and others.²⁹ Through the views expressed by Sampson an impression was given of the significant role cattle played in the regional economy. This trade incited tribal conflicts, suspicions, solidarity and many social links.³⁰ In Sampson's writings links were seen in the relationships between Bulawayo, Mongu-Lealui and Shoshong. These were centres of strong African rulers with great interest in cattle and have formed part of modern day towns of Southern and Central Africa. B.C. Kakoma argued that the Lozi kingdom under *Luyana* kings had a general negative attitude towards slave trade. This implied that, their focus of trade was inclined more to ivory, cattle and domestic servitude.³¹ They generally despised long distance trade that involved slaves as trade items.

Further traditional administrative linkage is portrayed in the relationship between Mongu-Lealui and Nalolo in directing law and order together with trade that included cattle trade. The foregoing relationship was shown clearly in the work by Stanley Jones on Lewanika and Matauka.³² Those leaders supported initiatives that promoted cattle rearing and prudent usage. An equally important contribution came from Sitwala Mutonga who argued that Mongu-Lealui and surrounding districts of Bulozhi fared well during the 1930s world economic depression due to labour returnees from Southern Africa, whose purchasing power improved the economy.³³ The main investment of returnees was in cattle purchases. Furthermore, according to Mutonga the 1937 locust invasion brought mistrust between the colonial government and the Lozi aristocracy. The colonial authorities feared the Lozi agriculture prosperity because it had potential to hamper settler farming hence the reluctance to procure chemicals by colonial government to fight locusts in the area. Muyangwa Kamutumwa writing on the 'mafisa' system suggested how important the cattle husbandry and trade were in Mongu, Kalabo and Senanga.³⁴ *Mafisa* was a typical example of the utilisation of indigenous knowledge system.

Another worthwhile literature on cattle husbandry and trade is that by Oliver Kandiata. Though focused on the Ila area, the author ably illustrated the trade linkage between the Ila – Tonga and Mongu – Lealui (Lozi).³⁵ He noted that the continued cattle movement between Bulozhi and Tonga-Ila area ensured that there was continuous cross breeding and a check against the negative consequences of inbreeding in livestock.

Hugh Macmillan argued that, because of the civil strife and general instability at the early stage of Lewanika's rule, the *Litunga* was able to successfully divert the ambitious induna's attention to cattle raiding.³⁶ The activities of the Susman brothers and Wulfsohn as noted by Macmillan, in commercial trade in Bulozhi explained to some extent the delicate and intricate relations that existed between many cattle traders and the Lozi central leadership along with the rest of the community.

Laurel Van Horn recorded that the economy of Barotseland was once described by David Livingstone as a fruitful and fertile valley, where people never lacked food, that economy was actually a mixed one based on agriculture, herding, and fishing.³⁷ Cattle was a vital aspect of economic prosperity of Bulozhi.

Bill Freund equally agreed that cattle keeping was an important component of the Bulozhi economy that thrived in a remarkable zone of fertile valley and controlled by a strong aristocratic class that ensured a thriving control over land and labour of many workers.³⁸ The expansion of commerce was of interest to the *Litunga*. It was evident that the trade in cattle increased the prosperity of *Litunga's* kingdom. As portrayed by Walubita Mukele, the traditional leadership along with the community were often grateful to any measures that provided the well being of their cattle resources.³⁹

Akashambatwa M. Lewanika's views were equally thought provoking. Pertaining to the Bulozhi economy, he asserted that the mistake committed by both colonial and post colonial administrations was to ignore or discard the best African heritage instead they clung to the most disadvantageous methods of the conquerors and local parasites and latter – day oppressors.⁴⁰ It was understood that the colonial and to some extent post colonial authorities suppressed some indigenous societies in the name of quick modernisation. This same modernisation according to Akashambatwa, was at the expense of vital local knowledge systems that would have contributed to an internal economic break through. This local knowledge related to cattle husbandry and trade too.

The contribution of Jean Francois Zorn revealed the magnitude and extent to which animal draught power was utilised by the pioneer missionary workers in wanting to establish mission stations and keeping a close contact with the Lozi aristocracy at Mongu-Lealui.⁴¹ The main form of transport of the time in Bulozhi apart from canoes was the ox-wagon. The Lozi cattle grazing system followed a communal land usage. The communal grazing method was in contrast to what European cattle keepers wanted. The European cattle keepers followed a Eurocentric approach of wanting to have private individual title to land. That difference in approach to land utilization brought misunderstandings between between the Lozi way of looking after cattle and the European interests on the same. Those differences could be better understood following the views of Molefi Kete Asante.⁴² The Africanist view according to Asante made every cattle owner have access to communal grazing land. Therefore nobody was rendered landless. On the European side (Capitalist-Social Darwinist view) it was advocated that individual ownership to pastureland was the norm. As such colonial cattle keepers were reluctant to turn to Bulozhi for ranching or dairy farming for fear of unfavourable land tenure. The Africanist view evidently

suggested that Lozi cattle keeping was based on communal land system and therefore needed only complimentary support from the new capitalist land regime. Furthermore the Africanist view supports this study since it implied that Africans ought to assert themselves intellectually, psychologically and economically to break the bonds of western and other foreign domination as a way of ending those bonds. The labour recruitment by colonial agents on behalf of South Africa and the Rhodesias as noted by Guy Scott had a negative effect on rural economic production in Zambia.⁴³ Scott went on further to portray how the colonial economy went on to influence how the nationalist government positioned itself economically up to 1973.

In relation to the acquisition and distribution of wealth, the trade specialists such as metal smiths, medicine experts, canoe makers and honey collectors were all rewarded for their contribution to the well being of the community. Ikacana elaborated on how gifted specialists among the Nkoya of Kaoma, Totela of Sesheke, Mbunda and others within Bulozhi were rewarded in form of cattle, land and other privileges.⁴⁴ The views and contributions of David Shingirai Chinaiwa though pertaining to Zulu culture and society, made a very vivid comparison with the Lozi society.⁴⁵ It was the poor Zulu without cattle who often agitated for predatory raids on other tribes for cattle. A similar state of affairs, prevailed in the Lozi Society, herdsmen and other poor commoners who desired to escape poverty created social upheavals prompting the *Litunga* to assent to predatory raids.

In further reference to Lozi affinity to land, D. J. Siddle points to the fact that Bulozhi enjoyed some special land status recognised by the colonial authorities.⁴⁶ This meant that the administration of land was left in the hands of the Traditional leadership. The administration of land was interwoven with other socio-economic activities that affected the cattle economy, such as grazing rights. J. E. Gardener also revealed that cattle trade activities were directed from Mongu-Lealui.⁴⁷ The cattle was exported to areas of European concentration. The pack oxen were an instrumental form of draught power in drawing wagons as noted by Peter Snelson in 'The Labourious and fatiguing travels of some missionaries', who had first to get permission from Lewanika prior to their travels anywhere in Bulozhi.⁴⁸

The contribution of B. Challens on the cattle husbandry revealed interesting issues of comparison between peasant traditional cattle keeping as opposed to modern cattle undertakings.⁴⁹ Breiford's contribution also suggested that the Lozi were not a cattle complex

group unlike the Kololo from the south.⁵⁰ This made them evidently ideal to undertake modern cattle husbandry trading.

Adrian P. Wood writing on Rural Development also contributed to cattle husbandry undertakings relating to the negative effects of the Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia.⁵¹ Wood shared on the social and political issues related to the control of the outbreak of contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia cattle disease. The report showed that the creation of the cordon line helped to check the spread of the disease. The contribution by A. Jalla on the general history of Bulozhi provided some basis for understanding the Lozi aristocracy and society up to the coming of the earliest Europeans in the area.⁵² Francis Coillard's writing also helped in probing and shading light on Bulozhi leadership and society together with the main economic activities of the area.⁵³ John Smith is of interest too, since the author noted the contribution of the colonial authorities on livestock in Bulozhi and much of Northern Rhodesia.⁵⁴ The author went on to give details of imported cattle into Bulozhi from Britain with the intent to 'improve' the local breeds in the region.

As interesting and revealing as have been the issues raised in the foregoing literature review, there is little coverage though, that systematically connects the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods as this study has attempted to cover. The work has attempted to illustrate the linkages in the three historical phases bringing to surface, challenges and opportunities of cattle husbandry and trade in a single work. This in a way, has been the focus with the aim of establishing and highlighting varying ways in which Bulozhi communities resiliently faced the situation in cattle husbandry and trade.

Research Methodology

The study followed a qualitative research approach. This was done by describing the various ways cattle husbandry and trade were carried out in the Bulozhi cultural context in relation to various challenges and opportunities using a thematic approach. This involved interviewing various cattle keepers and other stakeholders in their natural settings. The oral evidence in this research was supplemented by documented material of both secondary and primary nature. The analysis from the foregoing approaches pointed to the challenges and opportunities related to cattle husbandry in Bulozhi in the period that the study covered. Documents from the following

institutions were consulted and utilised: University of Zambia Library, National Archives of Zambia, Faith and Encounter Centre of Zambia (FENZA), Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries, Ministry of Home Affairs, Standard Chartered Bank-Mongu, Limulunga Royal Establishment Museum, Zambian Parliament Library and internet sources.

Organisation of the Study

The study comprises of four chapters. The first chapter is concerned with the historical background of Buluzi in relation to cattle husbandry and trade. It is in this chapter that the three objectives of the study have been outlined together with the rationale, statement of the problem as well as the research methodology used. The literature review has also been elaborated in this chapter.

Chapter two examines the various ways through which Buluzi traditional cattle keepers raised and disposed of livestock between 1880 and 1924. The role of cattle into the social and political life of the Lozi community has also been examined in the chapter.

The third chapter examines African and European contacts in cattle related activities, especially trade, mainly from the perspective of Buluzi between 1924 and 1973. The nationalist government's (First Republic) role in cattle related activities is also discussed.

The fourth and last chapter is a conclusion to the other chapters. This sums up aspects of resilience and survival of the Lozi traditional cattle keepers at peasant level in the face of various challenges and opportunities in cattle economy.

Endnotes

- 1 M.E.J. Beerling, *Acquisition and Alienation of cattle in Western Province, Zambia* (Mongu: Ministry of Agriculture and water Development, Department of Veterinary and Tse tse Control, 1986) p.8.
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CHAPTER TWO

CATTLE ACQUISITION AND RAISING IN BULOZI

Introduction

This chapter looked at the methods through which the Lozi people got their cattle. It was from such methods that cattle wealth was built in Bulozhi. Those methods include the following: raiding, inheritance, mafisa, kufunda, family gifts, tribute and purchase. Apart from how cattle were acquired, the chapter has also given an insight into the methods used in raising the cattle herds. Those methods include the identification of cattle through names and behavioural characteristics. By considering methods of acquisition and raising, there were also overlapping areas that involved the community in the utilization of cattle wealth. Perhaps of particular interest was how the cattle wealth was used to cement relationships with the British imperial power during World War one (1914 - 1918). Furthermore, the under utilization of local knowledge ideas and the negative effects of adult male labourers' migrations to European settlements were of interest in this chapter. Challenges relating to cattle acquisition and raising (husbandry), such as Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia disease were also covered. By looking at cattle acquisition and raising (husbandry), there arose cross cutting challenges that hampered the increase of cattle herds which in turn negatively affected cattle husbandry. It could be argued that any negative effect to cattle husbandry also negatively affected cattle trade. The cattle husbandry and trade in Bulozhi were so interwoven that in an attempt look at one of them, one is compelled to bring in the other.

Oral and written evidence abound that the Malozhi were keepers of cattle, that is still today referred to as the 'Barotse breed'¹. The cattle were kept in one kraal per family. There was no specialization of keeping milk animals separated from beef animals like European keepers would do. In addition to their original breed, they (Lozi) were also a predatory and marauding people that raided their neighbours for cattle. The affected neighbours included the cattle rich Tonga and Ila people. Colson and Gluckman noted that:

After Lewanika raided 50 000 small Ila cattle, and made the Ila his subjects, he sent thousands of large Barotse cattle to be herded by Ila for him. These herds of the king are still known in Ila land today.²

Apart from the acquisition of cattle through tribal raids among the Tonga and Ila, the Lozi took over the Kololo cattle. The Kololo ruled Bulozhi for about 30 years before the Lozi re-established themselves over their kingdom again.³ The Kololo cattle was also assimilated in Bulozhi. Therefore, the historical picture that came out was that they, Malozhi, had an original stock inherited from their ancestors that was supplemented by the Tonga-Ila breed along with the Kololo breed. This formed the basis of the original cattle wealth acquisition.

How the cattle wealth moved from one person to the other beyond the ways described above is part of what has been examined in this study. Most of the informants interviewed agreed that cattle could be inherited as part of family estate if parents or relatives passed away. Another way cattle was acquired was through purchasing, court fines, and reward for specialist service provided in the communities, as well as exchange of gifts in friendship and other social bonds.⁴ The Lozi community considered cattle wealth very important for status uplifting, draught power, manuring of gardens, source of food and medium of exchange.⁵ The importance of cattle was further enhanced by the European contacts with this part of Africa.

Mutumba Mainga Bull writing on the achievements of Lewanika highlighted the raids in Tongaland and Ila land. The 1882 and 1888 raids were highly successful in terms of cattle brought. Bull noted as follows:

In 1888 Lewanika carried another raid (campaign) which lasted five (05) months and advanced as far as Chisekesi in chief Monze's area in present day Southern Province. That raid yielded 80000 cattle.⁶

Both the Missionary, Francois Coillard⁷ and the hunter adventurer, George Copp Westbeeck⁸ who had close dealings with the Lozi kingdom observed that, those predatory raids yielded thousands of cattle. For fear of the Lozi raids for cattle, those groups that were at the margins of Barotse influence made some temporal alliances with other strong predatory groups such as the Ndebele. Siamwiza illustrated the temporal alliance between the Gwembe Tonga and the Ndebele in anticipation of a Lozi attack.⁹ However, the Ndebele ceased to be a threat after their defeat in 1893 by the British forces in Southern Rhodesia. King Lobengula took refuge across

the Zambezi in the direction of Lewanika's country where he is believed to have abdicated to under the guise names of 'Ngwalu Ngwalu' or 'Sipamu Pamu'.¹⁰ Some of Lobengula's aides found solace in Bulozhi, those include Dawson, Matindo, Kompeli, Sikelenge and others.¹¹ These also brought some cattle as they fled from the British forces.

The other way through which cattle in the Lozi society was acquired was that of gift giving from a parent to a child or from a husband to a wife or from one relative to another. Beerling stated that 'gifts imply a transfer of ownership but at times do not necessarily involve a physical removal of an animal from the kraal'.¹² In a situation that Beerling stated, once an animal had been given to a child in a family, and in the event of parental death, the beast still remained the property of that child. Whenever the estate of a deceased parent had to be shared, all the beasts already given remained property of that given child and were not to be shared among relatives. The will of the dead person was respected that way. The usual Lozi practice was that the given beast, often a heifer, would have a small piece of its ear cut off to symbolise the giving ritual as noted by Beerling.

