RHODES-LIVINGSTONE COMMUNICATION NUMBER THIRTEEN

AUSHI VILLAGE STRUCTURE IN THE FORT ROSEBERY DISTRICT OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

by

E. M. Richardson

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THE RHODES-LIVINGSTONE INSTITUTE

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LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

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ADDENDA RECEIVED TOO LATE FOR INCORPORATION IN TEXT

1. Add after '1760', line 4, page 4: "but Lunda history states that on arrival they found the Aushi already established."

2. The bottom two lines, p. 7 'householders' should be substituted for 'house owners' in both cases.

3. Table II, Column 4, p. 7, 'Living in the village farming' should be substituted for 'living in other village'.

4. Genealogies should be annotated: I, II, III, first, second, third headman; A, B, C, generation level; M, Members of headman's lineage; M_1 M_2 M_3 subsidiary lineages of headman's clan not genealogically linked; S_1 S_2 S_3, subsidiary lineages of other clans.

have not come into direct contact with the Western industrial situation; most spend a few years in the towns and an increasing number spend the greater part of their working lives in the towns. A higher standard of living is possible in the towns and a different set of values operates. Participation in the higher standard of living usually means that the new set of values must be accepted at least superficially. The rural areas provide a milieu in which the old values still have some meaning, but even here urban standards are making themselves felt to an increasing degree and the tribal society is being altered as a consequence.

(1) M. Gluckman, "Social Anthropology in Central Africa", The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal XX pp 1-27, Sept. 1956.

The rate of change in the rural areas has varied from one place to another, depending upon a number of factors, such as the date at which the Europeans entered the area, the distance from the early mines, the agricultural potential of the soil and the differences in tribal structure and history which affected their readiness to accept the new standards and way of life.

The present study of Aushi village structure was intended to fill a gap in our comparative knowledge of village organization of the Central African tribes. The method used was originated in the study of the Lamba (1) village. A plan of each village was drawn up, each house being numbered. Data were then obtained from each householder to fill in the standard census form used by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute. In addition, genealogies were drawn up for the village, and labour histories were obtained from as many men, present and absent, as possible. As I lived for seven weeks in one village, some information was obtained on the everyday life of the village which helped considerably in the interpretation of the material. The area chosen for study, however, was one in which the rate of change is obviously rapid, and the analysis here attempted is of the development of a modern type of village rather than a description of the traditional organization.

The work was undertaken by myself during a stay of seven weeks in August and September 1953 and by my assistant J.C. Lengwe who worked with me and then remained in the area for a further five weeks. Our headquarters was the village of Lengwe's father's brother. The village was founded in 1942 on the main road about 12 miles north of Fort Rosebery, a developing provincial centre. We made a study of this village and of eight others within a radius of a few miles. The villages were chosen on two principles, both made necessary by the shortness of our stay. The first was propinquity, the second was the closeness of the kin ties of Lengwe with the villagers in question, particularly with the village headman. The second precaution was taken since there had been considerable political unrest

(1) J.C. Mitchell and J.A. Barnes, "The Lamba Village" Communications from the school of African Studies. University of Capetown. New series No. 24 1950, pp.69.

in the area a short time before and strangers were still a cause for suspicion. However, the kinship ties of Lengwe ensured a friendly reception in most villages. We did not succeed in obtaining a complete set of data from three villages, owing to the presence of adherents to the Watch Tower sect, who in spite of much discussion refused to supply the required information.

As this paper sets out to be a study of change one must attempt to make some evaluation of the limitations inherent in the method adopted, namely a single short stay involving a brief but detailed study of a small area. What time-depth there is, was obtained from the memories of the villagers interviewed, which are of necessity biased in favour of the near past, and flavoured by their interpretation of any change they see; by study of the scant historical material available; from observation of the present day behaviour of the villagers including their explanations of their conduct; and by inference from the variation in village structure and composition observed. In the interpretation of the variations of village structure I was helped by the work which has been done upon related tribes, and similarly, changes which I observed are recorded to a greater or lesser extent from nearby peoples. A more complete survey over a greater area, particularly one embracing villages further from the main road and sources of local work, would have given more weight to my conclusions, but it is hoped that the analysis as it stands will help in the framing of future research or in its interpretation.

I.

The Aushi inhabit the part of the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia between the Luapula River and Lake Bangweulu. Their country is bounded on the north by that of the Ngumbo, the Chishinga and Mukulu peoples: it abuts the land of the Kabende to the south, and is centred upon the river Mansa, a tributary of the Luapula. This river features several times in their early history.

According to the notes written in 1937 by Father Labrecque of Mapula Mission, the Aushi came originally from

Kola (Angola?). The exodus took place possibly about the end of the eighteenth century. (The District Notebook states that the Aushi came from the west after Kazembe had established himself in about 1760). The original inhabitants of the country were the Bachingolomondo who moved eastwards towards the Luangua, and when the Aushi came they found the country deserted except for a few people on the banks of the Luapula and in the swamps of Lake Bangweulu. He says that the first person of whom the tribal legend speaks is Muwe, the younger brother of Cipimi, a small chief of the Lamba. He married a 'princess' Kunda Kanonde, of the Ngulube (red ground ant) clan, and begat a son and a daughter. The former was the ancestor of many chiefs of surrounding tribes, by the wives of various clans whom he married, and the latter was the foundress of the royal house of the Aushi, the Bena Ngulube. The Aushi are matrilineal and eight of the Aushi chiefs today belong to the Ngulube clan: the other four belong to other clans, as they are descended from sons of previous chiefs.

The legend points up a vital feature of the present day Aushi, namely the relative importance placed on clan as against tribe. Thus the ancestress of the Aushi is also the ancestress of a number of surrounding tribes. The stories of the ordinary villagers are of the same order as those described by Cunnison. (1) They emphasis the history of the clan or section of the clan to which they belong. They tell of the various migrations of the clan or the gradual splitting up of the clan with sections staying behind as the main body moved forward. To them the unity of the clan is far more real and important than the unity of the tribal group to which the various sections became affiliated as they settled in different parts of the newly acquired territory. In the course of the survey we found many people who were doubtful about their tribe as they had been born in one area and lived in another. They never had any doubt about their clan.

Several of the villages chosen for the survey had headmen of the Mfula (rain) clan, the clan of my assistant. The actual genealogical links between the various headmen

(1) I. Cunnison. "History on the Luapula", The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers. No.XXI. 1951, pp.42.

had been largely forgotten, but they knew that they belonged to the same sub-clan, to use Cunnison's terminology. During our stay the head of the sub-clan, known as the chikolwe, came to visit the various branches of the clan. He came from the area of the Mukulu tribe about 120 miles to the north where the main body of the sub-clan had settled. He travelled on bicycle and spent three or four days visiting the various villages in turn and obtained from them some presents. He knew more about the ancestors of the various headmen than they did themselves, but was still not sure of the genealogical links between them. The incident, however, served to display the strength of these clan links even across tribal boundaries.

In general, members of the same clan consider themselves to be kin even although they cannot trace direct relationship. The Aushi, however, will refer to members of another clan in kinship terms tracing the relationship through the clans of the actual kin. Thus a man will refer to another of the same clan as 'brother', and to one of the same clan as his father as 'father's brother' and to one whose father was the same clan as himself as 'cross cousin' etc. This creates difficulties in collecting genealogies, but is also important in that it affects the composition of the villages, in that both clanship and kinship are qualifications for inclusion in a village.

