

COLONIALISM AND THE CATTLE INDUSTRY IN
NAMWALA DISTRICT: A STUDY OF THE IMPACT OF THE
POLICIES OF TAXATION AND CATTLE MARKETING ON THE ILA,
1900 - 1964

BY

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COLONIALISM AND THE CATTLE INDUSTRY

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IN NAMWALA DISTRICT, 1900 - 1964

DECLARATION

I, Oliver Himakanta Pandya, hereby declare that
this dissertation represents my own work, and that
it has not previously been submitted for a degree at
this or another University.

SIGNATURE

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APPROVAL

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my sons Castro Nkumbu,
Oliver and Heambo, and to my daughters Norah and
ukobo.

ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to assess the impact of colonial rule on the traditional cattle economy of the Ila in Southern Province of Zambia during the period of the colonial rule, 1900 to 1964. The Ila or Baila of Namwala District have had a long tradition of cattle rearing. In the pre-colonial period cattle rearing attracted raids on the Ila by the Kololo, Ndebele and the Lozi. Throughout the colonial and post colonial periods cattle rearing has been the principal cash earning sector of the economy. Free from tsetse fly the Kafue river with its wide plain have been of crucial importance to the cattle ownership in Namwala.

The Ila were integrated to the colonial economy through the policy of taxation. With taxation, cattle rearing became the principal cash earning sector of the economy. Cattle were sold to meet tax obligations and to buy other newly introduced items. Non-cattle owning men from Namwala began to migrate in search of wage employment.

Although cattle rearing has been the principal cash earning sector of the economy, the volume of cattle sold for commercial purposes has remained small. Like many other traditional cattle owners, the Ila have been criticised for their alleged reluctance to sell their cattle. This dissertation attempts to investigate the limiting factors of tsetse fly, maize cultivation, poor grazing methods, traditional cattle slaughterings and many other factors that have had an adverse impact on the cattle population in Namwala.

Our basic aim is to provide some historical analysis of the Ila cattle industry during the colonial era. While we focus on factors that have limited the expansion of the cattle industry, we have also argued that the colonial government through the Veterinary and Game and Tsetse Control Departments carried out appropriate measures that were intended to contain cattle diseases and prevent the spread of tsetse fly with its bovine trypanosomiasis. We have also argued that poor traditional cattle management techniques, social and cultural attitudes of the cattle owners have played an important role in reducing cattle sales among the Ila. For instance, many cattle owners still value their cattle in social and ritual contexts thereby reducing cattle sold for commercial purposes.

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ABBREVIATIONS

N.A.Z.	-	National Archives of Zambia
BSAC	-	British South Africa Company
ANC	-	African National Congress

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INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Southern Province of Zambia has been the focus of detailed and extensive research by a number of scholars and researchers. Through the works of scholars such as Elizabeth Colson, Jotham Momba, Kenneth Vickery and Samuel Chipungu,¹ Southern Province and particularly the Tonga plateau, has over the years, accumulated valuable literature. The works of these scholars have highlighted the economic and political dynamics of the peasantry in the line-of-rail districts of Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and Kalomo. In these districts the Tonga experienced an extensive cash crop, mainly maize production during the colonial era.²

The Namwala District, predominantly inhabited by the Ila or Baila, is one of the districts that make up Southern Province. The first major writers on the Ila, early in the twentieth century, were Edwin Smith and Andrew Dale. Before 1920, Smith and Dale, missionary and Administrator respectively, were able to conduct extensive oral interviews and recorded details of African life leading to the production and publication of the two-volume text,³ The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia in 1920. Apart from the two authors, Robin Fielder⁴ conducted a detailed and extensive research on the role of cattle in the Ila economy in the period 1966 to 1969. His study is extremely useful to us. The other notable researcher to Namwala District is H.A. Maclean,⁵ whose 1962 Reconnaissance Survey highlights for us the factors that have limited the expansion of the cattle industry in the district. Other researchers include Emiliias Kalapula, Keith Rennie and Austin Mubita and Absolom Mulongo.⁶ Through the works of these scholars and researchers, a good deal has been known about the

Ila-speaking people of Namwala District.

The Tonga who are neighbours to the Ila and are culturally similar emerged as an energetic peasantry in maize production in the 1930s, only cattle rearing proved viable for the Ila during the colonial period. Although maize had become an important cash crop during the colonial period, the Ila experienced only brief and irregular periods of successful maize production during the colonial era. The extreme distance from the market and lack of transport were some of the factors that discouraged cash crop production among the Ila.

The Southern Province and particularly the Namwala District has had a long tradition of cattle ownership, since approximately 900 A.D.⁸ The early Europeans to come in contact with the people who occupied areas under present Namwala District have reported seeing large herds of cattle owned by the people of the region. The Czech traveller and Adventurer, Emil Holub traversed through the communities of Mbeza, Kabulamwanda, Kasenga to Busangu in 1886, Holub remarked that "Cattle as the only domestic animals make up the main wealth of Maschukulumbe (SIC!)"⁹

In 1888 Fredrick Selous, the famous hunter, came into contact with the people of the region and wondered why they were naked. Thus, Selous remarked, "This nakedness does not arise from poverty, for these people, having large herds of cattle, are well off for hides; but it is the fashion in this part of the world to go naked"¹⁰

In 1919 Smith and Dale estimated that the cattle owned by the Baila amounted to seventy thousand, and that they were yearly increasing.¹¹

cattle 40 percent of the taxable males are away.¹³

Following this line of argument, Mulongo suggested that "the Ila had no need for wage labour".¹⁴ Evans's and Mulongo's arguments

In investigating the constraints imposed on the Ila cattle economy Mulongo concentrated on the cattle pests in the form of tsetse fly. According to Mulongo, low cattle sales from Namwala District were mainly due to the disease situation, and particularly the spread of tsetse fly. Mulongo, paid attention to many other factors that might have determined cattle sales from the district.¹² This study is an attempt to investigate the constraints that affected cattle exports from Namwala District during the colonial period.

More important, this study is an attempt to offer a historical analysis of the impact of the colonial state policies on the Ila cattle industry. Our contention is that colonial rule with its policies of taxation, labour migration and a discriminatory cattle marketing system, combined with other constraints arising from the operations of the political economy had an adverse effect on the Ila.

This study has the following main objectives: Firstly, the study will investigate in historical perspective the impact of the colonial policy of taxation on the Ila. In his 1950 article on the 'Ila Venereal Disease Campaign' Evans asserted that:

The Baila do not go to work very much as compared with other tribes. The percentage who do go from each Chief's area is interestingly, in inverse proportion to the wealth in cattle of the area. Thus from the two Chiefs' areas richest in cattle 15 percent and 16 percent respectively of the taxable males are away at work, while from a Chief poor in cattle 40 percent of the taxable males are away.¹³

Following this line of argument, Mulongo suggested that "the Ila had no need for wage labour".¹⁴ Evans's and Mulongo's arguments

/too simplistic an assessment of a situation which was really /offer rather complex and varied. In contrast, this study attempts to offer a comprehensive and critical examination of the impact of colonial rule on the Ila. This study goes beyond the simplistic equation between the wealth in cattle of the area and the low level of male labour migration, to examine/more profound question; namely, to /a what extent did cattle ownership or lack of it influence the rate of male labour migration? For this we must adopt a more historical approach, one that recognises the influences of ideology, social, political and economic factors on the colonial political economy and participation in it by Africans in general and the Ila in particular.

Secondly, this study will investigate the attempt by the Ila to commercialise their cattle. C. Lombard and A.H.C. Tweedie have observed that traditional cattle owners have come under widespread criticism for their alleged reluctance to sell their cattle.¹⁵ For the Ila, Smith and Dale wrote:

Above all their possessions, above kith or kin, wife or child, the Baila with few and occasional exceptions, love and value their cattle. They prized exceptionally beautiful oxen, decorated them, praised them in songs and dancing. They sold few, and would not use them for labour, but then they slaughtered them in great funerals.¹⁶

Such statements by early colonial officials regarding the Ila affection for their cattle contributed to the 'cattle complex' myth. The myth is that traditional livestock owners would not sell their cattle because their "economic concern is overlaid by mystical and ritual devotion to their stock, and by the desire to accumulate merely for prestige".¹⁷ This study will attempt to investigate cattle trade and constraints that affected the cattle

industry and thereby reduced the volume of commercial sales from Namwala District during the colonial era. Our study involves a critical examination of the impact of the cattle marketing and control ordinance of 1937. It will be necessary to investigate the activities of cattle traders, the prices obtained and the cattle marketing arrangements.

Thirdly, our study attempts to examine the role of the colonial state in attempts to control cattle pests and outbreak of cattle diseases. The government veterinary policy in containing cattle pests and diseases took the form of tsetse fly control measures and inoculations to cure bovine trypanosomiasis and other cattle diseases. We shall attempt to examine the effectiveness of the various measures undertaken by the colonial government.

The main purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the constraints on cattle production by the Africans and the Ila in particular. Throughout the colonial period the sale of cattle by Africans in Northern Rhodesia was reported to be disappointingly low. In 1964 it was estimated that the off-take from the traditional herd was approximately 3 percent compared with 14 percent per annum from the commercial producers.¹⁸ In this study an attempt will be made to investigate the various factors such as productivity, mortality rate, grazing methods, quality of bulls and other factors involved in cattle production, all of which might have limited the expansion of African cattle industry and thereby reduced the volume of commercial sales. Our study will also involve an investigation of social and cultural values held by traditional cattle owners. As Colson correctly argues, "The questions which have to be asked are basically why the cattle are owned and what benefits are felt and expected by the individual,

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and secondly, how they are held. Thus, an investigation of social attitudes is of fundamental importance in understanding why cattle owners cannot sell along commercial lines and in attempts at encouraging sales along commercial lines from the traditional cattle owners and the Ila in particular.

Our study and choice for Namwala District in particular can be justified on a number of grounds. First, unlike most of the country's rural areas, cattle rearing has the longest tradition in this district. As already said, the Ila people have the longest uninterrupted tradition of cattle ownership. In fact, the Baila have been very pronounced in cattle-ownership. In 1970 Fielder estimated that the cattle population in Namwala was about 100,000 and he was of the opinion that the Ila were the wealthiest cattle owners in Central Africa, with an average of 13.1 for each adult male.²⁰ Second, this study will attempt to critically examine the validity of the 'cattle complex' myth in relation to the Ila. Fielder has outlined the complex role that cattle play in the Ila economy. Fielder has shown that cattle were important in a social context²¹ and represented stored surplus wealth. Thus, rather than concentrating on the myth our study involves an investigation of the roles that cattle play in the social and cultural contexts. Like Fielder's study we shall attempt to demonstrate why the Ila cattle owners cannot sell their cattle along commercial lines. Our study will go further by investigating constraints on cattle production and other factors that might have influenced the rate of cattle sales from Namwala District at different times during the colonial era. Therefore, our study should significantly add to the overall understanding of the Ila cattle industry.

Third, the study involves the investigation of cattle ownership and social differentiation among the Ila during the colonial era. Here the issues are: To what extent were the pre-existing inequalities and disparities in cattle ownership affected by the imposition of colonial rule?

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and how did cattle ownership or lack of it influence the rate of male labour migration from different communities of Namwala District? An investigation of the impact of taxation on the Ila would certainly show varying responses from different categories of men in various communities.

Finally, this study will contribute in the understanding of the importance of cattle to the owners and will highlight some of the problems experienced by the traditional cattle owners so that a rational approach can be made towards helping them to manage their cattle on commercial lines.

Although our main discussion will be on the cattle industry in Namwala District, to do so effectively calls for frequent discussion of a broad balanced picture of the livestock industry in Northern Rhodesia especially on matters of veterinary policy on tsetse fly and disease control measures, and livestock marketing which ultimately affected the Namwala District. Therefore, our discussion will be placed in the broader context of the livestock industry in Northern Rhodesia and its problems and the colonial government's objectives and measures in disease control, general livestock improvement and better marketing.

PERIODIZATION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This study will cover the period 1900 to 1964 as this was the period of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia. As the period 1900-1964 is long there is need for a careful periodization. A careful periodization is necessary because in Northern Rhodesia the policies of the colonial state did not remain consistent throughout the period under study. Writing on peasant social formations, and differentiations on the Tonga plateau, Chipungu has stated that the colonial state policies were contradictory even in matters of peasant technology and those affecting the health of the livestock.

In Chapter I, we shall attempt to achieve two objectives. Firstly, we shall analyse briefly the geographical and historical background of the chosen area of study. An attempt will be made

to situate the district within the socio-economic and political structures of the country. And, secondly, an attempt will be made to discuss the pre-colonial and social stratification of the Baila with emphasis on the role of cattle. A discussion of the pre-colonial Ila society is crucial in assessing the extent to which the Ila political, social and economic organisation prior to European rule was eventually transformed by the introduction of colonial rule.

The first phase 1900 to 1924 will cover Chapter II of this dissertation. This phase represented the imposition of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company (henceforth BSAC). This was the period when the colonial policies were introduced and imposed upon Africans in Northern Rhodesia. Consequently, it was the period when the Ila like many other peoples in Northern Rhodesia were being incorporated into the wider colonial political economy through the policies of taxation, labour migration and cattle marketing. We shall give a brief background to the policy of taxation in Northern Rhodesia through which the Ila were integrated to the colonial economy. Our assumption is that as a cattle-owning people the best opportunity by which the Ila participated in the colonial economy was by selling their cattle. An attempt will be made to investigate the attempt by the cattle owners to commercialize their stock. However, not all Ila men owned cattle. We shall investigate labour migration among the Ila and particularly men without cattle. We shall also investigate and analyse the role of the company administration in the cattle industry. We shall analyse the several measures that the company administration took in an attempt to contain cattle pests and diseases.

Chapter III covers the period 1924 to 1938. From several interviews with our informants and from district colonial reports it is /this period witnessed the frequent occurrences of cattle pests and /evident that diseases. We shall investigate how these cattle pests and diseases affected the cattle industry, and how cattle pests and diseases became constraints on the cattle industry in the 1930s. We shall critically investigate the role of the colonial state in the Ila cattle industry. Here, the issue is, what measures did the state take in containing the cattle pests and diseases, and whether such measures were successful or not.

More significantly, the colonial state enacted the cattle marketing and control ordinance in 1937.²³ We shall briefly explain the history of the cattle industry in Northern Rhodesia leading up to control in 1937. Lastly, this was the period when, according to our informants and colonial reports, there was a high rate of labour migration from Namwala District to centres of wage employment. We shall investigate the causes and the extent of labour migration from different areas of Namwala. An attempt will be made to investigate how cattle ownership or lack of it influenced the extent of male labour migration.

Equally important too, this was the period when the colonial government introduced and imposed restrictions on the long term traditional hunting practices, Chila of the Ila. Such restrictions were imposed in the form of dog taxes, gun and game licenses. We shall investigate the responses of the Ila to these restrictions.

Chapter IV will cover World War and Post World War II period, 1939 to 1964. As part of the British Colonial system, Northern Rhodesia became important as the production of the much needed copper was crucial for the war effort. In a critical and

comprehensive examination of the constant changing position of the colonial state policies, Chipungu has argued that the state's agricultural policy for most of this period was designed to encourage and stimulate peasants into higher productivity "as part of the wareffort".²⁴

After the war the financial position of the colonial government greatly improved as a result of the end of the financial demands of the war and an increase in the price of copper. Along with the improved financial position came a reassessment of government policy aims and the introduction of national planning. In 1945 development plans were drawn up and gained momentum from 1947 onwards. In its development plans and budget allocations, the colonial government considered Africans. The government policy toward African cattle industry took the form of tsetse fly and disease control measures and the provision of better marketing facilities. This period was characterised by the increased participation of Africans in the colonial economy as peasant producers; selling both livestock and crops for cash.

In Chapter IV we shall investigate the tsetse fly and disease control measures for livestock undertaken by the colonial state. We shall investigate other veterinary measures that were undertaken to contain other cattle diseases. We shall discuss cattle trade and the rate of cattle sales from the African cattle owners and from the Ila in particular. We shall examine the impact of the cattle marketing and control ordinance of 1937 on the African cattle owners, and particularly on the Ila. An attempt will be made to examine the cattle marketing arrangements and attempts by the state to provide better marketing facilities.

Lastly, an attempt will be made to investigate and explore constraints on African cattle production, and social and cultural factors that have determined the rate of cattle sales by Africans and by the Ila cattle owners in particular.

DATA COLLECTION

The data on which this dissertation is based were derived from a variety of sources. The first part of data included the bulk of published and unpublished secondary sources-books, articles, seminar papers, /Official reports from the University of Zambia, /and Library. This literature formed the preliminary reading on our topic and was undertaken in the period of September to November, 1989. Secondly, the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) made up an important component of the research. The NAZ has a number of colonial reports and secretariat files dealing with taxation, cattle diseases, cattle marketing and other aspects of colonialism in Northern Rhodesia. For Namwala District, the NAZ has very useful colonial reports - district notebooks, annual reports and tour reports - all of which were extremely useful to our study. Reading from NAZ was undertaken in the month of December, 1989. However, for constant references, we kept on going to NAZ throughout our process of writing. We were able to collect data from the National Assembly Library.

