

University of Cape Town

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE
SCHOOL OF AFRICAN STUDIES

(New Series No. 26)

July 1951

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE
TURKANA

A REPORT COMPILED
for the
GOVERNMENT OF KENYA

by
P. H. GULLIVER

Price

"A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE TURKANA"

A REPORT COMPILED

for the

GOVERNMENT OF KENYA

by

P. H. GULLIVER

(R51)

20M-36X

MPI f. ethnol.
Forsch. Halle

DT429

Gull
1951

(ii)

PREFATORY NOTE

The following Report on the Turkana tribe of north-western Kenya must be accepted as purely a preliminary study. It represents the results of a first tour of field-work, between September 1948 and August 1949. A second tour of some eight months is to be made in 1950.

Whilst the material here recorded is correct to the best of my knowledge and ability, it should be realised that conclusions are tentative, and some may require re-adjustment in the light of further field-work. The intention is at this stage to provide a general survey of the social life of the Turkana people, since in almost every respect pre-existing information is too inadequate to give even a general picture.

This anthropological research is being undertaken for the Government of Kenya as part of the Colonial research programme organised by the Colonial Social Science Research Council. Preliminary training and research was made possible by the grant of a Post-graduate Research Studentship from the Council, tenable at the University of London (London School of Economics). Study of the Turkana was one of the research priorities suggested by Professor Schapera in his Report to that Council ("Some problems of anthropological research in Kenya Colony"; Memorandum xxiii, International African Institute, 1949; p.20).

At this interim stage I should like to express my gratitude for the quite invaluable assistance given to me by members of the local Administration.

Spelling of native words is provisional only, since there is no conventional orthography for the Turkana language, nor am I a linguistic expert. Throughout the Report 'ng' is to be taken as indicating a velar n (as in sing). Elsewhere an attempt has been made to use English symbols, although I am well aware of their inadequacy. In many cases Turkana sounds fall somewhere between two English ones; in other cases some sounds are interchangeable and are used according to the conventions of each individual speaker - e.g. 's' and 'th'.

The conventional Anglicised name "Turkana" is used throughout for the name of the people (singular and plural) and also for the language, although the natives themselves, by the use of prefixes, distinguish between these different uses. To avoid confusion the term "Turkanaland" is used to indicate the tribal territory. All other geographical names are those used by the natives themselves.

January 1950.

C O N T E N T S

	<u>Page</u>
Prefatory Note	(ii)
 <u>PART ONE: THE MILIEU OF SOCIAL LIFE</u>	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
Geographical Position	1
Ethnographic Position	3
Recent History	5
General Description of the People, Dress, Character	10
The Nature of Field-work in TurkanaLand	13
2 GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLE	15
3 THE VALUES OF STOCK	15
Estimate of the Numbers of Domestic Stock	15
The Dance-ox	17
Other Non-economic Values	20
Linguistic Aspect	21
Stock as a Basis of Family Development	21
Economic Values of Stock (milk, meat, blood, other products)	22
The Techniques of Husbandry (veterinary, herding, breeding etc.)	25
4 OTHER MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD	30
Agriculture	30
Fishing	33
Hunting	33
Gathering	34
Diet	34
A Note on Material Culture....	36
5 ENVIRONMENT AND THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF MIGRATION	37
Introduction	37
Physiographical Survey (terrain, climate, vegetation, water supplies)	37
Requirements of the Different Types of Stock	43
Survey of Grazing and Browsing Areas	44
The Pattern of Migration	45
Conditions causing Variations from the Ideal Schema of Stock Dispositions	48
The two types of Migration	52
The Frequency of Movements	52
The Chief Social Consequences of Turkana Migratory Pastoralism	54
 <u>PART TWO: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE</u>	
6 THE TERRITORIAL SECTION	57
7 RIGHTS IN LAND AND WATER	61
8 CLAN AND KINSHIP	67
9 HOMESTEAD AND NUCLEAR FAMILY	71
Description of the Make-up of a Homestead	71
Building	72
Internal Organisation	75
Co-wives	78
Moving a Homestead	81
The Sizes of Herds of Nuclear Families	82
Division of Labour in the Family	84
The Homestead and the Activities of Men and Women	86

10	RIGHTS IN STOCK	...	...	...	...	...	88
	Theoretical Approach	...	...	...	...	...	88
	Domestic rights in stock	...	...	...	...	...	90
	Nuclear Family, Extended Family and Inheritance.	...	...	...	...	...	93
	Other Stock Rights within the Extended Family ..	...	...	...	...	...	100
	Opposition and Co-operation between Brothers	...	...	...	...	...	102
	Relations with Non-kinsmen based on Common Stock Rights	...	...	...	...	...	103
	Society's Rights in a Man's Stock ..	...	...	...	...	...	107
11	NEIGHBOURHOOD AND COMMUNITY	...	...	...	...	...	108
	Definition and Description of Neighbourhoods	...	...	...	...	...	108
	Social Intercourse in the Neighbourhood	...	...	...	...	...	108
	The Creation and Disintegration of Neighbourhoods	...	...	...	...	...	117
	The Co-operative Community	...	...	...	...	...	121
12	THE AGE-SET ORGANISATION	...	...	...	...	...	127
	The Alternations	...	...	...	...	...	127
	Membership of Age-sets	...	...	...	...	...	128
	The Principle of Seniority	...	...	...	...	...	129
	The Creation of New Sets	...	...	...	...	...	132
	What Membership Means	...	...	...	...	...	137
13	INTER-TRIBAL HISTORY AND RELATIONS	...	...	...	...	...	138
	Turkana Myth of Origin	...	...	...	...	...	139
	The Turkana Speaking Group	...	...	...	...	...	140
	Turkana Relations East and South	...	...	...	...	...	141
	General Historical and Cultural Conclusions	...	...	...	...	...	141
14	RAIDING AND CONQUEST	...	...	...	...	...	143
	The Technique of Warfare	...	...	...	...	...	143
	After the Raid	...	...	...	...	...	147
	The General Meaning and Effects of Warfare	...	...	...	...	...	149
	The Causes of Turkana Success in Warfare	...	...	...	...	...	150
	Turkana Conquest	...	...	...	...	...	150
	Defence	...	...	...	...	...	156
15	CONTEMPORARY RELATIONS	...	...	...	...	...	158
	British Administration	...	...	...	...	...	158
	Trade	...	...	...	...	...	162
	European Employment	...	...	...	...	...	165
16	JUDICIAL AND POLITICAL	...	...	...	...	...	166
	Judicial Ideas and Procedure	...	...	...	...	...	166
	The Stock-group	...	...	...	...	...	167
	Compensation	...	...	...	...	...	169
	The Process of obtaining Redress for an Injury	...	...	...	...	...	173
	A Note on the Nature of Turkana Law and Justice	...	...	...	...	...	176
	The Range of Political Action	...	...	...	...	...	179
	The Nature and Scope of Political Leadership and Influence	...	...	...	...	...	180
	Qualities and Opportunities for Leadership	...	...	...	...	...	182
	A Note on the Effect of the British Administration upon the Turkana Judicial System	...	...	...	...	...	183

A P P E N D I C E S

	<u>Page</u>
1 Bibliography of Turkana and Neighbouring Tribes	252
2 Descriptive Terms used in Connection with Stock	254
3 Wild Fruits, Berries and Nuts eaten by the Turkana	256
4 Kinship Terminology	258
5 The Conventional Distribution of Portions of Meat..	260
6 Some Turkana Age-Set Names	261
7 Some Names of Tribes Neighbouring on Turkanaland	263
8 The Autobiographies of Two Outstanding Turkana Leaders by E. R. Shackleton	264
9 The Movements and Dispositions of a Co-operative Community	276

MAPS, TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

<u>SKETCH MAPS</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	The Vegetation of TurkanaLand facing	40
2	Territorial Sections	58
3	Neighbourhoods in the Karibur District of Northern TurkanaLand	110
4	Neighbourhoods in the Oropoi/Kalaperto Basin in North-West TurkanaLand	112
5	Initiation Centres in Central TurkanaLand	134
6	The Approximate Territories Occupied by Neighbouring Tribes about Seventy Years Ago	155
7	Sketch Map to Illustrate the Movements and Dispositions of a Co-operative Community	281
END PAPER: Sketch Map of TurkanaLand, showing the Main Geographical Features, and the Directions of Migrations		

TABLES

1	Lodwar: Rainfall in Inches... ..	39
2	Survey of Grazing and Browsing Areas	44
3	Cyclical Schema of the Dispositions of Turkana Stock throughout the Year	47
4	Sections to be found in the Chief Dry Season Areas	63
5	Analysis of a Sample of Polygamous Marriages	79
6	Sizes and Proportions of Herds amongst Seven Neighbouring Families	83
7	Trade Goods obtained by the Turkana	163
8	The Distribution of Bridewealth	208
9	The Frequency of Concubinage	220

DIAGRAMS

A	Theoretical Plan of a Homestead	74
B	An Example of the Construction of a Homestead	76
C	An Example of a Joint Homestead	77
D	The Order of Succession of the General Heir	94
E	The Order of Succession of the Head of the Extended Family	94
F	The Development of Extended Families	94

PART ONE: THE MILIEU OF SOCIAL LIFECHAPTER 1INTRODUCTION

The administrative District of Turkana occupies the whole of north-west Kenya to the west of Lake Rudolf. The tribal territory coincides in general with administrative boundaries. It is wholly within the East African Rift Valley, and is at least 2000 ft. below the general level of the land to west and south. It appears to the layman as a vast plain with large mountain blocks here and there rising to between 4500 and 6000 ft. The central part of Turkana is largely semi-desert, giving way increasingly to bushland as one travels outwards and upwards.

The western boundary, which is also the boundary between Kenya and Uganda, is the western escarpment of the Rift Valley, rising to over 4,500 ft. in most places, and penetrable by only a restricted number of passes. To the south-west this is modified by the ranges of mountains, with several peaks over 9,000 ft., where live the Hill-Suk, but which form an equally specific boundary. Lake Rudolf to the east, and the Samburu Uplands and the Turkana lava deserts in the south-east give further natural boundaries. To the south the Rift Valley plains, though narrowed, continue unbrokenly by way of the Kerio Valley into the country of the Plains Suk. An administrative boundary is maintained today approximating to tribal grazing and water rights at the time of the British occupation.

To the north, although there are gazetted boundaries between the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Turkana, these are not strictly observed either tribally or administratively. The extreme south eastern corner of the Sudan is more or less a continuation of the Turkana plains and the Lokwanamur/Lorienetom mountains. Before British occupation it was a general dry season grazing area for several tribes, some of which live wholly or partly in Ethiopia, who are still unwilling to admit of defined limits to their occupation. Since these tribes, other than the Turkana, receive little direct administration it remains difficult to establish a compromise boundary, complicated as it is by the variations in tribal pressures according to the climate from year to year. Today a series of Kenya Police outposts maintain a working boundary with the Abyssinian tribes to the north-east, but a large area to the north remains undefined and unadministered i.e. north-west of Lokwanamur and north of the 'Lotagipi Swamp' towards Moru Agipi. These all at times provide dry season grazing for the Turkana.

Thus apart from the north, Turkanaland is readily defined geographically, tribally and administratively from neighbouring tribal areas. By their nature these boundaries tend to cut off the Turkana people from their neighbours. Even in the north no wet season areas are to be found within the disputed frontier region.

2.

The Turkana are usually classified as Nilo-Hamitic, and they show strong linguistic affinities with the other members of this grouping especially the Masai, the Lotuko and the Bari, whose grammatical structure seems to be similar. Less pronounced affinities can be traced with the Nandi-speaking group, who also appear in general to be somewhat different physically. The Turkana recognise none of these affinities either in fact or myth.

Linguistically a group of tribes can be isolated all of which speak a very similar tongue with only minor dialectical differences, such as create few difficulties of mutual understanding. They occupy a continuous stretch of country in north-west Kenya, north-east Uganda and the south-eastern Sudan. The largest in population is the Teso (750,000) who in many important respects differ from the rest of the group both in general culture and social organisation owing to a more or less immobile population, a richer soil and climate, and considerable culture-contact during the last 30 years at least. The Teso have no geographical contact with the Turkana.

The remainder of the group are all nomadic pastoralists first and foremost, but, according to the nature of their respective countries and climates, cultivate a few crops during the wet seasons. The Turkana are by far the largest single tribe amongst them, and I propose therefore to refer to them as the Turkana-speaking peoples^x. The Turkana number about 80,000^{xx}.

In Uganda are the Karamajong (c.45,000), the Ngijie (c.12,000) and the Dodoth (c.20,000), all to the west of the Turkana and above the Escarpment. In the Sudan are the Taposa (20,000) and the Jiye (4,000); the Nyangatom (called in Kenya the Donyiro), about 4,000 strong, live partly in Sudan and partly in Ethiopia, as do the Ngikera, a very small tribe who are probably Turkana speaking. Mention may be made here of the Uganda Lango whose language shows some affinities with this group, and who have legends of common origin with the Turkana, Ngijie and the Jaramajong. I know of no relations existing between them and the Turkana to-day.

The remainder of the Turkana's neighbours can be placed in two groups; one in which in different ways they show affinities with the Turkana, and one in which few if any affinities are discernable. Of this first group the Marile (or Merile), of the lower Omo Valley of Ethiopia, are linguistically related to the Galla, but in way of life and social organisation they resemble the Turkana. To the south-east are the Samburu, a Masai-like tribe, with whom the Turkana have considerable historical, racial and cultural affinities, and whose mode of existence is similar. Further east are the Rendile, a Hamitic tribe, who have the same kind of affinities. To the south and south-west are the Suk, one of the Nandi-speaking group. The Hill sections show little in common with the Turkana, living an entirely different life in high mountains; but the Plains Suk live very much the same life as the Turkana do and are believed to have borrowed a good deal from them.

Apart from the Ngijie of Uganda, the Turkana maintained more or less continual hostility with all these tribes before the coming of the British. They were their principal neighbours and chief enemies. The second group of non-Turkana-speaking neighbours had less close relations and a more spasmodic hostility. The Tepes are a small tribe living solely on Moroto mountain and whose linguistic or cultural affinities are not known. In recent times they are becoming increasingly influenced by the Karamajong. On Mt. Zulia in the extreme north-west of Turkana-land and in the mountains to the west live the Didinga (c.7,000). To the north, in the Sudan/Ethiopian borderlands is a heterogeneous collection of peoples, largely unclassified; but one or more may be related to the Didinga, and are called the Ngkeroma by the Turkana, but probably contain among others, the Tid, Tirma and Meino tribes living in the mountain areas of those names.^{xxx} Finally there are two small tribes whom the Turkana never fought. The Teuth (Turkana/Dodoth name is Nggulak) are a pigmy-like people numbering about 100 taxpayers, whose language appears to be unrelated to any other local group. They live in and around the Uganda Escarpment between the Dodoth and Turkana, and have been much influenced by the former. The Nyangeya live on the hills of that name to the west of the Dodoth country - borderland country between Acholi, Lotuko and Dodoth - and show influences of their larger and powerful neighbours. The Turkana trade with both of these tribes for grain and ornaments.

-
- x As does Seligman in "Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan" p.363.
 xx Population figures, other than for Uganda, are approximate estimates based on tax registers. See "A tribal survey of Mongala Province" ed. Nalder, *passim*.
 xxx Information contained in administrative records (British Consul, Maji, 1932); their population is about 5,000.

The first Europeans to meet the Turkana and to travel in Turkana-land were Count Teleki and Von Hohnel in 1888^x during their explorations of the Lake Rudolf area. But it is certain that Swahili traders from the East Coast had visited at least south Turkana a good deal earlier. There were several exploratory travellers in the country between that date and 1910^{xx}.

The British administration first encountered the people when, in 1903, appeals were made by them to the D.C. Baringo for aid against Abyssinian oppressions. In 1905 or 1906 that D.C. made the first administrative journey into Turkana and it is recorded that some hut-tax was collected. Since the people demonstrated almost nothing but hostility to the British a post was established on the Kerio river in 1909, from which it was hoped that units of the King's African Rifles (K.A.R.) could operate more efficiently. From this time on the K.A.R. began a military campaign to subdue the Turkana and stop inter-tribal warfare and raiding. To this end Turkana was created a separate administrative District in 1910.

There began a series of punitive patrols by the K.A.R. and police units which attempted to cover most of South Turkana. There were very many minor skirmishes and many stock of all types were seized both as punishment for their hostility and to compensate other tribes for Turkana raids. Between 1914 and 1918 five major patrols went out, one of which was a joint affair by the governments of Kenya and Uganda, and one organised by the governments of those two colonies together with that of the Sudan with the co-operation of the K.A.R. and the Sudan Equatorial Force^{xxx}. At this time North Turkana was gazetted as Uganda territory, although it was never administered and was practically unknown country.

All this time inter-tribal warfare continued on all sides, with the Suk and Karamajong no less guilty than the Turkana. Some raids were forestalled by K.A.R. or police action, but many others were not. In 1912 Turkana penetrated south into more or less administered areas to raid the Masai successfully. One police patrol (1915) killed over 400 Turkana and claimed to capture over 19000 head of cattle, as well as a large number of all other kinds of stock. Administration was extended further north and west to try and take in hitherto uncontrolled areas and leaders. As this extension proceeded, more and more reports confirmed that arms, ammunition and even military leadership were coming out of Abyssinia to support the Turkana. Protests to Addis Ababa producing no results, the three-government Labour Patrol of 1918 was organised to attempt to subdue the hitherto untouched northern Turkana^{xxxx}. Many Turkana were killed and large numbers of stock were seized, and definite evidence of interference by people based in Abyssinia was obtained. In fact there was an official Ethiopian Governor of North Turkana until 1921, and Ethiopia has often made claims to British territory there. There is no doubt that prominent Turkana were recognised as chiefs and visited Addis Ababa and Maji. Tribute was payed or exacted from time to time. As yet there was not specific British administration in this northern area even after the successful Patrol of 1918.

Between 1918 and 1926 there were no civil officers in the country, the entire subjugation and administration being in the hands of the K.A.R. This was the period of final general subjugation. The military established a number of posts over most of the country and maintained continual police and punitive patrols. The natives were ultimately compelled to submit to superior force, but only after prolonged resistance and much fighting.

-
- x See "The discovery of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie by Count Teleki" by Von Hohnel 1894.
- xx See Bibliography, Appendix No.1.
- xxx Military activities at this time could not be confined to one colony as the prime necessity was the establishment of the 'pax Britannica' in this part of East Africa.
- xxxx See "Parargon" by Yardley 1931; and "The Ivory Raiders" by Rayne 1923.

It may be worthwhile quoting the remarks of Mr. Crampton, Political Officer before 1918, who accompanied many of these patrols. He estimated the fighting strength of the Turkana as 25,000 spearmen and 1,000 riflemen. The Turkana, he wrote, is "the finest fighting man in East Africa, the nature of his country and the nomadic life he led tending to make him a fine, hardy savage; whilst not possessing the fanatical contempt of death of some tribes he did not hesitate to expose himself when worth while."

By 1926, when civil administration returned, it can be said that raiding had stopped and that the Turkana had, in general, been finally brought under British authority everywhere. A forward K.A.R. station had been established in the north in 1927 (at Lokitaung) to give protection to the people against the still largely unadministered tribes of Abyssinia. The rest of Turkana's boundaries were secured with the establishment of government in Uganda, the southern Sudan and in the remainder of northern Kenya. The principal concern of the administration was, and is, the northern uncontrolled sector; in the rest of the District the peace has been kept, taxes collected and administrative safaris made. Until 1942 the K.A.R. remained in the north to keep the 'pax Britannica' and protect the British tribespeople; since when their work has been carried on by units of the Kenya Police^x.

4.

Turkana-land and its people remain relatively remote from European civilization. The country was finally occupied only about twenty-five years ago, and only after stiff opposition which produced a good deal of hardship at the hands of the military forces involved, and left a legacy of apathy and resentment, the latter particularly in the north where unadministered tribes took advantage of the enforced cessation of fighting and carrying of arms by the Turkana. A glance at the map will show Turkana-land to be outside the Kenya Highlands, far away from European centres of agriculture and commerce^{xx}. There are no settlers in Turkana-land and the country, by its aridity, is scarcely capable of much development even for the natives themselves. Today the white population consists of three administrative officers, a grazing control officer, and three police officers, distributed between two stations, plus one man and his wife who live on a fishing concession at Lake Rudolf for about two thirds of the year. Very many natives had not seen a white woman before my wife arrived and most of them had not talked directly to a white person. Many embarrassing questions have been asked of us, which one day in a new area, resulted in one man turning to another, saying, "Yes, they are people all right". Not that they thought we might have been supernatural visitors, but they were not at all sure that we were like them. Their nomadic life and early achieved independence does not help them to understand European ways of life or thought. The man who has been out of the country to Kitale is still a phenomenon is recognised as a great traveller. But there is little desire to travel in this way and migratory labour is in its infancy. Only at the least skilled job can they be employed and they have, of course, no conception of agricultural work, and, apparently, make indifferent herdsmen on European ranches. There is no incentive or desire to leave their country, and a strong desire to return to it if they do leave. I have more than once hinted about the delightful country and vegetation to be found south and west at higher altitudes where rain is more plentiful, but have never met any wish to leave their relatively poor lands. Once we took a young man, who had scarcely been out of the semi-desert of central Turkana, on a trip to Uganda, where, in the wet season, we visited Karamojong, Ngijie and finally Teso and Soroti. On our return I asked him which he preferred, Soroti or Lodwar. Immediately he replied, "Lodwar!" But, I insisted, "what about the luxuriant grass, the fertile gardens, and the many shops and houses?" "Those are good," he conceded, "But there are so many foreigners, and I know Lodwar, I know the people there." I could give several similar examples.

x A fuller historical record can be found in "Political History of Turkana" by Barton J. and others.

xx From Lodwar to Kitale is over two hundred miles by indifferent lorry track.

There are few outlets by which to obtain European goods - a few Indian shops at Lodwar and Lokitaung, and one or two elsewhere. But the Turkana has little with which to trade and is invariably unwilling to part with any of his stock. Only in the height of the dry season do hides and skins come in to the shops in any quantity, and then, I think, only because of the sheer necessity to ward off imminent starvation by bartering for maize meal. In the main the bulk of the people are not touched by these meagre channels of trade; large areas are fifty miles away from the nearest shop. There are some itinerant traders, especially in those areas nearer to Uganda, and these can supply most of the few needs there are without people going out of the area and without cash. The only demand for money is for the annual tax-paying (6/- a year) when the shortage of shillings is only too apparent.

The needs of the people are for grain (millet or maize), cloth, feathers and beads, iron work (spears, wire, knives, bells) and some cooking pots and gourds; and these existed mainly before the British came. Otherwise they are quite self-sufficient, their small range of handicrafts being sufficient to supply all their needs, whilst their herds provide the main item of food and clothing, supplemented by some gardening, hunting and gathering. They are little troubled by Europeans, many seeing an administrative officer no more than once a year or less frequently. To the north and north-west there are no white men at all, only very sparsely populated, relatively barren areas.

Thus apart from the compulsory stoppage of raiding the people carry on much as they always have done. The men wear lengths of grey-white or coloured cloth knotted over one shoulder, capable of covering most of the body but often thrown back over the shoulders out of the way. Very many go naked. A man should carry two spears (about eight feet long) wherever he goes, and few do not carry at least one. Like fighting sticks, these are not purely ornamental, as a man needs them to protect his herds from the hyena and leopard. Every man owns a hide shield in his homestead, and many still wear finger-rings with a wicked-looking hook on them. Round the wrist is worn a circular knife, normally covered with a leather sheath, but a useful fighting weapon at close quarters. Like the spear, the wrist-knife is mainly used for cutting meat, carving wood and leather, and other utilitarian purposes. A few beads round the neck or hips are worn for everyday decoration, but will be added to at dances and other special occasions. Every man without fail carries a small carved wooden stool, which is also used as a headrest when sleeping. The coiffure of the adult is very distinctive although found with modifications throughout the whole Turkana-speaking group, as well as amongst the Marile and Suk. The whole of the hair is completely mudded into two parts. There is a frontpiece ('aicheria') above the forehead and extending down the sides of the head in an inch wide strip. Basically of grey mud it is usually coloured afterwards, and may have patterned lines and dots painted on. The back hair is mudded into a solid bun ('emedot') to form a compact whole, and is left grey. Feather holders of leather, string or bone are sewn into the mud, and normally contain one or two feathers, but which, on special occasions, are filled with full length ostrich plumes of white, black or red. At these times the effect may be completed with a band of coloured cloth or fur around the forehead. Before about thirty or forty years ago the mudded back-headress was much larger, and, with extra hair plaited on, fell down the back^x. This style, which aroused the comments of all early travellers, is not often found to-day. Similarly in earlier days before cloth was fairly plentiful, a skin cape was often worn over the shoulders. Older men still wear this. The ears are pierced in several places and ear decorations of beads, wire or ivory are worn. Every man's nose is pierced in the lower septum, but nowadays it is uncommon to see nose ornaments. Older and more conservative men wear a large flat, oval metal disc which hangs down over the chin. The lower lip is pierced and most men wear some lip ornament,

x Still to be seen in the Karamoja District of Uganda, where the Turkana-speaking men are more conservative.

the favourite being a solid ball of ivory about two inches in diameter, which pulls down the lower lip permanently and hinders clear speech. Every man carries some kind of tobacco horn (of ox, buck or elephant tusk) slung round the neck or wrist. Decorative body markings are not usual though nearly every one shows the scars of cuts made for medical purposes. The man who proves he has killed an enemy has several cicatrised lines made with sharp thorns, extending from shoulders to stomach. On special occasions the whole decorative effect is heightened by smearing coloured mud over face, arms and legs. At such times small bells are hung round the fore-arms, knees and ankles to create the maximum noise. Finally every person wears a pair of cow hide sandals, so very necessary in this hot and stony land.

Women's and girl's dress appears not to have changed at all in the last three decades. All married women wear a long beaded back-skirt of goat skin, which may reach right down to the ankles, a knee length pinafore of goat or gazelle skin, also beaded, and a heavy metal beaded belt round the waist. A cloak of sheep or other skin is often worn over the shoulders. The more beads that can be worn the better - self-made wooden ones, or trade beads - amounting often to several pounds in value. Iron wire is not favoured as a neck ornament. The arms and legs also carry as much bead and iron work as the husband can afford. The head is shaved except for a centre ridge, the loose ends of which are twisted to form 'rats' tails! The ears are pierced in up to eight places so that earrings can be worn one above the other. The lower lip is also pierced to take some ornament - wire, a small plug of wood or ivory, a bead or two. Dress varies slightly from area to area^x.

Unmarried girls dress with a motif of ostrich egg shell. A wide belt made of this shell is worn over the hips, and the v-shaped pinafore is shell-edged. Necklets are predominantly of shell, cut into small circular pieces and threaded on sisal string. There is a skin back-skirt and cloak. Hair style is the same as for wives. Coloured beads are made into circles, semi-circles, squares etc., and sewn to the skirts or hung from the neck. With ear-rings and lower lip ornaments a very decorative effect is produced; emphasised, to the delight of the men, by liberal smearing of fat and red mud over head, neck and shoulders. Round the ankles, especially on festive occasions, are worn two or three thick iron bangles which clash together as the girl walks or dances.

Boys and youths most usually go about quite naked, with perhaps a few beads round the neck or wrist. All carry some sort of club or fighting stick. It is unusual to see an uninitiated man wearing a cloth, although there is no specific sanction against it except that a young man would find it hard to get the means with which to buy cloth. On the contrary girls wear at least a pinafore from the time that they can walk, and are invariably correct and modest where dress is concerned^{xx}.

Physically the people show an admixture of several types of which, without measurement, two seem to be outstanding. One is a very tall, slim reddish skinned type with 'aristocratic' features reminding one of early Egyptian pictures. The other is a very black, coarse skinned type with a more rounded body and smaller in build - a negro-like type. There are many pure examples of each of these all over the country, although I have not found any special tendency against intermarriage. No status results from physical type although the red skin is considered the most desirable of all the range from very black, through brown and olive, to red. The Turkana themselves recognise five or six basic skin colours amongst their own people, but it goes further than that. Besides these two main types there are several subsidiary outstanding features - very high cheek-bones and 'pseudo-Mongoloid' slit eyes,^{xxx} a semitic type like

x See Chapter on "The Section".

xx It was amusing to see the near-horror with which naked and semi-naked men and their womenfolk viewed photographs of naked Nilotic women.

xxx Cp. Seligman: "The Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan," p.20.

the Jew or Arab, a flat wide-nostrilled nose. Early travellers reported the Turkana as a race of giants with an average height of six feet or more. This is not true. The red-skinned 'Hamitic' type is often around the six foot mark, but the negroid type is really no taller than the 'Bantu' of southern Kenya. No doubt the slimness amounting to gauntness sometimes tends to make the Turkana look taller than he is, and his impressive display of ostrich plumes on the head adds to this at military or dance gatherings. The women follow the same pattern as the men, but are surprisingly small by comparison. Their use of red mud over the head and upper part of the body enhances the red skin or gives the black skin a favoured red colour.

This racial mixture is no doubt the result of the meeting of the Turkana-speaking group with trans-Rudolf peoples. Apart from the Turkana themselves, the rest of the group are very noticeably more of a single type - shorter, black-skinned, rounded featured negroid - whereas to the east are 'Hamitic' types - Marile, Rendile and Samburu - with whom the Turkana have inter-married, and who at one time probably lived in the eastern part of Turkana land. This contact is important as a source of culture infusion into Turkana, which the other members of the group have not had.

The technique of describing and analysing the general character of a group of people living in a society is still in its infancy, and in this monograph we are to be chiefly concerned with sociology rather than social-psychology. Nevertheless perhaps a few general remarks may help to illuminate my later observations. So far I have tried to give a general picture of a semi-naked, highly decorated man, carrying spears, a knife, fighting stick and stool, living in a semi-desert plain and its mountains, and of the women dressed in skins and beads, scarcely touched by European influences, living an unchanged life apart from the end of fighting. Because of their necessary hard life in an inhospitable country where usually the population is very thinly distributed and each family provided its own food, clothing and shelter, the men in particular (but also the women) are of a very independent cast of mind. From the time he is four or five the boy is out herding stock all and every day with perhaps a single companion. He must quickly learn to fend for himself, to learn husbandry and to protect both himself and his herds from wild animals. It is a lonely life by day anyway as the herds are as widely distributed as possible because of the sparse grass and bush upon which they feed. But it is made more lonely because, in the dry season, homesteads are rarely found in groups of more than three or four, and it is not unusual to find a single homestead miles from the next one and from water. Only thus can the country be made to support the people's stock. There is an inevitable reflection of this in the Turkana character.

As he grows up the youth must learn to demand and obtain his rights and privileges and to protect his interests - for no-one else will do it for him. He will be constantly begged for all he has by friends and acquaintances - his beads, his tobacco, his animals, etc., - and must know when to give, how much and how to deal with continual begging that is inherent in Turkana social life. He must also beg for himself when he is out of tobacco or food, or when he wants beads. He is not automatically given a dance-ox, a stool, a spear, cloth or beads or feathers by his father or elder brothers, but must see that he gets all those to which he is entitled. He must be prepared to go to the length of almost seizing them if they are not forthcoming reasonably. The obligations of, for example, near kinship are not neglected but one must see to that one gets one's rights; in brief - you must help yourself, or no-one else will. Not that the Turkana does not enjoy company; he does, and is a great and voluble conversationalist. The adult male - one of whose main occupations, fighting, is gone - will try to spend as much time as he can under a shady tree with a companion or two, talking, idling, lazing. As often as possible, especially in the wet season, people get together for dances. But again everyday dances are times for individual display. A man dances on his own to the women. On the other hand their music is characteristically and predominantly choral. And some types of dancing are specifically of a group nature, whilst all dances are times of intense communal activity.

It is instructive to watch the reactions of a group of men when a stranger approaches. He is disregarded and watched beneath lowered eyelids, often a hand over the face. He is not greeted nor made welcome, and a state of suspense is set up through a kind of automatic suspicion. The anthropologist comes to know this very well, but it is not at all confined to inquisitive Europeans, as I have witnessed many times. Although a general recognition exists that one must give hospitality to travellers, yet each man will attempt to evade the responsibility if possible, telling the most bare faced lies if necessary. On the other hand a visiting kinsman or "best-friend" will normally be well looked after, whilst in a group of homesteads there is a very great deal of communal sharing of food. A man or a woman will often walk miles over deserted country on their own with no concern; and a couple of people going along together will seldom walk side by side, chatting, but usually one behind the other, with maybe as much as twenty yards between them. Migrational moves are usually made independently, each man choosing his own time at which to move, based on his own opinions of conditions of graze, water and climate. There is normally some discussion on the advisability of moving, but each family moves in its own good time. Some may decide against the general run of opinion, not to move at all for the time being.

Two other characteristics may be mentioned as outstanding. The Turkana always strike one as very happy people. They are seldom far from fun and laughter, especially at someone else's expense. Trouble and hardship there is in plenty, and often near starvation, but it is accepted philosophically and pleasanter things are allowed to occupy the mind. This must be set against the initially dour suspicion in the presence of strangers - a feature often over-emphasised by Europeans who have dealt with other tribes. Secondly, all Turkana have a strong sense of the dramatic. They insist on dramatising everything they can, an anecdote, a piece of gossip, a point of custom. This is a very useful trait from the anthropologist's point of view, since in the heat of dramatic presentation of some aspect of tribal custom, deceit is less likely. Unfortunately, unconsciously, the actor will leave out important features, get out of chronology, or over-dramatise some aspect that momentarily appeals to him. But sooner than say, "at a wedding we do so and so", they will insist on acting the whole marriage with the co-operation of anyone else present; and then, well pleased with their efforts, they will go through the whole thing all over again, for the fun of it. Almost any man at any time will act a raid on enemy cattle, taking all the parts himself, including the cattle. A casual conversation on a camel safari will turn into a dramatic show holding up the whole caravan. Men chatting under a tree will continually enliven the time with acted narrations of gossip and story - often two or three going independently at the same time, illustrating the same or different points. I can only agree with Von Hohnel, who, in his travels in 1888, recorded that the Turkana were the noisiest, most boisterous people in East Africa.

A feature of social life which reacts strongly on character is the continual begging - begging that has to be satisfied since it amounts almost to seizure. Any man who has a little tobacco in his horn must distribute it, and will have the horn nearly wrenched out of his hand in the general melee of begging at a gathering of men. It is an everyday occurrence to beg the small goods of life - tobacco, milk, a piece of meat, some porridge, a string of beads, a stool, a spear. It is a recognised process of distribution. And in certain circumstances not even the most valued possessions are inviolate.^x There is in the case of a man's dance-ox (perhaps his most valued single thing) an institutionalised technique for begging, by appropriate songs and dance, which might go on all of one day. The more valuable a thing is the narrower the range of people who can beg it from a man, but the principle is the same. Everyone can beg tobacco or milk, only a man's closer kin, in-laws, and friends can beg a contribution to a bridewealth payment. The essence of demanding one's wants from those who are in a position to satisfy them is there still. The European is considered fair game for everybody, and my wife and I were continually pestered for all we had. We have known men walk over forty

x The only limits I am aware of are that a man may not beg another's wife. There seems to be no limit in material possessions.

miles for a handful or so of tobacco, and, having got it, set off back again. One of my better informants came to us one day and asked what I was going to give him for his help in the past (he had had several small gifts) since, he explained, he knew that I had given a blanket to an earlier informant. My wife told him that he must wait and see, for in our country one did not ask for presents, but if one was a friend one was given them in due course. "Oh, we do not do that" he replied immediately, "we ask for what we want or we do not get anything." "But", said my wife, "No-one ever gives us presents in return for those that we give out." "Well, you should ask for them", was his answer. It is an obligation to give, and the European is at a disadvantage because he has so much to give. When I sent off a camel at various times to fetch our stores I was usually told quite clearly that of course it was understood that it would bring back cloth, millet, beads or feathers for my neighbours. And the man who returns from a bartering trip to a neighbouring tribe must distribute most of what he brings back, although only his goats went to buy the stuff. He has a surplus and he must therefore let others share it. Any number of examples could be given of this begging, but one further will suffice here. The wife of a fairly wealthy man who already wore a very large number of beads and metal armlets and anklets, saw a single string of beads on a man's wrist. It was the only decoration he wore, and in addition was a general preventative medicine-charm, such as the native does not like to be without. Nevertheless she wanted it; and for about twenty minutes plagued the man (a casual neighbour of some six or seven miles away) seizing his wrist to try and untie the string. He gave in at the end, and she triumphantly tied it on her wrist where it was lost in the many strings she already wore. No-one interfered, nor, I think, felt it in any way out of the ordinary.

There is of course an element of reciprocity in all this, although usually the reciprocal gift comes from a third party, who begs from a fourth and so on. Thus ornaments, for example, change hands continually. A choicely carved stool will pass from man to man, each retaining it for a few weeks only. And in a general way anyone who has given one something is likely to call on him for something else (not essentially of equal value) in the dim future. However if the desired object is obtainable elsewhere then the reciprocal gift can hang fire. A general relationship based on past assistance creates a sense of mutual assistance, not accurately assessed or clearly considered. It is not an obligation to return the help or the gift. You must ask, nay demand, or else you will get nothing. Only the begged gift of an animal creates a more specific obligation and even here equal or greater return is not the rule. The relationship and the attitude is the thing that matters, not the strict or even the general accounting of equalities. At a later date one of the parties may be in a better or a worse position to give help, and he will as he is expected, so give it. In this light the Turkana dislikes the use of money, and whilst usually loth to sell me a sheep for meat, will be prepared to give it to me (if I beg it) knowing in his own mind that he can seek something else from me later on. But he will not estimate the exchange values of each. If proof of this be needed I may add that it is almost impossible to find out how much was paid for some foreign article (cooking pot, cow bell, beads) in terms of stock or meat or skins or shillings. "We do not like to sell things, we prefer to give you it," they have said to me time and time again. The itinerant trader is therefore a necessary evil. Further, the wealthier man is considered to be able to give more than the poorer one - a general principle which extends from begging to the payment of fines, compensation and bridewealth.

In all this the self-sufficient independent spirit of the Turkana shows up. He must ask for what he wants and learn to resist the more extravagant demands. He must invent subterfuges to avoid giving way too much - e.g. he only carries a little tobacco in his horn at a time, he hides articles beneath his cloth, he keeps his goats (i.e. the supply of everyday meat) out of the way to deceive travellers wanting food or to avoid constant begging by his neighbours who want a small feast. He must learn to put up with rebuffs and to detect evasions of his own demands. This attitude and practice invests all social activities with its own peculiar atmosphere.

Carrying out field work amongst such a people has its own difficulties and advantages. I believe that it is essential that some mention of what these are should be made in order that the nature and value of my results can be more accurately judged. Since relatively little work has been done among scattered nomadic peoples, and relatively much on settled peoples, I consider it even more necessary to describe the nature of field-work in this case. Some of the deficiencies and emphasis in my material will at least be more excusable if no less unfortunate. Since social anthropology cannot be an exact science with a precise technique these are bound to occur, and the reader should be aware of them before dealing with actual material presented.

This survey represents the results of eleven months' continuous field-work, but the earlier stages were badly handicapped by language difficulties. When my wife and I arrived in Turkana-land we had no knowledge of the language other than a brief vocabulary. There were only two grammars, both completely inadequate as we soon discovered. Our first task was, therefore, to attain as quickly as possible reasonable proficiency in the spoken language. It was impossible to obtain an interpreter, and outside the government stations no-one speaks Swahili. Through the kindness of the D.C. at that time (Mr. F. W. Goodbody) we were able to borrow the services of a twelve year old boy who knew a little English. He stayed with us for about two months and after that we were compelled to rely on our own abilities to pick up the language. I do not pretend that is a good way of going about it, but we had no alternative. It was about six months before we attained a working knowledge, and to the end to overhear and understand casual conversation was beyond our scope generally. Fortunately a tribal policeman lived with us for the whole of that six months and grew to know our pidgin variety of his language, and acted as interpreter between our brand and correct Turkana.

Language apart, there are several difficulties inherent in work of this nature. There are no permanent settlements anywhere, seldom any large collections of people (i.e. over about fifty or sixty souls) and it is always difficult to know or discover where people are. Roads are few, maps inadequate, and current knowledge scanty. Between leaving Lodwar with stores etc. and pitching camp in a new part of the field is often up to a week of travel and discovery, when little anthropological information is obtained. Pack animals may arrive late, or fall ill, and further delay things. And then having established oneself the local inhabitants may move leaving one stranded, unless their route covers ground which my contemporary transport facilities can also cover, (i.e. varying combinations of lorry, camels, donkeys) and my store position is adequate. Even if I can follow, the homesteads involved may split up and go in various directions, so that a quick decision has to be taken about my own move. This is especially the case in the Plains in the dry season. Another time a move may be made unexpectedly (to me that is) and traces are very hard to pick up. Unwilling neighbours have literally disappeared in the night in this way. And Turkana are invariably inarticulate about geographical information; so that unintentionally, and sometimes on purpose, I have been completely misled as to the whereabouts of certain people or water-holes. In one area, which I knew well and its inhabitants also, and was favourably known of, it took me over two days to locate a group of people with whom I had lived six months previously. This was not through conscious obstructionism or my complete ignorance (I had been ten months in the country then) but because of a complete vagueness of direction-information in a hilly, trackless land.

At no time have I been able to get across to the natives in general what I was trying to do, what I wanted, why I had come. The Turkana are peculiarly apathetic about their tribal culture, and nowhere have I succeeded in arousing an interest over learning and recording their customs, history, laws or stories. They just do not care whether anyone knows about them, whether they are preserved for future generations, or any other inducement that I could think of. I have tried flattery, talking about their renown as warriors and stock owners, and of telling other peoples about them. But they accept the flattery complacently and leave it at that, quite sure in their own life and not looking beyond. The more complex items of their relatively simple social structure are not understood by any

single native in my experience. Even my few reliable informants, for instance, have not been able to give me the simplest outline of the age-set system, and have put me onto all sorts of false trails by sheer inability to state a principle. They can tell me their own small sections of the whole, even perhaps their brothers', but scarcely more. I have spent literally hours - and hours trying to discover when and how a new age-set came into being, and still do not feel confident that I have got the final truth. The same could be said of my enquiries in almost any other field. Out of a settlement of sixty to a hundred souls I am now content if I get one reasonable informant on affairs there, and he must usually be kept entertained and full of tobacco, as he is seldom interested in talking about himself or his settlement or his tribe. In all I have had five informants out of the ordinary. Yet the best of these, the most intelligent Turkana I have met, after spending on and off days talking to me and getting others to talk and hearing about my work and difficulties, suddenly disappeared one morning to reappear after a day or two to say he had been to a wedding some thirty miles away. Yet he knew, or I thought he did, that I was most anxious to attend a wedding since in ten months I had not been able to see one.

Most people having begged to the limits of their capacity and my generosity, would leave me entirely alone, and if pressed would either refuse to talk or tell a blatant untruth - an untruth, rapidly recognised by all those present, that would go uncorrected even if I immediately detected it. Fortunately active hostility has been rare. On the whole the Turkana adopt a policy of live and let live. In the remoter mountain areas however I have encountered deliberate opposition. For instance, in the largest mountain grazing area in Turkanaland (Nangoleki area of Loima Mt.) where both people and stock were highly concentrated towards the end of the dry season, we spent about a month without being able to obtain a single genealogy or a friendly and open welcome in any homestead. In some parts the legacy of the K.A.R. persists and is extended to all white men. Almost always it is the men who are most suspicious or hostile; women and children if not openly friendly are always curious and interested and willing to talk. Unfortunately women in general are poor informants on anything not specifically within the feminine sphere of life. Asked about stock or migration or a point of custom they are either silent or refer me to one of their men-folk. In their own sphere of domestic things my wife has found women usually talkative and reliable. Men, perhaps, remember more the conquest of the country, ("We were the masters of everyone in fighting until the white men came," - a very near truth), and the seizure of their stock, the annual enforced taxation, the end of raiding. The Administration is invariably known as "the foreigners (or the enemy - 'ngimoi') at Lodwar", and no one is quite sure why the foreigners are there. Their behaviour is not at all like their own (i.e. the Turkana's) would be in a conquered land. Ignorance of the white man automatically turns to suspicion.

There are certain physical difficulties of field-work created by the general heat of Turkanaland and the dispersed population. Apart from the few lorry tracks all my movements are on foot. A visit to a homestead may involve a five mile walk in a sun temperature of well over 100 F. across arid country. It is exhausting work. On my arrival in a new area my first steps are always to discover who lives there and where the grazing grounds are and water holes. This invariably calls for hours of walking before 11 a.m. and after 4 p.m. On some mountain areas the cattle camps are widely dispersed in the wildest country, where communications (to the newcomer) are made hazardous by trackless hillside, large ravines and sometimes dense, low forest. Admirable though it might be to make a count of human and stock population, together with the disposition of homesteads, in these most important mountain areas I have had to give up the idea as physically beyond a white man's powers. In this particular case my opinion was finally made up when I found that the only available water supply was strongly saline and made newcomers (my wife and I and our Turkana staff) chronically sick. There is no possibility for a long time, of enlisting Africans to help in such work.

If I have concentrated on my difficulties in obtaining information it is only in an attempt to make clear where some of the deficiencies in my material lie. However, there are advantages of work in Turkanaland. One is the physical openness of the homesteads and huts. Living near a homestead there is very little that can be concealed in daily life. The native has no

notion of privacy either. The main fence round a homestead seldom prevents one seeing inside, and one often knows who is at home or visiting in the huts. As I have already said open hostility is rare, and is almost absent in the plains where we have often met active and open friendliness. And the Turkana free of modern culture-contact, is without social, political or religious ideas that often make bad informants in other parts of Africa. They are pre-eminently content with their life and can imagine no other way. Their naivety prevents their imagining any other mode of behaviour. They cannot conceive of any other form of marriage or economic organisation or family, so that their information facts even if wrong in balance or chronology are usually right as far as they go. They cannot think they know what I want to know even if they feel that I ought to know only so much. Many of my difficulties are counter-balanced, too, by the general simplicity of the social system. It is seldom very complex, and never very subtle.

There is one further point that I must make in this introduction to my material. Although the Turkana year can be divided into dry and wet seasons, and in every wet season must fall enough rain to enable pastoralism to continue through the subsequent dry season, yet only once in three to five years is the rainfall really plentiful, producing graze everywhere and allowing all stock to leave the mountains and live with their herdsman in the plains. This infrequent, exceptional wet season is what the Turkana always refer to when they are talking generally about the "wet season" ('agiporo'). And only at these times are all the members of the family together. Only then is initiation performed, the greatest dances held, the most marriages made, and all the greatest intensity of social activity to be seen. I have not seen such a good wet season. During 1949 the rains were both very late in breaking, and below average. Therefore I have not seen initiation. Neither have I been to a wedding, because, due to the lateness of the rains, people kept putting off their weddings in the hope that in the end it might turn out better after all. Only about two months later (late August and early September) as I was leaving the field were preparations for marriages at last being pushed forward, and I know of several that were postponed until next year. Similarly many age-set activities, dances, meetings were not carried out this year. Nor have I been able to see the exact location of herds and flocks in a good wet season. Whether on my second tour I shall have better fortune remains to be seen. I may not ever be able to see this climax of social life. The last good year was in 1947.

Note:

For those who know the geography of Turkanaland some interest may attach to the localities where I carried on field-work. Following therefore is a brief summary of where we have been, and for what periods.

- Labur Range - two areas, about 7 weeks in all.
- Logiriam and northern Nggamatak - about $2\frac{1}{2}$ months.
- Western Loima Mountain (Kanaro, Nangoleki, Puch) - about 1 month.
- Oropoi Valley - about 1 month.
- Koteruk River - about $2\frac{1}{2}$ weeks.

Shorter visits or safaris were made to:-

- Northern Lake Rudolf.
- Kakelai, Kamathia and northern forward area.
- Lorusi Aliban and Komacherin.
- Ferguson's Gulf (fishing and agricultural people).
- Kagwelasi River.
- Lorengagipi and Kosibir Rivers.

We also made a ten-day trip in Karamajong, Ngijie and Teso country, and I have visited Dodoth and Teuth on foot.

CHAPTER 2

GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE PEOPLE

The estimated population of Turkanaland is 80,000^x living in a territory about one hundred miles from east to west, and nearly three hundred from north to south, but narrowing in the southern half - giving an area of about 24,000 square miles.

It is difficult to give an account of the distribution of the population since, first, there are continuous movements over the annual cycle, and also different movements between one year and another owing to differences in climate. And secondly, there is a great range of density between the geographical and climatic areas. For ecological discussion I make a twofold division of Turkanaland into plains and mountains. The plains include all the lowland areas where the rainfall is too irregular and sparse to produce grass except in the better wet seasons, and is here taken to include the lower hills and foothills where only slightly better conditions prevail. The mountains include most of the land over about 3,500 ft., which is the approximate demarcation of permanent grass limits. In this context it also includes other dry season graze in certain favoured areas in the lowlands, e.g. the lower Turkwel/Maimalti basin, the forward plains around Lorienetom and towards Taposaland and the intermittent shore-grazing areas on Lake Rudolf.^{xx}

The plains, especially the central semi-desert and south-eastern rock desert, are very sparsely populated even in the better wet seasons. Settlements of no more than a hundred people spread over an area of 10 or 20 square miles are separated from the next by seldom less than seven or eight miles, and up to twenty. As the dry season advances the size of settlements tends to decrease and distances between them to increase as both water and graze become scarcer. In wet seasons the size and proximities of settlements tend to increase. Always in the dry season there will be groups of one or two families living quite alone.

Mountains are the areas of highest density as nearly all the cattle must live there for most of the year, and for all of some years. And, as the dry season advances, there is an inflow of people there, with increasing numbers of camels, goats and sheep. There is also an increasing concentration on the better mountain areas, i.e. as the lower and less fertile parts are exhausted. As the wet season advances there is a corresponding dispersal, but only in the best years (no more than one in three to five) will the mountains practically empty. At the very beginning of the no more than poor average wet season of 1949 I counted the following human and stock population in an area of about twenty square miles on Nangoleki, one of the best mountain areas in Turkanaland, a part of Loima Mountain:-

40 homesteads, and about 400 people.
2,000 cattle.
1,200 camels.
4,000 goats and sheep.

In addition to this broad dichotomy between plains and mountains, certain plains areas are rather more fertile, especially where they are associated with a neighbouring mountain and above average rainfall. Here are to be found large centres of population. The extensive plains of central Turkanaland are away from such mountain influences and show no such modification.

x Government estimate based on tax registers.

xx This is dealt with more fully in Chapter 5.

Broadly speaking then one may describe the distribution of population roughly as follows:-

- central and south-eastern Turkana land - sparse.
- plains of west, north-west and north - better, especially in wet seasons.
- all mountain areas - relatively heavy.

N.B. There is a general lowering of population in Turkana land as the dry season advances caused by migration into foreign lands, i.e. Dodoth, Ngijie, Karamajong, Suk, Samburu and northern frontier lands.

Everywhere people live in homesteads ('awi' pl. 'Ngawie') which are composed of an outer fence, kraals for each type of stock, and huts for each wife, and built of bushwood and trees of the locality. In each lives a nuclear family (man, wives, dependent children and other dependents), or that part of it herding the part of the family stock there. Sometimes a homestead is shared between two relatives or two friends, each with their own distinctive half. Although single ones are found alone, the usual thing is a group of three or four in the plains in the dry season, and twenty or more in the mountains or in the plains in the wet season. Such groups are never in a village form but scattered over a wide area, but with a recognisable gap between one neighbourhood and the next. Such a neighbourhood is, at least temporarily, a kind of co-operative unit, probably using the same water and grazing grounds (e.g. a patch of plain, side of a hill, a bowl in the mountains etc.).

Geographically rather than socially, larger areas and the groups living within them at any one time have a kind of unity by reason of natural boundaries, rivers, hills, bare plains, with relatively few paths or passes leading outwards. Because of this there is a slightly higher degree of co-operation and mutual awareness for a time, although the people may look different ways for mountain grazing, or to plain grazing if they are in the mountains, and may belong to different social groupings. The unity is external in the first place, accidental almost, not permanent and not necessarily named. The people are divided into territorial sections based on their traditional wet season areas. These have no corporative activities, no leaders; there is no common holding of land or water rights; they are not primarily connected with kinship groupings, raiding organisations or age sets.

All the Turkana are herds-people. There are a few poor people who make a living out of hunting and gathering, but even these have a few goats. At certain points on Lake Rudolf are fishing groups; but all are also stock owners. On the upper Turkwel (bordering the Suk) and at Turkwel and Kerio deltas are small permanent gardening settlements who are traditionally "poor", i.e. stockless, but who today at any rate, own stock and are not the least poor of the Turkana probably.

There are slight dialectical differences inside the country, but no regional distribution of physical types. There are no outstanding differences of culture and social organisation on a regional basis. There is a very homogeneous culture. There was no internecine warfare, and it is the complacent remark of the Turkana that, "we can go anywhere in the country; we are all brothers."

CHAPTER 3

THE VALUES OF STOCK

Before describing and analysing migration and the social and political structure it is necessary to appreciate the values placed in domestic stock by the Turkana, since with such a relatively bare culture in an inhospitable country they lie behind all other activities.

The main wealth and interests of the native are in stock. From an economic point of view they are the chief source of foods and of much of the clothing and other material. Density of population and migration are largely the results of the needs of stock for food and water. The time taken with activities related to stock in everyday life far exceeds that taken up in any other form of activity. But they are not only an economic concern, for there is a strong emotional complex associated with them. Acquisition and protection were a prime cause of military action; many social processes are connected with them, as well as magico-religious ones.

Turkana say that there are five types of domestic stock - cattle, camels, sheep, goats and donkeys. Donkeys are really in a separate category since their primary use is for transport. They are the only pack-animal, as the camel is not so used. I have not met a person who admits to having eaten the meat or milk of a donkey, but I am always told that other Turkana do so, poor people, but that it is not a good thing. This is no doubt true since the story is so prevalent, and because in extreme poverty (and many Turkana are in extreme poverty in the famine years, as well as the chronic poor) people are unlikely to refuse this source of food. It is however not a normal habit. Otherwise there is complete exploitation of every asset of their stock - meat, milk, blood, skins, bones, horns.

It is difficult to give figures of the stock population. No count has ever been made and there have been many conflicting estimates made, varying between "the poorest pastoralists I have seen in thirteen years of experience amongst Masai, Nandi, Suk, Northern Frontier District tribes and Karamajong"^x, and one of the wealthiest in East Africa. In 1944 Mr. McKay, then J.C., gave the following estimates:-

Cattle 80-100,000
Camels 30-000
Sheep and goats 400,000
Donkeys 20,000.

My own impressions are rather different. On the basis of a human population of approximately 80,000 I reckon about 8,000 family units (i.e. nuclear families). Tentative averages per unit based on actual figures counted in the field in north, north-west, west and central Turkanaland are:-

Cattle 25-30; Camels^{xx} 10; Goats and sheep about 100^{xxx};
Donkeys about 12^{xxxx}.