II.

The first Europeans came into the area early in the 1880's and the British South Africa Company sent their first representative in 1899. By 1901 a tax of 3/- per head had been introduced which made it essential for all adult men to obtain some money. Some men obtained local work with rubber traders or carrying loads, but already some had started to go further afield to the newly developing mines in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and even more to the Belgian Congo. In 1904 the first recruiters for mine labour had arrived and the scale of labour migration increased. It has continued to increase to the present day, except for a brief period when the Luapula river crossing was closed because of sleeping sickness. In the early days the men normally spent only a few months

away at a time and usually interspersed visits to the mines with local work. This was most often the carrying of loads, an important task until the development of road transport after the first World War. All the older men in the villages studied had carried loads a few times and practically all had also been to the mines, usually for periods of six months, eight months or a year. This pattern of a series of short visits has gradually changed and today most men go to the towns for at least two years at a time, many go for much longer periods, and some can in fact be considered to be permanent urban workers.

It is not easy from a village today to produce statistics to give a true picture of the extent of migration or of the general pattern of movement. In the village one can deal satisfactorily with only that section of the population present in the village, which includes the older men whose working life covered an earlier period, and excludes those who are the urban workers of today. The pattern of present day labour is best studied in the town, where the workers are to be found, but it is difficult anywhere to ascertain the extent of the migration, since in the towns the men cannot be related to a given population in the rural areas, and in the rural areas it is almost impossible to trace the men who are away, particularly those who have been away for many years.

I have not attempted to present any figures for total migration from the area, but have merely recorded the house owners who were away at the time of my visit.

Table I gives the number of houses in each of the nine villages studied with the people actually in residence at that time. Complete censuses were not obtained for Kabende and Shimumbi, and the detailed information for the individuals of Musabila was not complete so this village also has had to be excluded from some tables.

Table II gives the present whereabouts of the men owning houses in the villages.

Table I.

Village	No. of Houses	Present in village		
		Men	Women	+ Children
Bulangeti	14	6	10	15
Isaac	34	15	26	26
*Mushimba	7	5	5	4
Kabende	36	?	?	?
Kapumpa	16	7	17	19
Longolongo	13	9	12	6
Lumpa	23	12	19	34
Musabila	29	13	29	25
Shimumbi	28	?	?	?
Total		65	118	129

+ Those up to and including the age of fourteen were classed as children. Although many of the younger people know their ages and the ages of their children accurately, the ages of some had to be estimated.

* The status of Mushimba will be discussed later. See page 19.

Table II.

Village	*Total men	Living in vill.	Living in other vill.	Living in vill. paid work.	Living away	
					Local	Town
Bulangeti	10	6	1	1	1	2
Isaac	25	15	1	2	4	5
Mushimba	5	3	-	-	1	1
Kapumpa	13	7	1	1	2	3
Longo-longo	11	9	-	2	-	2
Lumpa	18	12	-	6	6	-
Total	82	52	3	10	14	13

*Total consists of all male house owners and spouses of female house owners.

It can be seen that 16% of the men owning houses in the village were a way at work in the towns, and 17% were away working locally, whereas a further 15% were living in the village but were working directly for cash, although some were self-employed.

Of the thirteen men who were away in the town five had taken their wives with them and six men of the fourteen men(1) away locally were also with their wives. As a consequence fifteen married women were left in the villages whilst their menfolk were away at work. The position of these women and others without husbands will be discussed latter.

The next point to be discussed , is the possibility of earning a living locally. Although there are no cash crops in the area, Fort Rosebery is near enough to the copperbelt to be able to supply food for the urban population. Traditionally the crop in the upland areas of Aushiland was finger millet,grown on the Bemba chitemene system whereby the branches pollarded from trees over a considerable area are piled into a central circle and then burned to form fertilizer for the crop. This method of cultivation can only be carried on in a sparsely populated area so that the trees have time to regenerate between successive cuttings. However, in the Fort Rosebery district the pressure of the population on the land is now so great that practically all the forest has been cleared and only a low scrub is found uncultivated land. In consequence, within the memory of the oldest missionary in Fort Rosebery the cultivation of cassava has spread rapidly from the valley of the Luapula, and it now forms the staple crop and gives a surplus for sale on the copperbelt. To assist in the marketing of the cassava flour, known as meal, the Government has set up a number of buying stations. These have to be situated on the main roads which are few in number, and, in consequence, there is considerable advantage in living close by the road.

(1) The marital status of one man is not known.

Fort Rosebery itself provides a market for labour. It is a District Administrative Headquarters. It has a population of over 80 Europeans and is steadily growing. It is the shopping centre for a considerable area, and the centre of the Cassava Meal Marketing Cooperative. There are, therefore, openings in Government service, in building, in trade, in domestic service and in transport. The newly opened manganese mine, six miles north of Fort Rosebery provides an increasing demand for labour. In addition there is the constant demand for labour mending the roads. Although much of the work is poorly paid in comparison with wages available on the copperbelt, most men in the rural areas can grow at least part of their food requirements so that their real wealth is greater.

It is obvious that the area near Fort Rosebery is a relatively prosperous one. Along the main roads leading from the town there is considerable ribbon development. Many of the new houses are built of sun-dried brick, with corrugated iron roofs. They are much larger than the traditional houses. Some have glass windows and other refinements. Along the Kawambwa road for about six miles in the direction of Lumpa, the villages are contiguous, and although beyond this the villages are separated by patches of bush, they are still frequent, and may have recently moved to their present sites on or near the roadside from further away in the hinterland. The increase in brick houses is creating a demand for masons and carpenters and is thus increasing the circulation of money in the area. As a result it is becoming profitable to set up as store keepers and tailors in the villages, occupations which were previously only undertaken in Fort Rosebery itself.

Thus the area is generally one of increasing prosperity, and one in which the demand for local labour is good and increasing. The men in the villages surveyed certainly took advantage of the situation. Of the men in the sample, 29% were at that time working locally, and the labour histories showed that practically all the men had at one time or another worked locally, many for long periods. A considerable number in the sample worked regularly each year for three or four months cleaning the roads in addition to their farming.

III.

An Aushi village has a basic similarity to other Central African villages, in that it consists of a group of people for the most part related in various ways to the headman. Each village has a headman recognised by the Government, and the village is known by the name of the headman. The office is hereditary, passing matrilineally to the younger brothers, then to sister's sons and grandsons. The name also is inherited so that the name of the village persists in time. The inheritance is not automatic and an unsuitable man is passed over in favour of a more suitable one.

The houses are not regularly disposed within a village, but often surround a central open space. In addition other clusters of houses are frequently found to be contiguous with the main group although sometimes they are separated by several yards of bush and cultivation. Most of the houses are square, built of pole and plaster, and thatched, but there is an increasing number of sun-dried brick houses. Separate kitchens are often built, although part of the veranda may serve as a kitchen. Most houses have a separate grain store built on stilts.

Normally all the inhabitants of a village are related to the headman in some way or other. Since the Aushi are matrilineal and marriage is typically uxorilocal, one would expect the bulk of the people to belong to the headman's lineage. In fact the numbers vary considerably from village, and in some cases form a remarkably small precentage of the whole. These results are tabulated below.

Table III.