The third part of our research involved the field trip to Namwala District. During the field trips data were collected through oral and written interviews with the Ila. During our field trip we visited the areas of Mbeza, Kabulamwanda, Maala, Baambwe and Ngabo in Chiefs Nalubamba, Mungaila and Mukobela. Cattle ownership has been heavily concentrated in these Chiefs' areas for a long time. We also visited other areas in which cattle ownership is considerably low. The field trips were undertaken from January to December, 1989.

The final stage in our research has been the interpretation and evaluation of the collected data.

NOTES

1. See E. Colson, Marriage and the Family Among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958);

J. C. Momba, "The State, Peasant Differentiation and Rural Class Formation in Zambia: A Case Study of Mazabuka and Monze Districts" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1982); P.K. Vickery, Black and White in South Zambia: The Tonga Economy and British Imperialism 1890-1939 (New York: Green Wood Press, 1986); S.N. Chipungu, The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province, 1930-1986 (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1988).
2. See Momba, "The State and Peasant Differentiation".
3. See E. Smith and A. Dale, The Ila-Speaking People of Northern Rhodesia: Vols I and II (London: MacMillan and Company Ltd, 1920).
4. See R.J. Fielder, "The Role of Cattle in the Ila Economy: A Conflict of views on the Uses of Cattle by the Ila of Namwala", African Social Research 15 (1973), 327-360.
5. See H.A.M. Maclean, "An Agricultural Reconnaissance Survey of Namwala District", (1962).
6. See E. S. Kalapula "Kafue River Basin Development: its Effect Ecology and Land Use" (M.A. Dissertation, Arizona State University, 1976);

J.K. Rennie and A. Mubita, "Pre-Colonial Economy and Society around Itezahitezhi", in R. Derricourt (ed), Man on the Kafue (London: 'Ethinographica', 1985);

- A. H. Mulongo, "Change in the Economy and Environment Under Colonial Rule: A Comparative Study of Namwala and Bengweulu, 1950-1964 (M.A. Thesis, Lusaka: University of Zambia, 1980).
7. See K.P. Vckery, "Saving Settlers: Maize Control in Northern Rhodesia," Journal of Southern African Studies 11. 2(1985)
 8. B. Fagan, "The Iron Age Sequence in Southern Province of Northern Rhodesia", Journal of African History, 4(1963), 162
 - 9.. E. Holub, Travels North of the Zambezi 1885-1886, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1975), p. 119.
 10. F. Selous, Travel and Adventure in South East Africa, (London: Rowland Ward and Company Ltd., 1893). p. 219
 11. Smith and Dale, The Ila Speaking People, p.130.
 12. Mulongo, "Change in the Economy and Environment".
 13. A. Evans, "The Ila V.D. Campaigns", Rhodes-Livingstone Journal IX (1950), 45-46.
 14. Mulongo, "Change in the Economy and Environment," p.79
 15. C. S. Lombard and H. H. C. Tweedie, Agriculture in Zambia Since Independence (Lusaka: Neczam, 1972). p. 47.
 16. Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, p. 127.
 17. Fielder, "The Role of Cattle", 327; For an Extended Discussion on the Cattle Complex Myth, See M.J. Herskovits "The Cattle Complex in East Africa", American Anthropologist, 28 (1926), 230-272, 361-388, 494-528, 633-657.
 18. Ministry of Agriculture, Review of the Operations of Agricultural Marketing Committee During the Year end 30th June 1965, (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1965), p.4

19. E. Colson, "The Role of cattle among the Plateau Tonga of Mazabuka District" Rhodes-Livingstone Papers VII, XII, (1951), 25-29;

See also J.A. Hellen, Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890-1964 (Munchen: Weltforum Verlag, 1968), p. 146.
20. Fielder, "The Role of Cattle", 328
21. Fielder, "The Role of Cattle", 337-338
22. Chipungu, The State and Technology, p. 10
23. N.A.Z., Sec 3/575 The Cattle Marketing and Control Ordinance 1937-1938.
24. Chipungu, The State and Technology, p. 11.

CHAPTER I

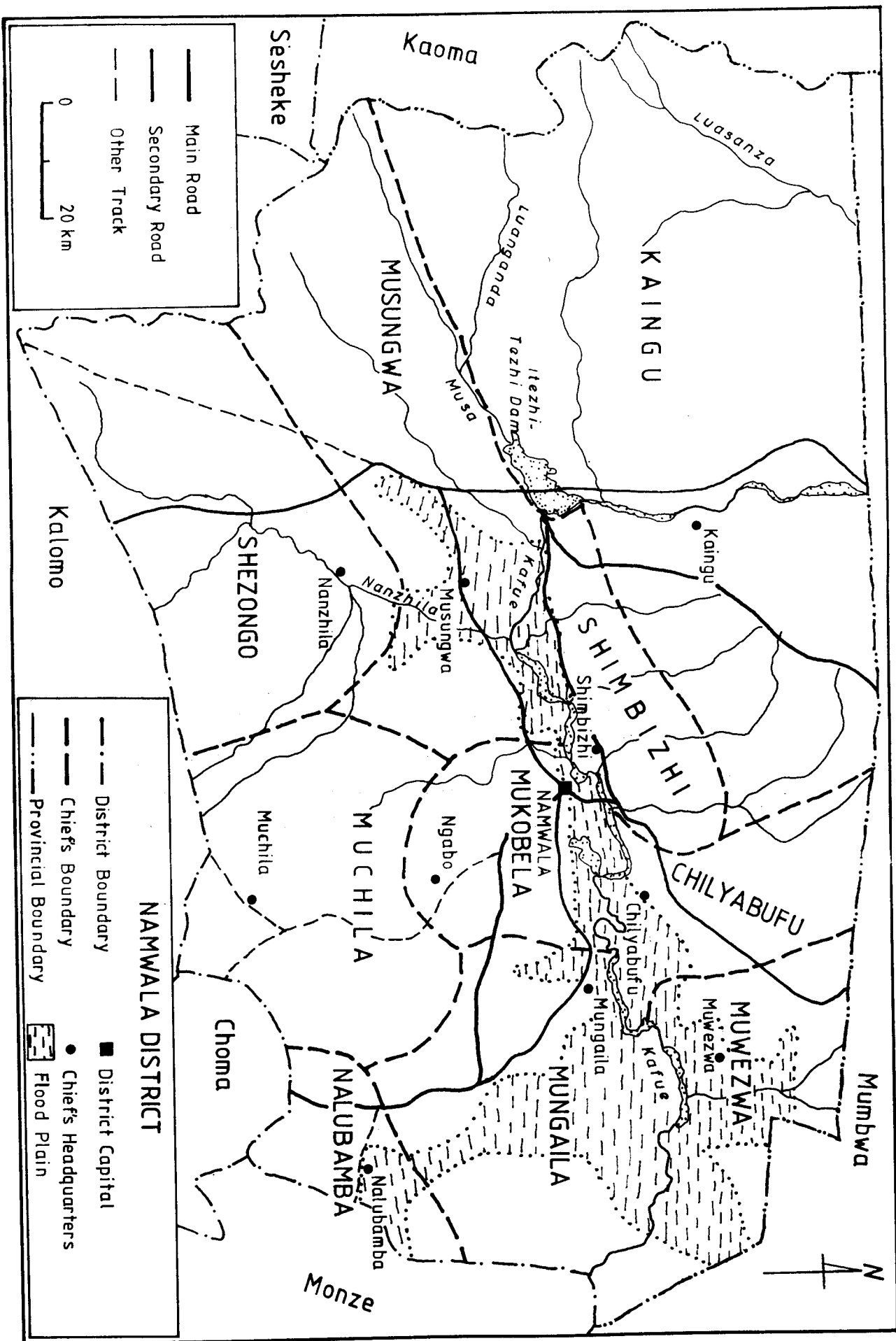
GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Area of Study

The Namwala District covers an estimated area of 5630 square miles (14412 km²), but two-thirds of this is uninhabited and mostly infested with tsetse fly bearing disease for cattle.¹ "The District is bounded on the north side by Mumbwa District, on the east and south-east by Mazabuka and Choma Districts respectively, to the south by Kalomo District and to the west by the Kafue National Park".² For administrative purposes, the District was divided into ten Chieftainships during the colonial period. These were Kaingu, Shimbizhi, Chilyabufu and Muwezwa on the north of the Kafue river known as the North Bank, Muchila and Musungwa and Shezongo in the south and south-west respectively, Nalubamba in south-east, Mungaila in the east and Mukobela in the centre. (See Map 1)

Whereas some of these Chieftainships emerged during the pre-colonial era such as Mukobela, others emerged during the colonial period. However, under the BSAC rule, "The Chiefs' judicial powers were not recognised in law...."³ Practically, therefore, Chiefs lost their traditional powers over their people during the company rule. In 1930s the British Colonial Office administration introduced the 'Indirect Rule' system by which means they ruled Africans through their traditional African Chiefs. Under the Indirect Rule system the Colonial Governor was empowered to appoint African Chiefs.⁴ Thus, traditional Chiefs' status were recognised. But Chieftainships were modelled to suit the British desire and interests and Chiefs lost their meaningful

NAMWALA DISTRICT : CHIEFTAINSHIPS AND DISTRICT BOUNDARIES



traditional power over their people.

Of the ten chieftainships Kaingu and Shezongo were founded by the groups of Lozi immigrants generally referred to as Iron workers and balcksmiths.⁵ To the Ila of the other chieftainships, the Kaingu's and Shezongo's people are referred to as Balumbu⁶ (Lozi foreigners).

In analysing the impact of colonial rule and other constraints on the cattle industry in Namwala District, we shall mainly focus our investigations and analysis on the three Chieftainships of Mukobela, Mungaila and Nalubamba. In the pre-colonial and post-colonial periods, cattle ownership was concentrated in these Chieftainships. During our extensive field trip we found that the richest cattle owners in the District were concentrated in these Chieftainships. These Chieftainships border and have access to grazing on the Kafue flats. The wide Kafue plain which is free from tsetse fly is of crucial importance in the ownership of cattle. Fielder rightly noted that the flats make Namwala one of the most productive cattle areas in Zambia.⁷

Although our focus will be on those three Chieftainships our discussion calls for frequent references to other Chieftainships to clarify some of the important issues. In a broader historical perspective the discussion of the cattle industry in Namwala District calls for frequent discussion of a broad balanced picture of the livestock industry in Northern Rhodesia on matters of veterinary policy, tsetse fly and disease control measures and livestock marketing which ultimately affected the Namwla District.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF CATTLE POPULATION BY CHIEFTAINCY IN NAMWALA

Chief	Cattle Population in 1917	Cattle Population in 1968	Proportions of Cattle Population Shared by each Chieftaincy	
			1917	1968
<u>North Bank</u>			%	%
Kaingu	Nil	Nil	0	0
Shimbizhi	4,034	9,758	6.5	5.8
Chilyabufu	4,762	5,619	7.7	7.0
Muwezwa	8,311	5,807	13.4	12.7
<u>South Bank</u>				
Shezongo	1,853	1,555	3.0	1.6
Musungwa	6,333	4,697	10.2	4.8
Shaluba (ex-Chief)	5,095	6,001	8.2	6.2
Muchila	897	1,510	1.5	1.6
Mukobela (Baambwe)	7,622	11,385	12.3	13.7
Mungaila (Maala)	17,977	31,267	29.0	32.1
Nalubamba (Mbeza)	5,102	18,383	8.2	18.8
District Total	61,986	97,582	100	100

Source: R. Fielder, "The Role of Cattle in the Ila Economy:
A Conflict of views on the Uses of Cattle by the Ila
of Namwala", African Social Research, 15 (1973), 347.

ECOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT AND CLIMATE

Just as elsewhere in Southern Province, the ecology, environment and climate conditions of the District have been changing over time. The vegetation cover is typical savannah grassland forming a wide plain. "A big part of Namwala District was either grassland forming the Kafue flood plain or uninhabited tsetse fly-infested Musansa Woodland."⁸ The Kafue flats occupy 1515 square miles of the District. The Kafue river with its vast plain is served by numerous streams and courses that run from the highlands north and south. Tree and grass species are variable and diverse. The flats are devoid of tree vegetation, except at the flood-margin where anthill vegetation (mixed scrub and small tree species) occur. The Musansa woodland and the thick bush vegetation is found on the North Bank and in the south-western areas of the District. Grass species are diverse depending on land treatment and degree of tree cover. Many grass types are associated with the flats and some of the grass are extremely palatable and nutritious to cattle. Different types of soils are found in different locations. The black clays are found throughout the flats. Other areas are associated with the dry-land sand soils.⁹

To some extent the ecology and environment of the District have shaped the livelihood of the people. For both ecological and economic reasons, the concentration of human population has been in the areas along the edges of the sand forests which border the Kafue river and its wide plain on either bank. In addition to supporting large herds of cattle the flats are important for fishing as well as hunting as they support large numbers of game. Traversing across the wide plain Holub saw extensive herds of game, large and small. Thus, Holub remarked, "In between large herds of

zebras, striped gnus, eland, and Kabonda gazelles grazed. At times we even saw reedbuck and oribi here and there.¹⁰ Areas in the north of the Kafue river known as the North Bank have been sparsely populated mainly due to fly incursion and poor communication and poor soils.

Like other parts of Zambia and Southern Africa as a whole, Namwala experiences a climate with three distinct seasons. The summer or hot rainy season runs from November to March. This season is characterised by heavy rains in January and February leading to the drains to the flats through numerous streams and water courses from the north and west highlands. By June the flats subside giving way to winter grazing. The cold dry season sets in around April and runs up to August. This season is followed by the hot dry season that runs from September until November when the rains break in. It is during this season when the Ila drive their cattle for lagoon grazing on the flats. The cattle remain there until the floods force them back to the dry-land areas around December.

However, the climatic conditions have been changing, and unfortunately for worse. In Zambia as a whole rain has become irregular, erratic and highly undependable.¹¹ Namwala District has been adversely affected by this changing climate. Many times the District has experienced food shortages simply because it did not rain early enough, or because the rainy season ended too early for the maize crop to mature. The remainder of this chapter looks at the pre-colonial socio-economic political organisation and social stratification with emphasis on the role of cattle.

THE PRE-COLONIAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC ORGANISATION OF THE ILA

Very little is known of the history of the Ila people prior to the introduction of colonial rule. For the period

before 1900 we rely mainly on oral sources. We also rely on written documents by the early European travellers and adventurers such as Holub and Selous both of whom documented their experiences with the Ila in 1886 and 1888, respectively. Apart from the remarks of these Europeans, almost nothing authoritative exists prior to 1900. The first major writers, Smith and Dale, through their published two - volume text, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, provide us with the main body of material concerning the people that they called Ila-Speaking peoples or Ila or Baila. Many other writers and researchers have so far provided us with information about the Ila.

The origin and history of the Ila before they arrived in their present location in Namwala District is practically unknown. The lack of a centralised political system accounts for this vacuum. The Ila were not part and parcel of the recent migratory history to Zambia. They are believed to have come to Zambia a long time ago before the Lozi and many other peoples came.¹² According to Smith and Dale, the Ila-Speaking peoples of Northern Rhodesia are/loose congeries of peoples living in Namwala District, who /a by processes such as intermarriage, have come under the influence of the Ila language and culture. Therefore, apart from the Ba-lla proper other peoples include the Bambo to the west, Babizhi to the south, Balundwe to the south-east, Bambala to the north and the Batwa on the Kafue flats. The most distinguished and differentiated group are the Lozi immigrants who compose the Kaingu and Shezongo Chieftainships.¹³

The origin and history of the Ila before 1900 has remained a myth, During our interviews a lot of old men and women displayed a great deal of ignorance when asked about their

origin. When asked where the Baila originated before settling in Namwala, Daniel Kazoka asserted, "We, the Ila people came from nowhere. We have been here since time imemorial. Our ancestors were created here by Leza (God)".¹⁴ Similar statements were heard here and there from old people. Among the Ila we found out that there were no traditions or mythical stories pertaining to their origin. Except that they are able to recall the names of their great grand parents whose names are given to their children and cattle, their view of the past is extremely foreshortened. For, as Andrew Roberts notes for the Ila and Tonga, "Lacking dynasties or other deep lineages, their perspectives of the past have probably always been extremely foreshortened".¹⁵

The Ila speaking peoples were subsistence cultivators as well as pastoralists. As cultivators they grew crops such as sorghum, millets, sweet potatoes, groundnuts and tobacco. The axe-hoe technology was used for cultivation. The choice of what crops to grow depended to a large extent on the type of soil prevailing in a certain area of the District. Cultivation remained on a subsistence level. In times of shortfalls, the Ila traded their cattle for grains from the Tongas. Holub's observation was that the Ila "do not grow as much grain as they need and buy most of it from Matoka and Mankoya in exchange for lechwe skins and cattle".¹⁶

Cattle keeping or pastoralism was the most vital aspect of the Ila economy. From the earliest record it is obvious that the history of the Ila has been associated with cattle ownership. Cattle were highly valued for their social importance. As among the Tswana of Botswana, "The possession of cattle was itself a symbol of status in society; a man's wealth was estimated mainly by the size of his herds, and a large owner was generally respected

and influential in the affairs of the community".¹⁷ Among the Ila cattle played a multiple of functions. Cows provided milk. Cattle provided meat as those beasts that died or were killed for ritual purposes were eaten. Cattle were killed during funerals and initiation ceremonies. Cattle were used as bridewealth in marriages. Cattle could be paid as fines to settle acts such as adultery, theft and murder. To the Ila cattle were both the means and the end in themselves. To some extent the importance of cattle in social contexts has continued.