In round numbers this gives the following figures.- ^{xxxxx}

Cattle 200,000
Camels 80,000
Sheep and goats 800,000
Donkeys 96,000.

-
- x V.G. Glenday in "The Merille Patrol" 1926 - Administrative Report.
xx An average figure for camels is particularly difficult since in some areas there are very few, whereas in others, especially in central Turkanaland, they are very important, and few cattle are to be seen.
xxx A homestead with less than about 80 sheep and goats is practically below subsistence level in the dry season when cattle, and sometimes camels, are separated from them.
xxxx Based on statistical average of 2.5 wives per man, and 5 donkeys per wife.
xxxxx Comparative figures for pastoral tribes are as follows:-

Large scale totals are not particularly informative, especially where, as in this case, not every family has some of each kind of stock necessarily, nor in those proportions suggested by the average figures. The ideal is to have not only as many of every sort as possible, but also enough of each sort to support a separate homestead each. This ideal is not always reached even by the wealthiest men. The extreme case is where only one type is owned, and it is doubtful if this does occur, although I have been told that there are men with only cattle. I know of cases where the holding of other than sheep and goats is almost negligible. There are a number of cases where only two varieties are held - cattle and camels^x. Most sometimes, more often sheep and goats and either cattle or camels^x. Most usually all three are kept with the emphasis on one. Causes of variation from the ideal, other than mere poverty, are the vagaries and coincidence of diseases, inheritance, payments of bride-wealth or compensation, as well as of climate. All of these can rapidly alter the overall content of a man's herds. Cattle are thought to be the indispensable type, and a man is reckoned poor if he is poor in cattle, whatever the sizes of the rest of his herds. From the strictly economic point of view goats and sheep are perhaps the least indispensable and of greatest use in everyday life. They are the chief source of normal meat supplies, all the year round milk and blood, the main source of women's and girls' clothing, they can live in the poorest areas (which are so plentiful in Turkanaland), and are the commonest forms of gifts and trade goods.

The Turkana are not just a "cattle people". Whatever the truth of the East African cattle complex it would be wrong to regard these people as purely and simply a cattle people. Economic and migrational patterns followed are based on all types of stock, whose needs and uses are combined into a single pattern of which the cattle are but one part. Always for the greater part of the year, and sometimes for periods of two years or more, many people live in the plains away from cattle and scarcely rely on cattle products, depending on camels, goats and sheep.

- (1) MASAI - humans in Kenya territory 50,000
cattle 700,000 - "Native Affairs Report" 1946-7, p. 3
- (2) SAMBURU - humans 10 - 12,000
cattle 100 - 120,000
sheep and goats about 100,000 - - Bader: Memo. to Kenya Land Commission, 193
- (3) NUER - humans about 214,000
cattle roughly the same.

N.B. The Nuer cultivate millet and fish everywhere to provide an important addition to their diet.

- Evans-Pritchard, "The Nuer" 1940.

- (4) CYRENAICAN BEDOUIN (figures for 1911, before the Italian wars and colonisation)
- | | |
|----------|---------|
| - humans | 200,000 |
| - sheep | 713,000 |
| - goats | 546,300 |
| - camels | 83,300 |
| - cattle | 23,600 |
| - horses | 27,000 |
- Evans-Pritchard, "The Sanusi of Cyrenaica", 1949.

N.B. "Barley and some wheat are a staple food" of the Bedouin (p. 37)

None of these figures are more than rough estimates, and are only intended for a general comparison.

x I follow the Turkana in classifying sheep and goats under one head, since in most ways they are the same in needs and uses; Turkana usually call them all goats - 'ngakine'.

I have lived with people in the plains where cattle cannot live for most of the year, and have seldom heard cattle mentioned, although most of the families had cattle on the mountains. During the early days of my field-work (which happened to be in the plains) I thought that there were large numbers of men who had no cattle, so few signs of them did I encounter. I cannot, for instance, say, as does Evans-Pritchard of the Nilotic Nuer, that the chief topic of conversation and interest is cattle, even in the cattle-homesteads. The usual topics of conversation are dancing, ornaments and parochial gossip of neighbours. When I introduce cattle into the conversation it seldom produces the emotional interest that mention of dancing, girls or feasts does. This is not to say that at certain times there is not intense interest and heightened emotions concerning cattle as will be seen in what follows, concerning the non-economic values of stock.

The Dance-Ox

First I give a description of a purely cattle institution. Everyday dances are usually ox-dances, where the men in turn imitate their own favourite oxen in an individual display to the women and girls, who themselves represent cows. There is a considerable repertory of ox-songs which everyone knows, beginning to learn them as soon as they can talk. Every man has at least one dance-ox from the time he is about sixteen (i.e. just before initiation). A dance-ox is distinguished from other oxen by at least a leather collar round its neck, and usually an iron bell attached. Horns are worked into curved shapes according to the fancies of the owner. Fashioning is done by beating the growing horns with a large stone, whilst the owner's friends hold the animal down. There are two other forms of decoration, though not so universal. One is branded striped patterns over the hump and shoulders. The other is the nicking of the outer edges of the animal's ears after some feat of bravery by the owner, e.g. killing a man, or some dangerous wild beast (lion, leopard, buffalo, rhinoceros, elephant).

Each ox has an individual name after some outstanding feature of horns, colour or hump. And by this name the owner is known to his age-mates. To them only is he "father of so-and-so" (e.g. 'apa lomeri' i.e. "father of the spotted ox"; or more often just "the spotted ox") and to a certain extent the ox is as his son. It is a matter of pride to watch the animal develop, and of concern for its well being. Yet it would be a mistake to over-emphasize this. One seldom sees a dance-ox getting special attention, care or grooming, nor is it singled out for special graze or watering. It is not paraded round the camp or the grazing grounds as is common among some of the Nilotes. But usually they are the best animals in the herd from point of view of size, fatness and general health. For such potential qualities it is first chosen.

There is a song for every type of worked horns and for all the more usual colour combinations. The following is an example:-

' O ngerisia, lomerrri, ngimerrrie, aite ka nadong'
' Oh the Leopard-like, the spotted ox, the spots, cow of the dance.'

When there is no conventional song it is not a matter of much difficulty to create one. As it can be seen they are very simple and the effect is in the choral repetition with music. The owner, arms above his head like the horns of his ox, dances in a circle of men one side and women and girls on the other. He advances from the ranks of the men, takes a stance fully erect, sings the song a few times, and then dances by jumping into the air with erect body, only the knees bending, head tossing to imitate the fierceness of his ox^{xx}. Men accompany with a low chant of the same song, clapping their hands rhythmically. Women sing it in a high treble, advancing and retreating to and from the individual dancer. The whole effect

x Coupled no doubt with the disinclination of early informants to tell me where their cattle were.

xx In actual fact Turkana oxen are not very fierce, but men like to think they are.

is from the rhythmic clapping and jumping and the constant repetition of the short song. There are no musical instruments. Changing from man to man, song to song, this goes on in the evenings for several hours.^x It seems that the intense emotional excitement is a product of the dance though rather than of the dance-ox.

Dance-oxen are not normally killed for meat, but at the insistence of the owner's age-set accompanying by a conventional begging song and dance (which may take all day to achieve its end) the animal may be speared purely for eating. It would primarily be an age-set feast, but others would come to it when the meat was ready to eat. This is part of the corporative activities of the age-set in the wet season. It is invariably carried out at the owner's instigation when the dance-ox is ageing and past its prime, for it is wrong for a dance-ox to die of old age. The man's age-set must kill it and make a feast. I can obtain no explanation of this, but it may possibly be the result of some mystic relation between the animal and the owner. In any event the owner himself must never be the one to spear the ox. It is driven out of the kraal by the age-mates and speared by one of them, who afterwards keeps the skin, and also the spear given him by the owner for the killing. I have not seen this happen in Turkanaland^{xx}, but several informants have told me that whilst the ox is being skinned and cooked there is group dancing^{xxx}, and some of the men fight invisible foes with spears and shields. One man suggested that they would be fighting evil spirits, but could not say what or why. No special behaviour is enjoined on the owner. If the ox is getting old he is glad to see it die before it dies of old age and maybe brings undefined bad fortune on him or his family. If it is not old he will be reluctant to see it go obviously. It will usually be by far the best beast in the herds, which he has chosen, looked after, decorated and watched grow to maturity, and with which there may be some mystic attachment. Yet he is well aware that he must give in ultimately to his begging age-mates. His reluctance, that is, is partly very real and also partly conventional as it would not be manly to give in too quickly. It might indicate cowardice^{xxxx}.

The avoidance of any stigma of cowardice is clearly shown in the event of the loss (death or capture) at the hands of enemy raiders or thieves^{xxxxx}. Upon discovery of his loss a man must immediately take action to recapture it or to kill the enemy in vengeance^{xxxxxx}. The most admirable thing to do is to rush off alone or with a few friends, impetuously, and follow the enemies' tracks, and avenge himself or die in the attempt. For several reasons, the temporary absence of the owner,

^x About every other evening in the wet season; less often in the dry season cattle camps seldom if at all in the neighbourhoods where there are no cattle.

^{xx} I witnessed such an affair among the closely related Ngijie of Uganda where the same thing occurred.

^{xxx} 'Akimumwar' - group dancing, as distinct from 'edonga', the other type of dancing described above.

^{xxxx} I failed to enquire how it was determined whose dance-ox should provide a feast, when, or how often one man had to surrender his ox before it was old. I doubt if there is any formal organisation.

^{xxxxxx} Thieves would hesitate to steal such an easily recognisable animal as a dance-ox.

^{xxxxxxx} 'atachi ngeth' - he frees himself.

injury in the fighting or even mere prudence, the man may first instigate a full-scale retaliatory raid. Anyway he must take immediate steps to avenge himself or he will be branded as a coward. In cases where the ox cannot be recovered my evidence is conflicting. Some say that thereafter he is oxless for the rest of his life and is henceforth known as "father of.... (his eldest son)"; others say that he can take a new ox. Since such losses these days must be very rare with the end of raiding, it is difficult to check.

In the days of raiding, I am told, a man went into the fray calling his ox's name; and cowards were spurred on by jibes about their oxen.

If an ox dies from natural causes (disease, starvation, injury) no special action is required and no discredit attaches to the owner. Only women may eat the meat then. A new dance-ox can be taken immediately, whether death is by natural causes, or by slaughter.

Whatever the cause of the need for a new ox the preferred method is to watch the herds of certain people until he sees a young ox that he fancies. These are the herds of near kinsmen, in-laws, etc.,. The criteria of choice are colour of hide and potential size. Different men have different fancies of colour but all men want their ox to be the biggest of their herd, with large bones, large hump and plenty of meat. The fancied animal must be begged from its owner, a process that may go on for several weeks, since the owner will be loth to lose a good animal and anyway he must not give too quickly over such a valuable thing. Final refusal is seldom. Sooner or later, depending on the personalities involved and the closeness of the relations of the two men, and also on the possibility of the need for return help, the request is granted. Sometimes a man picks an animal out of his own herds, one which he prefers to any other, and simply puts a new collar round its neck and attaches a bell. The more wealthy and also older men prefer this as it is less trouble and creates no new obligations to others. Older men (for men have a dance-ox to the end of their lives) have more than one ox at a time, and will therefore merely promote a lesser one to the vacant place of "the big ox", ('emong larpulan'). The wealthiest man I know who has over 130 cattle, has four dance-oxen, but my observations indicate that this is unusual. Many have two or three.

One feature should be emphasized. Many men over about 30 - 35 years old may not live with their cattle in the dry seasons and may not therefore see their dance-oxen very much. This no doubt lessens the importance of the ox to the older men, and concentrates it on the young men. In a wet season most men are living with their dance-oxen at those times when it is perhaps the most important.

In connection with all this I must point out that I have not seen most of the activities here described due to the poor wet season in 1949. In some cases lack of personal observation would be less unfortunate, but here it is bound to make my descriptions less complete and less in keeping with Turkana attitudes. My information here has been mainly gathered in conversation with the people, cold-bloodedly as it were. But the great emotional difference between a Turkana talking about something and when he is actually engaged in that activity is very noticeable. Thus I can well imagine that in the case of spearing and eating an ox, or in its loss by enemy action, Turkana would reach a pitch of excitement when the whole value of the institution would change its perspective. At least this has been my experience in other matters, e.g. the difference between a man walking along with me telling about a dance to be held that night, and when later he is actually dancing his ox-dance. The whole institution is full of potentialities for thoroughly arousing men, coupled as it is directly with age-sets, dancing and raiding.

I have given an account of it here because it is a factor in emotional life reacting on several aspects of social life. It is almost restricted to cattle and is something of an index of the special interest of the people in cattle. A he-goat is sometimes decorated with collar, bell and brand-designs, and there are dance songs about such goats. But although the natives say that it is like a dance-ox, it is uncommon, not found with wealthy men, and is not capable of arousing such intense activity.

Other non-economic values of stock

I now shall examine other non-economic aspects of stock, endeavouring to show the kinds of values attributed to each type.

Firstly there are payments between men other than for trade, e.g. bride-wealth, compensation for crimes, fines for fathering an illegitimate child, gifts on certain social occasions (e.g. at initiation, to a diviner, to a daughter on first pregnancy and child, to a son on setting up his first independent homestead etc.). In every one of these cases all types of stock are involved, though perhaps as a general principle cattle are primarily involved, in major transactions. But any transaction, almost, would be incomplete if there were only cattle. To change a phrase, man cannot live on cattle alone. Also it is a universal principle that in all such transactions a man pays in proportion to his wealth. Thus for a man to pay in cattle only would be to penalise his holdings of cattle and ignore his wealth in other types of stock. On the other hand if one asks a Turkana about major payments, or when they discuss it among themselves, the payments are always thought of in cattle first. When I ask a man how many stock he pays for his wife he invariably says so many cattle, and only gives the numbers of the others in reply to specific questions. Or the automatic reply to the question, "How many stock does a man pay in compensation for murder?" is, "50 cattle, perhaps 100". Although it is recognised that some men, perhaps the majority, are quite incapable of paying more than a few head of cattle but could pay heavily in camels or sheep and goats. And no man forgets to demand his rightful share of those types of stock however many cattle he gets besides. Cattle therefore are something of a criterion of wealth but there is no fixed ratio of values as between the types. If there is no deliberate qualification a "rich man" is rich in cattle, but the word "rich" actually derives from their word for stock ('ngebarin' - stock: 'erkabarin' - wealthy). Goats and sheep alone in whatever numbers would not be conceived by the Turkana as making a man wealthy. He would be too handicapped in non-economic matters and would doubtless set about exchanging some of them for cattle or camels. But a man who had no sheep and goats would also be very handicapped.

In the magico-medical and magico-religious fields there is little differentiation in the uses of types of stock as agents. In most cases any type of animal will do, although because of the greater wrench in letting go an ox or camel there is perhaps a tendency to feel that these are more efficacious. Processes in the mystical field usually involve the slaughter of animals. Whether an illness is to be averted or cured, rain induced, crops stimulated, purification obtained, witchcraft or sorcery made ineffective or the perpetrator cured, barrenness or sterility cured, the prime mover is the High God who, via the diviner ('imuron'), orders a certain animal to be speared or to be killed by the slitting open of their stomachs. All my information agrees that any type of stock may be so demanded. It is the High God's order not dependent on any scale of the efficacy of types in relation to the seriousness of the process in hand. I have known different types of stock used in the same process where no other particular was different. Even where the High God's specific instructions are not sought there appears to be little inclination to use cattle or camels for the more serious cases and goats and sheep for the less serious. I have been told of anti-witchcraft processes where a goat has been used. Purification for adultery is always with an ox, but so is purification for rape. Yet the compensation for the former offence is only equalled by that for murder, whereas there is no other compensation for rape other than the provision of the purification ox. Of course it is extremely difficult to be sure that one's evidence is complete here and that one is not reading one's own categories into their activities. But I may say that if I expected anything it was to find stock graded in importance in these very serious processes.

One vital part of initiation is the spearing of a male animal by each initiate. But it can be any of the four types, and no question of status involved. Age-sets are called, among other things, by the names of oxen, sheep and goats^x with no special intrinsic meaning.

x I do not know of a camel's name being used for the name of an

"Linguistic profusion in a particular department of life is one of the signs by which one judges the direction and strength of a people's interests"^{xx}. The general direction and strength of Turkana interests are, I believe, quite obviously in stock, both by this or any other criteria. But it may be pointed out that Turkana linguistic profusion as regards colours and the shapes of horns is not limited to cattle only. The same terms and combinations of terms^{xx} are applicable to all stock, although naturally the terminology for horns is mainly used for oxen whose horns are specially worked. But I have heard both goat-bucks' and rams' horns discussed in the same terms, and it is possible that goats' horns may sometimes be worked like those of oxen. Otherwise the great range of combinations of terms are completely applicable to all the types of stock. It may be added that the Turkana have refined their use of these terms so much that they are capable of distinguishing between every kind of animal even where the differences of colour and markings etc., are so slight that to the European they seemed to be the same. This is the more outstanding since the Turkana language is not normally notable for its precision of meaning. To a Turkana domestic stock are as easily distinguishable from one another as are human beings. A man, his wives and sons and daughters will know not only his stock individually and be able to pick them out at a crowded water-hole or at a long distance when they are no more than a blur to me; they will not only know every one of over a hundred goats and sheep, and camels also; but they will know all of those of many of their neighbours as well, and probably of nearer kinsmen. It is a completely bewildering feature to a European. Any one who has seen African sheep will know how few basic colour markings there are. Yet more than once I have seen a man pick out a lone sheep from his flock of a hundred or more (often many more) and say, "This sheep belongs to so-and-so", and then send it off to its rightful homestead. I have often watched people in the evenings checking up on the return of the stock to the homesteads, not by counting heads, but by making sure that each one is there and that there are no strangers.

This is perhaps the most outstanding demonstration of the place of stock in the lives of the Turkana. It is the result of being brought up from birth, and spending the whole of their lives in activities connected with pastoralism. I shall describe much of this in a later chapter, but brief mention of the theme of stock in the development of the family will serve to round off this short survey of the non-economic values of stock. They are not just a means of livelihood, nor even only a necessary part of the mechanism of ritual and mystic affairs. They are the very stuff of life to all the people, involved in their labour, happiness, worry and disasters. As a person grows up and develops and passes through the stages of individual life he is accompanied at every stage by stock - at first his father's, later his own. As soon as he is able a boy begins to herd his father's stock and to learn the traditional knowledge of husbandry. Girls learn to water, milk, skin and cut up carcasses and cook the meat and work the skins. Movements of the family, its temporary sub-divisions and later rejoinings, in all of which the children are involved from the beginning, are directly dependent on the requirements of the stock as well appreciated by all the people. The first stage in the independence of the son is when he takes charge of some herd of his father's as head of one of the family homesteads. Initiation and marriage are both important stock occasions, and also on marriage both sons and daughters are given a portion of stock to help start off their new families. Finally there is the setting up of a man's own herds and homesteads as his own independent stock units, culminating in the share in inheritance of his father's herds. Constant reminders, if any were needed, of the importance of stock come in the shape of the sorts of features we have already mentioned - compensation, magico-religious affairs, dance-oxen and dances in general etc., not to mention the very real aesthetic pleasure that a man gets out of his herds. The herds form a continuum in the development of the family. They are only one thread of development but the most important one, since as I shall attempt to show later, family relations tend to follow rights in stock. Where rights diminish there also kinship relations fade; where stock rights disappear there also kinship relations are forgotten. As one man said to me, a man does not own stock, the family does.

x "The Nuer". E. E. Evans-Pritchard, p.41.

xx See Appendix No.2.

Economic values of stock

Turning now to the economic aspect of stock it can be seen that here too they are no less important to the people. Milk is the chief staple of their diet. Turkana reckon prosperity - either over the seasonal cycle, or as between families - on the plentifulness of milk. "We do not initiate in the dry season because there is no food, there is no milk", they say. In the rather poor wet season of 1949 I was more than once told that "there will be no marriages this season, there is no milk." It is an over-exaggeration, but it contains a strong element of truth. Milk is at times almost interchangeable with the word, food. If there is plenty of milk then there is plenty of food. This is not only, of course, because people feel well fed when they have had sufficient to drink of milk, but also because if there is enough milk then there will be also plenty of other foods.

Although the men always mention size as the prime criterion of good animals, if one probes deeper it is always good milking qualities they desire in females, and uncastrated serving males are invariably chosen on their dams' milking records. The ideal herd is one of good milkers. When food is scarce it is the poor milkers which are killed off first if killing be necessary. Even starvation will not compel the killing off of good milkers.

Cattle are milked twice daily - either before sunset or at about 9.a.m. (according to the distance of the homestead from the pastures) and again in the evenings when they return from grazing. Only girls and women should milk, though occasionally there are camps where there are only youths, who will have to milk for themselves^{xx}. Very occasionally a thirsty man will milk enough to quench his thirst. Photos of other people showing men milking were greeted with humorous amazement. A very rough estimate would put the yield of a cow at about four or five pints in the best seasons down to less than a pint in the worst times. Cows differ of course and it is difficult to measure since cows are never milked dry. Some is always left for the calves. Like all African milk it has a very high fat content.

Goats and sheep are also milked twice daily, but they tend to be neglected if they are in the same homestead as the cattle. In the dry season homesteads in the plains they are however the main suppliers of milk when there are no cattle there. Often thirsty women and children drink straight from the udder. Daily yield will be rather less than a pint down to less than half a pint in the worst times. From the point of view of milk there is no difference between goats and sheep, but there is one important difference. Goats are catholic feeders. Browse and graze are all the same to them. They flourish everywhere in Turkana land, though predominating in the poor parts where other stock find difficulty in thriving. Sheep, although they can, and for long periods must, live on browse, prefer graze and do better on it. Turkana recognise this and whenever possible put the sheep with the cattle. Goats are hardy and live well in the poorer areas. Those sheep, and there are many, who live with them do less well, are thin and poor looking, and give less milk and meat. Thus the goat enables the Turkana to take advantage of almost all their country with a supply of milk.

Camels are regarded as a kind of cattle which can live in grassless areas. The tribe is the only one of the Turkana-speaking group who possess camels. There is a story of their arrival into Turkana land without camels

-
- x There are no ritual, taboos or special customs associated with milk. In Turkana land I cannot support Seligman, who wrote of Nilotic Sudan about "the sacred or uncommon character of milk" (J.R.A.1.1913, p.656).
- xx An uncommon occurrence since females must usually be present in order to water and cook and build.

also and that they were obtained in raids to the east upon the Rendile, Boran and Somali. When the British first arrived such raids were still going on so that the general account is probably true. Since they are a relatively recent addition to the economy no special techniques have been evolved for their use. They are used for neither pack nor riding purposes. The camel browses on thorn and other bush which is plentiful everywhere even in the driest parts; but it does not like the rough going nor the thick low forest of the mountains, and therefore is ideally suited to the plains. So it is a kind of cow which lives where ordinary cows cannot. Its milk, meat, and blood, and to a lesser extent its skin is used in the same way as are cows'. Differences in taste are recognised and a few will not eat its meat. In non-economic transactions it is equal to a cow, but since in most areas there are relatively few camels there are usually less in a payment of bride-wealth, for instance, than there are cattle. In areas where camels predominate I have found that the reverse is the case. In the more westerly parts of Turkanaland, farther from the original source of supply, but more importantly in the better areas for cattle, there are relatively few camels. Herds over ten are unusual. In the dry central areas, especially bordering Lake Rudolf, cattle can seldom live^x whereas the camel does fairly well. Without leaving the plains and the lower hills, and therefore with shorter migrational movements, camels live comfortably. They are less troubled by water shortages too, and can be kept longer distances from permanent water points. The camel has not however the quality of arousing the emotional interest of people as the ox has. It has no horns nor a glossy skin nor strikingly coloured skins (a dull-coloured single tone of brown, grey or off-white). Thus even the wealthiest camel owner tries to keep a few cattle, even in a distant mountain area, which he can visit occasionally, and which will in better seasons be brought as near the camels in the plains as is possible. Amongst them will be his dance-ox for there is no emotional cult connected with camels. This may help to explain the slow spread of the camel to areas where so far there are but few, but which would support many more. Most of Turkanaland is camel country, but more cattle are owned, and more universally. As far as milk is concerned the camel is superior to cattle in both daily supply and period of lactation, and even allowing for the longer period of gestation the camel gives more milk altogether. Camels are milked four or five times a day. Turkana tell me that a good camel can be milked as many as seven times in a day for periods. But usual times of milking are, early morning, midday, early evening and before going to sleep. Each milking gives one to one and a half pints. There is a slight difference from cow's milk but not enough to make any difference in drinking. Fat content is probably much the same. Because of the better supply of its milk the camel has an added advantage. Men attempt to assure their milk supply by having at least one milking camel in each homestead whatever other stock there is. Camel milk goes on to the end of the dry season when the supply of cow's milk is very low due to the poverty of grass. The supply of camel browse rarely gets as low as the supply of grass, whether in plain or mountain.

The milk of all types of stock can be drunk mixed, fresh or sour. They all go to the making of butter and oil, though that of sheep and goats less often because of its relative scarcity. The addition of camels' milk to that of cows is believed to improve the quality of butter and fat. Milk is poured into a gourd and suspended from the frame of the hut, and there churned by sharp shaking to make butter, the butter-milk being poured off and drunk. By boiling the butter it is clarified and made into oil which will keep for long periods without going rancid. All milk not drunk or allowed to go sour is thus churned. Both oil and butter are mixed and eaten with other foods or even on their own. Oil is highly prized by women for smearing on their bodies. It is also used as a preservative for wood and leather, and as a medicine. Most butter is made in the wet season as there is little milk to spare at other times. In the very best years the women make dried milk ('edodo'). This is done by boiling the milk for several hours, beating it up and spreading it out on hides to dry in the sun to make powder. It is stored in bags for the later dry season.

x In some areas cattle can never live at any time. The worst sandy or rock semi-desert areas are perennially devoid of grass.

An analysis of a sample taken by an administrative officer some time ago indicates that many of food values are retained in the powder. Later it is reconstituted with some liquid - water, blood or a stew of meat or berries.

Although milk is the prime food for everyone (the only other drinks are water and blood, there is no alcoholic drink known indigenously) in times of scarcity it is retained for the children. The use of dried milk is to provide extra milk for the children at those times. But usually men and women have a little. In poorer homesteads where there was only the meagre milk of goats and sheep in the dry season I have noted that adults do not drink it at all.

The second most important food product of stock is meat. It is difficult to give figures for the frequency of killings. It depends on the size of the herds, the amount of other foods available, and the number of homesteads in the neighbourhood with whom there is something of a communal meat exchange. This will be dealt with more fully in the chapter dealing with the neighbourhood and the community (Ch.11.) but it is unlikely that, apart from killings for special 'ad hoc' ritual, etc., purposes, a goat or sheep is killed in each homestead more than once in fifteen days, and an ox or camel less than once a month. Poorer people may kill no more frequently than once a month of any animal, and seldom kill a large animal at all. As one poor man said to me, "If we kill goats often, there will be none left!" He had only 100 altogether. Goats and sheep are the normal supplies of meat and a few are usually kept at homesteads where the main herds are cattle. Conversely occasionally a camel or ox may be brought down to the goat and sheep homestead. All animals are ultimately eaten for nothing is left whether it dies of old age or disease. It is meat. Even for death by anthrax which the Turkana tell me they know is bad to eat the meat, they tell me that they often do eat it. Food is not so plentiful that any is wasted, and Turkana can eat a very large amount given the chance. In the average homestead there is usually some meat about, for if that family has not killed recently the chances are that a neighbour has. And every portion of an animal is used up except those quite uneatable bits such as the gall-bladder, and a supply of meat is spun out for as long as possible with stews and soups augmented with other things. Meat is roasted or boiled, and the smaller pieces put into stews and soups. Some is cut into strips and dried. Several pounds of meat can be eaten at a sitting by men if possible when it is in good supply, but it is not usually disposed of uneconomically in this way. An ox or camel, apart from those portions distributed to neighbours and relatives, is food for up to a week. The fat from the humps of cattle and camels and from the tails of sheep is rendered down and stored and used in the same way as milk fats.

In common with many pastoralists the Turkana eat the blood of their animals. At times of slaughtering the blood is carefully drained off. At other times any type of animal may be blooded, of either sex. This is done by tying a thong round the beast's neck in order to make the veins stand out. An arrow is shot from a bow at a range of a few inches into a vein^x and as the blood spurts out it is collected into a wooden bowl. Cattle or camels give about four pints each in about five minutes, and as far as can be seen appear to be none the worse for it. Men tell me that they do not bleed an animal again for at least a month. But they are unlikely to want to do so more frequently since for the greater part of the year not very much bleeding is done as there is sufficient meat. It seems to seldom be done in the wet season. But there must be some milk about since blood cannot be eaten alone. Goats and sheep are also blooded (from a vein below the eye) almost as often as possible in the dry season homesteads. Blood is not a staple of diet but a useful addition when other foods fall off, and when an unexpected visitor arrives. It may be drunk warm with

x This is the only use that the Turkana make of the bow and arrow. Not every homestead possesses a set.

milk or left to congeal and eaten solid, or cooked with other food. By whipping it the coagulating agent can be removed if it is wished to retain it in the liquid form. It is food for all people.

In addition to these three food products there are other products, a list of which follows:- From the skins of cattle are made sleeping mats, roofing for night huts, sandals, thonging, feather holders, bead mounts, and the whole skins when dried are used for drying berries, fruits and milk, for winnowing grain; they go into the manufacture of shields and tobacco and snuff containers. Horns are made into tobacco and snuff containers; tails are used as prized dance decorations worn on the arm; urine is used to wash out certain vessels and a small quantity put into butter; in areas where wood is scarce (there are not many) dung is used as fuel. The stomach contents of all animals are ritual purificatory media. Camel skins are used for fat containers and the tops and bottoms of wooden pots for milk, for storage bags, scarecrows and thonging. Goat skins are used for women's and girls' clothing, thread and thonging, sleeping mats and roofing material, baby's slings, bags, shoulder capes and anklets for men; the bones are used for whippers, rattles and children's toys. Bits of skin, hair and bone are worn as charms in the hair or on the wrist. Beards of goat-bucks are made into head decoration for men. Sheep skins are mainly used for clothing. Donkey skins are mainly used in the making of donkey packs and for cordage.

This list is perhaps rather smaller than for some pastoralists, but the Turkana are blessed with a good supply of wood almost everywhere. Nevertheless it is an impressive list, containing many vital necessities of life, and shows the tremendous dependence of the people upon their stock.

The techniques of husbandry

This survey of the place of stock in the life of the people will be rounded off with a brief description of their techniques and knowledge of animal husbandry.

The Turkana are fortunate in living in a country which, unlike all its neighbours, has very little disease. Since the British came there are records of local epidemics, but I know of no large scale outbreak. The main stock losses are the result of weakness due to starvation diet in the poorer years i.e. lack of food, long distances to walk to both water and pastures, and the intense heat. This fact helps perhaps to explain the general lack of veterinary knowledge. If one asks for the names of diseases one may get a readier response than if one asks for the names of human diseases, but after the first three or four, people usually come to a halt. All the main East African diseases are known and named, and one can generally find people here and there who say that they have lost stock because of one or other of them at some time. But there are few medicines, and none that I know of for the main diseases. "We do not know medicines," I am told. I have asked what happens when diseases come. "The cattle just die. We do nothing. We do not know," one group of men told me. I have asked this sort of question many times and always get that kind of reply. That this is undoubtedly right is borne out by a modern tendency of the slow spread of certain diseases down the Turkwel river from Suk country, and below the western Escarpment from Uganda. From what I have heard in several conversations among the Turkana in several areas, it is certain that they feel rather hopeless about the situation and do not know what to do to combat it^x. Losses in the upper Turkwel/Malmalti area have been heavy in the early part of 1949, and have been the cause of much complaint by some natives who have been forced to move out of one of their most important pastures temporarily. In some cases no move was possible, as there was no alternative pasture to seek, in some men's opinion. The stock stayed on and many died. "We do not know what to do," is the comment given to me. All my informants agreed that these were new threats of relatively recent years, especially those from the south and the Suk.

x There is no veterinary or stock officer in Turkana land.

These spreading diseases are, as far as I can make out without expert knowledge, rinderpest ('lukio') and tripanomiasis ('edit' or 'ngichud') from Suk country, and tripanomiasis and blackquarter ('lokichuma' or 'lokipi') from Uganda. Other cattle diseases that are recognised are, pleuro-pneumonia ('lukwi'), tick-fever ('lopid'), anthrax ('eminukere'), and I have several untranslated names. There is some confusion due to the Turkana borrowing names from the land of origin of a disease. Thus for instance a man in the Oropoi in north-western Turkana land told me: "When we first came here (about 30-50 years ago) we did not know the name of their diseases (i.e. blackquarter) and we asked the Dodoth, from whose country it came. They told us that it was called 'lokipi' so we call it that. We have no other name."

So far the Turkana have escaped relatively lightly. There are the usual types of ailments and injuries, but here again medicines are few. I know of a medicine for eye trouble and for stomach trouble. Fat (the universal lotion for Turkana) is used for sores, foot-rot, etc. I have been unable to discover any others. The evil of ticks and pests are recognised and herdsmen pull them off the animals, and try to keep out of the known bad areas for wet season mosquitos. But the general dryness of the country appears to be against such things and disease in general. Even the mountains, isolated as they are by the expanses of semi-arid plains, are free. The ruination caused by the spread of rinderpest as it swept across East Africa towards the end of the nineteenth century, and brought famine and disaster to such pastoralists as the Karamajong, Masai and Bahima, appears to have left the Turkana relatively unharmed, according to both their own and Karamajong accounts. On the whole all types of stock are healthy, and Turkana techniques are seldom strained. This general position leads to a 'laissez faire' attitude and little of a complex knowledge of husbandry. Living continuously in the middle of groups of homesteads, watching stock going out and coming back day after day, I have been struck by the lackadaisical methods. Usually wild animals are relatively few and mainly night prowlers, lions, leopards and hyena, so that except in certain areas special care is not needed in the daytime. For instance, cattle go out in the very early morning and are put on the right path to their pastures, when the herdsmen and boys return to the homesteads for milk and a snack, following their charges later. During the day cattle move about and graze on their own, whilst herders gather in groups to amuse themselves, roaming around the locality, hunting wild animals, picking and eating berries, or just lazing under a tree. A herd can often be found with no humans in sight or sound. Occasionally someone returns to round up strays and make sure that the animals are still in the same locality. Towards the end of the day the cattle are put on the right route home and then herders hurry on ahead, whilst the animals take their own time and arrive back in groups of four or five over a period of perhaps an hour, even beyond sunset and darkness. It is not unknown for an ox to be out all night and to rejoin the herd next morning of its own volition. But this is not usual since in most parts of the country wild animals would make short work of such an isolated beast. So after about an hour after sunset a search would be made for any missing animal. But the herds get so used to the daily cycle that they manage very well without much supervision, and are content to graze without trouble. Again there is a familiar routine followed between homestead and water which the cattle keep, unherded for the most part. With both sheep and goats, and camels more care is called for. The Turkana say that camels will easily wander away and get quite lost ("They are stupid!") and therefore they must be more constantly watched and often rounded up and put on the right pasture again. Goats and sheep are similarly inclined to wander; and a constant theme of family quarrels is the loss of stock. Where wild animals are known to be prevalent more care is taken, and at nights in particular, the disposition of sleeping places of men and youths being such as to give maximum guard to the homestead. In the worst areas herdboys carry knobkerries and spears to defend their charges - even an uninitiated youth often taking a spear. But in general the work of herding is not arduous. For periods both men and beast fit into a regular routine that is followed without change or difficulty.

Heads of nuclear families seldom do much actual herding themselves, unless labour is short. They pass their days in lazing, chatting, visiting, doing odd jobs etc., and occasionally going off to the pastures

to keep an eye on the stock. The main herding work is done by boys and the younger men - sons, younger brothers, paternal cousins, sometimes the sons of poor men, and stockless men. The men usually attend the water point on days when their own stock are to be watered, and other days too very often, for such points are meeting places for everyone and focal centres for news and gossip.

Young animals are only let out after the main herds have got well clear of the homestead. They are not usually closely herded, but small boys get their first experience in herding with these animals. Or a wife or girl or even the man himself may go out from time to time to see that all is well and that the young have not strayed too far. Any infirm animals stay with these young. As the goats and sheep go out early in the morning, and later again for the young stock, women take long poles and shake certain types of the larger thorn trees to fetch down the pods (like a deflated pea-pod, and containing smaller seeds) for them. If the grass is distant from the homesteads women and girls sometimes fetch loads of grass for the younger calves. Occasionally leafage is brought for the younger camels. The young are always driven in before the main herds appear in the evenings in order to prevent un-controlled suckling. Animals are never milked until their young are released from the kraal, one at a time. A woman milks from one side and the young animal sucks from the other. And the young one is left to finish the supply of milk after the woman has finished. Unless the milk is not wanted^x young are always exorated from their dams at night.

Camels, in my experience, are never watered more frequently than once in three days, even when the water point is near and water is plentiful. The longest cycles I have met were once in five days, and these are interesting in showing how far the Turkana make use of their resources of vegetation. They occurred on a waterless mountain area of Cheptakenya (Loima) from which cattle were at that time precluded for that very reason. The distance between pastures must have been at least twenty miles including a descent of about 2,000 ft. The cycle was: 1st day, leave homestead early in the morning and walk to water all day, spending the night en route; 2nd day, reach the water (Lorusi Aliban) early in the morning, watering, rest, begin the return journey about midday, sleep en route; 3rd day, return to homestead, arriving about evening; 4th and 5th days, full days' browsing. This way, otherwise isolated lands were made use of at a great expense of energy for both animals and humans, although the camels would be able to browse on the journeys to some extent. The usual cycle is two days' full browsing and one day watering and browsing.

Whenever possible cattle are watered every day, even when this leaves only half of each day for grazing. But in the dry season it is unusual to be near enough to water for even that and men prefer to allow their cattle to have every other day in full grazing. The mountains are usually poorly off for permanent water. A trip to water usually means a descent of up to 1,000 ft. and a double journey of up to fifteen miles. But the cattle are never watered less frequently than every other day, but that will mean only one day in two for serious grazing in many instances. As far as I know the routine for goats and sheep is similar except that they, like camels, can always get some feed on the way to and from water. Turkana recognise the hardships entailed upon their herds and know that more water means better animals as well as more milk. Thus every effort is made to water them every day, but this is usually not possible, since distances are too great.

Turkana keep very few uncastrated male animals, for they realise that castrated stock grow more meat and are more easily dealt with. There is a rough average of one bull to about twenty cows, and the same with camels and goats and sheep. The wealthiest man I know with about 130 cattle has two working bulls and three young ones not yet serving. In the same

x i.e. the milk of goats and sheep when they share a homestead with cattle in the wet season.

neighbourhood I counted the following number of bulls:- a herd of 50 cattle, no working bull and one young one; a herd of 45 cattle, two bulls; a herd of twenty, two bulls; a herd of 35, five bulls. A flock of goats about fifty strong will seldom have more than two goat-bucks. Very often a man does not keep an uncastrated camel where he has only a few camels in all, preferring to borrow the services of a neighbour's or kinsman's when necessary. At any time if a man has not a serving male he can borrow one in this way. All other males are castrated by cutting with a spear. It is a man's job and all men can do it. There seem to be conflicting opinions as to when it should be done. Some men have told me in the wet season when there is plenty of food for the animals, so that they can recover the more quickly; others say that it is best to do it in the dry season, when there are fewer flies to trouble the beasts. It is not performed very early, possibly because the men wish to see how the young animal is going to turn out. Steers and camels are castrated at about eighteen months (three seasons) and goats and sheep at about six months (one season). The serving males retained are chosen principally on account of their mothers, i.e. whose dams are large and fat, good milkers and a high fat content to their milk, who are known to stand up to the rigours of the dry season well and have been desired by other people at such times as at the payment of bridewealth, etc. There is a definite notion of retaining good strains of stock and also in certain cases that I know, of introducing new strains by the introduction of new male stock. But the pedigree of the animals are not remembered beyond the sire and dam of an animal^x. A serving male is considered a very valuable animal, especially a bull. They vie with the dance-oxen for being the best in the herds. But there is no glamour attached to a bull. Its horns are usually stumpy, and in size it is not so large as the better oxen. It wears no collar nor a bell. I know of no songs or dances concerning bulls. Nevertheless a man is very loth to part with one of his serving males since they are, as he knows full well, the basis of his future herds. Such a male is only given in bridewealth if it is asked for, and as a very special favour. They are herded along with the rest of the herds and are able to serve the females unhindered. Consequently females have little time in between successive pregnancies and young are born almost at any time of the year. I have never heard the people say that any particular time is best although with the seasonal differences in pastures and water one might have expected something of that sort.

A parturient animal may be kept back at the homestead when it nears its time but quite often this is not done and the young is born mile away from the homestead and has to be carried back there by a herdsboy. It is typical of the Turkana's attitude to their stock that when I asked a fairly wealthy man if he gave any assistance to his cows when they were calving, and in difficulty, he replied, "Yes if I were near and it needs help. If it is in the night or I am away I do not bother. It does not matter." The new mother is rested a day or so before joining the main herd again. The young are suckled as long as there is milk, or until a new one is born. Uncontrolled suckling is rarely allowed^{xx} but no animal is ever milked without her young sucking at the same time. Young therefore are able to suckle twice a day except in the case of young camels. Young are put out to feed as soon as they are able to run with the other young ones.

The criteria of judgment of an animal are not very explicit. It is hard to say if this is really so, or if the people are too inarticulate to formulate their ideas. Men usually mention to me, size, fatness, good hide or skin, and for oxen in particular, good horns^{xxx}; a large hump in cattle and camels and large tails in sheep. Good milkers are always looked for in females. But in describing to me the handing over of stock at a

-
- x Cp. the brief genealogies remembered for humans also.
 xx Only donkey foals are allowed to run with their dams.
 xxx Every man has his own preferences in horns which will weight his judgement. The general principle is "curving horns are good, but straight horns are bad as they go out into the bush" i.e. curving horns of whatever type appeal, straight ones do not. There are sometimes preferences in skin colours also, but I seldom hear that so-and-so likes such and such a hide, whereas I am often told that a man always has such and such a shape of horns and thinks that they are best.

wedding where there may be dispute over the quality of them; the thing that is always mentioned is whether they are large and fat or if they are thin. There is no mention of very specific physical points. But of course any animal is worth having. Quantity of stock is an admirable thing, and a rich man has a lot of stock whatever their quality, and all are available for payments, all help fill the kraal and all gladden the heart of the owner. It would be wrong to over-emphasize this I think. Men are notoriously loth to take a poor animal in a transaction or gift, or to let one go in the same way. Good animals by their standards are objects of pride, prestige and aesthetic appreciation. From the point of view of meat and milk a man does appreciate the better animals and tries to get them. Men cannot afford to get rid of their worse stock but they will very certainly try to conserve their best, and the worst are killed off first when hunger comes. As a purely amateur judge, and with cursory comparison with other East African tribes, I should say that Turkana stock are of good standard, though suffering and looking badly at the height of the dry season. They have a very rapid recovery in the wet season that is quite remarkable.

Another cause of the lack of knowledge of husbandry is the lack of need to learn the difference between good and bad pastures other than in a most general way. Where pastures are concerned nothing eatable can be neglected in this poor country. The roughest grass must be taken by the cattle although there is tendency to leave the worst until the last. Turkana know large numbers of grasses and herbs and bushes by name, and can easily distinguish them for me, but they scarcely differentiate between them as good or bad feed. Animals are left to their own senses to know what is good, and what is not. There are very few poisonous grasses - two tall riverside grasses ('alonga' and 'eterowe'), and there is also a small poisonous shrub ('emeret'). In addition the berries of a tree ('akurukoite') are poisonous to camels. None of these grow anywhere in large quantities, and well known bad spots can be easily avoided. Otherwise herds are left to their own devices, and only the general directions of feeding are of human concern.

With some reason then, the Turkana develop few specific techniques of husbandry. They maintain rather a general supervision than organised control in any sphere. Europeans are usually struck by the lack of that feeling that might be expected of such full time herdspeople for their herds; and I have heard many unfavourable comparisons with such people as the Masai or Bahima or Nandi. My own experience can only support this. Veterinary knowledge is almost nil, methods of control a mixture of shouting and striking; to catch a cow several people chase it wildly round and hang on to its tail until the beast is exhausted. The hardships of the lives of the stock are not fully understood. Yet it is a hard country for both man and beast, and the Turkana can scarcely be expected to spare sorrows for their animals when they philosophically accept their own hardships. I do not think that I have ever seen a case of conscious cruelty or neglect, and I think that it is unlikely that cases occur more than very infrequently anywhere^x.

It is likely that there are more stock in these days of British administration, since the cessation of raiding, in which the Turkana though very successful, must have lost large numbers. There has also been an expansion of territory including some very valuable grasslands in the west and north. During the last few decades Turkanaland has undoubtedly suffered less from spreading diseases than most parts of East Africa. But always an exceptionally bad year may seriously diminish the herds by sheer starvation, perhaps as often as every other decade, but it depends on the run of the seasons, seems to be quickly made up again, and may prevent over-population of stock in the country. There is at the moment no really adequate way by which Turkana stock can be sold to the outside world. Distances are too great in the main, and the rise in altitude to the west and south seems to be deadly to Turkana-bred animals.

x It is important to note that there is a complete lack of magic and ritual in connection with Turkana pastoralism. Kraals are not doctored, nor the fertilities of animals increased etc., etc., as among some native pastoralists.

OTHER MEANS OF LIVELIHOODAgriculture

Agricultural work is left pretty well to women and girls, although in poorer families the older men help out. Almost every wife has her own garden at or near the wet season area of the family's herds. Due to the nature of the climate the areas of possible cultivation are necessarily very limited, and nowhere very extensive. They are always based on water courses where flood waters seep over the adjacent land to give natural irrigation. Since many Turkana water courses are flanked with sand or rocks even these areas are limited. But on most of the larger water courses gardens will be found at points here and there in the wet season, all over Turkanaland. Some water courses lend to this natural irrigation more than others and their water supply is more reliable e.g. those rising in the mountains and outside Turkanaland, so that the intensity of cultivation varies a good deal. The wives in a neighbourhood try as far as possible to work their gardens in a continuous strip, but very often there must be an acre or two in one place and a little more somewhere else and so on. From my own rough measurements an average of just under about half an acre of garden land is cultivated by each woman. The main crop is a kind of millet ('mumwa') and in some areas is the only crop. But gourds are fairly common, though not sufficient to satisfy Turkana needs as many are bartered from the Suk and Uganda tribes. The Turkana say that they do not know how to grow other things, e.g. tobacco, other varieties of millet, beans, maize etc., though they are well aware that their foreign neighbours grow them and they obtain them in barter. Where tobacco is concerned, I feel sure that were they able to grow it they would, so greatly is it prized. Some people have told me that it will not grow in their country, due to the heat and relative lack of rain. The growing season is also necessarily short and hazardous. In the Oropoi one man tried growing it some time ago but gave up after dismal failure.

Each wife has her own separate garden, and property rights lie in developed land only. Men and unmarried girls do not own their own gardens, but a concubine will. Gardens ('amana'; pl. 'Ngamanat') or co-wives are not necessarily in a single block though they often are. If a woman has marked out her garden, or fenced off a piece of land, or begun digging, etc., then no-one else may touch that land without her express permission. Even when after a time the land is abandoned temporarily another woman cannot use it as it stands fallow. It is the original owner's until she chooses to give or lend it to someone. In practice such rights will cover most of the land in a district that is cultivatable, but any temporarily unused parts will be readily lent to a woman who is without for some reason or other. Turkana notions of property are not developed enough for strong individual ownership in land or anything else. A request for garden land could scarcely be refused and no woman would wish to refuse it to a kinswoman or friend. One would not beg of an acquaintance, since there is always someone from whom one has the right to beg either in one's husband's or father's family and who owns land in the desired area, as near to the homestead as possible. Despite the general scarcity of land capable of bearing a crop there is no problem of land tenure since no woman has the time or energy to cultivate more than about half an acre of millet. I failed to enquire what happens when a woman dies, and who inherits her lands, if anyone. In some areas the arable areas are at some distance from the wet season homesteads and then women will build small camps and live near their gardens to dig and sow - a few remaining behind to weed and scare off birds and animals (mainly older women). This necessity of course depends on where the wet season centre is - a variable over the years, depending on the rains. Thus the same garden area might one year be very near to the homesteads and another be ten miles away. Again since garden lands are limited and not permanently fertile a move must be made to a new area every three to five years approximately, depending on the fertility, supply of water and water-carried silt or sand washed down the water course.

Invariably the Turkana, men and women, say that agriculture is women's work, but in the poorer families where greater dependence is laid on crops, and where there is a shortage of girls to help the women, older men will lend a hand, particularly when crops are nearing ripeness. A

garden is used concurrently for between three and five years. The measurement of declining fertility is by the decreasing size of crops. A move is made to a second plot then, and perhaps a third, before returning to the first one. But a failure of the gardens in one area may make the woman move the same season to another area and try another crop. A fence is built round the land by the joint labour of all the women concerned, and is repaired each year that the land is in use. Bush is cleared with knives or burnt down. Large trees are often left standing. The soil is broken up with a digging stick and seed sown. As the crop grows some weeding is done where tall grasses or thick undergrowth appear. But the main work after sowing is the scaring off of birds in the daytime and animals (monkeys and wild pigs) at night. To this end shelves of branches and leaves are built in trees or on platforms to give the occupier a view over her own and neighbouring plots. These are either given a little roofing or a small hut is built nearby where the women can sleep on the spot. This duty is mostly delegated to older women and female dependents of the family. There is often serious spoiling of the crops by birds and animals, and I feel that better fencing and more adequate repairs would do a lot to prevent this. The whole garden is not sown at one time, but after each spate of the river a portion is sown, i.e. the first sowing is in about April. This, say the Turkana, makes harvesting easier since the whole crop is not all ripe at the same time, and it also spreads out the growing season thus giving a better chance of at least some of the crop flourishing - for in most years some of it dies for lack of continuous water supply. Thus for instance, in the Oropoi valley in June, 1949, I saw millet at all stages between freshly sown and almost ripe. Harvesting is done by the women and girls, who cut off the heads with knives leaving the remainder for stock to eat^x. The crop is carried back to the homestead where it is threshed with flails and winnowed on cattle hides. The grain is stored in leather bags.

Grain is the sole property of each wife, who tills, harvests and threshes her own crop. The husband has no part in it though he will be fed from the store of each wife. No granaries are built. It would not be practical where a movement is always more or less imminent. And the total crop is scarcely large enough to warrant it anyway. The grain is stored in bags and kept in the night hut of each woman. Some is set aside for seed for the next year and despite the normal acute shortage of food at the end of the dry season this is surprisingly seldom touched. If however, as sometimes happens, seed is eaten in the dire extremity of hunger or even sheer improvidence^{xx}, or if the first sowings fail, a woman will beg seed of one of her kinswomen. Or her husband may be able to buy some from neighbouring tribesfolk.

Besides the actual work of gardening the entire process is left in the hands of the women - when to dig and sow, what weeding is necessary, and when to harvest. Decisions to move to a new area are also the entire responsibility of a woman, though since usually a number of women cultivate together such decisions are probably the result of general opinion. Cultivation is always something of a gamble depending entirely on the times and amounts of rains, and the flooding of the water courses. These do not necessarily coincide since often the flood water comes from another area, often outside Turkanaland altogether. Or a too large flood may wash crops away, or deposit a layer of sand over the whole garden area. This is philosophically regarded as an act of nature about which nothing can be done. Every year there is a fresh start in the gardens in the same optimistic spirit, though I think that losses must be heavy. Gardens must be dug near the water courses in order to get a sufficient supply of water at all, but there is little or no conception of digging irrigation channels or dams or the

x There is very little magic or ritual attached to gardening. A crop which fails to grow well whilst others prosper is treated by sacrificing a goat and throwing its stomach contents over the garden, calling on the High God to help.

xx No especial stigma attaches to a woman who loses her seed in this way. Life and people are like that, is the attitude taken up.

conservation of water. Fertiliser is not used nor is any method known to combat poor or diseased growth.

I can give no estimate of yields, but it is certainly not enough to supply the cereal needs of the people. The whole supply may be practically consumed in the July/August period of great social activity and feasting. Unless it is possible to buy grain in neighbouring tribal areas little or no grain is to be seen in the latter half of the dry season. Wherever possible Turkana do buy this way, a tendency which has been increased in recent years by the sale of maize meal in the Indian stores. Again I can give no estimate as to how much is so bought (bartered). Turkana do not despise agricultural activities, and would grow more if they could. Envy is often expressed about their neighbours who can grow more and whose stocks last longer. They like cereal food and acknowledge its value in supplementing their animal food diet. Even the most wealthy families grow as much as possible and buy as much as possible. The maize meal of the stores has been widely welcomed. Only those few people that they know who are solely agriculturists and own no cattle, are looked down upon, e.g. some of the Suk, the Teuth. Such people have no milk, and little meat and are forced to hunt wild animals. Thus it is not agricultural activities as such that are looked down upon, but the absence of stock. The ideal way of life would be like that of the three Uganda tribes of the Turkana-speaking group to the west on higher land where "they have stock like us", and grow a lot of cereals and tobacco and gourds.^x Even in the best of wet seasons when milk abounds and plenty of animals are being slaughtered, cereals are always desired as completing a really good diet. They say, "We initiate when there is a lot of food - milk, meat, and millet."

This is the general picture in Turkanaland, but there are two exceptions where there are relatively stable populations and gardens. These are the Ngebotok of the upper Turkwel, and the people living at the deltas of the Kerio and Turkwel at Lake Rudolf. The Ngebotok are traditionally supposed to have lost all their stock a long time ago, and by necessity taken to agriculture. Due to a high rainfall consequent upon the influence of the Suk Mt., and a four to eight months permanent flow of the Turkwel in force, gardens here are more reliable and productive. In addition to millet there is some beans, and maize grown. I have not visited the country yet but am told that homesteads are more permanent and stock fewer. Part is tsetse ridden and cannot support stock. These people grow sufficient millet to be able to carry on a large barter trade with other Turkana for sheep, goats, and even cattle. Whatever their past history the people are probably much better off for stock than the average Turkana thinks, especially since adjoining their country is some of the best grassland in Turkanaland. No more than 4,000 people are involved according to tax returns. Because of this difference and close affinities with the nearby Suk^{xxx} they are to a certain extent cut off from the rest of the Turkana.