Traditionally, when a child was born, it was given a name. However, as the child grew, if the child cried a lot and so often, the elders would be consulted and if it was resolved that the child was seeking an ancestral name, then again a beast would be given to such a child.¹³ A new name would then be bestowed upon the child. The procedure would be that the chosen eldest person within the clan would be called for that purpose, water would be sprinkled on that child and a name given to the child. That procedure was referred to as '*Kupailela Libizo*' or to invoke a prayer for a name. Gift giving in form of cattle was dependant on the ability of each family.

Mafisa Practice and the Acquisition of Cattle

Mafisa was another common method of cattle acquisition. According to Kamutumwa, this was a system of entrusting a herd of cattle to a friend, a relative or any confidant to look after on the givers behalf. Its origins in Bulozhi are associated with old Luyana leaders establishing bonds of friendship with conquered and unfriendly tribes.¹⁴ This was some form of traditional Lozi insurance, by spreading the wealth to avoid the possibility of loss. In the event that one's herd of cattle was struck by misfortunes such as disease outbreaks, rustling, attack by predators or any

vermin, one would often remain with something to fall back on from what they had kept in *Mafisa*.¹⁵ *Mafisa* was also some form of trade between a provider of material goods (cattle) and provider of service (herdsman). Below is an outline of some of Lewanika’s cattle posts (*Mafisa*) from which cattle seed was regenerated and redistributed to various parts of the kingdom.¹⁶

Table 1: Lewanika’s Cattle Posts for Mafisa

Name of Cattle Herd	Area	Responsible Induna or Herdsman
Maikezo	Luena – Mongu	Sikokozi
Matende	Likapai – Lukulu	Nambula
Bukapai (Hornless)	Likapai	Mubita Nakama
Matende	Sitoti – Senanga	Kamutumwa
Malabo	Malabo – Tungi Mongu	Kulombota
Nalikolo	Sefula – Mongu	Ilushi
Nalikolo	Lubotwe – Mongu	Macwani
Nalikolo	Shungwe – Kalabo	Imambo
Mangongi	Mukota – Mongu	Ngoma
Mazwezi (Calving cows only)	Moombo – Mongu	Ingu
Mabetwa	Mulumbo – Mongu	Nameto Mutebele
Mande	Nanga – Kalabo	Ishewambuto
Mutango	Namwelele – Mongu	Mushumba
Lindikusi	Mamba – Mongu	Sikomeza
Makumba	Libumu – Mongu	Sinowe
Mushwati	Kalabo	Mukwalubonda
Lingweshi	Kakula	Sikota Nawakwi

Sources: Induna Mundia Sinowe, Libumu village and Induna Mubiana Batuke Macwani, Mwele village, Mongu.

Lewanika’s cattle posts were all over Bulozhi kingdom including the Ila area. The *Mafisa* rules remained the same towards the herdsman and the owner of the herds. Kandiata highlighted the extent of Lewanika’s influence in relation to cattle husbandry amongst the Tonga-Ila areas.¹⁷ The continued cattle traffic between the Tonga-Ila country and Bulozhi was portrayed as one way through which the ills of livestock inbreeding were eradicated.¹⁸

The *mafisa* system was a common practice among many African livestock keepers, though referred to by different names. But the underlying principle remained the same, that of ‘livestock risk management’. The Tswana in Botswana also called it *Mafisa* just like the Lozi. The Ngoni and Chewa in Eastern Zambia referred to it as *Kwikila*.¹⁹ Even if the concept of monetary insurance was portrayed in the colonial times as a European way of mitigating risks in

business, the Africans fully understood the principle of risk management as practiced in the *mafisa* system. Lewanika himself set an example through an extended *Mafisa* system throughout the Bulozhi kingdom. This was done by maintaining cattle posts for the *Litunga* by entrusted *Indunas*. The animals belonging to the *Litunga* in *mafisa* were known as *Likomu Zambuwa* or simply *Mbuwa*. The herdsmen of those herds were referred to as *Bo Imutongo* or *Bo Imbuwa*.²⁰ *Mafisa* seem to have lessened with the introduction of modern legal practices most informants admitted.

For good management of those cattle posts, the *Imutongos* were beneficiaries through the milk they collected, the manure and usually a beast was given as payment and appreciation for the good service rendered or through *kufunda* (something between stealing and family tolerance).²¹ Therefore, in many cases, the *imutongo* tried to compete against each other as best herdsmen, or best breeders to catch the attention of the *kuta* or the *Litunga*. This appeasement and competitive spirit worked, because through it, many herdsmen were promoted to high ranks through their honesty, integrity or indeed good cattle husbandry practices. As shown in table 1, on Lewanika's cattle posts all the *imutongo* were Lozi court officials (*induna*). They also represented the interests of their areas at the old Lozi capital, Lealui when called upon.

Other Ways of Cattle Acquisition

Apart from the *mafisa* through the royal herds, the commoners among themselves practiced *mafisa*. When the herds entrusted to another person generated worthwhile numbers, payment was given in form of a beast. From *mafisa*, cattle were spread throughout Bulozhi to where cattle herds could be sustained. In Lozi tradition, a rich person was recognised by either having wealth in form of cattle or land.²² Therefore, even after the introduction of the money economy and wage employment by the colonial government, most Lozi labourers aspired to acquire enough cash to enable them purchase cattle. As recorded in a joint interview above with I .Mwimanenwa and C.Lindunda, the cattle would then be entrusted to relatives or friends in the country side. Up to recent time when some Lozi were interviewed as to what constituted wealth, cattle and land still ranked highly, then followed by money amongst the interviewees.

In Lozi tradition, families that owned cattle also used cattle for marriage payments. Traditionally, other items such as hoes, spears and axes were used in sealing marriage contracts

between families. But as the Lozi cattle increased, especially after the three breeds, Barotse, Tonga-Ila, and Kololo cattle had interbred, around 1850s to 1890s, cattle wealth became a common way of acquiring a wife or wives.²³ Going by the decrees passed by Lewanika, and *Kuta*, it was a standard practice that a young unmarried lady would fetch three heads of cattle, whose composition would be two heifers and a young bull.²⁴ For a woman who was married before or divorced, a single beast was the standard. Where animals were not available, the equivalent of the specified animals in money terms was acceptable.

Where a marriage was successful, a man was often obliged by tradition to pay a beast, or as many as he pleased to his spouse as a token of appreciation. Thereafter, the woman was at liberty to dispose of the animals as she pleased. More often than not, a woman would transfer the cattle to her own relatives. The man would not have any claim on the cattle given that way, even if that woman committed a crime against her husband later. The cattle acquired by a woman through that system was referred to as *Komu* or *Likomu Zamulilo*.²⁵ Literary translated this meant, cattle of fire or in appreciation of the labour given to the man by virtue of the marriage obligations. Beerling observed that a successful marriage in Lozi understanding would mean bearing children or indeed even without children but very acceptable to the man's relatives.²⁶ *Mafisa* was some form of trade, both partners in the system benefited mutually from each other. If a beast was not paid to a *mafisa* partner, the aggrieved party had the right to sue, since *mafisa* payment was enforceable law by Lozi statutes. The foregoing practice in cattle acquisition was common in Buluzi society prior to the coming of European influences (pre-colonial), colonial and to a lesser extent in post colonial period.

According to Allain Charles, the rapid spread of large scale industrial livestock production focused on a narrow range of breeds was the biggest threat to the world's farm animal diversity.²⁷ This was a modern challenge observed by livestock experts, but interestingly enough, the Lozi animal husbandry directly or indirectly, was able to get round this challenge by breeding at least three types of cattle, namely: Barotse, Tonga-Ila and Kololo. This combination brought up other breeds resulting into a variety of breeds that guaranteed animal breed or gene security, unlike the homogenous modern breeding system. European tendency was to breed milk animals on their own and beef animals own their own too. This was totally different from the Lozi way of mixing different types of cattle in one family kraal. The European and modern

breeding system threatened the very existence of the breeds that the scientists wanted to be propagated. The foregoing evidence showed that traditional cattle keeping had positive attributes such as resistance to certain diseases. Kandiata noted and affirmed that the continued cattle movement between Bulozhi proper and Ila area promoted cross breeding between the Barotse and Ila breeds.²⁸ The practice mitigated against the negative effects of inbreeding, such as low resistance to diseases. Indeed, this was an example of how traditional practices superseded modern science. Researchers noted that one livestock breed per month became extinct over the past few years due to mishandling by modern cattle husbandry methods.²⁹ It was such an acknowledgement that promoted the importance of advocating for positive traditionally proven cattle husbandry and practices similar to the Lozi case highlighted above. Evidently, the three breeds were brought together by the Lozi leadership's desire to have more cattle. They often discouraged extermination of conquered cattle.

The threat to local breeds by modern farming methods was expressed by J.S. Chisanga when he stated that:

Zambia as a country is rich in animal biodiversity. However, the biodiversity base is being eroded by overharvesting and replacement of indigenous genotypes (breeds) with introduced breeds. Gene diversity is the primary source for future improvement and development of livestock with a view to meeting human needs in livestock gene sources.³⁰

It was this difference in perceptions between African cattle keepers (Bulozhi included) and European modern cattle keepers that led to near extinction of certain African breeds. The Tonga breed type of cattle was on the verge of extinction as observed by Chisanga.³¹ The importance of biodiversity (variety in animal species) cannot be overemphasised since it provided livelihood, especially for those in rural areas. The fact that the colonial authorities did not pay much attention to the Lozi cattle breed sustenance, partly answers why the Lozi keepers remained mere traditional and peasantry in their cattle husbandry and trade. The colonial authorities underdeveloped Bulozhi cattle husbandry and trade by paying more attention to a newly introduced foreign breed. Instead of cross breeding with local breeds, the colonial authorities wanted to retain the pure homogenous exotic breed not the local cattle. S.W. Muliokela

commented on the benefits of variety in genetic breeds when he asserted that it brought biodiversity. It was in the biodiversity were farmers could have realized benefits like disease resistance and avoidance of inbreeding. S. W. Muliokela expressed it as follows:

Agricultural biodiversity is defined to encompass the variety and variability of cultivated crops, domesticated animals, wild relatives and useful harvestable wild plants. It guarantees plant and animal gene survival.³²

It can be argued that the interest of colonial government's attempt to import and propagate British cattle in Bulozhi under the supervision of John Smith, the veterinary expert, was an effort at promoting the foreign breed at the expense of local breeds.³³ Furthermore, from the John Smith and Colonial experiments, it was the white farmers who were the beneficiaries of that scheme along the line of rail.

Cattle Acquisition through Kufunda

Kufunda was another method through which cattle was acquired.³⁴ It was a system that can be described as something between stealing and family tolerance. In *Kufunda*, a relative without cattle could get an animal or two from a wealthy relative without the owner's consent. However, upon the owner discovering and if the offending person accepted responsibility with a genuine reason, such as to meet marriage obligations or settle a court fine, the offence would be ignored.³⁵ This practice has slowly been fading away in Bulozhi society since many cattle keepers have been turning to modern legal practices by resorting to modern courts and not traditional ones.

Traditionally even some entrusted herdsmen could hide some animals and disclose wrong numbers to the owner. However, if the offending herdsman was found to have genuine reasons for stealing, the offence would be ignored and played down under *kufunda*. Some herdsmen acquired their wealth through this way. This code of conduct was passed on from *Litunga* Mulambwa's law reforms 1812 to 1830.³⁶ It was stated in the Mulambwa's laws that the cattle acquired through raids could not go round to all warriors and their families, hence, the level of tolerance even in the *Kufunda* cases.

The *kufunda* concept was a traditionally accepted practice throughout Bulozhi.³⁷ It was also based on the traditional belief that, he that stole cattle was a brave person. Instead of depriving him of cattle, he would be given more hoping that such a one would refrain from stealing again. This could be better understood as reported by Adolfe Jalla that:

A cattle rustler is a hero. He ought not be killed. Instead he should be brought before the *Litunga* who in turn should give him a village to head and a herd of cattle. A cattle rustler also could be appointed as ambassador. When he was treated that way he was also given a probation period to see whether he had reformed from stealing. If the culprit had not reformed then it became a serious case.³⁸

Cattle whether acquired through *kufunda* or any other method to a Lozi keeper, the ultimate desire was evidently to see a sustained growth of one's herd.

Economic Value of Cattle Husbandry in Bulozhi

Cattle had a very important economic value in Lozi community. The National Lozi Cabinet or *Kuta*, with the approval of *Litunga* appointed some citizens as herdsmen of the *Mbuwa* or the royal herds. The *Litunga* and the *Kuta* took keen interest in the welfare of the livestock industry and any undertakings that promoted cattle husbandry. Cattle was considered to be wealth to an individual as well as the society, since wealthy individuals collectively amounted to a wealthy nation.³⁹ Similar to Samuel Nyangu Chipungu's writing relating to the Sukuma people in Tanzania, the Lozi were pressured constantly to increase livestock activities.⁴⁰ Chipungu argues that the pressure that came from colonial government on the Africans was further worsened in Bulozhi due to; the quarantine exercise that was responsible for reduced cattle activities right from 1914 when pleuro pneumonia was identified up to the 1920s.⁴¹ The restrictive measures undertaken by the colonial government in the movement of cattle in Bulozhi also meant reduced cattle breeding through both animal mortalities and reduced cattle movement from one area to the other. Even if the Lozi chiefs and community desired to promote cattle husbandry as before in their traditional set up, the restrictive disease quarantine could not be defied. Any cattle owner

that went against the quarantine measures had their cattle destroyed by colonial veterinary authorities.⁴²

When Lewanika passed away in 1916, the Lozi cattle herds were widely spread throughout the Barotse nation.⁴³ The Lozi leadership's interest or intervention in how the cattle husbandry and trade were undertaken, was useful as a way of promoting cattle husbandry in the community.⁴⁴ To show how determined they were on cattle husbandry, individual herdsmen, the *imutongo* who were private citizens competed for recognition from the state, when they were given herds of cattle to look after on the strength of their proven success in caring for animals. Good cattle husbandry knowledge or indeed, good record of the individual's standing in the eyes of the *Kuta* and the *Litunga* were qualities needed from a prospective herdsman. As another way to save the cattle industry from over exploitation and instead promote cattle for regeneration, Hugh Macmillan noted that Lewanika passed a decree that banned export of cows to preserve the breeding stock.⁴⁵ Macmillan's sentiments were affirmed by one other colonial administrator, Worthington who noted that, 'export of cows from Barotseland is contrary to Lewanika's ban on the export of breeding stock.'⁴⁶

Another method of cattle acquisition in the Lozi society is one that came with the European capital penetration. The wage earners saved part of their earnings which enabled them purchase cattle. Labour returnees from South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt often opted to purchase cattle, European clothing, whistles, three legged iron pots, bicycles, ploughs and trek chains. But many Lozi opted for cattle purchases as a form of investment.⁴⁷ Africans were also subjected to paying many taxes, but cattle ownership was a natural investment for many Lozi; from the same cattle they were able to meet some tax obligations to the colonial state.⁴⁸ Cattle ownership proved an obvious escape from the perceived colonial European exploitation, since cattle could easily be converted into cash that would in turn be used to meet tax obligations. Those without cattle, often ended up in forced labour recruitments to raise cash for tax payments. These taxes ranged from hut tax, firearm tax and many forms of colonial designed taxes, especially in the 1930s.