Holub was able to note that the Ila had great interest in and devotion to their cattle. Thus Holub wrote:

There is not much noble and human feeling in the Maschukulumbe (sic!) but if they have such feelings at all as those which we call affection, preference, respect, care, and pride they concentrate these feelings exclusively on their work and their care for the well-being of their cattle.¹⁸

Evans also noted that "The man with cattle is the important man among the Ba-Ila and love of cattle and respect for ownership of cattle are deeply ingrained in their nature".¹⁹

Among the Ila men accumulated cattle in many different ways. Cattle could be accumulated through inheritance upon the death of a rich man. Cattle could be obtained as bride wealth in marriage transactions. Equally important, cattle could be obtained through wars, raiding and outright robbery. For, as Holub notes, "These petty potentates are constantly at war with each other; they steal each other's cattle if they happen to be grazing in the neighbour's territory".²⁰ Thus, through a series of wars and raids among themselves certain individuals managed to build considerable herds of cattle.

The predominance of cattle in the Ila economy meant that most of the social and economic institutions which emerged were centred on, and reflected the requirements of the cattle economy. The institution of slavery, for instance, emerged as a requirement of the cattle economy. Slaves were required to perform "most of the arduous work, building and repairing the temporary houses, rebuilding the cattle fences, herding and milking the cattle,..."²¹ During the second half of the 19th century the enormous cattle wealth of the Ila attracted raids from the Kololo, Ndebele and constantly / the Lozi. According to Smith and Dale, the Lozi /from raided the Ila for cattle at least four times in the years 1871, 1878, 1882 and 1888.²² During the last raid "Huge herds of cattle were driven off and a great many Baila were left killed, while the Barotse loss was but small."²³

Through these raids the Ila lost enormous herds of cattle. George Westbeeck, a European trader who happened to be in Barotseland during the 1882 raid reported, " the King must have brought about 20,000 heads of cattle in war to the Barotse valley, exclusive of what have died along the road.... "²⁴ During our extensive interviews we came across old aged men and women who still hold vivid memories of the Lozi raids on the Ila. According to our informants the Lozi nicknamed as Bashitukumba by the Ila were "a public nuisance and a brutal force who took thousands of our cattle and women. In addition, they destroyed our homes by setting fire to our homes".²⁵ Some old men attributed their fathers' poverty to the Lozi raids. Added to the Lozi raids the Ila suffered the onslaught of the rinderpest epidemic of 1895-96, that "Swept across the Ila country, causing huge devastation among the cattle and thus striking another blow at the Baila in this their tenderest point".²⁶

A series of wars among themselves and lack of unity for defensive purposes may have been the major reasons for the defeat and constant raids on the Ila by the Lozi and other raiders. As already pointed out the Ila communities were constantly at war with each other. According to Selous the Ila were the most war-like 'savages' he had ever come across.²⁷ Certainly, the Ila were never unified as a tribe for defensive purposes. However, despite raids and outbreaks of cattle diseases the Ila have not been without cattle.

The Ila were famous hunters. In the Mungaila and Nalubamba Chieftainships communal hunts known as Chila were organised on the Kafue plains. Animals hunted were 'herd' animals such as buffalo, lechwe, zebra and wildebeeste.²⁸ Amon Shamaleka was able to recall that Chila used to be conducted during the dry season from August to October, and that spears and dogs were the main weapons used. Game meat was a major part of the Ila diet. Skins of animals and particularly of lechwe were highly desired for clothes.²⁹ As a rule there was strict division of labour between men and women. Hunting and any duty related to the cattle economy was strictly for men. Women and girls seem to have carried out the domestic as well as the bulk of agricultural work.

PRE-COLONIAL POLITICAL ORGANISATION AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The Ila were politically decentralised and have tended to disperse in family units. Holub has made constant references to many scattered Ila villages under various rulers. Traversing through the Ila communities Holub noted "... Chiefs and subchiefs, ... claimed special presents in the form of sitsbas, kubus, glass beads and other glittering things". At another stage, he noted that

have argued that Basanga was "marked by greater social inequality in terms of possession of wealth...."³⁴ Certainly, due to ecological differences and other circumstances, the Ila cattle economy was marked by great disparities and inequalities in cattle ownership. Originally those who owned vast herds were Chiefs. As far as we have been able to gather, Chief Mukobela I is remembered to have been the first very rich cattle owner among the Ila. But Chief Mukobela III is not a rich cattle owner at all. During our field work we were told of other men such as Amos Chishobo, Samuel Munasaini, Simon Malende, Maxwell Shachambwa and Fines Mwanambulo, who were among the richest cattle owners, but were not Chiefs while others were not even village Headmen. We were also told of Chiefs and village Headmen who were among the poorest men in Ila society.³⁵ Cattle ownership among the Ila was individual and not communal. The status of a man was measured by the size of his herds. The largest cattle owner was the most important man and was accorded great respect.

In this discussion, it has been revealed that although the Ila were subsistence cultivators, the ownership of cattle was the backbone of their economy. The Kafue river with its wide plain and lack of tsetse fly were of crucial importance in the ownership of cattle. The Ila herding techniques were also good. About seven months, July to January, cattle were grazed on the flats where there was ample water and fresh grass. Because cultivation was on a small scale, cattle were permitted to roam freely over large areas during the rain season. Generally, the cattle were always in good condition.

Contrary to the view that African societies were egalitarian, this was not true for the Ila. Among the Ila cattle ownership was and is still individual and not communal. However, cattle owners have used their cattle to fulfil duties and obligations to a large

(1959), 73.

1. Fielder, "The Role of Cattle", 328
2. Maclean, "An Agricultural Survey", p. 4
3. L. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953
(London : Chatto and Windus, 1964) p. 153
4. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia, p. 228
5. See Rennie and Mubita, "Pre-Colonial Economy and Society; 33
6. Interviews with Maxwell Shachambwa and Norah Mwanambulo,
Shokombwe area, Nalubamba Chieftainship,
4 - 6th December, 1989.
7. Fielder, "The Role of Cattle", 331
8. Chipungu, The State and Technology, p. 22
9. See Maclean, "An Agricultural Survey", pp. 13 - 16
10. Holub, Travels North of the Zambezi, p. 139
11. Chipungu, The State and Technology, p. 23; Kalapula,
"Kafue River Basin Development" p. 38
12. Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, p. 18
13. _____, The Ila-Speaking Peoples pp. XXIV-XXVII); KSF 3/1 The
Origin of the Baila.
14. Interview with Senior Headman, Daniel Kazoka, Mandondo Area,
Nalubamba Chieftainship, 8 - 9 December, 1989
15. A. Roberts, A History of Zambia (London : Heinemann, 1976) p.92
16. Holub, Travels North of the Zambezi, p. 12
17. A.C. Mushinge, "Colonialism and Cattle Marketing in Botswana
1900-1954", (M.A. Thesis, University of Zambia, 1981),
p. 16
18. Holub, Travels North of the Zambezi, p. 150

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19. Evans, "The Ila-V.D. Campaigns", 44
 20. Holub, Travels North of the Zambezi, p. 150
 21. A. Tuden, "Ila Slavery", Rhodes-Livingstone Journal XXIV, rule in Northern (1959), 73
 22. Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, pp. 41-42
 23. Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, p. 42
 24. Cited by M. Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings (London: Longman, 1973), p. 149
 25. Interviews with Shabwaya Mayonda, Baambwe area, Mukobela their cattle in Chieftainship, 20 December 1989
 26. Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, p. 46
 27. Selous, Travel and Adventure, p. 215
 28. Rennie and Mubita, "Pre-Colonial Economy and Society" 38
 29. Interview with Amon Shamaleka, Makotoodo Area, Nalubamba Chieftainship, 10 December, 1989
 30. Holub, Travels North of the Zambezi, p. 149
 31. Roberts, A History of Zambia, p. 137
 32. Rennie and Mubita, "Pre-Colonial Economy and Society", 45
 33. Colson, Marriage and the Family, p. 61
 34. Rennie and Mubita, "Pre-Colonial Economy and Society", 45
 35. Interviews in the Nalubamba, Mungaila and Mukobela proved to be an Chieftainships, December, 1989.
- Under the BSA Co. rule, Northern Rhodesia was regarded as a native country, a reservoir of labour, a speculative investment for the future, but not as a major area of white settlement. Initially divided as North-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia until 1911, the two areas were brought under the BSA Co. colonial rule in different ways. In contrast to the brutal colonial conquest of North-Eastern Rhodesia, North-Western Rhodesia under whose jurisdiction the Ila fell, was taken over peacefully by means of treaties signed by the litunga of the Lozi, Levanika.

CHAPTER II

**THE ILA CATTLE INDUSTRY UNDER THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY
COLONIAL RULE, 1900 - 1924**

In this chapter, we shall discuss the imposition of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia in general and Namwala District in particular. We shall discuss the introduction and imposition of taxation on the Ila. We shall discuss the role of the British South Africa Company (BSA Co.) administration in attempts to control cattle diseases. Equally important we shall discuss cattle trade and investigate attempts by the Ila cattle owners to commercialise their cattle in order to raise cash to meet tax obligations. This chapter is crucial because it discusses the period when the Ila were being incorporated into the wider colonial economy through the policies of taxation, labour migration and cattle marketing.

THE COLONIAL OCCUPATION OF NORTH-WESTERN RHODESIA

Both Southern and Northern Rhodesia were brought under colonial rule by the BSA Co. of Cecil Rhodes. One of the immediate objectives of the BSA Co. was to bring vast areas of Central Africa under the British influence for economic investment. The British government blessed the BSA Co. by granting it the Royal Charter¹ in October, 1889. Unlike Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia proved to be an economic failure as gold and other mineral resources were not discovered. Under the BSA Co. rule, Northern Rhodesia was regarded as a native country, a reservoir of labour, a speculative investment for the future, but not as a major area of white settlement.² Initially divided as North-Western and North-Eastern Rhodesia until 1911, the two areas were brought under the BSA Co. colonial rule in different ways. In contrast to the brutal colonial conquest of North-Eastern Rhodesia, North-Western Rhodesia under whose jurisdiction the Ila fell, was taken over peacefully by means of treaties signed by the Litunga of the Lozi, Lewanika.

The agreement between Lewanika and the company read in part as follows:

... the BSA Co. shall have the right to make grants of land for farming purposes in any portion of the Batoka or Mashukulumbwe (Tonga-Ila) country to white men approved by the King....³

Clearly the Ila country was included in that concession. It was on the basis of that agreement that the company moved to colonize the Ila and the Tonga from 1900 onwards. It is important to bear in mind that the Ila and Tonga Chiefs were not consulted on the agreement. The signing of the agreement was witnessed by the Lozi Ngambela, Indunas and chiefs.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION ON THE ILA

In the late 1890s many white traders and mineral prospectors entered the Namwala District. Mineral resources were discovered and at least three mines, Blue Picket, Sable Antelope and Silver King were established. By 1900 there was a great deal of mineral prospecting, involving up to 100 whites and 2000 local labourers. As a result of its mineral potential the area assumed greater prominence and became the object of competition between the administrations of North-Eastern and North-Western Rhodesia in the years immediately following 1900. From the North-Eastern Administration, Messrs Gielgud and Anderson toured the area and established an administrative post at Mwengwa, 55 km above Itezhitezhi and attacked Mambari slave traders. Basing its claim of the area on the North-Western Rhodesia Order in Council, the North-Western Rhodesia Administration pushed into the area from the South and South-East, from its new posts at Monze and Kalomo.

From these posts, Colin Harding accompanied by his Matebele policemen toured the Kafue in the north and west. By 1906, it was decided that the Ila could be more easily and economically administered from the North-Western Rhodesia Administration. A new administrative post called Namwala was established in 1905, and the whole Ila Territory came to be called Namwala District. In order to enforce law and order, the Barotse Native Police under Harding built forts at different places such as Maala.⁴

A word must be added concerning the Ila response to the imposition of colonial rule. According to Harding:

Except for a small fracas in the Mashukulumbwe country where two Chiefs disagreed over the ownership of cattle there was no disturbance of any sort during the period I was acting administrator.⁵

Such statements by early colonial officials regarding the Ila docility and gratitude are not exaggerations and reveal a real situation as it was. For the reasons already discussed, the Ila were politically decentralised and militarily disorganised and hence were incapable of putting up resistance against the advancing European forces.

Other reasons for lack of resistance are not difficult to explore. First, as Vickery has argued for the Tonga, "In these early years the full implications of European Colonialism could not have been foreseen, and a corresponding "national" or "racial" consciousness had not yet developed".⁶ For the Ila the full implications of taxation and colonial restrictions on their ancestral hunting rights (Chila) - two primary sources of anti-colonial sentiments assumed great importance only later in the colonial era. Second and more important, a series of wars among themselves and constant raids on them by the Lozi and other raiders

created an atmosphere of instability and insecurity. The brutal raids by the Lozi made them unpopular with the Ila. In that situation white rule became preferable to Lozi domination. It may be safe to assume, therefore, that those who lived through the transition period considered colonial imposition with (in Vickery's words) "Considerable equanimity".⁷ Thus, the apparent readiness with which the Ila and the Tonga acquiesced in European rule was a revulsion against the Lozi.

Whatever the case, the Ila and Tonga response to colonial imposition is parallel with that of all the tribes of Northern Province. In that Province the Lungu, the Mambwe, the Unga, the Ambo, the Bisa and many others, all of whom had hitherto suffered Bemba oppression and raids, received the white men "with a kind of fatalistic resignation" or "with a degree of equanimity and relief".⁸ Third it is safe to suggest that the Ila were eager to receive the white men in their country. From interview with Choompwe Nyama, a very old widow reputedly born around 1880s, it is possible to get some impression. Nyama remembers:

We had heard about those Makuwa (whites) in other countries. We, too looked forward to receiving them in our country. When they came, we welcomed them with two hands".⁹

Apparently the first white man among the Ila left strong impressions. Everywhere in the district, old people spoke highly of the first white men whose names are still fresh in their memories. Finally, the Ila might have realised that resistance to colonial occupation would not have been successful. Resistance against colonial occupation by the Ngoni and the Bemba¹⁰ proved not only futile but disastrous as well. As a matter of fact, the Bemba and the Ngoni were much better organised, politically and

militarily than the Ila.

Therefore, the Ila response to colonial imposition was related to pre-existing political configurations. The colonial imposition diminished Lozi power in the region. Raiding for cattle by the Lozi was ended and Lozi tribute was now replaced by colonial taxation. In Northern Rhodesia and in Namwala in particular, the company avoided the scandals of grabbing land and cattle from the Africans. This was due to its bad experiences of the Ndebele-Shona risings of 1896 that were sparked by such outrageous scandals in Southern Rhodesia. Generally, therefore, the Ila cattle industry was not destroyed and the Ila exercised effective control over the use of land for grazing purposes throughout the colonial period.

THE IMPOSITION OF TAXATION IN NORTHERN RHODESIA

After bringing the country under its control, the company effected its rule gradually and introduced hut tax. "The tax was levied as a money tax on each adult male and also on each wife except the first one". Hut tax "varied initially between 5s and 10s depending on the district, and was finally unified at 10s for the whole¹² of Northern Rhodesia". In North-Western Rhodesia under whose jurisdiction Namwala fell, "tax was gathered from 1904, following the general economic development of the country, beginning in the Victoria falls and Tonga country, spreading to the 'Hook of the Kafue' and¹³ finally to the mineralised regions in the north". As already said, Northern Rhodesia proved an economic failure and a burden to the company. Taxation was both an exercise to raise revenue to pay for the administration of the territory as well as a push factor to release Africans from their local environment into capitalist¹⁴ ventures.

In justifying the imposition of taxation, Gann becomes an apologist by asserting that:

In any case the principle of taxing Africans was not in dispute; it was an accepted means of policy; the African should pay for the protection he received, and he should take part in the development of his country and not idle in the villages.¹⁵

Vickery argues that by introducing taxation "it was considered just that subject peoples meet part of the cost of having a "good government" extended to them. The Pax Britannica did not come cheaply, and those who received its benefits should contribute a fair share of its maintenance".¹⁶

In introducing taxation the company's principal objective was to raise revenue with which to administer the territory. Taxation had a tremendous impact on the Africans. For, as Gann notes, taxation "created a regular instead of a seasonal demand for cash, and extended this demand over the whole territory".¹⁷

THE IMPACT OF TAXATION: COMMERCIALIZATION OF CATTLE AND LABOUR MIGRATION AMONG THE ILA 1900-1924

In this section, we shall discuss cattle trade in Namwala under the British South Africa Company. We shall also discuss labour migration from the district. An attempt will be made to relate labour migration to the level of cattle ownership in different communities of Namwala.