The Lake Rudolf cultivators are less different from the rest of the Turkana and form no distinct section of society. They take advantage of the annual rise of the lake due to the flood waters from the Ethiopian Highlands plus, no doubt, a good deal of seepage water from the west, which irrigates the littoral. This is cultivatable by about December as the lake level falls. Besides the main deltas there is also some similar cultivation at local points.^{xxx} But except for the chronically pauper population settled at the north-east end of the lake and at Ferguson's Gulf by the Administration, all the people are also stock owners, if, because of the nature of their country (about the worst in all Turkanaland), poor ones. They do not live

-
- x No figures are available concerning the actual production of these tribes, but I believe that their cereals last almost the whole of the dry season, with a margin to spare for barter with the Turkana.
- xx E.g. in language; and there are reports that circumcision is practised.
- xxx Namuruputh and the edge of the Om Delta, Ferguson's Gulf, between the deltas.

wholly at the lake since they must follow the needs of their stock, and men are noticeably few in the garden areas. But with the normal wet season crop and the lake flood-plain crop they manage to produce more than the average amount of millet. At the two deltas where the fertility of the land is no doubt increased by deposits of sediment brought down by these huge rivers, the people manage to produce a surplus which they barter for goats, etc. with local Turkana at the end of the dry season (i.e. the first crop) which at that time tends to fetch a fairly high price. Apart from the Lodwar and Lokichar stores they have a monopoly in grain trade in this part of central Turkana land. It is impossible to say how many people are involved in these areas as both their number and the yield varies from year to year.

Fishing

Fishing plays a small part in the total Turkana economy as it is only possible at certain points on Lake Rudolf. Apart from the two Administrative settlements there are no permanent fisher-folk. All are stock owners who take advantage of the seasonal gluts of fish to augment their diet. Fishing is usually worked in with the scattered agriculture along the shores of the lake in the first half of the year. There are no boats or lines, though an occasional clumsy raft may be used. The usual method is for a large number of young men to go out at dawn, and form a wide semi-circle facing the shore about fifty to a hundred yards out, where it is shallow. They gradually walk towards the shore. A man carries a conical wicker basket made of palm strands and leaves, almost three feet in diameter at the base, the open end. This is plunged into the water at about every other step forward, and if a fish is caught (possibly at twenty plunges per fish) it is caught in the hand through a small flap in the side of the basket and secured on a stick at the top. The whole semi-circle gradually moves forward until it reaches the shore, attempting to drive all the fish before it. At other times the men fish in ones and twos with these baskets. At nights a few men sometimes go out with flares and spear fish.

Fish is eaten roasted or boiled, whatever type is caught. Some is dried in the sun for storage. There is no trade with other Turkana who scorn the eating of fish. Today some small trade is carried on with the Lodwar stores.

Hunting

The Turkana are not keen hunters, preferring the meat of their own herds. Game is not very plentiful anyway,^x and as far as I know wild birds are not eaten. The word hunter ('egulokit': pl. 'ngulok') is almost synonymous with that for a poor man ('erkeboton'). "Gazelle are the herds of the poor man," one man told me. Even where gazelle are plentiful there is little or no desire to hunt them. There are indications that there was more game fifty or more years ago, and there may have been more hunting then, but it is not likely. Turkana will not refuse game meat, except lion, leopard, zebra and hyena. Lion, leopard and hyena skins are favoured by older men for clothing and also at special occasions of big dances. Wives in certain parts of the country are supposed to wear only gazelle skins for their skirts, but this is not always followed. All women like gazelle skin cloaks. The horns of bucks are sometimes used for leather needles and for tobacco horns.

x Grant's gazelle are the most common game, pairs and herds of up to twenty can be found almost anywhere. Hares and dikdik are also more or less everywhere. In the mountains are greater and lesser kudu, oryx, and other gazelles; elephant and buffalo on Naminit (Loima), upper Turkwel and Taposa borderlands. Lions and also zebra are in all the larger mountain areas; scattered giraffe in the plains; wart hogs and hippopotamus and crocodile in the Lake. There are also from time to time, wanderers from Suk country and Uganda. Wild fowl are very dense on the Lake, and elsewhere there are numbers of guinea fowl, partridges and spurfowl, as well as a large variety of carrion birds.

On the upper Turkwel there used to be a good deal of elephant hunting by the Ngebotok as both Swahili and Abyssinian traders came to hunt and to buy ivory in large quantities up to the time of the British conquest of the country. Such hunting is now illegal. Elephants were caught, like other animals, by means of the "wheel trap", and occasionally by spearing them from the heights of a tree. Apart from its value as a trading good, ivory was greatly valued as lip and ear ornaments. The hippopotamus was also formerly hunted, and is now also protected. The find of one of their corpses is still a great event, and the hide prized for whips and shields. Ostriches are rare nowadays in Turkanaland, yet of all the Turkana-speaking group, the Turkana themselves are most keen on feathers and especially egg shell. Today all this has to be bought from either the Uganda tribes or from the Indian stores.

In pre-British days when there was both much more game and raiding a principal occupation, it seems that age-sets, or parts of them, at times roamed round the country hunting wild game for excitement, prestige and test, and to keep up the skill in fighting. The autobiography of headman Lonyamon, collected by Mr. Shackleton, is full of this sort of adventure. This is not carried on in the present day. Hunting plays little part in the economy of the people and forms a negligible part of the food supply. Even in the hungriest times I have never heard of hunting expeditions being organised.

Gathering

In Appendix No.3 is given as complete a list as I have been able to compile, of the known edible berries, fruit and nuts in Turkanaland. It will be seen that there are a large number that form a main food, eaten alone or mixed with some other food. Also it should be noted that a majority of these are not only found in the plains, but are gathered in the dry season, i.e., the place and time when other foods are most short. Some of the wet season varieties are such that they can be stored for the dry season and hungrier times.

Gathering is the work of women and girls, and most mornings in the dry season they will be seen going out to gather food for the day's meals. Most of the useful trees and bushes grow almost everywhere, so that wherever the homesteads are there is a supply to hand. There are no attempts to improve the numbers or growth of trees. A common sight at a water-hole is a crowd of women and girls cooking berries at that place where the supply of water is most plentiful. Of special mention are three varieties which grow in the wet season. For days on end I have watched the women collecting these sorts, treating them and storing them for the coming dry season. One family was at the time dealing with 'erpat' berries (*terminalia spinosa*). They were beaten, dried and ground up until the resultant substance looked not unlike mealie meal. I reckon that about 200 lbs. of this was stored away by each of the three wives with the help of about four or five girls. The importance of this as an addition to their dry season diet must be great.

Diet

The often repeated words of Europeans that the Turkana live on meat, milk and blood alone almost, is not true. Milk is the staple food and large quantities are drunk every day in the wet season, whilst it is a first priority in the dry season as long as it lasts. But there is no doubt that the milk supply is by no means sufficient all the year round even for the older children. Even by the middle of the dry season many homesteads are practically without milk. Large quantities of milk are churned into butter and fat which is eaten alone or with cereals or berries. Oil can be stored for some time, but like other foods it is mainly eaten rapidly whilst it lasts. The consumption of meat varies a good deal according to the size of herds. At the end of the dry season the Turkana are unwilling to kill for they say, "the animals are thin, and there is no fat in the humps and tails!" In most homesteads of whatever size above the very smallest there is usually some meat for it is made to last as long as possible with stews and soups. Larger neighbourhoods have a more evenly spread out meat supply as there are more families sharing together. Where the population is thinly spread out there are longer gaps between killings. At these times many poor families have a goat or sheep no more often than

once in a month, and their supply of milk is correspondingly low.

Both meat and milk fall off very heavily towards the end of the dry season when even the best milch cow gives little milk and fewer young are born. Whilst little blood is eaten in the wet season more tends to be eaten in the dry, but here again there is a falling off at the end of the dry season when the stock are in a bad way for lack of sufficient food, and the people are unwilling to bleed them too much. Thus the months of February, March and April are usually times of inadequate food supply.^x Whenever possible the food supply is augmented by the addition of grain bought in exchange for goats and sheep. Unfortunately at these times the animals are in their worst condition so that the terms of trade are against the interests of the Turkana. It is impossible to say how much grain is obtained in this way today or how far there was trade in the old days, but it must vary a good deal from area to area according to the proximity of the market. The Indian stores help to even this up now. As I have already pointed out the Turkana's own grain stores do not last. In fact it is not regarded as a dry season food-supply, for it might last longer if it were not consumed so rapidly and uneconomically immediately after the harvest.

In the wet season in general the food supply is good. Milk is at a maximum, there is plenty of meat from the various slaughterings for feasts and ceremonies, and the grain supplies should be ready about July. An adult man will drink five or six pints of milk a day at these times. Judging by the physique of men, women and children the food supply over the years is more or less adequate for most people, for the Turkana are fine physical specimens and disease is relatively rare.

But even taking into consideration the purchases of foreign grain it is obvious that wild berries, fruits and nuts play a very large part in their diet. In the plains in the dry season many families eat nothing else than these for days at a time. There are not only wild fruits that are capable of providing a meal in themselves, but also others that can help eke out the supplies of animal foods. We attempted at one time to keep records of food consumption in a few homesteads, but it was a complete failure due to the irregularity of times of eating, and the fact that the whole family does not eat at the same time but each at a time convenient to his occupation. There is a good deal of eating away from home on the part of the men too; but the time and energy spent on gathering and preparing wild fruits is obvious when we are continually coming and going among the homesteads. When a Turkana speaks of food he means milk, meat and grain; but none will deny their dependence upon fruits, whether of poor or rich family. The value of all those wild fruits that, in the Appendix, I have classified as "snacks", should not be underestimated either, since herdsmen and boys, when there is little or no food to take out with them during the daytime, depend on such fruits as they can find in the pastures.

Shares of different types of goods are not equal as between the different grades in society. Men undoubtedly have larger shares of meat than anyone else since large parts of each slaughtered animal are conventionally put aside for the men, as well as the portions that they get from their wife's share afterwards. Men also share to a greater extent in each other's killings than do women or children. In the wet season particularly many feasts are arranged especially or mainly for males. Men are the chief authority over the frequency of slaughterings, since women are conventionally not supposed to slaughter themselves. At weddings, initiations and most feasts the men get the lion's share, and women have grumbled to my wife that "the men eat all the meat", an over-statement, but containing an element of truth. On the other hand women and especially the children get the greater share of milk, fats and wild

x This period may often be extended a month or two. In 1949, e.g., semi-official famine conditions existed between about April and July; free maize meal was distributed in central Turkana land by the Administration.

fruits. When food is really short the children are always given first choice and may, towards the end of the dry season, be given all the available milk. If herds are large enough for sub-division into milking and non-milking, the young children live with the former as far as possible.

In conclusion it may be said that the Turkana make the best use of the natural resources of their country apart from the wild game, the supply of which is in any case inadequate for intensive hunting. Fish and cereals are, by the nature of the country, no more than a minor addition. Dairy foods and meat have a fairly specific off-period, whilst wild fruits are a main source of food in the dry season.

A Note on Material Culture

It is intended only to add a few words on this subject in order to fill in the general picture of the means of livelihood. It has already been pointed out what sort of products, other than food, are obtained from stock. In most areas there is a good supply of wood from which the following things are made:- bowls, troughs, milking cups, vessels for fats and milk, spoons and ladles, spear shafts, handles for knives and axes, stool/headrests, fighting and other sticks, implements for building (rather like an English hay-fork), children's sleeping mats, bows and arrows, mallets, digging sticks, combs, beads; it is also used in the manufacture of fishing baskets and shields. All fences and huts are built of bush-wood. From various types of trees are made perfumes and medicines. Finally nearly all fires depend on wood.

In other resources the people are not very well off, and are lacking in techniques. With one possible exception there is no iron working in the country.* The relatively bare content of material culture is a result however not only of the lack of materials and resources, but also directly consequent upon the nature of the life that the people lead. The basic factor here (as in so many other aspects of their life) is the need for movement. Housing and fencing depend on local brush-wood and the air of impermanence is apparent in everything, although their type of huts are probably as good as anything that could be devised taking into account the great heat. It is not surprising that the Turkana do not go in for complicated architecture, nor large buildings, nor such additions as granaries, club-houses, kitchens, or ceremonial buildings. And because of the constant moving with only donkeys, everything to be carried must be cut down to a minimum. Only sufficient pots and vessels and implements are carried to meet purely current needs. Luxuries must be done without. Almost the only things that are kept that are not in daily use are articles of dress and ornament - the man's feathers, beads and shield, the wife's best beaded skirt, extra beads and bangles - all things that are used on those special occasions such as weddings, dances, initiations, etc. Freed of many impediments a homestead can move in a very short time, and a new homestead built elsewhere no less easily. I do not intend to infer that the people make the maximum use of all the resources open to them, but rather that, taking into account the compulsory way of life they must follow, they do make the best use of what is to hand.

The chief, almost the only, aesthetic work is in personal ornament, e.g. beadwork and necklaces. All Turkana, both male and female, spend a good deal of time in occupations of this sort, and a good deal of wealth too (i.e. in animals bartered for beads, wire, feathers and ostrich egg, cowrie shell). People go to infinite pains and trouble in making up beadwork patterns and get a lot of pleasure out of it, as well as in the wearing of their products. Wooden vessels and gourds are often simply decorated with poker work designs. Everyone almost can carve wooden stools and vessels, and well finished products are a genuine pleasure to people and much begged. Apart from a few, and insufficient, women who can make pots of baked clay, there are no specialists that I know of. If a person

* I have heard that there is a small iron-smith's establishment in south Turkanaland, but have not seen it nor any of its products. The workers may not be Turkana.

is not skilled in one particular technique there is sure to be a member of the family who is. Men carve their possessions (stools, sticks, spoons), and carry out all the finishing work in other wooden work. (The women say, "we cannot use spears and you must use a spear to finish off.")

The small extent of culture contact and borrowing has already been mentioned, but in fact there is very little that the Turkana could take over, and the extended use of such things as iron or cloth is probably beyond their means of wealth. At present one feels that they would rather keep their stock. Apart from trade beads, and cloth for men, almost nothing new has been introduced, and even these were introduced just before the British actually arrived there. They were added to the short list of things already bartered from the south and west - spears, iron, feathers, cooking pots, eggshell etc.

CHAPTER 5

ENVIRONMENT AND THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF MIGRATION

To the intruder who comes from Europe by way of the Kenya Highlands the thing that strikes most forcibly about Turkanaland is the physical environment. Not only is there a dramatic change as one descends about 1,500 ft. into the Rift Valley from the flank of Moroto Mt., but one descends into country which at first sight looks as if it would contain little or no life at all. When the traveller has become accustomed to it a little after some months, and is, perhaps, beginning to understand how the people make a living there, the all pervasive effect of the environment is appreciated even more keenly. For one begins to see how the people adapt their way of life to their country, how they organise themselves to obtain the most use that they can from their environment, insofar as their knowledge and techniques permit. But this knowledge and these techniques are seen to be subservient to the master, the environment. They are schemes for evading the worst, for making the most of the best, for conserving energy until the transient hardships have temporarily passed away, and for making do inside the limitations rigorously imposed.

I believe that one cannot begin to really understand the social system of the Turkana, let alone make any kind of sociological analysis, until one understands the environment in which that system operates, the difficulties it encounters, the limitations imposed. On the other hand it may be well to point out here at the beginning that I do not consider the social system as entirely the result of environment. It is a system within the environmental framework, partly dependent on it, a result of it, but partly existing as an entity in its own right. Environment cannot, I think, determine the principles of social structure, but only limit and modify them. As proof of that, if proof be needed, are the records of tribes living in semi-desert conditions, but with varying social systems. For example, amongst the Turkana we shall see the lack of strong kinship or territorial groupings; but these are an outstanding feature of Bedouin society. But given that cattle, camels, goats and sheep are the principal means of livelihood, one may posit certain "a priori" conclusions of an ecological nature. This I shall try to do in what follows, but going on to describe the humanly-devised modifications to be found in this particular instance. Finally the way will be clear to attempt a description of the social system in terms of family, homestead and neighbourhood.

N.B. Reference should be made to the map (end paper) which shows many of the features of Turkanaland, more important places and areas, and indicates the general trends of migratory movements.

Physiographical survey

In the Introduction Turkanaland has already been shown to be a relatively compact geographical area, confined by natural boundaries of the Rift Valley, which causes it at once to be different from and cut off from the surrounding country. As a first approximation Turkanaland can be taken as a great plain, some 300 miles from north to south, and about 100 from west to east. This plain slopes gradually from the west to the east, i.e. from Rift Valley wall to Lake Rudolf. The general level at the base of the

Escarpment is about 3,000 ft. whereas the level of the Lake is 1230 feet above sea level. Scattered over this plain are many ranges of hills and a few large mountain masses. These larger mountains vary in height between 4500 and 7000 ft. Dwarfing all the rest in size (and importance to the natives) is Loima in west-central Turkana-land. This is an undulating tableland some forty miles square, with a high forested part (Naminit) reaching about 7000 ft. With the exception of Lorienetom in north-east Turkana-land (which is about 40 miles from north to south and some 15-20 from east to west) the other mountains are largely solitary peaks rising up from the plains with broad slopes and shoulders.

Almost everywhere the observer, from whatever vantage point, is impressed by the continuous stretch of plains in which the mountains are but a partial break. The immensity of being able to see up to 100 miles across the plain dwarfs the 5000 ft. (or about 3000 ft. above the plain) of mountains such as Pelekech or Thungut. There are large areas of plains unbroken by highland. The black cotton soil plains in north-west Turkana-land (named as 'Lotagipi Swamp' on the maps) are quite unbroken for a distance of about eighty miles; central Turkana-land as it slopes towards the Lake has only a few hills as one looks east from the west side of the middle Turkwel river. Similarly there are the open plains of the upper Turkwel/Malmalti, the Tarach and the Mayen. But even where the plains are broken by mountain or larger hills there is always a glimpse of the level spreading beyond. The whole country is dominated by it.^x The comparatively small area of mountain makes a sharp contrast. And this contrast is carried into Turkana social life. There are always two sides - the plains and the mountains. The natives themselves might be called people of the plains, since there they find their homelands ('akwap') which they always speak of as "home" and to which they return whenever and as soon as possible. Many men and women have told me that they do not like the mountains and the beginnings of the wet season, the beginnings of graze, in the plains is enough to fetch them there, away from the mountains, although the pastures in the latter are still much better. They rationalise this to a certain extent, combined with an element of truth. It is cold in the mountains, they say. Wild animals abound in the bush and forest; the stock catch diseases; the millet gardens are in the plains; there is water down there. They know the plains, and so on. As described in the chapter on the "section", the mountains are not regarded as anyone's homelands, but the plains are conventionally apportioned out. Ask a traveller where he lives and he usually tells you his plains country even though for most of the year he may not be living there.^{xx} The mountains are indispensable to the Turkana way of life and the people recognise that their stock could not live otherwise; but the mountains are not the pleasant places to live in that the plains are. It may be noted here in advance, that when the people and their stock are concentrated on the mountain, they must usually look to the plains for water, since mountain water is scarce and often quickly used up. It is significant that the homestead that remains in the plains is always the main one ('awi narpulan' i.e. "the big or chief homestead") and that therefore the head of the family and the chief wife remain with the goats and sheep throughout the dry season, living with their cattle only in the wet seasons.

Since little meteorological data is obtainable I shall be compelled to write in general terms only. Temperatures are uniform for the whole year, with a very small diurnal range between about 100 and 75 degrees F. shade temperatures. Since cloud cover is generally less than 1/10 (rain comes in sharp storms only) there must be an average of little short of the full 12 hours a day of sunshine.

x For a fuller physiographical description, see Champion: Geog. Journal 1937.

xx It is interesting to note that some Karamajong told Turpin in 1916 that they, the Ngijie and Turkana, were people of the plains (Uganda Journal 1949). Such mountain areas as Moroto (where live a different people altogether - Tepes), the Escarpment hills, Muruogole, Zulia, etc. are evacuated as soon as possible by the Uganda tribes of the Turkana-speaking group, with the same kind of distaste as the Turkana have for highlands. Most of the Karamoja District of Uganda is a large westward dipping plain, though at a greater elevation than Turkana-land.

Turkana divide the year into two seasons: the dry season, 'akumo', and the wet, 'agiporo'. But in keeping with their linguistic habits these terms are extremely elastic, meaning only in a general way the two divisions of the solar year, and more precisely the times of rains and no rains - a rather different matter. The dry season in general, then, is from September to April, the wet season from April to August. But the rains in any year may break any time between March and July, there being no very high correlation with the rest of East Africa. Rains may fall off between June and September. There are usually short rains in late November, but these may be restricted to local showers and not infrequently fail altogether in some areas. Due to the influences of the Ethiopian Highlands the northern parts of Turkana land tend to get earlier and heavier rains than other parts. Western Turkana land by its proximity to Uganda also tends to get a higher rainfall.

Over a period of about twenty years the average rainfall for Lodwar (central Turkana land) has been about 6 inches, Lokitaung (north Turkana land) about 12 inches, and, over a shorter and earlier period, Kaputir (south Turkana land) about 12. General impressions imply at least 12-15 inches in west and north-west of the country. But such figures are misleading because of the range of variations from year to year. The Turkana say, and all evidence bears them out, that only about one year in four is a good year with above average rainfall, the rest having relatively low rainfall. The best years at Lodwar show, for example, a total fall of up to 14 inches, and the worst about two inches. At Lokitaung a good year has up to 22 inches, and a bad one as little as 5 inches. During the long dry season there is usually no rain at all apart from the irregular, short and localised rains of November. Throughout the year a persistent wind blows from the south-east, which, during the dry season, is dry and hot, and the cause of afternoon red-dust storms in the plains.

The figures are also misleading because of the nature of the distribution of the rain within the wet season. There are, except perhaps in the better wet seasons, no long spells of rains, and because of the intense heat, dry atmosphere and amount of sunshine, there is high evaporation. And because of the poor soil cover and rapid run off of water the retention of moisture is decreased. Rain normally comes in sharp thunderstorms in the late afternoon or at night. Steady falls over many hours are unusual outside the higher mountain areas, and not common even there. Since the growth of vegetation depends almost entirely on the rains it is obvious that an average fall broken up into short periods of precipitation separated by long periods of drought is inimical to permanent and strong growth and seeding. I have seen two or three days of thunderstorms followed by fifteen to twenty days of cloudless drought when the earth became dried and cracked again, and the new sheet of grass, bush and trees, withered away before the next rains. A longer spell of rain, enabling the vegetation to establish itself, or an equably spread rainfall, though less in quantity, is from this point of view preferable. Thus twelve inches may produce plains grasslands, or it may only produce a poor withered crop.

In the accompanying Table No.1 are a few figures for rainfall at Lodwar.

TABLE 1
LODWAR: RAINFALL IN INCHES

1925-31	-	average about 6 inches a year
1931-34	-	" " 2 " " "
1936	-	14.7
1940	-	2.7 in first seven months
1942	-	8.3 (March 6.3, May 2.1, six rainless months)
1943	-	3.4 (August 1.3, six rainless months)
1944	-	3.2 (three rainless months)
1945	-	10.3 (May 1.8, August 1.2, Sept 2.3, Nov 3.3, three rainless months).
1946	-	2.3 (four rainless months)
1947	-	9.7 (April 4.8, July 1.3, August 2.1, three rainless months).
1948	-	6.3 (March 1.0, six rainless months).

N.B. Months with at least one inch are noted.

A rainless month means less than 0.1 inches.

These figures are not typical for the total rainfall of Turkana as Lodwar is in the central sandy semi-desert area, the driest part of the country. But they do show the nature of the distribution of rainfall.

It will be seen that years 1942, 1945 and 1947 were good years; 1943 and 1944 and 1946 were bad years as regards total rainfall. But notice the difference between 1942 when the rain was concentrated on March to August and with only three rainless months; or between 1943 and 1944 when what rain there was tended to be concentrated between March and June, and 1946 when the 2.3 inches was spread out with only four rainless months, (which incidentally produced about the worst starvation conditions since 1932). In each case, 1943 and 1944 bad years and 1942 good year, the vegetation had a comparatively better chance to mature and seed, than in 1946 bad year and 1947 good year respectively. A more realistic analysis would need the actual distribution of the rain over the days and weeks, but I have not got such precise figures. In any case it is the general picture that is important here in order to understand the principles of Turkana migration.

I have remarked on the physical dichotomy in the country, and from the point of view of rainfall there is a significant difference between the total precipitation and its distribution in the plains and the mountains. No figures at all are available for mountain rainfall, but judging from the type and quality of the vegetation on the latter, and the information from both Turkana and Europeans, together with my own observations of the frequency of storms compared with the plains, I should say that above about 4,500 ft. there is about 30 inches of rain a year. The irregular distribution of seasonal rainfall in the plains is to a certain extent reflected in the mountains also, but it is not so pronounced. Periods between rains are shorter and the total falls larger. Probably these higher masses tend to create their own thunderstorms for they are more frequent, whilst those highlands in the west (Loima, Thungut, Kailongol and Loiteruk) tend to follow and link up with the more prolonged and intense rains of Uganda and Suk. Whereas the dry plains and their bare low hills tend to foci of hot air, the vegetation covered mountains are foci of cooler, damp air. It is important to note also that evaporation is probably rather less, whilst soil cover and moisture retention is much better. Open water tends to last longer than at 2-3,000 ft. lower in the plains. The short rains of November are also more dependable and give a valuable stimulus to the growth and persistence of the vegetation.

Points that are important to the ecological study of Turkana are:-

1. The division of the year into dry and wet seasons of unequal length.
2. The irregular length and total rainfall of the wet season, giving about one good wet season in four.
3. The irregular distribution of rainfall within the wet season.
4. The very low rainfall of central Turkana, increasing towards the west and north, where also there are the external influences of adjacent high land.
5. The striking differences between plains and mountains everywhere.
6. The unreliable and small short rains of late November.
7. A regular high temperature with a small diurnal range.

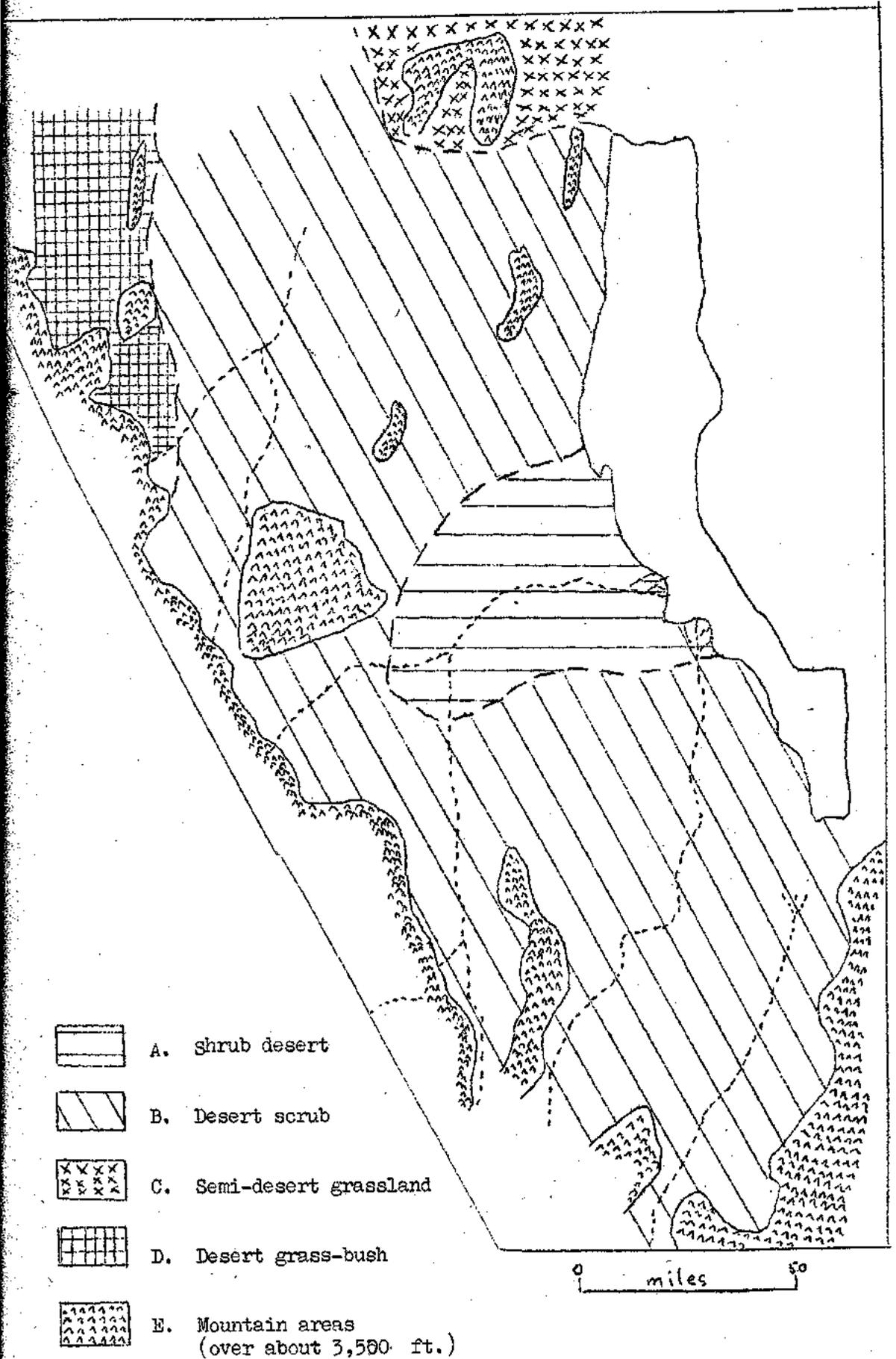
Following Mr. D.C. Edwards,^x there can be distinguished four main types of vegetation in Turkana, as follows:-

- (a) Shrub Desert: central Turkana, basins of lower Turkwel, Kagwelas, and Karlokwel, extending along the Lake shore from just north of Ferguson's Gulf to south of the Kerio delta. An area of sandy semi-desert with much wind-blown loose sand where grow sparse and isolated low bushes. Nearly everything is drought-dormant and practically leafless except after the rains. Only the dom palm flourishes alongside the sandy water courses. There are large areas of bare lava and rock formations.

x D.C. Edwards: "Report on the grazing areas of the Turkana District of Kenya" 1945: (Government Report).

SKETCH MAP NO. 1

THE VEGETATION OF TURKANALAND (after Mr.D.C.Edwards).



- (b) Desert Scrub: the whole of the rest of the plains with the exceptions of the north-west and north-east. It is often sandy and rocky. Vegetation is sparse intermittent cover of low bushes and shrubs with widely scattered trees. Most water courses support larger trees (mostly thorn) and the higher parts (over 3,000 ft.) have much wild sisal and cactus. Virtual absence of permanent grass, but seasonal grass and herbs grow according to the nature of the wet season. Much is drought-dormant, but large areas of thorn bush retain some leafage throughout the dry season.
- (c) Semi-desert Grasslands: north-east of the country, extending from the plains and foothills of Lorienetom/Lokwanamur to the unadministered area of the Sudan. It is strongly influenced by the adjacent Ethiopian Highlands. There is some permanent but sparse grassland giving good grazing in the wet season and immediately after. Similar bush cover to type b. above.
- (d) Desert Grass-bush: west and north-west Turkana land where there is higher rainfall. Open dry bush with scattered perennial tufts of grass - many shrubs. Thick bush in places and a fairly good grass cover in the wet season. Much of the ground always exposed. The mountain areas are an extension of this with a better grass cover, and, in places, very thick low forest, with many large trees.

This is a broad classification only for even in the better areas there are extensive areas of thorn bush and bare ground. Areas of types c and d almost invariably produce a grass cover each wet season, and all mountain areas are covered at that time by thick grass up to six feet high in favoured valleys and basins, with tougher, shorter grass on the higher slopes.

There is no permanently flowing river in the country and the two major water courses (Turkwel and Kerio) depend for their water mainly upon external sources. These two flow from about April to September, their length, rate and volume of flow being entirely dependent on the rains in the Kenya Highlands. Many of the other larger rivers depend in part on extra-territorial rains, e.g. some of the main tributaries of the Turkwel (Kosibir, Koteruk, Lorengagipi) with the exceptions of Puch and Kagwelasi, also the Sugata in the south, Napasa, Naitera and Nanaam in the north-west and many of the tributaries of the Tarach. But both these and the larger, purely Turkana ones (e.g. Kagwelasi, Karlokwel, Ngatome, Lomogol) never have a permanent flow of water over long periods. Immediately after rain they will flood down and flow for a few hours or so, and then cease leaving pools of water in the beds, and accumulated debris of wood, rock, silt and mud. Directly after heavier storms the permanent water courses are unable to carry all the water off, and frequently the whole countryside temporarily becomes a vast flowing river. The erosion of soil and vegetation caused by this is heavy; often a layer of silt is left covering the earth. Due to the flatness of the plains the torrential flow from the west is slowed as it debauches onto the level, and heavy mud and sand deposits are left in flat pans which are used where possible for gardens. In the flattest areas the water courses peter out altogether into a swamp in the wet seasons and hard flats in the dry seasons. In this connection the so-called Lotagipi Swamp is noteworthy since it swallows the output of several rivers as can be seen from the map. By the end of September it is unusual to find a flow of water anywhere.

Running across the plains, each water course is an outstanding belt of vegetation, so that from a height they can all be easily picked out in contrast to the rest of the country. The two major rivers have thick belts of forest on either bank of gigantic thorn trees and thick under-growth, from one to four miles wide in all, which is in strange contrast to the surrounding plains. Other beds are lined with tall thorn trees and thicker bush varying from a few yards to about a quarter of a mile wide. Here in the wet season the first and the most persistent grass grows, with other ground vegetation.

Water supplies are mainly based on these water courses. After the rain, ponds are formed and rock pools are filled and local springs gush.

But these are only temporary and two or three weeks' drought is usually sufficient to exhaust them through the depletions of drinking and evaporation. Flowing rivers are not suitable for drinking supplies since they are always carrying heavy loads of sediment which makes them dirty and unpleasant. As soon as the temporary pools are exhausted or unhygienic through stagnation, the people seek their water from water holes dug in the beds of the water courses, digging deeper and deeper as the dry season progresses. The water table from which these supplies come, is, I think, largely a product of rains in Uganda and the Kenya Highlands, but for a period after the rains water may be found by digging almost anywhere in any water course. As the time of the last rain recedes the number of places where water can be obtained diminishes. But contrary to what might be expected, and because of the westwards-made water table, there are a few areas which by Turkana standards are short of water. There are cases, but relatively few, where graze or browse outlasts water, although in many cases several miles may have to be walked in order to get it. One does not often find the deep five to fifteen women water holes that are common in Boran and Somali areas. Most of the larger stock watering holes that I have seen in various parts of Turkanaland are not more than one or two women deep^x though there are some important ones which are deeper. I understand that this is so in some parts of south Turkanaland, and there is at least one very deep hole on the east of Pelekech (Kwia) that I know of.

In saying that few areas are by Turkana standards short of water I do not mean to infer that extra water supplies (such as are provided in Uganda from pumps and wells) would not help grazing supplies. There are areas which, in the dry season, could support larger stock populations were there more water, e.g. Lokwanamur, Mureris; whilst wet season pastures are occasionally limited by its lack, e.g. the Ngatome valley. Most of the mountain areas carry little water and many none at all in the dry season after about November. Thus pastures in Pelekech, Thungut, Loiteruk, for example, are all so far from permanent water that long distances must be regularly covered by both people and stock. Nevertheless I doubt if these mountains are the less well grazed for that, although a bigger strain is imposed on the population. Fortunately the main part of Loima has its own water supplies capable of meeting the demands of the heavy concentrations of stock there. Possibly the same is true of Lorienetom. Turkana standards are that for cattle, goats and sheep, water should be within seven or eight miles of the pastures. Camels can live a little farther away, but do not often do so. At the end of the dry season when grass is scarce and of very poor quality, such distances of course help to reduce the vitality of the stock both by the long distances to be walked in the hot country and by the reduced time for grazing.

To conclude this geographical description it may be worth noting the comments of Mr. Edwards (op.cit.) on the general state of the country. He is of the opinion that there has been no particularly recent drying up and denuding of the country, but puts it down to a long period of desiccation from a savannah type of vegetation. He continues, "... the present state of the major portion of Turkana, which is occupied by the dry Desert Scrub vegetation, can be attributed to slow desiccation which began before the advent of the modern man, and that it is not in any way the responsibility of the existing inhabitants. It is only natural, however, that scarcity of grazing and water supply should induce concentration of the human and animal population, with consequent damage in a few favoured districts of vegetation resulting from a higher rainfall, and near to some of the larger stream courses. It is indeed surprising that more widespread destruction of these limited regions has not taken place...." (p.15).

x The native method of measuring water holes is by the number of women or girls who must stand inside to hand up the water by a human chain. A hole one woman deep is therefore about six feet deep or less.

In so far as the present stock population goes they are in a kind of ecological balance with their environment, where on the principles of their masters little further development can take place, but under which, by and large, the best is made of natural resources. Whether stock numbers are increasing very much would be hard to say until many years of closer observation has taken place. The probably slight increase in both human and stock population since the advent of the British is offset by the colonisation of lands formerly closed by inter-tribal wars. I shall return to this topic later, but it may be pointed out that for about the last thirty years the western part of Loima, the Tarach and Oropoi valleys, Nadapel, and much of the Lorienstom area have become undisputed Turkana territory, whilst extra-territorial concessions have been afforded in frontier regions with Uganda and the rest of Kenya. That vegetation would be better if less stock lived on it, is no doubt true; but that there is a progressive worsening is at best unproved and may not be true at all.

The requirements of the types of stock

The prime means of livelihood of the Turkana is the four types of domestic stock, which must be herded in areas where there is both feed and water. Migrational movements are largely the result of conventionalised efforts to obtain these necessities for the animals. From the foregoing description of the country it is obvious that at certain times of the year some areas are completely unable to contain herds, whilst the vegetation of others is such that only thinly and widely distributed herds can live. But this is by no means the whole case, for not each type of animal has the same needs. At one extreme are cattle which must have grass. Turkana say that cattle cannot browse, but in fact both can and do, although not to any great extent. But there are types of ground vegetation whose leafage is as easily eaten as grasses. The diet of cattle is a mixture of the two, which however more or less grow in the same places. At the other extreme are camels which must have browse, i.e. the leafage of bushes and trees, and which seldom graze if only because they are anatomically unfitted for it. Both sheep and goats are capable of browsing and grazing, though sheep undoubtedly fare better on graze. The goat is most suited to its environment as it can prosper on browse alone, is an active forager and by its size and body power can reach higher than sheep; yet it does well on grass also. Donkeys, it should be added, ought to have graze, but can browse for long periods when necessary.

These dietary requirements of stock limit the areas in which they can be kept. Cattle are strictly confined to grasslands, which in practice means the larger mountains plus a few favoured plains areas in the dry season, and the banks of water courses and the lower hills in the wet season. There tends therefore to be a distinct difference between the localities of cattle herding in the two seasons - a decisive movement from plains to mountains. In the poorer wet seasons some cattle may not be able to descend to the plains at all since so little grass grows there. At these times movement is restricted to leaving the better parts of the mountains for those parts which had been grazed out earlier and now have a fresh cover. But browse is ubiquitous in Turkana land, only varying in quality and quantity. Even the worst of the semi-desert affords browse in the wet season, whilst some parts of the plains afford a meagre supply right through the dry season. Thus camels, sheep and goats tend to make gradual movements, going from part to part of an area, covering the whole, and then moving to adjacent areas as the browse begins to fall off in the less fertile places. When possible sheep are the first to be sent to the mountains, where they can find graze. But it is only possible when (a) there are sufficient goats to leave behind a herd capable of supporting its herdsfolk; or (b) there are insufficient goats to make it worthwhile remaining in the plains. Most flocks are mixed goats and sheep, and on the whole the goat has the more consideration since by remaining in the plains it is possible to make use of otherwise wasted browse instead of overcrowding and overgrazing the mountains. This desire fits in with emotional attachment of the native to the plains. Camel herds are not usually large enough to warrant separate homesteads since it would be a waste of the labour force of a family, and are usually tacked on to either the sheep and goats or the cattle, whichever affords the best browse at the time, or where their milk is most needed. Since camels largely browse where

other stock cannot, they do not deplete the amount of food available to other animals, and their kind of browse can be found everywhere. And as earlier pointed out because of their milking value a family's camels may be split up amongst the other homesteads. Camels can live well in areas which will not support other stock adequately. For this reason most of the larger camel herds are in central and south-central Turkana land.

As the dry season advances the limits of browsable country contract even for sheep and goats, and there is increasing concentration, especially in the mountains where hitherto browse has been mainly reserved, and can now be fully utilised. It is a firm Turkana principle that browse or graze which will not last long should be used before that which will persist, so that maximum use can be made of the total vegetation. Thus cattle come down to the plains' river bank grass, leaving the mountains where grass is being renewed in the wet season. In the mountains, the lower parts and the less persistent grasses (which also are the most succulent) are grazed first so that at the end of the dry season there still remains some graze. In the plains, sheep, goats and camels tend to browse in the dryer areas first whilst the leafage remains, moving gradually to the better bushlands. This is repeated within each region firstly, and then as between region and region. So that by the end of the dry season the poorer country is almost empty of people and stock. Of course some people and stock live in these better areas from the start. In the wet season the population is more or less spread over the whole of the country; but gradually the better areas gain larger populations as the worse areas lose them.

The contrast is then between cattle, whose main movements are likely to be decisive, late in the wet season and early in the dry, and other stock whose movements are a series of more gradual steps away from the worse lands to a final concentration on the better.

There are other minor considerations. Camels can go longer between drinking and can therefore if necessary be herded farther from permanent water. Since they are the Somali type of animal their feet are not suited to rocky and rough ground, and by their size and eating habits they are not fitted for forests. Thus they are limited in mountain areas. Sheep and goats are the most sure-footed and can use paths to and from water and pastures, and feed on hill slopes unattainable to cattle and camels. These factors must not be overemphasised however, because in the extremity of life in Turkana land cattle will drink only every other day, and will use precipitous and rocky paths and steep hill slopes. Plenty of camels are to be found in the mountains in the dry season, especially towards its end.

Survey of grazing and browsing areas

There follows a classification of Turkana land on the principles which the Turkana themselves use: i.e. (1) the stock that an area can feed by its vegetation cover; (2) the attempt to utilise to the maximum each type of vegetational area. Not that the natives could classify their country like this, but the principles are, I believe, implicit in their movements through the year, and explicit in their individual movements at any time.

A. Areas to which cattle are confined in dry seasons and in which they may largely remain during all but the best of wet seasons. There will always be other types of stock there and their number increases as the dry season advances.

- (1) Turkana land mountain areas.
- (2) Extra-territorial lands.
- (3) A few limited plains areas.

B. Major water courses with a constant flow for at least five months on the average. Broad bands of vegetation with sufficient grass to support a small dry season cattle population, and a concentration of other stock as the dry season advances. Not used in the wet seasons owing to the density of forest, dangerous wild animals, mosquitos and some tsetse, Water mainly from outside Turkana land.

C. Secondary water courses with bands of vegetation on either bank and good grass cover in the wet season. Cattle live there in the wet season; a partial dry season for other stock.

D. According to the state of the rains there are a large number of wet season centres for all types of stock, around which the latter are dispersed.

- (1) Lower hills and foothills.
- (2) Smaller water courses.

E. According to the nature of the seasons there are an infinite number of dry season areas for camels, sheep and goats in the plains, in the Desert Scrub, Desert Grass-bush and Desert Grasslands. Herds are centred on water points. There is much more movement here than anywhere else, firstly, to cover the whole browse area, and secondly, to take advantage of the November short rains and the early wet season rains to use relatively waterless areas, and thirdly, because the general cover of vegetation is so thin.

A detailed list of these areas is given in Table No.2, which should be compared with the full map of the country.

The pattern of migration

From the foregoing information an "ideal schema" of stock movements can be constructed for the annual cycle, as is given in Table No.3.

Note that (a) camels, sheep and goats will be found in all the areas along with cattle, or where blanks are marked. I have put down only the outstanding concentrations of each type of stock. (b) I have not attempted any strict chronological classification according to the time of the year. As already explained the wet season is invariably irregular in length, total and distribution of rainfall.

TABLE 2

SURVEY OF GRAZING AND BROWSING AREAS

A (1) Turkanaland mountain areas

Loima	Mogila	Pelekech
(i.e. Naminit	Thungut	Kailongol
Nangoleki	Adingatom	Loiteruk
Cheptakenya	Lokwanamur	Silali
Kanaro	Lorienetom	Tiati
Nakaparat	Muereris	
Kawi		
Naitamajong		
Nyangolichom)		

(2) Extra-territorial lands

The whole of the Uganda Escarpment Hills.
 Eastern slopes of Moroto Mt.
 Eastern slopes of Chemorongi and Suk Mountains.
 Samburu Escarpment.

(3) Limited plains areas

Upper Turkwel/Malmalti plains.
 Parts of the shore of Lake Rudolf.
 Deltas of the Turkwel and Kerio.
 Forward area beyond Lorienetom and Lokwanamur.
 Forward area bordering on Taposo country (Nadapel and Lomayen).

B Major water courses

Upper Turkwel/Malmalti river complex
 Kerio

C Secondary water courses

Tarach	Ngatome	Lower Turkwel	Koteruk
Napass	Lomogol	Kagwelasi	Lotongot
Naitera	Mayen	Kosibir	Suguta
Nanarm	Karlokwel	Lorengagipi	

D Other wet season areas

(Examples only are given owing to the number and variability. I have selected cases from all over Turkana land).

- (1) Lower hills and foothills:-
Labur, Lothidok, Mersuk, Kathagoulo, Luipe, Loriyu, etc.,
- (2) Smaller water courses:-
Kalabata, Lokichar, Munyen, Tia, Kakalai, Lokomoresi, etc.

E Dry season browsing

Almost everywhere in the plains and lower hills with the exceptions of Lotagipi, much of the central Turkana land away from the secondary water courses and the rock and lava desert of south-east Turkana land (including Loriyu).

This is intended as an ideal schema only, as a first approximation from which to develop geographical, climatic and social modifications. It must be strongly insisted that we are not dealing with a migrational system controlled by territorial groups or kinship groups (e.g. the Bedouin) nor a relatively simple transhumance such as is to be found among the Nilotes further north. The complex distribution of rainfall, irregular distribution of mountain and plains, and the dietetic needs of the different types of stock do not allow of any simple principles of migration, whilst the social system of the people is insufficiently developed to impose strong controls. Indeed under such environmental conditions where each family typically attempts to own and herd each type of stock, such controls are difficult to imagine. As far as the natives themselves are concerned it is solely a matter of individual or small communal movements, depending on personal opinions regarding the present and future states of weather, pastures and water on a background of traditional knowledge. As will be seen, a Turkana claims, probably quite truthfully, that he can move anywhere. In fact he is no more desirous of moving over long distances than anyone else would be. He moves towards more or less the nearest favourable pastures according to what type of stock is involved.

This Table is a summary of the information already described. It is as a theoretical device to assist the understanding of migration that it is given here. But it is based on all the information collected by personal observation over eleven months in many parts of the country, backed up by all the records I have been able to obtain from the people themselves. Perhaps nowhere will the exact scheme be followed by any of the thousands of schemes of each annual cycle. These latter may be seen as developments and modifications of the theoretical schema. It is not possible to deal with all the details that I have collected or could collect. Here I can only deal with the principles of movement as they are important to sociological description and analysis. Therefore I do not attempt to give detailed studies of some or all regions with the exact disposition of homesteads, pastures, and water points. That is perhaps the task of a specialist grazing control officer, who is and must be concerned with disposition and movement. But without understanding of the general principles, detailed application is at best incomplete, at worst possibly dangerous, where practical policies are to be adopted in connection with either pastoral or political systems.

TABLE NO. 3.

CYCLICAL SCHEMA OF STOCK DISPOSITIONS THROUGHOUT THE YEAR

	-BEGINNING OF WET SEASON	CLIMAX OF WET SEASON	BEGINNING OF DRY SEASON	DEVELOP- MENT OF DRY SEASON	CONSOLID- ATION OF DRY SEASON	CLIMAX OF DRY SEASON
MOUNTAIN BLOCKS FORWARD PLAINS	Cattle	----	----	Cattle	Cattle	Cattle Camels Goats
LOWER HILLS FOOTHILLS	Cattle	Cattle	Cattle	----	Camels	-----
TURKANA PLAINS	Camels Goats	Camels Goats	Camels Goats	Camels Goats	Camels Goats	Camels Goats
BANKS OF WATER COURSES	----	Cattle	Camels Goats	Camels Goats	-----	----

N.B. This shows the annual cycle of stock movements. All people do not necessarily pass through every stage in every year.

Only the major dispositions of each type of stock are noted. Camels and goats (i.e. goats and sheep) will be found everywhere with cattle, but in comparatively minor concentrations.

The duration of the two season is very variable. The wet season is approximately from April to August, but the rains may break any time between March and July, and may fall off between June and September. The dry season is approximately from September to April.

A good wet season occurs only once in three to five years. In some or all of the other years cattle may not leave some of the mountain blocks and forward plains at all.

Movements are not restricted to those between the four principal geographical-vegetational areas as shown in the table. There may be movements within each type of area according to local conditions there at the time.

This table is a summary of the information discussed in the text pages 43 - 46.

Conditions causing variations from the ideal schema of stock dispositions

Continuing to deal in general principles, there are conditions which, from area to area, from time to time, cause variations from the schema as so far outlined. These will be considered in what follows:-

(1) The Nature of the Rains.

I have already dealt with the effect of the variable rainfall as regards time of first rains, duration, total precipitation and distribution during the wet season. All that need be added is to mention the geographical distribution of rainfall. This tends to be no less variable than these other factors, so that at any one time different areas may be following different parts of the total scheme. In 1949, for instance, the rainfall in the north-west was sufficient to allow a complete movement off the mountains there by about June (i.e. Zulia, Thungut and the Dodoth Escarpment), whereas throughout the wet season most of the cattle on south and east of Loima remained and did not go to the river banks and better plains areas. Stock on north and west Loima were able, by the end of July, to move down to the Tarach valley, where the rainfall had been sufficient by that time. But from the rest of Loima no such move was ever possible.

Such differences in geographical distribution leave a legacy in the following dry season when the less favoured areas will be able to support stock for a relatively shorter period. Thus to certain mountain areas there may be an earlier and larger movement of stock than is the case elsewhere.

(2) Short Rains and Occasional Rains.

The rainfall from these is usually insufficient to produce a crop of grass enabling cattle to move, except within local areas. It is not worthwhile to move herds and families and to build new homesteads for a brief period. The leafage of bushes and trees is however often stimulated and camels, sheep and goats may well move even for a relatively short period, or may be able to stay on in an area longer than otherwise possible. I have seen men discussing whether to move to a better area or to wait in the hope that short rains might come and be enough to improve browse where they already were. Since the whole of the desert scrub is a browse area they are able to be more mobile, to move to an area rejuvenated by short rains, and remain there after the effect falls off, still little worse off than they originally were. Cattle are less mobile because of the fewer areas where grass will grow. Also browse needs less rain than grass to produce new and worthwhile feed. The possibility that there may be short rains is a psychological factor which can at times affect the situation. It may be felt worthwhile to wait in an otherwise poor area in case the rains make it unnecessary to move for a little longer.

Occasional rains are too unreliable for men to base their movements on them. They are both infrequent and small, and may have little effect on the general picture. Outside the wet season and the short rains it must, I think, be unusual to have occasional rain that amounts to more than a shower or two. A single storm sometimes before the main rains break will be swallowed by the dry earth and the hot dry atmosphere. I have seen about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch of rain fall which, a few days after, might never have been, for all the difference it made. However it might be that a storm or two consecutively would affect the browse.

Both the short rains and occasional rains will in certain cases provide a supply of surface water where other supplies have been already used up, thereby permitting the use of pastures hitherto unused. More likely is the temporarily more intensive exploitation of a current pasture due to less waste in time in going to relatively distant water points.

(3) Persistence of Non-Permanent Water Supplies.

As already mentioned it is not usual that graze or browse outlasts water, but where this is so the time that water lasts is obviously important. The supply of water everywhere is dependent on rainfall. The bulk of Turkanaland's dry season water, however, is not a product of the country's rainfall, but comes from farther west and south, whence the water table is

maintained, and also from where the main water courses come; (there are prominent exceptions of course, e.g. water supplies for Loima and Pelekech are probably mainly from the rainfall of those mountains). The rainfall in these extra-territorial areas is not necessarily directly proportional to that of Turkanaland in any one year.

Apart from allowing the use of otherwise waterless areas, a more persistent supply will allow the more complete exploitation of an area where water is meagre. Stock will not be compelled to walk long distances to water, and can devote more time to feeding. Longer daily browsing distances may be covered and more days' feeding is possible.

River bank vegetation especially is much dependent on the underground seepage of water. A higher water table will therefore produce a thicker cover in these important pastures.

(4) Variation in the Fertility of the Soil.

My information here is only slight, but it is obvious that (a) soils do differ in fertility, and (b) such differences are distributed throughout each of the vegetational types. Areas of roughly equal rainfall distribution and similar water supplies do produce different thicknesses of cover. Everywhere one comes across pockets and even extensive areas of grits, bare lava rock and fine sand. Movement away from these is consequently earlier. Some areas are apparently unusually fertile, their covers of bush and grass being better and longer lasting. Here and there are deposits of fertile silt and mud left by flood waters, or where a river has changed its meandering course across the plains. Most larger water courses have such special patches which produce better vegetation.

(5) Density of Stock Population and Over-grazing Locally.

On the whole stock are so distributed that each area carries its "fair share", but since movements are ultimately based on individual (or at the most small group) opinions, there may be coinciding with, say, poor conditions of rainfall or water supplies, a relative over-concentration of stock, so that the areas in question may be grazed clean more quickly than usual, forcing both normal inhabitants and newcomers to move on. There is probably a general tendency for this to occur most of the way along the Uganda Escarpment, in the upper Turkwel basin, and in the Lomogol/Mayen basin. Conversely, and sometimes as a consequence of this over-concentration, there are areas where less stock are carried than could be at any one time.

I suggest that such discrepancies do tend to be ironed out as people realise the relative difficulties of the over-grazed and the relative advantage of the under-grazed areas. Because of the complete absence of territorial control of migration the Turkana can change their dispositions over the annual cycle simply and easily. It is not unusual to meet a family or two who have been herding in an area for only a year or two. The pressure on Loima Mt. has probably been reduced over the last two or three decades as people have moved to more westerly pastures on the edges of Uganda and Suk. And a corresponding trend towards Loima has set in judging by the number of families I have met who formerly herded on Pelekech, Mureris and the shores of Lake Rudolf.

The above digression is not so important to the main theme here. The main point is that temporary over-populations can more quickly exhaust pastures necessitating more and quicker movements, and conversely under-population allows longer stays and fewer movements.

(6) Location of Gardens.