Cattle Acquired as Family Gifts

It was also pointed out that it was also possible to gain cattle as gifts or rewards outside the nuclear family.⁴⁹ Relatives gave cattle to each other. This could be so if these relations were in needy situations and they came to ask for help.⁵⁰ The type of animal given depended on the purpose for which it was needed. If a sister came to ask for help to feed her children, she would be given a cow that later yielded a calf and milk. If a nephew asked for contribution towards marriage, he may be given some heifer. When a brother needed assistance to solve a problem, he may be given an old animal to sell. Animals could also be lent out for other reasons such as ploughing, manuring and milk. All these were part of cattle husbandry in that, marriage cattle was expected to regenerate further family herds, those who got mutual assistance were expected to learn the art of good animal husbandry to assist others in future.

Occasionally, gifts to friends were given in form of cattle, though this was rare among the Lozi. Beerling observed that and made the following remarks attributed to the Lozi: ‘if you want to do your friend a favour, you give (them) a shirt not a cow’.⁵¹ She further noted that the exceptional cases of friendship where cattle was given was referred to as *mukwamanyinga*⁵², a person with whom a blood brother relationship existed. Where parents of the recipient were brought up in the same household as the parents of the giver and the bond was so close. Such a person qualified in the event of a need to be given a beast. Another relationship where a beast would be given was between mutual parents (parents of the bridegroom and bride), *Ba kwange bashemi*. Parents after a long successful marriage of their children, could exchange gifts involving cattle.⁵³ This was a voluntary practice and no specific number of cattle was required.

Giving of presents to influential or important persons does not belong to the habits of people of Western province ‘certainly not in the order of a cow or an ox’.⁵⁴ A gift to such persons of a cow may arise only in *Mafisa* or tribute as it happened before 1930. It was perceived that someone who has gone up so high should have means of their own. Any gift in form of a beast to an important person was reacted to with suspicions, that there was something behind such a gift. The people would actually poke fun at the giver to say, ‘the giver had bought a *Kweta*’⁵⁵ *Kweta* implied a payment to a witch finder or court official with the aim of receiving a favour. Usually, the giver felt they stood in a weaker position in relation to a court case or witch craft accusations.

From the foregoing observations on the Lozi community, it could be interpreted that, many Lozi tended to react sensationally to cases of corruption wherever they could be. The general feeling was that the gifts of cattle were made to relatives, any other gifts to those outside the kin group had to be clearly related to services rendered directly to the would be giver or grantor. Beerling further noted several examples of gifts as rewards for services could be as follows: a calf presented to the caretaker of one's cattle as a token of appreciation (*Komu ya bulisana*), an animal presented to a person who was an administrator of an inheritance, a cow often one of a bride price standard was given to a person who contributed considerably to the education of a girl.⁵⁶ A calf was given as reward to a *Mafisa* partner as payment.⁵⁷ Payments to African doctors (diviners) and herbalists could be in form of cattle.⁵⁸ In some cases an employer could pay an employee in kind too, with a calf. Cattle changed hands from one provider of a service to the one who appreciated the service. Therefore, it can be argued that cattle was also used as a form of traditional article of exchange for services rendered. The trend promoted both cattle husbandry social relations.

Tribute in Bulozhi

Before the abolition of tribute by colonial authorities in 1925, it was another important way through which cattle were acquired. The importance of cattle given as tribute was to strengthen the chief's control over the subjects and also to promote good relations between leaders and subjects. Cattle came through the form of gifts and tribute to the *Litunga*. In turn the *Litunga* and the *Kuta* redistributed these, through the creation of cattle posts all over the kingdom or indeed through other state functions. The tribute system was done in two ways namely: *Linubu* and *Lingamba*.⁵⁹ Through the tribute system wealth was acquired and distributed throughout Bulozhi under the supervision of the *kuta*.

Any gift that came through the office of the *Ngambela* from the people was referred to as *Linubu*. Whereas those items that were given through obligations via the office of the *Natamoyo* were called *Lingamba*. In both cases, *Linubu* and *Lingamba*, cattle tribute was significant. It is observed that in the past, most gifts received by the *Litunga* and *Kuta*, came from the *Litunga's* own cattle, *Likomu Za Mbuwa*. This was similar to declaring dividends as the Keynesian students would put it.⁶⁰ The function of *Linubu* and *Lingamba* were to support the *Litunga* and the *Kuta* as circumstances dictated be it public gathering – *Pizo* or indeed ceremonial and ritual

purposes, along with public works such as a canal dredging. Those tribes that owed allegiance to the Lozi kingdom were obliged to pay tribute in form of goods that were readily and locally available in their area, not necessarily cattle for example Kaoma Nkoya gave bush products. People like the Nkoya and Totela in turn received cattle in appreciation of their services too.⁶¹ The *Linubu* and *Lingamba* compared well to the system of taxation the colonial and nationalist governments applied. *Lingamba* to the *Litunga*, *Kuta* and Lozi citizenry was not different from the colonial, and nationalist authorities collecting revenue for the state.⁶² The purpose of *Linubu* and *lingamba* taxation schemes were to meet public works and social welfare obligations of the state.

In many ways, the illustrated methods of cattle acquisition in Buluzi in foregoing paragraphs also amounted to what could be interpreted and perceived as contributing factors to cattle husbandry. Whether it was mafisa, gift, kufunda, the cattle moved from one family to the other.

Cattle contributed as bridal Price.

Because one family had contributed a bride, the bridegroom's family was obliged to raise a required standard number and type of cattle for the purpose of sealing a marriage. If it was agreed that three heads of cattle were needed, it would be two heifers and a young bull for marriage purposes. A divorced woman who re-entered marriage could fetch a single beast of any description. These standards were set by the *Kuta* and sanctioned by the *Litunga*.⁶³

The giving away of women in marriage was a regulated affair, requiring the consent of two families, who would in turn observe law of marriage as outlined by the *Kuta*.⁶⁴ Other social implications arose that, the more daughters of marriageable age a family had, the more the accumulation of cattle wealth. The inverse was true for a larger number of sons. From this perspective, a woman was perceived as a creator of wealth. A family parting with a woman for marriage expected payment to restore that loss of wealth.

Even though a married woman would on occasions continue to support her parents and relatives, it was increasingly felt that she was more inclined to be of greater benefit to the husband's side. In the Lozi context and tradition, a woman leaves her parent's village to join the husband's village upon marriage.⁶⁵

Cattle Husbandry Through Names and Animal Characteristics.

The liking of cattle husbandry activities by Lozi people was denoted by their knowledge of cattle by name, colour, family clusters, and individual animal characteristics. Oral, secondary and archival sources agree that the Lozi did not develop a cattle complex culture like the Dinka of Sudan, who would mourn the death of a beast for days and abstain from partaking in its meat if it were from their own kraal.⁶⁶ H. Alverson noted that to the Tswana, like the Lozi, livestock represented in their cultures what the ‘Investment Portfolio’ represents to Europeans; one keeps livestock for a variety of goals such as long and short – term, some practical, others symbolic or expressive.⁶⁷ He further noted that in traditional cases animals were a central measure of one’s worth, self esteem and peace of mind. Their cattle were not kept necessarily for beef or milk purposes only but for many social uses. To the Lozi cattle was not traditionally raised for sale in the sense of the European beef-hungry society that desired to sale always.

Cattle colour codes were standardised in Buluzi. Every colour, or combination of colours for an animal was known. In a joint interview with Mundia Sinowe and Liswaniso Mwinga both from families with long history of cattle husbandry tradition they agreed that identifying one’s animals through colour was a mark of good cattle husbandry.⁶⁸

When a Lozi was looking for a lost beast, they usually fell back on describing what colour the animal was, then the horn shape if any. The horn shapes also had descriptions. The hand gestures and imitation of the horn shape would be applied in the description of the lost animal. That combination of descriptions often proved valuable marks in identifying one’s animals from the rest. It was also regarded as good cattle husbandry practice to know cattle by their family associations, horn shapes and individual animal characteristics.⁶⁹ When cattle were put into a kraal, they often settled in groups according to their family clusters. Even when the herd boy was not numerically competent, it was possible to notice a missing beast upon seeing an empty space usually occupied by the missing animal. Apart from the knowledge through cattle family associations or *Masika*, cattle were given names too. These names denoted what the animal did, where it could have been acquired from, or based on individual characteristics of the animal. At times a name would be given to poke fun at the animal or the owner. Here even European or other foreign names were acceptable and utilised.

A typical example was the name *Geleman*, for an ox or bull.⁷⁰ *Geleman* (Germany) oxen and bulls were portrayed as stubborn, strong and unruly. This was evident due to British views about Germany since Bulozhi was under the British sphere of influence from the Elliot Lochner days. Having been a British protectorate, Bulozhi had a picture of Germany as influenced and perceived by the British interests. *Ingilishi* (English) was also used as a name to mean a well cultured or good mannered beast. *Bulumatali* (Belgium or Belgian) was another name used to denote the rough nature of the Belgian rule in Congo. *Mubunu* (Boer) was for the rough Boer trekkers of Southern Africa.

It was evident that in Bulozhi international politics and relations found themselves reflected in animal husbandry through the names given to the beasts.⁷¹ The names given to cattle played a role as good as that played by sayings or proverbs. The names were meant to poke fun at, advise, admonish, praise or indeed rebuke. As noted by Mubiana Batuke of Lubotwe in Mongu, the Lozi society itself was not exempt from the culture of name calling depicted through cattle husbandry.⁷² Names such as 'Weleyange' were given to animals often brought into a community by a woman through marriage relationships or a donation from a woman's side to the man. This was actually meant to praise and signify female gender influence and power. The creativity of names for animals in Lozi culture was an infinite affair, since names arose from many different situations.

To a Lozi youth, life at a cattle kraal was like a modern youth's experiences at a Western European School. They learnt how to herd cattle, how to identify animals and learnt different cries (moowing or bellowing) of cattle. Many characteristics of animals were learnt similar to many pastoralist Africans.⁷³ Even when cattle were attacked by a predator such as a lion, a well inducted herds boy would know from a distance what the matter with the cattle could be.⁷⁴ That was indeed part of animal husbandry in Bulozhi.

With European influence also came branding and tagging of animals using specific alphabetic and Arabic numeral codes. On the utilisation of tag marks the Provincial Agricultural Officer P.K. Kazora in a mail order correspondence to Salisbury in 1967 was quoted as follows:

I wish if you could order the: jumbo Ear tags for me in 6 different colours numbered 1-300 i.e. $300 \times 6 = 1800$. The order to include

two tag applicators. These are obtainable from messrs. Milbourne and Company (Rhodesia) pvt Ltd. Salisbury.⁷⁴

Even before the introduction and usage of ear tagging and branding, Lozi cattle keepers identified their animals through the colours, horn shape along with other characteristics such as whether female, male, heifer, steer, ox or by names.

Transhumance in Cattle Husbandry

The cattle in the central Buluzi plain are annually subjected to the movement from the flooded plain to the dry plain margins. This annual transhumance required that the animals adapted to the marginal pastures different from the rich plain pasture annually. This on its own disadvantaged the animals. It was often observed that animals in their greatest numbers were lost during that period from January to April due to starvation arising from that ecological change. *Mulena Mukwae* (the Southern Kingdom female Ruler) and *Ishee Kwandu* (the prince consort to the Southern Kingdom female Ruler) were also fully aware of these challenges and attacks from predators such as crocodiles and lions.⁷⁴ Lion attacks were common in Shangombo area. According to the Provincial Veterinary Officer's report of 1950/51, the views on the extent of the negative effects of the flood season on cattle recorded as follows:

The cattle were dying of starvation and spending too much time in the water, trying to reach grass not yet properly uncovered by the floods. The Mulena Mukwae was setting an example by sending her cattle to a far away Pan in the bush where there was good grazing (in the flood and winter seasons). They (Ishee and Mulena Mukwae) discouraged people from crowding their herds in the nearest convenient places.⁷⁵

Those predator attacks were also common during flood seasons when good pasture in the central Buluzi plain was scarce and inaccessible.

F. Banda the District Veterinary officer for Mongu on 18/10/2010 observed that the Lozi along with both the colonial and nationalist authorities never came up with serious schemes on ways and means of harvesting the hay during times of plenty.⁷⁶ Therefore, it could be argued that even the animals that starved to death could have been saved had serious animal production

techniques in relation to hay preparations been employed. Experiments on harvesting and growing grass were only tried along the line of rail for the European farmers.⁷⁷ Most of the informants interviewed agreed with the fact that people did not harvest grass for their animals as hay since their animals were free ranging and land usage was communal. They just followed the natural rhythm and pattern of their environment.⁷⁸ To confirm this practice and tendency, a silozi saying goes thus: ‘Komu ai pumelwi bucwani’ meaning you do not provide grass for a beast, since it always fends for itself. This wholesale belief undermined the possibility of increasing care for animals during times of scarce grazing grounds. When animals died of starvation, it was often taken as a natural selection where animals weeded themselves.⁷⁹ This reduced the calf crop as well.⁸⁰ Evidently, free ranging cattle was tied to the traditional land tenure which was communal. Communal land could have made the harvesting of grass for hay easy yet that was not undertaken and cattle was left to cover long distances in search of pasture. That exposed cattle to predator risks, loss of weight due to fatigue and general stress.