CATTLE TRADE IN NAMWALA DISTRICT, 1900-1924

With the introduction of taxation, the best option for the Ila cattle owners was to sell their cattle in an attempt to raise cash for tax obligations. According to Rennie:

The collection of tax in 1904 was facilitated by the previous presence of numbers of cattle buyers from the south. The Ila were thus, able to pay their tax 'far more promptly' than had been expected. Most of the payments were made in half-sovereigns which they had acquired by the sale of cattle to the transport-riders and others.¹⁸

In Namwala the tax rates were considered and fixed on, based primarily on the level of cattle wealth of the Chieftainships. In cattle rich Chieftainships of Mungaila, Nalubamba and Mukobela the tax rates were fixed at 10s. (K1) known as Kakumi. In the North Bank and in the Western Chieftainships of Kaingu, Chilyabufu, Shimbizhi and Shezongo, where the level of cattle ownership was low, tax rates were pegged at 7s. 6d.¹⁹

According to Simon Mwanakaci, "Money for Mutelo (tax) and other European goods was raised by selling oxen. Those days, a big ox was fetching impondo (£2). This was a lot of money those days".²⁰ This information is corroborated by the district colonial reports. In 1914 the prices of livestock ranged from £1-£2 for Heifers, £2-£6 for oxen, and £3-£6 for cows.²¹ Most of the major cattle traders and buyers came up from Southern Rhodesia, where they were already established merchants. Their background was usually English or "Colonial" South African; several of them were Jewish.²² The traders from Southern Rhodesia were buying cattle in an attempt to rebuild up their stocks that were devastated by the rinderpest outbreak of 1896. To the Ila, the most important cattle traders in the early colonial period included Cavadia and Nephews, and O.C. Rawson, who visited the Ila in an attempt to buy cattle as early as 1901.²³

In an attempt to build their stocks, traders were even buying young beasts. In 1919 weaners were fetching 20/- to 30 /- tollies were fetching 40/- to 50/- while cows were fetching £2.10s. to £4 and oxen were fetching £3 to £9. Altogether about 2450 cattle were exported from the district in 1919.²⁴ However, the figure of 2450 was nothing when compared against the cattle exports from Barotseland.

The Lozi whose attitudes were more market-oriented than that of the Ila, parted willingly with their beasts and welcomed the increased trade. "There were 7,712 cattle sold in 1909-10, 8,108 in 1910-11 and 7,578 in 1911-12 at prices in the latter year £1 to £8" for oxen, £2.10s. to £4.10s for cows, and £2 to £3 for heifers, all above the average for the period".²⁵

Cattle trade remained a private enterprise under the company administration. There were no government controlled or fixed prices. Prices were negotiated between the buyers and the cattle owners. Prices varied from time to time and they depended on the size of the beasts. The cattle bought from Namwala were trekked on foot to Monze, and from there, some were slaughtered while others were railed to the Belgian Congo.²⁶ The presence of cattle traders undoubtedly encouraged cattle owners to commercialize their stock. In fact, prior to the year 1914, Northern Rhodesia was self-sufficient in beef and in addition exported to the Belgian Congo. By far the greater number of cattle came from Barotseland, which provided from 12,000 to 13,000 head per annum. However, cattle trade in Barotseland came to an abrupt end in 1914 and the area was shut off from exporting cattle because of the outbreak of the bovine pleuro-pneumonia.²⁷ Namwala and other areas remained the sources of cattle for slaughter in the country. In Namwala just like in Barotseland, the sale of cattle despite low prices allowed the cattle owners to pay their

taxes.²⁸ Certainly, the Ila cattle owners were intergrated to the colonial economy through the sale of their cattle.

During a 1920 tour that took him to the Chieftainships of Mukobela, Mungaila and Nalubamba, all of which were rich in cattle ownership, L. C. Heath, the Native Commissioner observed that, "The tax is well paid up", and that there were very "few defaulters". He further observed that the money was obtained from selling grain, lechwe skins and cattle.²⁹ During a 1925 tour that took him to Chiefs Nalubamba and Mungaila, H. Sylvester, the Native Commissioner, noted that out of the total of £99.17, £96 had been paid up and £3.17 were arrears. Practically all Headmen, and several of the elder men under 30 were at home.³⁰ As far as we were able to gather the young men and poor men had their tax paid for by their rich parents, relatives or guardians. Most of our informants pointed out that their parents or uncles paid tax money for them, and that money was obtained by selling oxen. Cows were seldom sold as they were greatly valued for reproduction.³¹ Tax was initially collected by the Colonial officials accompanied by Boma Messengers in uniforms on tours. But later on, tax was collected and paid at established collection points such as Namwala Boma, Maala, Chitongo, Kabulamwanda and Shokombwe. Tax defaulters were punished severely. At times their houses were burnt.³²

LABOUR MIGRATION, 1900-1924

Due to ecological factors and other reasons, some men had no cattle with which to sell to raise cash. In non-cattle areas and in areas of low cattle ownership in the North Bank and in the southwest The majority of men engaged themselves in migratory labour within and outside the territory. In 1912, it was reported that natives seeking

work in southern Rhodesia proceed direct to Pemba, Kalomo or Livingstone where they were, registered by an agent. There was no labour agent in the district, and that natives preferred to go independently.³³ In 1915 about 436 Africans from Namwala were registered in Livingstone on their way to Southern Rhodesia and about 703 were registered at the Boma for employment within the district as carriers, servants, boma messengers and road builders.³⁴ During a tour that took him to the non-cattle owning Chieftainship of Kaingu on the North Bank, J. Keith, the native Commissioner observed that about 50 percent of the taxable males were away at work in Mazabuka, Monze, Choma and others as far away as Southern Rhodesia.³⁵

Although most labour migrants came from the North Bank, there were at least a few men from rich cattle-owning areas who had gone into labour migration in the early days. John Kazoka, a very old man with a clear memory was able to recall men such as Nsonga Chicaba, Chipile Mwanambulo and Munasaini Mapopwe who had gone to Southern Rhodesia early in the century. All these men came from cattle-owning backgrounds.³⁶ During a tour of 1925 to the Chieftainships of Nalubamba and Mungaila, Sylvester observed that comparatively few men were at work mainly in Southern Rhodesia. He noted that some of those men had not yet paid the 1924 tax and went to work after evading a messenger patrol.³⁷ The above examples do specify that labour migration was not totally absent from the cattle owning areas of Namwala in the early colonial period.

THE OUTBREAK OF CATTLE DISEASES AND DISEASE CONTROL MEASURES, 1900-1924

In this section, we shall investigate the measures that were undertaken by the company administration in containing cattle pests

and diseases. In order to understand the role of the company administration in containing cattle diseases in Namwala district, it is necessary briefly to review the history of the Veterinary Department in Northern Rhodesia.

The Veterinary Department in Northern Rhodesia was established during the company rule. Initially the Department consisted of six professional staff who were stock inspectors under the headship of M.A.J. Lane. Lane was head of the Department until in 1921, when Captain John Smith took over the control of the Department. By 1930s the Department had District Veterinary Officers who were stationed in Choma, Mongu and Lusaka. The functions of the Department were broadly defined as those of animal husbandry of which the prevention and cure of cattle diseases were one. Cattle diseases in the territory included anthrax in Namwala District, sheep scab in the Batoka District, trypanosomiasis in the Fort Jameson District and contagious bovine pleuro-pneumonia in Barotseland and later in Kalomo and Senkobo Districts.³⁸

The Veterinary Officers stationed in Choma provided veterinary services to all the Districts in Southern Province including Namwala. The outbreak of anthrax in Namwala was reported in 1913. The Veterinary Department was consulted and inoculation of cattle was undertaken. But before the disease was contained about 500 head of cattle perished including 60 belonging to white farmers and traders.³⁹

In order to contain the disease a number of measures were taken by the Veterinary Department. First, it was suggested that there was need for a stock inspector and a system of permits was introduced to control the movement of cattle. Cattle were to be purchased only

on permit and throughout the year. The stock inspector who issued permits was stationed at Mbeza, which was chosen as the principal port of exit. Second, cattle from the district were to leave the area by the Namwala-Pemba road. The Namwala-Pemba road became the territorial stock route. This route was provided with a dip tank at Mbeza in 1928. Third, no beast under two years were to be purchased. Last, the cattle purchasers were required to remove their cattle to a location of their own within 14 days.⁴⁰ Clearly, these measures were designed to contain and control the spread of anthrax.

The outbreak of anthrax in Namwala was followed by the outbreak of bovine Pleuropneumonia in Barotseland. All movements of cattle from Barotseland were prohibited and a ban on cattle exports from there was imposed until in 1947.⁴¹ Secondly, trade between Barotseland and Namwala was severed in 1922 by means of cattle cordon, a 200 mile cleared line cut through from near Kazungula on the Zambezi to the hook of the Kafue. This line was policed at regular intervals (see map 2).⁴² Clearly, this measure was designed to protect the Ila cattle from the contagious bovine Pleuro-pneumonia. The measure was effective as no cattle from Namwala died from Pleuro-pneumonia. Except for strict regulations on the buying and movement of cattle, trade in cattle in Namwala remained uninterrupted by the outbreak of bovine Pleuro-pneumonia in Barotseland.

The presence of tsetse fly was reported in 1917 at places such as Bunga and Lubanda on the North Bank. The tsetse fly are reported to have killed a large number of cattle at these areas.⁴³ We shall discuss the spread of tsetse fly and the measures that were undertaken by the Veterinary Department, in the next chapter.

In conclusion, the following points should be underlined. First, our analysis has shown that taxation was the dominant means through

which the Ila were incorporated into the colonial political economy. Although the cattle owners were selling their cattle before the introduction of taxation in 1904, taxation gave them an enormous impetus to commercialization of their stock. Equally important too, taxation fostered male labour migration from areas of low cattle ownership to centres of wage employment. For, as Vickery says, "taxation was an effective tool for the incorporation of Africans into the imperial economy. Participation in that economy always had its attractions, principally the European goods that money could buy".⁴⁴

NOTES

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2. L. Gann, The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), P.77
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6. K. Vickery, "The Making of a Peasantry: Imperialism and the Tonga Plateau Economy 1890-1936", Ph.D Dissertation, University of Yale, 1978), P.90
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11. Gann, The Birth of a Plural Society, p. 83
12. _____, The Birth of a Plural Society, p. 83
13. _____, A History of Northern Rhodesia, p. 105
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20. Interview with Junior Headman, Simon Mwanakaci, Baambwe, Mukobela Chieftainship, 19th December, 1989.
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23. See O.C. Rawson, "Cattle buying on the Kafue in 1902", in
Northern Rhodesia Journal (1961), 536-45.
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26. Interview with Thomas Changala, Mandondo area, Nalubamba Chieftainship, 17th December, 1989

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28. Horn, "The Agricultural History", 154
29. N.A.Z., KSF 3/3/1 Namwala District Tour Reports, 23 November, 1920
30. N.A.Z., KSF 3/3/2 Namwala District Tour Reports, 30 September, 1925
31. Interviews in the Mungaila and Mukobela Chieftainships, December, 1989
32. Interviews with George Mayonda, Baambwe area, Mukobela Chieftainship, 21 December, 1989
33. N.A.Z., KSF 3/2/1 Namwala District Annual Reports, 1912
34. N.A.Z., KSF 3/2/1 Namwala District Annual Reports, 1915
35. N.A.Z., KSF 3/3/2 Namwala District Tour Reports, 30th September, 1925
36. Interview with John Kazoka, Mandondo area, Nalubamba Chieftainship, 12 December, 1989
37. N.A.Z., KSF 3/3/2 Namwala District Tour Reports, 30 September, 1925
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41. Ibid
42. See Fielder, "The Role of Cattle", p. 256; Pim Report, 1938, p. 256; N.A.Z., KSF 3/3/3, Namwala District Tour Reports, 1928
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CHAPTER III

TAXATION: CATTLE OWNERSHIP AND LABOUR MIGRATION IN NAMWALA, 1925-1938

In this chapter we shall discuss the cattle trade, marketing arrangements and the rate of cattle sales from Namwala District. It was during this period when the cattle control ordinance was introduced in 1937 for the purpose of controlling the cattle industry in Northern Rhodesia. We shall review the history leading up to this legislation. In the second part of our chapter, we shall attempt to explore the causes and the extent of the spread of tsetse fly in Namwala district. Tsetse fly are mentioned in all reports beginning from 1917 throughout the period of colonial rule. However, it was in the late twenties and early thirties that tsetse fly really started to pose as a serious threat to the cattle industry in Namwala district. In the last section of our chapter, we shall investigate the impact of taxation, and the relation between the level of cattle ownership and the rate of labour migration. Our discussion in this chapter will be placed within a broad balanced picture of the livestock industry in Northern Rhodesia on matters of cattle marketing and tsetse and disease control measures and cattle management.

THE POSITION OF THE CATTLE INDUSTRY IN NORTHERN RHODESIA AND THE INTRODUCTION OF THE CONTROL ORDINANCE

In order to understand cattle trade in Namwala during this time it is necessary briefly to review broadly the history of the industry up to 1937. Prior to the year 1914, Northern Rhodesia was self-supporting in beef and in addition supplied the Belgian Congo. The cattle for slaughter were supplied mainly by Africans as Europeans were still building their stock. By far the greater number of cattle came from Barotseland. Barotseland was providing from 12000 to 13000

head per annum.¹ As already pointed out, trade in Barotseland came to an abrupt end in 1915 with the outbreak of bovine pleuro-pneumonia.

The outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia was followed by greater demands for beef on the Belgian Congo because of the war situation. Cattle were imported from Ngamiland. In Southern Rhodesia the east coast fever restrictions were removed in 1922. Southern Rhodesia was now exporting thousands of cattle to the Belgian Congo. In 1928 and 1929 Southern Rhodesia exported 30,000 head to Congo while about 3,216 head were exported to the Congo from Ngamiland but only about 800 head were exported to the Belgian Congo from Northern Rhodesia.²

What this meant is that Northern Rhodesia was gradually losing the Congo markets to Southern Rhodesia. Exports from Northern Rhodesia were dwindling (See Table A). Until the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Southern Rhodesia in 1930, much of the cattle in Northern Rhodesia remained unsold as there were no buyers.³

With the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Southern Rhodesia an embargo was placed on cattle trade from Southern Rhodesia. With the development of mining opportunities in Northern Rhodesia there developed keen competition between Northern Rhodesia and Ngamiland for the supply of cattle to the mines. Northern Rhodesia was gradually ousted as buyers preferred to buy cattle from Ngamiland at very low prices. Buyers ceased attending sales in Northern Rhodesia, or if present offered prices as low as to be unacceptable. Cattle in Northern Rhodesia were quite unsaleable while train loads of animals continually passed into and through the territory. Practically, the Congo's import trade and part of Northern Rhodesia fell under Southern Rhodesia. In addition to live cattle from Bechuanaland and Southern Rhodesia considerable quantities of frozen meat found their way into Northern Rhodesia. Trading in the territory was at a stand still and the position of all stock owners, European and

Native alike, became exceedingly precarious.⁴

It was against this background that it was finally realised that without some combined effort to negotiate prices with the buyers and without some regulation of supply the situation would go from bad to worse. Firstly, the Northern Rhodesia livestock society was instituted in 1931 and a schedule of prices satisfactory to sellers was agreed upon. But the society failed to function as some of its members disposed of their stock privately and at prices below those fixed as a way of avoiding the high commission charged by the society. The majority of farmers and traders lost confidence in the society's ability to deal with the situation of underselling. Although the demand for beef had improved by 1935 there remained considerable anxiety as to the future. It was against this background that a Cattle Marketing Board was established under an ordinance passed in 1937. The Board may thus be said to be the final outcome of the failure to organise the cattle trade on a voluntary basis.⁵

Writing to the Chief Secretary, Lusaka, the Director of Veterinary Services, Hobday contended that "Cattle producers in the territory contend, and it is generally agreed, that for many years prior to the war cattle sold at uneconomic prices in Northern Rhodesia and production suffered in consequence".⁶ We shall investigate the impact of the control ordinance on African cattle producers in the territory and on the Ila in particular, in the next chapter. Here we simply intended to show the background to the introduction of the legislation.