Village	Members of Matrilineage of headman	*Total population of village	Members of the Matrilineage as % of the whole
Bulangati	3	24	12%
Isaac	11	57	19%
Kapumpa	17	27	63%
Longolongo	7	26	27%
Lumpa	4	43	9%
Musabila	28	51	55%
Mushimba	2	13	15%

* Adults only have been included in the totals which have been taken to be those men or women who own houses in the village, with their spouses, whether or not they were living in them at the time of the survey. The numbers are therefore not comparable with those in Table I which are for people present at the time of the census.

As the data were not complete for Kabende and Shimumbi these have not been included, but in both villages there is a fairly extensive core of members of the headman's lineage, but fewer than in Musabila and Kapumpa.

The villages of Kapumpa, Musabila, Kabende and Shimumbi have all been established for a considerable number of years. Kapumpa and Kabenda are probably the oldest for they were founded some time before the first World War. Musabila is also of long standing since Isaac broke away from it more than thirty years ago. Of the others, Longolongo was founded in 1935, Bulangeti in 1939, Lumpa in 1942 and Mushimba in 1951. On the whole the older villages have greater percentagesof the headman's lineage than the newer villages.

There are two possible explanations for this variation in composition of the older and newer villages. Firstly, that the villages which are being formed today are different

in character from those formed thirty or more years ago, or secondly, that during the development of a village there is a relative increase in the numbers of the lineage of the headman. I will return to these two points after I have analysed three villages in detail; Kapumpa, an old village with a high percentage of the headman's lineage; Isaac, an old village with a low percentage of the headman's lineage; and Lumpa, a new village with a low percentage.

IV

The first Kapumpa came from Chishinga country. It is not known now how many people came with him, but prominent amongst them were his married sister and her children. At some point he was joined by two more sisters, oneof whom has died. Descendants of these four siblings are in the village today, but the bulk of the villagers are descended from the married sister who had four daughters and two sons. One of the daughters has died but her children are still in the village. Thus the village (Fig.I), is virtually composed of the descendants of the first Kapumpa and his sisters. Those who are not of this lineage are the affines, the children of the first Kapumpa, of the present Kapumpa and his brother. The only people of more distant relationship to Kapumpa are two children (and therefore not shown in the genealogy) the children of his brother's wife's sister who is on the copperbelt.

We have here a village which in personnel would not be out of place in a number of matrilineal tribes in Northern Rhodesia. The matrilineage of the headman is dominant; the presence of Kapumpa's brother is not unexpected as he is the likely successor to the headmanship, and although theoretically the man in house 14 should have been living in the village of his wife or his mother scarcely any village has an ideal composition with no anomalous members.

In other societies the disposition of the houses within the village has proved to be of value in elucidating the village structure.

In the Mwinilunga Lunda(1) and Kaonde(2) the proximate generations inhabit one side of the village and the alternate generations the other. Fig.II is a plan of Kapumpa. The numbering of the houses corresponds with the numbering on the genealogical tree. It can be seen that houses are not regularly arranged around a central open space, but are scattered over a cleared area on two sides of an old road. Four generations are involved, A.B.C. and D. Generations B. and D. are found in houses 1,2,3,4,5,6, 11,14, and 15; and generations A. and C. in houses 4,7, 8, 9,10,13, and 16. Therefore no spatial division on the generation basis is apparent.

V

Isaac is a fairly large village which three years ago moved to its present site near the main road. Its previous site was on the banks of the same stream but several miles from the road. This village has an air of prosperity and has several brick houses under construction as well as a small store. It is obvious that the villagers pay considerable attention to the headman's words. There are 34 houses, arranged on both sides of an irregular street, with an extra group of houses half way along (Fig.IV). Between Isaac and the main road lie three villages or sections of villages which have hived off from Isaac. One of these is Bulangeti and another is Mushimba. Isaac village is over 30 years old, and the present Isaac, a vigorous old man over seventy years of age, is the original headman.

Isaac is related to Musabila from whose village he originally broke away. Both belong to the Mfula clan. His own matrilineage (see Fig. III), is represented by himself, his younger brother, (house 17), his sister and her son, (houses 7 and 6), the children of two other sisters, one deceased and the other married to Bulangeti, (houses 11, 15, and 14). There are also more distant members of the matrilineage living in houses 3,4,and12.

(1) Turner, V.W. 1955. The spatial separation of generations in Ndembu village structure, Africa XXV, No.2, April,1955, pp. 122-35.

(2) Watson,W. 1954. The Kaonde village, The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal,XV, 1954 1-30.

There are two(1) other Mfula lineages represented (houses 1, and 9 and 10). Neither of these could trace genealogical links with Isaac but the members of them refered to Isaac in kinship terms.

In addition there are four other clan lineages which boast more than two members each. The numerically larger group is the matrilineage of Isaac's first wife, now deceased. In the village are two of her children (houses 16 and 23), and in 1949 her brother Yute (house 32) came, bringing with him a sister's daughter and granddaughter, and two daughters of a more distant relative who had been married to Isaac's brother. Yute also brought with him his wife and their children, together with a daughter and granddaughter of a former marriage. The bulk of these two matrilineages live in the partially segregated group of houses 28 - 34.

Isaac's daughter (house 23), is married to Yabe who is the key man of another matrilineage, which occupies the group of houses where the village bulges, (houses 18,19, 20,22,23,24,25,26, and 27). The daughter married in 1913 and was living with her husband in Chishinga country, but in 1934 they came to join Isaac. With Yobe came his two sisters (houses 24 and 19), both of whom were by then widowed or divorced. The elder came with three daughters all of whom are now in the village.

The fourth matrilineage is more diffuse consisting of a woman, her daughter, her grand-daughter and a classificatory sister's son. The woman's husband came with her and her grand-daughter from Shimumbi. He came as he said to join his "grandson" Isaac, although any direct links between them have now been forgotten. He also brought his sister's daughter with him. This group does not, however, occupy a discrete part of the village.

Isaac is a more complex village than Kapumpa and the following list of the members of the village with their date

(1) Mushimba's wife belongs to the Mfula clan too. Therefore counting Mushimba as a section of the village (see page this makes a third Mfula lineage which is not directly related to Isaac, but which has made use of the clan link to claim membership of the village.

of arrival and the reasons they give for their coming, carries the analysis further.

House 1. He was brought up in the village although his parents are living elsewhere now.

House 2. House under construction.

House 3. The wife came with her parents (house 10), in 1942. She married and went away to live with her husband, but returned on her divorce. Second husband came in 1951.

House 4. The man came from Musabila in 1948 to marry. Wife's people not recorded but not living in village now.

House 5. The woman came in 1944 with her sister as her mother was dead. Her husband came to marry her in 1949.

House 6. See house 7.

House 7. Came with son in 1949 from nearby village. Reason not given, but son is heir to Isaac.

House 8. The mother was widowed in 1945, and came in 1949 with her daughter to join her mother's brother when he moved to Isaac.

House 9. The wife came after the death of her first husband to join her mother's brother (house 10). Her second husband came to marry her this year.

House 10. Husband and wife came in 1942. He has another wife elsewhere and divides his time between the two.

House 11. The man was married in 1931 and lived uxorilocally for 13 years before returning to his mother's village.

House 12. The man followed his brother (house 4) in 1948. He went out of the village in 1950 to marry, but this year his parents-in-law have siad that he may return with his wife.

House 13. The woman came with her sister in 1949 after her first husband had died. She came to her classificatory mother's brother. Her second husband came to marry her in 1952. Both are away at the copperbelt now.