Millet gardens are all located near water courses in the plains. I have no evidence at all that any cultivation is carried on in the mountains. True to his (or rather her) optimistic nature the Turkana always descends to the plains as soon as the first rains break, or even a little before in order to fence and dig the gardens in preparation for moving. But the cultivators cannot live without some stock, and their movement may precipitate a movement of camels or sheep and goats when browse has not grown sufficiently and the unreliable rains may not flourish for some time. This is largely an individual matter but it may affect the general disposition of the herds. It will depend to a certain extent on where the gardens are in relation to the pastures at

that time of year (with the whole of the dry season behind and the new wet season not yet established). Where gardens are fairly near to the dry season pastures, for example, women may be able to go and do some garden work and then return after a few days, causing no extra movement of stock. This is the case with the Tarach garden area in relation to Loima, or the Turkwel and Kerio in relation to Loiteruk and the Turkwel/Mainalti plains. Where gardens are relatively distant from dry season pastures a permanent movement must be made, e.g. Lower Turkwel and Kagwelasi in relation to Loima, Nanam in relation to Zulia and Nadapel.

Because garden areas of a family are relatively fixed this has a slight braking effect on wet season movements. Although a small number of a family can and do live in the gardens miles away from their homesteads, yet there is a general tendency to stick in that general region until gardens are not rigid and it is not difficult for women to obtain new garden land in a fresh area. But there is always a tendency to remain round-about where land is already owned.

(7) The State of Warfare with other Tribes.

In pre-British days possession of pasture was very often entirely dependent on the state of warfare. Inter-tribal warfare decided which tribe grazed an area and many of the best mountain areas were disputed territories. Apart from Pelekech and the Lake shore, which the Turkana held undisputedly in the heart of their country, every other cattle area and dry season frontier area was more or less threatened if not actively disputed. Stock might not be able to move from a worse to a better area because of the presence of hostile neighbours. At one time an area would be grazed by the Turkana and at another it would be lost to them. A move, inadvisable on pastoral grounds, might be essential on grounds of safety. An area from the safety point of view might only be able to contain a relatively small population which could move and hide with fair success, but which in times of peace, or of Turkana supremacy might be able to support many more. This would be a constant independent variable impinging on all movements, which would have to be dealt with as and when it occurred.

The incursions of outlaws, bandits, ivory hunters, etc., from Kenya and Abyssinia, which could affect any part of the country, were of the same order, although less prolonged.

(8) Order and Privileges from the British Administration.

The corresponding factor today to warfare in the old days is the external influence of the British Administration. As yet there is no large scale grazing control, which either influences movements or compels definite dispositions by the opening and shutting of selected pastures (the exception is in the north-east where the inter-tribal situation has compelled fairly rigid control by the Administration and the police). Government headmen are encouraged to attempt so-called organised control but apart from perhaps bringing a few families to heel where they do not follow the general lines of movement this has produced little effect. The authority of headmen is too vague, and they themselves know of no other principles of movement than the indigenous ones, and cannot be expected to appreciate large-scale or long term improvement schemes, especially where their own stock are just as much affected by any action as are those of anyone else.

In another way however influences are felt. Through the co-operation of the Karamoja (Uganda) Administration and Suk and Samburu (Kenya) Administrations, concessions are annually arranged for the Turkana to graze outside territorial boundaries. (The southern Sudan concession in the north-east bordering Ethiopia, is now so permanent as to be virtually a part of Turkana land under strict frontier control). According to the time and extent of these concessions Turkana can relieve the congestion and overgrazing of some areas. Some concessions have been renewed annually so consistently that new lands have been added to normal dry season pastures. Turkana speak as if their right to them was permanent and undisputed. But this is not so, nor is the time of permission to go there always the same, depending as it does on Administrative opinion, pressure of Administrative work, the state of alien lands and their own tribes' pastures. Some years it seems that the Turkana penetrate farther than others. Sometimes it is

possible to go further unnoticed by official eyes. Even today the state of friendliness between neighbours is a matter of importance in this latter respect, as I have noticed in Turkana/Dodoth relations.

(9) Insects and Disease.

Fortunately for the Turkana harmful insects are relatively rare in the dry season and play no part in the movements at that time. Flies are ubiquitous, especially in cattle areas, but they are quite unavoidable and both men and beast seem to accept them philosophically. The wet season increases the number of flies but not to any influential proportions. But in the wet seasons mosquitos breed near water, principally along water courses. In most places they are not bad enough nor sufficiently wide-spread to affect stock dispositions, though possibly in the wettest seasons there may be an exception. It is sufficient, usually at any rate, to keep the homesteads well a way from the water courses (a mile or two seems to be enough), whilst stock can still feed near the banks in the mosquitoless daytime. But in a few cases on the largest water courses mosquitos can become a nuisance and even a definite menace, not permitting herding in the vicinity. Most of these areas are permanently affected however and are on the whole not used anyway in the wet season. But as the wet seasons vary between good and poor there may be some local influence. Not much is known about the so-called "Camel fly", which is, in small numbers, ubiquitous wherever camels live, and in the more seriously affected places is a permanent threat to which normal herding dispositions are adjusted.

It has been pointed out already that disease is fortunately relatively rare in Turkanaland. The periodic outbreak of some disease may however scatter local concentrations of stock. The effect in this case is to close areas where otherwise stock would be living. The annual ebb and flow of tsetse, and probably rinderpest and other diseases northwards from Suk country and eastwards from Uganda is an influential factor when needed pastures are closed by their presence, although this is more of a constant factor and does not affect to any great extent the wet season dispositions which is the time when it is most prevalent. But it may reach alarming proportions in some years. For instance, in 1949 the people in southern Turkanaland were faced with the ugly dilemma of staying in the Turkwel/Malmalti area, where rinderpest was strong, killing off a lot of stock, or moving north and east where because of the late and poor rains insufficient vegetation was available.

(10) Wild Animals.

From the point of view of interference with stock Turkanaland is also fortunate in having few wild animals. Leopard, hyena and jackals are scattered everywhere and are more or less accepted as the common fly is. Lions are limited to the mountains where the natives are definitely wary of them, considering them the most dangerous wild animal they meet. But it is scarcely likely that their presence ever causes movement of stock to avoid them, although one of the reasons given to me by the people for leaving the mountains in the wet season is the danger of lions. This is probably a rationalisation which fits in with the general respect for lions and the general wish to move. Movements are made from the mountains at times when the other prey of lions is fat and plentiful.

In the Turkwel/Malmalti area there is seasonal migration of lion, elephant and buffalo northwards making yet another reason why the people get out of there if possible. I should say that the previously mentioned factors of tsetse and thickness of undergrowth are a good deal more important.

(11) The Locations of Government and Trading Centres.

In common with the rest of European controlled Africa there is always a tendency for the natives to concentrate on Government and trading centres, where are some of the lures and amenities of "civilisation", and where relatives and friends employed by the British or Indians have permanent incomes of cash, food and kind. Turkanaland suffers less than elsewhere in Kenya, but around Lodwar and Lokitaung there are some homesteads where the stock eke out a precarious existence whilst their masters look for a supply of food and entertainment. Since there is the possibility of work, and bartering skins and stock for maize meal, and also for selling animals for meat purposes, any trading centre has its little permanent clique, which

in the worst times of the year (and in the worse years) may be augmented by hungry food-seeking people. Taken in the perspective of the whole of the country their influences are small, but possibly increasing slightly. There are as yet no missions or sizeable schools capable of attracting and keeping a fixed clientele.

(12) The Distances between occupied Pastures and any Alternative.

Finally, in this brief survey of conditions modifying the general scheme of migration, must be mentioned the apparently not so obvious fact that the knowledge or belief that there are better pastures to be had in another area (for whatever reason) is not necessarily in itself sufficient to cause a man to move his herds. The relative advantage must be weighed (although perhaps not consciously) against the relative disadvantages, of leaving an established homestead and routine to set up a new one, of the cost in energy and stamina of the stock, of the ties and friendships to be broken and strangers to be met. A group of men may be well aware that better grass remains on a mountain area 40 or 50 miles away, but may not move there. Cattle especially are not very mobile since the intervening distance (perhaps three days journey or more if the animals are not very fit) will be entirely grassless, possibly poor in watering facilities. When I was living near to Logiriama South in early March I heard the men daily discussing the relatively good graze further north on the Karamojong Escarpment and on Loima (Kanaro) compared to their own at the southern end of the Escarpment. Yet the move meant about 40 miles journey when the cattle, at the end of a long dry season, were lacking in stamina. It was decided by all but one man not to move. Because of the unusual lateness, of the rains the move was in fact compelled upon the rest of the men later - two and a half months later, and at some loss in cattle. Goats and camels are more mobile and can usually find some browse on the journey anywhere. Even so long distances are not embarked upon if it can be helped. Complete mobility is then limited by distance and relative advantage. In times of extremity such as a very prolonged dry season, or enemy raiding, the relative advantage increases of course.

To sum up, it can be said that because of all these reasons, acting as a complex influence and not always to the same ends, all families and their stock are not at the same stage of the annual cycle at the same time; nor in the same year do all people pass through or miss the same stages. It is impossible therefore at any given time, except perhaps at the two extremes of the height of the dry season and in better wet seasons, to say what the movements or dispositions of people and herds are for the whole of Turkanaland. Each region, each part of a region almost, must be dealt with separately, bearing in mind the general principles and modifications set out above. And since the general movements we have been looking at are only a compound of thousands of individual and small-group affairs, there is woven into the whole picture the interplay of individual opinions and circumstances, which in any particular instance may modify the whole cycle.

Two types of migration

Because of the irregular distribution of wet season and dry season pastures there can be distinguished two types of migration between them according to their geographical relationship.

First to restate the broad outlines of the two types of pastures: Wet season pastures are the secondary water courses (group C, p.46), lower hills, and according to the rains, the plains in general (group D). Dry season pastures are the mountains (groups A 1 and 2), forward plains and the shores of the Lake (group A 3), and a gradually diminishing portion of the plains (group E).

(1) In cases where the wet and dry season pastures are contiguous, migration is in the form of general progressive and regressive movements between the two, with cattle tending to be always more forward and sheep and goats always to the rear at whatever time of the year. An example of this is in north-west Turkanaland, where pastures extend in a more or less continuous strip from the lower Napass and Tarach at the peak of good wet seasons, to the upper Oropoi, Naputiro and Kalaperto rivers and adjoining

Dodoth Escarpment at the peak of the dry season. The approximate cycle is, beginning at the end of the dry season, that all cattle are at or beyond the heads of these rivers and into the Dodoth Highlands, watering at points which are in Dodoth-land. Camels, sheep and goats are close behind on the lower mountain slopes, or even together with the cattle, and watering on the same points. As the rains break the sheep and goats are the first to move eastwards as new leafage appears and short ground vegetation. As the wet season develops sheep and goats move back east of Kalaperto to the Napass and Tarach rivers and the Moruita Hills, and into the 'Lotigipi' maybe. Cattle and camels fall back more slowly (camel herds are not large enough to warrant separate attention in homesteads, and are left with the cattle) as the new grass begins to grow. In a very good year the people tell me that the cattle might get as far back as the lower Tarach. As the dry season returns the cattle are the first to move west again, but it can be a gradual movement taking in hitherto untouched grazing before actually reaching the mountains. There is a continuous process of moving westwards. And behind follow the sheep and goats as the browse gives out in the lower plains. Cattle reach the mountains and gradually move higher and higher every month up the Escarpment valleys into Dodothland, until the cycle is completed.

Practically the whole of north-west Turkanaland comes into this category, based on the more fertile plains, a higher rainfall and plenty of dry season pastures (e.g. Mogila, Nadapel, Zulia, Thungut and the whole of the highest part of the Uganda Escarpment). But all the way along the Escarpment and the Suk mountains the same thing tends to occur. It is also between the Turkwel/Malmalti plains and south-central Turkanaland. There are local instances of it almost everywhere where dry season pastures abut onto the plains.

(2) In cases where wet and dry season cattle pastures are far apart there must be long decisive movements between the two twice a year at the change of the seasons. Relations are temporarily severed with the areas left behind, where sheep and goats remain as independent homestead units, the two groups only perhaps reuniting in the better wet seasons. This almost reaches a stage of permanent division of the herds and families in some cases.

An example of this is in central Turkanaland, the people of the lower Turkwel, whose wet season pastures are on that water course, and whose dry season cattle pastures are on Loima Mt. (Naminit, i.e. Muruanisigar), and whose sheep and goats and camels wander in many different directions in the plains. At the height of the dry season the cattle are on Loima and possibly the camels also. Sheep and goats and other camels are scattered over most of central Turkanaland to the north, south and west of the Turkwel. As the rains set in camels from the mountains and sheep and goats converge onto the lower Turkwel, where new bush leafage tends to grow fairly quickly, despite the low rainfall and sandy soil, because of the large flow of the river. If it is a good season the cattle will later make the 40 miles journey from Loima to the river. If it is not a good season most of them will merely shift their location to the poor parts of eastern Loima and not descend to the plains at all, shifting location again as the dry season returns. If they have come down they will have to make a decisive return when the rains cease, for they cannot stay long on the Turkwel nor graze their way back to the mountains. It is a once and for all trek to get back. Camels, sheep and goats disperse more slowly, but gradually they spread out and the cycle is completed.

Many of the people of central Turkanaland, middle Turkwel and the Kosibir valley, grazing their cattle on Loima, come into this second category.

The frequency of movements

It is very difficult to give in a general way an account of the frequency of movements of a nuclear family or its constituent homesteads. In such matters the information of the natives themselves is not very reliable, and I have not been able to make a continual record of observations in many areas or for many homesteads^x.

x As will be seen later, in the description of the community, the group of people I have best been able to keep an exact record of, have been a typical from the migrational point of view. See pp. 123 - 124

What information I have leads to the following conclusions, which must be regarded as preliminary only.

In the case of Category (1) above, as far as north-western Turkana-land is concerned, the movements from the best wet season pastures to the limits of those of the dry season is completed in about three or four stages, and back again in about the same number. Homesteads may be static for about five months in the farthest dry season areas. In the case of Category (2) cattle make a single decisive move from the plains to the mountains, where they may move three or four times according to the state of the grass; and another decisive move back to the plains. The homesteads remaining in the plains may be able to establish themselves in a good browse area (of the Desert Scrub variety) and remain there for six or seven months, with possibly one or two other moves during the rest of the year. But many never become stabilised anywhere for longer than two months except perhaps in the wet season when they may be static for about four months, according to the nature of the season in any year. But in considering the frequency of movements it must be remembered that even within a fixed area there are often minor changes of homesteads to accomodate stock better to changing conditions of the pastures. This is particularly the case at the changes of the seasons when the rains are just beginning or ending, and when therefore the relations of pastures to water are changing, as well as the state of the pastures. In the plains the November short rains, or early falls at the end of the dry season, may be sufficient to induce people to move to a new location for only a matter of weeks. For instance the short rains (unequally distributed in the north of the country) of 1948 brought people to the slopes of Lokwanamur and Ngatome valley for about two or three weeks, after which time they were forced to move again because of the drying up of the temporary water supplies. In this case, some people came from near to Labur Range (about 30 miles), and combined the brief stay in a more general movement north to Lorienetom. But others moved back again to the vicinity of Labur. Because of the poverty of browse at that time in north Turkana-land it was felt worthwhile to make such a brief visit to temporarily better pastures.

Apart from the negligibly few cases of a browse homestead being static more or less the whole year round because of other inducements and commitments of the head of the family, no homestead in Turkana-land is static for the whole year. Invariably there is a shift between wet and dry season pastures. But since these pastures are not completely specific, especially in the plains, there must ordinarily be more than these two movements per year^x.

The chief social consequences of Turkana migratory pastoralism

Because of climate, the distribution of grazing and browsing areas at different times of the year, and the normal custom of each family to own all types of stock, and the conventional (if unspoken) principle to make best use of pastoral resources, it follows that, as we have seen, a family's herds and flocks must be split up some or even most of the time. This means that the family itself must also be split up into units capable of looking after each unit of stock. This is slightly modified by certain forms of co-operation, as will be described later; but here it can be said that there must be enough men and boys to herd, protect and supervise each herd unit, and enough women and girls to do the milking, watering, cooking and building. Generally a man likes to have at least one wife and one adult male with each herd unit, as well as youths and girls. Practically all stock owners must have at least two homesteads, one for grazing and one for browsing stock. In addition there may be separate camel homestead. And any herd may be sub-divided if it is too large for one homestead, or if it is conveniently possible to separate milking from non-milking stock. Some families are divided into four or five units, only a few are not divided up at all, and most are divided amongst two homesteads. Conventionally the head of the family and the chief wife usually remain in the plains, i.e. with the sheep and goats in the dry season, only living with the cattle in the wet season, which can mean only once in two or three years. Typically all actual herding is the work of boys and young men, and they

form the nucleus of graze homesteads in the mountains, away from much of the authority of the heads of their families. A man is separated from his wives and children, brothers and sisters are forced apart, young daughters-in-law know little of the authority of their husbands' parents for long periods.

According as to whether migration comes into Category (1) or (2) above, so the unity and cohesion of the family is affected. Where wet and dry season areas tend to form a continuous belt the different units of a family tend to maintain more contact with one another, coming together more frequently. Where the two areas are decisively separated the division is more complete, co-operation more infrequent, and the authority of the head of the family less strong. In Category (1) the movements of each of the units of the families are largely governed by the same sorts of conditions; In Category (2) the units live and move in what are quite different sorts of conditions, since the mountains and plains are so unlike. Thus the mountains units may be living in comparative comfort with fair supplies of meat and milk, sharing in the generally higher standards of living of the better climate, better grazing conditions, and a larger population amongst which co-operative sharing is carried on. The units in the plains, usually very dispersed in that poor country, experience a comparatively poor standard of living, with a small population amongst which there is co-operative sharing. The chief supplies of milk - cattle and camels - are unobtainable for the most part, and sizes of flocks may often be too small to allow much killing for meat. And although millet is only grown in the plains, the wives living in the mountains can come down temporarily to do garden work, taking their produce back with them. Where this division is most pronounced there seems to be a tendency for the plains to lose population as many people come to live nearer or partly on the mountains.

Apart from the effects on the family, the nature of migration has important repercussions on the persistence of the aggregations of homesteads into neighbourhoods. Because of an almost complete absence of the social organisation of migration on a territorial, clan or other basis, groups of homesteads are not permanent for any length of time. As between the mountains and plains especially there seem to be no concerted movements of fixed groups of homesteads, nor necessarily do all the homesteads move from one place to the same destination whether from a small or large scale viewpoint. From the same plains neighbourhood of the wet season, cattle often move in several directions towards the mountains, so that cattle homesteads end the dry season many miles from each other, as many as sixty or more in certain not unusual cases. In their various dry season locations each unit of a family mixes geographically and socially with other units from a wide range of other plains areas. Those units which remain in the plains with the browsing stock do not even keep together. There is no overriding social reason why they should. And they too end the dry season miles apart and in company with units from other areas.

From the small scale viewpoint the impermanence of groupings of homesteads is perhaps even more noticeable. Because of the arid, poor nature of the country two results follow:- (a) frequent movement is essential to keep a supply of browse for the stock; (b) flocks must be dispersed as widely as possible to prevent over-browsing too quickly and preventing more frequent moves. Coupled with this is the principle that individual movements are principally a matter of the personal opinion of the head of the family. Disagreement means the splitting up of the group of homesteads into almost as many units as there are homesteads. This seems to be not uncommon for there are few ties to keep such a group together. There are too, besides the differences of opinions, forces of individual attraction such as the locations of relatives and friends. Again the relative size of herds is important. A relatively small flock of sheep and goats (say, less than a hundred) can remain in an area which will not support one of 2-300 plus some camels. If both flocks move the smaller may make do with rather worse country than the larger. The composition of the family itself is significant for upon that depends largely the extent of sub-division of the total supply of labour.

There is therefore a continuous kaleidoscopic movement over the country from which only broad trends may be picked out. Groups of homesteads form, are added to or depleted, and break up, the units going

to other and different, perhaps newly formed, groups. Most of the intra-group (i.e. intra-neighbourhood) social activity is of the kind possible between any group of homesteads, resting as it does on temporary contiguity rather than specific ties. These latter are a factor but never a binding one.

In the next few chapters I shall deal more fully with these topics in their context. Thus the consideration of the general and large scale movement will be concluded in the chapter on "Rights in Land and Water"; the sub-division of the family and the internal organisation of homesteads in "Homestead and Nuclear Family"; small scale movement and intra-group co-operation in "Neighbourhood and Community".

PART TWO: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURECHAPTER 6.THE TERRITORIAL SECTION

Here I shall briefly describe what is an almost neutral feature of Turkana social structure, in order to show the small part played by any large territorial groupings, and also because of the confusing nomenclature, due possibly to the breakdown of some earlier organisation.

The Turkana are divided into two "major parts", Ngimonia and Ngichuro. Each major part is divided into a number of "territorial sections". The natives use the same word for both, viz: 'ekitela'; pl. 'ngetala'. There follows a list of all these divisions, with their literal meanings where known. As usual with their naming, the Turkana see no relationship between the literal meaning and the named thing.

NGIMONIA

- 1 - Ngkwatela
Ngiepakuno - cutters of ekunoit trees.
- Ngissiger
Ngijie - the fighters.
- 2 - Ngissir - the dressed-up people.
Ngiboicheros
Ngiseto
Ngithonyoka - sheeps' tails.
Ngimazuk - from 'mazuk', meaning those who had dealings with early traders.
- Ngatunyo - lions.
Nganyangatauk - yellow calves.
Ngikuniye
Ngikajik
Ngimamong

NGICHURO

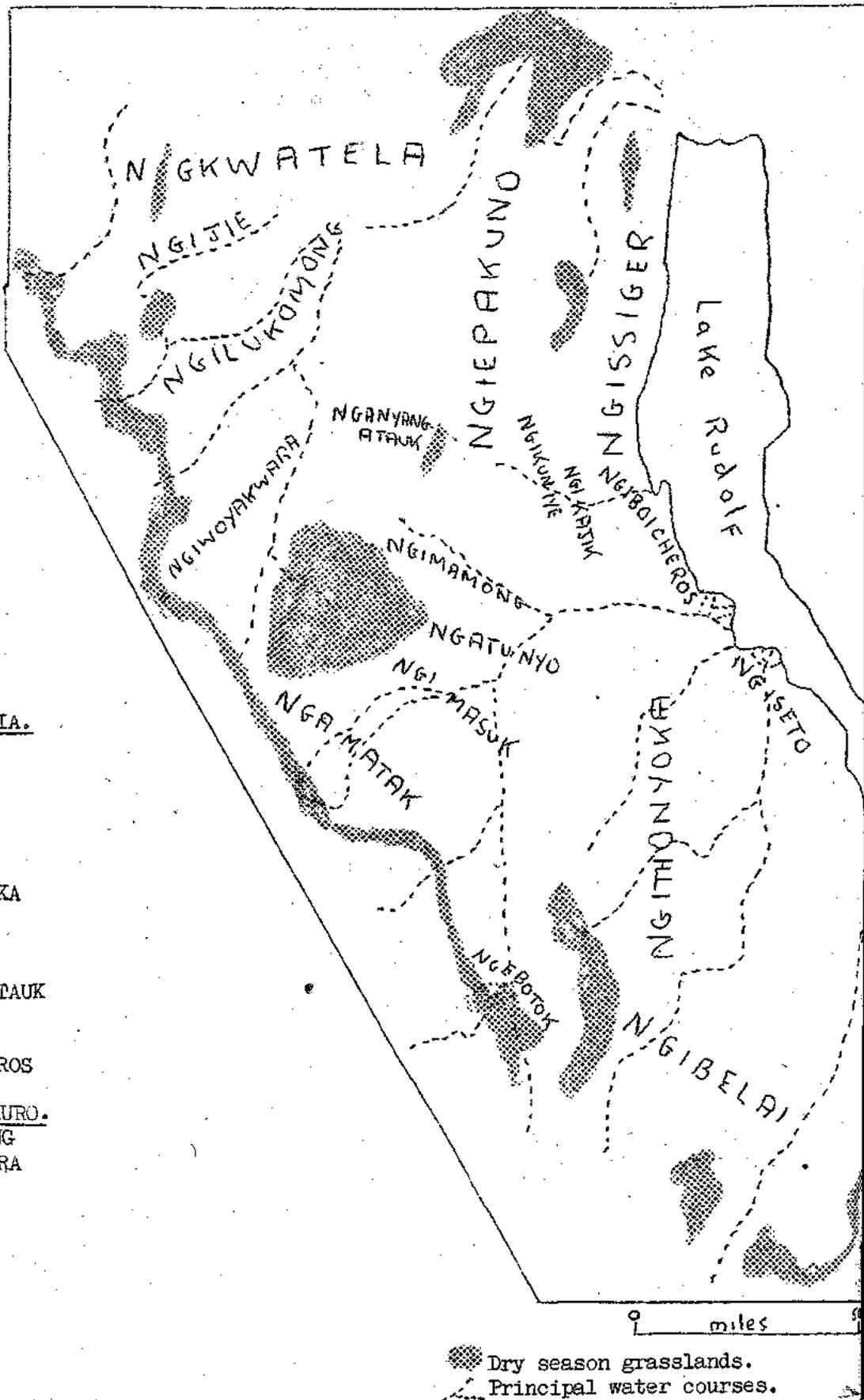
- Ngilukumong - oxen with down sweeping horns.
Ngiwoyakwara - the long spears.
Nggamatak - the drinkers.
Ngibelai - the fighting sticks.
Ngebotok - the poor people.

N.B. Ngimonia is divided into two - Ngissir and non-Ngissir, the former consisting of nine sections.

The accompanying map shows the approximate positions of all the sections. Some of the principal geographical features have been drawn in to help indicate their positions, and also to show, firstly, that boundaries are not co-incident with such features, and secondly, the tendency for sections to lie across water-courses. There has deliberately been no attempt to draw any boundaries because they are really impossible to delineate and the people themselves do not consider the system in that light. Sections cover only wet season areas, and a man belongs to that section in which he lives and herds his stock in a good wet season. This latter proviso is important since a good wet season occurs on the average only once in about four years, and a family and its herds (or parts of both) may not live in their own section for two or three years consecutively. Mountain areas are not included in sections, and people and stock must live in the mountains for long periods. In the mountains there is everywhere a mixture of people with little or no distribution on a sectional basis. Dry season settlements are composed of people of two or three sections very often. There is no sectional 'ownership', that is, of the principal cattle grazing areas. By the distribution of sections there cannot be. In fact there is no ownership of land anywhere. Turkana always insist most strongly that anyone can move anywhere, and can graze his stock anywhere. I have been rather incredulous about this if only because I was looking for some ownership principle and group in the tribe; but when I expressed this doubt several men who knew me well insisted to the point of vehemence that no-one owned land, that anyone could go anywhere. In practice as would be expected people do not move anywhere at random, preferring the known areas to the relatively unknown. Each family, and groups of families, tend to move within a fairly narrow circle but exceptional climatic conditions will shift them out of this. This aspect has been more closely examined in the chapter on migration, all that need be noted here is that these circles do not

SKETCH MAP NO. 2

TERRITORIAL SECTIONS

1. NGIMONIA.

NGKWATELA
 NGIEPAKUNO
 NGISSIGER
 NGIJIE
 (NGISSIR)
 NGISETO
 NGITHONYOKA
 NGIMASUK
 NGATUNYO
 NGIMAMONG
 NGANYANGATAUK
 NGIKUNIYE
 NGIKAJIK
 NGIBOICHEROS

2. NGICHURO.

NGILUKUMONG
 NGWOYAKWARA
 NGGAMATAK
 NGIBELAI
 NGEBOTOK

coincide with section boundaries or sectional spheres of influence. It may be noted also that some sections have no dry season cattle graze and precious little dry season browse in or adjacent to their areas and must cross others in order to reach it (e.g. Ngikuniye, Ngikajik); whilst many parts of others must cross other sections to reach their dry season graze (e.g. Ngithonyoka, Ngoboicheros, Ngiseto, Ngissiger, and others). Even more important is that in the dry season members of a section will be scattered in more than one direction to the nearest mountains.^x

It is impossible for rights to reside with a section as there is no corporative entity. There are no leaders, the people never come together as a unit, nor raided as a unit. There is no corporative and conventional opposition to other sections or to individual members of them. As we shall see in the chapter on the clan, there is no significant correlation between section and clan. There is a tendency for the age organisation to be linked with the section, mainly because both are based on good wet season habitation; but it is not strong, contiguous sections influencing each other, cutting across the major dichotomous divisions even (e.g. Ngibelai and Ngiseto are very similar in age-set terminology; so are Ngilukumong, Ngijie and Ngkwatela); and some initiation centres are made up of people from more than one section.^{xx}

Occasionally, perhaps because of continued drought in an area, ties of friendship elsewhere or inimical relations in the home area, families will move to other sections and become 'members' of that new section as far as one can become a member, i.e. one who lives and herds there in good wet seasons. The change-over is accompanied by no ceremony or ritual.

I have tried to discover sub-divisions of the section but have failed with certain exceptions. There are groups of people smaller than the section (the wet season community) which, to my knowledge, are composed of people of one section only. But the Turkana refuse to think of a number of these making up a section. One must agree from an observer's point of view too, since a community is not necessarily a compact group of people occupying a compact area of the section. They are spread out with parts of other communities intersecting them, their exact disposition depending on the climate, not on any sectional principle. Ties with other communities, apart from contiguity, are of no different type or value than with communities of other sections (i.e. kinship, in-law, friendship).

Ngissir, of Ngimonia, is sub-divided into eight sections, but the natives say these are all sections ('ngitela') exactly the same as any other non-Ngissir section. I cannot refute this since there is so little on which to base an opinion. If one asks a man he usually gives the sub-division (e.g. Ngithonyoka) but sometimes says Ngissir. I find that he usually gives the latter if there are a lot of members of the other major part (Ngichuro) about. Ngibelai are divided into Ngitacha, Ngkolio, and Ngkotonya; Ngiwoyakwara are divided into Ngiwoyakwara and Ngimerimong, Ngissiger into Ngissiger and Ngimataperi. These seem to be names only and I can discover no significance in them.

The Turkana invariably resent most strongly the suggestion that sections fought each other and say that they never have done. "We are all brothers." One or two people said that long ago there was such fighting but not in recent times. Barton (in 'The Political History of the Turkana') records that the Ngiseto raided parts of the Ngibelai when the latter had given early allegiance to the British, but it seems that it was not wholly or solely Ngiseto and that the attack was in part aimed against the British. All the stories about war concern other tribes only, wherever I have been.

Differences between sections are confined to certain parts of personal ornament. Turkana say that they can always tell the section of a stranger by certain types of clothing, bead work and ornaments (but we have found that in fact they cannot do so invariably). The most noticeable difference, and the one most usually mentioned by the natives themselves, is in the make-up of the

x Cp. map showing sections with map showing directions of migration.

xx See map on p. 134.

married women's back skirts, which are made of pieces of different coloured skins sewn together. For example, Nggamatak wives wear a skirt of which the upper part is black and the lower part chocolate brown; Ngithonyoka have the upper part black and the lower reddish brown; Ngibelai have the upper black and the lower fawn; Ngiwoyakwara have upper part black, the lower chocolate brown with white side pieces, and so on. Other differences are:- Nggamatak unmarried girls use a circular bead pattern on skirts and necklaces, Ngilukumong a semi-circular one. Ngissir wives smear themselves with red mud (only girls of other sections are allowed to do this); Nggamatak women wear six earrings, Ngissir four and Ngilukumong eight. There are however regional traits which, I think, enter into the judgment, such as:- the relatively high proportion of ostrich egg shell work worn in western Turkana land, the red-stained teeth of those who live near and drink the water of Lake Rudolf, the relatively poorer clothing of the women of central Turkana land, certain borrowed traits from the various foreign tribes, broad dialectic differences (Turkana recognise four or five dialects within the country based on slight differences of accent and a few words) including loan-words from foreign tribes, styles in men's headdress, local concentrations of personal names. From a combination of all these traits a Turkana would guess a stranger's section but not always correctly.^x But the traits mentioned are not all strictly sectional ones and there is a good deal of borrowing. The Nggamatak bead circles seem to be especially popular for instance, and are widely borrowed.

Because of their relatively better wet season areas some sections have a reputation for containing wealthier men, i.e. Ngibelai, Nggamatak, Ngilukumong and Ngkwatela; but this is really more of a regional distribution not confined specifically to these four sections, nor composing the whole of each. Other sections have their wealthy men and these four contain all grades of wealth down to extreme poverty.

There are two, perhaps three, sections which have outstanding unity ascribed to them by outsiders. Firstly, Ngebotok, the relatively settled agricultural population of the upper Turkwel, whose mode of life is considerably different from the rest of the Turkana. They are said to have borrowed much from the Suk, and have a specific history of impoverishment and relative separation from the rest of the country. They are looked down upon by the other Turkana and given a specific unity such as no other section is. Although everyone admits that they are Turkana, they are in many ways separated from the rest socially and politically.

The Ngiboicheros are usually spoken of as "the fishing people" by other Turkana, because they are the section principally involved in fishing at Lake Rudolf. They are not solely or wholly so however. It does not give them any more internal cohesion than in any other section.

The Ngkwatela are the northernmost section, stretching from Mogila and Taposa country to Lorienetom. They were the last and least touched by the invading British; and they border on the almost uninhabited south-east Sudan, spilling into that empty area in the dry season. They are the most spirited and independent-minded of all the Turkana,^{xx} who mix less freely with the rest of the tribe. I have little evidence having only visited them once, fleetingly, but other natives always single them out for special mention. As far as I can make out their internal organisation is no different from other sections.

The major dichotomous parts seem to be the vaguest of all the Turkana vague groups. The story is that when the people arrived at first in what is now Turkana land they split into two parts, Ngimonia and Ngichuro, and later the parts were divided into the present sections. I have been unable to discover any more than that. Today Ngichuro women are supposed to wear front skirts of gazelle skin, whilst Ngimonia women wear goat skin. But this is not strictly observed in practice. Very often the actual names are neglected, and the major part is called by the speaker's own section name. Thus Nggamatak informants refer to Ngichuro as Nggamatak, and Mr. Whitehouse has been told

x I must confess that my wife and I are very often wrong as we travel around the country.

xx Nearly every European that I have met in the country comments on this in comparison with the rest of the people - though their views rest almost entirely on the natives' relations with the Administration.

by the Ngibelai that the big name is Ngibēai. My Ngissir informants often speak of the whole Ngimonia as Ngissir. In connection with feasts and age-sets there is a difference in the handling of the 'apol' (a certain piece of meat cut out of a slain animal by the senior men present. See chapter on "Age-set Organisation" p.151).

As might be expected the Turkana are invariably vague about their sections and are usually unable to give a full list of them, and link them together on a regional basis neglecting the major parts. A native is often startled to be asked the name of his section. This is not, I think, because it is so obvious a fact - for many of them, miles away from their homelands, it is not for much of the year. And they will most usually be able to give me the name of their homeland ('akwap'), i.e. the name of the area where they live in good wet seasons, which is usually named after the local water course on which the people are based, and where their gardens are found.

The section is therefore of no current sociological significance in Turkana society. It has been described here in order to avoid mis-conceptions about Turkana territorial organisation, and to indicate the presence of a functionless form. The negative content of the section may however help to a clearer understanding of the society.

N.B. Purely for the sake of convenience I shall often use the sectional names as terms of reference when describing migrations of people and stock, and for a shorthand term for areas of the plains. The Turkana find no need to take this kind of course since they seldom, if ever, take the overall view taken here in those chapters dealing with environment, migration, grazing conditions, etc.

CHAPTER 7

RIGHTS IN LAND AND WATER

Whatever the mode of livelihood in a country, the European, even with some knowledge of native peoples, tends to look for some rights in land, some notion of landed property amongst a tribe. Hence, perhaps, the title of the present chapter. But in fact it is really a misnomer because the Turkana know no rights in pasture land at all. "Turkana can go anywhere!" "People just live together. When the grass is finished they move on somewhere else where there is grass." These are two typical statements made to me when I have discussed the matter with the people.

In describing the territorial sections it has been shown how the people are divided up on the basis of traditional wet season habitat, i.e. the plains; and how the highland and other dry season areas are not included in the scheme. Further it has been described how the sections are extremely loose in membership and quite lacking in organisation. In no real sense can we say that either the section as a whole, nor the individual members of it "own" these lands, or indeed have any prior rights to them. Structurally there is nothing to prevent a family changing its wet season habitat temporarily or permanently, either to another part of the section or to a different section. I know of families which have shifted in this way for one or more of various reasons: for example, the desire to be nearer dry season pastures, the desire to leave relatively poor for relatively good wet season area, the desire to move away from people with whom for one reason or another relations are strained, the desire to live near some relative, in-law or friend etc. In such case no rights are given nor permission sought in the old area, nor rights taken up or permission obtained in the new. When the time comes to move to the wet season location the change will be made.

It must be emphasised that a family does not live precisely in the same area each wet season. Location at that time depends on the state of the vegetation, i.e. the nature of the rains. One can only say in a general way that

x See p.30 in paragraphs on agriculture for description of rights in garden lands.

people will tend to live in or near a specified locality, and there is usually a good wet season centre near to which families move. But in an average year: homesteads may be up to 30 or 40 miles from that locality. Never, even were the nature of rains, pastures etc., the same, would a family return to exactly the same spot. There are always a few miles separating current homesteads from the sites of the previous year at the same time. The group of homesteads that form a neighbourhood in the wet season are always the same from year to year.

For the dry season I have already described the types of movements and the principles at the back of them, whether in plains or mountains. The latter do not come into the orbit of the sections and there is no grouping whatsoever, however vague, that could contain any rights. Without exception every mountain and forward plains area contains homesteads from at least two sections. What is more important, those homesteads are invariably mixed up so that no neighbourhood is composed of homesteads of one section only. Because of the direction from which each section's homesteads come to the mountain there are usually, vaguely, areas of greater concentration of each section, although I have found it difficult to get the Turkana to admit even that. And not infrequently it may be scarcely true since, due to the configuration of mountain and plains, some homesteads of a section go one way and some another. For instance, from Nggamatak, people go up onto Loima via Lorusi Aliban to Kanaro, via Puch to Nangoleki, and via the eastern slopes to Naminit. In Table No.4 is given a list of the chief dry season pastures showing from which sections people come.

The organisation of social life within dry season areas is no different from that of wet season ones. There are no leaders to lose, or new ones to meet. We can therefore, I think, entirely disregard any territorial basis of the organisation of rights in pasture land.

It will be considered now if any rights adhere to the individual homestead, or to groups who at any time may be living in an area. At any time, and this frequently occurs, the neighbourhood may be augmented or depleted of its numbers as homesteads move about in search of pastures. There is no notion that 'we got here first and so we own this area for the time being', or 'the pasture here cannot support any more stock', or 'you were not here last year, why do you not go elsewhere then?' In fact, when I have suggested such ideas to the Turkana they have at first not understood, and then have been incredulous that such things could be. People "own" ('akimet' i.e. "to own" stock) animals, they "own" ('akiding' i.e. "to own", where stock is concerned) weapons, clothing, pots and ornaments, but no-one owns land. "It is all one country. We are all Turkana. We can go anywhere," said one man to me. Neither does a homestead have a prior right to any particular stretch of the pastures, e.g. a portion of the river bank, a part of a hill side, a small valley, or some other recognisable piece of countryside. From reasons of current expediency herds do not compete with each other in the same part on any day, but since daily herding and grazing is a matter of a gradual movement over the land in most cases as the animals feed, making a rough circle as the day draws to a close, those circles are not regular day after day. Each herd cuts and recuts both its own and those of others from day to day. Very often herds move in one direction on watering days (i.e. between homestead and the waterpoint), and in the opposite direction on other days. The general direction is a matter for the head of each homestead, the precise directions each day are the products of the youths' and animals' inclinations. One day two or three herds may be close together as their herdsmen pass the time together, another day they may be widely separated.

Rights in water

Rights in water are rights in development only. That is, if a man (or more exactly his wives and daughters) have to dig, deepen and keep clear one or more water holes, he has prime right to water his stock there. Thus at any large group of water holes in a sandy river bed each family tends to have its own holes to which it returns each watering day. I regularly watched watering at Kanamut (western Turkana land) for several weeks, where up to 1,000 cattle, over 2,000 sheep and goats, and about

x As soon as the river comes down in flood water-holes are washed completely away. Fresh holes must be dug afterwards.

TABLE 4SECTION TO BE FOUND IN THE CHIEF DRY SEASON PASTURES

<u>LOIMA</u> - <u>Naminit</u>	- Ngimazuk Ngatunyo Ngimamong	Ngikuniye Ngiboicheros Ngiepakuno	Nganyangatauk Nggamatak Ngithonyoka
<u>Mangoleki</u>	- Nggamatak Ngimazuk Ngatunyo	Ngimamong Ngiboicheros Ngithonyoka	
<u>Kanaro</u>	- Nggamatak Ngimazuk Ngiwoyakwara		
<u>Nakaparar</u>	- Nggamatak Ngiwoyakwara		
<u>Garitei</u>	- Ngiwoyakwara Ngilukumong		
<u>Maitamajong</u>	- Nganyangatauk Ngimamong Ngiepakuno		
<u>Nyangolichom</u>	- Nganyangatauk Ngilukumong Ngiepakuno		
<hr/>			
<u>THUNGUT</u>	- Ngilukumong Ngijie Ngkwatela Nganyangatauk	<u>MOGILA</u> <u>NADAPEL</u>	- Ngkwatela Ngijie Ngilukumong
<u>LORIENETOM</u> <u>LOKWANAMUR</u>	- Ngissiger Ngiepakuno Ngkwatela	<u>PELEKECH</u>	- Ngiepakuno Nganyangatauk Ngimamong
<u>MURERIS</u>	- Ngissiger Ngiboicheros Ngiepakuno		
<hr/>			
<u>KAILONGOL</u> <u>LOITERUK</u>	- Ngithonyoka Ngibelai Ngiseto	<u>TIATI</u> <u>SILALI</u> <u>SAMBURU UPLANDS</u>	- Ngibelai Ngiseto
<u>TURKWEI/MALMALTI</u>	- Ngithonyoka Ngibelai Nggamatak Ngebotok		

200 camels were constantly watered at one period during the dry season. I noticed that each herd and its attendant womenfolk used the same holes, and that to a certain extent they were regarded as their holes by the other people. This must be modified slightly in view of the fact that stock only water every other day, and that on 'off-days' other families and herds were using the holes. Thus each hole had two families using it on alternate days, and sharing in its upkeep. This is a general and informal arrangement of mutual convenience.

It would be misleading however to over-emphasize this type of ownership. A migrant traveller will not be able to come along and simply water his stock as he passes by. He must first seek the permission of a local inhabitant for the use of one or more holes. This permission would not be refused, I am told, even when water is getting scarce. There is not a sufficiently strong notion of owning the water for that. Water in itself is to them what economists call a 'free good'. It is more a matter of convenience that people have prior right to certain holes which they have developed. Every herd cannot use the same hole where there are large numbers of stock to be watered, and thus each family looks after its own and regularly use its own to prevent congestion and trouble. At the smaller water points one or two holes only may be kept going, each herd waiting until those in front of them have had their fill, each family doing what work is needed to maintain the flow of water and adequacy of the holes. And even where holes are recognised as belonging to a family, yet if that family's stock have finished their drinking, there is inevitably an overflow of animals from other families' herds to use the vacated holes. This is done without any special permission.

When a homestead first arrives at a new point there are the alternatives of digging fresh holes (often not a difficult matter in sandy river-beds, if it is not too late on in the dry season) or of using existing holes at times when they are not being used by the family which developed them. So long as a family has access to its own holes at the normal times of watering there can be no objection to anyone else using them.

Where watering points are not dug holes there can be no prior rights vested in any group. Thus a spring-filled pond alongside dug holes in a river bed is free for all. There is no need to develop the supply. Thus several herds may at the same time drink out of such a pond, the others waiting until there is room. Herds at Kanamut slaked their initial thirst at such a natural pond before serious drinking at the family holes. Where the whole water supply at a point is from natural springs, rain-filled ponds or rock-pools the simple rule is, first come first served. As a routine develops certain families tend to come earlier and others later, to water on the same day, thus avoiding long periods of waiting and keeping the stock back. There is little confusion and seldom any trouble in all this. Every herd has equal rights and needs for the water; each takes its turn. There is no formal organisation. The largest water point I have seen, watered about 1,000 cattle a day, as well as sheep, goats and donkeys, at about eight places at spring-fed rock pools (Lorititio, on Kanaro area of Loima). Cattle arrived continuously from about 8 a.m. until 6 p.m. with a break in the heat of the day from about noon to 3 p.m. Yet I saw no trouble or quarreling, and everything passed off smoothly. Some herds were always waiting their turn, some drinking and some about to depart. Each herd came on alternate days. This number was added to as the dry season lengthened out. One group of people, which I know, which moved there afterwards, had no difficulty in getting water.

(It may be added that natural deposits of salt and salt earth, which stock lick and eat, is similarly regarded as a 'free good'. Everyone gets a chance to use the supply by an attitude of live and let live).

This general and ordinary casualness is sometimes broken by quarrels at times when pastures and/or water are getting scarce at the end of a long dry season. At such times both animals and humans suffer a good deal from lack of food, long distances to be walked, and the longer and more strenuous times taken in watering. Tempers are likely to be short and the Turkana is in his (and her) worst mood. Some incident may then serve to break down the normal philosophical attitude to the hard life and precipitate trouble, which may lead to fighting either between individuals or even between groups. Such occasional fracas have, in the past, been

called civil wars, by Europeans, but this is not only elevating their importance above the local and transient affairs they really are, but also neglects the basic Turkana distinction of types of fighting. There is real fighting with spears against foreigners and enemies ('ngimoi'), and that fighting between Turkana which is carried on only with sticks and wrist knives, and is one of the conventionalised methods of settling differences. This latter type may occur as a result of any kind of quarrel, and unless permanent injury is done (which, with the type of weapons used, cannot be very often), is not held as cause for compensation nor permanent enmity. The Turkana is, on occasion, quick to anger and to action, and no less quick to forget it again. Therefore any fighting which may occur as a result of short tempers and temporarily short supplies of pastures and water is not particularly serious, drawn out, or extensive, and may not involve all of the people in the area concerned. Further it is genuinely deplored by people in their normal, saner moods. "It is bad for Turkana to fight," they say, whatever the cause, unless some enormity such as adultery, murder or act of witchcraft has been committed.

I was present at discussions which followed such a stick and knife fight during the earlier rains of 1949, which occurred near Komacherin in western Turkanaland. The situation was that the area in question had been practically empty for some months as pastures were exhausted and water supplies low and difficult to get. As the rains at last set in (about mid-July) there was a gradual movement there by families and herds which usually lived in the vicinity in the wet season. But although water supplies were now easy (a small hole could be dug anywhere in the Komacheri water course), grass was still poor in what is usually a fairly good district. During the rest of July and August other families passed through from either the Escarpment further north, or from Loima, going to districts farther south. Often they stayed a day or two near the principal water point, Komacherin, before passing on. This was not unusual. By about the third week in August pastures had not improved much, as a gang of young men with their fathers' stock arrived there on route for the Lorengagipi, some 35 miles farther south, having come from 10 - 15 miles farther north on the Karamajong border. They stayed five days during which time friction began. The local inhabitants were worried about the state of their pastures after a long drawn out dry season; the young, temporary visitors were irresponsible and unworried about such things. They stayed longer than their predecessors en route. Finally there was some trouble over one of the local women when two of the local inhabitants were beaten by these young men. It was nothing serious as far as the woman was concerned, but it was sufficient to arouse some of the local men, who attacked the young men unexpectedly with sticks and knives. Little damage was done apart from a few cuts and bruises. But the young men were told forcibly to go to their own country ('akwap') and not stay here where graze was short. No attack was made on the herds. Now at any time such a fight would have been thought reprehensible, although not calling for much comment. But on this particular occasion it was associated with the background of the common rights to pastures and water.

Two of the young men arrived to report all this, with suitable embellishments, to the local Government headman, Imana, near to whom I was living at the time; he and all the people, men and women, expressed great indignation that there should have been such fighting. "We are all Turkana. Turkana can graze wherever they want. No-one can prevent them", Imana told me. When I asked about water supplies, he said, "Water does belong to people if they make an 'akerr' (i.e. a hole dug in a sandy river bed). But there is a lot of water in the Komacheri now. Anyone can get water there by digging. They should not have fought. It is bad." In his official capacity, and perhaps to impress me, he had all the men concerned fetched to his home-stead (about 20 miles from the scene of the fight) in order to collect their names and send a report to the D.C. I was therefore able to hear all the discussion between the combatants themselves and the relatively disinterested parties. No-one was completely disinterested. It was a local event anyway, but also everyone appeared to hold very strong views about the evil of such fighting, views which I had not seen expressed when fights occurred over other matters. The fact that a woman had been involved as one of the immediate causes was forgotten, and I had difficulty in extracting this information at all. The stories of both sides agreed as I have recorded above. I asked the most influential of the local Komacherin inhabitants about it, and even he admitted it was wrong to fight over such things.

I was rather incredulous that the local neighbourhood had not prior rights to the pastures, especially in view of the fact of the admitted poverty of the area at the time. I was still not convinced that some, even vague, notion of ownership was not to be found. But without exception, men and women, many of whom knew my wife and I well at that place, insisted to the point of vehemence that no-one owned land and that no-one could prevent newcomers sharing in the resources of pasture and water that existed. Nothing that I could say could shift them from that point of view. And in other parts of the country the same thing has been told me by other natives. In this particular case I was more than ever surprised to meet such insistence since my neighbours were all directly or indirectly related to the Komacherin people, and at some times of the year lived rather closer to them, even in the same group of homesteads as some of them. This might have been expected to have aroused sympathetic understanding. Whereas the young men had been living in an area where my neighbours never go, and their fathers lived about 20 miles farther south, where also they do not go. This event occurred at the end of my tour of field-work so I was not able to discuss it with other Turkana in other parts of the country. But it does agree with all the evidence that I had collected before, being only perhaps a more dramatic demonstration.

But although there is no ownership, group or individual, of land or grazing rights, yet as might well be expected people do not move erratically everywhere and anywhere. Perhaps the essence of true nomadism is contained in the statement made to E. E. Evans-Pritchard by an Aulad 'Ali tribesman of Cyrenaica, who told him, "We call no place our home. It is wherever there is grass and water."² No Turkana would ever say that. He always has his homeland ('akwap') which is the district in which he lives during good wet seasons, possibly every wet season, and to which he moves as climate and pastures permit. Here too his wives usually own and cultivate gardens. For the great majority of men their homeland never changes much. It is there, or near there, that a man is initiated and engages in most of the activities of his age-set, where in former days he would assemble with his fellows prior to going on a raid and where he returned with booty at their conclusion. From the location of this "homeland" he takes the name of a territorial section. The other men and families who live there, like he does, he will repeatedly meet and live with, and, with some, form a community of mutual help and interest. There are strong ties of emotion and sentiment which are not easily broken.

There is also movement to and from the same general dry season pastures, although the exact locations during that time are not the same, nor are the fellow members of the groups he lives with and with whom he undertakes 'ad hoc' co-operation. He does not travel 60 miles to pastures when equally good ones are available only 40 miles away. Intimate knowledge and experience of terrain, pastures, water supplies, vegetational types, paths, etc., tend to tie him to a fairly restricted circle of movement. An exceptionally bad year will drive him out of it in the attempt to keep his stock alive. Occasionally for some reason or other he may shift his circle slightly to work in with some kinsman or friend. On the whole though it is possible to map out the general movements of a man, or of his family to be more exact, which will not vary much from year to year. As soon as a man reaches middle age and is well established with his own independent family and herds his annual routine settles down fairly precisely. As he becomes older and his adult sons take increasing charge of his herds, the routine changes slightly as they develop their own ways. And as they set up independent families they establish slightly different routines, but still based usually on the same wet and dry season movements. It is somewhat surprising, perhaps, to discover the parochialism of many of the natives. Areas only 20 or 30 miles outside their annual cycles of movements remain virtually unknown, as I have found out when trying to get geographical information or guidance. One or two areas will be known where a man has been to a wedding, funeral, etc. The others he will only know of by hearsay. I have found that outstanding mountains visible 40 or 50 miles across the plain are not always known by name since the man questioned

never moves in that direction with his herds. Men accompanying me through Turkana land outside their own districts usually tell me that they do not know anything about another area in which we happen to be. "This is not my country", they tell me as if we had arrived in a foreign land instead of in another part of the same tribal area where the culture and social system is outstandingly homogeneous. It is not, I think, because strangers find very great difficulties in establishing themselves with the local inhabitants or that their ways are different. Because it is out of their own circle, maybe an area which they would never visit were it not for accompanying me, they are not interested and always yearn to get back.

The complete lack of recognised rights in land and water does not create any difficulties in Turkana eyes. It would be false to say that there is enough for everybody, or even that everybody has the same needs. Turkana land is a poor country in the resources of pastoralism, whilst the sizes of herds and their composition can vary considerably. But it would be true to say that everybody has the same right to graze and water, and the habit of movement is so ingrained that a temporary overstocking can easily be remedied by moving on somewhere else. Land rights vested in individuals would tend to tie them down in their movements, which would soon prove disastrous in many cases owing to the variability of climate and other factors previously described. Rights vested in groups are at the present stage impossible for no group has sufficient corporative identity. And even groups would hamper that necessary ease of movement. Whatever the facts of the case - and these themselves indicate untrammelled movement - the Turkana like to think, and are undoubtedly proud to think, that they are free to go anywhere. They are beholden to no man for their livelihood, and their territorial freedom is the strongest exemplification of that feeling. Certain families by reason of the proximity of their homelands being very near to the mountain grasslands and the above average browse resources, are least mobile of any in the country (e.g. the Logirama homelands of Nggamatak, in relation to the southern part of the Karamajong Escarpment). Yet these men have been perhaps most insistent of all on their freedom to move if they wish to do so.

CHAPTER 8

CLAN AND KINSHIP

At birth every person automatically becomes a member of his or her father's clan ('ateger' or 'emacher'). A man retains his membership for life, and a woman takes the clan of her husband at marriage.^x There are 28 clans all of which are exogamous. Turkana say that all member of a clan are related by blood ties; they are all "brothers" or "cousins" ('lokwato' or 'lokwapa'). This relationship cannot be traced however and the formal term of reference or address is only used on formal occasions, or when the speaker, seeking some request, wishes to emphasise the conventional ties.

There follows a list of all the clans with a free translation of their meaning where known^{xx} (the prefix 'ngi' is the normal masculine plural prefix):-

(1) Those mainly or only in Ngichuro major part.

Ngirarak	- cheetahs	Ngikinom	- to do with fire
Ngimediow		Ngikadanya	
Ngiteso	- from "to pull apart"?	Ngikurruk	- crows
Ngikatokok		Ngilabal	
Ngikurerr	- a kind of bush	Ngikarewok	
Ngitengorr	- a type of rat	Ngiwana	
Ngikatap	- porridge	Ngeriamar	

(2) Those mainly or only in Ngimonia major part.