TABLE 2

CATTLE EXPORTED FROM NORTHERN RHODESIA TO THE BELGIAN CONGO

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Cattle Exported</u>
1922	10,031
1923	5,761
1924	11,194
1925	10,370
1926	5,370
1927	2,050
1928	765
1929	2,123
1930	800
1931	6,126
1932	1,948

Source: N.A.Z., Sec 3/548 Vol.1 Importation of Cattle into Northern
Rhodesia - Restrictions 1932-38

CATTLE TRADE AND SUPPLY POSITION FROM NAMWALA DISTRICT, 1924-1938

Cattle trade in Namwala District was affected by the exports from Southern Rhodesia and Ngamiland. In 1929 it was reported that something was wrong with the market as the Decemebrr sale which was supposed to be the best sale of the year, many cattle could not find a buyer.⁷ In addition, the cattle trade in Namwala was adversely affected by the economic slump. During the economic depression the markets shrank as the consumption of beef on the Copperbelt was falling off. The economic slump had the effect of reducing demand and consequently reducing the prices of cattle. In 1932 it was reported that "The prices are low and large oxen which ... fetched £5 and £6 before are now being bought for 35/- and £2, and a proportion of this is usually in trade goods".⁸ In 1938 about "1809 cattle were sold by natives at an average price of £2.10.0 per beast. This is a little below the average annual figure of 2000 head".⁹ In the late 1930s the Greek firm of Cavadia and Nephews based at Pemba was the largest buyer and had a near monopoly of cattle trade in the district by 1938.¹⁰

Thus, cattle trade in Namwala was affected adversely by the economic slump and also by the importation of cattle from Southern Rhodesia and Ngamiland. Cattle sales and prices offered by traders fell considerably during the depression and throughout the 1930s.

TSETSE FLY POSITION, CATTLE DISEASES AND STATE CONTROL MEASURES

Tsetse fly made its appearance in the Hook of the Kafue around 1917. By 1930s tsetse fly were reported to have extended in the North Bank of the Kafue river in the bush bordering the Kafue flats. In the east the tsetse fly had spread throughout the bush veld bordering the flats to the Mumbwa District. And from the west the fly spread to the

South Bank in the areas of Lubwe, Ngoma and Itu.¹¹ Tsetse fly caused the disease known as trypanosomiasis which inflicted heavy mortality on cattle. Reporting on the extent of the spread and heavy losses of cattle due to tsetse fly, J.W. Fleming, a District Commissioner, had to say:

I am told that annually there are heavy losses from trypanosomiasis. From about 1909 to 1926/1927 the fly encroached, spreading over practically the whole of Kaingu's, Musulwe's, Shezongo's, Shimbizhi's, Chilyabufu's, and Shatoba's countries. And in the South Bank at Ianda and Nakalomwe especially there was hardly a beast. On the other hand there were considerable losses every year on the North Bank.¹² (see map 2)

Thus, the areas hit by tsetse fly were those on the North Bank and in the South West. Areas in the centre and east in the Chieftainships of Nalubamba, Mungaila, Mukobela and Muwezwa on the flats were not seriously affected by the fly. These Chieftainships border the Kafue flats, which provides excellent grazing for cattle. "The annual flooding of the river has also provided an excellent disease control measure against tick borne diseases. The absence of tsetse on the flats also affords the cattle an opportunity to recover from 'fly-strike' and its debilitating secondary effects".¹³

Tsetse fly in the affected areas were spread through the following ways. Tsetse fly were spread firstly by the movement of wild animals such as elephants, Zebras and buffaloes into cattle rearing areas. In this way tsetse fly spread from wild animals through game-cattle contact. Secondly, tsetse fly could be spread by mechanical transmission through the movement of infected cattle. Tsetse fly can also be spread by vehicular and pedestrian traffic.¹⁴

In Namwala District, tsetse fly in the 1930s were mainly spread by the heavy concentration of wild animals in the bush areas of the North Bank. Thus, tsetse fly was spread through game-cattle contact.

In 1933 there was an outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in Northern Rhodesia. Namwala District was affected by the outbreak of this disease. In order to contain this disease the Veterinary Department imposed severe quarantine measures in areas that were infected.¹⁵ There were no reported deaths of cattle owing to this disease. During this same time there was an outbreak of anthrax. The disease was endemic and caused numerous deaths,¹⁶ in many areas. To contain anthrax, the Veterinary Department carried out blanket inoculation of all cattle.

During the 1930s the cattle industry in Namwala suffered a serious problem of in-breeding leading to the production of poor quality cattle. It was reported in 1934 that:

There is no doubt that the Ila cattle are deteriorating in quality, due no doubt to the lack of new blood. For more than twenty years the export of cattle from Barotse Province has been stopped - a problem for the Baila in improving the quality of their stock.¹⁷

TSETSE FLY AND DISEASE CONTROL MEASURES

In an attempt to contain the spread of tsetse fly and other cattle diseases, the colonial government through its Veterinary Department carried out appropriate measures. A dipping scheme was instituted in 1930s, and so far two dipping tanks one at Mbeza and the other one at Namwala Boma had been constructed in Namwala by 1930.

Dipping was made compulsory to suppress tickborne diseases such as East Coast Fever.¹⁸ In an attempt to contain the problem of in-breeding the government in 1928 offered Grade bulls to 'enlightened' Africans. About eight bulls were brought in the district, one of which was given to Chief Mukobela, but unfortunately this bull died immediately. About six other bulls died and only two remained alive. The effect of the bulls on the herds was negligible,¹⁹ and the problem of in-breeding was not solved at all.

To contain the spread of tsetse fly, the District Veterinary Officer, G. F. Elliot put up several suggestions to deal with the fly in 1935. One suggestion involved the clearing of the bush by cutting trees and the bush, the habitat of the fly. The second suggestion was the systematic burning of grass and shrubs. The third and the last suggestion was that cattle had to be systematically treated using potassium Antimony Tartrate.²⁰ Clearly, those measures required the support and co-operation of Africans in order to succeed. But there were conflicting views on how to deal with the fly. On one hand the Africans called for the indiscriminate killing of wild animals,²¹ but the state's suggestion were intended to preserve the game. Clearly, therefore, the positions of the state and that of the Africans were in conflict - one in favour of game preservation and the other preferring its demise.

In its pre-occupation to preserve the game the colonial state imposed restrictions in the form of dog taxes, gun and game licenses. During the tour of 5 July, 1934, J. Gordon, the District Commissioner, observed that "The natives seldom come to the the Boma to pay a dog tax". But on the contrary, he noted that, "Natives here are careful about paying gun licenses as they fear the loss of their guns".²²

According to our informants, dog owners were liable to a tax

of 2 shillings (20n) for each male dog, and paid about 2.5. shillings (25n) for each female dog per year.²³ Generally, however, the licensing of dogs was unpopular and generated a tremendous amount of anti-colonial sentiments.

There is no evidence to suggest that the several measures taken by the state to try to contain cattle pests and diseases were successful. The state's efforts were carried out within the limitations of the financial position of the government. The state's efforts to try to control cattle diseases were affected by the general depression that hit Northern Rhodesia in 1929. The economic recession "necessitated severe reductions in the very limited government services which were then in existence and government revenues continued to be small until 1939".²⁴ Thus, the government did not have enough money with which to implement measures to control tsetse fly and other cattle diseases.

TAXATION AND LABOUR MIGRATION, 1924-1938

The commercialization of cattle was the dominant means by which cattle owners raised their cash to meet tax obligations. However, not all Ila men owned cattle. The non-cattle owning people found it extremely difficult to find money for their taxes. Consequently, many became tax defaulters. During a tour that took him to villages of Namukombo, Shimpande and Shikafwe, the Native Commissioner, Sylvester, noted that people were hiding in the gardens and adjacent villages to avoid arrest for failing to pay tax.²⁵ The majority of the men who did not have cattle engaged themselves into labour migration. It was reported in September, 1926, that in non-cattle owning areas particularly in the Kaingu Chieftainship, 50% of the taxable males were away at work, some of them as far away as Southern Rhodesia.²⁶

In actual fact, the rate of labour migration remained high in the tsetse fly infested areas in the North Bank throughout the period of colonial rule. The position was not the same in the rich cattle owning areas of Nalubamba, Mungaila and Mukobela Chieftainships. During a tour that took him to Mukobela Chieftainship in March, 1938, L. F. Leversedge, the District Commissioner observed that cattle population totalled 8000 head and that the people were extremely well off. He observed that out of 432 taxable males only 45 were away at work.

The following table gives a fair idea of labour migration from cattle owning areas and non-cattle owning areas:

TABLE 3

LABOUR FIGURES FOR CHIEF MUKOBELA'S LARGE VILLAGE

Total taxable Males	At Village	Working in Northern Rhodesia	Working Elsewhere
178	156	12	10

LABOUR FIGURES FOR CHIEF KAINGU

6 months or under	6 months-lyr	1-2yrs	2yrs	Sichoni (Those who went for good)
14	25	8	52	8
11	22	6	39	15

Source: N.A.Z. Sec 2/1074 Namwala District Tour Reports, 1938, 1939.

These figures, taken in conjunction with those of the tax paying male population, show that, as much as 40% able bodied tax-payers in the Kaingu Chieftainship are away at work.²⁷

As can be shown from Table 3, the presence of cattle in Mukobela Chieftainship did not entail total absence of labour migration. During our extensive interview, we were lucky to interview men, Benjamin Kalambo and Thomas Changala, who despite coming from rich cattle backgrounds had gone into labour migration in Southern Rhodesia. Asked why and where they went to work, Kalambo and Changala said:

We went with our friends Mwenda, Chongo and Kaizaila (only surnames were given) to work in Wankie. But our parents had plenty of cattle, and did not want us to go away. But we were determined to go out and work. With the money we got we were able to buy cattle when we came back in 1938.²⁸

For men from cattle owning families the desire for cash and not taxation drove them into labour migration. The above example does specify that at least a few men from cattle owning families went into labour migration. But poor men especially from tsetse fly infested North Bank Chieftaincies went into labour migration in large numbers throughout the 1930s.

Labour migration is a phenomenon that has received a great deal of scholarly attention in Zambia. Scholars using the underdevelopment paradigm, which is basically condemnatory of colonialism, have argued that in many areas taxation resulted in male labour migration, and labour migration in turn contributed to the "underdevelopment" of those areas. In discussing labour migration, Meebelo and Muntemba have argued that taxation in Northern Province and Kabwe Rural District resulted in labour migration and labour migration in turn contributed to the "underdevelopment" of the two areas respectively.²⁹

In Namwala, we may speak of labour migration without lapsing into the "underdevelopment" theory. As has been shown, labour migration was high in the North Bank in the Kaingu and Shimbizhi Chieftainships. Figures show that often a half of all able bodied males were away. One official estimate, among many cited in the colonial reports, suggests that about 50 percent of all able bodied adult male tax payers were away working for wages. By comparison, only 20 percent or less were reported to be away from the rich cattle-owning Chieftainships of Nalubamba, Mungaila and Mukobela.³⁰ In Namwala there is no evidence to suggest that labour migration led to the underdevelopment of the region. On the contrary, migrants brought back clothing, blankets, shoes, hoes, while others like Changala, one of the richest cattle owners brought back money and bought cattle. Most informants were able to recall that migrants brought with them the ploughs and introduced the ox-drawn plough technology.³¹ Thus, the experience of Namwala is different from those areas that were "underdeveloped" through labour migration. Namwala was a beneficiary of labour migration.

In this chapter several conclusions have been reached. Firstly, it has been concluded that the attempt to control tsetse fly were confined to the control of vegetation forming habitat for the fly. The measures were not successful as they were carried within the financial limitations of the colonial government. Secondly, it has been observed that labour migration was in inverse proportion to the wealth in cattle of the area. From non-cattle and areas of low cattle ownership, approximately 50 percent of the taxable males were away while about 20 percent or less males in rich cattle owning areas were away. It has been observed that labour migration did not lead to the **under**development of the region.

NOTES

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2. N.A.Z., Sec 1/72 Economic Agricultural Matters in Northern Rhodesia: Economic Factor in Stock Raising, 1931-1938
3. N.A.Z., Sec 1/72 Economic Agricultural Matters in Northern Rhodesia: Economic Factor in Stock Raising, 1931-1938
4. N.A.Z., Sec 1/72 Economic Agricultural Matters in Northern Rhodesia; Memorandum on the Economics of the Cattle Industry in Northern Rhodesia (Livingstone: Government Printer, 1935), p. 5
5. Pim Report, 1938, p. 253
6. N.A.Z., Sec 3/568 Committee for the Stabilisation of Cattle Prices, 1945-46
7. N.A.Z., KSF 3/2/5 Namwala District Annual Report, 1929
8. N.A.Z., KSF 3/3/3 Namwala District Tour Reports, 1932
9. N.A.Z., KSF 3/2/8 Namwala District Annual Reports, 1938
10. N.A.Z., KSF 3/2/8 Namwala District Annual Reports, 1938
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CHAPTER IV

TSETSE FLY CONTROL MEASURES AND CATTLE MARKETING IN NAMWALA, 1939-1964

As part of the British Colonial system, the Northern Rhodesian copper mines expanded production to help with the war effort. In order to ensure adequate and steady supply of experienced labour at minimal costs, the mining companies adopted the policy of "stabilisation without urbanization".¹ In accordance with this policy black miners were allowed to stay with their families; wives and children on the Copperbelt. There was a rapid increase in population on the Copperbelt. "The African labour force on the Copperbelt thus expanded from about 30,000 in 1941 to about 200,000 by 1946".² This labour force had to be fed well in order to maintain peace and avoid any disruption in the production of the much needed copper.

Maize meal and meat were the two main components of the African rations on the Copperbelt during and after the war up to 1956. The colonial government's agricultural policy for most of this period was designed to increase both maize and livestock, and particularly cattle production from both white settlers as well as African producers and cattle keepers. Immediately after the war in 1945 the colonial government laid out plans through which various policy programmes and schemes were implemented in maize and livestock production.

In this chapter, we shall broadly discuss the cattle industry in Northern Rhodesia, and in particular the cattle industry in Namwala in the period 1939 to 1964. We shall discuss the cattle industry in Namwala and examine its problems and investigate the colonial government's measures for tsetse fly and disease control, cattle improvement and management and the provision of better marketing facilities. Specifically, we shall address ourselves to the following issues: the spread of tsetse fly and the outbreak of cattle diseases

and the objectives and measures instituted by the government; cattle trade and the marketing arrangements and cattle sales from Namwala; and an attempt will be made to investigate the impact of the cattle marketing and control ordinance of 1937 on the African cattle producers and on the Ila in particular. In the last section of this chapter, an attempt will be made to investigate the constraints such as grazing methods, calving rate, mortality rate, quality of bulls and other factors in traditional cattle production and management, all of which limited the expansion of African cattle industry. In order to understand why traditional cattle owners cannot sell along commercial lines, it will be important to investigate the social and cultural values held by the traditional cattle owners and particularly the Ila on whom this study is based.

Although our main discussion will be on the cattle industry in Namwala, to do so effectively calls for a discussion of a broad balanced picture of the livestock industry in Northern Rhodesia especially on matters of veterinary policy, tsetse fly control and livestock marketing which ultimately affected the cattle industry in the Namwala District. Therefore, our discussion will be placed in the broader context of the livestock industry in Northern Rhodesia. A brief discussion of the cattle industry and its problems and the government's objectives and disease control measures, general livestock improvement and better marketing in Northern Rhodesia will be essential to give us a clear picture of the industry of Northern Rhodesia.

OUTBREAK OF CATTLE DISEASES AND STATE CONTROL MEASURES IN NORTHERN RHODESIA, 1939 - 1964

Immediately after the war in 1945 the Veterinary Department

reviewed the Livestock Industry in Northern Rhodesia. It was found that the cattle population in Northern Rhodesia had been static for many years, and therefore inadequate to supply the territory with its requirements of livestock products.³ It was found that five-eighths of the territory was infested with tsetse fly and this had been the biggest factor preventing the expansion of the livestock industry on a territorial basis.⁴ Tsetse fly spread the deadly disease for cattle known as trypanosomiasis. In many areas including Namwala, tsetse fly were mainly spread through the movement of wild animals and particularly 'herd' animals such as Buffalo. Although the bush areas provide the suitable environment for the habitation of the fly, it is the wild animals that provide the food supply for the fly. In many areas tsetse fly was spread through game-cattle contact. Apart from trypanosomiasis there were other cattle diseases such as anthrax, quarter evil, foot-and-mouth, bovine pleuro-pneumonia and a variety of other diseases, some of which were endemic.

Against this background, the Veterinary Department drew up a development plan for livestock industry in Northern Rhodesia in 1945. In general the plan provided a broad balanced picture of the livestock industry and its problems. In this plan the department set out measures for disease control, livestock improvement and management. In order to implement these measures the capital and the required funds were to be provided from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.⁵ Clearly these measures were designed to reduce heavy mortality from endemic diseases and from the bovine trypanosomiasis.

In order to effectively control the spread of tsetse fly it was necessary to control the movement of wild animals which were the normal carrier and food supply of the species. In 1942 the Game and Tsetse Control Department was established. This department instituted

various tsetse schemes which included the control of vegetation which formed the habitat of the fly and the prevention of the spread of tsetse fly by traffic. In 1948, the department started establishing national parks so as to control the movement of game. The various tsetse schemes were reported to be giving positive results in Eastern Province as sleeping sickness and tsetse fly were fading out of the resettlement areas.⁶ In an attempt to control tick-borne diseases, the government provided dipping tanks in Eastern, Central and Southern Provinces, and dipping was made compulsory. To control endemic diseases such as anthrax the Veterinary Department instituted purely veterinary measures the most important of which was inoculation of cattle.