In the continued advice to the people, *Ishee Kwandu* remembered the late *Litunga Lewanika* giving advice to cattle keepers in Bulozhi similar to the sentiments expressed by the Provincial Veterinary Officers in the 1950s. Lewanika was a man of very good sense as regards cattle. He deplored the present happy-go-luck attitude of many present day cattle owners.⁸¹

Lewanika, *Mulena Mukwae*, *Ishee Kwandu* and the Colonial Veterinary Officers denounced people who gave their animals to others to look after and manure their gardens.⁸² They denounced them as irresponsible.⁸³ As such Barotse Royal Establishment authorities took cattle husbandry as serious business that promoted both individual and national wealth. The foregoing view was shared by the District Commissioner J.F. Passmore in the correspondence to the *Mulena Mukwae* at Nalolo when he noted: ‘A man may own cattle but if he neglects them he is not only damaging his own wealth but the wealth of the Barotse nation as whole’.⁸⁴

What was clear was that, even in cases where individual keepers gave out their animals to a partner, who benefitted through milk and manure in the gardens, the state interest through the *Kuta* and *Litunga Lewanika* were vividly stated. As a matter of policy, the *Kuta* with the consent of Lewanika forbade the sale of cows and heifers. Any excessive negligence on cattle husbandry was actually punishable by law. Late release of animals for grazing was considered negligence. Veterinary *indunas* regularly patrolled villages. To show how enforceable by law cattle

negligence was, the Commissioner Passmore in a correspondence to the Barotse Royal Establishment and other District Commissioners highlighted and emphasised on the level of law enforcement that was associated with insufficient animal care.⁸⁵ The prosecutions were done in conformity with the cruelty to animals' ordinance.⁸⁶ Passmore's correspondence dated 24th June 1942 noted in part:

You may remember that your Kutas have powers to punish people under the cruelty to animals' ordinance. Under this ordinance any person who causes an animal to suffer either by ill – treating it badly or by neglecting it, may be fined £25 or sent to prison for three months.⁸⁷

The above was an example of co-operation, between the colonial government and the traditional authorities in animal husbandry, but not necessarily in promoting research in the activity.

Lewanika's Diplomacy Arising from Cattle Husbandry

Lewanika who was *Litunga* during the period 1878-1916, rose to prominence not only because of his influential administrative initiatives, but also through the usage of diplomacy applying wealth derived from cattle. To illustrate that the *Litunga* used cattle wealth in diplomacy to consolidate friendship with the British during the First World War, Gerald L. Caplan observed that the *Lozi* accumulated some wealth from cattle sales and the same enabled them to raise two hundred pounds Sterling as support to the British government during the First World War.⁸⁸ Actually Lewanika was the largest cattle owner in *Bulozi* at that time.

Caplan further observed that the wealth of *Bulozi* came from labour taxation remittances from the hiring labour companies in the European settlements in the region, ivory and indeed cattle trade. These activities facilitated in stabilising the *Bulozi* government to the satisfaction of the British territorial government. It can be argued, therefore, that cattle husbandry and trade in *Bulozi* were established economic activities in the pre-colonial and colonial period as attested to by Caplan's observations. Despite having suffered setbacks in cattle losses to Bovine pleuro pneumonia from 1915 to 1916, the people of *Bulozi* through the *Kuta* and approval by Lewanika were able to raise money from their savings that was mainly accrued from cattle trade.⁸⁹ This shows that the relationship that existed between the British and *Bulozi* in the colonial period was

also strengthened through mutual assistance similar to what Caplan noted. Caplan also argued that cattle husbandry and trade in Bulozhi were of social, political and economic significance. It was again cattle, through the draught oxen that pulled wagons which transported pioneer missionaries through this part of Africa to places they wanted to open up their stations. The *Litunga* of Bulozhi had to grant permission to the missionaries and indeed any foreign hunters, adventurers and philanthropists to undertake their work in Barotseland. Jean Francois Zorn in the contributions on the expedition and foundation of the mission to the Zambezi between 1885 and 1887 noted that:

After negotiating for a year with Lozi chiefs, during which the expedition, stationed at Leshoma, suffered hunger and disease discouragement and even the revolt of the Africans, Coillard received permission to cross the Zambezi at Kazungula on 19th August 1885. The first meeting with king Lewanika on 23 March 1886 and the foundation of Sefula station not far from lealui, the capital, on 11 October 1887, were reminiscent of Casalis' first meeting with Moshoeshoe and the foundation of Morija (Lesotho) sixty years before. However, conditions were very different from those in Lesotho.⁹⁰

The Africans were mainly engaged as ox wagon drivers during Coillard's expedition in Bulozhi. Therefore writing the history of Bulozhi would be incomplete without the role of the wealth derived from cattle husbandry and trade. The oxen pulled the wagons. The cows yielded milk that fed both the foreigners and the locals. Cattle manure fertilised the gardens that yielded the same crops that provided sustenance to the Lozi people and those who visited or were attracted to the area under the domain of the *Litunga*. All those factors had social, political and economic implications.

The Effects of Labour Migration on Cattle Husbandry

Labour migration to the Copperbelt, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa affected animal husbandry and trade in Bulozhi. Bulozhi was affected in the same way as Lesotho where labour migration was equated to modern difaqane due to the high social costs arising from the migration. Suzman noted that in Lesotho labour migrations caused broken families, deserted

wives and illicit unions resulting from prolonged stay of men on European settlements, taking most part of their working lives away from home.⁹¹ Archival information on Barotseland records that labour migration had negative effects on tribal areas due to exodus to European settlements.⁹² These included negative family life, divorce on grounds of desertion. What was obviously negative about the departure of able bodied men to European settlements was that cattle husbandry was left under the care of old men, children and women.⁹³ The consequences of such a turn of events affected cattle husbandry and trade negatively since these are labour intensive activities. As regards the consequences of energetic male adults migrating to European settlements from the end of the 19th century to 1950s, the Provincial Commissioner's correspondence to the Native Affairs Commissioner noted that:

Besides lack of interest, other main reasons given for poor supervision of cattle is that employers will not pay attractive wages to herds boys who, in any case, are turning their eyes to more stimulating forms of occupation. The exodus of youths from the province (Bulozi) to urban areas has been cited as largely responsible for shortage of them (herders).⁹⁴

Animals needed proper care by male adults. It was not surprising, therefore, that *Ishee Kwandu*, *Litunga*, *Mulena Mukwae* and the Colonial Veterinary Officers began to speak strongly against the 'Happy-go-lucky' attitude of that generation pertaining to cattle husbandry and trade. The region was deprived of a significant sector of useful labour needed for livestock undertaking. It was reported that by the end of the 1920s, contract labour bureaus were hiring tens of thousands of Lozi who worked and lived in ethnically segregated communities in all the major mining centers of South Africa and the Rhodesias.⁹⁵

Though it was argued that, labour returnees brought broadened world wide views to their local communities through experiences from their travels and cash savings, the overall effect was shortage of labour in cattle husbandry.⁹⁶ This caused considerable setbacks that continued to manifest themselves even in the post colonial period leading to the banning of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) recruitments. The obvious indicator was the social consequence of internal displacement of workers, *liconi* or *amacona* or detribalised workers who became absorbed by European wage engagements away from the rural life of their relatives.⁹⁷

For Bulozhi, the negative effect of exodus of men exhibited itself through food shortages to a level not experienced before. The Lunda and Luvale traders from Zambezi, Kabompo and Lukulu areas took advantage of that male labour shortage that caused general food shortages by exporting cassava flour into Bulozhi.⁹⁸ Again it was cattle that changed hands as the medium of exchange without support from the colonial government. Kenneth Good writing on ‘The Reproduction of Weakness in the State and Agriculture: Zambian Experience’⁹⁹ illustrated that the weaknesses of post colonial Zambia are partly inherent in the colonial past. To that analysis, Bulozhi could be considered as part and parcel of the picture created by Good when he observed that during the colonial period :

Transportation and government marketing agencies were denied to the bulk of the rural population (Western, Northwestern, Northern, and Luapula provinces)...¹⁰⁰

For Bulozhi, the overview was arguably that copper production in urban settlements over shadowed agricultural labour demands in rural provinces causing counter production. Copper mining activities drew upon best brains and energies from the rural population. Many rural dwellers desired to work for the mines, which still had a negative pull effect on agriculture and livestock labour from the rural areas-Bulozhi included.

Good argued that the Zambian peasantries had shown a capacity to increase their production when encouraged to do so.¹⁰¹ But the state instead had consistently supported leading social forces of the mono economy as planned by the colonial state. The foregoing observations tarried well with B.J. Phiri’s indications that, indeed the post colonial state was that of dignity and not economic master minding.¹⁰² It was evident that while the nationalist government worked hard to attain political emancipation they had a serious challenge in bringing together the capitalist and socialist modes of economic production. Hence the assertion by Kenneth Good that, the state loved the rural poor but feared urbanites. The point in the foregoing sentiments was that both the Colonial and Post Colonial authorities paid more attention to the demands of urban dwellers than the rural folks yet traditional cattle husbandry was mainly a rural occupation.

The initial destruction of local cattle husbandry and trade within the region was attributed to the British South Africa Company when it was granted permission to oversee Bulozhi on behalf of the British government interests. W.C. Clarence Smith observed that:

The company (BSA) assumed full hegemony in Bulozhi and restructured the pre-capitalist relations of production to its own advantage. Bulozhi was seen increasingly as a supplier of cheap migrant labour rather than producer of cattle and other food staff.¹⁰³

From 1890, after signing the Lochner Treaty, the restructuring of pre-capitalist Bulozhi also implied that white traders were given opportunity and support to trade commercially in cattle .

Somehow the Lozi cattle trade from 1890s grew tremendously. This was attributed to the growth of southern Africa mineral revolution and the rinderpest cattle disease outbreak that devastated Southern Africa and part of Central Africa. Bulozhi, however, was spared from rinderpest due to the Zambezi river natural barrier.¹⁰⁴ When Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and Botswana lost considerable stocks of cattle, the colonial authorities realised the potential of Barotse cattle trade. As noted by Choolwe Beyani, the Anglo-Boer war and the Bihe Portuguese interest equally contributed to opening up the Bulozhi cattle trade seriously to the European market.¹⁰⁵ The Darwendale farm project in Southern Rhodesia was also set up drawing seed cattle from Bulozhi.¹⁰⁶ Khama the king of Botswana bought Bulozhi cattle too, to replenish the reduced Tswana stocks that in turn supplied British forces engaged in the Anglo-Boer war.¹⁰⁷ It is therefore arguable to state that, it was the Bulozhi cattle that were used to pull wagons and replenish the reduced cattle stocks in the region. Despite the constraints related to labour shortages in cattle husbandry in Bulozhi arising from the European settlements pull effects, the resilience of those who remained at home in the absence of labour migrants to carry on cattle husbandry is of historical interest since they were instrumental in the continuity of cattle husbandry practices.

Indeed cattle husbandry and trade in the region were full of manipulation arising from European penetration, which was also acted upon by natural occurrences such as disease outbreaks as highlighted in the case of rinderpest. Where the capitalist mode of production desired to exploit local situations to their full advantage, nature also at times dictated to the contrary. Where the

Bulozi area should have served predominantly as a labour reservoir and not necessarily a trading partner, it was the rinderpest outbreak that dictated otherwise. Clarence observed that:

The market for ivory resulted into intensive hunting. With the help of firearms and a few salted horses ... similarly, the growth of cattle trade from 1890s appears to have been responsible for more extensive cattle transhumance, with Lozi cattle outposts spreading East and West.¹⁰⁸

With rinderpest devastating Southern Africa and part of central Africa, Bulozi cattle posts spread during the same period of 1890s. The implication was that Bulozi did not only supply ivory but also cattle.

The acquisition of firearms was done in exchange for cattle or cash raised from cattle sales and from the labour returnees' savings. Once the arms were acquired, some Lozi men engaged themselves in big game hunting that also brought further wealth. From these activities it was arguable that the Lozi natural investment was cattle, hence the aforementioned cattle outposts increase in the region after 1890s. Those that could not afford cattle or firearms, were forced to seek employment in South Africa, Rhodesia and the regional railway constructions to raise cash for tax purposes. This became especially noticeable in 1906 when a £1 hut tax, was introduced in Bulozi.¹⁰⁹ As Clarence Smith noted, the Lozi aristocracy were spared from forced labour migrations due to cattle wealth and the protection from the *Litunga*.¹¹⁰

Effect of Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia on Cattle Husbandry

Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia (CBPP) was a cattle disease with great and lasting persistence in Bulozi. This disease was highly infectious in herds. It is caused by a pleuro-pneumonia germ or organism known as *mycoplasma mycoides val my coides*.¹¹¹ Although the organism is said to be easily destroyed by heat or disinfectants, its persistence in Bulozi cattle husbandry and trade had great economic, social and political effects. The transmission of the disease was said to be via the respiratory system from one infected animal to a healthy one, through moisture droplets which are breathed or coughed. The disease was first detected in 1915 from a team of oxen that were used on a trip by colonial officials who went to establish and regularise the Bulozi-Angola boundary (now Zambia-Angola border).¹¹² The political interests

between the British and their counterparts, the Portuguese in Angola were at play in sparking off the outbreak in Buluzi. The draught oxen used contracted the disease at the border area with Angola

Pertaining to the effect of Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia, Macmillan noted that:

The Barotseland cattle trade continued to suffer periodic closures and was also affected by the collapse of the Congo market following the outbreak of the first world war. As early as February 1914, John Smith, the young Vet who had been at Sesheke in 1913-14, told his parents that: the outlook for our market is rapidly getting worse. Yesterday, movements of cattle were stopped from Northern Rhodesia to the south, whilst the Congo market is almost non-existent, as most of the Belgians have left to go back to Europe, and those remaining are almost bankrupt. So the outlook for our traders is grim.¹¹³

This disease devastated a large proportion of Buluzi cattle and threatened to even spread further. With the realisation that the disease could spread country-wide, the colonial authorities established a cordon line to check the spread of this disease. The 'cordon line' was a buffer zone running through all districts of Buluzi bordering Angola right from Senanga-Shangombo to Kalabo, Lukulu and Zambezi (Balovale district). In reality Buluzi became a buffer zone on behalf of Zambia against the spread of CBPP.

The history of lack of full government control over the wider territory in Angola by the Portuguese colonial authorities, became a factor that made the disease control and mitigation even all the more difficult. As observed by Adrian P. Wood:

CBPP is endemic in Angola, since there were no measures to control the spread of the disease in the Angolan area bordering Zambia. As such, all the Angolan cattle in that area were regarded as potential carriers of CBPP'.¹¹⁴

The cordon line is strip of clearing fenced 39% of the 510km in Western province, it runs 18km south of Kaunga Mashi to the border with North-Western province. The cordon line was patrolled by veterinary guards spread through forty three (43) camps along the cordon.¹¹⁵ All the cattle in

the buffer zone were branded 'Z' for identity.¹¹⁶ Cattle movement to cross the buffer zone was permissible after blood tests were done to prove that the animals were 'clear off Contagious Bovine Pleuro-Pneumonia'. If cattle owners desired their animals to move westwards, this could be done freely provided they reported for branding. Strict measures were observed, such that, if cattle crossed the zone without following regulations they were shot immediately.