^x Ngikomesoroko	- to do with point of a spear	^x Ngimeturana	- eowi tree leaves
^z Ngimachermukata	- marked sandals	^x Ngissiger	
Ngitarapakolong	- those who cover against the sun	Ngimeripurr	

x That is to say, if a person is asked what his clan is, a man or unmarried woman will tell one the name of their father's clan; but a married woman will give the name of her husband's clan.

xx My analysis of the size and distribution of clans is based on the tax registers where the clans are used to facilitate classification of taxpayers.

(3) Those found more or less everywhere.

^xNgiduiya

^xNgiponga - aponga bush

^xNgipucho - epucho bush

^xNgoleroto

^xNgidoicha - edoicha plant

^xNgkaleso - ostriches.

^xNgitholika -

Ngilelet - nuts of erdung tree.

N.B. ^x indicates clans with over about 1,000 taxpayers.

It will be seen that only one of the eight universal clans is not large whilst none of the Ngichuro clans are large. Even taking into account the smaller population of Ngichuro^x all the latter's clans are much smaller than the rest and much more localised, nearly all being confined to Ngibelai and Nggamatak (Ngikadanya and Ngiwana are almost entirely Ngibelai; Ngikurerr, Ngikurruk, Ngilabal and Ngeriamar are almost entirely Nggamatak; the only other is Ngiteso of Ngilukumong). In none of these cases, whether Ngichuro as a whole or the specific sections, are these clans predominant in numbers or importance. All over the country the largest clans are the universal ones, and those eleven clans with over a thousand taxpayers together make up two-thirds of the total number. An examination of figures shows slight tendency to regional distribution such that three of the eleven large clans predominate in the north and centre of the country, three in the south, centre and north, two in the south and central, two in north, west and central, and one in north and west.

Whilst dealing with numerical distribution mention may be made of some 'queer' cases. Ngiteso are to be found only in Ngilukumong (in great strength) and Ngebotok, some two hundred miles apart; Ngilelet predominates in Nggamatak, Ngijie and Ngimamong; Ngimediow predominates in Ngibelai and Ngiwoyakwara, and so on, with no apparent explanation, giving two numerical centres to such clans. The Turkana do not know much about the distribution of their own clans beyond appreciating that certain ones are very big ones and others small, so they cannot be expected to explain these problems of distribution.

It is to be concluded therefore that there is only a tendency to regional distribution with the exception of the numerical very small clans of Ngibelai and Nggamatak.^{xx}

Turkana have told me that each clan has a known centre of birth and dispersal and a known founder, but this is not really correct since my evidence shows that, (a) a man usually says that his clan began in his own section so that one can get several centres for each clan; and (b) the founder turns out to be father's father or father's father's father of the informant in many cases, making the story patently false for all the largest clans at any rate. I have not as much information here as I could wish, for I did not discover this until late on in my tour. But most Turkana have told me they do not know the centre of origin or founder of their clan when I have asked them; nor do they know any ancestor outside the narrow limits of their traceable genealogy. When asked why it is that all clansfolk are related I get this sort of reply, as one man put it: "We do not know; it was all long ago; our ancestors decided it." One can presume that this is just about correct.

There is no evidence of any differentiation of status or wealth according to membership of a clan. There are no sub-divisions of a clan, nor any kinship unit between the clan and extended family. Certain clans recognise some kind of affinity with others.^{xxx} Thus Ngimeripur and Ngissiger, Ngiponga, Ngimeturana and Ngilelet (which, according to the people living near the middle Turkwel, are supposed to have originated together there and later split up); Ngimeturana and Ngilabal; Ngitholika and Ngitarapak-olong; Ngiponga and Ngikurerr; all have been singled out as being more

^x Ngichuro makes up about one quarter of the total population.

^{xx} Mr. A.C. Wright tells me that there are the same clan names in west Teso as these in Ngibelai and Nggamatak.

^{xxx} Mr Watts who first investigated the clans thought that one was a sub-section of the other, but there seems to be no evidence for this as far as I know.

alike than they are like an other clan^x but I have no concrete facts to back up these assertions. I know of no special relationships that exist because of it. In no case, whether the clan is large (8 - 10,000 people) or very small (less than 150) can the exogamous rule be broken.

Amongst the larger clans spread as they are over the whole of the country, a man cannot know all his clansmen. He does not pretend to. Among the smaller clans there is something of an extended family atmosphere. For example among the Ngilabel (about 150 people in all) actual kinship relations can be traced by a man to nearly all his clansmen, and my informant, headman Imana, told me that he knew by name all the members, and that the clan had been decimated in former times by an enemy raid. They are strictly confined to two local areas of Nggamatak. This is not the usual state of affairs though.

No mention is made in legend of what clans were represented in the original immigration into Turkanaland. There are traces of what might be totemic qualities, but few practices or beliefs exist today. Some clan names literally mean certain animals or trees etc., but with the sole exception of Ngitarapakolong (i.e. "those who cover the sun") I have never found any connection. But there are "taboos" or restrictions ('etal'; pl. 'Ngitalio') observed by wives in relation to their husbands' clans. The only unmarried woman or girl to observe these are unmarried mothers in relation to their father's clan. A newly married wife is taught them by the chief wife or the husband's mother. Examples of some of them are:- Ngiponga, Ngimeturana, Ngiduiya, Ngkaleso and Ngkarewok brides must wear a special type of front skirt ('ethia') until they have borne their first child; when a first baby is born to a Ngiponga wife she must drink an infusion of the leaves of the 'aponga' tree. Ngikadanya and Ngidoicha women do not shave their heads like other women; Ngitarapakolong wives must not look at the sun but always keep their heads covered;^{xx} Ngikatap and Ngimachermukata wives must wear frontskirts of gazelle skin (whether they are Ngichuro or not).^{xxx} More general restrictions also called by the same term are, for instance, that one must not go into the homestead of an Ngikatap wife when she is menstruating,^{xxxx} that milk of stock of Ngipucho and Ngidoicha clans is bitter to non-clansmen and should be altogether avoided by them if they are in any way ill. One exceptional 'etal' is that the edoicha plant has some mystic curative and tonic properties to people (both sexes) of Ngidoicha clan but others are quite forbidden to touch it. The sanction against the breaking of any of these is a general threat of illness or death of the woman and her children. The idea of 'etal' (and 'etalio'; i.e. the quality of being special and forbidden) is extended beyond clan boundaries to anything that is forbidden with the general sanction of illness or death. Thus ritual practices connected with pregnancy, birth or barrenness for women are all so termed. I found it extended to new and unknown practices, such as riding in a lorry, or having a photograph taken; but once the new idea is understood and approved of it stops being 'etalio'. The people say that they do not know the reason or origin for these customs. "It is our taboo. I do not know why. The ancestors knew long ago," said one man.

No clan is connected with any specialist activities, such as war-leadership, firemaking, witchcraft, rainmaking etc., as they are among the closely related Taposa.

If one asks a Turkana who is head of his clan (lit. 'erkarpulan', the big one) he usually replies, "There is no head; we have no heads now. They were all long ago". However a few will give the name of a man of the clan recently alive, or an old man, who achieved fame and importance for some reason (war exploits, great old age, outstanding personality, wealth, etc.) and say that he is the head. But enquiry soon shows that he is not

x 'ikwan ordechichi' i.e. a little alike.

xx I have never seen a Ngitarapakolong woman.

xxx Cp. p.60.

xxxx I do not know how people tell if a Ngikatap wife is menstruating.

related to a founder by any known ties, nor to all or even most of his clansmen, and that he has no authority over any of them outside his own extended family should he still be alive. Care in investigation is needed here because one may be told about activities in connection with this so-called "big one", but confusion only arises because the man referred to is the head of an extended family of which the speaker is a member and where by reason of his supervisory powers in stock matters the old man can exercise some authority over men and women who are not his own children. Clearly a native cannot think in terms of the whole clan in practical affairs. It has not sufficient meaning for him. To him his kinship head is a fairly closely related man with whom not only can actual ties be traced and who is involved in the same complex of cattle rights, but who lives near enough for relations to be kept up.

When a man is travelling and wishes for hospitality or help he can seek out a fellow clansman, but he will do so only if there are no in-laws, close kin or "best friends" living there. A clansman is supposed not to refuse hospitality, but I gather that he sometimes will. To the traveller, I am told, the clansman is only one degree removed from a stranger.

Each clan has two stock brands - one for males and one for females - which are supposed to be branded on every domestic animal.^x One sees large numbers of unbranded stock, though usually some of every herd are branded. A succession of bad seasons will cause postponement of branding of young stock, with no concern to the owner. When stock pass in bridewealth or other payment brands are left untouched, so that every herd has animals branded with marks of clans other than that of the owner's. The brands are not of much use for distinguishing stock especially in the larger clans, and there may be two or more families of the same clan in a settlement. But only to the European mind are such distinguishing marks needed. The Turkana knows all of his animals, and many of those of neighbours, too well to need them. In former days the brand would have been more important in setting the seal on a man's share of raided stock.

If one asks what is the group of people who co-operate to pay or receive compensation one is usually told the clan. But where actual cases occur this is not in fact the case, for it is a collection of people peculiar to each man, and includes non-kinsmen. But it may be that a smaller compensation is accepted for homicide when the case is between fellow clansmen. I have been often told this but know of no specific example.

As with the section so with the clan, little organisation or control activities can be seen. The prescribed limits of exogamy are a notable exception. And there is no activity of a group nature. We turn now to a brief introduction to the narrower kinship relationships, where actual known ties can be traced. Where these ties exist among men related in the patrilineal line, where the men (and their nuclear families) live near enough to maintain relations, and where a complex of rights in stock exists amongst them, I shall term the group an extended family. The depth of such an extended family is rarely, if ever, more than four generations, usually only three, and may be only two. In taking genealogies I find that most men and women can remember no further back than their grand-parents on both sides, and it is not unusual for them to have forgotten one or more of those. Brother and sisters of grand-parents, and their descendants are not normally known in their entirety, especially in those areas to which there has been permanent immigration during the last thirty or forty years after Turkana supremacy in war and the coming of the British.

A list of kinship terms is given in Appendix No.4. It will be seen that they are classificatory. But they do not form an all-embracing system coinciding with the conventional kin-group, i.e. the clan. Terms such as father, mother, brother and sister are occasionally extended to clansfolk and to age-mates etc., but they do not have the same social content as when they are applied to near kinsfolk, where they are based on practical social relations and activities in domestic and economic affairs, rights and obligations, inheritance etc., The broader extensions are rather an emphasis of etiquette on a few occasions.

x Hence - 'emacher' i.e. stockbrand i.e. clan.

More will be given in the chapters on the "Homestead and Family", "Rights in Stock", and "Neighbourhood and Co-operative Community", concerning the actual social content of kinship relations, as they are shown in action as a strand in the web of everyday life and the organisation of activities. Here it is pertinent to point out that they are only one strand in that web even where such vital factors as stock are concerned. Other important people and relationships are, e.g., in-laws, "best-friends", co-members of the co-operative community, age-mates, etc., and it would be wrong to consider kinship as an independent factor 'in vacuo'. Turkana do not see it like that; nor can we.

There is not a specific word for "family" in the Turkana language, only an extension of the word meaning "people" - 'ngitunga' which is seldom used, and is not particularly clearly defined, since it is capable of a wide range of uses which are not always clear from the context.

CHAPTER 9

HOMESTEAD AND NUCLEAR FAMILY

N.B. In the present chapter "family" or "nuclear family" is to be taken to mean, a man, his wives and dependent children, plus any other dependent people, e.g. widows of the man's father, young kinsmen, female kin of wives.

Description of the make-up of a homestead

Throughout Turkanaland the general lines of the composition of a homestead ('awi' : pl. 'ngawie') are the same, and the accompanying diagram shows the general type reduced to the simplest form. When asked to describe a homestead natives always give this kind of account. The shape of the main fence is very roughly circular with the main gate, a gap in the fence closed at nights by a conveniently placed mass of brushwood, always facing east. Inside, and immediately behind the gate, is the sleeping place and wind-break ('etiam') of the head of the homestead, where a fire is kept burning all night. It is a low semi-circular structure pointing away from the gate, with no roof nor shade against the sun. A man does not use it much between early morning and sunset. If there are any other adult men living there (sons, kinsmen, or poor men) they do not have a special sleeping place like this, although there is probably a place somewhere in the lee of a fence where a fire is made up each night; but they may sleep outside the main fence on the leeward side. They or boys may share the sleeping place of the head of the family, but this is not usual nor continuous since a young wife may visit her husband there at night from time to time. When he is sleeping there his spears and sticks are stuck into the wind-break, where they can be seized quickly in the event of trouble by wild animals (or, in the old days, enemy raiders).

When a man first sets up his own homestead he probably only has one wife. If she has no children, which is most unlikely at that stage, she lives during the day in his mother's day hut ('ekal') which is situated to the right of the gate. Both she and the mother each have their own separate night-huts ('akai'). If she has a child, the wife will have her own day-hut as well, which with her night-hut will be situated to the immediate right of the main gate, and the mother (if living there) has her huts to the left. As new wives are married they first of all share the day-hut of the mother (or of the chief wife if there is no mother) having their own night-hut. As they bear their first children they build their own day-hut also and the mother moves around to the left, so that all wives other than the chief wife are always on the mother's right, and in order of seniority on the left of the gate. If there are one or more full wives there will be a separate gate near to the mother's huts called "the gate of his (i.e. the head's) father", through which stock owned by the mother, as allocated to her by her husband, can pass. Conventionally the mother's huts are opposite the main gate, on the other side of the homestead. To the left of the mother are the huts (day and night) of

x There is no conception of right-hand and left-hand wives as amongst some African tribes.

widows of the head's father, whether inherited by him or living there as dependents. There will be separate gates for each of them. Any other widow who is living there (e.g. sister of the head, or of one of his wives, etc.) has her huts to the left again. Finally to the left of these, and thus to the right of the chief wife, are the huts of a concubine ('apethe angabus') with another separate gate. Whilst the entrance ('agitut' i.e. "mouth") of all wives' and widows' huts faces roughly east (dry season) or south (wet season) in order to get the maximum shade, that of a concubine faces west. In western and central Turkanaland I was told that east is the proper direction for the main gate and hut entrances to face because it was "away from the enemy", i.e. away from the direction from which enemies would come from foreign lands. Whether this would be so in districts where the enemy are in an easterly or northerly direction, or what the supposed value of so positioning them is, I do not know. The reason for making the hut of a concubine face differently is to emphasise her difference in status.

In the centre of the homestead is the kraal ('anok') for sheep and goats, with a separate and smaller kraal for lambs and kids. At one side, abutting onto the main fence, is the kraal for camels with a separate external as well as an internal gate. The mother and widows have separate kraals for their own camels. If there are cattle there is usually no specific kraal for them, but they spend the night inside the homestead in the open spaces.

Each woman has her own fire at the mouth of her day-hut, and at nights inside her night-hut. The domestic possessions of each wife are kept in and around her own huts. The man's shield is kept by the most junior wife, his ornaments, feathers and other personal possessions are kept by the chief wife. His spears may rest at the hut of the wife with whom he is spending the night.

Building

The fences and huts are built of whatever bushwood and trees are available in the area, so that from place to place there are variations - in the plains it is mainly thorn bush interlaced with what larger leafage can be found, and with wild sisal in the higher parts; in the mountains thorn is less thick, and boughs of trees and thicker green foliage are used; in the dryer central Turkanaland dom palm branches are almost all that is available in any quantity. The same wives will use one sort at one time and another somewhere else. Building is entirely women's work, although youths may be impressed to fetch the larger branches. But it is no uncommon sight to see women and girls carting home huge branches of a thorn tree on their heads, for even when the homestead is built repairs and modifications go on the whole time. Fences vary in size and thickness according to the dangers of the countryside. Where, as is seldom, there are no wild animals the thinnest of fences suffice, enough to stop stock pushing through. Since the kraals are only used at nights the stock cause little trouble this way. Where hyenas and jackals are common (almost everywhere) the fence is about four feet high and about two feet thick, with the bushwood and branches interlaced all the way round. When leopard or lion are to be feared fences may go up to occasionally over six feet high, and proportionally thick. But as the natives well know, a determined leopard or lion can leap six feet fairly easily into a crowded kraal at night, so a fence over about four or five feet is rare.

The day-hut is roughly a half-dome in shape and about seven feet high in the centre. It is made of interlaced bush and branches on a firm base of thicker boughs laid at an angle of about 45° to the ground. At points of intersection wood is tied with sisal or bark string to make the whole thing quite firm, since high winds often blow. Leafage is piled judiciously on top and round the sides to give maximum shade, but not enough to over-weight the structure. This must be renewed from time to time as the old withers in the sun. The floor is left untouched except for clearing off the worst stones. Usually it is covered with an assortment of hides and skins.

N.B. Since scathing comments have so often been passed about Turkana huts, I should like to point out : (a) they are built to a definite plan with a technique which, especially in view of the multitudinous thorns, is not easy to copy immediately; (b) they are probably the coolest kind of construction that could be contrived by natives, since they at once shade the sun and allow movements of air and wind to pass through; (c) an elaborate hut is of little use to the Turkana when the family is frequently moving about. Mud and wattle, or the like would be of no use, would take too much time, and as with pastoralists who do use them, would soon become

unhygienic. I have yet to go into a Turkana homestead that smells badly. By the time a homestead is beginning to reach a foul state with manure, etc., the family vacate it in moving to new pastures. I mention all this after my wife and I have lived in one of their day-huts, and after trying to build one.

Most domestic work, other than cooking, is carried out and wives receive their visitors there. Each wife has her own, unless she is childless, and it is the domain 'par excellence' of the woman. Although her husband, his sons and male visitors can and do sit inside, it is not for long, since they prefer a shady tree outside during the day, and the husband's sleeping place between evening and early morning. Inside the hut, hung from projecting twigs and boughs, are the wife's domestic utensils and implements, clothes, bead work, etc., and the personal possessions of her children, and perhaps of her husband. Nearly everything is capable of being hung up; everything has its place in order. There are large wooden troughs at which stock drink, smaller ones for ladling and carrying water, wooden pots and cups for milking and drinking and for holding foods; skin vessels of conventional shapes and sizes for holding milk, butter, oil, etc., and all are kept clean and greased when not in use. The wife's adze, knives and staves are stuck into the walls. Extra articles of clothing - skirts, cloaks, beaded belts, baby slings and baby clothes, sandals, strings of beads - are hung up there, with, if necessary, the best side turned to the wall in order to protect it from the sun and dust. There may be a length of iron wire, a piece of ostrich egg, beads wrapped in a bit of skin, charms, herbs, medicines, pieces of string and rope, all stuck into the wall somewhere. On the floor, or just outside, the large black cooking pot ('amut') stands in the shade. Stones for grinding or hammering lie in a corner. In larger huts there is often a shelf made of branches, to hold small articles and new-born animals. The wife sits on the skins working and talking with the older daughters and possibly a visiting woman or co-wife. Small children, dogs, lambs and kids scramble about on the floor, in and out of the hut, playing or running errands, doing small jobs of work, or just sleeping.

The night-hut is a dome skeleton structure about four feet high in the middle, and about six or seven feet in diameter. It is made of rounded lengths of wood interwoven and tied together, with a small gap left for the entrance. At nights to afford shelter against winds and cool air, and when it is raining, cattle hides are spread over the outside of this frame and tied down with leather thongs. This way the hut is completely waterproof, aided often with a small trench dug around the outside to take off the water. Occasionally goat skins or dried grass are used as extra covering over the hut where there are insufficient hides. When it rains the whole family takes to these huts and waits for it to clear. Each woman has her own where she sleeps with her children on skin mats. Except when it is raining they are not used in the daytime. Inside are hung the stores of the wife, in leather bags - grain, wild fruits, nuts, - where they are out of the way, and in the dry, when it rains. During the wet season most of the wife's possessions are kept in there, hung up, and only taken out and into the day-hut as needed.

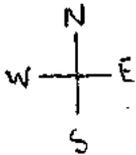
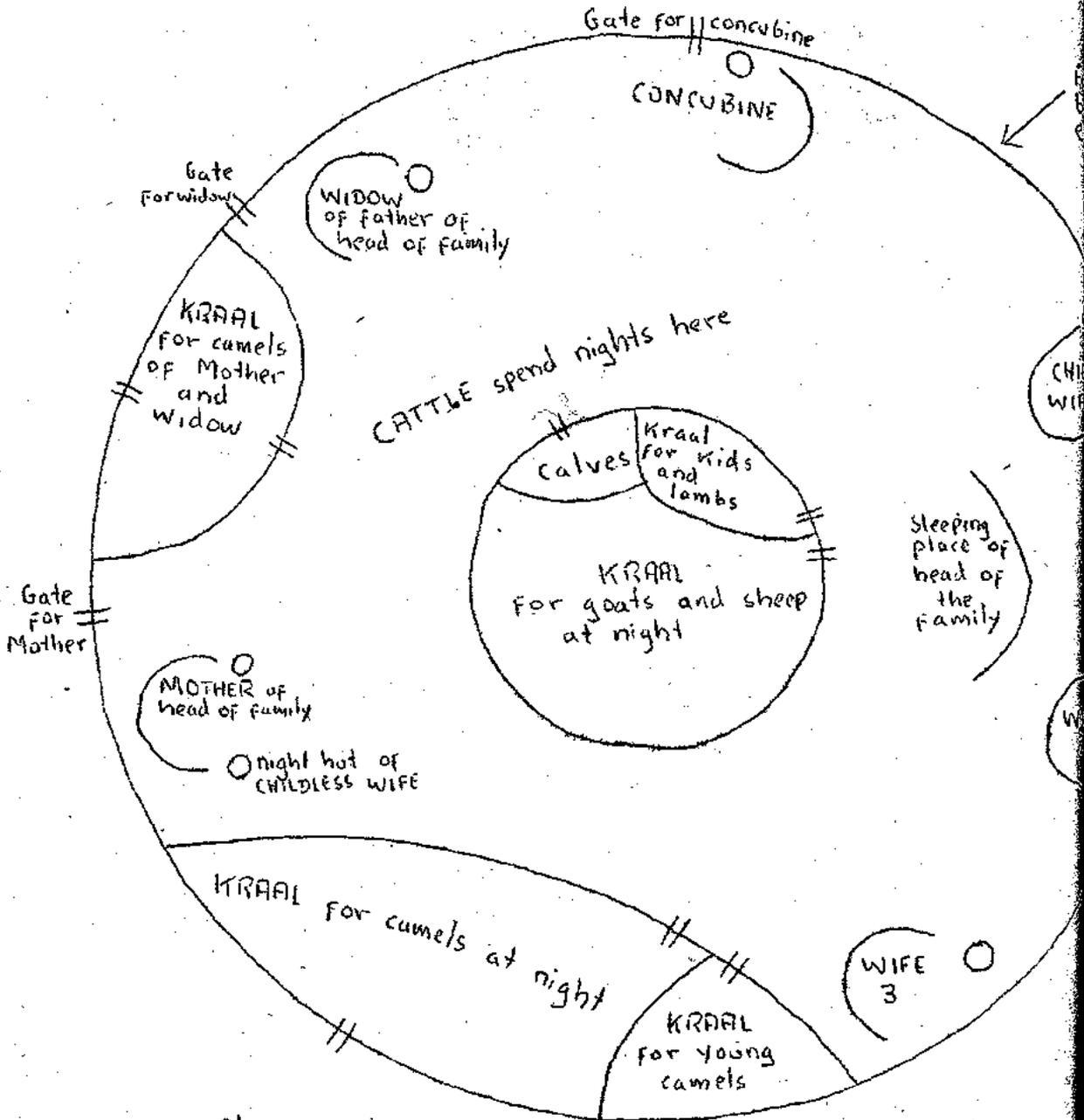
Alongside each wife's huts there is a large shelf ('epim') made of bushwood and raised off the ground a foot or two, on which are kept donkey packs, vessels, pieces of wood, etc.

According to the region there is sometimes a third kind of structure ('etabo') which is completely circular except for a gap for an entrance. They are about six feet high, six feet in diameter, and roofless.^x This is an auxiliary sleeping place for the children, and occasionally used as a kitchen. This is not at all found in northern or central Turkana land. Apart from this there is no special kitchen. All cooking is done on a fire just outside the entrance to the day-hut. It is simply a fire between large stones, and is kept going more or less all day, since cooking and eating are usually 'ad hoc' activities as people are there and feel hungry. The main meal of the day is after the evening milking when all the family are present and their day's work done. But almost any time, if there is food, someone may be having a snack or meal - women back from the waterhole, the husband pottering about at home, boys not herding that day, visitors, small children, etc.

x . . . Possibly copied from the Uganda tribes.

DIAGRAM A

THEORETICAL PLAN OF A HOMESTEAD



KEY:-

-  Indicates a day-hut ('ekal')
-  Indicates a night-hut ('akai')
-  Indicates a fence and gateway.

As with the general quality of the homestead, so with the day-huts in particular, one can find a fairly close correlation between the wealth of a family and the quality and size. Wealthier families most usually have better and stronger fences, well repaired, whilst the day-huts are larger and tend to form an almost complete dome with only a small doorway. Poorer families often do not bother about a main fence at all whilst their day-huts are rather less than half domes, giving a minimum of shade only. At a first glance one can usually tell the state of the family from the condition of its homestead. The people themselves realise this too. There are also differences in workmanship as between wives, and between families. Some wives are known as poor or lazy builders. A chief wife or husband who is slack may allow poor workmanship to go on. Homesteads which the occupants know will not be moved for several months are usually better built than those which it is known will be vacated fairly quickly. But the general rule following the wealth or poverty of a family tends to over-ride these considerations. This can also be seen in the internal structure of a homestead. On diagram A, I have only put in the outstanding and constant features, but in many there are internal fences separating each wife's huts from the next wife's and from the main area. Again each wife may build a kraal for her own milking camels, ewes and goats and for their young, next to her huts. So that only narrow passages are left between the maze of huts, fences and kraals. This kind of maze reaches its peak with the most wealthy families where herds are larger and can be split up the more easily, and where there are more wives and girls to do the work. Possibly the correlation comes from these larger herds and more wives, but there seems to be a psychological element in it also. Poorer families with less regular food supplies and a harder struggle to keep going have less time and care less for their homesteads. Wealthier families, whose head is a man of some importance, have less of a struggle, more time and more labour to devote to building and repairs. There is a certain pride in one's home and a knowledge of having built good fences and huts. Natives of both sexes, travelling with us in the country, have expressed great scorn for the poor quality in the poorer districts. One of the questions always mentioned when selecting a new wife (both by men and women), and next to her skill in looking after stock, is ability to build well. A potential wife must build a day and a night-hut to show her skill to her future husband's chief wife or mother.

Internal organisation

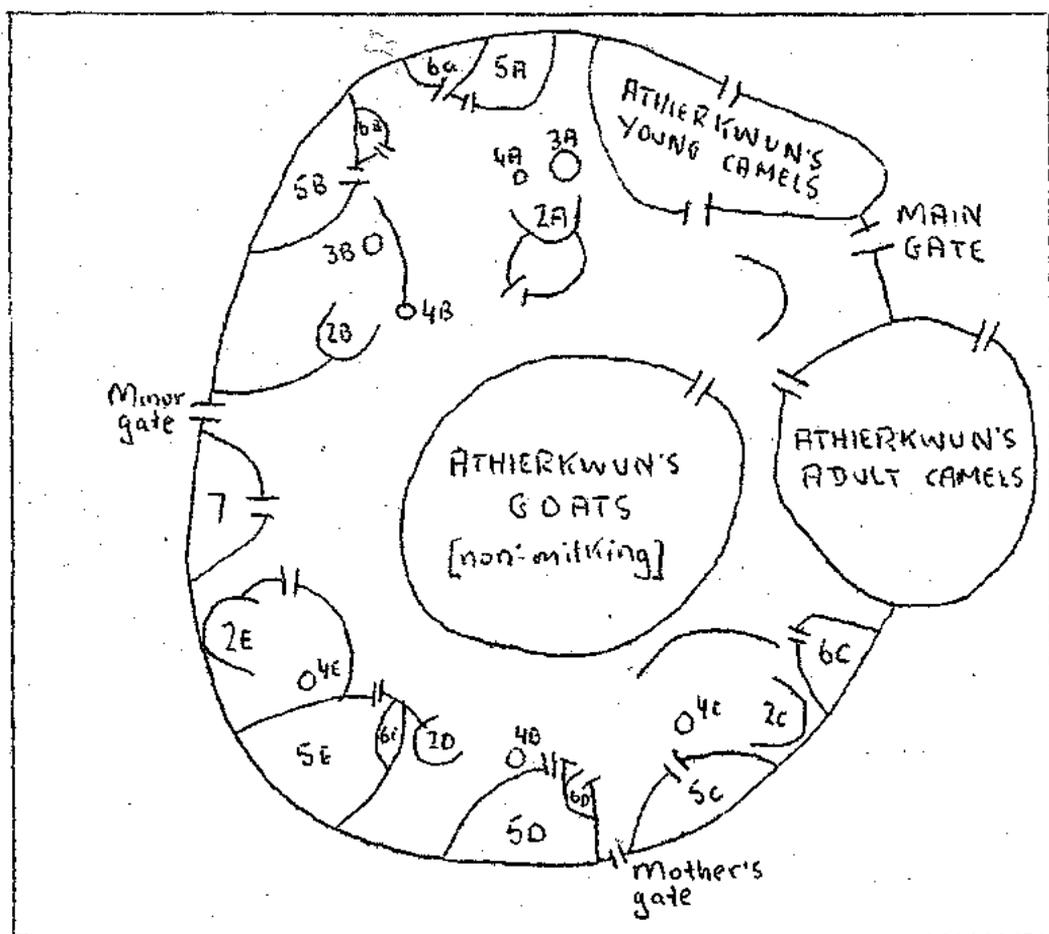
To illustrate some of the varieties of homestead construction diagrams of two are given, which I made in the field. For most of the year not all the wives and family of a man will be together in the same homestead, nor all of his stock. It is unusual to find more than two wives in a homestead at such times. In the case of a browse homestead, the milk supply is from sheep and goats, and camels, and ordinarily the milking and non-milking stock are separated. A wife has her own milking stock in a kraal next to her huts, whilst the non-milkers (males and dry females) are kept together in a single kraal. The structure is made more complex by fences partially surrounding each wife's huts. Diagram B is an example of this in a fairly wealthy family. There were two wives; the whole of the goat and sheep and camel herds, the man's mother and two widows of his father, and he himself lived there. When the sheep and goats are not a main source of supply of milk (i.e. in the wet season when the cattle and camels give plenty) they are all put into the same kraal at night often with their young also. Cattle are never split up like this, though calves are put in separate kraals, which are normally provided with a roof or small hut in which they can find shelter at night and against rain and cold winds.

A not uncommon occurrence is for two men to share a homestead - two brothers or paternal cousins, two brothers -in - law or two friends. Not every case of such pairing produces a joint homestead, often it is preferred to maintain one each which are built only a yard or two apart. Where there is a joint homestead stock are kept rigidly divided, and there is a strictly recognised half of the homestead belonging to each family, with a separate main gate and a separate sleeping place for each man. My observations indicate that usually the wives' huts of each man are grouped together in each half and the conventional left and right sides of the gate are omitted. Diagram C illustrates one such homestead shared by two brothers. There was no strict dividing line physically by a fence; although I have seen that, with an

DIAGRAM B

AN EXAMPLE OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF A HOMESTEAD

The homestead of Athierkwun, at Kanamut, western Turkana land, in the dry season. It contained all of his camels, goats and milking ewes, with their young. Fourteen people lived here, including Athierkwun himself. (His third wife and five other children lived in two cattle and sheep homesteads).



KEY:-

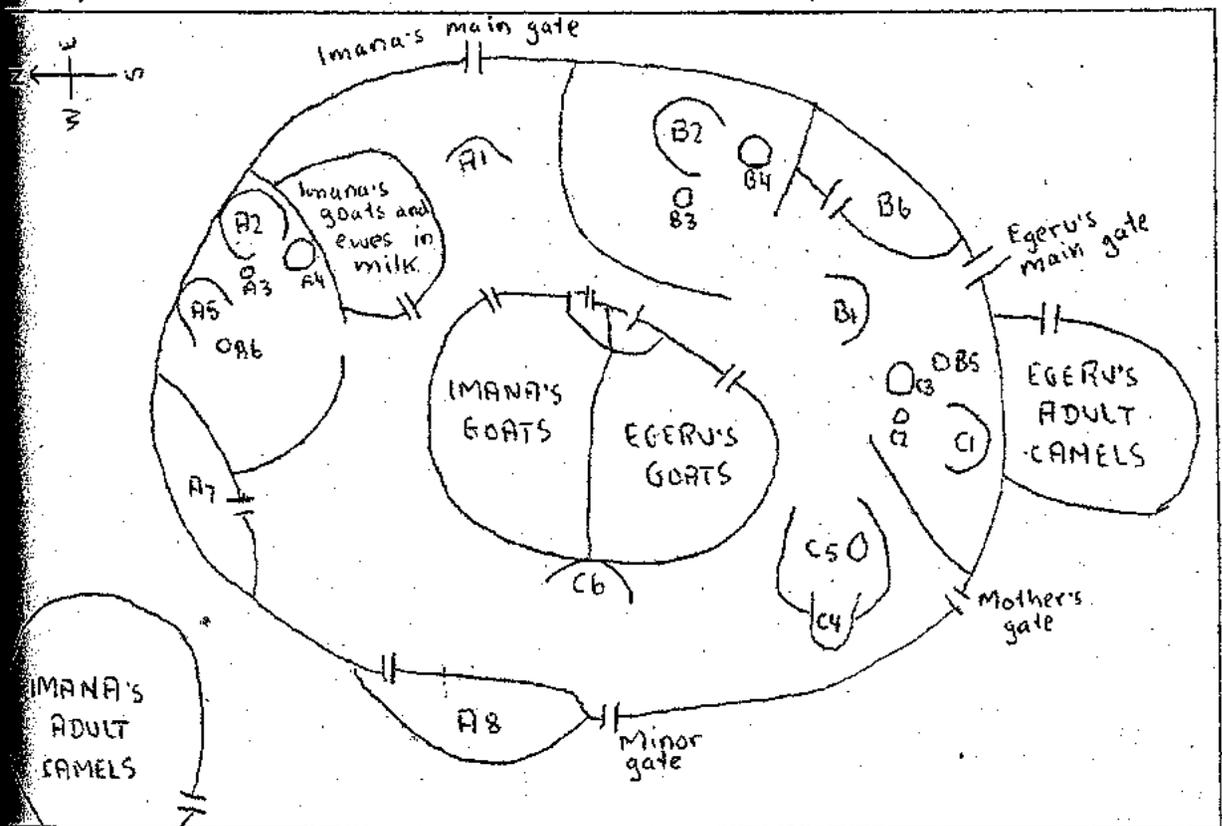
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 - Athierkwun's sleeping place. | A - chief wife. |
| 2 - Day-hut ('ekal'). | B - second wife. |
| 3 - Night-hut for children ('etabo'). | C - Athierkwun's mother. |
| 4 - Night-hut ('akai'). | D - Second widow of his father. |
| 5 - Kraal for milking goats and ewes. | E - Third widow of his father. |
| 6 - Kraal for kids and lambs. | |
| 7 - Empty kraal. | |

Inhabitants of the homestead at the time:-

Athierkwun - head of the homestead and of the nuclear family.
 Chief wife and three young daughters.
 Son of chief wife - herding camels.
 Second wife with one daughter.
 Two sons of second wife - herding goats and ewes.
 Mother of Athierkwun.
 Second widow of his dead father, and one daughter.
 Third widow of his dead father.

DIAGRAM C

AN EXAMPLE OF A JOINT HOMESTEAD



KEY:-

A - Imana.

- A1 - Imana's sleeping place.
- A2 - Day-hut of chief wife.
- A3 - Night-hut of chief wife.
- A4 - Children's night hut.
- A5 - Day-hut of wife 3.
- A6 - Night-hut of wife 3.
- A7 - Kraal for very young camels.
- A8 - Kraal for young camels.

B - Egeru.

- B1 - Egeru's sleeping place.
- B2 - Day-hut of chief wife.
- B3 - Night-hut of chief wife.
- B4 - Children's night-hut.
- B5 - Night hut of wife 3 (childless).
- B6 - Kraal for young camels.

- C1 - Day-hut of mother of Imana and Egeru.
- C2 - Night-hut of mother.
- C3 - Children's night-hut.
- C4 - Day-hut of father's widow.
- C5 - Night-hut of father's widow.
- C6 - Boys' sleeping place.

Inhabitants of the homestead at the time:-

- IMANA - head of nuclear family; older brother.
- Lokarwa - chief wife.
- Apeyo and Aichow - older betrothed daughters.
- Ungome - initiated son; herding camels.
- Ebe and Longaicha - younger sons; herding goats.
- Nakulan and Lothopicho - infant sons; not yet working.
- Pam - infant daughter.
- Tokwel - wife 3.
- Filipo - infant daughter.

- EGERU - head of nuclear family; younger brother.

- Orlok - chief wife.
- Ekalez and Sonya - young daughters.
- Lodete - infant son.
- Akeno - wife 3; childless.

- Amanikwa - mother of Imana and Egeru.
- Napukwel - second widow of their father.

Imana has two other wives and five children in two other homesteads with cattle and sheep. Egeru has one other wife and three children in one other homestead with cattle and sheep. Imana has a poor man, and Egeru has their half-brother, herding their herds of cattle respectively. Imana lives here permanently in the dry season; but Egeru spends about half of his time with the cattle.

interlinking gate. There are separate kraals for each kind of stock. A not-unusual feature is the grouping together of one man's wives into a separate compound with its own gate, wherein most of the domestic activities take place. Such combinations are not permanent, and this particular one had broken up by the wet season.

Sometimes, and particularly in poorer families, there is no main fence, merely one or two kraals with the huts to one side. This also is the case where there is only one wife, and therefore is typical of many cattle homesteads in or near the mountains, where there is a single cattle kraal and one day and night hut, with possibly a night-hut for the unmarried girls. This is varied at times by a single fence inside which cattle are herded at night and which also contains the huts of the wife.

The number of dependent women who live with a family varies a good deal. Ideally a man's mother lives with him, but, since she should live with her youngest son, not every man can attain this ideal. At the death of her husband, and if she is past child-bearing or is not inherited by a near kinsman, she always goes to live with her youngest son. She may go to live with him even when her husband has other wives to do his work. With her she brings a number of all types of stock to provide her livelihood. Widows of a dead man who do not re-marry (i.e. who are not inherited) may either live with his heir (son or brother) or with her own youngest son, her brother or sister. In any case she too brings some stock with her. There are few families which do not have at least one dependent woman. In addition there may be a concubine, either of the head of the homestead, or his sister, also with her own stock allocated to her. Finally there may be a poor man, perhaps with a wife and children, who are working for the family, and who have their own huts and kraals.

Children sleep in their mother's night-hut, but boys at about the age of six or seven begin to sleep away from there in gangs in or near the homestead. Girls remain with their mothers till marriage, though the older ones may go to live with their grandmother if she is in the same homestead. Female visitors are given sleeping places in one of the day huts, male visitors are given a fire in the lee of one of the fences.

Co - wives

The husband must sleep with his wives in turn, a few nights with each, or there will be trouble. Although I gather it is not difficult for him to give more attention to a favourite wife so long as other wives are not denied the chance to bear children. He rarely spends the whole night with a wife, but returns to his own sleeping place to sleep by himself. When he visits a wife her children go to sleep with the next most junior wife.

Each wife cooks for her own children and she and they eat together in or near her day-hut. All wives are responsible for providing and cooking for their husband, who may eat either in a wife's day-hut or at his own sleeping place whither food is brought. Each wife gathers wild fruit for her family's needs and has her own-produced store of grain. Other wives have no right to this. Indeed one cause of friction between wives is the theft of food supplies. Only the man can decide when an animal is to be killed for meat, or bled, and only he is supposed to do the actual slaughtering or bleeding. In fact one of the wives very often does the work for him. Animals are taken in rotation from the herds of each wife, and as one is killed the owner-wife distributes meat to all the others. This independence of wives depends to a large extent on the relations between them. Most usually relations are good and wives are the best of friends. My wife has spent a good deal of time with Turkana wives in their own huts, and we have both seen innumerable instances of wives and their daughters doing domestic chores together, helping each other indiscriminately. We know of few cases of ill feeling or jealousy between wives, and where it does occur it is easily averted because wives can split up amongst the various homesteads of the same family, and meet infrequently. Apart from such causes the division of wives between homesteads is largely an informal arrangement. The chief wife remains with her husband, and young wives (i.e. those without children) usually live at the cattle homesteads. Otherwise a wife can live anywhere. The husband visits his wives and the stock at each homestead from time to time. I am told that

TABLE NO. 5.

ANALYSIS OF A SAMPLE OF POLYGAMOUS MARRIAGES

AGES OF MEN	NUMBER OF WIVES						TOTALS
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
20 - 30	2	6	1	-	-	-	9
30 - 40	2	8	13	7	1	-	31
40 - 50	-	1	3	-	7	1	12
Over 50	-	-	4	4	2	1	11
TOTALS	4	15	21	11	10	2	63

Total of sample - 63

Average number of wives per man in the sample - 2.2

" " " " " " over thirty - 2.4

" " " " " " " forty - 3.2

N.B. No special statistical study was made in the field. This sample is made up from all the cases in my notes where I am quite certain of the reliability of my information. The cases are drawn from all over the country where I have been.

Number of children per man

The same sample contains only 31 cases where I am certain of the number of children born to properly married wives. This gives a range of from one child per man to three cases of over twenty children per man, with an average of 8 children per man.

These figures, I consider, are not complete enough to be taken as even an approximate indication of the position. The mean figure is 6 children per man, and is perhaps more helpful.

There are also at any one time children of concubines living in a man's homesteads, i.e. either his own concubine, or his sister, daughter, wife's kinswoman, etc., who has come to live there.

charges of sorcery are made more frequently between co-wives than between other people, but any such charges are most likely made very infrequently so that this need not infer constant friction. It is of importance that, apart from the first wife who is a joint choice of the man and his mother, all other wives are taken chiefly at the selection of current wives, who are to be her closest associates for the rest of their lives. They want therefore someone, not only who can work well and take her full share in communal activities, but who is of a friendly disposition and not known to have outstanding bad qualities (e.g. witchcraft, laziness or a slanderous tongue). In the often rather lonely life of many families the wives are thrown upon one another a good deal, and a single wife is thought to be very unfortunate, not only having all the building and stock work, but because of the lack of company. An only wife will be more keen than her husband for him to take another wife. His point of view, as expressed to me many times, is, who is to do all the work in the homestead, and more importantly, what would he do if his only wife died? Her point of view is that another woman to help with the work is useful, but social company is even more desirable. Without dissension all Turkana think that the white man's monogamy is incredibly stupid. Their type of domestic organisation needs plurality of wives, especially if their ideal of at least one wife per homestead is to be realised. That wife can represent the authority of the head of the family and keep the younger people in a slight check, and chaperone the unmarried girls. A wife is also supposed to be accomplished in all the techniques and crafts of household work from building to sewing, milking to cooking, and can therefore keep a separate homestead going efficiently.

Table 5 gives a small sample of polygamous marriages collected from my notes. Out of the total 63 men, the average number of wives per man is about 2.2, and of men over 40 is about 3.2. I know of no cases of more than five wives but have often been told of "very rich men" who have ten or more. It seems improbable not only because in wealthy stock areas I have not encountered such men, but also because of the numbers of stock needed to marry ten wives would be enormous to a Turkana, especially as the wealthier a man is the more bridewealth he must pay for his brides, and the more he must help his kinsman and friends. And by the time a man was marrying his later wives his oldest sons would be demanding stock for their own marriages. The most wealthy men that I have seen have had five wives, though each of them were planning to marry a sixth in the next good wet season.^x In addition there may often be a concubine of the man living there, doing all the work and taking many of the responsibilities of a wife.

Over the wives the chief wife plays a supervisory role, it being her responsibility to see that the work goes forward as it should, and that the quality is maintained. She trains young wives and older unmarried daughters. If there are two or three other wives she herself does very little work beyond milking and cooking. Upon her personality and ability the success of the family depends as much, if not more, than upon her husband's. A first wife is usually chosen therefore with some care concerning her abilities. Credit must therefore be given in that most chief wives do their jobs successfully. The fact that she does less actual work but has a young wife and older unmarried daughters to run and carry for her, do the watering, skinning and cutting of meat, grinding of millet, etc., is always looked upon as enviable by lesser wives. One must agree, I think, for responsibility sits lightly on a chief wife's shoulders if she is a capable woman, and few girls are so poorly trained that they are not capable. On the other hand junior wives find consolation in joining an already established family where there is perhaps less work per wife than when a young husband is just gaining his independence with a handful of stock, and an untried seasonal routine. Young husbands, some say, always want to travel about a lot, trading, going to feasts and dances, and their wives must go with them. But if you are a junior wife of an older man you are not called upon to trek about the country as he is more content to stay around near home. There seems to be compensation whichever way one looks at it from the Turkana's point of view.

The typical state of a Turkana family is one of great accord between co-wives, continual co-operation, and much sharing. Much of their time is spent in each other's day-huts, or going to and fro together on work outside the homestead. When living away at another homestead wives very frequently visit each other and are welcomed with the greatest warmth.

x One of them has been baulked now by the loss of a lot of his stock by starvation in the long dry season of 1949, so his sixth wife remains only a desire.

Leaving a homestead

When a homestead is vacated only the portable possessions are taken with its inhabitants. The whole of the built part is left to fall into disrepair and gradually to be covered with bush or grass. An old homestead should never be used again, but, say the Turkana, very lazy people may do sometimes. But even with such lazy people it must be seldom that they can be re-used since the family is unlikely to return to that area for months, if at all, by which time the structure will have more or less fallen down. Newcomers may take advantage of a supply of bushwood from an old homestead, when building or repairing their own new homesteads. There is no element of ownership of old homesteads. No-one, former occupants or others like to live in an old one, especially where the ground is probably fouled with animal dung, bones and refuse, and is likely to be a breeding ground for flies if only recently vacated. There is nothing special about an old homestead, for a homestead only has a life and meaning when people are occupying it. Without people, without a family, a homestead is a mere collection of wood and leafage, or no use to anyone.

The new site is chosen chiefly by the husband, but no doubt his wives have a say in the matter. Indeed, as in all domestic matters, it would be difficult if not impossible to prevent them having some say. They are always vocal in home affairs and have many ways of making their opinions felt. Possibly in the old days homesteads would have been sited in positions to hide them from enemy scouts and raiders. Today many are so hidden that one can easily miss them. Every advantage is taken of the curve of a hill, a slight dip, a pile of rocks, a clump of trees, etc., to hide the homestead. In the mountains where forest is plentiful this is fairly easy. After about a month on a part of Loima Mt. (where it must be admitted my enquiries were badly hampered by hostility) I was still discovering lone homesteads tucked away in depths of a forested area, and with no paths to give them away. Stock are probably driven out and back in a dispersed fashion in order to prevent recognisable paths being made. In the plains cover is less easy to find, but a fold in low hills usually hides away one or two homesteads. In this matter though the European viewpoint must be disregarded for where he cannot see any signs of habitation a Turkana will be able to pick out two or three homesteads quite easily.* His eyes are accustomed to such feats of vision as normal occurrences. Consequently where for a European a bushwood homestead sinks into the background of bushwood, to the Turkana it stands out as clearly as if it had been in contrasting colour. Thus to the native the hiding away of a homestead is not common. And by experience and their own habits they (and enemy raiders) know in what sorts of places homesteads are likely to be sited. With many homesteads no attempt is made at concealment for they are built in the middle of a sparsely covered plain, on the slope of a hill visible miles away (but also allowing the occupants an uninterrupted view), in a grassy treeless mountain basin, etc.

Today there is no longer any need to hide homesteads, from a military point of view. Nevertheless Turkana do not usually site their homesteads near waterpoints, on regularly used paths, or near water courses. For one thing water points and water courses are areas where flies and mosquitos breed, and therefore to be avoided. More importantly though they are places where strangers come; places, that is, which the average Turkana does not wish to have near his homestead. He is suspicious of strangers; and both they and habitues of these places will be likely to come begging for meat, milk, blood, etc.; if a homestead is nearby. Again if homesteads were concentrated on such places, especially in the plains, it would be more difficult for stock to cover the available pastures adequately, or at least only by greater walking and at more physical cost. Where water supplies are not situated in the middle of the pastures (i.e. the usual case) some compromise must be made in siting the homestead in relation to both pasture and water. Somewhere roughly in between or actually at the pastures is invariably chosen. As far as human drinking water is concerned there seems to be no objection to fetching it from five or six miles away. Other reasons why the vicinity of water courses is avoided are that termites ('white ants') are usually more plentiful and more destructive there, and that when the river

In the same way the European usually misses the native who hides in the bush at approach (an almost instinctive reaction probably the result of experience in the days of raiding).

comes down in flood homesteads would be likely to be flooded out. The actual site is, as far as possible, flat ground with few stones and a good supply of bushwood to hand for building and firewood. Shade trees near are not important since almost any large bush will afford shade for one or two people, whilst the main social centre for the men of the neighbourhood will be where the best clump of trees are. A few small trees inside the kraals are welcomed as affording shade for young stock at the heat of the day. The site is slightly elevated if rain is to be expected so that the homestead is not flooded. After a heavy storm the value of this is appreciated when one sees the homestead as little, comparatively dry islands in the water covered plains. Shelter from the south-east wind is often sought in the lee of a hill or clump of trees. Here and there throughout the country one comes across homesteads built in almost every kind of situation, even in dry water courses.

When a move is made each wife packs all her possessions on to two or three of her donkeys, and sets off with her children. The very youngest kids, lambs, calves and puppies will be packed on also. The man and his sons and other males drive the stock along slowly, allowing them to feed en route. Each wife drives her own donkeys behind and perhaps a small flock of younger animals. Children and dogs trail along in the rear. Very old people ride on a donkey, but this is considered undignified and only resorted to in absolute need. Progress is usually slow but depends on the physique of the stock. The herds going down to the plains in the early wet season may easily take ten days to cover, say, 50 miles, but only four or five days on their return at the beginnings of the dry season. Often there is no particular need for hurry and the stock make the pace, feeding as they go. Sometimes a quicker move is necessary (e.g. to reach pastures made freshly available by short rains; to cover country where there is no graze; to escape enemy raiders, etc.). At nights en route rough shelters can be made for the women and children, but everyone may sleep underneath the all-enveloping cattle skins, by the side of a fire. A temporary kraal may be made for the younger stock and females in milk. Men must sleep lightly in order to be ready to ward off marauding wild animals. When the new location is reached the first task is to build the new kraals, then the main fence, and finally the huts. Modifications and improvements may go on for several days, or indeed at any time afterwards should the occasion warrant it. There is a well established routine for all this work, and the women and girls carry it out with speed and efficiency born of long experience and many moves. All wives and girls work together to build the kraals and main fence, but build their own huts individually. The man and his chief wife or his mother, keep a supervisory watch on the whole. There are no ceremonies attaching to the vacation of an old homestead, nor to the occupation of a new one. A newly arrived family will probably be expected to provide a feast for any neighbours - men outside the homestead, women in the huts - this may be a sign that the newly arrived family is now a member of the neighbourhood and is to take part in co-operative activities there.

If one of the wives leaves to go and live in one of the other homesteads of the family, she takes with her all her possessions. Her huts are left untouched, but another wife coming in might rebuild them. This cannot often occur since units of a family are stable between moves, and usually for the length of a season. The conventional division of the family between the homesteads may be maintained over a period of years. One wife prefers living with the cattle in the mountains, another prefers the plains with the sheep and goats. But occasionally a part of the homestead may be split off and go elsewhere, e.g. the camels may be sent elsewhere whilst the sheep and goats remain where they are. A wife and her children and a man may go off with them. During visits to her own relatives and friends a wife leaves most of her possessions behind where her co-wives look after them for her.

The sizes of herds of a nuclear family

Repetition may be made of my own estimates of the average numbers of stock per family given on page 15 above. There were 25 - 30 cattle, 10 camels, 100 sheep and goats, and 12 donkeys. But as already stated all families do not possess stock in these proportions.

The limits that I have witnessed in sizes of cattle herds range from about 135 to nil. The Turkana call a man wealthy who has upwards of 50 or 60 cattle; and most neighbourhoods contain one or more men who are

wealthy in this way. But equally there are numbers of men who own only a handful, which for the most of the year are of little economic value, and which provide a negligible quantity of beef to eat. About 25-30 cattle are needed to maintain an independent cattle homestead.

I have never seen a camel herd of more than about 70 and few over about 15 - but my experience of central and south-central Turkanaland is limited. It is difficult to be sure of the numbers of camels a family owns because they are often spread over the other homesteads (see p.40). It is very common to find homesteads with three or four camels, sometimes the total herd, sometimes not. There are cases where there are no camels, but not many, since they are such useful general purpose animals.

The largest flock of sheep and goats seen was 500, and I know of one case where a man owned none at all (though he had about 50 cattle). There are a few cases of extremely poor people who have no herds at all, not even sheep and goats, but ordinarily even the poorest families have a handful which eke out a meagre existence with their masters, who live mainly on wild fruits and hunting. The total number of such people must be small. Because of their economic usefulness nearly every family has a flock of sheep and goats, typically enough to maintain a separate homestead in the plains in the dry season (i.e. at the very least 75 or 80). There are smaller flocks which must be combined with cattle and/or camel herds, and are kept in the same homesteads. But flocks of up to 200 are commonly seen as one travels about the country.

Each wife must have at least the use of two donkeys when she is moving her possessions to a new homestead. Often wives can load three donkeys whilst one or two usually run behind. Jack-donkeys are not used for transport, although all castrated males, and females are. Occasionally a family may be short of donkeys and have to borrow from relatives and friends, but this is uncommon. The general impression amongst Europeans that there are very large numbers of superfluous donkeys is, I am sure, wrong, and caused by the fact that donkeys are not herded but allowed to run where they will. All the donkeys of a neighbourhood tend to run together, creating apparently large herds, in the more populated areas, of 100 or more. There is an effect, especially in those areas more frequented by Europeans (i.e. near the few motor tracks) of large uncontrolled herds. Yet in the evenings when each family's herds return to their own homestead the general picture is of no more than about five per wife. This incorrect impression is perhaps also heightened since there is a tendency, (a) for more donkeys to be kept in the plains where movements of homesteads is more frequent and therefore donkeys more frequently required, and (b) for donkeys to be herded in those areas less favourable to cattle in order that they do not compete with the latter for graze. This is the reason why areas, e.g. near Loya, or to the east of Labur, appear to contain such huge and apparently useless donkey herds.