In a memorandum of 1950 it was reported that so far there was progress in containing cattle pests and diseases. It was stated that pleuro-pneumonia had been eradicated and trypanosomiasis had been brought under control. It was reported that the cattle had increased from 506,391 in 1942 to 674,370 head in 1949. A tremendous increase in cattle population was recorded in Barotseland. In Barotseland the cattle population increased from 136, 214 head in 1943 to 203, 751 head in 1949.⁷ We shall discuss the tsetse fly and disease control measures in Namwala. An attempt will be made to examine the effectiveness of those measures.

TSETSE FLY AND DISEASE CONTROL MEASURES IN NAMWALA, 1939-1964

Some large areas of the Namwala District were among those most seriously affected by the tsetse fly. "The Kafue Basin fly front extending from Kalomo to Namwala and thence to Mumbwa in the adjacent Central Province, is one of the most critical in Zambia".⁸ In 1942 the Director of the Tsetse Control Department noted that "the fly

seems to be retreating on the Northern Kafue flats frontage".⁹

Namwala was one of the first areas that were to be dealt with under the livestock improvement scheme drawn in 1940. The scheme was aimed at the institution of a game and tsetse fly survey and the provision of facilities for the improvement of cattle. Such facilities included the establishment of inoculation camps at Basanga and Lubanda, the areas that were seriously hit by tsetse fly.¹⁰ Unfortunately, however, the scheme received a serious set back because of the war. The demands of the war had necessitated considerable cutbacks in expenditures. Development had to wait until after the war.

After the war there was a steady decrease in cattle population in Namwala from the pre-war figure of 65,000 to approximately 48,000 in 1947. This decrease was mainly due to anthrax and trypanosomiasis caused by tsetse fly.¹¹ The position was particularly serious in the north bank. Tsetse fly here were caused by roving herds of wild animals that came into contact with cattle. The hardest hit areas were those of Kaingu, Chilyabufu and Shimbizhi. During a tour that took him to the North Bank in May, 1939, L. F. Leversedge, the District Commissioner, observed that tsetse fly in the area were brought by roving herds of buffalo, which were just over 2,300 head in the area.¹² In the west and south-west tsetse fly were reported in Shezongo, Musungwa and Muchila Chieftainships. For instance, there were heavy deaths of cattle due to trypanosomiasis in Muchila Chieftainship and the cattle population steadily decreased from 1948 to 1951. (see table below) .

TABLE 4

MUCHILA CHIEFTAINSHIP

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Cattle</u>
1948	1730
1949	1769
1950	1303
1951	1195

Source: N.A.Z. Sec 2/139, Southern Province Annual Reports,
1951

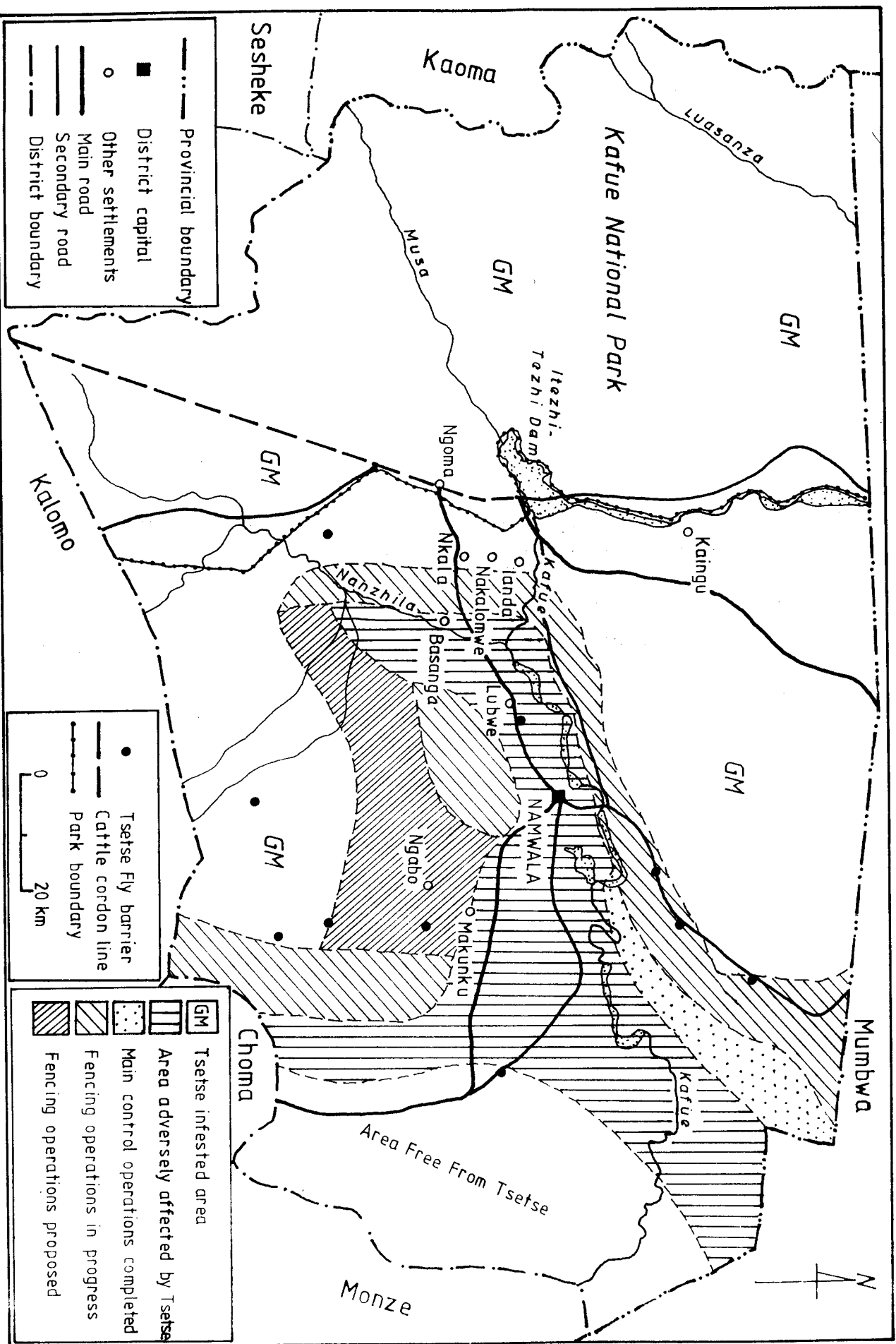
Just like in the North Bank the concentration of game building up in the Ngoma area of the Kafue National Park led to the spread of trypanosomiasis from game-cattle contact and resultant mechanical transmission.¹³ In view of this the fight against the spread of tsetse fly and trypanosomiasis was the most important side of the development plans for Namwala District.

From 1947 onwards the Veterinary Department in conjunction with the Department of Game and Tsetse Control instituted remedial measures that were intended to protect existing stock populations against fly encroachment. The first of these measures was the construction of a 50 mile wire fence from Bunga on the Kafue, approximately 5 miles inside the bush fringe, to the boundary of the Mumbwa-Namwala District in the Makunku area. The fence was constructed at a cost of approximately £1,000 per mile, the sum of £28,000 being provided by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.¹⁴ The purpose of this fence was to prevent the movement into the main North Bank cattle areas of vast herds of game from the hills on the Mumbwa-Namwala boundary. In addition to this fence the tsetse control department staff devoted

most of their time clearing thick pockets of Musansa bush areas that were known to harbour the fly. People were encouraged to settle in the cleared areas and cultivate the land as a way of preventing the regrowth of the bushes.¹⁵

Because of the serious trypanosomiasis position in cattle from game-cattle contact on the South Bank, plans were well advanced by 1956 for a similar game control fence in the Basanga area. On the South Bank, "a fence was built in 1956 from Iyanda in Chief Musungwa's area to the north boundary of Chief Shezongo's area. In 1960 the fence was further extended southward to reach the point where the Kafue National Park boundary and Nanzhila rivers meet".¹⁶ The Basanga Game fence was maintained and reinforced during the year and a narrow strip cleared along the whole of its length. In the South of the district in Chief Muchila's country, more clearing was carried out.¹⁷ Clearly, tsetse control was an expensive task. It was undertaken for two purposes; that of protecting existing cattle population against the encroaching fly and to reclaim land for expansion or resettlement. The extent of fly infestation in the north, west and south-west was such that there was no limit to the work that could be done. (See Map 2)

The cattle rich areas in the centre and east in the Chieftaincies of Mukobela, Mungaila and Nalubamba were not seriously affected by the fly. As already said in the previous chapter, these Chieftaincies border the Kafue flats and the annual transhumance to the flats where there were no fly afforded the cattle an opportunity to recover from "fly-strike" and its effects. However, our informants in these areas told us that they had great fear that Luuka (tsetse fly) would eventually spread to their areas. Others even attributed the death of their cattle to tsetse fly.¹⁸



Tsetse Fly Distribution in Namwala District (Source: Zambia's Atlas Sheet No.7, 1968).

Hand in hand with tsetse control measures the Veterinary Department from 1947 onwards started a campaign to persuade cattle owners to have their cattle inoculated against various diseases such as anthrax, foot-and-mouth disease and inoculation to cure trypanosomiasis. From 1947 onwards, annual inoculation of all cattle against anthrax on a blanket basis was commenced and dimidium bromide was used wherever necessary with increasing success against trypanosomiasis.¹⁹ In 1950 there was a sporadic outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in the district. This disease was dealt with by the inoculation of all cattle in the district with live virus.²⁰ Mass inoculations to cure trypanosomiasis were intensified from 1950 to 1960s. The table below shows the number of cattle that were inoculated.

TABLE 5 NAMWALA DISTRICT

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Cattle Inoculated Against Trypanosomiasis</u>
1951	5,300
1952	6,700
1953	12,100
1960	14,000

Source: N.A.Z., Sec 2/139 Southern Province Annual Report 1953;
Department of Veterinary and Tsetse Control Services,
Annual Report for the Year 1960 (Lusaka: Government
Printer, 1961).

From the several interviews we conducted and from the colonial reports it is evident that the tsetse control measures and the campaigns for inoculation were effective and successful in containing cattle pests and diseases. The Ila cattle industry thrived and the cattle population steadily increased both in the North Bank and in the South Bank.

TABLE 6 NAMWALA DISTRICT: INCREASES IN CATTLE POPULATION
IN THE SOUTH AND NORTH BANKS

Area	Year	1948	1949	1950	1951
South Bank		44,663	47,072	48,299	51,183
North Bank		9,442	10,126	12,263	12,143
TOTALS		54,105	57,198	60,562	63,320

Source: N.A.Z.; Sec 2/139, Southern Province Annual Reports, 1953

By 1954 the number of cattle in the North Bank had risen to 14,560 and the total cattle population in the district was about 70,148, an increase of approximately 22,000 by 1956.²¹ Thus since 1947 the increase in the cattle population had been steady.

TABLE 7 NAMWALA DISTRICT

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Cattle</u>
1947	50,578
1950	60,562
1951	63,320
1952	70,235
1953	72,198
1955	69,612
1956	70,148

Source: N.A.Z.; Sec 2/139 Southern Province Annual Report 1953;

Sec 2/149 Annual Report on African Affairs, Namwala, 1956

The slower rate of growth was also possibly the result of a lower rate of natural increase and slaughterings for ceremonies and losses of cattle from vermin as can be shown from the table below:

TABLE 8

NAMWALA DISTRICT

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total No. of Cattle</u>	<u>Nos. Killed at Masuntu Ceremonies</u>	<u>Nos. Killed by Vermin</u>
1959	65,952	1,239	518
1960	71,917	94	574
1961	71,954	-	467

Source: A Report Compiled by K. M. Chittenden, the District Commissioner,

N.A.Z., KSF, Namwala District Notebook, Vol.III, 1961

Writing in the late 1960s, Fielder has confirmed the steady increases in cattle population in the district. Fielder has argued that the game fences constructed in the north-west and south-west in the 1950s, together with improved medicines enabled the cattle population to grow.²²

Exploration of the relationship between the Ila and nationalist politics in the late 1950s can also reveal the importance of inoculations to cattle owners. The Ila of Mbeza area under Chief Nalubamba participated in the nationalist politics through the African National Congress (ANC) led by Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula and Mungoni Liso. In an attempt to win support from cattle owners the ANC through Liso mounted an effective propaganda campaign against the colonial state. In its propaganda the ANC proposed a programme of protest which included a boycott of state projects such as inoculation of cattle against bovine diseases.²³ Initially the ANC propaganda was so successful such that in June 1957, Mbeza Headmen wrote a joint letter to the Principal Livestock Officer, Namwala, in which they condemned inoculation, complaining that:

... our animals die, they have less milk as calves die as well,...African cattle have immunity of various diseases and the injections breaks away that immunity²⁴

Accordingly, cattle owners in Mbeza and Mandondo areas stopped having their cattle inoculated. Unfortunately, however, as soon as they (cattle owners) stopped inoculations their cattle died in large numbers. For instance, Mandondo area alone lost over 1000 head of cattle in early 1958. The cattle owners soon regretted their decision and asked the Veterinary Department to resume inoculations, and inoculations were resumed.²⁵ Thus, although the cattle owners continued to support the ANC, they felt they could not go along with some of ANC's programmes. Like the rich peasantry on the Tonga Plateau, cattle owners, "did not feel that their immediate economic interests should be sacrificed and subordinated to the political struggle for self-determination, much as they realised this might be vital in undermining the legitimacy of the colonial administration."²⁶

Nonetheless, the Ila never abandoned ANC in the nationalist politics. The concern of the majority of Ila men, poor or rich, in the nationalist politics appears to have been taxation and colonial restrictions on their ancestral hunting rights, chila. For, as Chipungu notes, "Hunting in the Kafue flats had been part of the Ila way of life. Through hunting, the Ila got protein from game meat thereby reducing the slaughtering of livestock...."²⁷ Thus, for the Ila, taxation and the act of prohibiting chila generated tremendous anti-colonial sentiments, and little wonder that the two issues surfaced in the local ANC politics against colonial rule.

Thus, the importance with which the cattle owners attached to inoculation cannot be overemphasised. As already said, tsetse fly control was an expensive task. Inoculations of cattle against trypanosomiasis in tsetse infested areas was a continuous task. During a tour that took him to some areas in the North Bank in 1960, P. C. Lee, cadet observed that there were "some 5,323 head of cattle in this area, most of which are kept alive by inoculations against trypanosomiasis. On an average the officials of the Veterinary

Department give 20 injections per month".²⁸ Apart from undertaking inoculations, the government provided dipping facilities whose function was to control tick borne disease. A dip tank was constructed in Maala in 1960 at the request of Chief Mungaila with funds from the Provincial Block Vote. Other dipping tanks were at the Boma, Mbeza and Ibamba ranch.²⁹ Lastly, but not the least, the state constructed wells and dams whose purpose was to save both human and animal life in the district.

Having explained the several ways by which the colonial state through its veterinary and game and tsetse control departments played a positive role in containing cattle diseases, the task remains to explore the reasons why the state became actively involved. As already said, meat was an important component of the food rations provided to African families on the Copperbelt. The state supported the African livestock industry basically because the settlers were unable to meet the increasing demand for beef and as a way of avoiding the expensive importation of slaughter stock from adjoining territory of Bechuanaland. Basically, therefore, the Ila cattle industry benefited directly from the copper boom.

Another explanation suggested by Mulongo is that "owing to the fear of rising African nationalism and enlightened self interest there was increase in the colonial government's interest in African development and welfare".³⁰ Mulongo seems to imply that the colonial government was coming under increasing pressure from the Africans who were demanding for self determination. Thus, the state favourable policies and measures were meant to undercut opportunities for the development of "radical" or "national" consciousness among Africans.

The last and the basic reason is that with the copper boom the government had enough revenues. After the war the financial position of the government greatly improved as a result of the end of the

financial demands of the war and an increase in the price of copper. Along with the improved revenue situation came a reassessment of government policy aims and the introduction of national planning. Plans for economic development were drawn and gained momentum after 1947. Notable expenditure was made on African agriculture.³¹ Apart from the improved financial position the government was greatly concerned with developing the African cattle industry as a way of avoiding the costly cattle imports required in the post war period. Because of the high demand for beef, in the country the development of the African cattle industry became not only justifiable but essential.

CATTLE TRADE AND MARKETING ARRANGEMENTS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA, 1939-1964

In this section, we shall firstly discuss cattle trade, the marketing arrangements and the rate of cattle sales from African cattle producers in Northern Rhodesia. A broader discussion of the cattle industry in Northern Rhodesia is necessary to give us a clear picture of the whole cattle industry in the territory. Secondly, we shall investigate the impact of the cattle ordinance of 1937 on the African cattle producers and particularly on the Ila on whom this study is based. Thirdly, we shall discuss cattle trade, the marketing arrangements and the rate of supply from Namwala District. Lastly, an attempt will be made to explore some of the possible reasons that affected the cattle industry and determined the rate of cattle sales from Namwala District.