Whenever, the disease outbreak was detected in Bulozi, cattle movement was restricted. That meant cattle could not be traded. That reduced income and trade activities for livestock keepers. Unlike other cattle diseases that have been brought under control, CBPP keeps resurfacing, hindering the cattle trade on a wider scale. Obviously, this could be interpreted as one of the reasons for the failure to seriously develop the cattle husbandry activities in the area. The cordon line politics are better understood through the correspondence dated 02/11/1950 from the Veterinary Officer to the Acting Provincial Commissioner, G.S. Jones in the following sentiments:

The cutting of the cordon road has had political repercussion with the Portuguese. They appear to be very worried about it, as they see it is opening up the country and fear that, the people along Mashi will stop paying taxes to them and giving them (Portuguese) free labour and will try to come under British jurisdiction Consequently the people in a group of 7 villages which are definitely in the plain (part of the cordon line) have been told by their indunas on Portuguese instructions that they are all to move their villages together with their cattle to the Angola side of Mashi (Kuando) river.¹¹⁷

Indeed, the creation of the cordon line by the British colonial authorities, though done with intent to check the spread of CBPP had political connotations that were made difficult by lack of co-operation and general indifference to it by the Portuguese colonial authorities in Angola. The cordon line was not put on the international border but on the Bulozi (Zambian) side.

Whenever an outbreak occurred, it was the Bulozi cattle husbandry and trade that was negatively affected. Therefore, lack of development of cattle husbandry to very rich peasantry levels could arguably be attributed to cordon line politics. Whether the British desired to promote the local cattle breed or not, any serious outbreak of CBPP could spare no one's cattle. The Bulozi-

Angola border dispute had never been satisfactorily resolved ever since the arbitration by King Victor Emmanuel between British and Portuguese interests in 1905.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the Portuguese indifference towards maintenance of the cordon line and the cattle movement bans certainly had a negative impact on the prosperous development in cattle husbandry and trade.¹¹⁹ As pointed out by Muyangwa Kamutumwa, the Senanga and Shangombo areas were equally of great importance in cattle husbandry and trade in Bulozhi since some of Lewanika's breeding cattle posts were strategically placed and tucked away in this area, under *Induna* Mulele.¹²⁰ Traditionally, it was in the Mulele area where it was not permitted to take stock of the number of cattle available for fear of letting Bulozhi's political rivals access the vital information on the wealth of the area.¹²¹ The loss of large numbers of cattle in the Mulele area due to CBPP obviously affected the wealth reserve of Bulozhi, affecting both the husbandry and trade.

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the Lozi people acquired their livestock through several ways. With European advent in Central and Southern Africa, cash and European material goods were introduced as means to acquire cattle in Bulozhi.

Evidently, the art of cattle raising was an important attribute of the Bulozhi economy. Cattle were identified through their colours, names and individual distinguishing characteristics. Apart from the foregoing attributes, how the people adjusted to a riverine ecology pattern has been examined in relation to cattle husbandry and trade. Those who never ventured out on labour migrations continued with the annual movement of cattle from the flood plain to the higher ground.

Evidently, the Lozi did not develop a modern cattle economy because traditionally, cattle were not necessarily raised for sale as perceived and practiced by the European society. Instead, cattle served many other cultural purposes aimed at creating self esteem and peace of mind. The traditional leadership through diplomacy also used cattle wealth in varying political and social initiatives to the advantage of the community. The outbreaks of contagious pleuro-pneumonia negatively affected cattle economy.

Despite the various challenges in cattle husbandry and trade, the traditional keepers persisted and resiliently remained cattle producers. Therefore, cattle husbandry and trade were important pillars in the history of Bulozhi.

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CHAPTER THREE

CATTLE TRADE

Introduction

African-European contacts had been established earlier in Bulozhi through pioneer Europeans such as David Livingstone, George Copp Westbeeck, Emil Hollub, Francois Coillard and Portuguese adventurers, but contact with the British South Africa Company (BSAC) since the close of the 19th century became a British stepping stone into Bulozhi.¹ The contact with the British is associated with the British Colonial Office taking over the running of Bulozhi as a British protectorate.² Above all, this was associated with European capital penetration into this part of Africa. The BSA Company rule was initiated in 1890 when Elliot Lochner signed a treaty with King Lewanika. The Company rule lasted up to 1924, when the British Colonial Office took over. This chapter focused on the fact that the European colonial power's interest in cattle was trade. Cattle was considered an important trade good. It was beef and other cattle products that were on high demand in new European settlements in Africa. As such it could be suggested that the European interests in cattle trade were often promoted at the expense of African (Lozi) interests. When the adult male Lozi labourers were drawn to European settlements, cattle husbandry suffered. That consequently affected cattle trade negatively in the Lozi community. With the introduction of western education, youths of Bulozhi who were potential herders were instead absorbed into those schools. That way cattle trade suffered arising from neglected cattle husbandry in Bulozhi. This chapter has attempted to highlight the observation that African methods of looking after cattle were to a larger extent deemed primitive by European colonial authorities. Those African methods apart from being looked down upon were discouraged by the colonial authorities. Yet some of those methods were progressive indigenous knowledge systems that might have just needed some support from modern research methods. This chapter has tried to show that suppression of local knowledge systems also implied that cattle died from ailments that could have been alleviated by local Lozi remedies. It was also evident that suppression of local knowledge systems affected cattle trade since cattle were dying in numbers due to poor cattle husbandry management. This chapter went further to

suggest that reduced cattle numbers in Bulozhi arose from a variety of challenges. Those challenges included mortalities from diseases, transhumance hardships and negligent care. All those challenges stopped serious cattle trade among the Lozi traditional cattle keepers from taking place.

Typical of European colonial activities, the economic orientation of the Africans had to be done in conformity with the ruling power. According to Chipasha Luchembe, the British entry into Bulozhi was as follows:

On 1 April 1924, the British South African Company, after 34 years of Royal Charter handed over Zambia [Northern Rhodesia] to the British Colonial Office. By the time of handover, almost the entire African population within the territorial boundaries were effectively subordinated to the autocratic rule. The company and a new colonial state had emerged. More significantly, the 34 years of BSA company rule saw the transformation of Zambia into a reservoir of African labour by its linkage to the emerging regional capitalist economy based in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Southern Rhodesia).³

Even though under a special arrangement land in Bulozhi was administered by traditional aristocracy, the territory was equally affected by the British management of Northern Rhodesia as interpreted by Chipasha Luchembe.⁴

Cattle trade was one of the major cornerstones of the Bulozhi area's traditional economy, that was re-aligned under the new economic system of the upcoming power. Indeed, as Chipasha Luchembe put it, Bulozhi was also initially oriented as a labour reservoir for the mineral revolution activities in southern Africa until circumstances dictated otherwise.⁵ For Bulozhi, cattle, ivory and beeswax played a significant role in meeting some of the capitalist primitive accumulation and capital penetration of the time. The Susman Brothers' role in the cattle trade in Bulozhi also occupied a strong position. Once the area entered the colonial scheme of the

British, many activities related to economic, social and political affairs were indirectly or directly affected. Laurel Van Horn observed that:

This realisation of capital by sale of labour and cattle is bringing much money into the province (Bulozi) but little real prosperity. Too little of the labour of men's hands has been devoted to production of food and the drainage of swamps and the result is that mealie meal costs up £3 a bag for those who are fortunate to be able to buy it. Many are tasting the bitter-sweet of a jingling pocket and an empty belly. Like the Bemba, the Lozi now bought clothes with hunger.⁶

Laurel Van Horn's sentiments confirmed that the labourers in colonial Bulozi area could afford to earn some money but due to inadequate food production the money could not buy food. The active male labour was often absent in pursuit of European wage employment as dictated by the British colonial powers.

With the exodus of labour migrants which began earlier on under the British South Africa Company rule, the shortage of labour in Bulozi, particularly the plains had a negative effect on cattle trade as well as on food crop production. With approximately three-quarters of Bulozi's cattle concentrated around the flood plains, finding enough grazing space outside the plain during the flood season was always difficult. In addition to the shortage of grazing sites during floods, the Lozi suffered from a growing shortage of herders. Since tending cattle was a man's task and an increasing number of boys were now going to school beginning from 1900 onwards, herders became more difficult to find. The consequence was that at times only marginalized and unreliable labourers were used as herders.⁷ This affected the care given to cattle. The consequence was less cattle produced for trade. Under British rule, Western type of education became increasingly popular in Bulozi, depriving the already affected cattle husbandry and trade that had suffered labour shortages due to absent labour migrants; the remaining youths had to attend school.⁸ Youths were now reluctant to spend a long time away from the plains into the bush pans during floods, tending cattle since many parents were also appreciative of the value of

western education to their children. Cattle were no longer taken to the best grazing sites. Many more cattle starved or died from disease, as grasses in the places near the plains were inadequate. With reduced cattle stocks, cattle trade was significantly reduced.

To fully understand the situation of prolonged herder shortages, Laurel Van Horn noted that:

Combining herds permitted the use of fewer herders, but no longer as closely watched, more cattle were killed by predators. To illustrate how drastic this problem was during the flood season in 1951, 10 000 cattle died from malnutrition and its side effects, 5 000 suffered from the same fate in 1952; and in 1953, 8 000 died from insufficient grazing, 2 349 from disease and 900 from predators. It was an immense loss of capital. In contrast to 26 249 which died accidentally during the period, only 9 490 were exported for slaughter.⁹

Even the colonial government, which showed concern in Barotseland, was reportedly shocked and puzzled by the drop in agricultural production among the Lozi, who once provided one of the best examples of good native nutrition as observed by Laurel Van Horn.¹⁰ Laurel Van Horn's observations relating to 1920s up to the 1950s could be interpreted to have been some of the reasons that stopped the break through of cattle trade to higher levels. Those reasons included labour shortages and continued transhumance of cattle from the plain to the upper land during annual floods.

The initial thirty-four years of the BSA Company rule were the formative years during which Buluzi was introduced to the money economy. With the coming of British rule, usage of cash in transactions became widely accepted. When colonial rule imposed taxation on the people, the medium of exchange in these undertakings was mainly money. Where cattle had played a role of medium of exchange in Buluzi, money now took root. Many people were compelled to sell their livestock to raise cash for tax purposes, raise school fees and pay court fines. However, the long tradition of the value attached to cattle in Buluzi was never eradicated. Cattle still remained their major store of wealth and trade article. This was prompted by the fact that banks were not readily

available in Buluzi except in Livingstone. The institutions were solely a preserve for the white people. Actually, the first bank in Buluzi proper was not established until 1968, when the Standard Chartered Bank opened a branch in Mongu.¹¹ It was no surprise, therefore, that serious development of cattle trade among the local people did not take off. The idea of banking was so remote to them.

Both the colonial government and the BSA Company were not very keen that natives should get financially empowered to a level of competing with Europeans as noted by Mukubesa, a financial consultant with a bank in Mongu.¹² It therefore implied that traditionally kept cattle were not acceptable as a collateral security to obtain loans.

In the colonial era, the Lozi aristocracy at one stage were competing for the same resources with Europeans namely, labour and control of the cattle wealth.¹³ Hugh Macmillan noted that some Jewish traders were threatened by the BSA Company and later colonial authorities for being too generous with the Lozi natives by giving them financial assistance. The Acting Assistant Magistrate then contemplated the cancellation of their (Susman Brothers') license in February 1913 on grounds that they had given credit amounting to £20 to a native.¹⁴ The Magistrate warned the Susman Brothers that the government disapproved of the practice. The Susman Brothers secretly continued to extend credits to Africans. Lewanika, his son Litia, Ngambela and Mulena Mukwae were all beneficiaries.¹⁵ Van Horn argued that the British colonial authorities' intention was not to make Barotseland economically viable since their preference was to concentrate spending on 'high economic potential areas' from which they expected good returns. Despite all these obstacles encountered during the colonial period, Van Horn observed that:

The Lozi responded ambitiously to the opening of new markets for both cattle and produce. Had transport been less problematical or had the BSA company [and British interests] funded its development, the Lozi could have produced a larger cash crop.¹⁶

The high potential areas and new markets referred to were the places of European settlements, namely in South Africa and Zimbabwe and the newly opened Copperbelt in the 1920s. The subtle interest of both the BSA Company and the British colonial administration was initially to

make the whole of Northern Rhodesia, Buluzi included, as a labour reservoir for the mentioned high potential areas and new markets.

Despite the colonial setbacks and the negative effects of the bovine pleuro-pneumonia, cattle trade survived at a traditional and peasantry level of production. It was the same cattle that were exported to the Copperbelt and Zambezi saw mills. Actually, as the Zambezi saw mills emerged at the end of the First World War, it became the largest employer in the whole of Northern Rhodesia.¹⁷ The cattle were trekked on the hoof. It should be understood here that traditional cattle producers sold to European cattle dealers, who in turn sold the animals to their European counterparts in those European settlements. The Lozi remained primary producers.

It was common that those areas of high potential in Northern Rhodesia also attracted Lozi labourers, some of whom became pioneer African elites. Those elites avoided going back home to rural areas. Because they despised rural life, they forgot about investment in cattle, ignored cattle trade or opted to entrust their cattle to dishonest partners or relatives.¹⁸ The attitude of the new African elites was not only common to Buluzi but a trend in many other areas where the colonial system had taken root. This was because most of the pioneer European settlers were of urban background, therefore, their characteristics were mostly urban inclined. The African subordinates copied most of their ways, imitating Western styles indicative of loss of cultural identity. Similar to the British settlers in Australia Marthe Kiley-Worthington in 'Eco-Agriculture Food First Farming, Theory and Practice' rightly noted that:

Many of the early settlers and convicts were from a highly urban background, with the result that they took with them their urban philosophy of alienation and fear of natural environment¹⁹.

Australia was a British colony, the colonists' dislike for rural life was similar to what obtained in Northern Rhodesia. Little wonder then that most of the settlers opted to settle near urban amenities like highways and rail linkage points with characteristics imitating their backgrounds. It was not surprising that these settlers and their African imitators behaved the way they did

except for religious missionaries.²⁰ David Reed equally noted the urban inclinations of the colonial settlers in the following sentiments:

Of all the countries of colonial southern Africa the traditional tribal government system in Zambia remained most firmly intact up to and beyond independence. Rural areas held little interest for largely urban British colonists of Northern Rhodesia except as an abundant source of cheap domestic labour and workers for the copper mines.²¹

Most white settlers in Northern Rhodesia were not peasants or even rural based people.²² Bulozhi was classified as very rural compared to 'high potential areas'. It did not receive urban based Europeans to kick start cattle trade on a scale that could have influenced the traditional producers to turn into full time serious cattle keepers to specialise in beef, dairy or other subsidiary industries tied to cattle trade or husbandry. It was evident that most colonial settlers in this part of Africa were mostly interested in making monetary profit.²³ The Lozi attitude towards cattle was survival, self esteem, peace of mind and not profit as characterized by Europeans.²⁴ The differences in the utilization of cattle between the Lozi on one side and European settlers on the other led to degrading of positive indigenous practices in livestock.