House 14. Brought up herewith grandmother. Her husband came from Bulangeti this year, but both are away at work.

House 15. Both brought up in village. Husband's parents?

House 16. The man was brought up here in father's village but lived uxorilocally with first wife for several years. The second came to marry him in 1953.

House 17. Came to live with his brother Isaac in 1945.

House 18. The woman was brought up here. The husband came to marry her in 1951.

House 19, 24, 25, 26, and 27. All came in 1934 with Yabe (house 23). All were without husbands at the time, but the woman in house 26 is now married to a polygamist who spends most of his time with another wife.

House 20. Brought up here.

House 21. The headman. His present wife came to the village this year.

House 22. The woman came with her parents in 1934. The husband came to marry her in 1940.

House 23. The woman was born in Isaac's old home and married a man from the same village. They lived there until 1934.

House 28. She came in 1949 with her sister (house 13) and her two daughters. She came to join Yute (house 32) when he transferred from Musabila.

House 29. The younger daughter came with her father in 1949, and the elder came this year from her husband's village as she is trying to get a divorce.

House 30. She followed her mother in 1949. Her husband was then alive and came with her, but he has since died.

House 31. The woman came with her mother in 1949. Her husband came too, but he has since married another wife, and spends most of his time with her.

House 32. Yute came with his wife and several of his relatives in 1949 from Musabila. His sister, Isaac's first wife, was still alive and he says he came to join her.

House 33. Came with his father in 1949.

House 34. Came with her grandfather in 1949.

The changing personnel of the village immediately bacomes apparent from this list. Only seven of the villagers were brought up in the village (this does not include children, who are nowhere included in the count), and of these I man and 2 women moved out on marriage and have only recently returned. Eight others came before 1940, eleven between 1940 and 1948, sixteen in 1949 and the rest since. Thus only 50% of the villagers have lived there for more than four years. (1)

The pattern of movement between villages is echoed in the individual histories of both men and women. All persons will catalogue a number of villages in which they have lived since childhood. Watson(2) reports the same phenomenon from the Kaonde, but he lists the number of villages to which a man can go as five: those of his mother and her father, those of his father and his father's father, and that of his wife. The range of possible villages is much greater among the Aushi, and very slight bonds of kinship, affinity

(1) I am counting the village total for this purpose as those adults with their spouses who own houses in the village whether or not they were occupying them at the time of the survey.

(2) op. cit. page, 24.

or clanship serve as a means of entry into a village. I have no evidence to prove whether or not this is a traditional feature of the tribe, but it is of considerable importance in the development of villages today.

Many of the moves are occasioned by marriage. A man usually moves into his wife's village on marriage, and depending upon circumstances normally takes her away to some other village after a few years. The married women who have moved away to other villages usually return after bereavement or divorce. A further important cause of movement is the link between a man and his sister or his sister's children; a link which is made use of by women who have no husbands or whose husbands are away at work. Such movement usually results in the development of subsidiary matrilineages within a village.

The more important of these subsidiary matrilineages usually occupy a separate section of the village, and a village tends to become a series of sections each with its head. The sections are in fact potential new villages. Mitchell in an account of the Yao describes the development of subsidiary matrilineages within a village.(1) As he points out, these subsidiary matrilineages are a source of weakness in the village, but their presence is inevitable in a matrilineal society where a man's children belong to another matrilineage, and where a man is responsible both for them and for his sister's children. In consequence any new village starting up bears in it the seeds of later disruption. Thus in the two potential new villages of Isaac, that headed by Yute and that by Yabe, already two matrilineages are present in each group.

As the village develops in size it also tends to develop in complexity, but the removal of the diverse elements leads again to a more simple state. Thus should both Yute and Yabe move out from Isaac and take their following with them, the village would become much simpler and Isaac's matrilineage relatively more important. This feature of village structure gives weight to the second of the two explanations of the variation in the relative strength of the headman's matrilineage in the old and new villages.

(1) J.C. Mitchell The Yao of Southern Nyasaland in Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, ed. Colson and Gluckman, 1951, pp. 292 - 353.

At this point a Government regulation aimed at preventing the undue proliferation of villages becomes important in the discussion. This regulation lays down that a village must have ten tax-paying males before it is recognised, and further that a man is refused permission to build away from a village unless he conforms to certain prescribed standards of house structure and methods of cultivation.

Neither Yabe nor Yute has a sufficient following of men to be able to form a new village. Yabe had at present only three men with him and could possibly call on five, and Yute has only three men with a possible fourth. Were the regulation not in force, either might attempt to set up a new village.

The case of Musabila is interesting in this connexion. He was a member of Isaac's village but he was on bad terms with the villagers who accused him of witchcraft. When Isaac moved to his new site, Mushimba built houses for his own people at some distance from the main village. Since then there are fewer than ten tax payers in his group he cannot form a new administrative unit, but remains registered under Isaac. His contacts with the Administration are through Isaac, but in other respects he is the head of his own village.

In Mushimba's case, however, the composition of the group promises little for its stability. From the outset, Mushimba's own matrilineage is completely overshadowed by that of his wife and children. (See Fig. V). His own matrilineage is represented by himself and the son of his deceased sister who is married to his daughter. His wife's matrilineage is represented by his wife, her classificatory sister, and her four daughters. This is a good example of a new village with a low percentage of the headman's lineage. It is a very close kin group, but it is doubtful whether it would survive the death of Mushimba as an independent unit, unless more of his own kin had previously come to join him, since amongst the Aushi the importance of clan is such that the villages are known by the clan of the headman, and the relationships between villages is expressed in this idiom.

Bulangeti is an example of a registered village which has hived off from Isaac, but it is another example of a village where the headman's matrilineage is numerically unimportant compared with the matrilineages of his wives. (See Fig. VI) Bulangeti's chief wife is Isaac's sister, and he lived in Isaac's village until 1939. Since then he has always built his own village close to Isaac and he moved to his present site about 100 yards from Isaac, when the latter moved in 1951. Bulangeti has a greater number of kin within the village, and there are two groups which cannot be fitted on to the village genealogy. (I am not sure that there are not affinal links with some of the village members, or perhaps with members who have since left the village.) One group consists of three households all of which immigrated in 1945, and the other group, a single household, came in 1951. This village has a composition very different from Kapumpa, but it more nearly resembles the road-side village of Lumpa which will be described shortly.

VI.

There are one hundred and eighteen women living in the villages surveyed compared with only sixty five men. This discrepancy largely results from the movement of men to work in the towns. Although some men take their wives with them, others leave them behind in the village; young men often go off before marriage and then marry away from their homes. Thus a general shortage of men occurs and women who are divorced or widowed are not readily remarried. There are some polygamists who absorb a few of the surplus women, but their number is not great. In general, the polygamists tatend to neglect one wife in favour of the other. In this society it is not the custom for co-wives to combine their economic activities, and a husband usually builds houses for the two women in different villages. This, they say, is done for the sake of domestic peace. In consequence one wife of a polygamist is usually little better off than a woman with her husband on the copperbelt. Women whose husbands are working in the town have to depend almost entirely upon their own efforts for their food, since most men when they are away consider that they are responsible only for their wives' clothes, although a few do send money to make millet farms.

On the other hand a number of men do not send home anything at all.

The problem of the support of these women bears directly on the composition of a village, and since Isaac affords a good example of the phenomenon it is fitting to examine it here.