In Northern Rhodesia until 1960 the wholesale purchase of cattle and the distribution of meat was conducted entirely by private enterprise under the overall supervision of a non-trading organisation known as the Cattle Marketing and Control Board.³² "These butchers were

entirely private concerns organising their own supplies, killing in their own or in Municipal abattoirs in Northern Rhodesia and retailing through their own chains of shops".³³ Of the various competing butchers there were two major groups or buyers, Werner and Company Ltd., and Copperfields Cold Storage Ltd. The former was operating in conjunction with Lusaka Cold Storage Ltd., and Susman Bros and Wulfsohn Ltd. These groups were able to conclude agreements for exclusive trading and supply rights in and to mine townships, together with contracts for the supply/ration meat to mine labourers.³⁴ /of

Thus, the Copperbelt was the major market for cattle in Northern Rhodesia. In 1938, "... 80 percent of the beef is consumed in the Copperbelt; for this there are two large buyers, one for each mining group, and a large number of sellers".³⁵ Baldwin observes that,

"even in 1959 the mining areas consumed 50 percent of the total livestock slaughtered for commercial markets".³⁶ During this time the policy of the government and that of the mining companies was to ensure the adequate flow of meat supplies to the Copperbelt for increased copper production. But as a matter of fact, the white settlers and the African cattle producers were unable to meet the high demand for beef in the country. In order to make up for the shortfall the government continued importing slaughter stock mainly from Botswana. In 1960 no less than 18,566 head were imported.³⁷

For many years prior to 1960, and, indeed until the time the cold storage commission extended the scope of its operations to Northern Rhodesia, the sale of cattle by Africans was low. In 1958 it was reported that, "In Northern Rhodesia the sale of cattle by Africans is disappointingly low. Firm evidence on the actual prices received is lacking, but it is clear that Africans in Northern Rhodesia

receive lower prices for their cattle than in Southern Rhodesia, and there are probably fewer opportunities for selling".³⁸ According to the 1959 census figures, the African owned cattle population in the territory was 955,000 head. Only 20,000 head (representing 2 percent) were sold. Had the African herd been exploited on a commercial basis the takeoff percentage should have been between 6 and 10 percent. For comparison purposes, the average annual takeoff from a commercially managed herd was 10 to 14 percent.³⁹

Before we look at the marketing arrangements during the federation, let us attempt to examine the impact of the cattle marketing and control ordinance of 1937, on the African cattle producers. In accordance with this ordinance, the Cattle Marketing and Control Board was set up. The Board had the following objectives: first, the stabilisation of prices; secondly, independent grading where grading is necessary; thirdly, the equitable distribution of the available market in the event of a surplus of any class of cattle arising in the future; fourthly, assistance in finding a market for those breeders or traders who may have difficulty in finding a market; and lastly, ensuring that fair prices are fixed for the African producers. In addition to these objectives the Bill 'recommended to continue' charging the cattle levy on all cattle offered for sale.⁴⁰

The Board set out different pricing principles in relation to European and African cattle as regards seasonal prices and grade as follows:

TABLE 9 CATTLE PRICES SET BY THE CATTLE MARKETING AND CONTROL BOARD

1 Grade Cattle -

For Delivery in	Prime Grade	Medium Grade	II. Other Cattle Oxen
March - June . . .	13s	11s	800lbs or over...11s
Jan, Feb, July, Sep . . .	14s	12s	600lbs..... 9s
Oct, Nov, Dec. . . .	15s	13s	Under 600lbs..... 8s
			Cows -
			700lbs or over...11s
			Bulls... 8s

Source: Northern Rhodesia Gazette Government Notices, 1937 (Lusaka: Government Printer 1938), p. 339

The above prices were applicable to Livingstone, Kalomo, Mazabuka, Lusaka, Mumbwa, Broken Hill, Ndola, Nkushi and Namwala. It was clearly stated that any person buying or selling slaughter cattle at prices lower than those prescribed by the Board, was liable to penalties under the ordinance, and a levy of 2 percent of the purchase price on all slaughter stock was imposed.⁴¹ The other important function of the Board was to control the importation of livestock through the system of permits. The cattle ordinance provided for the registration of purchasers, sellers and owners of slaughter stock. It was clearly pointed out that the owners of slaughter stock should render returns to show the number of cattle they had available for sale in order that the Board might compare the supply with the demand in the country. The Board would then be in a position to advise government when and when not to issue permits to importers.⁴²

Clearly, the ordinance and the operations of the Board were an attempt to stimulate cattle production and to encourage cattle sales from both the settlers and Africans in Northern Rhodesia. The ordinance and the Board protected the cattle industry from outside competition.

It is true, however, that in its principles of seasonal prices and of classification on condition, the Board tended to discriminate against African owned cattle and did nothing to promote a regular supply from African cattle owners throughout the season.⁴³ The ordinance was originally intended to protect both the African cattle and the settler cattle industry in the territory from outside competition so as to encourage cattle production and cattle sales and consequently avoid the importation of stock from adjoining territories.

Baldwin has made two critical observations on the operations of the Board. He has observed that by allowing large numbers of the lower grades of livestock, while severely restricting the importation of better grades, the Board was able to achieve two goals of government policy. First, by raising the producer price of prime cattle 460 percent between 1937 and 1956, it enabled the European cattle industry to flourish. Second, the Board maintained low prices for poorer quality cattle.⁴⁴ We agree with some of Baldwin's contentions. First, we maintain that the Board did not deliberately allow the importation of large numbers of low grades of livestock. The fact that it did so simply shows that there were insufficient sellers from within Northern Rhodesia. Through the system of permits the Board was controlling imports. In 1938 it was observed that the prices fixed by the Board were in excess of the minimum prices which the Board considered a fair selling price. The Board did not propose to recommend the issue of permits for importation until local supplies offered at the fixed price had been purchased.⁴⁵ While it is true that poorer quality cattle fetched low prices and that the low supply of cattle sales by the Africans can be attributed to the low prices that were offered by the Board, it is also true that there were other factors that contributed to the poor response to commercialization of cattle by the Africans.

In introducing the Bill the government was trying to protect the cattle industry in the territory from outside competition. Up to 1937, the position of the cattle industry, European and African alike, had become exceedingly precarious because of wholesale 'dumping' from Southern Rhodesia and Bechuanaland. In 1938 Captain R.D. Campbell, a member of the Board Observed during the second reading of an amendment to the Ordinance:

The Bill has been of great assistance to the whole farming community. It has undoubtedly done a lot of good to the natives also. It has established prices and it has made a market for all the cattle that there are in country. The imports are able to be controlled by the system of permits. Without those import permits the cattle industry did not know where it stood; at any moment the buyers could say "We will import cattle against you unless you like to sell at our figure; and a lot of people were frightened into selling for very little."⁴⁶

Thus, although the Ordinance might have had an adverse effect on the supply of cattle by Africans, the principal objective of the government was to protect the cattle industry in general and the European cattle industry in particular.

During the federation cattle marketing was becoming increasingly a Federal government's responsibility. The Federal agriculture report of 1958 maintained that "continued and determined effort is required in Northern Rhodesia to increase the rate of sale by Africans."⁴⁷ In 1960 the Federal Government extended the operations of the Cold Storage Commission to Northern Rhodesia. The Commission bought the Werner Group's slaughter works and major distribution plants in Livingstone, Lusaka and

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Kitwe. "The advent of the commission brought Zambia cattle prices and grades line with those in

Southern Rhodesia, and sales by cold dressed weight rapidly became applicable to all commercial cattle sold to the Commission".⁴⁹ The cattle prices were decided on a live-weight and grade basis. The cattle were divided into grades, and within each grade the prices depended on the weight of the beasts.

TABLE 10 SOME NORTHERN RHODESIA CATTLE PRICES, MARCH 1961

Weight	GRADE														
	Standard			G.A.Q.			F.A.Q.			Compound			Inferior		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
700lb...	21	17	6	19	2	6	15	2	6	12	5	0	9	0	0
800lb...	25	0	0	21	17	6	17	7	6	14	0	0	10	0	0
1000lb...	31	5	0	27	7	6	21	12	6	17	10	0	12	15	0
G.A.Q. = Good Average Quality							F.A.Q. = Fair Average Quality								

Source: J. Hadfield, The Marketing of African Agricultural Produce in Northern Rhodesia, Lusaka: Government Printer, 1961 p. 17

The cattle prices were those fixed by the Federal government in terms of the Cattle Price Agreement between that body and the Rhodesian National Farmers Union. The prices were guaranteed minimum producer prices and varied according to grade and season.⁵⁰ The Commission extended its business even in rural areas of Northern Rhodesia. In the financial year 1960/61 it slaughtered 19,500 head, in 1961/62, 38,700 head and in 1962/63 59,700 head were slaughtered.⁵¹ These figures show a combination of both the European and African owned cattle. In 1964 it was estimated that the offtake from the traditional herd was approximately 3 percent compared with 14 percent

per annum from the commercial producers. About 7,000 head were imported in 1964 and the figure for 1965 was expected to be of the order of 10,000 head.⁵² Thus throughout the period of colonial rule, the offtake from the traditional cattle owners remained comparatively lower than that of commercial farmers. We shall examine and explore some of the possible reasons that accounted for low cattle exports from the Africans in relation to the Ila in our conclusion.

CATTLE TRADE: MARKETING ARRANGEMENTS AND EXPORT SALES IN NAMWALA DISTRICT, 1939 - 1963 .

Almost all the cattle traders in Namwala District were whites. Our informants were able to remember cattle traders such as A. Jones, nicknamed as Kandondo, L. Long nicknamed as Masekaseka and J. Adam nicknamed as Matepeta. Of the many cattle traders, Jones finally decided to settle and established himself in Maala among the Ila. He was a great polygamist as he married many women from the local people. During his life time until his death in 1985, he is reputed to have been the largest cattle owner in Namwala District.⁵³ Even after settling in Maala Jones continued trading and buying cattle from the Ila. After buying, his cattle were kept at the Ibamba ranch in Chief Mukobela's area. Here the cattle were grazed until they were fat enough and then trekked to Monze using the Namwala-Pemba route. The cattle were resold at Monze to butchers at considerably higher prices than they were originally bought.⁵⁴ In 1939 cattle exports from the district amounted to only 1408 head compared to 2,233 head in 1938.⁵⁵ The cattle exports from the district in the years 1944 and 1948 are shown in the table below:

TABLE 11

NAMWALA DISTRICT: CATTLE TRADERS AND NO. OF CATTLE BOUGHT, 1944-1948

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name of Trader</u>	<u>No. of Permits</u>	<u>Office of Issue</u>	<u>No. of Cattle</u>
1944	J. Adam	2	Namwala	260
	A.G. Jones & Co.	8	Namwala	5,765
	Cavadia & Nephews	6	Namwala	1,620
1945	Cavadia & Nephews	2	Namwala	400
	A. G. Jones	1	Namwala	200
	A. G. Jones	2	Namwala	400
1946	J. Adam	1	Namwala	200
	A. G. Jones	2	Namwala	400
	J. Adam	1	Namwala	200
	Cavadia & Nephews	2	Namwala	200
	Cavadia & Nephews	11	Namwala	2,400
	Jones & Co.	12	Namwala	2,400
	J. Adam	3	Namwala	600
	J. S. Strydom	3	Namwala	600
1947	J. Adam	1	Namwala	200
	A. G. Jones	2	Namwala	400
	J. T. Cavadia	4	Namwala	800
	Cavadia & Nephews	2	Namwala	400
	Jones & Co.	1	Namwala	200
1948	Cavadia & Nephews	-	-	800
	L. M. Long	-	-	200

Source: N.A.Z., Sec3/584, Cattle Industry: Cattle Purchase and

Export Ordinance, 1940 - 1948

In 1948 the cattle population in the district was 50,578. Out of that figure the total number of cattle purchased by traders was only 1890. Out of that about 1837 cattle were resold by traders to purchasers along the line of rail. About 14 or 15 percent of the total 1890 cattle bought by traders came from Chief Mukobela's area.⁵⁶ The cattle export sales from the district in the years 1951 to 1961 were worked out by Maclean, and are shown in the appendix A.

Apart from the traders the Namwala Cooperative Union initiated a scheme of buying cattle in the years 1957 when it bought about 110 oxen and 120 cattle in 1958.⁵⁷ The operations of the Commission were extended to Namwala district in 1961.⁵⁸ Cattle sales by the Commission were organised by the Department of Agriculture at Maala, Namwala Boma and Chitongo. At a Maala sale in February 1961, 'Chief Mungaila's ox fetched £31'. Overwhelmed with joy over the price "The Chief sold his ox with a smile, and subsequently sold about 6 more. Previously, prices exceeding £22 were almost unheard of. A total of 124 head were sold during the sale, the average price being £18.14.6, which compares very favourably with the line-of-rail sales".⁵⁹ Everywhere sales by the Commission were on a live-weight and grade basis. The Commission provided a guaranteed market that was standing ready to buy all cattle offered for sale at its works. It is safe to assume that with increased prices the export sales from Namwala increased in the 1960s. (Appendix A) . Fielder argues that the wish for modern housing must have contributed considerably to the export of cattle from the district in the 1960s.⁶⁰

At this stage, we may attempt to investigate the impact of the cattle marketing and control ordinance of 1937 on the Ila. The questions which have to be asked are basically what was the impact of the ordinance and did it have the adverse effect on the cattle sales

from the cattle owners, and secondly, can the low cattle sales from Namwala be attributed to the introduction of the ordinance?

It has been observed in this chapter that the Cattle Marketing and Control Board devised different principles that were applied to settler and African bred cattle as regards seasonal prices. Seasonal prices and classification on condition applied only to settler owned cattle and this certainly was a discrimination against the African-bred cattle. In addition, the prices offered for African cattle were comparatively lower than those offered for the settler bred stock. The Ila cattle owners were conscious of the low prices offered for their cattle. From colonial records, it is possible to get some impression. At a meeting of the Namwala Chiefs with the Acting Governor at Namwala Boma in 1946, Chief Mukobela complained saying:

Bwana, we speak what is in our mind and we know for certain that in some cases the prices for cattle has been reduced from £9 to £7. We complain against the prices of cattle and.... The price of cattle has fallen and the cost of goods in the stores is high and we are much troubled.⁶¹

Therefore, it is true that the prices for African cattle were low in Northern Rhodesia as we have already shown in this study. What should be emphasised is that the introduction of the ordinance constituted discrimination against the African cattle producers. The cattle ordinance like the maize legislation penalised the Africans. However, the principal original objective of the ordinance was to defend the cattle industry, both settler and African alike, against the threat of competition from Bechuanaland Protectorate and Southern Rhodesia.

The low cattle sales from Namwala cannot be explained and attributed only to the introduction of the ordinance in 1937, let alone the minimum prices fixed by the Board. Elliot has observed that "The number of Zambian cattle owners who respond positively to changes in price are small and very limited to the Southern and Central Provinces".⁶² In the next chapter, an attempt will be made to investigate constraints on cattle production, and social and cultural factors that might have affected cattle sales from Namwala in the colonial period.

CONSTRAINTS ON CATTLE PRODUCTION AND FACTORS THAT AFFECTED CATTLE SALES FROM NAMWALA DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

Throughout the colonial period there was no considerable increase in cattle population in Namwala District. In addition, our observation is that cattle sales for export did not rise as might have been expected. During the 11 years, 1951 to 1961, Maclean worked out the total annual take-off by export sales and other sources (omitting deaths due to disease) and found out that it averaged 6.2 percent. Of that take-off, only 3.5 percent had been as export sales⁶³ (see Appendix A). There are many constraints that might have influenced the poor build up of the cattle population thereby reducing the volume of commercial sales from Namwala. Other reasons that might have affected cattle sales from the district partly lie in the social and cultural attitudes to cattle by the traditional cattle owners. In this section, we shall attempt to investigate the constraints on cattle production, and social and cultural attitudes held by the traditional cattle owners in Namwala.

The prevalence of cattle pests in the form of tsetse fly in many parts of Namwala District has been a serious setback to the development

of the cattle industry. In many areas infested by the tsetse fly, cattle cannot be kept by traditional cattle owners especially in the North Bank.

During our interviews, we were told that Chief Kaingu and a few of his Headmen own cattle, but their cattle were kept by their friends in Muwezwa Chieftainship on the Kafue flats, which was free from the tsetse fly. Only oxen ~~were~~ brought home during the rain season for ploughing purposes.⁶⁴ Throughout the colonial era cattle could not increase in the north and in the west and there were losses due to trypanosomiasis.