Additionally for Bulozhi, the fact that Lewanika and the *Kuta* found themselves in a relatively strong bargaining position to save Bulozhi proper from wholesale settlements by the colonial powers also denied the area of dominant settler activities with their European livestock inclinations.²⁵ This fact drew a clear contrast to the line of rail and the Copperbelt areas of high potential, where settlers got full support from the Colonial government in developing cattle keeping and trade activities.²⁶ This was in both beef and dairy activities. Kakoma painted a picture of the Lozi kingdom on the eve of British colonial advent in the following sentiments: 'Because of its strength at the eve of colonialism, the Barotse kingdom became the stepping stone for British imperialism in central Africa'.²⁷

The Namushekende veterinary camp activities in Mongu reflected the colonial settler vision in the colonial period in relation to Bulozhi cattle trade. This was clearly shown in the correspondence from the Animal Husbandry Assistant, copied to all District Commissioners in

the 1950s. The vision was spelt out as follows: ‘To sustain the tribal herd, improvement of local pigs and poultry, spread knowledge on best methods of animal husbandry and livestock and establishment of a butchery’.²⁸ From the foregoing vision, it was clear that the colonial authorities were not keen in establishing a truly prosperous livestock production for natives on lines comparable to the line of rail or Copperbelt levels. As implied in the vision, if the tribal herds could be improved, that was satisfactory enough for the authorities. There were no Europeans undertaking cattle husbandry in Buluzi except European buyers of tribal cattle such as the Susman Brothers and Wulfsohn, Harrington, Snapper, Abe Galaun and others.²⁹

The fact that veterinary research was established in Mazabuka during the colonial period, far from Buluzi proper, was indicative enough that the priority of the colonial authorities was to serve the interests of the upcoming white commercial farmers along the line of rail.³⁰ All the land within the vicinity of the rail was alienated and demarcated for white settlers.³¹ Some Europeans received these parcels of lands as part of their retirement package from active service in European wars, particularly the British. The colonial policy on cattle husbandry and trade was evidently clear as to whom they wanted to serve best. The veterinary department in Buluzi, though active was mainly focused on disease control and not necessarily so much on cattle production and trade practices. This was observed by Gary Siatwinda, an Animal Husbandry Specialist.³² Evidently, colonial governments’ inadequate support for traditional cattle keepers cannot be ruled out as a factor attributed to the failure of Lozi cattle trade from becoming that of very rich local peasantry. This was especially noticed upon diseases outbreaks, when government authorities reacted with vigour, but relaxed when diseases calmed down. In the words of E. Musialela, ‘The fire extinguisher methods of government on cattle disease outbreaks were not satisfactory, because livestock disease alertness should be at all times.’³³

Influence of Colonial Authorities on cattle Trade

There were areas of differences between traditional keepers and colonial veterinary officials that needed to be harmonised in the 1940s and 1950s which included the following: late release of cattle for grazing, over-milking of cows, late castration of animals, maintenance of barren cows, in-breeding, maintenance of old animals, transhumance challenges, low calf rate and overcrowding of cattle in kraals.³⁴

With many male adults away on labour migration, the responsibility of tending cattle was left in the hands of old men and the not so experienced youths. When cattle were being released late for grazing, it was symptomatic of the absence of the energetic responsible men who would have done a better job. Tending cattle, especially during flood time required utmost care, but this proved inadequate from the youths and the old men in Bulozhi. Yet, the colonial authorities labelled this inadequacy mainly as mere laziness on the part of the Africans.³⁵ This meant not enough cattle stocks were raised for sale.

The traditional cattle keepers in the 1940s and 1950s had one inherent fault of over-milking their cows, contrary to the advice from the veterinary officials; this practice was common, based on the traditional practice that stipulated that: 'The rule in Barotse is three quarters of the milk was for the owner and one quarter of milk for the calf'.³⁶ The colonial government veterinary officials fought hard against this tradition. The correspondence from the Animal Husbandry Officer to the District Commissioner on 1st November 1950 pointed out that this rule was a very bad one, whether it had been passed on through tradition or not. The officials argued that if the cow had little milk, then none should go to the owner but to the calf.³⁷ It was pointed out that keepers should not forget, the calf will be a cow one day, therefore, if a calf got a bad start in life, it would end up being a bad cow. It could be argued that bad cows were equally bad trade articles. The authorities were enforcing an understanding that, healthy animals would translate into good trade cattle. Because of the conservative nature of livestock keepers, the colonial government increased their veterinary literacy campaigns in the 1940s and 1950s through meetings and short induction courses, targeting the elderly men, veterinary indunas, mission school children and the Barotse National School pupils.³⁸ This is reported to have changed the mindset of the people on some bad traditional cattle husbandry practices.

Even though the cattle keepers were fully aware of the benefits of castrating their animals early as a way of making them more docile, trainable and fit for draught purposes, the common practice was to keep as many bulls in a herd as possible and castrate them only when they were much older. However, the veterinary advice was to have animals castrated as early as three months of age. Again the common belief was that the more bulls they had, the bigger the calf

crop.³⁹ The colonial government veterinary officials again went into further details illustrating the principle behind the idea of ‘Proportionate Bull Ratio’. The officials argued that: ‘If a cow had good or bad qualities, it could only pass these on to about one calf a year, whereas a bull passed these good or bad qualities on to many calves.’⁴⁰ The consequence of many bad calves would be many poor quality cattle for trade. The principle behind early castrations once ideal bulls were identified and selected was widely accepted. However, the negative effects of in-breeding in cattle herds were faintly understood in a traditional sense. It was more of a serious incestuous relationship or taboo among humans and referred to as *Sindoye*.⁴¹ Many traditional cattle keepers kept some bulls for 9-10 years ending up servicing its own offsprings. The benefits of cattle cross-breeding, were already accrued and seen from the three breeds that were mixed involving the original Lozi breed, Tonga-Ila and Kololo ones.

The colonial authorities through the Lozi veterinary indunas encouraged the traditional cattle keepers to be exchanging bulls with neighbours for about three or four years. But for those herds that succumbed to the negative effects of in-breeding such as poor resistance to diseases and unexplained deaths, witchcraft accusations arose. The traditional resort or scapegoat was to accuse relatives or neighbours of witchcraft having been used to eliminate a prosperous keeper’s livestock.⁴² It was here again where the colonial government veterinary department proved very useful in elaborating the scientific explanations behind in-breeding and its consequences.⁴³ Furthermore, the veterinary department came out strongly in showing the factors behind low calf rate . It was difficult to eradicate over crowding of cattle in kraals, even though the department held induction seminars since the very mixture of mud and cow dung was a special material for building houses and granaries.⁴⁴ The cow dung-mud mixture was especially utilised as plastering material for Lozi homes. The implication was that the Lozi houses in the plains were annually repaired because of the damage incurred during floods. The mixture was a highly recommended building material since it was actually resistant to termite attacks on the mounds upon which the people built their homes.⁴⁵

The Lozi motive for selling or disposing off a beast was not necessarily for a profit. The common practice was to sell incapacitated animals or sell a beast under emergency circumstances to meet court charges, pay school fees or meet a real family obligation such as sealing a marriage contract.⁴⁶ The common belief was that, ‘you do not dispose off cattle like chickens’, only when

in real need.⁴⁷ Therefore, the interpretation of the Lozi pertaining to the value of cattle was not similar to a perspective often portrayed by the European oriented livestock farmers. European cattle farmers traded their animals for profit. It could be suggested that Lozi people sold even old beasts under very pressing situations only. As portrayed by Mongu District Veterinary Officer, F. Banda in a European cattle oriented undertaking, selecting and preparing the beasts for market was a very significant step in the sales cycle.⁴⁸ This was never the case with most cattle sales in Bulozhi.

As a matter of tradition, Lozi cattle keeping was a mixed one. Dairy and beef animals were raised together. This was unlike in most modern cattle undertakings that specialised in either dairy or beef cattle. Traditionally, even very old animals were reluctantly disposed of. Most of those animals ended up dying from natural death or old age. To the western school of thought, that was uneconomic and unacceptable. This led to many scholars of history on livestock in Bulozhi to refer to traditional cattle keepers as those who kept livestock for prestige and status.⁴⁹

Trade in the context of this study implies the indigenous trade, where cattle were used as a medium of exchange in transactions before cash usage became very common. The other version of trade as understood in the European context of buying and selling using cash and material goods is also covered.⁵⁰ The usage of cash was closely associated with colonial dominance over the area. Hence, the European participants are portrayed to have played a very pivotal role in the cattle trade. These European traders included A. Harrington, J. H. Venning, J. Soane, O. C. Dawson, G. Buchanan, G. Findlay and George Copp Westbeeck. That was in the period ranging from the days of Westbeeck 1874 to 1940s the days of the likes of Buchanan. The Susman Brothers and Wulfsohns, though of Jewish origin, are linked to European capital penetration in Bulozhi, right from the colonial times to the nationalist politics times.⁵¹ They were among the pioneer traders who bought cattle in Bulozhi using European produced goods and cash. In addition, they also established a successful network of rural retail shops financed mainly by the cattle business in Bulozhi. Hugh Macmillan noted that:

When Abe Galaun, then a young Jewish refugee from Lithuania, told him in 1940 that he had got a job at Mongu, Harry [Susman] immediately replied. You're a lucky man. It is the best place in the

world. The Susman brothers never despaired of getting back in Barotseland cattle trade, which had been the source of their initial success.⁵²

The fact that the foreign traders engaged in the Bulozhi cattle trade on many occasions, though the Lozi themselves never became very rich peasants up to the 1970s remains a paradox that could be better understood by bringing all the interplaying factors together as reflected in this study. By cross examining those factors, this study demonstrates what happened and what was in store for cattle trade activities. The Susman brothers were credited for having opened up the Bulozhi cattle trade to the Congo, Southern Rhodesia, Botswana and South Africa.⁵³ Where the rail link was established, they loaded the cattle on trains. Where transport facilities were non-existent like in Bulozhi, they trekked their cattle on the hoof locally and internationally.

Of course, risks in business abound, but they (foreign traders) endured and made lucrative business.⁵⁴ The people who dealt with the Susman Brothers appreciated their business links and level of honesty.⁵⁵ Joel Mubiana Liswaniso, Ernest Mukwendela Kutoma and Benson Akalalambili Kamitondo, who worked for the Susman brothers spoke positively about the Susman brothers' work ethics pertaining to cattle trade. In their time, the Susman brothers also sold guns to the Lozi people even when some foreign traders did so reluctantly to empower Africans.⁵⁶ The Susman Brothers went out of their way by giving a packet of free gun cartridges as a token of appreciation or *pasela* for every gun bought from them and as part of the deal in buying cattle.⁵⁷ Indeed, Europeans traded in cattle and other merchandise such as beeswax, ivory, rice and hides up to post independence times.⁵⁸ But it was the Susman Brothers' closeness to the Africans that at times earned them unpopularity amongst other foreign traders. The other traders complained that the brothers were under-cutting their business by being over-generous with natives.⁵⁹ Those exploitative tendencies from traders were equally understood by the Lozi, more so, by Lewanika who left an imprint summarised and noted by Macmillan when he argued that:

In January 1898 he told the Lealui kuta in the presence of the missionary Adolphe Jalla that 'there are three types of whites: those of the government, traders and missionaries. Those of the

government fear them, they have the power, traders eat them, for they have come to eat you. As for the missionaries, they are ours, they are at home with us.⁶⁰

Cattle formed one of the main articles of trade from Bulozhi. In the colonial period, the currency used in these transactions was the British one. European goods began to be appreciated in Bulozhi when people became empowered through the sales of cattle and ivory. However, the challenge still remained that no matter how much cash an African might have raised from cattle or ivory sales, there were no banking facilities in Bulozhi proper for safe keeping of the same. This arguably ought to be interpreted, perceived and understood to mean that the colonial government was not genuinely interested in the development of Barotseland protectorate cattle trade to a level equal to the 'high potential areas'. For safe keeping of cash, the Africans at times hoarded their money. As already alluded to, the first bank, Standard Chartered Bank, was only opened in Mongu through the initiative of the United National Independence Party (UNIP) on 1 August 1968.⁶¹ It is arguable that a successful cattle trade needed strong banking back up.

The question, therefore, remained as to what sort of serious cattle trading could have arisen without banking facilities and proper road networks? Had banks and insurance companies been availed to Africans practicing cattle husbandry, perhaps they could have borrowed capital to boost business. They could have insured their animals against risks such as disease outbreaks too. That was the scenario which prevailed in Bulozhi in the colonial time up to the close of the 1960s. The European traders and farmers had the colonial government to back them through foreign linkages, banking facilities and protectionist policies in the pricing mechanisms.⁶² Since banking and insurance were a preserve of Europeans, Africans resorted mainly to hoarding their cash. Indeed, Bulozhi cattle keepers could not take off as rich peasants since banking and insurance were a preserve of Europeans.

The First Republic and Bulozhi in Cattle Trade

Northern Rhodesia to which Bulozhi belonged and jointly became known as Zambia in 1964 was basically an enclave for the mining companies located in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Zambia's rural population as already elaborated, provided migrant labour for mining activities on the

Copperbelt, South Africa as well as for the labour intensive agricultural ventures in Zimbabwe. Guy Scott elaborately painted a picture arising from these economic imbalances and noted that:

Profits accumulated in the capitals of its southern neighbours, while concession fees and taxes were largely invested in Southern Rhodesia. There were no attempts to bring villagers into Zambia's cash economy as direct producers. Instead, various head-hut-taxes were levied in Zambia to encourage outward migration and integration of the migrant workers into economies of its neighbours.⁶³

As Scott pointed out above, villagers in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) were not encouraged to be direct cattle traders. The Lozi cattle were bought by European agents who then resold them at reasonable profit margins to European business entities. The fact that the villagers were denied access to banks and insurance companies implied that they could not be integrated into the cash economy fully. Hence, the European cattle traders benefited significantly compared to the Lozi traditional cattle keepers, be it in livestock or crop production. Since Buluzi was not classified as a high economic potential area, neglect of African cattle husbandry undertakings was the price the area paid. The Lozi hoarded the extra cash from business undertakings such as cattle sales.

The Northern Rhodesia situation was worsened by the fact that the colonial authorities designed the economy to be heavily dependent on copper exports.⁶⁴ From such a background, it therefore, became fitting for the upcoming nationalist UNIP Government to focus attention on breaking Southern Rhodesia and South Africa's economic grip on the fragile economy of Northern Rhodesia. To some extent, UNIP succeeded in establishing some agriculture investments in rural areas through creation of state farms and ranches, the party mainly supported the state farms and state ranches and not the traditional cattle keepers in the rural areas of Buluzi.⁶⁵ The supported farms and ranches received government subsidies.

UNIP decided to go the socialist route from 1964, and the climax was in 1968 when the government nationalised the key sectors of the economy at the expense of traditional livestock keepers, this meant the state taking control of all natural resources, it also meant giving powers

to the state who acted consistent to UNIP's Humanism – a Zambian version of socialism.⁶⁶ With nationalisation, came the formation of institutions like Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO) with its subsidiaries, Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM) and Industrial Development Corporation (INDECO).⁶⁷ Another institution formed was National Agricultural Marketing Board (NAMBOARD) and a sister organization Rural Development Corporation (RDC).⁶⁸ ZIMCO controlled all mining and industrial related activities. NAMBOARD's responsibility was to oversee rural related crop agricultural activities. It was under the umbrella of Rural Development Corporation that the cattle state ranches fell. The state ranches raised cattle that produced highly graded beef than traditional ones.