The feature of the sizes of herds is the range to be found all over the country of the proportions of the different types. The Table No. 6 gives actual counts made in one group of homesteads:-

TABLE 6

SIZES AND PROPORTIONS OF HERDS AMONG SEVEN NEIGHBOURING FAMILIES

CATTLE	SHEEP AND GOATS
134	250
60	200
70	175
45	200
35	150
25	200

The wealthiest families tend to be wealthy in all types of stock, the poorest tend to be poor in all types. But the great majority, in-between cases, show combinations of stock over a fairly wide range, though ordinarily both sheep and goat, and cattle herds are capable of supporting independent homesteads.

It may be restated that due to the circumstances of payment and receipt of bride-wealth and compensation, disease and starvation and inheritance, the composition of a family's herds changes over the years. Men who were previously wealthy in cattle have told me how the combination of disease and starvation in a bad year decimated their herds. Other men, at one time only of average wealth, gradually by careful husbandry, luck, and perhaps the acquisition and careful use of cash (with which stock are bought), become wealthy men. In Turkana estimations a man who has many wives cannot expect to be wealthy in stock, since he will have paid out much bride-wealth. Thus a man with four wives and many children but only about 30 cattle, was pointed out to me, at one time, as very wealthy, although several other neighbours had almost twice that number of cattle. Later of course this man's family will tend to increase as daughters are married and inheritance gained, especially as he has four daughters all nearing the age of marriage but no sons old enough yet.

Turkana often tell me that there are men who have many cattle, hundreds of cattle! But like the men with ten wives similarly reported, I have not seen them nor ever obtained reliable second-hand information about any of them. Wherever I am living it is always somewhere else that these rich men live.

It should be added that a Turkana is not ashamed to admit that he is a poor man. Nor will Turkana refuse to admit the greater wealth of other tribes. The Karamajong and the Dodoth have often been pointed out to me as people who have many cattle, many more than the Turkana themselves. "But we have many goats and sheep and camels. And they have not", I am told, which is quite true.

Division of labour within the family

Each nuclear family is divided up between at least two homesteads. There are exceptions when one type of stock predominates and all other types are too few to support an independent homestead. But because of the differing dietary needs of stock and the principle of utilising total vegetational resources to the full, browsing and grazing stock are typically separated during most of the dry season, and often in the wet season too. Usually then there are at least two homesteads, sometimes more if the sizes of herds permit further sub-division. The largest number I know of is four, but three is not uncommon. In each homestead must live sufficient people to do all the necessary work - men and women, with some younger children. There should if possible be at least one wife to supervise all the women's work (either a wife of the head of the family, or of his married son). The general principle is that each homestead contains the number of people which the stock can support, although where individual homesteads are fairly near to one another co-operation in meat and cereals and even milk, can occur. In the wet season when little or no watering is done herds are accompanied sometimes by boys and youths only, who must do all their own milking, and food preparation.

This system can be modified by the co-operation of two or more families whereby one family takes charge of all the cattle and the other of all the sheep and goats. One form of this will be found in the description of the community in the chapter "Neighbourhood and Community". Another form is for the young men of two families (where the young men are brother's sons, or in-laws, etc.) to herd jointly the cattle in the mountains; and for each family to herd its own sheep and goats in the plains. Or a man with a small family will send off his cattle to be herded by some larger family, whilst he himself and his family remain with the browsing stock. The labour resources of a family can be supplemented by dependent kinsmen, in-laws or poor people. There is an infinite variety of forms of co-operation here which affects the number and types of homesteads and the degree of sub-division of the nuclear family.

The authority of the head of the family tends to vary according to (a) the type of relations between his own and the other homesteads of the family, (b) the age and relative independence of his sons and other adult men who are heads of his other homesteads. Some men desire and are able to maintain more or less continuous supervision of the other homesteads and decide on their movements, etc. Other men, and at other times, are not able to do this. In the nature of things it is difficult for a man to do so if his cattle homestead is e.g. 40 miles away, especially if he is an old man

who neither can nor wishes to move about very much. There is a wide range of difference between the two basic types of migration (see p.52) as far as the cohesion of the family and its head's authority is concerned. Where a cattle homestead remains at a distance from the browse homestead for two or three years at a time the disintegration is even more pronounced. Because of this it appears that there is a tendency for heads of families and even the whole browse homesteads to live in or near the mountains. For example, this seems to be the case as between central Turkanaland and Loima.

In one or more of these homesteads live the nuclear family. Young children always stay with their mother. Even after the age of six or seven when they no longer sleep with their mother, boys usually herd stock attached to their mother's homestead. If herdsboys are scarce this may not always be possible. But usually only when they begin to approach manhood, i.e. about the age of sixteen or seventeen, do youths live in homesteads other than their mother's. At that age youths are primarily needed for cattle herding and if their mothers are not living in those homesteads they must be parted for long stretches at a time. Daughters tend to stay with their mother until marriage, both helping with the work and being taught the domestic techniques. And a mother is primarily responsible for her daughter's physical and moral welfare. She must know that they have returned from an evening's dance, that they do not have clandestine meetings with men, that they show respect to their father and close kin, that they are prepared for marriage. Where girls and women are few a daughter may have to go and live away from her mother to help in the work of another homestead of the family. Sometimes a younger girl may go to live with her married sister. It is a method of keeping up sisterly affection and friendship, obtaining food, and perhaps of making a better match in marriage under the aegis of her sister's prosperous husband.

Women's and girl's work remains much as it always was. Watering and milking, gathering, preparing and cooking food, making fat, oil and butter, building and repairing, fetching drinking water, firewood, making and repairing clothes and pots, doing bead work etc., and all the garden work in season. Thus most of the physical work is theirs. It is only fair to point out however that their day is neither so heavy nor so long that a good deal of time is not left for more general intercourse and personal activities in the huts. Most afternoons are free for this, and not a few mornings. Again the Turkana conception of work (if there is any conception, which is doubtful) is different from that of a European conditioned in the twentieth century ideas of activity. Nearly everything is a matter of co-operative activity between wives and girls together. There is seldom any time limit to any activity, and it is all interwoven with a good deal of gossip, meeting friends, and other pleasurable things. True enough watering stock in the dry season is often very strenuous work, lifting gallons of water up into troughs, perhaps head high, keeping back the impetuous animals and clearing out the holes. But it is broken up into short, sharp spells, mixed with comfortable gossip with other women there at the time under a shade tree. And the muscles of a Turkana wife are used to it. It is a part of their life and there is pride in looking after the family herds. Occasionally women may be scarce and men take a hand with the watering or gardening, etc., but it is not regarded as proper by either men or women. Each type of person has his or her job to attend to and must stick to it for the general welfare of the family. Women also find plenty of time to attend the various activities of the neighbourhood and to go visiting farther afield. They will be away for a few days and then return. Meanwhile the other women of the homestead do her work.

Herding is principally the work of boys and men, though when males are scarce girls, and even wives, will take a turn, especially with the young stock which do not go far afield. But this is not done if it can be avoided for it reduces the time and labour available for domestic work, and is not really thought to be women's work. In herding the different types of stock are graded conventionally. Thus the youngest boys herd the young stock, later they are 'promoted' to the sheep and goats, then to camels and finally to cattle. The exact work done in any particular case depends on the number of males available. In the cattle homesteads quite young boys begin cattle herding, alongside elder brothers or even their father, from whom they pick up their knowledge of husbandry and a good deal of other knowledge too for this is the school for Turkana boys.

Grown men do very little herding work, especially when they are the heads of their own families and herds. The ideal is that some young man should be in charge of the cattle and the camels if possible (some times it is not), and the head of the family makes only periodic trips to his grazing herds, if he happens to be living in that homestead, although he checks up on them each evening and at the water point on watering days. Today the adult man does very little work, for as already pointed out (p. 26) herding is not strenuous, and youths can be relied upon to do all that is necessary. Formerly the men's chief occupation was of a protective nature, against raiders and enemy thieves of stock or domestic goods, and also the replenishment of the herds by raiding on their own account. Since most mountain areas were disputed territory as between the Turkana and their various neighbours, this was not a sinecure by any means. Vigilant and constant watch was essential to the welfare of the herds and the people. It is likely too that wild animals were more common at those times before the depredations of ivory hunters and game hunters. Today this is gone, and there is little left for the men to do. They spend most of their time lazing around, gossiping, arranging and participating in feasts, doing odd jobs of wood carving and leather work. Occasionally a party may be made up to go off on a trading expedition, to barter stock for tobacco, grain or ornaments. The head of a homestead must keep himself informed about the state of the pastures in order to supervise the general herding activities. Periodic visits both to his own herds' pastures and to neighbouring ones are necessary therefore; but these are usually made in the form of social visits to friends and relatives. Scraps of information will be picked up from neighbours and travellers. Men are usually present at watering in order to check up on their stock and supervise the work of watering, and generally maintain their watering rights there. But the water point is a great social centre where all people meet, so that a man often goes there to join in the gossip and to meet his neighbours. Visits are sometimes made to distant areas to assess the state of the pastures there in view of a possible move. This may entail several journeys, especially at the beginning of the wet season when everyone wants to know how the new vegetation is coming on, whether it is good enough to permit a move. The older a man becomes the less he does, relying on his older sons to do what is necessary. He gradually becomes confined to the vicinity of his own homestead.

The homestead in the lives of men and women

Each homestead, then, is a centre of activity for that unit of a family living there. For the women and girls it is almost entirely the only centre there is, or needs to be. Only the water point competes with it, and attendance there is only periodic for a few hours at a time and not necessarily every day. In the homestead on the other hand, and especially in her huts, each wife carries out most of her work, and finds the centre of her principal social and emotional ties. Here she has all her possessions, cooks, eats, gossips, receives visitors, and does her domestic work. Here her husband visits her at nights, her children are born, grow up and develop. Her visiting is confined to going to another woman's homestead and huts of the same kind. Activities such as watering, fetching wood for building and fires, gathering wild fruit, gardening, which are performed away from the homestead, are temporary breaks in the life of the huts. There is usually a marked difference between the woman at home and outside. Away she is conventionally quiet voiced, retiring, and especially if there are many men there, respectful of demeanour. Whilst not exactly debarred from some male affairs (a few women are usually to be seen on the edges of men's meetings if anything of importance is happening) and dances of course are common to all, she does not seek to play a prominent part in them. Age-set activities are debarred to her and also meat feasts of any kind, to which she possibly carries the cooked meats, retiring whilst it is eaten and returning to take away the empty vessels and bones. But in the homestead she is able to express herself as she wishes. Her voice rises and takes on a more confident air, even when other men are present. She has and expresses an opinion on all that goes on in the family circle. She has authority over her children, and influence with her husband, and other male adults living there. The homestead is almost entirely devoted to activities of which she is the master and specialist together. She has moreover her own particular domain in her own huts with her own possessions, built, collected, repaired and preserved by her own efforts. She is, as it were, the head of a separate unit of the family, i.e. her own offspring, and possibly (even if not chief wife) the senior woman of that particular homestead. Indeed she may represent the male head of the family there (i.e. her husband). She has a certain

portion of the herds allocated to her, which in certain respects are hers alone, subordinate to her husband only. Even under a chief wife she is something of an equal inside the homestead in so far as certain rights are concerned, and where opinions matter. If she is chief wife she has the whole homestead and family (not excluding her husband in some ways) dependent on her.

It is not that the Turkana wife becomes aggressive or independent at home, but rather that she finds her centre there, the interests, and activities most dear and 'natural' to her are found there. She does not look beyond the confines of the homestead for them. Although she does not cut herself off from the activities of the outside world as represented by the neighbourhood in the first instance, and her relatives and friends in the second, she absorbs what affects and attracts her into her own domestic circle.

It would scarcely be true to say that to a Turkana his or her homestead is his castle, because the conditions of movement make the physical homestead and neighbourhood a transitory detail. There is pride in the temporary homestead but it is constantly recreated emotion. Nothing resides in the homestead as a building. Soon it will be vacated, forgotten and useless. For the moment however it contains all these elements of domestic activities, familial co-operation and emotions, the certain equality, freedom and confidence of each woman, and of the wife and her particular unit of the family knit together. Home is where the family is at any particular time and not in any particular structure. But home is a very real and strong thing to the women, in the varying fortunes of the hard life in Turkanaland. All of a girl's training and experience is directed towards the fulfilment of her self in her family.

For the man the situation is somewhat different. His interests, activities and emotions are two-sided. In the homestead, especially if he is the head of his own nuclear family, are herded his stock every evening; they are milked there. He himself eats and sleeps there, sleeps with his wives, sees his children born and develop. His possessions are kept there. But he has no huts of his own, and only the small simple sleeping place. The whole homestead is his in a general way but scarcely any of it in particular items. He has a certain pride in it, and may criticise the quality of building, etc. He has however no part in the building of it, nor of its maintenance. Emotional ties, work and leisure are not wholly confined to the homestead. Emotional ties are very strong, needless to say. A man is both husband and father, stockowner and stock supervisor. But there are very strong interests outside the homestead also.

In the first place he does not spend much of the daytime there, but seeks a shade tree outside. There is usually some conventional spot nearby, but most likely he goes to some spot farther afield, favoured by all the men of the neighbourhood. For with these men he spends a good deal of his time. They are the people with similar interests, similar difficulties to overcome, similar problems to solve - the states of pastures and water here and elsewhere, the possibility of future movements and of other people's, the whole gamut of affairs dealing with the welfare of stock (herding, watering, disease, castration, branding, dealing and payments, slaughtering, etc.). These are strictly male affairs and mostly extra-homestead also. The man can usually seek similarly interested men outside, at the common meeting places of the neighbourhood. Besides these issues of pastoralism, there is the gossip of everyday life, and those other male activities in connection with age-sets, marriage, compensation and other transactions, taxation and the Administration (in the old days, raiding), rain-making, dances and feasts. At the same time many of the odd jobs and crafts and repairs relevant to men are carried on there. A pair of sandals are made, some beads threaded, a shell polished up, a stool carved, a spear cleaned or new blade cover made, etc., etc. Whereas the woman finds her centre and company inside the homestead where there are usually other women and older girls, the man finds his outside in the company of other men of the neighbourhood. Part of this is compulsory, e.g. herding, supervising the pastures, feasts, age-set activities, political affairs, as they could not be performed inside the homesteads of all the men. The others are added as a matter of convenience. The homestead represents domesticity, the shade tree the larger world of pastoral and political importance. Work, leisure and the interests of the two sexes are concentrated in these two ways. The woman's centre is single, and the man's is largely outside but also partly inside.

For the children the situation largely follows the same sexual division, especially between the older sons and daughters. Girls follow their mother in experience and work from the earliest age at which they can work at all. Boys at first follow the same pattern, but, from the age of six or seven, begin to leave the homestead all day, herding stock and achieving an early start to a relative independence. As they grow up they follow in their fathers' footsteps, looking for many of their interests, pleasures and emotional attractions outside the confines of the homestead.

Only as a man reaches old age and near senility does his sphere of life retract into the homestead. Then he is less capable of and less desirous of going further afield, and sharing in the typically male things of life. What little he does take part in must come to him, literally to his homestead. If he is a fairly important man this may happen; if he is not, it will not. And as he grows older and less active he will tend to confine himself to one neighbourhood. Movements will not only be less frequent, if possible, but he will not range so far afield to supervise the herding and the other homesteads. His sons take over more and more. He does not sink back into the circle of female domesticity. That would be impossible, since he is neither technically nor emotionally equipped to do so. But like the womenfolk he does regard the homestead as his centre.

The individual homestead-unit of the nuclear family is the basic unit of Turkana social life. Although it is not entirely stable according to the season of the year, state of pastures, etc., yet there is a strong tendency for members of the family who live with a certain portion of the family herds, to continue to do so over a period of years. A certain wife, certain sons and daughters, remain with the dry season browsing herds; others always go to the mountains with the cattle, and so on. This splitting up of the family obviously tends to decrease the family unity, especially in the cases where homestead units are kept apart for long periods. But as will be seen in the next chapter there is the contrary theme of the ownership of stock, which operates strongly against the tendencies towards disintegration. And it is the ideal of all Turkana, in the wet season, for the family to be all together. Despite the lengthy separations, that remains the ideal until the normal time arrives for older daughters to marry and leave to live in other families, and for older sons to marry and set up their own families and homesteads. This splitting away of sons is the beginning of a new extended family from out of the old nuclear family - a less integrated more atomistic group.

CHAPTER 10

RIGHTS IN STOCK

Theoretical approach

As has been shown in sociological and legal theory many times already, it is usually, if not always, impossible to speak about ownership of one thing as if that ownership were a single, water-tight entity, residing in one person (or even a restricted group of persons, acting collectively). Even the strict notion of private property in the 19th century in England can be seen not to have been such exclusively single-handed ownership since it was always, and in later years increasingly, subject to external influences and modifications. The existence and use (or even non-use) of property immediately impinges on other people than the owner, consequently some kind of compromise has to be made as between these and the owner. Then the person's complete ownership, complete power to do as he likes with his own, including sole rights to usufruct, is gone. For owners of things do not live by themselves but in the middle of a society, with other people physically and socially all around. A man, whether as owner or as other species of social being, living in society must conform to certain compromise, institutional rules regarding situations where his behaviour impinges on other people's. Further a man wants certain things from society - co-operation, security, pleasure, company, opportunity for development, for altruism, etc., etc., - and for those kind of things he must and does offer his own assets, parts of his so-called property, whether it be his physical, material or mental assets. Now this society in which he lives is composed of several grades relative to himself. Some members, e.g. his near family, are very close and intimate associates

in nearly all aspects of life; others are more casual, intermittent associates; others still are associates in certain specialist activities; whilst finally, others having no direct contact with him (being both physically and socially removed), nevertheless have indirect and occasional contact. According to the type of association so the share in a man's assets differ. Other people's rights are not uniform, but proportional to the type of relation between them and him. Some may have a right to share in the usufruct of the property, others a right to a share in the proceeds of a sale or an exchange of the property, others a right to say in a decision to alter the nature of the property (increase or decrease it, change its quality, turn it to new use, transfer it to a new location, etc.). There will be further sub-division. For instance, right to usufruct may not be a simple right to share in it all, but only in certain types, or at certain times; some have rights at all times, others in all types, others in a combination of the two. But for the sake of social clarity the property - that which is seen to be a cluster of rights of different types and degrees - is still "owned" by some one person, or group of persons. The property, that is to say, an entity, is regarded as such by people in society. It is X's property - not common property. In the latter, rights are open to all persons of the society; in the former the cluster of rights is regarded as defined, graded, classified and limited according to the relations of X with the circle of people involved.

Such a cluster of types and degrees of rights is the only sense in which we can understand the "ownership" of Turkana herds and flocks. Each separate herd, if one asks about it, is owned ('akimet' i.e. "to possess" in relation to stock) by some man. "These cattle are mine", a man tells me. But to give a few random examples, that man does not have the milk from all of them, nor all of the meat when they are slaughtered. He must give some away at certain times (e.g. when someone else is marrying, has committed a crime, wants a feast), at other times he cannot get rid of them at his desires only. There is a notion of the maintenance of the herds for future generations, and at certain times members of a younger generation demand a part of the herd to be handed over, thus cutting away the old rights and establishing new types where a different but overlapping circle of people are involved.

I shall begin this discussion with a description of the types and nature of rights in stock inside the nuclear family (domestic rights), going on to rights inside the extended family (rights of inheritance and major transactions), which will lead to a description of family development in relation to the strong thread of stock rights that runs through the whole as a continuum. Then I shall examine rights of certain special persons, going on to the rights residing in broader groupings, the neighbourhood, community and society as a whole. Thus the present chapter is something of a bridge between the private organisation of the family, and the position of the family in the wider society, of which it is one of many like units. Stock are the theme that creates that bridge in actual life, as well as the theme in the chronological relations of families through the generations. Such outstanding significance attaching to stock will not be surprising in a nomadic pastoral tribe, where, as we have seen, stock are of prime and great value both in economic and social life. There is too a further point. Where a people are frequently and constantly moving the amassing of property is difficult, since everything has to be moved from place to place, often over long distances and with meagre transport. This precludes much in the way of material property - it has been seen how little it is. Because of the extremely homogeneous culture, simplicity of techniques and self-sufficiency of families and neighbourhoods, little specialisation of processes exists, other than those between different ages and sexes. Neither land in any form, nor water are vested in any people. They are free goods. Only in stock, the vital interest in Turkana life, can property be amassed. For stock are not only invaluable in their own right, but are also the mobile element in the country. They are, in economic terms, not only a store of value and a medium of exchange, but also the principal means of livelihood and a major basis of social relations.

x Gardens are a relatively unimportant exception to this.

Domestic rights in stock

Each nuclear family, as titularly represented by its head, owns its own herds of animals as distinct entities. At grazing or watering people can point out the various herds and give the names of their "owners". As far as relations with the outside world are concerned these are individual herds and are treated as such by the head of the family. Inside the family however the herds are sub-divided, in the first place, between wives (and other dependent women). When a man has only one wife she "owns" all the stock as far as domestic affairs go. As new wives are married they are allocated portions of the herds by the chief wife and the husband. In many cases as already pointed out, these portions may be kept in separate kraals at nights. But all the same type of stock are herded and watered together as a unit in the daytime. As daughters grow up and assume more and more the functions of wives, and become more and more individual persons, they too have a few stock allocated to them from their mother's herds, but henceforth individual portions not altogether to be grouped in with their mothers'. Each child, boy or girl, has one or two animals allocated as his or hers, but not really separate from their mothers'. For example Imana's cattle are divided up as follows:- x

Chief wife (with 9 children)	-	100	
2nd wife (with 3 children)	-	10	
3rd wife (with 1 child)	-	10	
4th wife (childless)	-	5	
Eldest daughter	-	4	(all three of these girls are promised in marriage).
Two other grown daughters	-	2 each	
	TOTAL	<u>133</u>	

In addition to these three older daughters there are ten other children each of whom have one cow each, and four of the boys have an ox (calf or fully grown) also, from their mothers' herds. Camels, sheep and goats are divided up in this way also; donkeys are divided between wives only.

Dependent women, when they come into the family, bring a quota of stock with them. That is, some or all of the animals allocated to them in the past by their husbands. A dependent concubine (of some other man, e.g. sister or daughter of the head of the family) is given a separate allocation from the family herds, usually part or whole of the fine ('ekichul') made by her lover to the head of her family, i.e. father or brother. If she lives at her lover's homestead he and his wives provide her with stock. Every woman must have a share of milking animals more or less proportional to the number of her own children.

Each wife is chiefly responsible for her own herds. With her own daughters she milks them twice a day. If there is a separate kraal for her stock she must build and keep it in repair, see that only her own animals use it, that young are separated from their dams and that they are given normal opportunities to suck. From her herds her family, her visitors, and, except in unusual circumstances, no-one else, are fed. They drink the milk, make and keep butter, cream, fat and dried milk. In turn each wife surrenders an animal for slaughter for meat, and she allocates portions of the meat to the other wives, receiving shares in return at other times. She retains all the skins, bones, etc., for her own and her children's use. Out of all these products she must contribute her share to her husband's needs and to the common unitary needs of the family. If a husband wishes to use stock for barter for trade goods, each wife should give proportionately and received proportionately in return. A wife who has a special need or desire for some trade article (beads, a cooking pot, etc.) can try and persuade her husband to barter one or more of her animals. The husband is supposed to have the final word in all such matters. He should take fairly from all wives' herds to provide himself with trade goods or to give

x

This information was given by the chief wife in the first instance to my wife; and it was later verified from another wife and children, and Imana himself.

hospitality to visitors. As in the example cited, the chief wife normally has a far larger share of the herds than other wives. This is not only because of her superior status in the family, and because of her usually large number of children, but also because she is principally the wife who represents her husband in matters of hospitality. She it is who must provide milk, meat and blood for his visitors, relations, friends and travellers. She also holds the bulk of the non-milking stock (castrated males). From these are usually taken the bulk of meat supplies for extra-familial occasions, when the husband must give a feast, present an animal or two to some-one's bride-wealth or compensation, etc. His serving males (bulls, bull-camel, rams and goat bucks) as well as his dance-oxen and special goats are kept in her herds from the beginning and remain there. The chief wife is custodian of all these important animals. Other and lesser wives have mainly need of milking stock in order to feed their own families, and for donkeys to carry their goods when moving.

From the point of view of milk, the staple food, all members of the family have their own milking animals. A child as well as a wife can point out the cow or she-goat from which it gets its milk and fat. Very great care is taken in ensuring that only the milk from each person's animal is poured into his or her own vessel, to be drunk by them or to be made into butter or oil. The husband himself has certain milking animals in the chief wife's herds, and drinks only their milk. For instance in the case of Imana's cattle, he had the milk of five out of 27 cows in milk at the time. In the chief wife's herds, especially at the better times of the year, are perhaps a few "spare" animals from whose milk butter and fat can be made for her store or whose milk can be given to visitors. My wife and I, whilst living next to Imana's homestead, were always given milk from the same cow, morning and evening. Children pointed it out to me as "your cow". I have seen visitors who have been staying for a period, allocated a cow for their milk supply. As children grow up their milking animals become more and more distinguished as theirs alone. As soon as a baby begins to drink animal milk in any quantity an animal is allotted to it. As the child reaches and passes puberty, and achieves gradual independence, these animals are recognised as his, and they will, if they live, eventually pass out of the herd of that nuclear family, as the daughter goes to live with her husband, and the son sets up his own herds. There is also general recognition that young born to these animals are the property of the child. Thus as the child grows up the number of animals increases, although it will be depleted from time to time for the common needs of the family, for trade, meat, etc.

It has been described already how each son, after about the time of puberty, begins to take a dance-ox. This animal may be the ox which he has already prior rights in, the calf of his milking cow. But it is not necessarily or even frequently so, for the bull-calf of one's own cow is purely fortuitous; it may be a poor animal as a dance-ox. The youth looks around, and, taking a fancy to some other ox in his father's herds, makes known his approval and later his desire for it. His father can and almost certainly will consent to his taking it. His father as having general rights over the whole herd, is the only one who can do this. If the desired animal already "belongs" to another member of the family, the latter must also give his consent. This is not usually a difficult matter. The youth puts a collar, and a bell if he has or can beg one, on its neck, and thenceforth it is more his ox than anyone else's, and no-one can treat it in any way without his prior permission. Perhaps right in a dance-ox is the most individual piece of property of all Turkana stock. Because of its ritual value in the life of the individual, all rights in it are restricted to the one person. But even here the animal comes under the general supervision of the family head in matters of herding, grazing, movement, etc. And at some time probably the man must give way to demands of his age-mates to slaughter it for a feast. So that even here rights are not absolute, but restricted, and shared with other people.

There is always danger in over-formalising description of this allocation of rights inside the family, since over the seasons the supply of milk is not constant. All females give less milk of worse quality in the dry season. Some may dry up altogether for a time; some, at old age, dry up for good. This would mean that some people might be deprived of their milk temporarily. Even more importantly it might mean that a child was without milk whilst an adult still had some. No Turkana would allow this. Children have first claim to milk when it is scarce. Thus, as the dry season advances and milk becomes

scarcer, adults begin to give up their milk to the children. The men, I think, are the first to do this, contenting themselves with a drink only occasionally, perhaps not at all in the worst times. Men have a stronger claim to meat supplies. Older children and wives follow, redistributing their milk supplies to the younger children. The mother would be the agency of such redistribution since they are her herds involved so far. But if the situation gets worse (as it very often does) then redistribution can be made through the family as a whole, on an informal co-operative basis, ensuring that at least all younger children have milk whilst there is any at all. Occasionally also a wife might be temporarily short of milking stock, maybe without a single animal left in milk. She will then be loaned animals in so far as the resources allow. That is to say the recognition of rights within the family is not allowed to go so far as to create a tendency for the family to split into independent units, non-co-operating. Of course the exact degree and type of co-operation, besides depending on circumstances and needs, also depends on the nature of intra-family relations. Where co-wives are also firm friends, co-operation will be at a maximum, as and when needed, especially where the chief wife and husband are effective supervisors. Families in which relations are strained will have less co-operation. But either way co-operation there will be. The continuation of the homestead-unit, of the family itself, depends on it. The values of Turkana life demand it. I have never seen, nor can I visualise, the wife who would refuse to share her milk supply with a milkless wife's children. The use of supplies of blood, skins, etc., follows the same general principles within the framework of intra-family rights. In actual daily life there is a very great deal of co-operation in milking, bleeding, watering, building and repairing the animal's kraals, skinning, cutting up and cooking meat, preparation of skins, etc., etc., between wives and their children, so that superficially the individual and separate rights are not clear. This sort of co-operation is, as already described, the essence of family relationships.

Another important factor which modifies these rights is the sub-division of the family into various homesteads on the basis of the pasture needs of the stock. A wife who remains in the plains with the sheep and goats or camels cannot milk and look after her cows. And there will be in each homestead some of the goats, sheep and camels of the wife (or wives) who is with the cattle. In these cases, through time the most usual, each wife must look after and take the produce of the other wives' animals, knowing that they will be doing the same with those of her own which are not with her. If the separate homesteads are near enough milk or fat will be taken from one to the other sometimes. If they are far apart, absent wives will only get the produce of their animals when they visit the homesteads where they are herded, or if a travelling member of the family brings her some when visiting. This means in fact that wives do not fare equally well, since the wife and children in the plains will be often short of milk in the dry season depending as they do on goats and sheep mainly. A wife in the cattle homestead may continue to get milk for a longer period, even maybe right through the dry season.

This is evened up to some extent by meat supplies being in the reverse proportions. Where homesteads are far apart intra-familial sharing of meat falls down temporarily. One of the responsibilities of the head of the family is to see that supplies are fairly even. In the homestead where he lives he is the only one who can authorise slaughter for meat, and animals cannot be killed without his prior knowledge and approval - in fact only he should do the actual killing, though this is not strictly followed. In distant homesteads this power is to a certain extent delegated to the male head there, an adult son, a near kinsman, etc. But there are limits of meat eating, well-known both to the head of the family and to subordinate heads, and there is trouble if these are overstepped. That they are is shown by the family disputes which sometimes occur, especially where a young man or a young wife is in control of the herds at a distance. Meat supplies are in part directly dependent on the numbers of stock, and the maintenance of the whole herd is involved here. Only the head of the family can authorise slaughtering because he is the only one in the family who views all the stock as a single unit. Wives and children tend to think mainly of their own part of it. In general therefore milk and blood

x She might borrow an animal from a neighbour or relative. But this must be rare. I know of no actual case, though I am told that it can happen.

supplies can be left to their attentions. Meat supplies, related directly to decrease in the size of the herds, must be under more single handed control. Wives have not therefore the right to kill their animals as they wish. Subordinate heads of distant homesteads are allowed the right subject to the family head's over-riding rights. Where the other homesteads are not too far off he will often go there himself to kill a sheep or an ox for the people there (this is a common cause of journeys), or he may send a son with an animal to be slaughtered there. Conventionally a wife should not kill, but with sheep and goats she often will. They are small animals with little meat ("a wife kills a goat whilst her husband sleeps", said one informant, contemptuously). A camel or ox must be speared or sometimes clubbed, i.e. men's work.

Besides this authority over meat supplies the head of the family must exercise general supervisory powers over the herds, for like all property there are not only rights, but responsibilities to ensure that the assets are being best developed and efficiently used. Thus the health and well-being of stock, herding, watering are organised by him. The decisions to brand stock, which males to retain uncastrated, which to give as presents or to use in trade, etc., are his. However it cannot be said that his overall rights are fairly closely defined within the necessities of intra-family co-operation. They are safeguarded by the general overall right of the head, their father, husband or guardian.

The nuclear family, extended family, and inheritance

The nuclear family is not an entirely independent unit. In the first place it is part of the extended family, and its herds are part of the extended family's herds, because they - the herds - were originally obtained from the founder of that larger group. They directly sustain the wider kinship relations. The situation is best approached from the point of view of inheritance.

When a man dies there is, in terms of kinship, a main general heir to his position and property. If there are married sons of the dead man the eldest immediately assumes his position as the head of the nuclear family. If there are no married sons the eldest living brother takes his place. If there is no brother the eldest married son of a brother; if not he, the eldest father's brother of the dead man or the married son of the latter. The order of possible heirs is given in Diagram D.

O indicates the deceased man. In all cases sons of a senior wife take precedence over sons of more junior wives. It is important to note that the general heir must be a married man. For unless he is married he cannot have an independent homestead, family and herds, and therefore cannot inherit stock nor follow the dead man properly. This man immediately assumes the general position of the dead man, and becomes the head of the latter's nuclear family - or rather, he modifies it, and includes it in his own nuclear family - and takes over supervision of the herds.

But if there is a senior kinsman, living and married, who is father's brother, brother or brother's son of the dead man, something of the general supervisory rights in stock are attached to him. Diagram E gives the order of succession in relation to the nuclear family of Y.

Theoretically, as it were, these men in that order become the head of the extended family. The actual amount of control and degree of interference into the affairs of the member nuclear families depends on the degree of relationship between the head of the former and the heads of the latter. Thus, if the head of the extended family is elder brother of the head of a nuclear family, relations will be closer and more continuous between the two, the narrower family more a part of the wider. If relationships are in terms, e.g. of grand-father's brother/brother's grandson, connections will be relatively remote and uncertain. It is highly significant however that the basis of this relationship between both families and their heads, of whatever degree, is, in Turkana terms, stated as the common inheritance of stock. Thus all the men (and their nuclear families) are believed to form a unit because their stock are primarily descended from the heads of the common ancestor (X in Diagram E).

DIAGRAM D

THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION OF THE GENERAL HEIR

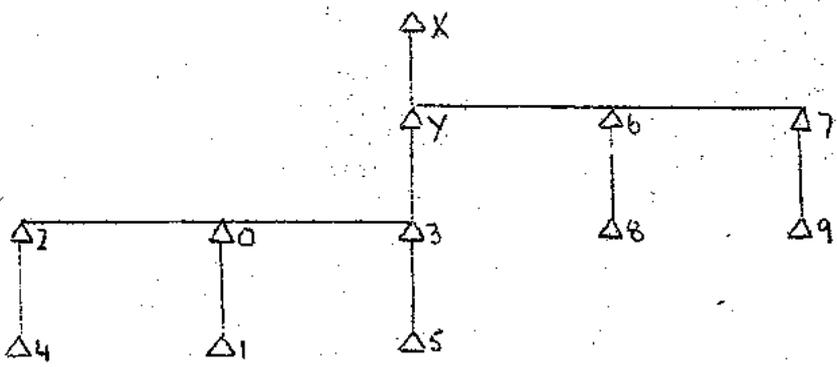
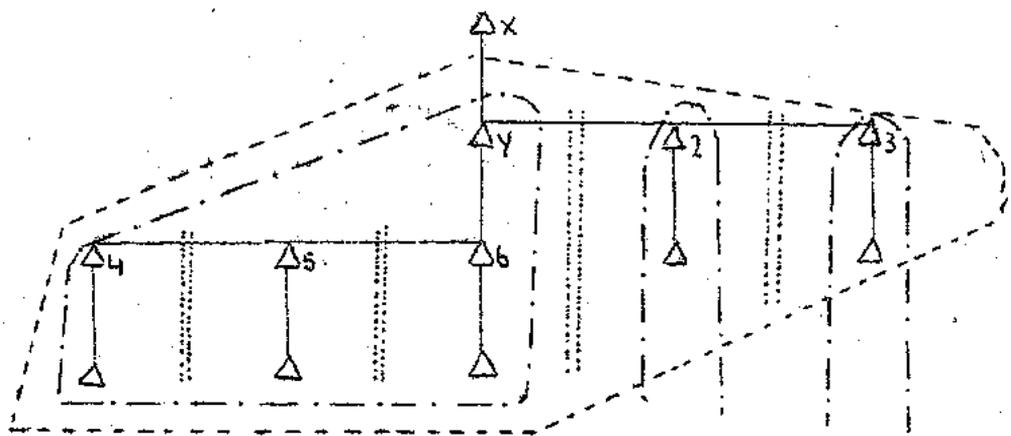


DIAGRAM E

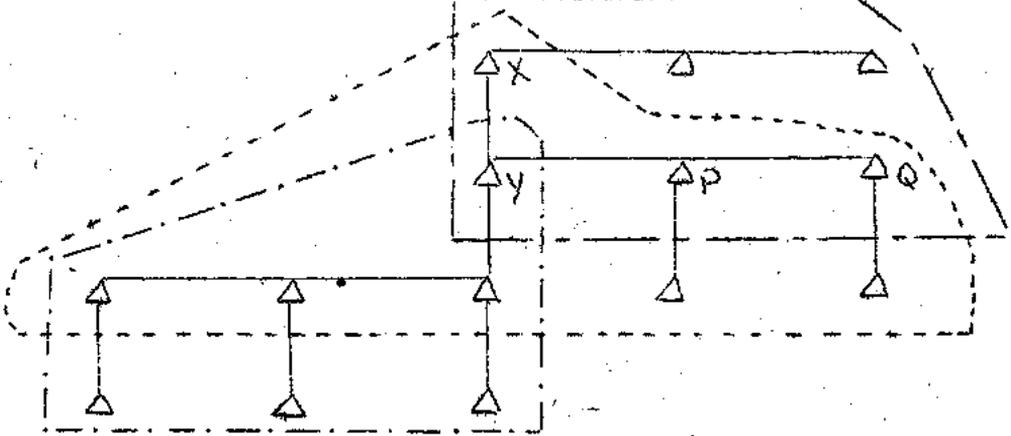
THE ORDER OF SUCCESSION OF THE HEAD OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY



----- Limit of the extended family
 - - - - - Limits of nuclear families
 Lines of cleavage within families

DIAGRAM F

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXTENDED FAMILIES



----- Extended family A
 - - - - - Extended family B
 Extended family C

Referring to Diagram D, relations between men numbers 1 and 7 are relatively distant and the time of common inheritance relatively remote. Whereas relations between numbers 1 and 2 are relatively near and the time of common inheritance relatively recent. The former are based on the herds of man X, the latter on the herds of man Y. Relations between man number 1 and his brothers are closest, the time of common inheritance most recent of all since they result from the herds of their common father O. The individual herds of brothers are still regarded as a single herd in many ways. "My stock and my brother's are all one", a thirty-five year old man told me. In certain cases it is difficult to discover which portion belongs to which brother, especially in those cases where the brothers maintain continual and strong associations with one another, in matters of herding, watering and movements. In the case of one such pair of brothers, Imana and Egeru, they deliberately keep some of their stock in each other's kraals because of this. Egeru told me, "He (Imana) is my brother, and it is good to have our stock mixed. Our father owned it all."^x

Another limitation on the head of the extended family is his proximity in place and time to the heads of member nuclear families. There is a tendency for sons when they become relatively independent of their father, to move in slightly different geographical circles, and for brothers to be slightly different from each other. Each circle overlaps a good deal, each has its independent part. Migrational movements are neither coincident in time or direction. Through the generations this means that the members of extended families gradually become farther and farther apart, physically and socially. The definition of the extended family specifically includes not only traceable patrilineal kinship, but relatively constant and close relations. This, together with the fading away of conscious feeling of owning parts of a common herd, of some mutual ancestor, tends to keep the size of the extended family limited to a depth of not more than four generations (i.e. the descendants of a common great-grandfather), and usually to a depth of only three (i.e. the descendants of a common grandfather). Whilst mostly men know only as far back as their father's father, I have not heard of men speaking of their joint rights in a great-grandfather's herds. A father's brother is outside a man's nuclear family; his sons and sons' sons are even more remote, usually not remembered except as specific occasion brings about more or less accidental meeting. They do not normally share the common herds of a man's father.

The actual range of an extended family is relative to, (a) each nuclear family's development, and (b) the person who is at any one time the head of the extended family. In Diagram E, in relation to the nuclear family of man Y, the head of the extended family might be Y himself. If brothers numbers 2 and 3 are relatively young men with small undeveloped nuclear families and no independent sons, then the extended family with head Y comprises all the men younger than Y in the Diagram (together with their wives and children). As the men get older, their nuclear families larger, their sons increasingly independent, each nuclear family tends to become increasingly independent of Y, and increasingly sub-divided among itself. So long, that is, that a new generation is not creating new nuclear families and the old men are still alive, the extended family remains, based as it is on a common father, X. But when there grow nuclear families, whose heads stand in relation grandfather/grandson to X, the whole begins to disintegrate. They each look to the common source of their own herds - the grandfather of the newest generation, and father of the heads of the nuclear families. If however, e.g. number 3 is a much younger man than his brothers, Y and 2, he may live some time after their deaths. He may then be instrumental in holding together the old extended family, now with a depth of four generations. But, as far as I know, this is both uncommon and unstable. The sons of numbers 4, 5 and 6 feel only slight relationship with number 3, the brother of their grandfather. The source of their common herds has become sufficiently differentiated from the joint source of their grandfather and his brothers, X, for the active kinship relationship to lapse more or less. Common stock rights between numbers 4, 5 and 6 and their sons with the sons of their father's brothers are even smaller, so that family relations

x This is not strictly true in fact, since Imana particularly has bought a good deal of stock for cash - from the wages he gets as Government headman.

between them are slender and increasingly strained. Perhaps "strained" is the wrong word to use. Just "forgotten" would be better, since they are increasingly unimportant. At the death of numbers 2 and 3, if not before, the former nuclear families of the three brothers, already sub-divided amongst themselves, no longer hold together. There is no 'raison d'être' of the old extended family. They now become separate extended families based on ancestors Y, 2 and 3 respectively. Thus the extended family both in terms of actual stock rights, and of active relationships (which are really based on stock rights) develops as in Diagram F.

This is a gradual development not divided into any clearly cut stages. Thus man Y will at one time be a member of a declining extended family (A) and of a developing extended family (B); later, perhaps twenty or more years later, he will be a member of declining extended family B, and of developing extended family C. Because of the normal span of life of a man (not much more than 60 years probably), and the time taken before a man's grandsons achieve independence with their own nuclear families, homesteads and herds, it must be unusual (I know of no cases so far) for an old man to be alive when his grandson becomes independent. One man told me, "My grandfather was good. He gave me food and help when I was a boy. But he died long ago." Notions of grandfathers are invariably strongly coloured by childhood memories and associations. Even if a man is an eldest son he is unlikely to be able to break away from his father's nuclear family before he is about 28 years old at the earliest. His eldest son must take about another 28 years; and his eldest son again another 28 years. That is the first man would have to be about 65 - 75 years old. I suggest that extremely few men live to be that old. Where eldest sons are preceded by older daughters, or where any of the men are not eldest sons, the whole thing may lengthen out a good deal more. In my experience, the father of an independent young adult man is invariably an old man himself, and often no longer alive. I know men, with their own large nuclear families, and who must be at least 50 years old, who have not yet any independent sons. Apart from eldest sons who are married early, men may not marry their first wife before they are in their late twenties. Consequently in Diagram F when extended family B reaches its fullest development, founder Y is dead. Whilst man Y is still alive he is tending to look backwards in time and genealogy to the father (X) from whom his and his brothers' stock came. When he becomes an old man, with married sons who have independent nuclear families and homesteads, and who have obtained their stock typically from him and not from his father or brothers directly, the extended family C develops. B dies away. So long however as any of Y's brothers remain alive (P and Q in the diagram) they will tend to retain some of his general and supervisory authority after his death, since they have certain common rights in his herds. This will not be inherited by their sons who do not belong to the new extended family C. These latter men will be members of extended families based on founders P and Q respectively.

There is not, except in exceptional cases, any effective descent group, for whatever purpose, based upon the common ancestor X, in the diagram. By the time Y's grandsons are becoming adults there are only three separate entities based on Y, P and Q respectively, whose members may recognise vague affinities, but in most cases do not even allow that. A grandson of Y may know P and Q (but not invariably), but it is highly unlikely that he will know even that much about the sons of P and Q, let alone maintain effective relations with them. The name of X is likewise forgotten.

We shall now examine what this means in actual terms of stock rights, and what is the nature of the complex of general rights which forms the working basis of the extended family.

When a son first marries he is allocated stock from his father's herd (from his mother's portion mainly) as well as that portion already more or less his inside his father's nuclear family. The actual amount of stock so given depends on the wealth of the father in each case, although there must be at least sufficient milking stock to support the new wife and her child when it arrives, for they are primarily to provide a livelihood for her, although there will be one or two males plus a couple of donkeys. As children are born these may be increased^x, and when the son has sons of his own capable of

x The family of the wife must also give the couple some stock at birth of their first child.

beginning to herd goats (i.e. 5 or 6 years old) he moves away from his father's homestead and establishes his own, perhaps with a few more stock. If the original nuclear family can afford it, the second wife of a son will be also given stock. If necessary, depending on the number of men available to his father, this independent son will keep part of his father's stock at his own homestead, herding and supervising them along with his own. These stock of the sons are of course subject to the same intra-family rights as have already been described. Unless the original nuclear family is very wealthy, these separate nuclear families will usually be restricted until the time of the father's death. Then sons take the opportunity of establishing themselves if they are married, and have, or can persuade, sufficient dependents to allow efficient herding and domestic work.

To return to the subject of inheritance: the general heir is as shown in Diagram D, and he has first right to the dead man's stock.^x How far he exercises this right depends on his relations with the dead man. A brother is most likely to be already head of an independent nuclear family with his own herds. A father's brother almost invariably has his own. His needs for extra stock (and also the widows and children) is relatively less than for instance the sons of the dead man, for they are already established with shares of their own fathers' herds. But sons of the dead man will not usually be so well established, possibly not yet independent even if they are married. If the eldest son is the general heir he will most probably want a larger share of his father's herds. He will have been brought up with them and have an emotional and social attachment to them, perhaps no less strong than the economic desire. But unless he is an only son he has not sole rights to all the herds. There may be brothers by his own mother and by other of his father's wives. In the first place each of these will have had some stock already allocated to them; and secondly, wives other than his mother will be anxious to keep their portions for the benefit of their own children. Usually of course the heir will be the eldest son of the chief wife,^{xx} who, as we have seen, has by far the larger portion from which to take his own inherited stock. He will take complete supervisory rights over the remainder of her portion unless any of his brothers are also married. His brothers and sisters become his own "children", as he acts in relation of father to them in their future development. And since he takes the place of his father he is regarded as having something of the same rights over the portions of other wives and children. What the state of affairs is if the son of another wife is also married and independent, I do not know. It would to a large extent depend on relations between the half-brothers. But certainly the younger half-brothers would have a claim to assistance over matters of bridewealth later on, now that the heir held their father's stock. The incoming bridewealth from the marriage of sisters would come to the heir as it would have done to the father, although undoubtedly a full brother will have strong claims to a very large share of it, especially if he is wishing to get married himself.

At this time of death, other married sons, hitherto not independent, will take the opportunity to move away and set up their own homesteads, taking with them a share in the total herds, especially their mothers' portions. If widows are old and past the age of child-bearing, it is unlikely that sons or brothers will wish to inherit them, and, of course, the wishes of the women themselves have to be considered. If the wives do not re-marry they often go to live with a married son taking with them their portions of the herds and their younger children. The actual division of the herds is made after the man is buried and before the homesteads split up and move.^{xxx} There is discussion between all the men and women of the old nuclear family who claim parts of the herds, under the acknowledged prior rights of the general heir.

The following are the claimants on the dead man's stock within his

-
- x Inheritance of wives is dealt with in Chapter 18, "Marriage".
 - xx Care is taken to see that the eldest son of the chief wife is married as early as possible, in order that he may become the proper heir when his father dies.
 - xxx In the event of death, the homestead, where the man died, must move within a few days anyway.

nuclear family:-

the general heir (eldest married son)
 other married sons
 each widow who does not re-marry
 each widow who does re-marry (a smaller portion)
 unmarried daughters who are mothers ('apethe angabus')
 married daughters (I am uncertain how far they press their
 claims)
 married sisters of the dead man (usually a token claim of a
 few heads only).

In general it may be said that married sons tend to break away and take their share of herds with them, only recognising the broad rights of their elder brother as the head of what is becoming an extended family. Since it is unlikely that their mothers will be inherited, being too old, the latter, and their younger children, will accompany their now independent sons. Where there are no married sons among a widow's children, and if she is not inherited by a man other than the general heir, she and they will usually go to live with the latter, who will retain his father's rights over their portions of the herds. Each portion going to a person, besides depending on relative matters of seniority and individual circumstances, also depends on the number of dependents to be taken. The married son who takes his mother and several brothers and sisters, has a strong claim to more stock than his half brother whose mother is dead and who has no or few siblings. The widow who has several young children to provide for has stronger claims than the childless one. The whole matter is one of the attempted balance of many relevant issues, set against what the Turkana recognise as a natural greed of anyone to get as much as he can.

Married sisters and married daughters are not, strictly speaking, members of the dead man's nuclear family, but belong to those of their husbands. But there remains a close tie between such women and their kinsmen. Visits are frequent, sometimes prolonged. Her patrilineal kinsmen are people who take an interest and responsibility in the woman, and to whom she may return if she is ill-treated or widowed. She is their sister or their father's sister, and as such, even when married out of the family and her bridewealth taken in, she retains an interest in her old family's affairs. This is especially so in the earlier years of marriage. But as she becomes older, and a more established wife with her own children full members of her husband's family, she becomes, and feels herself become, increasingly a member of that family also, and increasingly cut off from her former family, which anyway is now probably split up out of all recognition. The strong social and emotional ties between brother and sister give way to less durable relations between brother's son and father's sister. When an older wife is widowed she rarely, I am told, takes the opportunity to return to her old family, but remains tied to that of her husband through her children. Her own rights there are stronger, as wife and mother, than they possibly could be in her brother's or brother's son's family. It would be unusual for the family to let her go either.

Others outside the nuclear family have and may exercise claims on the herds also. These are principally and mainly men in the dead man's extended family. For instance, the man's brothers and their sons. In discussion of their claims the head of the extended family presides, although not necessarily acting as final arbiter and court of appeal. His general consent is felt to be necessary. His position depends on his personality, closeness of relations with the dead man and the dead man's sons, and degree of influence within the total extended family. The actual claims are in one way directly dependent on the degree of relationship between the claimant and the dead man. His brothers who shared their father's original herds are felt to have stronger claims than his brother's sons, who are a stage further removed. Practical relations are also important. One brother may have constantly or frequently co-operated with the dead man in economic affairs, herding, mutual assistance, migrational organisation, etc., perhaps within the same community; another brother may have lived more or less permanently at a distance, in a different community. Everyone recognises the greater claims of the first brother whatever their order of seniority of birth. The relative needs of claimants are also important, for often there will not be large numbers of cattle or camels to be portioned out. A relatively rich kinsman is thought to have less need of stock than a poor one, especially a son of the deceased who is badly needing stock either to get married, or to start up an

independent homestead. I know of one case where a wealthy man left no married sons and where his younger brother was the rightful general heir and guardian of the children. He was, however, also a rich man, and apart from a few token animals he did not touch the herds at all, leaving them under the trust of the dead man's chief wife (who went to live with her brother) until the eldest son was married. Today three of the four sons are married and have well established nuclear families. There remains the fourth (a very much younger half brother of the other three) who is now about ready to marry, and for whom, two of the brothers have told me, all three will give stock for his bridewealth, and further stock later on to establish his own herds. A more avaricious type of man could and possibly would have stood on his legitimate rights in such a case and taken all the stock for himself, and, strictly controlling the young men, therefore diminishing their chances of early and wealthy families of their own. Like so much in Turkana social life, the actual operation of the principle depends in the last resort upon the personalities involved on the particular occasion.

According to circumstances a more distant kinsman might put in a claim which would be recognised but it would have to be based chiefly on previous practical relations with the dead man, although where the number of close kinsmen is small it is possible that such a claim would stand on its own merits. However, there must be some reason why such a relatively distant kinsman comes to put in a claim at all, over and above the mere existence of kinship. There will also be claims from in-laws, "best-friends" and others who have had particularly close relations with the dead man and his nuclear family. And the final share of each claimant will be the subject of further claims by his own in-laws, friends and distant kin.

In these discussions there are two units involved - the dead man's nuclear family and his extended family. Except where the man's general heir is also the head of the extended family there will be two kinship heads involved in the inheritance discussions. Here again both the personalities and the circumstances of the men have an important bearing on the final compromise solution of all rights and claims. The members of the dead man's nuclear family are credited with not only the strongest legal rights but also the greatest practical needs. Turkana say that if possible a man's stock should be kept within the limits of his nuclear family (apart from a few token animals to others). It is bad for the herds to be split up. The stock remain as a unitary herd if they are inherited by the man's nuclear family. Public opinion, a tacit rather than an active participant in these matters, will support the claims of the nuclear family as against the extended family and others. The precise solution depends on the size of the herds to be distributed and the range of the extended family. In some cases the matter is fairly simple. There may be only one son, and one brother and his sons. Herds may be small and tacitly distributed even before the man dies. Fewer people will think it worthwhile to press claims then. But where herds are large, and the range of the extended family wide, greater complications arise. Post-funeral discussions can, I am told, last from one to ten days according to the complexity of the situation.

If at the time no son is married, the usual arrangement is that the nearest married kinsman becomes guardian of both children and stock, quite apart from his own and others' satisfied claims. These herds are not assimilated with his own and he should not use them except for the benefit of his dead kinsman's nuclear family. As soon as the first son marries, taking his bride-wealth mainly from his father's herds, he can legally set up his own homesteads and claim the rest of the herds, and, if their mothers join him, take his brothers and sisters with him. Older brothers would almost certainly come with him and later be married from the herds. An exceptional and avaricious man might attempt to retain his brother's herds against the claims of the latter's sons, who now achieve or wish to achieve their independence. Such action is unlikely to get the support of the rest of the extended family, nor of public opinion. The dispossessed sons would receive at least moral support if, by force, they seized their rightful herds and drove them away. I have been told that this is what would happen most likely. In Turkana law the sanction of right procedure and proper conclusions to proceedings is always a resort to self-help and force. It is unlikely that the man in the wrong would have any redress, since for that he would need the moral and physical support of interested parties - an unlikely event especially after the seizure.

It may be worth while emphasising again the emotional ties between members of a nuclear family and the family herds. The very existence and independence of the family depends on these herds. They are at once both the symbol and the practical livelihood of the family's existence as a unit within the extended family. Wives are married principally with bridewealth out of these herds; children are born into the midst of pastoral activities. Their whole education and experience is with these herds; their movements about the country are because of their needs. As we have seen, each wife, and each of her children have strong personal rights in certain animals, becoming increasingly individualised as the nuclear family becomes more strongly entrenched. As sons reach adulthood they become heads in homesteads where their father is not living, acting as his representative over the herds. As he gets older and less and less active, sons, especially the eldest, tend to take on more and more of his authority, supervision and general rights. There is the strong emotional tie with dance-oxen, and, of a different kind, with the serving-males which have been carefully selected and bred up. The strongest possible opposition is invariably felt against any division of the herds outside the nuclear family - i.e. the newly developing extended family. The claims of other members of the old extended family are appreciated and to a certain extent met in good spirit. One is not specifically opposed to the other members of the extended family, recognising the proper ties of kinship, but rather one is much more deeply involved in relations inside the nuclear family. Sons say, the herds are our father's herds; we are his sons. Nuclear families based on the common father (owner of the stock) have a unity which exists independently of other nuclear families within the extended family. Father's brothers and their sons make up other nuclear families which later develop into more or less independent extended families.