The other factor that adversely affected the cattle industry and export sales from Namwala was the introduction of the ox-drawn plough technology. Ploughs were bought in large numbers by many cattle owning families (see Appendix B). With ploughs large tracts of land were brought under cultivation in cattle-owning Chieftainships of Nalubamba, Mungaila and Mukobela. The "ownership of cattle became crucial in taking advantage of possibilities of agricultural production for the market which was increasingly based on ploughs and oxen".⁶⁵ With increased maize prices from 7/-per bag to about 30/- per bag in 1951, there was increased maize production in the Nalubamba and Mungaila Chieftainships. Maize was sold to the Namwala Co-operative Marketing Union and to traders (see Appendix C) Some old men told us that they used to take maize to Monze, using ox-drawn scotch carts.⁶⁶ Many successful maize producers who were apparently rich cattle owners tended to rely on their ~~or~~able crops for a regular source of income and held back their oxen for ploughing purposes. During the good years with good maize harvests, cattle sales were reported to be disappointingly low, owing to good maize harvests, as people sold maize to raise cash for their needs.⁶⁷

In many areas, maize cultivation reduced rains grazing land for

cattle. In many areas of Nalubamba, Mukobela and Mungaila there is overstocking due to maize cultivation. Thus cattle grazing is only confined to the Kafue flats. But as Maclean argues, the flats provide useful grazing for only short periods, at the beginning and end of the floods. Maclean has observed that the long term traditional practice whereby the Ila used to take and keep their cattle as long as seven months on the flats has discontinued. 68

The uneven distribution of cattle holdings has been another important factor affecting cattle sales from the District. Like many other cattle owners the Ila were characterised by greater differentiation between men in cattle ownership. For, as Cliffe says:

In almost all areas where cattle are not precluded by tsetse fly, their ownership and use (whether simply for grazing and accumulation or for ploughing) is highly unequal. 69

The social and cultural values of the Ila cattle owners were of fundamental importance in determining cattle sales from the district. "Social factors are those involving the pattern of life and customs of the people; cultural factors are those involving their values and aspirations. 70 Among the Ila Fielder has observed that the attitude of the Ila towards their cattle reflected the logical reluctance of the cattle owners to sell their cattle along commercial lines. In the view of Fielder, with which we concur, cattle were multi-purpose animals that were used by the owners to fulfil duties and obligations to kin. To explain why the Ila keep cattle and why they cannot be expected to sell along commercial lines the following table is relevant.

Table 12

The minimum number of cattle for self-sufficiency in Namwala

(a) Household Needs:

Trained oxen for ploughing, etc	4
Cows for reproduction and milk	6
Bulls for reproduction only	1
Not yet productive (saleable in emergency)	
Untrained oxen	2
Heifers	3
Calves	4
<hr/>	
Total	20
<hr/>	

(b) But before he can think of selling regularly, the owner has other obligations: future bridewealth payments; repayments of bridewealth already received; cattle to be killed at funerals or for costs on debts and cases. So he will want in addition to have available more cows such as young oxen for funerals, heifers for bridewealth, and the odd calf; or two for unexpected needs.

(c) To make doubly sure, after his experience of sudden losses in the past, he will not keep all his eggs in one basket. He will have a margin herded out with other people. These cattle help his less self-sufficient friends and relatives, and thus win him supporters in times of need; say ten.

Summary

Need	Bull	Oxen	Cows	Heifers	Calves	Total
Household	1	6	6	3	4	20
Obligations	-	3	4	2	1	10
Herded Out	-	3	3	2	2	10
<hr/>						
Total	1	12	13	7	7	40

Source: R.J. Fielder, "The Role of Cattle in the Ila Economy;
A Conflict of Views on the Uses of Cattle
by the Ila of Namwala", African Social
Research, 15, 1973, 338.

Thus, Fielder has observed that a man needs approximately forty cattle to be self-sufficient and safe from serious loss. When he has reached this point, and only then, can he think of selling regularly in a systematic, commercial manner. At a time of his research in 1969, Fielder observed that there were only 5 to 10 percent of the cattle owners in Namwala, who had attained herds of the 'ideal' size. But even these did not sell along commercial lines because of their social obligations to
71
a large range of kinsmen.

Among the Tonga which is also true for the Ila, cattle owners still visualise the importance of cattle as arising from
72
their use in social contexts. To some extent the importance of cattle in these social contexts has even increased in recent years. During our field trip we observed that the funeral of an important person might be honoured by the slaughter of about fifty oxen. This was the number killed to celebrate the funeral of Seleta Nucuka Mwanambulo, an old widow who died in December 1989. Mwanambulo did not have cattle herself, all the cattle to celebrate
73
her funeral were donated by her rich relatives. There is no fixed number of cattle to be killed at funerals. The number killed at each funeral vary with the importance of the dead to the community.

With their cattle, large cattle owners are able to meet social obligations to a large range of their kinsmen. As such they are highly respected and enjoy a prestigious position in

the society. Among the Tonga Colson observes that "most prestige accrued to those Tonga who owned the largest herds and this has led to a reluctance on the part of established owners to part with even small numbers of their animals. ⁷⁴ What should be emphasised is that among the Ila cattle have greatly increased in economic importance, and at the same time have retained their ritual and social importance (see Appendix A). It can, therefore, be safe to assume that over the years the Ila have valued their cattle for both economic and social aspects.

In a critical survey of the Ila cattle industry, Maclean has analysed cattle productivity and factors involved in traditional cattle production and management. According to his survey, the Ila cattle industry suffered a number of problems. He observed that there was high mortality rate among calves due to high stock rates, poor conditions and excessive milking. He observed that under such poor conditions, it took a cow at least two years to wean a calf, and that calving rate was very low. And due to poor management, he observed that cows were mated too early in life. The bulls were of poor quality as the best bulls were taken as oxen. Thus, in the view of Maclean, with which we concur, the poor conditions under traditional cattle management have been detrimental to the increase in cattle population in general and on the health of the cattle in particular. ⁷⁵ Consequently, cattle sales from Namwala have been low. In the same vein, Lombard and Tweedie have noted that:

The low productivity of the traditional herd is a result of too few bulls, lack of control over breeding and grazing and the lack of hygiene. The result is a very low calf crop every year, Combined with high mortality, particularly amongst calves. ⁷⁶

This chapter has shown that during the post war period the colonial government was at a very good financial position and became active in African cattle industry. The government clearly pointed out that large areas of the territory were infested with tsetse fly which had been the biggest factor preventing the expansion of the livestock industry on a territorial basis. Consequently, the cattle population had been static and inadequate to supply the territory with its requirements of livestock products. Many areas of Namwala except the Kafue flats were critically affected by the tsetse fly. The government policy towards African cattle industry took the form of veterinary and tsetse fly control measures, and the provision of better marketing facilities. In order to control tsetse fly various schemes which involved the control of both the food supply (game) and the habitat (bushes) of the fly were instituted. In Namwala, game fences were constructed and National Parks were established for the purpose of controlling the game. Large areas of bushes were cleared for human settlement. The extension of the Cold Storage Commission with its better marketing facilities was an attempt to encourage and stimulate cattle sales from the Africans.

As has been shown, cattle sales from the Africans did not increase considerably throughout the colonial period. We have argued that the Ila cattle industry was characterised by low productivity as a result of poor traditional cattle management techniques. Hence, even the cattle population did not increase much in the district throughout the colonial period. We have also argued that social and cultural factors affected cattle sales from the Africans and the Ila in particular. Among the Ila and many traditional cattle owners, cattle are reared not only for sale to raise cash, but they are meant to be used in social and

This study has examined the African cattle industry under colonial rule, taking a case study of Namwala. The study set out to achieve a number of objectives. First, the study has investigated the impact of the colonial policies of taxation and cattle marketing on the Ila. Secondly, the study has also attempted to investigate the constraints involved in traditional cattle production and management which set limits to the expansion of cattle industry. Thirdly, this study was an attempt to examine the role of the colonial government in containing cattle diseases and the spread of tsetse fly, and the provision of cattle marketing facilities.

This study advances several conclusions. First it has been concluded that the introduction of taxation was the dominant means by which the Ila were integrated into the wider colonial economy. In Namwala the pre-colonial social-economic structures based on cattle were not destroyed by colonial imposition. Throughout the colonial period, the Ila remained in possession of their cattle and exercised effective control over the use of the Kafue flats for grazing purposes. The introduction of taxation constituted a revolutionary factor. In instituting the tax the colonial government was attempting to raise the revenue to pay for the administration of the territory as well as to push Africans into wage labour. With the tax, the sale of cattle to raise cash became necessary. The pressing need for cash was, to be sure, the immediate stimulus for selling cattle by the Ila cattle owners. Owing to a number of factors the Ila did not sell their cattle along commercial lines, and this explains why the cattle sales from the

district did not increase much throughout the period under study.

In the non-cattle and areas of low-cattle ownership, taxation fostered labour migration.

Secondly, this study has revealed that the spread of tsetse fly and the outbreak of cattle diseases were constraints to the expansion of the cattle industry in Namwala District. In Namwala and many other areas the government policy towards the cattle industry took the form of veterinary and tsetse control measures. Tsetse fly control measures were aimed at controlling both the food supply (the game) and the habitat (the bushes). The creation of game parks was an attempt to preserve the game and to restrict its movement so as to contain the spread of tsetse fly. Up to 1945, the veterinary and tsetse control measures undertaken by the government were unsuccessful as they were carried out within the financial limitations of the government. It was not until 1945 that with increased copper prices and the end of the financial demands of the war that the government became actively involved in the cattle industry. There was both money and skilled manpower for any substantial economic development.

Thirdly, it has been observed in this study that cattle sales from the Africans and from the Ila in particular were generally low throughout the colonial period. The provision of better marketing facilities and the extension of the Cold Storage Commission with its attractive prices was an attempt by the colonial government to stimulate increased cattle sales from the Africans and the Ila in particular. The government's attempt was meant to put the African cattle industry on commercial lines. The government was motivated by the high demand for beef in the post-war period and are not reared for commercial purposes only. Among the Ila cattle are the best possible investment. They pay a reasonable interest in the form calves and milk. Oxen are used for ploughing. Cattle

the costly cattle imports from Bechuanaland Protectorate and Southern Rhodesia.

We have argued that the low cattle sales by the Africans cannot be attributed only to the 1937 cattle legislation and the minimum prices fixed by the Board. This is evidenced by the fact that even after the commission extended its operations to Northern Rhodesia in 1960, the cattle sales by the Africans did not rise considerably.

Fourthly, in this study we have attempted to investigate the constraints in traditional cattle production and cattle management. We have argued that there is generally low productivity of cattle under the traditional cattle rearing methods because of the poor cattle management techniques such as the use of poor quality bulls, lack of control over breeding and hygiene and poor kraal conditions. These poor conditions lead to low calf crop every year combined with high calf mortality rate. These poor cattle management techniques are as a result of lack of education and are a serious set back to the expansion of the African cattle industry and particularly that of Namwala, where the majority of the Ila cattle owners are not educated. The low productivity of the traditional herd consequently leads to poor cattle sales.

Lastly we have attempted to examine the uses of cattle in the social and cultural contexts. While it is true that cattle have increased in economic importance as a source of money, they still retain their social and ritual importance among the Ila and probably many other traditional owners. Traditional cattle owners cannot be expected to sell along commercial line because cattle are not reared for commercial purposes only. Among the Ila cattle are the best possible investment. They pay a reasonable interest in the form calves and milk. Oxen are used for ploughing. Cattle

are a form of wealth. They are important in social context and are used in ritual functions. Generally, Fielder is correct in demonstrating and concluding that the Ila cattle owners had and still have very rational economic justification for not selling along commercial lines.⁷⁷ The 'cattle-complex' view is outdated and misleading because it fails to take into consideration the uses of cattle in the social and cultural contexts.

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APPENDIX A

ANNUAL CATTLE TAKE - OFF 1951-1961

Year	Total Cattle Populati- on	Export Sales	Vermin Deaths	Initiat- ion and Masuntu	Total Take off	Total Take off as %	Export Sales % Take off
1961	73934	3332	467	986	4785	6.4	4.5
1960	71917	3500	574	914	4988	6.9	4.9
1959	65952	2399	518	1239	4356	6.6	3.6
1958	63320	1667	571	1177	3415	5.4	2.6
1957	66005	1623	852	1449	3924	5.9	2.5
1956	70148	2199	800	1149	4148	5.9	3.1
1955	69612	2224	859	809	3882	5.6	3.2
1954	71871	3063	738	1143	5244	7.3	4.3
1953	72198	1635	759	1144	3538	4.9	2.3
1952	70235	2776	492	1137	4407	6.3	1.6
1951	65606	2165	673	1498	4335	6.6	3.3
	69163	2417	664	1177	4275	6.2	3.5

11 Year Averages

Source: H. Maclean, An Agricultural Reconnaissance Survey of
Namwala District (1962)

APPENDIX B

NAMWALA DISTRICT

Chief	Ploughs	S.Carts	Tracts	Power Operated Mills
1. Mungaila	596	106	3	1
2. Mukobela	336	27	1	1
3. Balubamba	774	109	5	1
4. Muchila	134	Nil	Nil	Nil
5. Shezongo	62	3	Nil	Nil
6. Musungwa	328	10	Nil	Nil
7. Chilyabufu	105	2	Nil	Nil
8. Shimbizhi	128	2	1	Nil
9. Muwezwa	249	14	2	Nil
10. Kaingu	Tsetse Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
TOTAL	3,369	273	12	Nil
Last Year Figures	3,369	126	5	Nil

Source: N.A.Z., Sec 2/149, Annual Report on African Affairs, Namwala District, 1959

APPENDIX C

MAIZE PURCHASES BY NAMWALA CO-OPERATIVE MARKETING UNION

Year	Maize	Nuts	Other Crops
1961	49,900 bags	690 (1) bags	160 bags
1960	20,000 bags	70 (1) bags	14 bags
1959	16,500 bags	45 (1) bags	Nil
1958	Nil (3)	Nil (3) bags	Nil
1957	51,200 bags	255 (2) bags	28 (2) bags
1956	38,200 bags	265 (2) bags	124 (2) bags
1955	10,500 bags	45 (2) bags	10 (2) bags
1954	29,300 bags	85 (2) bags	3 (2) bags
1953	27,700 bags	340 (2) bags	13 (2) bags
1952	6,700 bags	100 (2) bags	-
1951	10,200 bags	15 (2) bags	-

- (1) It is estimated that some 100 bags were sold into Kalomo District from the western areas and Chief Muchila.
- (2) It is estimated that 66% of the total surplus was bought by private traders.
- (3) Drought conditions in December and January and flood conditions therefore ruined crops.

Source: Maclean, An Agricultural Reconnaissance Survey of Namwala District (1962)

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Most of the oral interviews were conducted in the Chieftainships of Nalubamba, Mungaila and Mukobela. We also conducted interviews at the Namwala Boma where we met people from other Chieftaincies of Namwala.

<u>Name of Informant</u>	<u>Place & Village</u>	<u>Chief</u>	<u>Date</u>
1. Timothy Hamaleka	Mwanambulo	Nalubamba	1/12/89
2. Wilson Hamaleka	Mwanambulo	Nalubamba	2/12/89
3. Ocean Bboka	Moomba	Nalubamba	4/12/89
4. Oliver Munang'andu	Mwacisowa	Nalubamba	4/12/89
5. Chimbotwe Kayamba	Mwacisowa	Nalubamba	5/12/89
6. Ester Mukobo	Kabongomana	Nalubamba	6/12/89
7. Norah Mwanambulo	Shokombwe	Nalubamba	6/12/89
8. Maxwell Shachambwa	Kabulamwanda	Mungaila	6/12/89
9. Choompwe Nyama	Kabulamwanda	Mungaila	7/12/89
10. Senior Headman- Daniel Kazoka	Mandondo	Nalubamba	8/12/89
11. Amon Shamakela	Makotolo	Nalubamba	10/12/89
12. Senior Headman- Nanson Kabongomana	Shakombwe	Nalubamba	12/12/89
13. John Kazoka	Mandondo	Nalubamba	12/12/89
14. Thomas Changala	Makotolo	Nalubamba	12/12/89
15. Benjamin Kalambo	Kabulamwanda	Mungaila	13/12/89
16. Senior Headman- Simon Mwanakaci	Baambwe	Mukobela	19/12/89
17. Mayonda Shabwalya	Baambwe	Mukobela	20/12/89
18. Senior Headman- George Mayonda	Baambwe	Mukobela	21/12/89
19. Junior Headman- Shamuutoko	Baambwe	Mukobela	25/12/89
20. Amon Mungaba	Namwala Boma	Muchila	25/12/89

- | | | | | |
|-----|--|--------------|-----------|----------|
| 21. | Christopher Bbonta | Namwala Boma | Muwezwa | 26/12/89 |
| 22. | John Lucheya | Namwala Boma | Kaingu | 27/12/89 |
| 23. | Senior Headman-
Mutinta Muchala | Mbeza | Nalubamba | 30/12/89 |
| 24. | Group interview with Leonard Holo,
David Michelo and John Choobe | | Nalubamba | 30/12/89 |
| 25. | Group interview with Ocean Chiinza,
Oliver Munang'andu, Fines Mwanambulo,
and Saliya Mweemba | | Nalubamba | 5/12/89 |

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