During the first decade following independence, UNIP ably lived up to its promises of delivering to the people. That was the time some authors have referred to as 'The Fat Decade' when the revenues from the Zambian copper mines were very significant and controlled by the nationalists.⁶⁹ The Nationalist government was able to direct the revenue from the copper wealth that was flowing steadily toward national development. The benefits from government reached the ever increasing networks of state employees. UNIP further made itself popular by avoiding oppression and coercive measures on the scale of the former colonial authorities.⁷⁰ Its strength lay in the delivery of improved standards of living for the rural population through distribution of wealth from the mining sector to agriculture, state ranches included. Scott noted that 'rents captured by ZIMCO from the copper industry provided resources for Zambia's industrialisation and extensive subsidies in the agriculture sector'.⁷¹

Unfortunately the central planning method adopted by the Nationalists was not compatible with the mono-economy dependent on copper exports. Indeed the prosperity trend lasted only for as long as the copper industry remained highly profitable, especially when the industry was backed internationally by the build up to the Vietnam war.⁷² Ultimately, the UNIP initiated development started showing economic cracks around 1973 and 1974. It can be argued that failure arose from the inherent weakness of central planning, where a single mistake made at the top affected all the sectors. The top had decided to go on the socialist path, hence the low ranks followed suit. The world oil crisis of 1972-1973 made it more difficult for the mono-economic planned administration inherited from the colonial authorities to hold itself together.⁷³ The rising oil

prices on the world market drained the copper revenues. Additionally, the political hostilities that arose from the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1965, by Ian Smith in Southern Rhodesia became another economic drawback for Zambia, being landlocked and economically linked to the south, the UNIP government over spent its full potential by resorting to more expensive alternative trade routes in the period 1964 - 1973.⁷⁴ The negative national economic happenings of that time equally affected Buluzi cattle trade negatively.

The nationalist government like the colonial government did not fully support the traditional cattle keeper. They preferred to support newly established state ranches. State ranches overshadowed traditional cattle keeping since government concentrated research and veterinary services to this sector compared to traditional keepers. Government workers were specifically assigned to state ranches backed by state support in terms of new trends in cattle keeping and marketing. Colonial authorities opted to support white commercial farmers along the line of rail through extension of loan facilities and differences in pricing between 'native' produced and white farmer produced beef.⁷⁵ The white farmer farm products fetched high prices than the African produced ones. Cattle husbandry in Buluzi remained in the hands of mere peasant producers. The nationalist government did not put the traditional or peasant farmer on state subsidies compared to the state ranches, not even *mafisa* was supported. Furthermore, the weakness of the nationalist government policy in relation to central planning was that in order to appease the population, state ranches were established in all the provinces, even in areas where the local population had no traditional link whatsoever to cattle husbandry. The response from those communities needs no over emphasising, since their cultural perception of cattle was totally alien and unsupportive. Namuchana Imwiko, a former Provincial Coordinator for Young Women Christian Association (YWCA) in Western province shared the experience of Northern province, Mungwi Cinciwa Babili cattle scheme and noted that: 'The cows were left to be suckled by their over grown calves and kept away from the bull.'⁷⁶ In cattle keeping communities there were methods of weaning over grown calves to allow cows to be serviced by a bull for more calves.

The Lozi cattle keepers' resilience outlived the unpredictable colonial authority's lukewarm support as well as the Nationalist government's neglect in preference to state ranches. The state

ranches failed, because they faced similar challenges that brought down ‘The Fat Decade 1964-1973’. It was evident as observed by Zambia Independent Monitoring Team (ZIMT) and Guy Scott that after the fat decade (1964-1973), the agriculture sector had collapsed, leaving Zambia’s copper led economy weak.⁷⁷ Although agriculture had been identified by ZIMT and many experts as an economic growth pillar, the implementation of policies in the sector by government had been with little or no consultation with local people and traditional rulers. If the sector, which included cattle trade had to be revived in order for it to stimulate and guarantee economic development, consultations with local communities ought to have been encouraged. The insufficient consultations with local leadership in an attempt to modernise was a typical characteristic of central planning and centralised government Zambia found herself in. This affected the Bulozhi cattle economy as well.⁷⁸

Application of Indigenous Knowledge in Cattle Husbandry and Trade

One other aspect that contributed significantly to the lack of breakthrough in cattle trade in Bulozhi was the under utilisation of local knowledge systems.⁷⁹ The earliest contacts that Bulozhi had especially with Europeans, had a tendency to down play local experiences as barbaric and uncivilised. This was so despite proven positive values in those local knowledge approaches. Warren and others agreed that the nineteenth century social sciences were instrumental in establishing negative values and attitudes towards indigenous knowledge systems. Warren along with others further showed this concern when they said:

The universal nature and social functions of ethnic stereotypes and prejudices, focusing on the role of nineteenth century Euro-American social scientists in providing academic credence for: Western popular images of non-Western civilisation as primitive and barbaric was common. The influence these negative images had on western attitudes and behaviours towards non-western societies were instrumental in constraining two-way communications between the western and non-western worlds. There has been continuing impact of the negative images on western non-western relationships into the twentieth century.⁸⁰

It was evident that the social scientists of the nineteenth century were influential in both colonial and post colonial African states as civil servants and technical advisors. Efforts to counteract or correct the negative images of non-western societies and their local know-how had been addressed through organisations such as Centre for Indigenous Knowledge for Agriculture and Rural Development (CIKARD).⁸¹ This admission of mistakes made by other schools of thought as portrayed by Warren's team was indicative of the overlooked and marginalised African knowledge in agriculture that included animal husbandry and trade. This had a negative effect on the prosperity of livestock undertakings in Bulozhi too.

There was a great hidden treasure in the Bulozhi local knowledge systems pertaining to cattle rearing yet, much of that knowledge remained untapped and under utilised. Those were the same knowledge attributes that saw Bulozhi society prosper as described by the missionary David Livingstone in his adventures and travels in this part of Africa.⁸² There were always traditional ways of controlling and mitigating cattle diseases and pests. As interpreted and analysed by Lawrence G. Green in 'Old Africa Secrets', Africa had knowledge in medicines for both human and livestock for centuries and indeed Africans had a proven record of success especially as pharmacists.⁸³ Out of the many other ways of treating diarrhoea in calves that proved effective as prescribed by an informant was the mixture of a hen's egg with the ailing calf's mother cow milk.⁸⁴ The mixture was then administered to the sick calf to drink. A Western oriented Veterinary practitioner often decided that a barren cow (*sitwatwa*) be culled to preserve space and food for the other more economically efficient beasts. For a traditional Lozi cattle keeper with interest in the growth of his herd, a barren cow would be given a second chance. As prescribed by former Induna Ingangwana, Benson Akalalambili Kamitondo, barrenness was attributed to over accumulation of fatty tissues.⁸⁵ According to the Induna, the remedy was to yoke the cow to a span of plough oxen. After days of strenuous work as a ploughing cow, when it lost excess fat, it would then be isolated from the herd and kept in the company of an active bull. The cow would then be smeared with fresh milk along its back down to the genitals. The outcome reported by the Induna was that the bull would obviously be stimulated to service the cow. Conception percentage was high according to the informant. With such remedial knowledge, many cows that would have been written off as barren in a European context were spared to regenerate the Lozi herds.

Ticks are a common pest that is a menace to cattle. They do not only cause skin ulcers, but also transmit a host of other cattle diseases.⁸⁶ The modern method of tick control is the usage of sprayers and dip tanks containing disinfectants or chemical pesticides. These chemicals and equipment are very expensive for some traditional keepers to procure and maintain. The Lozi way of controlling ticks involved the experience that most of the plants used as fish poisons also worked effectively against ticks.⁸⁷ The Limulunga-Nayuma Royal Museum also documented the plant *lungwatanga* or *silulu* as very useful against ticks.⁸⁸ Cattle were dipped in water mixed with the crushed *lungwatanga* plant (vines, tubers and leaves). The foregoing information is indicative of some of the many ways the Lozi cattle keepers mitigated cattle diseases and enhanced cattle production.

The informants intimated that it was possible to compile a full document on traditional treatment and medical guide on cattle diseases and pest control. Therefore, Warren's team observations could be validated when it was noted that a substantial amount of local knowledge was bound to be lost or become difficult to retrieve due to some negative inter-cultural influence from domineering Western schools of thought. The Western schools of thought often looked down upon those Africans practices as backward. Arguably, it was not surprising when Akashambatwa M. Lewanika expressed the following sentiments:

The mistake committed by both colonial and post colonial administration was to ignore or discard the best African heritage and instead cling to the most disadvantageous way of the conquerors and local parasites and later day oppressors.⁸⁹

A comparative case of success is that of the Botswana cattle industry in the neighborhood of Bulozhi. There was positive collaboration between traditional keepers and the modern veterinary medicines that led to respectable discoveries and documentation of herbal medicines of great efficacy in cattle.⁹⁰ The Botswana land tenure predominantly remained an African land tenure system, yet their cattle industry remained a success story. As observed by Lubinda, a former insurance manager who served as an expatriate in several Botswana companies, the Tswana land tenure is tied to the success of the Lobatse Botswana cattle industry.⁹¹ As often illustrated in the works of Thomas Malthus, the paternalistic attitude of developed nations had obvious motives to

gain the best out of the marginal lands.⁹² Evidently, Bulozhi was one of the areas considered as a marginal area. In reality, the metropolitan centres of academic and professional expertise on training, peer recognition and professional awards of developed countries were more inclined to overlook Bulozhi cattle keepers knowledge in the related fields of cattle husbandry and livestock medicine.⁹³

The Lozi cattle husbandry system had its own protective devices and methods against disease and pests. Where necessary, they undertook some operations that were not necessarily inferior to the western medicinal practices, but needed basic complimentary support.⁹⁴ That the post colonial Lozi livestock keeper did not react seriously to challenges that are more pressing to cattle husbandry, ought to be argued and interpreted as symptomatic of loss of group initiative and self reliance. The new attitudes, concepts and values derived from European tutelage and dominance created what can be referred to as forced intellectual dwarfism. The truth as revealed by most informants was that there was no refuge or area safe or exempt from foreign conquerors with their ever continuous insatiable demands for labour, tax money, economic crops and livestock.⁹⁵

At times both the colonial and post colonial government authorities tried to shift blame on the failure of cattle husbandry and trade in Bulozhi on traditional land tenure characterized by traditional communal land ownership. In the Bulozhi culture, no citizen was rendered landless unlike the situation common in the Western leasehold land system.⁹⁶ However, Warren's group argued that the traditional land holding should not be the excuse or scapegoat for failed agricultural development in the following sentiments:

Government [European Oriented] efforts to transform some of these common property regimes to private ownership regimes have met failure. Small wonder that Western economists, equating security of tenure with investment in land improvement, sometimes see African common property regimes as an obstacle to development. They erroneously attribute observed land degradation to the system itself, rather than the break down of the institutional

safe guards normally provided by the system under shock of outside forces like colonialism, central government intervention or excessive population pressure.⁹⁷

The portrayal and interpretation of the African land tenure above was similar to the Buluzi case. For the Africans, it showed that the communal land system was fine. Evidently, the African land tenure was misunderstood by the Western schools of thought.

It was common knowledge in Buluzi in both colonial and post colonial periods that there was a great potential in the livestock industry. Arising from such realisation, there arose the ever flowing stream of short stay advisers and technicians with great influence over cattle husbandry and trade.⁹⁸ These influences were particularly noticeable in planning and funding decisions. It was evident that the same experts had an inflated sense of importance of their contribution to animal husbandry over the local keepers in Buluzi

The foregoing attitudes were transferred to the post-independence regime's attitudes and practices. There was a bias in both crop and cattle markets, services, prices support and location which continued to favour cattle and crops produced by European oriented farmers and widely traded on world markets or large internal markets.⁹⁹ Evidently, even in the post colonial period, it was nature to some extent that came to the aid of Buluzi peasant traditionally produced cattle, namely the advent of diseases associated with modernism due to dietary changes: diabetes, obesity and high blood pressure. These diseases compelled some consumers to resort to the 'Back to Eden Concept'.¹⁰⁰ Kurian, an ethno medicine specialist stated clearly the disappointment of humanity with certain aspects of modernity in the following statement:

After suffering from sin of fleeing from nature, under the bewitchment of the so called modernity, man is now loaded with guilt and remorse, coupled with awareness about nature and its goodness.¹⁰¹

It became fashionable by the same purported modern schools of thought to turn to consuming, trading animal and crop products that were often grown and produced in the more natural

environmental conditions. In a way that realization promoted trade in traditionally produced cattle. If rinderpest skipped Bulozu cattle in the 1890s, it was the modern diseases to some extent that drew attention to the peasant and traditionally produced cattle of Bulozu in the later years after independence. As noted in the *Post Newspaper of 26th December 2010* in the article, ‘Government Develops a Comprehensive Dairy Policy’:

The Ministry of Livestock and Fisheries Development has developed a comprehensive dairy development policy. Livestock minister said key outputs of the policy included the enactment by parliament of the Dairy Industry Development Act this year (2010). The main immediate impact of our intervention is that many small holder farmers will see opportunity for making regular and steady income throughout the year through dairy farming. He said.... The project is being implemented by a Consortium of Micro Bankers Trust, Golden Valley Agricultural Research Trust and Agro Consult Africa of Netherlands with support of European Union under the support of Dairy Diversification and Savings programme for food security. The milk collected at the centres is from indigenous Barotse breed of cattle and some of it brought to these centres by boats and canoes.¹⁰²

As illustrated further by Chisanga, and others, the near extinct Tonga breed of cattle is now under preservation, though small in bodily stature, had superior disease resistant qualities.¹⁰³ Such realization is of historical significance because it has given credit to indigenous breeds, traditional practitioners of Bulozu and world wide peasant producers, who might not have necessarily turned to European modes of cattle trade. Although Bulozu cattle were produced under traditional and peasant modes, there still was market, sufficient to encourage and reassure the local and small holder producers of its continuity. With all the foregoing interpretations on challenges and opportunities on cattle husbandry and trade in Bulozu, up to 1973, cattle still remained traditionally produced. The illustrations below from Jubilee – Zambia report, Mongu team paints a picture on some of the cattle trade activities that took place in the 1960s.¹⁰⁴