The women who must support themselves have a number of courses open to them. They tend to make far more cassava than millet gardens, since the latter require the services of men to cut the trees initially, although even in cassava cultivation it is more common for men rather than women to clear the land before the mounds are dug. It is possible for a woman to make a living from cassava gardens alone, as the surplus can be sold to buy fish or other foodstuffs and clothes. However, a millet garden is a great asset as millet can be used to brew beer, either for sale (a profitable undertaking), or for work-parties, known as imbile, which are a common feature of the area. The party is normally made up of a group of relatives, usually from the same village although some from neighbouring villages may also assist. The party usually works for a few hours in the morning and later in the day is paid by means of a beer drink. The people work hard, although usually only for a short time, but by this means a woman can obtain the labour of men for any job necessary. Some women also hire men, paying them with money obtained from the sale of cassava meal.

The other means of support which such women have is by working for their food. This is known as ukupula (root pula, infinitive ukupula). The verb also means "to beg" and even the "working for food" connotation has the suggestion of "to beg" about it. This possibly arises since the rate of payment is normally very high, thus a woman will harvest two baskets of millet for the owner and take the third for herself. The custom is in fact a kind of charity which serves to spread the labour of the men more evenly throughout the women of a village. It is much easier for a woman to pula from her relatives than from outsiders. The members of a matrilineage will feel responsible to one of their members, especially if she has children, and for this reason a woman is better off with her own kin than in a village of

strangers, distant kin or even the relative of her husban for although these are nominally supposed to help support her, they are not as likely to carry out their obligation as are members of her own matrilineage.

For this reason a man who is going to the town to work, tries to leave his wife in the village of her near thus increasing the usual period during which the marriag is uxorilocal. Similarly women who are widowed or divorc most frequently return to the village of their near kin, or will follow to another village a kinsma who helps to support them, e.g. the women of the two subgroups in Isaac (houses 19 - 27 and 28 - 34).

In Isaac there are only 15 men living in the villag compared with twenty six women. There are nine married couples in the village, and four other women are married t polygamists, two of whom are not supported by their husban There are three unmarried girls and two other women are married but their husbands are away at work. There are four widows and four divorcees. This gives a total of fif- teen women, many with children, who have not husbands to d the heavy agricultural work for them. The three unmarried girls help their parents or grandparents with their garden and eat with them. Three of the women had millet gardens made partly by paid labour, the money being obtained by selling cassava meal, and partly by work-parties. These wa the only millet gardens, but six other women had one or mor cassava gardens of varying sizes. This leaves only four women who rely entirely upon ukupula for their livelihood, and three of these are the sisters and nieces of Yabe (hous 23). They work for him and in return are fed and clothed. Yabe makes a millet garden each year with the help of work- parties, and he had eleven cassava gardens at the time of the survey, largely made by his female relatives. Some oth women in the village do ukupula work to supplement their cassava gardens, particularly the women in the other subgroup, houses 28 - 24, but the latter are not as dependa upon the key man of of the group as are the unattached wome in Yabe's group.

The imbalance of the sexes in the villages is a secondary effect of labour migration.

In a matrilineal society with uxorilocal marriage, the ties between the female members of the family are strong.(1) The present situation tends to strengthen the ties. Previously a son-in-law cut trees for the parents-in-law for a number of years, often for four or five years. During this time the young couple had no grain store of their own, but either had their food cooked by the mother-in-law, or else drew their food before cooking from the family store. Thus there has always been a measure of economic inter-dependence between a mother and her young married daughters. This measure of interdependence has increased in scope and now covers the greater part of the women of the village. The women without gardens are dependent upon those who have, but the roles may be changed in successive years as the marital status of the women change. Thus there is a community of interest between them all, and none can afford to stay outside completely. In addition it is advantageous for a woman to live in a large village since there are a greater number of people to form work-parties, and there are a greater number of women for whom she can work for food.

VII

The greatest variation from the simple village structure of Kapumpa is seen in the village of Lumpa. Lumpa himself worked for the Government fortwenty-seven years as a Boma messenger, and founded the village nine years before he retired. It is 12 miles north of Fort Rosebery on the Kawambwa road. It is rather a formless village (see Fig. VIII). The first area to be built is still the main part of the village, and here the houses are dotted around a cleared area. Later houses spread along the path leading to the adjacent village of Longolongo, who was also a Boma messenger and is the classificatory brother of one of Lumpa's wives. Two years ago five houses were built in a new area separated from the old by bush. At the time of my stay another group was about to be built even further away from the main group. Again in this village the spatial divisions of the village serve to mark off the groups of closer kin (in this case not necessarily matrilineages), but the whole kinship pattern of the villages is very complex (2) and cross relationships

(1) Richards A.I. Land Labour and Diet in N.Rhodesia, 1939, P.130

(2) I am not sure that in fact the other villages would not more nearly resemble Lumpa in the respect of complex inter-relationships if a more intensive survey of them had been mad.

tend to obscure the picture to some extent.

The main elements of Lumpa village are these:

1. The headman's matrilineage, consisting of himself, his brother, his sister and her daughter.

2. The matrilineage of Lumpa's chief wife, consisting of herself, her younger brother, a sister's son and sister's daughter.

3. The matrilineage of Lumpa's second wife, consisting of herself, her daughter, her brother and the children of deceased sister.

4. The matrilineage of Lumpa's brother's wife, consisting of herself, her younger brother, her daughters and her classificatory sister's sons.

5. The matrilineage of the deceased wife of Lumpa's brother's wife's brother, consisting of her two children and her sister's son.

There are three main areas within the village although none houses a clear lineage group. True all the members of Lumpa's matrilineage live within the main area, but so also do a number of people from other groups (houses 1, 3, 4, and 10) The subsidiary groups are in fact groups based upon closeness of kin ties rather than on the principle of matriline. For instance in the new area, the key man is the only member of his matrilineage there, although others live in the village. He lives there with his children by two marriages. The key man in the third area along the path towards Longolongo, is a founder member of the village who lives in house 13. He, too, is the only member of his matrilineage in this group, which consists of his children and the children actual and classificatory of his present wife. This group of people are largely new arrivals to the village who have come to follow the man in house 15. He came primarily to build his own village. His classificatory grandfather had had a village close by, but it broke up after his death. After I left he started to build some houses near the site of the old village, taking with him his wife's sister (house 16), his mother (house 17), the widow

in house 18, and also a married sister and her two married daughters and a younger unmarried brother; and his elder brother in the copperbelt promised to join later. But the attempt was abortive. One of the houses caught fire and considerable illness affected the group so that they abandoned the site and the people returned to their previous villages.

As with Isaac, a list of people of the village with their date of entry and reasons for coming helps in the understanding of the nature of the village.

House 1. The husband is the brother of Lumpa's third wife and came to the village in 1953 with his wife. He is a mason and came to stay in Lumpa from Shimumbi since Lumpa is nearer the new villages which are being put up on the main road, and where there is a demand for brick houses.

House 2. Lumpa's sister came in 1952 on divorce. Her daughter is staying with her temporarily. She is married and her husband works in Kasama, but she returned home to make a millet garden as she has no land in Kasama. She is returning when the garden is planted.

House 3. He came early in 1953. He was selling fish and casually came to the village and found that he was related to Lumpa and since he had no home at the time, having just divorced the wife with whom he was living uxorilocally he decided to stay at least for a while. He was given an empty house.