Other stock rights within the extended family

Although the inter-relations and cleavages inside an extended family, and the development of nuclear families are most apparent and decisive at times of inheritance, yet they are not, of course, quiescent at other times. In a permanent and universal way the male members feel closer to each other than to most outsiders. They keep in touch with one another, co-operating now and again in herding and the supervision of stock. The head of a nuclear family who is short of males, may send one of his herds to a homestead of a brother or a father's brother or his son, etc. A paternal nephew or cousin may come to live in the homestead of a man to help with herding work, or to alleviate hunger pressure in his own family. Co-wives of brothers are often very close friends, and continue to be so when their husbands become old men, their respective nuclear families becoming extended families. At times paternal cousins are close associates. Members of one's extended family are people from whom one has both right and inclination to seek help and co-operation both in stock matters and other things of a more general nature.

At certain critical times in social life these relationships stand out clearly, for the underlying basis of the common stock rights, the joint inheritance of a former single herd, create specific rights and obligations in matters of transfers of stock. Because of the involvement of common stock these crises of life are the times 'par excellence' when kinship functions strongly in Turkana society. When a man is collecting bridewealth he can and does call on members of his extended family to give stock. He does this even when he can more or less afford to pay all of the bridewealth himself. For although the selection and marriage of a wife is principally his own concern, yet it does involve the extended family as well. In the first place, their (at least) tacit approval is necessary since some of the extended family's stock are to be sent out of the family and a new member added to it, who will come to develop claims on the joint herds. Secondly, the children of the marriage will come to establish rights in the joint herds. Thirdly, if the man dies, men in the extended family will have rights of inheritance of the widow and a control in the destiny of her children. Fourthly, new inter-family relations are to be set up by the marriage with a family outside the present complex of stock rights. As a group of in-laws this will henceforth exert certain rights itself. As the common father would have provided stock for his son's marriage, so must his joint heirs for one of their number, or one of their number's sons. A man will therefore make a point of going to inform members of his extended family about the intended marriage, and to beg contributions towards the bridewealth. Usually members will help him in this collection and in the bargaining with the father of the bride. The head of the extended family

should give his approval and, if possible, actually undertake the physical handing over of the stock to the family of the bride.^x Other members will be there to act as witnesses and to give the proper support.

On the reverse side, the bridewealth for the daughter is distributed amongst members. Her nuclear family is held to have the strongest claims but all the other members have rights to some animals and turn up to enforce them. Again, they must be informed and give at least tacit approval of the new in-laws, and may attend pre-marriage discussions, and invariably the actual wedding. I have seen a wedding held up, for instance, because of the delay in the arrival of the bride's father's brother. The size of the bridewealth will, to a certain extent, depend on the claims of the girl's extended family, for her father cannot rightfully refuse their claims. One man I know who was rather poor and could not afford a high bridewealth attempted to get the total number of stock reduced, or at least gain permission to pay instalments. Fortunately he was on very good terms with his prospective father-in-law who promised to hold over some of his own claims. But it was impossible to hold over or reduce the claims of members of the extended family of the girl. They had not the personal relations with the suitor that the father had and wanted only their rightful share of the bridewealth. The father could not deny them these rights. On other occasions, I am told, the bridewealth may be reduced by a more distant kinsman allowing his claim to be waived.^{xx}

The same sort of position holds in the case of the payment or receiving of compensation stock ('akibuto') when a crime has been committed. As stated earlier (p.70) theoretically the whole patrilineal clan is supposed to be involved. In fact, such involvement rarely exceeds the limits of the extended family. If possible, the head of the extended family must take a prominent part in compensation negotiations on either side. Male members of the extended families of the two parties will both verbally and physically support their own side. When guilt is fairly well established the extended family of the injured party can and will use force to obtain the considered rightful dues in stock. Public opinion will support such action.^{xxx} In default of payment, or in righteous indignation, the members of a murdered man's extended family can seek direct vengeance by killing a member of the murderer's extended family.^{xxxx}

Another important time when a man may need stock is when his herds are depleted by disease or raids or starvation. In these cases he will call on his extended family to provide stock to replenish his herds and to enable his nuclear family to remain solvent. The loss is regarded as a joint loss to be made up on a joint basis. A man who loses the services of one of his serving males can borrow or beg the use of that of one of his family; similarly in cases of shortage of milking stock.

In all this the practical aspect of the situation continues to be decisively important. One co-member, or co-family, of the extended family may live in close contact and co-operation with another, and the degree and continuity of help will be consequently far greater than with a co-member who lives at a distance, and whose sphere of activities seldom coincides. As an extended family develops one nuclear family may break away before others do, because of the relatively slight practical relations maintained. One pair of brothers may continue close co-operation and another pair may not, consequent upon the personalities involved. Relations between heads of the nuclear families set the standard for inter-family relations. The refusal to meet a certain claim will, I think, be one of the factors causing a premature splitting up

x 'Adethe ngeth', i.e. literally "he strikes"; he touches each beast with a stick as they are passed, one by one, to the other family.

xx Accounts of the distribution of bridewealth will be found in the chapter on "Marriage".

xxx This is limited nowadays by the existence of the Administration and of Government headmen.

xxxx Again theoretically extended to the whole clan, but unlikely to be so in practice.

of the extended family. Turkana have told me stories of how certain kinsmen refuse to honour their obligations. Since there is no machinery to compel the observation of proper rights the only binding and sanctioning forces are emotional attachments and the desire for co-operation. Where these are missing the whole fabric of the extended family breaks down. Nevertheless it appears that such refusals to co-operate must be relatively rare, if only because it would mean giving up all claims in the future to stock and help.

Opposition and co-operation between brothers

Typically the claim of every son is to achieve independence, with his own herds and nuclear family. The full meaning of the word for an adult man ('ekile') is one who is thus independent, and not merely initiated. This leads to a certain degree of opposition between brothers who must compete for portions of their father's stock, both whilst he is alive, and afterwards. Unless a man is exceptionally wealthy the marriages of his sons must be spread out. Sons get married in order of seniority, and a younger brother who wishes to take a first wife takes precedence over an elder brother who is already married. The more sons achieving independence the relatively smaller share each gets in the father's herds. The Turkana themselves first drew this to my attention. Men told me about the competition which sometimes amounted to hostility. By the act of marriage they each create new in-law relationships specific to themselves and only indirectly and to a much lesser extent shared with the others. By differences in age, brothers have different associates both formally (age-mates) and informally. Each consciously and unconsciously creates a sphere of relationships and activities different from his brothers. They tend to look to different circles of extra-familial people, for co-operation, assistance and social company. When setting up their own homesteads they must move away from their father in the act of independence. At the same time they move away from each other. They tend not only to associate closely with, but often live with, their in-laws, friends, age-mates, etc. With such people practical relations may become more important and intense than with brothers. Brothers are looked upon as people who are trying to better themselves at one's own expense. "When your brother comes to see you, you know that he wants something. He may want a goat or a cow. And having got it he goes off again", said one man to me. In-laws, friends and others are people who maintain co-operative relations of mutual satisfaction to both sides. There appears to be little if any distinction made here between full and half brothers. Cleavage does not seem to follow the wives of a man.

Something of the same kind of competition for stock exists between father and son. The son wants stock to marry with, to establish his nuclear family, to start independent herds. The father may also want another wife, or may be unwilling to see his herds broken into or his authority in the nuclear family decreased. Opposition is however a good deal less than inter-fraternal opposition, because, as one puts it, "we get our stock from our father", or "he gives us food and helps us". With a father, the husband of one's mother also, are far stronger emotional bonds than with a brother, and always sooner or later the father's stock descends to the son. The father cannot prevent it. A brother may try to prevent it, or at least some of it. Nevertheless the traditional theme of social cleavage is between father and son. The legendary original descent into Turkanaland was by young men who left their "fathers" in the old country.^x In another story Turkana and Karamajong are sons who left their father; in another the Karamajong are descendants of Turkana, sons who stayed in that country with their fathers' cattle and refused to return to Turkanaland, even fighting their fathers with first sticks, and later spears. Of more immediate and historical importance is the system of colonisation of new lands released by Turkana conquest and the 'pax Britannica'. One of these areas I know fairly well (Logiriama south), and I have found that the fathers of all the male heads of the families there lived farther east and south, and remained there, whilst their sons left and settled in this new area. The comparative shortage of old men is a most noticeable feature.

Despite this sort of very real opposition between brothers there is underlying the inevitable social and emotional need for co-operation based on the present and future joint ownership of a single father's herds. A man

X See Chapter 13 for an account of this legendary origin.

can always call on his brother in the way already described. More opposition may hasten the time at which their respective nuclear families split apart from each other creating new extended families. But except in most exceptional circumstances it cannot effect that in the early and middle stages of the development of the common extended family, i.e. as the father's nuclear family becomes dissociated from the extended family of his brothers and becomes a new extended family in its own right. Always there is the strong factor that brothers possess a common herd and that each has rights in portions of the others. The ambi-valence is at once the strength of the extended family and the later cause of its downfall. This state of affairs means in fact that commonly in everyday life co-operation between members of an extended family is very small. Men look to others tied by other sorts of relations, for their everyday help and company. But in the crises of life the extended family comes to the fore and tends to act as a unit. For the crises of Turkana life are inevitably connected in some way with the transfer of stock. In the meantime the extended family may be largely quiescent. Of course there are many instances of brothers or some other two or more members of an extended family engaging in the closest of everyday relations, but I should not say that it is common. It never occurs that the whole extended family acts together as an everyday social unit. Both competition, possibly developing into open hostility, and the individual attractions of their own in-laws and friends prevent that happening.

Relations with non-kinsmen based on common stock rights

Apart from these close patrilineal relationships there are other relations based on stock, and relative to a man individually. Wherever a relationship is created or stabilised by the transfer of stock from one man to another, there is something special set up which distinguishes it from others. Where stock have once passed they can and will pass again when future stock transactions are being made. In this category come in-laws, "best friends", and to a lesser extent "god-fathers" and patrons of initiates.

In-laws

The position of in-laws^x is established by the transfer of bridewealth at marriage. Although, except in cases of the divorce of a childless wife, there can be no return of bridewealth, yet the son-in-law still feels that he has certain vague rights in those stock that he handed over, and more generally in the total herds into which they were assimilated. Because of this and of the specific tie of marriage, relations between in-laws are very close indeed. I have asked natives whom they like best in their own circle of relationships. The invariable reply whatever the ranking of other people on their list, is the in-laws to whom a man paid stock for his wife. Turkana speak with great enthusiasm and pleasure about their in-laws, which is in peculiar contrast with their normal phlegmatism and with their remarks about other people, including their near kin. It may be that near kin are taken so much for granted being automatic relationships outside the primary control of the individual. But each man consciously creates new relations with his wives' people, relations which only to a lesser extent does he share with near kin. The in-law relationships most emphasised are those between a man and his wife's family - especially father and brother-in-law. More will be said of this type of relationship in the description of marriage, below; here I wish to emphasise the element of common stock rights.^{xx} Whenever other stock transactions occur in-laws are called on to provide a share of the outgoing payment, and can claim a share of any stock received by the man.^{xxx} The actual degree to which they share in this way depends on practical relations of everyday life, for it is

x In-laws of whatever degree are known as 'ekamerun'; fem. 'akamerun'.

xx It is not contended that stock rights are the only basis of the in-law relationship. They are not. They are however a most important element in it; and the exchange of stock and stock products the most important exemplification of it.

xxx Except in the case of bridewealth. As far as I know in-laws play no part in a man's other marriages. A man's brother-in-law will help the man's son when the latter marries, and will receive a portion of the man's daughter's bridewealth. But this is in his capacity of mother's brother, not as an in-law.

unlikely that a man will maintain equally strong relations with the families of all of his wives, let alone the families of spouses of his children. For one reason or another (amicability of personalities, geographical proximity through the seasons, influence of a wife, etc., one or two in-laws will be in closer relations than the rest. They will be looked to for greater co-operation and assistance than the rest. Very often a man lives near to his father-in-law, or shares a homestead with his brother-in-law, so that their degree of social and economic co-operation exceeds that of any others. With these in particular, but with all in-laws in general, mutual stock rights are maintained. Unlike the relations resulting from an extended family, it is recognised that these are of the most formal and yet also of the everyday type. They extend to daily life, so that shares of meat are regularly sent to in-laws, gifts of milk, blood and fat, loans of milking stock or serving males are often made; and whenever it is a matter of one or two animals to augment the herds, in-laws can always be relied upon to help, e.g. a young ox to become a dance-ox, a young bull, a young camel or two etc. But in the formal crises of social life the common rights are sustained. At the death of a man, or when he inherits from his family, in-laws can and do make proper claims to a share in his stock. Not only cannot a man refuse such a demand, he certainly would not wish to. There is no element of hostility here. In matters of compensation and assistance in times of depletion of herds, in-laws seek and obtain the help of each other. On such formal occasions it is to be noted that the size of the assistance in numbers of stock is less than that of a co-member of the extended family, and I think that in times of pressure an in-law could be persuaded to give up his claim to a share of the stock.

The "best-friend"

The Turkana word 'lopei' i.e. "friend", is like so much of their social terminology, capable of a wide range of meaning. At times one's companion is called 'lopeikan' i.e. "my friend", but this does not imply any permanency of relationship and is generally the result of a temporary effusion of companionship. More specifically the word refers to a person with whom one has had a long and fruitful companionship in everyday life, in co-operative affairs of economics and herding, and in common neighbourhood on and off, possibly common membership of a community.^x But most specific of all is the friend with whom one has, at some time, exchanged stock, and continued to do so ever since intermittently. If a man is asked who are his 'talopei', these will be the men who are named. I shall distinguish them by referring to them as "best-friends". It should be understood that there is nothing of a formally instituted relationship at any time, or by ritual means. It is not blood-brotherhood or anything of that nature, and may lapse for want of practical maintenance. One's best-friend can be of any condition of life so long as he is an adult. He can be of the same age, older or younger. They are usually men not normally involved in a man's own sphere of economic and migrational activities, living in the wet season at some distance, probably using different dry season pastures also. This is not invariable, but a man likes to have best friends in districts adjoining his own, in which he occasionally travels and has business. That way the casual yet close relations can best be maintained and be of most use to both parties.

One man living on the Koteruk river in the wet season (middle Turkwel) has three best-friends one to the east across the Turkwel, one near the Kosibir, and one in the Lorengagipi area. He gave me the following account of the establishment of relations with the first of these. It is typical of others I have been told.

"A long time ago, many years, a man arrived here (Koteruk river) on his way to his cattle homestead on Loima. He knew no-one here. He stopped outside my homestead. When I went out to him he told me who he was and where he was going. He begged food from me. He begged meat and milk. He begged a goat. I took a goat and killed it. We ate meat. After that he went on to Loima. Later on his way back with four cows he stopped here again and begged meat. I killed a goat and we ate meat. He gave me two spears. He went off to his own country.

"Another time I was travelling in south Turkanaland and came back from the Ngebotok by way of his country. I stopped at his homestead. He killed a goat and we ate meat. He gave me some goats, six goats. I drove them back here.

x For definitions of neighbourhood and community see next chapter.

"Now any time he can come and beg from me. I shall give him what he wants. I can beg things off him."

Because of the gift of goats, in this case both ways, the two men established relationship of mutual assistance which was over and above any casual relationship of passing travellers. One might give milk or a piece of meat to a traveller as hospitality, one does not give goats. From what I have been told I gather that before contracting such a relationship a man takes care to discover who the other man is, what his social position and stock-wealth is, what his family is like. A gift of stock represents the highest gift possible, the highest compliment known. It is a guarantee of faith between the two men. Each knows that in the future the other will make a demand for help, not always in stock, but often it will be. In the words of the same informant:-

"Your best-friend comes to your homestead. You go out to him. You say, 'What do you want?' He replies, 'I want things'. 'What things do you want?' 'I want a sheep and some cloth'. You must give him whatever he wants. If he comes for a cow and there is no cow there, you must give him food; and he waits until you fetch one from your herd."

I have been assured time and time again that a man can refuse his best-friend nothing even if it means leaving himself without cloth or meat. He can either do without, buy more at a store, or, characteristically enough, set off to another best-friend and beg his requirements from him.

Having once bought a sheep off a neighbour who refused to regard it as a sale but only as an exchange of gifts, my cook told me that the man now was my best-friend, and he was always referred to by that title in my presence whilst I lived there. The man came along a few days later and said, "You are my best-friend now." I agreed. "Then", he said, "you must give me shillings for my tax payment."

More than once I have been unable to buy a sheep for meat but have, by dint of strong begging, been able to get one as a gift. "You are my best-friend now", I am invariably told. And inevitably the man comes along a little later on to demand something from me, basing his claim on our relationship. On another similar occasion when I demurred tentatively at the unequal share I seemed to be getting in the exchange of gifts over a period of days with a best-friend of about nine months' standing, I was told by him, "You can ask for anything of mine. I am your best-friend." Apparently I was rather backward in exerting my rightful claims!

Most men name me three or four men when I ask them who are their best-friends. They visit a man or he visits them at least once a year so that the relationship is kept going as it were. The actual number of visits of course will depend on circumstances from year to year - the amount of travelling a man does and in which direction, his needs for assistance, his estimate of the chance of having his demands met, etc.

A man's best-friends have irregular undefined rights in his herds; they will never seek large numbers of stock at any one time, but a goat or two when meat is scarce, a cow or camel towards bridewealth at another time. If a man inherits, or receives bridewealth for a daughter or sister, it is most likely that one or more of his best-friends will turn up to beg an animal or two, if and when they hear of it. He will not have to go out of his way to see that they are informed or to see that they get a share; but if they come and beg something he cannot refuse it at such a time. According to the seriousness of the situation and the proximity of the men involved a man may seek an animal or two towards his bridewealth payments, or if his herds have been badly depleted through some accident. At a wedding his best-friends will join his age-mates in giving him personal moral support. Visits to a best-friend are a recognised diversion in the dry season when food is short, since the latter must kill a goat etc., to provide meat for a feast on the occasion of such a visit. Hospitality is no less complete than it is for kinsmen and in-laws.

The actual extent and nature of such visiting and gifts is not defined but it is not excessive since the relationship depends on mutual convenience. As one man put it to me, if one's best-friend keeps coming and begging things at short intervals and one does not get much back from him, he soon ceases to

be a best-friend. I know of no instance of the relationship being broken in this way, but it may occur. The best-friends of a man do not maintain relations between themselves. Probably they do not know each other. They are relative to the one man only.

The "god-father"

When a child is born it is very common, though not invariable for the father to seek to establish or strengthen relations with some other man by asking the latter to give his name to the baby. Sometimes such a "godfather" will already be related to the family e.g. near kinsman, in-law, best-friend. But often he will be only a close companion of the father. If the man accepts, as he usually does, since it is an honour and he is probably willing to extend his own sphere of relationships too, he formally "tells" his name to the baby, irrespective of sex, and gives a goat or a sheep to the mother, which is put in her herds. He may also kill an animal for a feast. Thereafter the family refer to him as "the father of so-and-so" i.e. his own and the child's name, and may call him not by his own name but "his (or her) name" ('ekeroken'), or just "name" ('ekero'). If the child is a boy he can call on the man for help regarding bridewealth, compensation, etc., in later life. If the child is a girl the man is entitled to a share in her bridewealth - an animal or two. My information is insufficient on this point, but I gather that relations between the men are close and that at times if necessary they will give each other help on the basis of this tie. The point is, that Turkana tell me that an animal has changed hands, and therefore something special has been created.

The "patron"

The "patron" (I can discover no Turkana word) of an initiate is the older man with whom the newly initiated youth goes to live for five nights after the actual ceremony and with whom the youth makes an exchange of weapons, cloth, sandals, spear, etc. The initiate is given his first mud head-dress. Either then or at some early date the initiate, or more accurately his father, gives some stock to the patron. I am uncertain how much. One man told me one of every kind of animal, another said a goat or two, or perhaps an ox. The patron is thereafter called "father" ('apa') by the youth. How far in later life the patron can make demands on the initiate, and vice-versa, probably depends on circumstances. If the man is short of stock he could beg an animal or two when his protégé inherits. The youth, if hard-pressed, could seek assistance in making up his bridewealth or he might beg a young ox for his dance-ox, and so on, according to needs and circumstances.

All these people, who are not kinsmen, are constantly talked about by men, often with considerable affection, especially in-laws and best-friends. In talking about different aspects of stock, I was constantly being told about them just as much as about kinsmen. In circumstances of the need for one or two animals, perhaps in-laws and best-friends are more to be sought. In a way they can scarcely refuse such demands unless they become exorbitantly frequent or coincide with their own difficulties. A man's kinsmen are more involved in the more serious, less frequent crises of life - marriage, death, judicial matters, loss of herds, etc. Then too these non-kinsmen may be involved but to a lesser extent usually.

Through these special relationships a man can establish a more or less wide field of influence according to his energy and wealth. It is very true here to say that "to him who hath shall be given", for the wealthy man is in a strong position to establish new extra-kinship relations. When he himself is a traveller he finds it relatively easy to obtain hospitality or the gift of a goat or two. For, as Turkana have told me, he is known to have many stock, and his host knows that in the future he will assuredly be able to seek return help and gifts. When a traveller arrives in an unknown neighbourhood where he knows no-one, he will often pick out a wealthy man from whom to beg hospitality and assistance. The wealthy man can afford to spread out his relationships in this way; that is, to increase the potential demands on his herds. He can afford, usually, to give milk, blood and meat, or to make a gift of a goat or a couple of sheep, or even an ox or calf. Further the wealthier man can afford to marry more wives, thus increasing the range of his in-laws. It is quite likely that his brothers and sons will be able to establish wide in-law relationships which indirectly affect him. And although he has many more demands on his own stock,

he has at the same time many more demands on the stock of other people. That is, he needs less to depend on his own resources entirely, and by the spreading out of his dependence over a wide range of people and herds, thereby insures himself against most kinds of danger and insecurity known to the Turkana. Should his herds be badly depleted he has many people on whom to call for help. Should he want extra stock for bridewealth or compensation, he can spread out his demands - an animal here, another there. On top of all this, such a wealthy man is often a man of influence and even some authority in the world at large, so that the extension of his circle of relationships - his sphere of influence is to be welcomed, in fact to be pursued more or less as an active policy. In the political as well as the purely social sphere stock relations are important. The wealthy man will be able to count on both active and passive support in political matters, in the settlement of disputes, etc. He will receive frequent visitors and gain ready information on current affairs far afield. Moreover he will gain a reputation as a man of stock and importance. At one time it will be recounted how he helped one man to collect his bridewealth by the gift of a cow or some sheep; at another the story goes round about how many people sought shares in his share of a payment of bridewealth or inheritance. He is known as a man of many wives, many in-laws, many friends.

The poorer man is necessarily more restricted since in the first place he is likely to have neither many wives nor best-friends. The former he cannot afford and his circle of in-laws is smaller. The latter he cannot make since as a traveller he, as a known poor man, is the less to be welcomed and given gifts. Neither can he afford extensively to increase the range of potential demands on his small herds. A goat or two, out of his herds is a proportionally large number, not to be taken out frequently, for sheer economic reasons. Therefore at times of marriage or payment of compensation or the serious depletion of his herds he has fewer men of whom to ask assistance. It is a relatively poor 'investment' to give one's stock away to a poor man, because one may not be able to get the return gifts in times of one's own troubles. A poor man's reputation and influence is therefore small.

It should be added that the correlation between political influence and wealth in stock is not a direct one, but a consequence of the gradual building up of extra-kinship relationships. Through these, to a great extent, political position can be established.

Society's rights in a man's stock

Other than these constant relations based on common stock rights there are more general rights vested in society as a whole. Whenever a man kills for meat he must give some to everyone who comes for it whilst those portions of the animal last which are conventionally reserved for general distribution. When a large animal such as an ox or camel is slaughtered, or several goats, men and women often come from quite long distances to share in the communal feast and to take away portions. I am speaking of occasions when slaughterings are not for any special ceremonial purpose, although at those times also there must be free shares of meat for all who like to come for it. People, men in particular, will come from as far away as twenty miles, or even more, depending on what else is happening in the people's neighbourhoods, and how far and fast the news travels. There are however no limits, and theoretically, and also largely in practice, a man and his wives cannot refuse. Complete strangers arrive, take their share, and pass on. My own boys used to normally attend all the feasts in any neighbourhood where we happened to be living at the time; and I was often asked if I wanted to join in. There were times when they and we were refused, but every-one said that it was highly improper and that the people were very greedy. These refusals were thought to be so outstanding as to be a matter of comment in conversation for long afterwards. Milk and blood are similarly regarded as items that people in general have a right to beg at almost any time, and it is regarded as unfriendly to refuse without good cause. It is not an uncommon sight to see a traveller sitting outside a homestead waiting for a man or his wife to come and ask him to take some milk or meat, when the people are complete strangers. The traveller may well be refused, though often not if he insistently begs; but his right is recognised to beg, and travellers depend on it for sustenance during their journeys. Hospitality is not the strong thing it is among e.g. the Bedouin, but most travellers are given something. Any new arrival in a neighbourhood will be likely to be immediately overwhelmed with demands to provide a feast for the

people already there, many of whom will be absolute strangers, especially in a crowded mountain area at the end of the dry season.

A man must also provide stock for public occasions. A meat feast at or before a large dance, a judicial gathering, men assembling to go to a wedding or funeral, age-set activities, are all such occasions. The age-set have also the right to demand a special feast of a man's dance-ox, and they must be present at its death, to kill and eat it. They can also demand a meat feast in return for conventional services in assisting castration, branding or working the horns of cattle. In addition there are in the wet season demands (via the diviner) for certain kinds of animals for rain-making ceremonies. A man can scarcely refuse if the diviner and public opinion is adamant. The strength of this was expressed to me when I asked a crowd of men one day, what would happen if the diviner wanted the only serving bull that a man had. They all agreed that if another proper animal could not be found the man would be forced to give in, and surrender this valuable beast. I suggested that he might refuse but was told that if every one believed that the bull was essential to the success of the rain-making he could not.

Finally the man's herds are bound up in many ways with communal and co-operative affairs in the neighbourhood and community. This is dealt with in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 11

NEIGHBOURHOOD AND CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY

Definition of neighbourhoods

Geographically and socially homesteads are combined into a neighbourhood. There is no set number to a neighbourhood, and smaller neighbourhoods are contained in larger ones, and those in larger ones again. The vagueness and relativity of the English word "neighbourhood" is deliberately given as a translation of the Turkana word 'adakar', which comes from 'adak' : "to graze or browse". To the Turkana any territorially distinct group of homesteads, or common area of grazing, is an 'adakar'. The definition is based, not surprisingly, on stock. In practice it also involves the social relations and activities of the people owning and herding the stock and living in the area of reference. Consequently it is purely a matter of what aspects of social life a man has in mind when he says that a certain group of people or homesteads make up an 'adakar'. He may be thinking of the three or four homesteads grouped near some point of a river, or in some small valley, from which their stock radiate out to a portion of the plains, a hillside, or a small water course. Or he may be thinking of all the people whose stock graze over a certain area, such as a small range of hills, an area of a mountain, a geographically distinct sector of a larger river valley. Again he may be thinking of all the people whose stock water at the same point. Or he may have in mind, even, very large geographical areas such as the whole of a river basin, a larger mountain area, or occasionally a complete territorial section. All of these different aspects, some of which may overlap, are primarily defined in geographical terms since, with no system of land rights, they are the limitations of pastures. But a Turkana usually thinks of the social relations involved in each particular instance, for the different degrees of physical proximity make for different degrees of social intercourse.

A neighbourhood is not a permanent social group, though the component members of the smaller ones sometimes may keep together for several migrational movements, or even in exceptional cases for a matter of a whole season or more. They are the largely accidental and temporary groupings together of homesteads for a period in between movements. They are the circle within which, for the time being, the people of member homesteads maintain normal everyday social intercourse. People in homesteads quite close to each other enjoy more constant intercourse than they do with people of homesteads farther afield, and more with these latter than with those in a wider geographical area. To take a single and obvious example:- The men with whom the head of a homestead sits under a shade tree and gossips during the daytime will ordinarily include his nearest physical neighbours, less often men who live several miles away, less often

again men who live fifteen to twenty miles away, and very seldom men who live farther away than that. He has to go only a matter of a few hundred yards to a convenient shade tree to meet his nearest two or three neighbours. He may have varying distances of miles to go to meet more distant neighbours. Again he will be constantly sitting with his more distant ones in twos and threes; perhaps never all together. All types of everyday social intercourse and communal activity follow these same lines of proximity and convenience.

It is difficult, from the variable nature of neighbourhoods, to give an indication of their sizes. And the differences in density of population broadly between plains and mountains, from season to season and between district and district, create different ranges of neighbourhood in terms of different types of intercourse. As a rough descriptive indication three types of neighbourhood can be distinguished. First there is the primary neighbourhood, the small group of homesteads, geographically distinct from other local groups; between the people are constant and everyday face-to-face relations. Secondly, the secondary neighbourhood, there is the collection of two or three such groups of homesteads, usually based on the same water point, usually using the same pastures to the 'de facto' exclusion of others, geographically near to each other and distant from others. Thirdly, the tertiary neighbourhood, there is the wider and much vaguer geographical area within which from time to time, now more intense and now less, social intercourse is maintained according to the personal inclinations of the people concerned and the attractiveness of the activities.

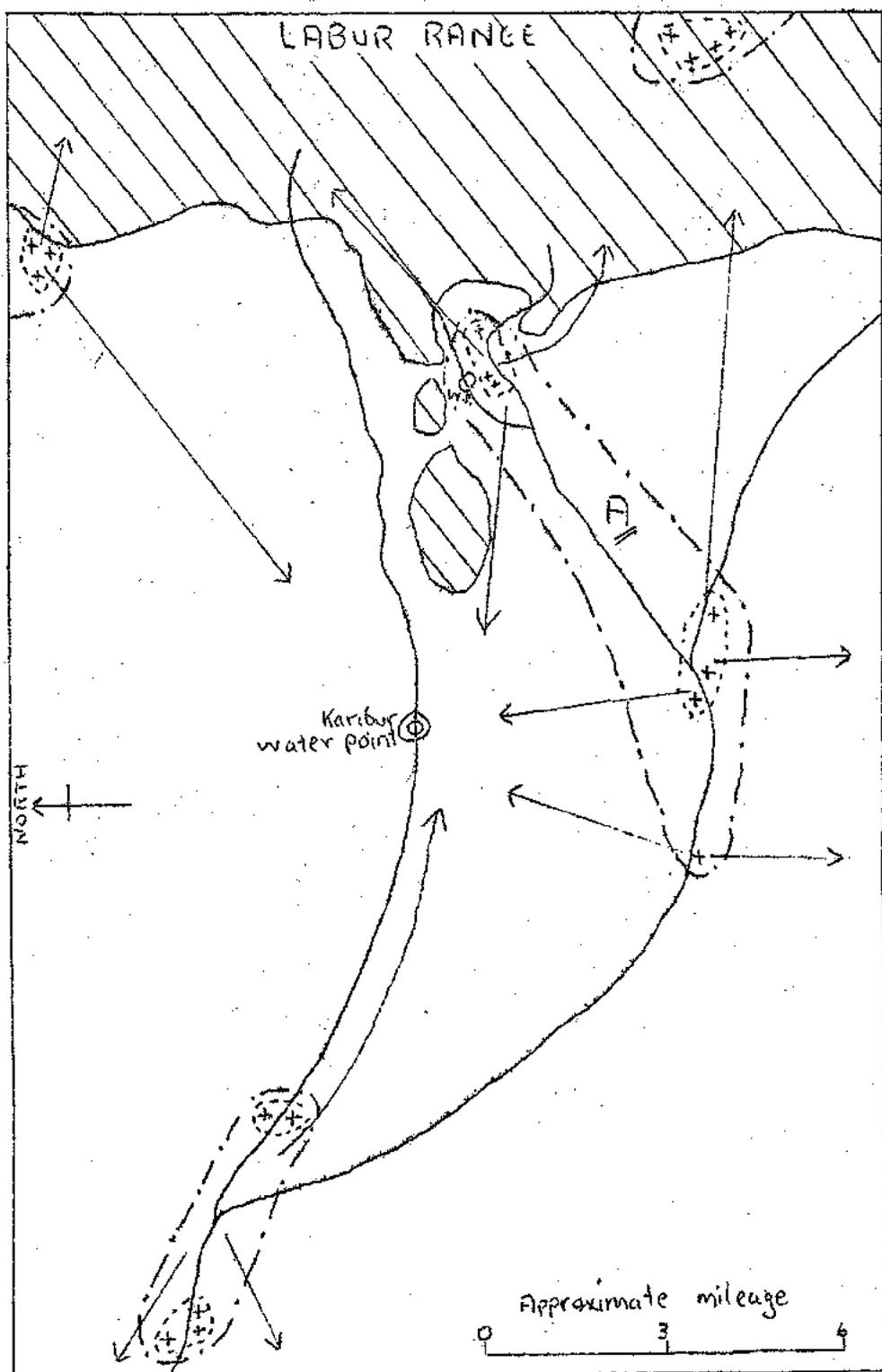
The primary neighbourhood in the plains in the dry season seldom consists of more than five homesteads, very often two or three. They are not necessarily sited very close together, and there may be up to a thousand yards between the farthest. Occasionally the primary neighbourhood in both plains and mountains may not exist, since a single homestead is located without any immediate neighbours for two or three miles. The secondary neighbourhood is made up of two or three primary neighbourhoods spread over an area of up to five miles square - i.e. between five and twenty homesteads altogether. The tertiary neighbourhood is too vague to allow of any numerical description at all. It is really relative to each secondary neighbourhood and extends in radius perhaps twenty miles around, i.e. the distance a man can walk in a day without much difficulty. They are sometimes almost coterminous with distinct geographical areas, defined by natural boundaries of hills, water courses or bare stretches of plain, with relatively few paths or passes leading outwards, e.g. the examples given in Categories C and D on pages 44 - 45.

Sketch map No.3 gives the approximate locations of homesteads in the plains area of Karibur, abutting onto the Labur Range in the north-east of Turkanaland. It was for the early part of the dry season 1948-9. Stock consisted of sheep, goats, some camels, and one family had its total herd of seven cattle there also. The arrows indicate the general directions in which the stock were herded, and it will be noticed that four of the primary neighbourhoods used the permanent water point at Karibur. On alternate days of watering there, the stock of these neighbourhoods browsed between the water point and the homesteads. Secondary neighbourhood A (where I was living at the time) was the only complete one to be included in the relevant tertiary neighbourhood. The map doubtless over-formalises the situation since in some cases intermittent intercourse extended beyond the area shown there. It is of course really impossible to draw any boundaries for this widest neighbourhood.

This sketch map covers what is a fairly typical area of the plains in the dry season, where populations are small and scattered. The approximate population of the secondary neighbourhood A was between 50 and 60 persons (it varied from time to time according to changes in each family).

In the mountains, especially as the dry season reaches its peak, and to a lesser extent in the plains in the wet seasons, the situation is a good deal more complex. Occasionally, for example on Koima Mt., homesteads are located so close together that it is impossible to distinguish primary neighbourhoods. Even where a few homesteads are geographically distinct, e.g. in a small basin, or a relative clearing in the thick bush, the next nearest ones were only a mile or two distant, so that intercourse between people is scarcely defined in terms of primary neighbourhoods. Secondary neighbourhoods are usually more easily distinguishable. On the smaller mountains, neighbourhoods are more or less as distinct as they are in the plains since homesteads

SKETCH MAP NO. 3.

NEIGHBOURHOODS IN THE KARIBUR DISTRICT OF NORTH-EAST

TURKANALAND during the earlier half of the dry season.

- ⊕ homesteads
- limits of primary neighbourhoods
- - - - - limits of secondary neighbourhoods

- N.B. these are not defined boundaries, but indicate the groupings of homesteads.

Arrows indicate the rough directions of browsing by camels, sheep and goats.

This is a typical plains area, although abutting onto the slopes of a minor mountain area. Karibur is a permanent water point. There is also marked a small temporary water point, which at that time was barely sufficient for the drinking requirements of humans and the young stock. The cattle homesteads of these people were mainly on Lorienetom, some 30 miles to the north-west; but some cattle were near Lokwanamur to the west, and on the east of Labur.

form clusters at the foot or on the lower slopes of the mountain. Numbers are of course, much greater. At the height of the dry season on Loima (Nangoleki) I counted 40 homesteads in what was a fairly well defined secondary neighbourhood. The tertiary neighbourhood, as defined for me at that time in terms of who (other than interested parties) came to a wedding feast, must have extended for up to thirty miles in some directions. In the Oropoi/Kalaperto valley, shown in sketch map No.4. at the beginning of the wet season, the secondary neighbourhood located in the Oropoi basin consisted of 27 homesteads. Apart from four, easily distinguished by their location to the north of the water course and some two to three miles beyond, it was impossible to distinguish clearly constituent primary neighbourhoods. There were clusters of homesteads geographically disparate, but clusters were so close together in some cases that I hesitate to call them primary neighbourhoods. It may be noted that all the herds of this secondary neighbourhood (mainly cattle and camels) did not use the same water point, although with one exception where a permanent point in Dododland was being used, four weeks without rain would have compelled them to do so. In this case, together with the secondary neighbourhood located in the Kalaperto valley, the tertiary neighbourhood was made up, as far as the Oropoi people were concerned. Nevertheless I should make it clear that its limits stretched farther for some people at some times.

The connotation of primary, secondary and tertiary neighbourhoods are, it must most strongly be emphasised, heuristic terms only. They are not specifically recognised by the Turkana. To them, if they consciously think of them at all, they are concentric circles of social intercourse, geographically defined for the most part. Where the population is thin and dispersed, primary and secondary neighbourhoods are fairly easily distinguished, both by the Turkana themselves and by the observer. Where population is comparatively dense, primary neighbourhoods in particular are less easily picked out, and secondary neighbourhoods depend for their identity on fairly clear geographical features. In all cases the tertiary neighbourhood is invariably vague, and can only be suggested. Long periods of residence in an area would be essential for the field worker before he could be reasonably certain. And of course the time of year makes a big difference. The people in the Karibur area (map 3) were not meeting for dancing, large feasts, age-set activities, rain-making, etc. The attractiveness of social activities was not sufficient to bring people from long distances. In the Oropoi/Kalaperto area all these were happening whilst I was there, and people were induced to come from long distances, e.g. up to thirty miles away. My neighbours travelled farther afield themselves in similar pursuits. Here too lived a diviner and a Government headman - both social personalities attracting other people.

Social intercourse in the neighbourhood

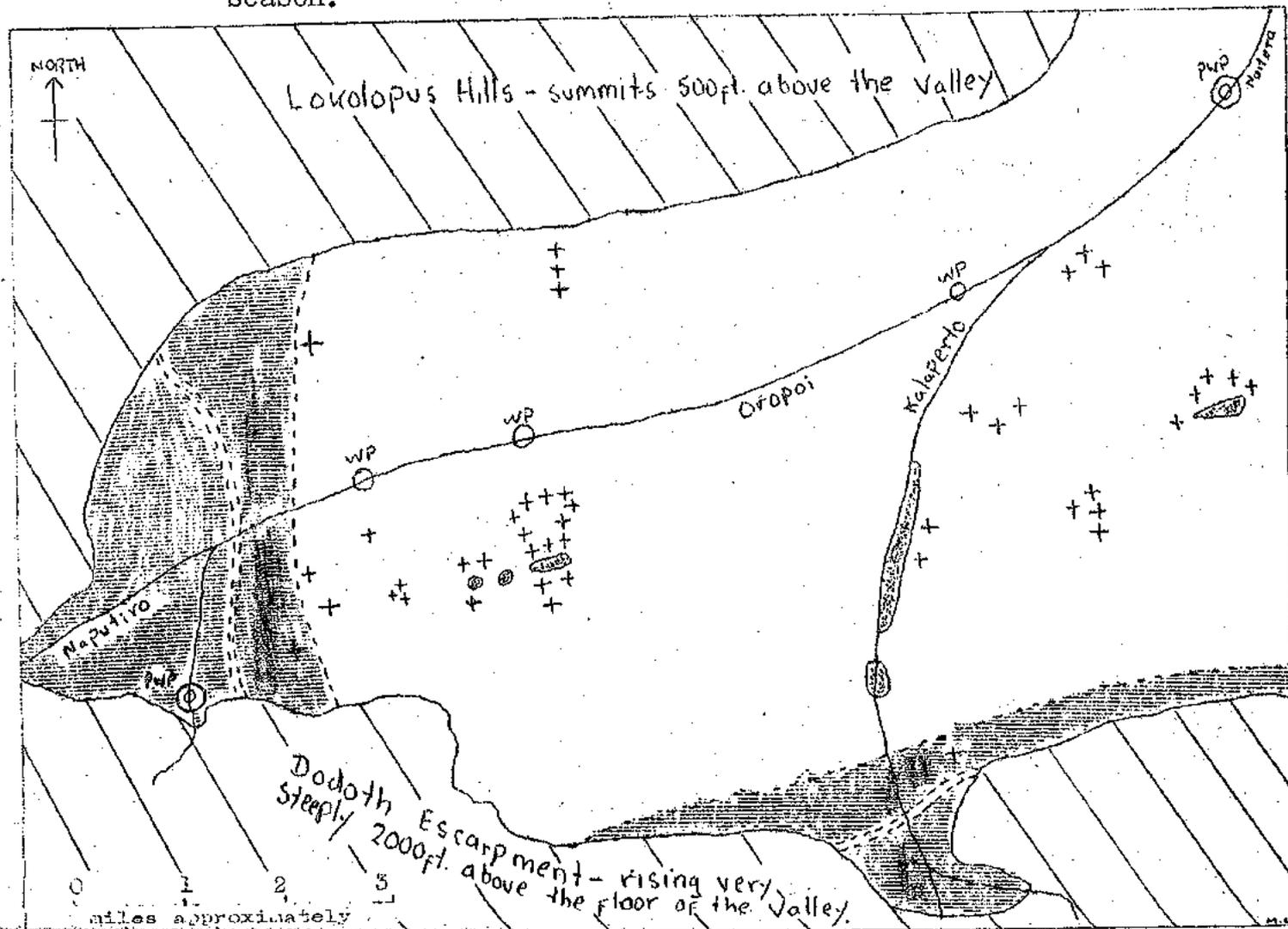
For the period of its existence socially, a primary and a secondary neighbourhood is a co-operative unit in many activities. One of the most outstanding is in food sharing, and in particular meat sharing. Within the secondary neighbourhood heads of homesteads take it in turn, more or less in rotation, to slaughter an animal to provide a meat feast for the rest of the men. Ideally, because of the greater amount of meat, an ox or camel should be slaughtered by each in turn. But this would be a drain on some men's resources if followed consistently, since some of them may have few or even no cattle or camels; and not all the homesteads in a neighbourhood, nor all neighbourhoods, contain cattle and camels (e.g. in the plains in the dry season). Thus at any one time a man may only slaughter a goat or a sheep, or perhaps two. According to the time of year, amounts of food available and the wealth of the men, the interval slaughtering is variable, but is on the average 6-10 days. The actual time is settled principally by the man whose turn it is to slaughter, but he is invariably egged on by the other men, his interested associates, who take good care that a man does not avoid his responsibility without good cause. The men's share of the carcass (see Appendix 5) provides a feast at a convenient place near the homestead of the slaughterer, for all men who hear about it and care to come. These will invariably include the men of the secondary neighbourhood concerned. According to circumstances it includes a range of others also. Any man from what I have termed the tertiary neighbourhood may turn up, as well as visitors and travellers at that time nearby. I have repeatedly asked men, who have just slaughtered an animal, who can come to the male feast. "Every one; anyone", is the inevitable reply. There is literally no bar to anyone joining in, friend or stranger. If there is meat no-one can be rightfully

NEIGHBOURHOODS IN THE OROPOI/KALAPERTO BASIN IN
NORTH-WEST TURKANALAND at the beginning of the wet
 season.

-  Homestead.
-  Permanent water point.
-  Temporary water point (lasting only about 3-4 weeks without rain).
-  Millet Gardens.
-  Areas under grass in June 1949 and capable of feeding cattle.

Cattle were actually grazing between the limits indicated by the single and double interrupted lines, though the best grass lay beyond those limits. In addition almost all the highlands were grass-covered, but were not grazed at that time of year.

Camels, and a few sheep and goats browsed in the valley, but not in the grasslands.



refused, though as pointed out in the previous chapter it does sometimes happen though it is most reprehensible to the Turkana viewpoint.^x On the other hand, whilst news of the intended feast is usually known a day or two or even more in advance, it is purely accidental how far that news travels. Always the men of the secondary neighbourhood will know about it, for they arrange it in the normal course of events. They are actively concerned in the timing and live near enough to meet each other frequently. Men and women meeting at a water point, or for some activity, will, in the normal run of gossip, spread the news. Sometimes the ox or camel to be slaughtered must be fetched from a distant homestead where the other herds are kept, or from a relative, in-law, or friend, and news will spread as its arrival is awaited, and as it comes across country to the man's homestead. If only a goat is to be eaten men will not feel it worthwhile to walk very far for what must be a small amount of meat. If an ox or camel is to be slaughtered the shares of meat are much greater, and men will consider it worthwhile to walk several miles. Other considerations enter into it. A man living at a distance might have some business in the neighbourhood and the prospect of a feast may draw him there sooner than expected. In times of hunger men will walk miles rather than miss the opportunity to eat meat. A visit may be extended in order to wait the extra day or two for a feast. A traveller may wait until the feast is over before continuing on his way. Although preferable, since larger shares of meat are likely, not all the men arrive at the same time. Those who live nearest and know earliest of the feast (again principally the men of the secondary neighbourhood) tend to be there to eat the meat as soon as the first lot is cooked. If it is an ox or camel, men may continue to turn up and wait outside the homestead until they get some meat, over a period of several hours. Until the conventional men's portions are finished men can arrive and claim a share. Thus there is a permanent nucleus of men (i.e. of the secondary neighbourhood) plus a variable addition of others from the tertiary neighbourhood, and travellers.

As far as women are concerned in this the boundaries of the secondary neighbourhood are more strict. When one of the men of the neighbourhood has killed, most of them will turn up at his homestead and help his wives skin and prepare the meat. It is a notable occasion for gossip as well as for eating. Apart from a few tit-bits such as the liver and kidneys, women (and girls and children) seldom eat anything at the time. They separate and cook the men's portions, and one or two of the homestead carry them out to the waiting men under the supervision of the head of the homestead. They cut up all the rest of the meat, and under the direction of the wives of that homestead (and the owner of the slaughtered animal in particular) joints of meat are shared amongst the visiting women. Any other wife living in the secondary neighbourhood, not already there, will come along and take away a piece of meat to be cooked and eaten in her own homestead, where of course her husband will have a share in it. It is not usual for more distant women to come for meat, although in the eyes of Turkana she could not well be refused if she did. The remainder of the meat, conventional gifts set aside for in-laws, and kinsmen, and the portions retained for the use of the people of the homestead themselves, is kept at the homestead. Some meat is therefore distributed outside the secondary neighbourhood each time. It is clear that joints of meat cannot go far, and therefore, though on a discriminating basis, the meat is retained inside the tertiary neighbourhood.

In between such feasts, and mainly dependent on the wealth and hunger of the people concerned, there are minor slaughterings, when a goat or sheep

x My wife and I were often looked on as very miserly in that we always ate alone and did not share any of our food with our neighbours. Apart from occasional mugs of tea we usually adopted the policy of not giving food away since it only precipitated incessant begging from all and sundry, which we could not possibly satisfy. In a relatively egalitarian society like that of the Turkana the European is always at a disadvantage since he has so much to give in material possessions, and the natives firmly believe that he can and must give it, like their own rich men.

is killed mainly for the nuclear family, but the men's portions of which are eaten by the handful of men in the primary neighbourhood. This is rather less of a public feast and more of a 'tete-a-tete' between a man and his closest associates. It is often held inside the homestead in the man's sleeping place, in the evening when in fact other men may not be around. Wives of the primary neighbourhood will often come for small pieces to take back to their own homesteads. This is not invariable however. Sometimes a wife will send off a daughter or small son to fetch a piece for her, or the wife whose animal is killed sends pieces round by her own children. If it is a big family there may well be no meat to spare for such gifts if only a single goat is killed. Possibly the next day the men will drink meat soup when they meet again in the normal course of events of every-day life. It is a completely informal arrangement. Most likely there is no deliberate policy over such minor affairs. It may be the result of a few men together persuading one of their number to kill a goat or sheep. Once he is persuaded, the deed is done then and there. People outside the primary neighbourhood do not hear of it until afterwards. Here again a rough rotation is maintained, although more particularly a wealthy man is expected to kill more frequently than his poorer neighbours, and for normal feeding of his own family will probably have to anyway. I have noticed many times that the wealthy man's homestead usually contains meat in which his closest neighbours have a share. Whereas his share in their meat is less if only because they kill more seldom.

Outside the secondary neighbourhood there is no such system of rotation, nor any permanent nucleus of attendance at feasts. Within the secondary neighbourhood the rotation is broken down by 'ad hoc' feasts for a variety of purposes, e.g. the death of an animal (for few animals, if any, are not eaten if they die a natural death, or are killed in some accident), the slaughter for ritual purposes, and special occasions such as marriage, large dances, age-set meetings and gatherings of a political nature. To a certain extent these are regarded as fortuitous, providing extra meat, but a man who has just slaughtered for one of these reasons can hardly be expected to kill again immediately if his turn in the rotational scheme should turn up straight away, especially if he is a poor man. In the wet season intervals between slaughtering will be lengthened because of the plenty of other food, especially milk, and because of the relative frequency of killings for special purposes. Nevertheless Turkana do recognise that there is such a rotation and can give a list of who killed recently and who will be killing in the near future. It works very clearly when there is a dearth of other activities. But it is still in operation even in the wet season. It is recognised that it is so-and-so's turn to provide a feast.

This does not mean however that meat supplies are entirely communal. Large portions are kept back for the family from which the animal is slaughtered. These are either eaten straightaway, or cut into strips and dried for future use. Thus the family which provides more or larger animals does better than the family which, having smaller herds, cannot afford to kill so many animals, or where the head of the homestead is inclined to be miserly. In the same primary neighbourhood I have seen one homestead where there was usually some meat to be eaten, or soup or stew, and very often dried meat hanging up, whilst a homestead about two hundred yards away was very badly off for food in between the normal rotational slaughtering, and could seldom afford to kill an ox (out of a total herd of about 30 cattle, with no camels at all).

Where other food supplies are concerned the discrepancy is even larger. Women and children, unless they are visiting or travelling rarely eat away from their own homestead, whilst it is unusual for milk or millet to be taken from one homestead to another. So that they at any rate enter into little communal sharing. Men are more fortunate in that they can eat away from home, and can beg a drink of milk or a bowl of porridge at a neighbour's homestead from the latter's wife. As between the men of secondary neighbourhoods this is done, though scarcely deliberately. These men are so frequently in and out of each other's homesteads that they do in fact share food with each other to a certain extent. However a man who tried to take advantage of this, and to live at his neighbour's expense, would soon be discouraged. Thus within the primary neighbourhood inequalities of wealthy and poor, more or less hungry, do exist, but mitigated to a certain extent, and also inside the secondary neighbourhood, by the communal sharing especially of meat.

As pointed out already herding is done by boys and young men, but it is customary for at least one older man to be in or near the pastures whilst the herds are out, in order to keep an eye on the herds and their herd boys, and to lend a hand if hyena or leopard should make an approach in daylight. Since the herds of families of a primary neighbourhood use more or less the same pastures over a period, one man from the neighbourhood may stand in for the rest of the men for this general supervision. This occurs especially where there are few adult men. Herdsboys from primary and secondary neighbourhoods meet constantly in the pastures and at the waterpoint, and find diversion together during the long days of comparative boredom.

Invariably the people of a primary neighbourhood use the same water point for their stock, and besides this main point there is often a minor place where sufficient water can be obtained for the small group of homesteads for drinking and cooking as well as for the younger stock. Usually the main point is shared with other primary neighbourhoods of the secondary neighbourhood, but this is not invariable in well watered areas, and in the wet season. In the dry season when water points are fewer a secondary neighbourhood will be wholly based on a single water point. In the wet season this is less to be found. Immediately after a rain storm there are usually ponds and pools everywhere so that for a very short time even separate homesteads may sometimes have their own individual supplies "on the doorstep". Such plenty lasts for a few days only and then the primary neighbourhood is based on a nearby pond which is more permanent. As these dry up recourse is had to holes in the nearby water course. Since, however, recently after rains, water can usually be obtained almost everywhere in a bed by a little digging, whilst rock pools here and there last longer, each homestead's supplies still tend to be separate. As the time of the last rains recedes so the number of available water points decreases so that after a time it is probable that the whole or most of the secondary neighbourhood comes to depend on one point. As the drought continues so the supplies further decrease and homesteads from more than one secondary neighbourhood tend to be concentrated on the one point. It depends very much on the area. With the rains again the whole process is restarted over again, until the final end of the wet season. Because of the essential vagueness of the tertiary neighbourhood it is difficult to say that one is never wholly based on a single point, especially as a tertiary neighbourhood is only relevant to each secondary one. However in the latter half of the dry season in some mountain areas where permanent water points are few, it can be said that very wide geographical regions are based on single points. The more or less casual relations created by the common use of the same point are of the type involved in a tertiary neighbourhood, although it must be remembered that not all of the people using the same point meet each other very often as they come on different days or at different times on the same day. Good examples are the Telamakus pools on the east side of Thungut, used by all the homesteads and their cattle on the east and southern slopes of that mountain; all those on Kanaro (Loima) using Lorititio; all those on the western slopes of Kailongol and Loiteruk using the Kula springs. But those on the geographical edge are also in more or less close contact with people based on other points. There is not the same element of locality or even mutual help and company in these tertiary neighbourhoods that there is in the smaller ones.

The types of intercourse resulting from using a common water supply are fairly obvious. It means that the same people continually meet one another, exchange news and views, hear of and attend each other's feasts, dances and political affairs (and in the old days preparations for raiding). Both men and women are bound to take regard for other's needs for water. There is friendly co-operation in the control of herds and the use and upkeep of the water holes and approaches. People from the same direction tend to accompany one another on routes to and from the water. Where, as in the plains in the dry season, a relatively few homesteads are based on each point this latter tends to become an important social centre where men meet almost every morning whether their own stock are being watered or not, and where the women and girls meet each other at least every other day. As herds are watered they are driven off by boys, leaving the men and women free to remain behind in the general company for the rest of the morning. They lend an occasional hand with other people's stock. Besides being the centre of news and gossip it is also recognised as a centre at which to arrange gatherings for feasts, dances and political purposes, etc.