Table 2

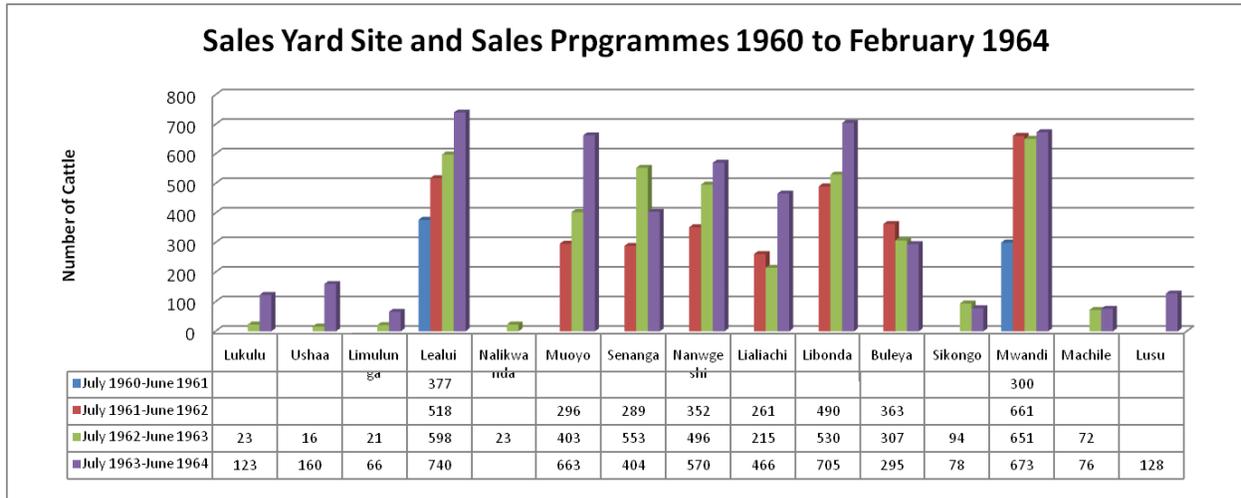
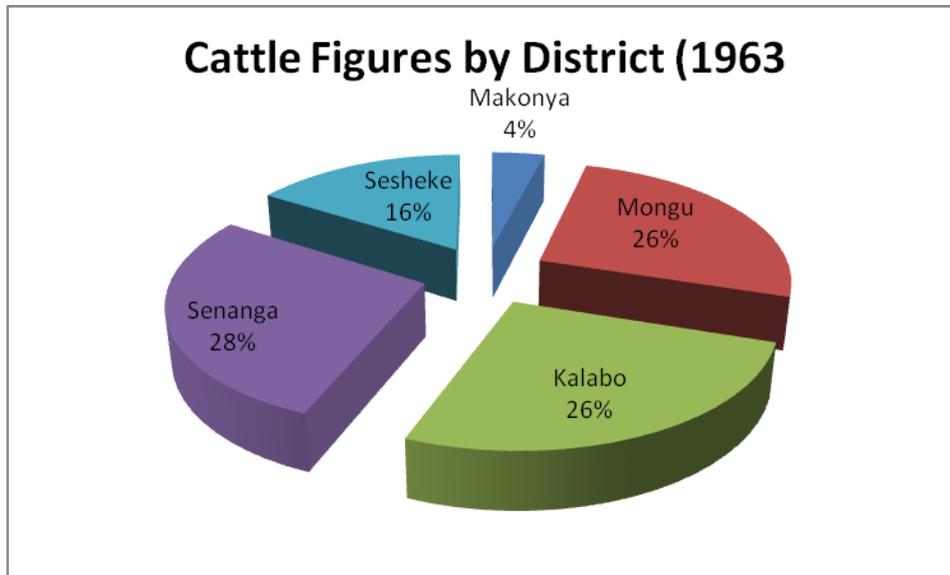


Figure 2: Cattle Figures by District (1963)



Source: Annual Report of the Resident Commioner, Mongu

The total number of cattle in 1963 was 266,779. The distribution of the animals according to the district is shown in Figure 2. It worthwhile to note that Mongu figures include the present Lukulu District, while the

Senanga figures includes present day Shangombo District. Also to be noted Mankoya in now called Kaoma.

Table 3: Cattle Distribution by District (1955-1962)

Year	Kalabo	Mankoya	Mongu	Senanga	Sesheke	Totals
1962	79,003	43,776	93,189	64,683	36,671	317,322
1961	77,459	43,529	92,104	64,222	35,155	312,469
1960	76,341	42,395	90,825	63,506	34,284	307,351
1959	73,566	41,595	91,400	59,747	34,223	300,531
1958	72,690	40,699	91,195	59,309	34,345	298,238
1957	71,695	41,077	92,053	59,155	32,166	296,146
1956	67,821	41,683	90,499	57,727	32,061	289,791
1955	67,251	42,356	88,375	57,239	31,026	286,247

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the consequences of African-European contacts in cattle related activities. The contacts introduced the usage of cash and European produced goods in the purchase of cattle. The labour returnees equally brought cash and goods into the Buluzi economy. It was the European penetration and settlement that also prompted the rural-urban drift. This movement caused internal displacement of workers. In the long run, the rural Buluzi was deprived of a significant proportion of male labour, which negatively affected cattle trade. The colonial authorities did not fully support African cattle trade. Instead it was the European farmers who were backed by the colonial authorities to undertake serious cattle farming in the areas of high economic potential. Africans were not permitted to take insurance policies. Banks were mainly meant for Europeans. It could be suggested that without insurance cover Lozi cattle keepers and traders could not insure against disease outbreaks. Instead those traditional cattle keepers resorted to hoarding their cash earnings or resorted to traditional form of insurance such as *mafisa*.

Even though the post colonial or nationalist UNIP government paid some attention to cattle trade in Zambia, it was equally misplaced in favour of state owned ranches. The traditional cattle herders remained unsupported. The mono-economy based on copper designed by the colonial government also had a tendency to pull rural labour at the expense of the rural agricultural undertakings. The effect of UDI in 1965, worsened by the oil crisis of the 1970s weakened the Zambian economy, affecting all spheres of economic activities in the country negatively. The central planning inclination of the nationalist government did not compliment each other very well, with the mono economy based on a single resource copper. The subsequent collapse of the agricultural sector in general also meant the non success of cattle husbandry and trade in Buluzi.

Cattle mortality rates were very high during flood seasons. Good pasture grounds were scarce during flood times resulting into cattle dying from stress and starvation. That drastically reduced on the cattle sales in Buluzi. The colonial veterinary vision was not very supportive to Lozi cattle trade since it did not cover serious research in traditional cattle breeds. That inadequate research approach together with the conservative attitude of many Lozi cattle keepers could be pointed to as possible causes to insufficient progress in cattle trade in Buluzi. Despite many foreign traders who got involved in buying Lozi cattle to resell to the European settlements, that did not help matters too, the traditional keepers still confined themselves to their old modes of cattle trade. The nationalist government also rendered more support to the state ranches than traditional cattle keepers. The government attached more qualified veterinary staff and technical advisors to state ranches. It could be argued that the government's lack of support to the Lozi traditional land tenure and indigeneous knowledge systems could be attributed to the weakening of traditional cattle trade in Buluzi.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

The study has demonstrated that the resilience of Bulozhi traditional cattle keepers survived the inadequate support from both the colonial and post colonial authorities. European mining and urban settlements obviously attracted the best manpower from the rural areas at the expense of cattle keepers. As evident in this work, male adults who left rural areas in search of more gainful employment in European settlements, obviously, depleted the labour that could have been utilized in cattle husbandry and trade activities in Bulozhi. The consequence was the poor cattle husbandry management that ended up utilizing the not so effective youths, women and very old men in villages. Yet, the rudimentary labour that remained in Bulozhi, carried on with the age old herding agricultural activities that provided enough supply to such cattle entrepreneurs as Susman Brothers and Wulfsohns along with other European cattle buying agents. These cattle buyers, supplied European settlements locally and internationally.

The failure of Bulozhi cattle keepers from becoming very rich peasants, was closely attributed to the intermittent out breaks of Contagious Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia disease that in turn necessitated cattle movement bans from Bulozhi to other areas of need within Zambia and outside. The Cordon line politics between the Portuguese interests in colonial Angola and British interests in Bulozhi (Zambia) slowed down progress in controlling the outbreaks of contagious bovine pleuro pneumonia. The Portuguese despised British attempts to strengthen Cordon line patrols since they feared that the area might become a British stronghold or sphere of influence. As such, the Portuguese often intimidated the African cattle keepers on the Angolan side near the cordon line not to support British efforts to do with contagious pleuro pneumonia control. The other conclusion reached was that, too much foreign influence induced by the colonial authorities had a tendency to underplay the importance of local knowledge systems which had always been used successfully by the Lozi cattle keepers, be it in animal disease control, land utilisation or animal production.

The fact that, Bulozhi on the eve of colonial domination by the British Empire, proved to be a very strong African Kingdom, also implied that, Bulozhi could not experience a wholesale settlement and domination by European farmers at a scale compared to other areas referred to as

high economic potential areas for European settlers. The kingdom retained some special land status, but to the exclusion of European profit propelled cattle husbandry farmers. Indeed, the absence of European farmers entailed that, the animal husbandry activities remained in the hands of the Lozi people. Unlike the Europeans with a profit motive in cattle farming; the Malozi motive in cattle farming or herding economy mainly had to do with status uplifting, self esteem and peace of mind.

Since the road network was poor in Bulozhi, it also implied that cattle were trekked on the hoof to the areas of need. The consequence was that by the time the animals reached slaughter places, they had lost considerable weight. Selling cattle in such a state was a significant loss. Therefore, it usually took few organized cattle buying groups like the Susman Brothers to venture into such risks not the conservative Lozi cattle producers themselves. It was also evident that, the Colonial Government paid more attention to the white European cattle farmers. That meant the traditional producers did not receive full support to allow expansion in cattle husbandry and trade. The Africans were seen to be competing for the same resources with their European contemporaries. The resources of the local peasant and traditionally oriented farmers could not kick start the cattle husbandry and trade to an appreciable rich peasant level since, supporting institutions, like banks and insurance companies were a preserve for the European traders and farmers. Had banks been availed to traditional cattle keepers, perhaps they could have obtained loans to capitalize cattle husbandry and trade. It could be suggested that if the traditional cattle keepers had access to insurance companies they could have insured against insurable perils such as disease outbreaks especially Contiguous Bovine Pleuro Pneumonia. Absence of bank and insurance services to Africans was evident from the colonial period up to 1968 when the first bank was opened in Mongu. Added to that disadvantage, the African produced beef fetched much lower prices compared to the 'so called' European grade commercial beef. Furthermore, the Nationalist Government from 1964 also neglected the Lozi traditional cattle producers. The government's interest was more inclined to the state ranches. These received full government support and full research back up and government workers were attached to them. Therefore, the lukewarm or inadequate leadership from both Colonial and Nationalist governments meant that the Lozi continued producing cattle in the same old traditional ways. They (Lozi) did not take advantage of the modern innovations such as the usage stock piled hay for animal feed during flood time. The animals selected for sale were not fattened in preparation for market as modern trends

required. The fact that, Mazabuka Veterinary Research Station was located far away from Bulozhi also meant that, the Lozi could not directly access the veterinary research benefits compared to the European settlements. Equally important, was the fact that, both the colonial and post colonial governments along with the Lozi people themselves failed to take full advantage of the readily available grass in the central Barotse Plain. Instead of harvesting the grass to make hay during the dry seasons, nature was allowed to take its own course; the cattle were simply moved to convenient upland areas where they were over-crowded and struggled for whatever little grazing ground there could be during flood seasons. Cattle mortality rates during flood times was always high. Cattle keeping in Bulozhi remained a traditional undertaking. It was practised based on traditional communal land system. Unlike the Botswana case where they also practised traditional land tenure and succeeded, Bulozhi cattle husbandry remained traditionally produced. The traditional keepers in Bulozhi were not fully supported both by the colonial and post colonial governments on a scale compared to Botswana.

The retention of cattle for non-economic reasons by the traditional keepers was equally a long held practice that worked against new positive trends in cattle related economic activities in Bulozhi. Subjecting cattle to the annual shifting from the flood plain to the dry upland areas had a negative effect. The cattle became stressed and starved to death after covering long distances in search of pasture on small convenient grazing grounds. That was the time when predator attacks were frequent too. That subsequently increased cattle mortality. Undoubtedly, that led to huge losses of wealth as evidenced in this work. The conservative nature of herders of Bulozhi along with the swampy nature of the central Barotse plain rarely attracted Europeans. This can be understood, since capitalist investors had a tendency to invest where conditions were ideal. Ideal conditions implied places of weak labour union organisations (or non existence of the same) and cheaper labour. Indeed Bulozhi labour could have been cheap, but not necessarily the strength and cunningness of their traditional aristocracy, at the time of colonial settlements in the Northern Rhodesia. Therefore, from the foregoing factors it became vividly clear why Lozi cattle keepers, remained traditional or not very rich peasant producers up to 1973 despite a long history of resilience in cattle husbandry and trade.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

English Words and Phrases

Back to Eden concept – An idea that encourages the consumption of more naturally grown organisms.

Branding – An identity mark impressed on an animal's body using a hot iron.

Bull Ratio – The ideal number of bulls meant to service cows per herd.

Calf Rate – The number of calves born per herd annually.

Colonial Period – The time when Zambia was ruled by Britain.

Cull – To eliminate unwanted animals.

Eartags – Identification mark attached to the ear of an animal.

Hay – Grass cut and prepared as stock feed.

Herdsmen – A person who takes care of cattle.

Intellectual Dwarfism – A negative tendency to think and feel that foreign ideas and material goods are better than local ones.

Inbreeding – A biologically and culturally discouraged tendency of mating between closely related animals or humans.

Laissez faire – An economic theory which discourages state or government interference in trade and industrial affairs of a country

Salted horse – A very experienced horse immuned to diseases that kill other animals of its kind.

Appendix II

Silozi Words

Imbuwa – Lozi royal herdsman.

Imutongo – Lozi royal herdsman.

Induna – a Lozi court official or representative of Barotse Royal Establishment.

Ishee kwandu – The prince consort to the southern Lozi kingdom (Husband to Mulena Mukwae).

Kupailela – to invoke spirits through prayer.

Kuwa Kuwa – a Lozi cattle enumerator.

Kweta – payment in cash or kind with intent to induce favours (bribery).

Lingamba – Tribute or gift to the Lozi Royal Establishment through the office of the Ngambela (Prime Minister).

Linubu – Tribute paid to the Lozi royal Establishment through the office of the Natamoyo (Minister of Justice).

Litunga – Lozi King.

Mafisa – Cattle let out to be herded by a trustee, friend or partner, with the intent to safeguard against possibility of loss.

Masika – A family grouping.

Mbuwa – Royal cattle herd.

Mukwa Manyinga – A blood relative or very close family friend.

Mukwange Mushemi – parents to the Bridegroom and bride.

Mulena Mukwae – The lozi Female Southern Kingdom Ruler.

Natamoyo – Lozi Minister of Justice and Royal Affairs.

Ngambela – Lozi Prime Minister.

Pizo - a traditional Lozi call of duty or gathering for important issues.

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