House 4. Four young lads stay in the house. All are too young to get labour certificates to go away to work. Two have been virtually brought up in the village, but two have come from Musabila to look after Lumpa's cattle.

House 5. Lumpa's chief wife. She has been living in the village since its inception.

House 6. Lumpa's brick house, still under construction.

House 7. Lumpa's second wife. She has been in the village since its inception.

House 8. Lumpa's third wife. She was married and came from Shimumbi in 1949. She is Shimumbi's daughter.

House 9. Lumpa's brother was a founder member of the village. His second wife used to live in house 3, but she has been divorced and returned to her own village.

House 10. The old lady is a step-mother of Longolongo. After the death of her husband who was a headman, well known to Lumpa, her sons wanted to move to the roadside and built a house for her. She came with one son in 1943, another came in 1945 (house 11) but both have now moved away.

House 11. See house 10.

House 12. This house is used intermittently by the brother of Lumpa's second wife. At the time of my stay it was occupied by three married women, all of whom were home for a visit of a few weeks to their families.

House 13. This couple were founder members, coming to the village with two sons (house 4 and 14).

House 14. See house 13.

House 15. This couple came in 1953. The man came to his wife's father in order to get a jumping-off group for starting his new village.

House 16. The wife, a daughter of the man in house 13, came in 1953 to help start the new village. Her husband is working elsewhere, but he intended to come to the new village.

House 17. Came in 1953 with her son (house 15).

House 18. The owner of the house is a divorced woman who came originally from Longolongo in 1947 to stay with her mother's sister when her mother died. She went to the copperbelt on marriage but returned after her divorce. The other woman has just been widowed and has come to her mother's sister.

House 19. The wife came with her father in 1948 from Shimumbi. Her husband came to marry her in the same year from Longolongo.

House 20. The man came in 1948 from Shimumbi to join his sister. He first built a house almost adjacent to Longolongo (his first wife was the sister of Longolongo), but has built this present brick house at some distance from Lumpa on the other side.

House 21. Came in 1950 to join his father.

House 22. Woman came in 1948 from Longolongo to join her father. Her husband is a polygamist and was living with her at that time. He has since moved to his other wife about 50 miles from the main road and she refused to go with him as she says that there are no possibilities for getting money for clothes there.

House 23. Came in 1948 with the rest of the group. At present away at work. Marital status not recorded.

Although there are resemblances between this list and that from Isaac there is here a marked emphasis on the economic reason for residence. There is the man in house 1. who came so that he could be close to the new villages where he was working; the two youths in house 4 who came to look after cattle; the widow in house 10 who came because her sons wanted to be nearer the road, although neither found the economic potential high enough, and both have since moved to more urban areas, one to Fort Rosebery and the other to the copperbelt; and the woman in house 22 who lives here since she considers the standard of living higher than where her husband is living.

It is interesting in this connection to see that a very high proportion of the village men are engaged in local work. Table II shows that twelve of the total of eighteen men in the village, i.e. 67%, are working locally, a much higher percentage than in any of the other villages surveyed (Kapumpa 23%. Isaac 24%). On the other hand none of the villagers from Lumpa were away working in the town, although 23% were from Kapumpa and 20% from Isaac. The numbers involved are far too small for them to have a great significance but they do provide an interesting suggestion.

VIII

These village descriptions demonstrate a wide range of village construction within a small area in which the economic potential is roughly uniform. Lumpa is right on the roadside and has a Government buying station for cassava meal, Isaac is almost on the main road and is close to a a road camp where men can get labouring work, but Kapumpa is no more than three quarters of a mile from the road and is nearer Fort Rosebery than the other two so that men can more easily work there and return to the village daily. The difference between them cannot therefore be due only to differences in economic opportunity.

The obvious difference between them is the date of origin of each, thus suggesting that the variation is one of stage of development only. In the description of Isaac it was shown how the composition of a village could vary considerably from one time to another: the development of subsidiary matrilineages increases the complexity of the village, but their removal again leads to a more simple state. However, this explanation does not entirely seem to fit conditions in Lumpa. Although I have no exact data on the founder members of Isaac and Kupumpa, there is some evidence to show that they were a fairly close group of matrikin, more resembling the founders of villages in neighbouring tribes.

The newly formed villages of the present day do not seem to follow the same pattern. As previously noted, a man in a matrilineal society has two kinds of kinship links, those with his own lineage, his matrikin, and those with his children, the lineage of his wife.

The contact with Western economy tends to strengthen the latter ties, and the increasing strength of these ties is demonstrated in the composition of the villages. Bulangeti, Mushimba and the sections of Lumpa, houses 13 - 18, and 19 - 23, substantiate this, for in these the group is in essence the key man and his children or step children. Also reducing the importance of the matrilineage in the newly formed village is the presence of more distant relatives or affines, who come to settle in a village with good economic possibilities. These men seem to be drawn to a village like Lumpa which is heterogeneous rather than to a well established village like Kapumpa. I can see two possible reasons for this; 1) that a village with a high proportion of matrikin of the headman is not attractive to a member of another clan who is a prospective village member as he would not have much say in village affairs, and 2) a newly established headman, or one wishing to set up a village would be more willing than a well established headman to accept as a village member one who is more distantly connected. Although the success of a village is judged on its size, continuity is also important, and a man who comes to a village merely for the facilities offered there is less likely to stay than a member of the headman's lineage who can possibly hope to inherit the village.

It is not so much that the type of relationship between the members of Lumpa and the headman himself would not be found in other longer established villages, but that the number of such people is so much greater in proportion to what may be called the orthodox members of the village. It is possible that such a village could develop into a traditional type of village over a period of time, the influx of more members of the headman's matrilineage, and by the removal of the more peripheral members, but I do not consider that this will happen. I think instead that such villages and even the older established villages in this area will tend to become more heterogeneous as time passes. The Lunda villages of the Luapula valley(1) provide evidence of this type of development. The Luapula valley is a wealthy area and is constantly attracting immigrants from the surrounding uplands. The sites for villages are limited, and newcomers to the area build their houses in the old village close by any kinsman or clansman already established.

(1) Cunnison, I: Kinship and Local Organisation on the Luapula, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Communication No. 5, 1950, pp. 24, 28.

Thus the villages become small clusters of houses containing groups of more closely related people and only distantly related to the rest of the village if at all.

In the villages studied the reason given for coming to the village was usually expressed first in terms of kinship or clanship, and only later would a secondary reason be given. However, the range of villages open to a man is very great indeed. It has been shown throughout this paper that there are close ties between the various villages studied e.g. the three villages, Lumpa, Shimumbi and Longolongo. The headmen of four of the villages belong to the same sub-clan and there are affinal links between the headmen of most of the others. In addition, every member of the villages has a variety of ties with many of the villages in the area, not only those studied. It is obviously easy then for a person to circulate within a fairly wide range of villages in a particular locality. A study of a complete genealogy of an individual, however, shows that the relatives are not congregated in one locality only, but are found spread over a large area stretching into other tribal territories. Thus it is that a person has a very wide choice of residence.

It is obvious from the individual histories of the people that movement from one part of the country to another has always been common, but modern conditions have added to this movement. In the old days the possibilities of economic differentation between individuals, at least in terms of material possessions were slight. The main sphere of advancement was in the political field, village headmanship, or office under a chief, and a man's choice of village was limited and conditioned by these aims. Today the number of possibilities of advancement are much greater. It is possible to acquire wealth both in the towns and in the rural areas. In the fields of industry, commerce, and government, possibilities of achieving positions of power and prestige have developed and of course there is still the old tribal system with its own set of values. In at least some rural areas of the country it is possible to combine the two aims, economic advancement and participation in tribal life. Fort Rosebery seems to be one of these areas.

A number of men who have been to the towns and have learned a trade, realise that they can make more real money in the rural areas where the competition is less, and the cost of living lover. Others do not like town life, and prefer to live in a village, farming and supplementing their income with labouring. Many men in the towns on reaching middle age either find their income is not sufficient to bring up a large family in the town, or else they tire of the life and return to the village. A number of such men, for example, Lumpa and Longolongo, aspire to village headmanships, and no doubt it is easier for them to start up a village in a rapidly expanding area, than in a more traditional one.

By the number of villages which have hived off in the last few years from the villages studied, the desire for village headmanship is still strong, and the Fort Rosebery area provides a more promising area for those whose claim to an established village is slight. But on the whole the attractions of such an expanding area are the possibilities for earning money. Thus the urban scale of values will tend to operate more effectively here than in more conservative areas, and as a consequence a new type of village structure is more likely to develop here than in an area where the life is more orientated to the traditional tribal values. / to the formation of new villages or to the movements of old villages.

Land tenure at present does not seem to present any difficulties/ The system of land tenure of the Aushi has been conditioned by their migratory habits, and the strong association of a person of family with a particular parcel of land has not been developed. At present a man may cultivate where he wishes so long as another person has not already laid claim to that area. In theory the farmer retains the right to go on using a piece of land he has once farmed, but in practice this right is waived after a few years. The new development of the building of brick houses instead of the temporary pole and plaster ones may possibly lead to new developments with regard to land tenure. These houses often represent a considerable capital outlay and will have the effect of stabilizing the site of the villages, and may lead to stricter titles to land.

IX

An assessment of Aushi village structure in relation to villages of other tribes is made more difficult by the

small size of the Aushi sample and by the variation within it. Some facts however, are clear.

Turner(1) in his study of the Mwinilunga Lunda found that one of the important features of the society was the arrangement of the generations within the village. The members of the generation of the headman and his grandchildren build their huts around one side of a circular or oval space and the other generations build around the other side. Behaviour of the villagers is also regulated by this division. There is no intermarriage of adjacent generations. There is a different pattern of everyday behaviour between members of the adjacent generations and the members of the alternate generations. Succession to the headmanship is to a large extent governed by this generation division.

Watson(2)also found this separation of generations amongst the Kaonde, and again found that it influenced behaviour. He suggested that as the Kaonde and Bemba were related that this separation of generations might also be found there. Were this so in fact, one might expect that the Aushi who are also a related people and who live between the Kaonde and the Bemba would also show the same phenomenon. This was, however, not the case in the villages studied. In no village, except the two subsections of Isaac's village, was there any sign of the divison of the village into two halves according to generation status. In these two subsections it was possible to draw a line across the rough circle of huts dividing the alternate generations. In this study it was not possible to observe much behaviour, but the evidence obtained pointed to the absence of the importance of generation level. Marriage between adjacent generations was not uncommon, and behaviour at the nsaka,(3) the counterpart of the Kaonde kiasanza, did not demonstrate the presence of the two groups. The custom of the nsaka, is dying out amongst the Aushi and nsaka were found in only four villages, Kapumpa, Kabende, Shimumbi and Musabila, (the older villages).

(1) Turner V.W. op. sit, Africa XXV, 1955, pp.122-135.

(2) Watson W. op. cit. The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal XV, 1 -30.

(3) An open sided public shelter placed in the cleared area in the middle of a village.

The only village in which I actually observed activity in the nsaka was in Musabila, where it was used by a wide selection of men from all generations, for gossip, for religious discussion (this was a Watch Tower Village), for eating, and for desultory work like the making of fish-traps or axe-handles. In the other villages the evidence is limited to the identity of the men eating together therein. At Kapumpa all the men of Kapumpa's generation and no others ate together, but this is not conclusive evidence since there were no other men staying in the village except for Kapumpa's eldest son, a young unmarried youth. On the other hand in Kabende's village, the men who normally ate together were Kabende himself, his three sons, his brother-in-law and the son of his mother's sister's daughter, i.e. a member of his son's generation. Similarly at Shimumbi the data, although not complete, show that the men who do eat together are members of adjacent generations. The observations from Musabila indicate that father-in-law taboos are of importance, since cases were seen of men who normally ate at the nsaka refraining from so doing when their fathers-in-law were present.

Apart from the division of the village into generations, the Aushi more nearly resemble the Kaonde than the Mwinilunga Lunda. The basis of the Lunda village is the headman and a group of his male relatives, chiefly the male members of his matrikin, but also some of his sons. Marriage here is virilocal, so that the women of the group are usually residing in the villages of their husbands, but they return to their own villages on divorce, which is frequent, and when they are widowed. On the other hand the marriage of the Kaonde is uxorilocal at least initially and the composition of the Kaonde villages compares very closely with such a village as Kapumpa. Working out the percentage of the members of the headman's matrilineage in comparision with the village total, as was done in the case of the Aushi villages, the percentages varied between 52% and 64%, that is of the same order as the villages of Kapumpa and Musabila, and possibily of Kabende and Shimumbi also.

There are marked resemblances with other tribes also. The description of the development of subsidiary matrilineages with the consequent formation of new villages given by Mitchell for the Yao is equally applicable to the Aushi.

This is in spite of the fact that the clan is not an important feature of the Yao society. The more effective principle is the the relationship between a man and his sisters. This tie is important amongst the Aushi, but the principle which is stressed by them is the clan, the mukoa.

Reference has already been made to the resemblance of the present day villages of the Lunda of the Luapula valley and villages like Lumpa. The clan is equally important in the Lunda area as in the Aushi, and the economic conditions of the Luapula valley are similar those near Fort Rosebery. Unfortunately, I have not the data to compare the Aushi villages with the upland Lunda villages which presumably have suffered less change from original pattern.

On the other hand there are considerable differences between the structure of the Aushi and the Bemba villages. Clan is not so important amongst the Bemba. Richards (1) records that the clan is to some extent bilateral, and this I also found in a study of the Bemba of the Mpika area in 1952. Most people would give both the clan of the father and the mother, and not a few when pressed would claim that their father's clan was in fact their real clan. The practice to some extent stems from the importance of chieftainship and rank in the society, so that a man wishes to emphasise his relationship to a chief even through the male line. This tendency to bilateralness is evident at the village level and there is a much greater proportion of patrilineal kin in a village than there would be in an Aushi village. The village composition is in general much more complex. Richards considers that the basic principle of village residence is that of matrilocal (uxorilocal) marriage (2), and that secondary to this is the matrilineal groups; but an examination of the villages described by Dr. Richards shows a state of affairs which is somewhat similar to the more heterogeneous villages of the Aushi such as Lumpa and Bulangeti. Richards, herself, noted that there had been considerable change in the village structure even in the early 1930's (3).

(1) Richards, A.I. The Bemba of North-Eastern Rhodesia in Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, 1951, pp.178 and 17

(2) Richards, A.I. Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia, 1939, p. 111

(3) ibid page 119.

She said that the modern village tended to be composed not of close relatives of the headman, but of a series of small kinship groups. She also cites the difference between the traditional village of Citifula and of a village close to Kasama with its opportunity for local employment.(1) In the former the members were largely close kin of the headman, wives, children, grandchildren and various matrilineal kin, in the latter only a very small percentage (8%) were closely related to the headman at all.

Although the basic Bemba village may in fact have been rather different in composition to the Aushi village the changes displayed are very similar, leading to a complex composition in which the members are variously and often distantly related to the headman. The Bemba were one of the earliest tribes to enter European employment in any numbers. In a study of five villages about 25 miles from Mpika in 1952, I found that from a total of 64 men, for whom the data were available, every man had been away on an average for 41.5% of the time after he had reached the age of 20 The numbers of men in the older age categories were few but even these had been away for many years. The figures were as follows:- those reaching the age of 20 between 1900 and 1904 - 2 men - 27%,

those reaching the age of 20 between 1905 and 1909 - 2men -40%
" " " " " 1910 and 1914 - 5men -40%
" " " " " 1915 and 1919 - 4men -39%

Thus the practice of going away to the towns is of long standing. The recent figures given by the Administration for men away at work is 62% in Chief Cikwand's area and 50% in Chief Lucheme's area, but Richards (2) gives the figure as between 40% and 50% in the early 1930's. On the this score also it can be seen that migration has been a very important feature for many years. It is to be expected then that any changes in village structure will also have been of long standing and the present rather heterogeneous

(1) op.cit. page 385

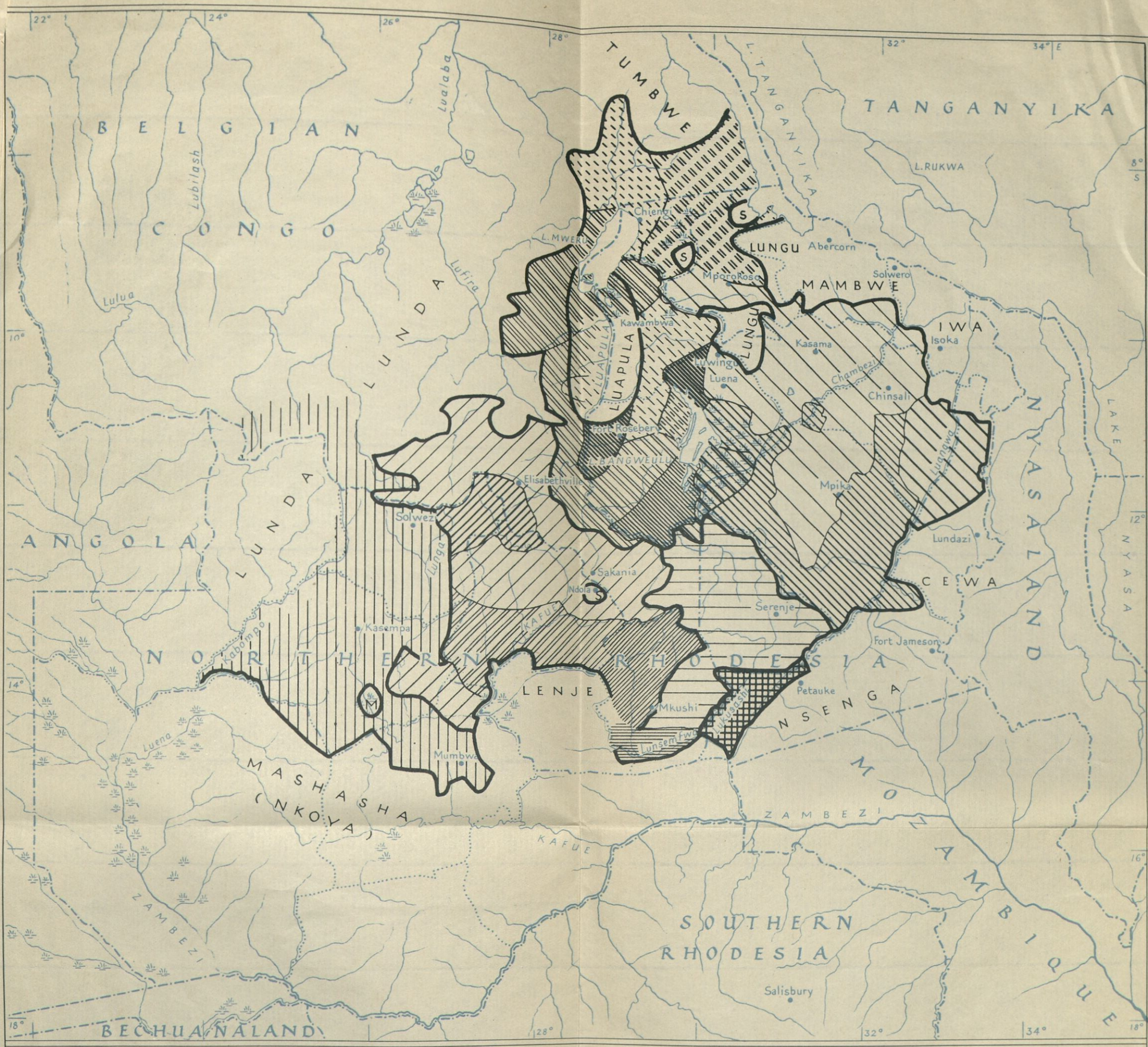
(2) This figure is based upon but not identical with the concept of the degree of urbanization of migrant labourers put forward by Wilson in An Essay on the Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia, Part I and II Rhodes-Livingstone Papers 5 and 6. 1941 and 1943.

nature of the village, in which it is difficult to pick out any clear cut pattern, is not unexpected even in areas at a considerable distance from the centres of local employment.

Thus we see with the Aushi a further variation on the village structure of matrilineal peoples. Although such a village as Kapumpa, on composition alone, is markedly similar to Kaonde village, the village organisation shows no sign of the separation of the village on the principle of generation. On the other hand, although the Aushi village bears resemblances to the Bemba village in the variation in the members present in the village, the emphasis placed on clanship is different in the two, and this leads to a relatively greater number of patrilineally related kin in a Bemba village. The clanship is demonstrated in the composition of the subgrounds of the village as well as in other forms of behaviour. The composition of the subgrounds provides also, a further example of the lines of cleavage of a matrilineal village as demonstrated by Mitchell in the Yao.

The most obvious affinities of the Aushi, however, seem to lie with the Luapula Lunda. They share with them the same emphasis on clanship, and the more complex villages also show the heterogeneous village membership, with the most closely related members living together in clusters of houses. This latter feature may well be related to the similarity of economic background between the two areas.

THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH-EASTERN PLATEAU AND THE BANGWEULU SWAMPS OF NORTHERN RHODESIA



BEMBA and closely-related sub-groups

- Bemba
- Bisa
- Senga
- Tabwa
- Chishinga
- Bwile
- Shila
- Mukulu
- Kawendi
- Aushi
- Unga & Twa
- Ngumbu

- Lala
- Luano

- Ambo

LAMBA and closely-related sub-groups

- Lamba
- Sewa
- Lima
- Swaka

- Kaonde

For the Luapula Peoples, see separate map.

Distributions in the Belgian Congo are based on: Doke, 1931; Verhulpen, 1936; Maes and Boone, 1938; Hulstaert, 1948.

S Swahili M Mbwera

BOUNDARIES

- International & Intercolonial
- Provincial
- District

1 : 5,000,000

Scale 0 200 Miles

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