Other activities reacting on neighbourhood relations are such as the following. When an expedition is to be made up to go off to a trading centre to barter goats and skins for grain and decorations, it is most usually composed of representatives of the secondary neighbourhood. Members of many of the homesteads participate and contribute their share of animals and requirements. Whether they do or not they will express a right to a share in whatever is brought back, as I have seen on various occasions. Each homestead gets some share in the millet, although iron, cooking pots and beads seem to be more individualised. At certain times, such as the delay of rain, or illness of a person, the male members of a secondary neighbourhood assemble to pray to the High God under a communal tree. Diviners have a wider range of relations than the secondary neighbourhood, even going beyond what is the tertiary neighbourhood as far as any one else is concerned. Rainmaking ceremonies and so on, tend to create a wider tertiary neighbourhood than is usual. Similarly headmen and other outstanding men (in the old days e.g. famous war-leaders) create similarly wide fields of relations. And they, each by their peculiar influence, give a greater degree of internal cohesion to their own secondary neighbourhoods. In the old days the need for communal defence was very important and concerned primary and secondary neighbourhoods especially. This can still be seen today in the common defence against wild animals, especially lions in the mountains.

As pointed out before people of a primary neighbourhood are constantly together as the nearest neighbours. And usually the men, at any rate, of the secondary neighbourhood gather together daily to talk, laze, and do odd jobs under a shade tree. There is usually a well-recognised shade tree for each secondary neighbourhood whence a man goes knowing that he will find his associates. I have often inquired after a man at his homestead and been told by his wife or daughter, "He has gone to the tree". One of the strongest bonds is formed by the constant coming together of all the men, women and children, young and old, for dancing and singing in the evening. Sometimes there is a tacitly recognised dancing ground in the secondary neighbourhood, at other times dances occur near to the homestead of the man who sets the ball rolling in any evening. To the Turkana the dance is a most important and attractive activity. They spend far more time discussing it and getting ready for it than in looking after stock in wet season. To the younger men and girls it has also the extra attraction of the opportunity of meeting, display and flirtation. Another feature worthy of notice is that the children's play group is drawn from the primary neighbourhood.

The types of face-to-face relations maintained in the primary and secondary neighbourhoods are almost impossible to describe in formal sociological terms. They are something of the result of the mixture of a co-operative unit, a social club and next-door neighbours. They are brought into high relief by the fact that the secondary neighbourhood is a relatively isolated unit for a good deal of the time, within which, for periods, all social activities and relations are contained, and when more permanent relations (such as kinship) are temporarily latent.

Even at those critical times when the more permanent relations of a member or member-family produce special activity, such as marriage, birth, death, inheritance, initiation, etc., the co-members of the secondary neighbourhood take not only a lively interest and concern in all that goes on, but usually play some part in the proceedings, which strictly speaking do not concern them. In Turkanaland there is no privacy and seclusion known, and a neighbour has unchallenged rights to know of, discuss and join in all kinds of affairs. No-one would leave his secondary neighbourhood to get married without most of the rest of the adults going with him, leaving the youths and girls to look after the stock. Although the conventional people to act as mid-wives are the co-wives of a woman, some of the neighbouring women will turn up to give a hand, gossip and join in the women's meat feast afterwards. Larger dances, marriages and initiations are of course affairs of the tertiary neighbourhood, and beyond in the case of relatives. People arrive from miles away, but it is noticeable that they tend to arrive in groups from each secondary neighbourhood. This is most arresting at the occasion of a large dance. Girls and women arrive in twos and threes from their own neighbourhoods, but unostentatiously. The men approach as a group, deposit their spears, sticks and stools in one place, form into a solid phalanx, and, dancing as they come, break into the people and the dancers already there. After the dance they return home as a group.

The creation and disintegration of neighbourhoods

As we have seen one of the essential features of Turkana pastoral life is the frequent movements in the provision of pastures for the stock. The particular location of a neighbourhood is therefore only temporary. But as already pointed out in the present chapter, the neighbourhood is based, not on any specific permanent social relations, but in the main on mere geographical proximity. Consequently not even primary and secondary neighbourhoods move as units to continue their identity in some new area. When conditions of climate and pastures necessitate movement the individual homesteads usually move to several destinations where with other homesteads, which were formerly part of other neighbourhoods, they temporarily form new ones on the same pattern. Even given the same conditions in two consecutive years the same homesteads might not form the same neighbourhoods, and if they do, the actual locations would be different, since families never move back to old homestead sites. To understand this frequent creation and disintegration of neighbourhoods it is necessary to understand the conditions affecting the precise movements of any one homestead^x.

1. Personal opinions regarding the state of pastures and future weather.

The exact time of the movement of a homestead is almost invariably the result of personal opinion of the head of it. Although, when it becomes obvious that a movement is soon to be necessary, the men of the neighbourhood discuss it between themselves in the normal run of conversation, and they may pool information, yet each man acts as he himself thinks best. Concerted action may be taken to send off men to fetch reports of the state of pastures elsewhere, or to pray to the High God for rain. On the other hand each homestead may take it upon itself to send out its own scout, and I am told that it is not unknown for false reports to be put out on his return, in order to allow his homestead first chance to move to better quarters. In the dry season pastures, especially in the mountains, when people from widely separated areas are all mixed up, there is of course obvious reason why the neighbourhoods should split up, and also for some homesteads setting off before others. Not only may the weather and pastures differ in the various wet season districts, but reports come in the more quickly from nearer areas. Even however when movements are to be made in the same general direction there is plenty of scope for disagreement on the part of the men. For instance, when must a move be made at all taking regard for the state of current pastures? Is the area to which a move is suggested really so much better than current pastures? Will it deteriorate so quickly as soon to be no better than current pastures? Will a short wait now enable pastures to improve greatly before moving there? To which particular part of the general area is the move to be made? And so on. Again it may be debated during the wet season, or at the time of the expected rain shortage, as to what the rainfall has been elsewhere and is likely to be in the near future, both here and there. Reports are not always accurate nor contemporary about past and present weather - the future is always a matter of opinion. One man may believe that there has been sufficient rainfall to produce enough grass already in the plains; another thinks that there will be a temporary drought there, making a move unwise. At the end of the wet season opinion may differ as to whether further rains are still to come. When short rains are expected in late November some may decide to wait and see if it will rain in the current area rejuvenating the pastures; others may decide to move anyway, especially if it is known that it has already rained elsewhere. Some may think it worthwhile to move to areas where rains have provided temporary water supplies where none existed before; others disagree knowing that such waters are only temporary and not wishing to make another move again in a few weeks.

x Even within a temporary secondary neighbourhood there is often some re-arrangement of the exact location of homesteads, and therefore of the composition of the primary neighbourhoods. Homesteads are vacated and new ones built at short distances away because of, e.g. the danger and unpleasantness of flood waters and mosquitos in the wet season when no general move is made; the drying up of smaller water points and the desire to be nearer more permanent supplies; small changes in the pastures from what had been expected; the fouling of homesteads by animal dung; an addition or subtraction of stock making the current homestead of inconvenient size; death of a member of a homestead.

All these considerations I have heard debated amongst groups of men with definite differences of opinion. And even where opinions do agree between two or three men, their homesteads do not necessarily move off together. There may be a few days interval between each according to circumstances (see below).

2. Personal opinions regarding the location of a new homestead relative to pastures and water supplies.

Water points are seldom centrally situated in regard to pastures, and where a large number of homesteads rely on the single point, not everyone can be equally near the water. In the plains the area around a water point is usually fairly quickly browsed to exhaustion. In most or all mountain areas water is up to seven miles from pastures, often off the mountain altogether. There are three possibilities open here:- the homestead may be in or very near the pastures, involving a long walk to and from the water for both people and stock; it may be near the water, involving long walks to and from the pastures; or a compromise may be made, siting it somewhere in between the two. For cattle and goats water can hardly be more than seven or eight miles away since they must all be watered every other day. If stock have to spend the whole of every other day walking to and from water the amount of grazing is seriously cut down, and the stock more quickly exhausted. Camels have a little more scope, but it is unusual for them to be much farther from water since they must be usually watered once in three days. It is not common that camel herds are large enough to warrant a separate homestead anyway. Any man can solve this problem in any of the three ways suggested, though in fact the most usual one is the compromise solution. However people arriving in a new area solve the problem in their own ways, and the number of the type of compromise solutions is very large.

3. The relative sizes of herds.

Since a larger herd needs larger pastures, the homestead with more stock may be forced to move sooner than that with fewer stock. When a move is made the smaller herds can afford to go to rather more sparsely covered areas. As a neighbourhood breaks up then, the homesteads tend to scatter according to needs and sizes of their herds. As the dry season sets in different herds move in different directions as grass or browse are short.

The nature of the composition of herds apart from sheer size is also important. In the wet season herds may be together, although some men keep their goats in the more arid parts tenable only at these best times of the year. A family which has predominantly cattle herds and few sheep and goats must not only move fairly early to the mountains, but sheep and goats go with them as the latter do not warrant a separate homestead. At the other extreme are families with a few cattle but mainly sheep and goats. They can afford to stay longer in wet season areas, finally moving only gradually and perhaps not into the mountains. The average family is intermediate somewhere, so that here again a man's personal opinion is important in balancing the needs of the different types of stock. The first movements away from the wet season areas are, of course, by the cattle - which does not mean necessarily the whole of a homestead but only part of it. It is however often the case that this movement by the cattle precipitates a movement by the rest of the homestead, both because the original homestead is now too big for the stock it has to contain, and to suit its location the better to the needs of the remaining stock. Further sub-division can follow, which further alters the nature of the neighbourhood. Larger herds of cattle can be divided among two homesteads; camels may be divided from the sheep and goats; milk stock may be divided from the non-milkers. The main sub-division between the grazing and the browsing stock may also precipitate parts of certain families joining together temporarily. Whereas in the wet season each family prefers independence with all its own herds, or at least its cattle and camels, as the size of the family unit decreases through sub-division it may seem better to team up with some other such unit, a relative, in-law or friend, to the mutual convenience of both. This necessitates a new homestead and a movement by both parties not connected with the actual movements of the rest of their respective neighbourhoods.

The drying up or diminishing of water supplies is also important. The holes that will still maintain goats and sheep may not suffice for cattle or camels; those which suffice for small herds may not do for larger herds.

These factors are a combination of external factors and personal inclinations and opinions. There is not necessarily any one right way when the movements and requirements of stock are to be assessed; and then what one man thinks is sufficient for stock and his family is not felt to be sufficient for another lot.

4. Number of workers available in the family unit.

The scope of a family's movements and sub-division depends to a great extent on the number of people available to do all the necessary work - women and girls for watering, milking, building and cooking; boys and youths for herding. It is not purely a matter of the numbers in the nuclear family, for a man can often get the services of relatives or in-laws or of poor people willing to earn their keep. A rich man with several wives and many children can organise the sub-division of his herds and family as he best thinks fit in the circumstances with an adequate supply of workers (he also usually finds it fairly easy to attract other people to his homesteads). A poorer man may be faced with the situation of having to keep stock together which he might prefer to separate. He may, for instance, have only one wife and few children. There are ways out of these difficulties. One is to send part of his herds to a kinsman to look after along with the latter's own. Another is to team up with another man and combine their strengths in economic affairs. Clearly, however, whichever is done, or even if he remains on his own, his decision will partly determine the neighbourhood in which he will live, the composition of his homestead-units, and future movements, for reasons which are more or less peculiar to his own family and not to the neighbourhood as a whole.

5. Basic preferences regarding types of country.

Not all dry season cattle areas are in the mountains. Turkana say that some men prefer the mountains and others prefer to go to the better plains areas (cp. page 44). In many cases of course there is no alternative since only one or the other is reasonably near to wet season pastures. In certain instances however a choice may be made which results in the members of wet season neighbourhoods going in different directions. To take an example: from the Koteruk river area (middle Turkwel) some men send their cattle north-west to Loima Mt. (Nangoleki), some west to the Suk mountains, some south to the Turkwel/Malamalti plains, and even a few east to the banks of the Turkwel river. I asked one man, whose cattle went due south why he did not go west to Loima as many others did that we both knew of. His reply was that he did not like the mountains. There he found forests, rough steep paths, wild animals and a cooler climate. No doubt other considerations enter into this decision, which I shall refer to below, but I have been told this sort of thing so many times in different places that there must be some truth in it. Indeed as the sons of a man grow up and take charge of his cattle, they may, because of their own preferences, change the locale of dry season pastures of the family, even against the wishes or orders of their fathers. I have witnessed an acute family quarrel on this score, when two sons disobeyed their father's orders to take cattle into the Labor range in north-east Turkanaland, and instead went to Lorienetom mountain, secretly. Whilst other factors were also involved, the upshot was that the cattle stayed where they were for that dry season. I have been told of other cases of the same type.

On the whole the Turkana do not like living in the mountains, only doing so because of the dry season pastures available only there. A man who only has a few cattle may be able to avoid going there at all finding sufficient graze on lower hills and by major water courses and near to Lake Rudolf. It appears possible that to-day there is growing up a generation which does not have this basic dislike for the mountains, since it has been herding up there for many years, where, before the 'pax Britannica', fewer people could live in comparative safety. Wherever possible still however basic attitudes towards mountains and plains can affect the direction, and also the timing, of people's movements.

6. Activities other than pastoralism.

In a few cases men have other ties than those with their stock. I have mentioned earlier those people who are attracted to trading and

Administrative centres. There are special cases such as Government headmen, diviners, traders, and in the old days, war leaders, whose functions tend to restrict their movements slightly since they may prefer to remain near to that place most convenient to these other activities. They are rather less mobile than other people and their decisions are based on particular reasons peculiar to themselves alone. For instance, Government headmen are expected by the Administration, always to be near certain conventional, albeit arbitrary, spots, where they can be found when wanted and where meetings and tax-gatherings are held.

7. Individual circumstances in a homestead.

The decision if and when to move sometimes depends on the individual circumstances of one or more members of a homestead. I know of cases where the illness of a person has prevented a homestead moving at once. Conversely, death of a member compels a move. One homestead may move off as soon as the decision to move is made; another must wait for several days whilst donkeys are fetched from their grazing grounds or sometimes borrowed from someone else. There may be a delay for a long-pregnant or parturient wife, or for one who is visiting. Water and food must be collected for the journey, which process may take different times for different people en route, further delaying the arrival of a family at its new destination. Marriage by a male member of the family always necessitates a move near to the homestead of the girl's father (a matter of up to 50 miles in some cases), where a new homestead is built. This must be occupied for at least a month and may be lived in for longer. If the head of the family is an old man he will be unwilling to move often or very far if at all possible. Hence his homestead may remain on its own when the rest of the neighbourhood has broken up; or it may move more gradually and for shorter distances.

8. The location of kinsmen, in-laws, and friends.

A tie which may bind a man and his homestead to a neighbourhood, and more importantly may be decisive as regards the locale of a new homestead, is the location of kinsmen, in-laws and friends of the family. These have an effect in two ways. They cause a man to go to an already populated area rather than an empty one; and they may decide the actual secondary neighbourhood settled in. It must be said that very often they do not have any effect at all, a man merely going whither he thinks fit and most convenient, taking into account the factors already enumerated. It must be emphasised also that such ties inside a secondary neighbourhood cannot be regarded as permanent. Turkana insist on this. "A man lives next to his brother-in-law. Later he decides that he wants to go this way, and his brother-in-law wants to go that. They part, and go their own ways." This is how a man put it to me. I have seen it happen. Disagreement regarding states of the pastures, and different sizes and compositions of herds demanding different decisions, will be enough to break up the temporary neighbourhood expression of these more permanent relationships.

Other things being equal however, a man will be influenced by the location and movements of these people. He, along with the other members of his primary or secondary neighbourhood, may decide to move to the mountains. Once in the general area he may separate from the others to go and live near to some relations. After all it is preferable to live near to one's in-laws or friend than elsewhere, providing that this does not compromise one's future movements. There are all the advantages to be gained by living near to such a person's homestead provided by the nature of the social relationship - advantages which tend to go beyond the normal relationships within a neighbourhood. There is a possibility of greater sharing of food and other supplies (e.g. milk, millet, stock, implements), and of co-operation in economic and social activities. Where there are existing rights to developed water holes a relative or in-law is the best person through whom to get access to those rights. There is the further emotional satisfaction of living with such people to whom one feels particularly tied, most especially in the case of in-laws.

In conclusion, it can be said that the importance of neighbourhoods results directly from the ecological need for movement, and the absence of land rights to direct and control such movements. There are on the one hand, external imperatives of the states of pastures in relation to the needs of the stock; and on the other hand, the strong personal opinions and inclinations of the heads of the homesteads. These together determine the actual movements and locations of homesteads, and they prevent permanent neighbourhood groupings

developing. My information is too sparse to enable me to say with any certainty how far neighbourhoods are the same composition at the same stage in successive years. As a first approximation only, it seems likely that to a very large extent in the wet season, especially in the better wet season, neighbourhoods are composed of the same families for several years, with only gradual changes which over the years more or less completely alter the composition of the whole. I doubt very much whether there is any permanence at all between the generations. A man or woman can often tell that he, or she, "always(?)" lives in a certain area at the height of the wet season, and can tell me some of the people that are also to be found thereabouts. Similarly dry season neighbourhoods in the mountains tend to be rather consistent, although perhaps less so than the wet season ones. Nevertheless I do know of cases where the composition varies from year to year as well as during the season, according to the people themselves. In fact, of course, no two successive seasons are ever the same in environmental conditions, so that the influences on the composition, location and stability of neighbourhoods of each size continually vary, even neglecting the action of personal opinion and inter-personal relations. One cause of difficulty in coming to a conclusion in this matter without long and consistent observation over a period of years, is that the natives themselves are so vague about it all. To them the present only is of much importance and the recent past is already in the process of being forgotten, an endless variety of movements and changes. Nothing changes, yet nothing remains the same over the years; and it would be tedious to attempt to recall all the many dispositions of one's family involving as they did only temporarily significant relationships and activities, and not deeply involving stock rights and transactions. Out of season if I ask a person where he lives in the wet season, even, to be quite specific, in a certain month last wet season, he will tell me the name of an area which at first hearing seems to pin him down - until one begins to realise that the name in question may cover an area of fifty square miles and often more than one water point. In other words, one can discover a man's tertiary neighbourhood and not more, unless one can actually visit the area concerned with that man. It is almost useless trying to get a man to tell one with whom he shared a neighbourhood over a period of time or at certain well defined stages of the year (and most stages are not well defined). A Turkana is merely bored with such things. They are not important. He either fails to reply or tells the first story that comes to mind. I only mention all this to illustrate the Turkana attitude to the question. Perhaps nothing indicates more clearly the impermanence of neighbourhood association, the relationships founded on little more than temporary contiguity and mutual convenience and comradeship.

THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY

Partly within the framework of the impermanent neighbourhoods, and partly outside of it, there is a more permanent association of men and families and homestead-units. This - what I shall call the co-operative community^x - is a group of nuclear families who through time tend to maintain a fairly close economic and social co-operation, although not necessarily living close together for much of the time (i.e. within the same secondary neighbourhood). In fact because of the necessities of co-operation it is essential that parts or wholes of component families should be separated, i.e. in the co-operation of herding the different types of stock.

I shall largely confine my account of the community to a description of the only one that I have had the opportunity to study with any care. Indications of the same sort of social phenomena will be given from my information of other areas. Further general comment follows the description of this particular instance.

The community consisted of nine men and their nuclear families. Three of the men were brothers, two of whom shared a single homestead for several months during the period of my observations. Apart from these it is very difficult to say how far pre-existing relationships have been responsible for bringing and keeping together these families in fruitful association. The head of each family is related by marriage to at least one of the other heads. That is,

x There is no Turkana word for it as far as I know.

some men stand in the relations of brother-in-law; others are husbands of sisters, etc., as follows:-

- Imana is - brother of Longorr and Egeru.
 - husband of Longomo's sister.
 - married to the sister of Athierkwun's wife - and is married to the half-sister of another of Athierkwun's wives.
 - brother's son to father of wives of Athagal and Loporla's brother.
 - married to half-sister of Loporla.
- Longomo is - married to the sister of Aichow.
Athagal is - the brother of Chilla's wife.
 - married to the sister of the wife of Loporla's brother.

All these relationships have been given to me as those of in-laws (the brothers excepted) and all as reasons for the type of co-operation that exists. But it can be seen that some of them are comparatively remote, and none of them that strongest of in-law ties, i.e. between father-in-law and son-in-law. However it is fairly certain that some, if not all, are the cause of both bringing and keeping together these families. On the other hand, they are, of course, only a selection of the total number of in-law relations pertaining to these men. Consequently there must be some extra element, past and present, which is of prime importance. It is difficult to state this in formal terms, and I have found the same problems in other parts of Turkanaland. Such factors as co-membership of age-sets or clans are not important since the men concerned come from a varied range of these, and the community is in no way a unit for the activities associated with them. They are all members of the same territorial section (Nggamatak), and this provides a clue to what is probably one of the most important features. Co-membership of a section is in itself not important, for we have seen already the lack of function residing in the section, and also because this community is only a small selection of all the Nggamatak people. What is important is that these men will normally live in the same area in the wet season, most particularly in the better wet season. In fact they tend to live as a primary neighbourhood, disparate from other such neighbourhoods. As far as I can discover (and as I have already said, it is always difficult to obtain information from the Turkana about their recent past) these men, all of whom had formerly lived in wet season locations farther east and south-east, constantly come together in the wet season and tend to move in the same general direction in the dry season with cattle, sheep and later camels, i.e. the southern part of the Karamajong Escarpment. From a developing sense of what can only be called friendliness, mutual appreciation and amicability, these men and their families have tended to stick together to engage in the economic division of labour, and to depend on each other and to prefer each other as neighbours. With the lack of specific organisation of the aggregation of homesteads and the movements of people and stock, such elements are bound to be important. There is little to cause men to ally together except the desire to do so. In everyday life kinship relations are not usually strong, and in any event some kind of choice must be made between the various related people. Again a man cannot continue in close daily relations with all of his brothers or in-laws, for example. There may be, and it seems that there are, non-related people with whom a man forms a friendship stronger than the formal ties. In this group of men, for instance, Imana and Athierkwun, both middle-aged, are constant companions though in fact only distantly related by marriage. Colloquially, "they just get on well together"; they know and trust each other's personality, judgement and habits. Similarly there are Athagal and Loporla, Egeru and Aichow, Athagal and Chilla. These are only the highlights of the thread of mutual friendship and trust which exists between all the men. And their wives and children form similar general ties with each other.

In practical activities some of these men form a primary or even a secondary neighbourhood at certain times of the year, and tend to move as a unit. Not that the actual spatial relations are invariable. Primary neighbourhoods change with every general movement. At one time two of the men share a common homestead, at another they separate or even share

x See the chapters on "Territorial section" and on "Rights in land and water."

each with another man. There is a good deal of general and joint discussion about movements in which all take part and from which a fairly general agreement is reached, although one or more individuals may disagree and act independently. Thus far the group is little more than a permanent, closely knit secondary neighbourhood. However, the general principles of neighbourhood association still hold because at times this group breaks up geographically, and its members join other neighbourhoods, even temporarily outside each other's tertiary neighbourhood. But what gives the group special identity is that whilst geographically disparate, whilst not continuing everyday face-to-face relations, they still maintain co-operation under a recognised plan. The following description divides the year 1948-9 into four stages for purposes of analysis. It should be noted however that these do not represent the only four movements through the twelvemonth, for there were other both major and minor moves also, and these are noted in the relevant places. It should also be noticed that at most stages there were other homesteads^x (family units) geographically proximate, making up total neighbourhoods.

The four sets of dispositions over the twelvemonth, beginning with the early dry season, will now be considered separately:-

Stage No.1 (normal dry season - Oct. - May).

Goats, milking ewes and camels in the plains about ten miles east of the Karamajong Escarpment, in two primary neighbourhoods. Cattle and sheep based on the Escarpment hills to the west, grazing farther and higher into the hills as the dry season draws out. These latter herds are in three primary neighbourhoods (two men each having two cattle homesteads). In two of these neighbourhoods there were homesteads and herds of other families. All adult stock based on one water point (Kanamut). Although there was no definite arrangement, it usually worked out that certain men lived mainly in the browse homesteads and some in the graze homesteads, where they were able to a certain extent to look after each other's stock.

Stage No.2 (Failure in the early rains - May).

Most of the goats remained where they were previously, but one man moved independently with all his stock as the result of a disagreement regarding future rainfall at that critical period. After six to eight weeks he was joined by most of the cattle and sheep of the other members of the community, who left behind only a few milking cows (now giving practically no milk). Camels of three men were sent up nearer to the Escarpment under the joint control of the wife of one of them. Not all the men could go and live with the cattle and sheep in their new homesteads some twenty miles further north, or else there would have been no-one to supervise the goat and camel homesteads, and apart from the nine heads of the component families there were no other adult men at the time. Three men went with the sheep and cattle of all the men, joining the man who had previously moved there some time before. The other three (one was away for a time) remained with the goats and camels. The cattle and sheep homesteads now formed part of another secondary neighbourhood based on the northern part of the same Escarpment.

N.B. The normal gardens near the goat homesteads failed at this time after quite insufficient early rains, and were abandoned for the year.

Stage No.3 (Continued failure of rains - June-July).

Graze further deteriorating, the cattle were sent onto Loima Mt. (Kanaro) to the east, where there was already a very large concentration of cattle and other stock. The same three heads of families went there to supervise the total herds. Sheep remained behind with the one man who had formerly moved on his own. On Loima the homesteads were located on a comparatively densely populated secondary and tertiary neighbourhood, based on a very large water point (Lorititio) where by this time over 1,000 head of cattle were watered daily. Camels and goats remained where they were before, but due to some wives and children following the cattle to Loima, the populations of

x Fuller details will be found in Appendix No.9, pages 276 - 280, and Sketch Map No.7.)

the plains neighbourhoods were reduced to the four men, older women, and herds-boys. The four men made visits to Loima.

N.B. In both stages 2 and 3 expeditions were made to Moroto (in Karamajong country) to barter goats and sheep for grain by small groups of the men and a wife or two. Such grain was distributed through the community.

Stage No.4 (Wet season - rains began in late July)

As soon as the new rains permitted cattle and sheep of six of the families were moved south again. A primary neighbourhood of cattle and camel homesteads of these six families was established just off the Escarpment. Animals grazed on a small range of hills (Kathagolou Hills). Goats and sheep of four men were sent east about 15-20 miles (to Kapil) under the supervision of one of them, with herdsboys from each family. His cattle and camels were supervised and shared a homestead with two of the other men, under the joint control of one of them. One man had so few goats and sheep that they all remained with his cattle. Two families and their herds remained in the north but below Loima, joined by a third man herding the joint sheep and goats of himself and another member of the community (his brother-in-law). Due to the failure of the normal gardens, the wives of three of the men remained with these more northerly homesteads, who through their in-law relationships were able to get the use of garden land there, in or near the Lorusi Aliban water course. Millet was harvested towards the end of August when the wives returned to their cattle homesteads.

In each case homesteads usually formed part of secondary neighbourhoods along other homesteads not of this particular community. When a movement was made to new areas advantage was taken of the extra-community relations of one or more of the members (a) to obtain access to water holes, (b) to join up with already established neighbourhoods; and, also, in the wet season to get the use of garden land to grow millet when other gardens had failed. By deliberate distribution of the available manpower of the community the best use was made at each stage of the pasture resources. In every case a herd was milked, watered and herded by members of its own nuclear family. Co-operation was principally in the overall supervision of herds and of their rights and safety.

This is the only group of families and herds that I have been able to observe over a long period, and unfortunately it is in some ways not typical of much of Turkanaland. This is especially the case in the small amount of movement during the normal dry season, e.g. goats remained in the homestead for almost nine months; cattle remained on the Escarpment grazing grounds for over six months without even a minor move; the eventual pastures on Loima were relatively near still (no more than 30 miles away) and closer contact was kept up between graze and browse homesteads than is usual or often possible in this country. Nevertheless there is a definite pattern of co-operation underlying the movements and dispositions of the herds and homesteads as they at any time made up primary and secondary neighbourhoods with "foreign" homesteads, and as they were separated by some distance from one another. What may possibly be the same pattern of what I am here calling the co-operative community is also discernable in other parts of the country where I have lived.

The important elements of association in a co-operative community are the following:-

(A) Division of labour in herding, and especially in the supervision of herds and herd rights. On the whole each family provides its own labour for milking, watering and herding.

(B) A degree of agreement regarding migrational movements and dispositions of the different types of stock.

(C) A tendency (on present information, it cannot be put higher than a tendency) for members to come together during the wet seasons, especially the better wet seasons. At such times they may form separate primary neighbourhoods, though perhaps combining with others in the secondary neighbourhood.

(D) The very definite and strong links of friendship between heads of member families (and also the families themselves). This is to some extent supported by certain in-law ties.

It is to be noted that these friendship relations may be relatively permanent unlike the easy comradeship of the temporary neighbourhood at any one time. Besides the constant company and outstandingly firm friendship between twos and threes of the men, and more generally of the men altogether, there is also something of a formal recognition of the tie in that, for example, when one of the men receives a payment of stock he will most likely give an animal or two to each of the co-members of his community. When one is married the others will be his constant supporters both before and at the actual wedding. Judicial matters between two members would be settled on a basis of close friendship (out of court, as it were) and not one of formal bargaining regarding compensation, etc. Serious crimes would, of course, probably split up the association, but here I am thinking of e.g. thefts, accidental injuries, pregnancy of unmarried girls, where members of the respective families are concerned. For example, after telling me about the type of arrangements from accidental homicide (more or less equivalent to murder, in actual fact), I asked Imana what would happen if he should accidentally kill Athierkwun (i.e. his very close friend and associate). At once he dismissed the idea of any large compensation payment, except for the necessary sacrificial animals, and denied that there would be anything of the usual hostility between the two families in such circumstances. He (Imana) would later marry a sister or daughter of Athierkwun, and the perhaps rather heavy bridewealth would abolish any idea of a compensation payment, for then the two families would be in-laws. This is in sharp contrast with the normal situation.

The point is that the co-operative community is not only and purely a device for economic co-operation and mutual convenience. It goes deeper than that. In the first place, this sort of co-operation demands mutual trust, since other men, non-kinsmen, are to be responsible for one's stock - a serious matter. In the second place, constant co-operation is likely to produce increased ties of confidence and friendship between the men concerned and their families. And of course, the original arrangements are most probably based on special feelings of friendliness.

Such ties of economic co-operation and strong friendship and trust exist between men who together may not form a co-operative community. They may be isolated pairs of men, basing their activities on pre-existing relationships of kinship or marriage. On the other hand where the general relation - the friendship relation - exists as between a group of men and their nuclear families, and especially where this group of men tend to live together during part of the year (in the wet season typically) then a distinguishable form of association is present. I have not adequate information on any other groups of men at the moment. What I have however is a number of instances of two or three men co-operating in this way at some time or another, and at times living near together (i.e. the same primary or secondary neighbourhood)^x. I am well aware that my information on this topic is inadequate and that detailed studies of other groups are needed to make sure even that such an association exists as a typical institution in Turkana society. So far I have little information of the persistence of such associations through time. For instance, the type of co-operation that exists one year may not necessarily appear the next. I cannot say at the moment, and it is very difficult to get reliable information from the natives themselves on such matters. To them the arrangements and associations of the present are the only important ones, which may perhaps be construed as evidence of their non-persistence through time. Certainly there seems to be neither name for the type of association nor for the relations engendered in it. I am not at all clear how relations in community are begun initially, nor how far they persist as against kinship and in-law relationships. Another point of importance is: how far is a community centred upon one, or more, influential men? In this instance Imana is not only a headman, but a very astute man of unusual personality and prestige.

That there is a form of co-operation in this way, for whatever lengths of time, is however fairly certain. With the typical relations of the Turkana usually undefined outside kinship and marriage, it must be expected that forms of co-operative association will not be either closely defined nor permanently binding. Perhaps enough has been said already to show the amount of purely personal opinion and judgement and inclination that operates in the specific

x It may be added that I hope to devote a good deal of time during my second tour of field-work in 1950 to the investigation of this problem.

movements of a family's homestead. It may be expected that clash of opinion will affect the degree and persistence of co-operation in this more specialised case. The underlying basis of co-operation is difficult, if not impossible to state in formal terms where there are no outstanding ties of kinship, clan-ship, territory or age-sets, etc. Nevertheless in a society like that of the Turkana we must, I believe, realise that there are indeterminate and subtle types of relations not of a formal nature. In dealing with the non-centralised societies of East Africa accounts seem to have varied between an obvious over-formality, which anyone with local knowledge knows cannot be wholly correct; and a vagueness which leaves many questions unanswered, many problems untouched. In a nomadic society the problem reaches its peak, and I have endeavoured to show the absence of many of the usual types of formal relationships. This absence does not appear to place the Turkana at any special disadvantage from the point of view of his migrational life and the type of associations that he requires. For he does manage to obtain the co-operation he needs through what are strictly interpersonal relations, relevant mainly to each man or each family. When such relations break down the Turkana is not left helpless; for primarily his family is relatively self-sufficient, and similar relations can be fairly easily recreated with other and fresh people. A psychological study might be of use in helping to explain the motives and attitudes behind such relations. Family-units can, and from sheer choice sometimes do, live quite apart from other homesteads without extra-familial co-operation in very many activities. There may be also a disinclination for a man to make himself and his family too dependent on others. It would tend only to hamper his freedom of choice and opinion in the vital matters of movements and dispositions of his herds.

It would be wrong to say, as has been said, that there is little or no organisation of relations amongst the Turkana. Of the usual formal type, organisation is noticeably vague. There is however a kind of organisation of informal, mainly inter-personal relations.

In conclusion, it may be worth re-emphasising the differences between those relations based on temporary proximity, i.e. co-membership of primary and secondary neighbourhoods, and relations based on more permanent ties of near patrilineal kinship. Kinship, in general, only functions on the more formal occasions of life, at what may be called the crises of social life - marriage, death and inheritance, more important judicial affairs, the serious depletion of herds by disease, starvation or raiding. Because of the values maintained in the common ownership of a common herd, members of an extended family are bound to come together at such times. A man involves the most binding ties known; but for most of the time they tend to remain dormant. Indeed the certain amount of smouldering hostility tends to keep such people apart, especially in the case of brothers and half-brothers. As we have seen they do not usually live together nor co-operate in pastoral activities. I know of many more cases of joint homesteads of friends and in-laws, than of brothers or near kinsmen. Everyday relations, activities, and co-operation are not matters within the sphere of kinship. They are based on territorial proximity of the moment, and on friendship. The type of everyday activities are not of the kind to involve the more formal relations of kinship. The freedom of opinion and movement possible within the framework of everyday social relations would be lost if those relations were kinship relations. Everyday activities are such as to call for precise formalised relations. They are not and need not be too specific and defined. When we are dealing with a people living in a large area and thinly dispersed, the values of kinship are bound to be affected by commonplace relations of mere physical contiguity. When, as in Turkanaland, the element of movement is added, movement moreover not strictly socially controlled, the less formal relations are, it appears, bound to be important in day-to-day activities of normal life. The crises and formal occasions are more important from one point of view, but they are relatively rare events, spaced out through life; whilst normal activities go on day after day, month after month, throughout the life of a person.

CHAPTER 12

THE AGE-SET ORGANISATIONThe alternations

All Turkana males belong to one or two groupings - "Stones" ('imuru' pl. 'ngimur') and "Leopards" ('erisait'; pl. 'ngirisai'). These I shall call "alternations", since at birth every male automatically becomes a member of that one to which his father does not belong. Thus a "Stone" father's sons are all "Leopards", and their sons will all be "Stones", and so on. It is not a generation grouping from the overall view, since of a crowd of the same age about half will be Stones and half Leopards. The two alternations exist everywhere throughout Turkanaland, and are not related to clan, section, or region. They form a basis of the age-set organisation, since at each initiation two new age-sets are formed, one Stone and one Leopard. Their actual value in the system will appear later, but first there are a few general points.

An earlier and generally reliable writer, Emley^x, called the alternations 'decoration groups', on the basis of his own information that their chief importance was the division between men of types of decoration, and also of songs. My information does not altogether agree. I find that Leopards are supposed to wear only white ostrich plumes, and Stones only black; a Leopard must wear a bracelet of silver-coloured metal, a Stone one of dark-coloured metal; possibly also, only Leopards are allowed to wear leopard skins. But in practice it would be difficult, often impossible, to detect which alternation a man belonged to. Almost invariably (but not quite) a man wears at least one metal bracelet of the correct colour, but it is difficult to know which it is since he may be wearing several of each colour on each wrist. When the natives themselves are asked they usually refer to the distinction of ostrich plumes. Yet both in everyday life and at dances, feasts etc., it is not at all uncommon to see the wrong coloured ones being worn. A Leopard, who ought to be wearing white, may have a liking for black - so he wears black. I have seen a large dance where about 50 men were all wearing white feathers irrespective of their alternations. The commonplace explanation seems to be that at any time the supply of one colour of feather is more plentiful (a new delivery at Indian shop, a lot brought back from Uganda by someone, etc.,) and so everyone wears what he can get hold of. There are also dyed pink and bluish feathers, the wearing of which similarly follows the exigency of the moment. No man is abashed or apologetic when I point this discrepancy out, beyond admitting the rule to wear only the one colour. I have seen a Leopard, who ought to wear white feathers, take a fancy to and successfully beg a companion's black ones, and wear them with pride, and no trouble. Again leopard skins are the prerogative of the Leopard alternation, but no man is going to let slip the chance to wear a fine skin if he can kill an animal or beg a skin.^{xx}

The other point that the natives always remark on in this connection is that, "We do not sit together when we eat meat." At a feast, whether large or small, there are always two main groupings of the men present - Stones and Leopards, each with their share of the common meat, the members of each helping each other to the food. At a very small gathering to eat meat, when a few intimates collect together in the homestead of one of them, by the fire, this is neglected, but not at any other time. People say that they do not know why this is so.

As will be seen later all but the most minor raids were worked on tactics of a two column attack - one Leopard and one Stone - on either side of the objective. Otherwise there are no prescribed privileges, duties or responsibilities attaching to membership of alternations. Women and girls are not involved in this dichotomy and no marriage rule results from it. A wife's metal neck-ring (the equivalent of our wedding ring) is of the colour of her husband's alternation, i.e. silvery for Leopards, dark for Stones.

x Emley D.R., "The Turkana of Kolossia District" JRAI 1927.

xx There appear to be no sanctions compelling adherence to rules. The sanction of conformity and public opinion does not operate here since there is general recognition that a man can wear what he desires, and what are available.

This rule seems never to be broken. That it is a social division rather than a physical one is borne out by the fact that an illegitimate son takes the alternation opposite to that of his mother's father with no relation to that of his physical father. Thus a woman could have e.g. an illegitimate son who became a Leopard because his mother's father was a Stone; and later in marriage with a Leopard man she would have sons who were Stones.

I can find no evidence to support Emley's remarks that different coloured beads are worn according to alternation, nor that songs are peculiar to each one. But it might be that this has died out in the intervening twenty years since the abolition of warfare has become firmly established. Indeed one reason for including all this here is to illustrate another of the loose ends to be found in Turkana society. The shadowy outlines of groups, the rules only observed in the breach, the inter-membership relations which never materialise, all are a typical feature of social life for which no explanation can be found in contemporary conditions, except perhaps as a surmise that they are historical remnants, which for one reason or another have outlived their original functions. In this category may be put both section and clan as well as alternation.^x

The age-set organisation too is not of the strong corporative type found so much in East Africa, though that may be attributed not only to the cessation of military activities, but also to the constantly moving, thinly dispersed population. Usually in a neighbourhood there will only be a handful of members of any set, who are living together temporarily for a few months at the most, almost fortuitously from a radius of up to 50 or 60 miles away. Close or continual co-operation is scarcely possible then, and as will be seen, the age-sets are largely quiescent in the dry seasons, perhaps only to be seen functioning fully in good wet seasons. The long periods of quiescence are bound to affect the degree of corporative consciousness and activity even when the sets can operate. The necessities of the herds and migrations must over-rule any system based on age, which by its nature is a vertical cross-section of society. Were movements based on a clan or territorial basis such as is the case amongst some pastoral people the story might be different.

Membership of age-sets

Since in this part of the survey of Turkana society I am concentrating on the structural aspect of social institutions, i.e. from the viewpoint of the society as a whole, I shall not remark much on the attitude of the individual who is initiated into a set and thereby joins in certain activities. This will be dealt with later when describing the general development and place of the individual in society. Thus here initiation will be taken for granted and not described in detail.

Youths are initiated at about the age of 18 (between 16 and 20), and initiation occurs every time there is a good wet season. They are initiated in two groups at the same time, but physically and socially apart - Stones and Leopards. Two new age-sets are created each initiation season so that roughly there are two new sets every four years. I am not sure what happens in the exceptional years when two good wet seasons follow each other, or are only separated by one poor season. Probably new sets will not then be created, but the last new ones continued. Because of the indeterminate periods between initiation seasons, and the variations of climate within Turkanaland itself, not every region has the same number of sets. As a first approximation however, it can be said that there are between eight and ten sets in each alternation. This gives a total period of 32 - 40 years, plus the initiation

x It is noteworthy that wherever I went in Turkanaland the one category in which the natives felt obliged to classify me was the alternation. From time to time I was asked what my clan, section or age-set was and where my stock were; but not invariably. Working relations could be established with me without such knowledge, significantly enough. But since the two alternations are all-inclusive for men, I must either belong to that of my questioner or not. And because they are important at feasts, Turkana feel they need to be able to put me in one or the other. Since I wore no decorations they found this difficult. But usually since my wife wears a gold wedding ring, I was classified as a Stone. No other form of classification is so simply all-embracing.

age of 16 -20; i.e. 48-60 years in all, a period not inconsistent with the probable life span of a man.

The core of initiation is the spearing of a male animal (ox, camel, he-goat, or ram) by each initiate, followed by ritual purification and blessing of the youths by the remaining members of the oldest set in existence (i.e. a Leopard and a Stone set) and a feast of the slain animals by all the men, boys and initiates of all the neighbourhoods assembled. There appears to be no differentiation on the basis of what type of animal is speared by each initiate nor is it necessarily a measure of the relative wealth of their fathers who provide the animals. I know sons of rich families who speared rams or he-goats, and can find no significance in it. At any initiation ceremony all types of male animals are killed.

Initiates become members of the new age-set of their alternation and remain members of it for life. Neither they nor the set as a unit is specially related to any other set. There is little relationship between sets of the two alternations initiated in the same season. No difference is made in inter-personal relationships. One's friends, companions, kin and in-laws remain unchanged. Beyond the perhaps natural tendency of co-evals to feel closer in interests and activities, which gives a similar outlook to each contemporary pair, the tendency if anything, is for them to fall apart and become more and more associated with other sets in their respective alternations. I am speaking here of relationships qua membership of sets. No elder set is responsible for their initiation or instruction into duties and privileges. As the oldest set dies away by the physical death of their members, and as new sets are created, a set becomes more and more senior. This is a general process over time and not a matter of passing through various stages. There is no further stage as such, and no other rite of passage. A member of the newest set is a man ('ekile'; pl. 'ngiliok') in the general sense, and a warrior. He can marry and have a family and become in time the owner of an independent homestead. His further development is an individual matter depending on the man's seniority in his own family, on marriage, children etc.^x Imperceptibly a man ('ekile') becomes an old man ('ekasiko'), but this too is largely an individual thing, and old age is largely relative; i.e. one is an old man compared to one's juniors by age or age-set. Thus all men who do not raid any longer are old men; so are men who do not dance any more. But, for example, at initiation times or at feasts the old men are the members of the most senior set present. Some men retain their physique and continue active adult life longer than others, the latter being reckoned old men earlier. On one occasion a man is an 'old man', at another he is not. At no specific time does a set reach the position of 'old men', although in certain circumstances they are regarded as such. Usually the term is not one to be proud of.

The principle of seniority

There is however a principle of seniority running through the system, in each set and as between sets, which works as follows. According to the original order in which initiates spear their animal they are given a stable position in the scale of seniority. The first to spear his animal on the first day of a season's initiation ceremonies is the most senior^{xx} and so on to the least senior who is the last initiate to spear his animal on the last day of a season. Only by the death of a more senior age-mate can a man move up in seniority, and he can never become senior to any living man already senior to him. The order in which initiates spear the animals, i.e. the order of seniority, is clearly defined by the degree of seniority of their fathers, on the rule that members of a senior set are all senior to those of a younger set, and then on the degree of seniority in each set. Fathers of initiates are not all of the same set but of the most senior four or five in the whole series. Thus it means that the sons of the more senior men of a set will not necessarily, or even usually, be the more senior in their own sets; and also the younger a son is (i.e. the greater the gap between him and his father) the more senior he is likely to be in his own set, although in the total series

x See Part 2 of this monograph, especially Chapter 19.

xx 'erkapulan' i.e. "the big one", Cp. the 'erkapulan' of a family or clan.

he will be the most junior of his family and low down in the total list of seniority.

For instance in an imaginary example represented in the diagram it is taken that there are always nine sets, as the eldest dies away at the top a new one takes its place at the bottom. Now a man has five sons equally spaced out at birth. When his first son is initiated the man's own set is in position E in the diagram. At that time sons of men in A, B, C and D sets are also being initiated, so that whatever the man's seniority in his own set at E, their sons will all be senior to his. The latter will be placed in the bottom 1/5th of the new set. When his next son is initiated the man's set occupies position D in the series, so his son is senior to fellow initiates whose fathers are in set position E. Finally when his youngest son is initiated the man is in the most senior set of all, A (or if he is dead it is taken that he would have been had he lived). Therefore this youngest son is senior to all fellow initiates whose fathers are in sets at positions B, C, D, and E. Since there will be few fathers of initiates in the most senior set, he may come to take a very senior position in his own set at J, although remaining junior to all his brothers and those in sets H and above.

A	5
B	4
C	3
D	2
E	1
F	
G	
H	
J	

This would not work out so smoothly in real life because it is unlikely that a man's sons would be so evenly spaced out in birth or order of initiation. Two brothers are often initiated together and their final degree of seniority would depend, vis-a-vis each other, on order of birth. Again a very old man in set position A or B might have no son left to be initiated. A point to be borne in mind also is that a more wealthy man can afford to go on marrying wives longer than a poorer man, and will therefore continue to procreate sons for a longer period. Thus a wealthy man's younger sons will tend to be initiated when he is an old man. To some extent therefore wealth aids seniority in some sons. Against this is the fact that the poorer men and younger sons tend to marry later in life than rich men and elder sons, increasing the gap between the sets of the father and the youngest sons. Nevertheless the general principle remains clear and also its effect. That is, that the degree of seniority of a man in his own set is not directly inherited; that younger sons of a man who occupies a relatively junior position in his own set may come to occupy a relatively senior position in their own. To put it another way, the sons of a Senior Man (the most senior of his own set) will not automatically, or even often, become Senior-Men themselves, but occupy various positions, each in his own set.

It must be emphasized that an elder son cannot profit from his father's position in other aspects, e.g. wealth, place in the family or community. In so far as position in an age-set is an aspect of political status or function the principles of seniority, depending as they do on the largely fortuitous position of birth and time of initiation, are directly opposed to the development of status based on kinship, family, wealth, military achievement, ability, etc. The powers and privileges of seniority are thus constantly redistributed, and may fall on anyone irrespective of other circumstances. This is in accord with the egalitarian nature of Turkana society, and blocks out at least one avenue where individuals or families might achieve superior status or authority.

For instance, headman Imana, perhaps the wealthiest and most influential man I know, is of relatively junior position in his age-set, whilst his brother Egeru (of the same father and mother) who is over ten years younger is the most senior but one in his set, although he is, of course, junior to Imana in both the total series and in the extended family.

Just what this principle of seniority means in actual affairs is not easy to define specifically. My information here is incomplete, I think. On the basis of what information I have and my other knowledge of the Turkana, it is most probable that as far as the seniormost positions go they afford opportunities, which may or may not be taken, to achieve authority and influence in political and military affairs. Whether they are taken or not depends on such things as the personality of the man concerned, his

relative wealth, his place in the extended family, his success in military affairs, etc. This aspect of leadership and political function will be examined in more detail when I deal more specifically with the topic of political influence and leadership.^x

Here I shall confine myself to a description of seniority as it operates in the age-organisation.

Any crowd of men can automatically arrange themselves in order of seniority without any discussion or dispute. At a feast when the meat is being cut up and distributed, each man waits until all those senior to him have been served. If a set is being treated by a diviner to a general mystic tonic, members are served in order of seniority. I have particularly noticed that in distributing tobacco or gifts, etc., there is usually a good deal of pushing and grabbing, each for himself. But if it is a matter of a single age-set every man comes up in order, each waiting his turn equably. It is, I may say, a rather startling change. I have found also a tendency (though one often overridden by force of personality, intelligence or previous acquaintanceship) for the more junior to leave it to the more senior to do the talking when I am asking about the activities of their set. At those dances where the sets dance as distinct bodies, there is again a tendency for the dance and song leaders to be the senior-men of each set. At a present-day Administrative 'baraza' when the men assemble by sets, to dance and sing and generally parade themselves, it is always the senior-man of those present who stands out to initiate and lead the songs and dances.

Since age-sets were one of the bases of military organisation it is most likely that the principle of seniority must have played some part in war, raiding and defence. This must not be over-emphasized however, since the great and successful warriors were not necessarily the senior-men of their set, and, as far as I can make out, success and initiative in war was the chief basis of military leadership. Not every man was equally interested in fighting, equally successful or equally able to lead. It seems that war leaders were not often senior men. Due to the lack of specific military organisation the man who came out on top as a reliable and followed leader could occupy any position in his own set. But a more senior person, especially the most senior few, were likely to be listened to by their fellows. Other things being equal, seniority gave an advantage.

It is noteworthy that men can always tell me the name of the most senior two or three of their set. (usually of other sets as well) without difficulty, whereas they cannot tell me all the members of their set in order of seniority, only in relation to themselves. In a society where men usually have difficulty in explaining and telling me things, are inarticulate, this ready knowledge and willingness is outstanding.

The whole of an age-set rarely comes together. The usual group of age-mates is a fortuitous collection of men who happen to be living near each other at the time, and who can assemble easily. The Senior-Man may not be present. On such occasions the 'senior-man' will be the most senior present.^{xx} It will not always be the same man for the composition of the collection changes according to migratory movements and the interest aroused in the event for which the men gather. This varies between a small feast of a single goat, when perhaps ten age-mates assemble, to an initiation ceremony when fifty or more turn up. It can hardly be said that he becomes a temporary leader or that even he presides over the meeting. Notions of leadership are too weak and of egalitarianism too strong to allow of that. But he is given a degree of influence and authority. It may be left to him to initiate

x See Chapter 16. pp182 et seq.

xx I shall use "Senior-Man" for the most senior of a set, and "senior-man" for the most senior present at any one time. Both are 'erkapulan', i.e. "the Big One". The use of "senior men" should be taken to indicate three or four seniormost men at any one time when age-mates are assembled.

successive stages of the business in hand. This is perhaps best illustrated by the progress of a meat feast, an invariable item of any such meeting. The animal may be speared by anyone, but the skinning and cooking will be left to the more junior. The meat is cut up by the senior-men, assisted by anyone else who wishes. The actual distribution is made from the pile of cooked meat, or as meat comes off the fire ready to eat, by the senior-man. He supplies the men in order of seniority, a rule which extends to any members of other sets who may happen to be present. As more than one man has told me, the senior-men get the best shares of the meat, both in quantity and quality. I have never seen or heard of a dispute over distribution. In one particular item the seniority comes right to the fore, and is the one often pointed out to me by the people. As the animal is skinned and before it is cooked, the senior-man himself must cut off the carcass the testicles and meat surrounding them ('emacher'), and also a piece of meat called the 'apol', which is the sides of the loins (the iliac part of a human being is always pointed to in illustration). These pieces of meat must be cooked first, and separately from the rest, and are eaten by the senior-men, and by members of any senior sets who are there. "We are small (junior - 'edit'); we do not eat the 'apol'" is what the Turkana say who are not senior-men. As usual no explanation is forthcoming about this behaviour.

Although my evidence is poor here I think that when prayers are offered communally or by a set alone to the High God the prayer leaders are the senior-men of the sets participating.

At first, the Senior-Man has no mystic powers attached to him. He is an ordinary adult man, a warrior. But as a set reaches the most senior position in the total series there is (as far as I understand it) an imperceptible accretion of such powers. There is no time or ceremony at which the Senior-Man is accredited with them, but my enquiries show that certainly the Senior-Man of each oldest set - i.e. one Stone and one Leopard - has certain mystic powers by reason of some special relationship with the High God. Because of this relationship they can seek the aid and power of the High God to stop fights and quarrels and to insist on conciliation. I have not seen this done but I am told that if Turkana fight over some quarrel, people will try and stop it. People that is who are not involved in the matter at issue. But if the Senior-Man lives near, and is not already present, he will be fetched and can interpose his body between the fighters. Then, say the Turkana, the fight must cease lest the Senior-Man be harmed or killed - a grave event, likely to bring dire consequences of death and ill-being to all concerned. Further the Senior-Man can call on the High God to curse the disobedient fighters - another dreaded thing. So, continue my informants, the Senior-Man can make peace and compel the people to agree to a settlement, where the guilt can be determined and compensation, if any, decided on at a public discussion. I suggest that this is a somewhat idealised account for several reasons. The Senior-Man cannot live everywhere, especially in view of the migratory habits of the Turkana, and therefore many quarrels and fights would be out of his reach, physically. In addition he is always a very old man when he attains to his position and powers, and will consequently be confined to a small area by reason of infirmity. The Turkana in fact recognise this themselves. Also from what I have seen of Turkana quarrels and fights it would take a very determined man to attempt to stop them physically in the heat of the moment. Turkana are not normally overmuch influenced by thoughts of the High God or mystical powers, and would scarcely consider them in the middle of the high emotions of a fight. But here I am probably criticising an idealistic and dramatised account on objective grounds. The account contains elements of truth in that a Senior-Man can exercise some peace-making arbitratory function because of his mystic relations with the High God. It would more likely come into play in cases of long drawn out quarrels where discussion regarding a settlement was not yet begun. Here a neutral and respected person could initiate, even compel, negotiations without loss of face to anyone, and with the tacit approval of disinterested parties. His work would not, I feel fairly certain, extend to being a judge, since judicial cases are worked in common and public discussion without the interference of any such figure.

The creation of new sets.

Before describing the creation of new sets and leading on to the relations of equivalent sets in different regions, I must emphasize that, of all my difficulties in obtaining information in Turkana land, this has

perhaps been the hardest of all. The following account is therefore tentative only. In retrospect, the difficulties, I think, resulted from my European standpoint (including my knowledge of other age-set systems among primitive peoples). I was looking for some formal technique by which new sets came into being and by which the various initiation centres were co-ordinated. I sought a specific process, recognisable leaders and occasions - and none were to be found; it was obvious too that the Turkana were always puzzled by my difficulties in understanding what happened. And I have not been able to watch it happen myself.

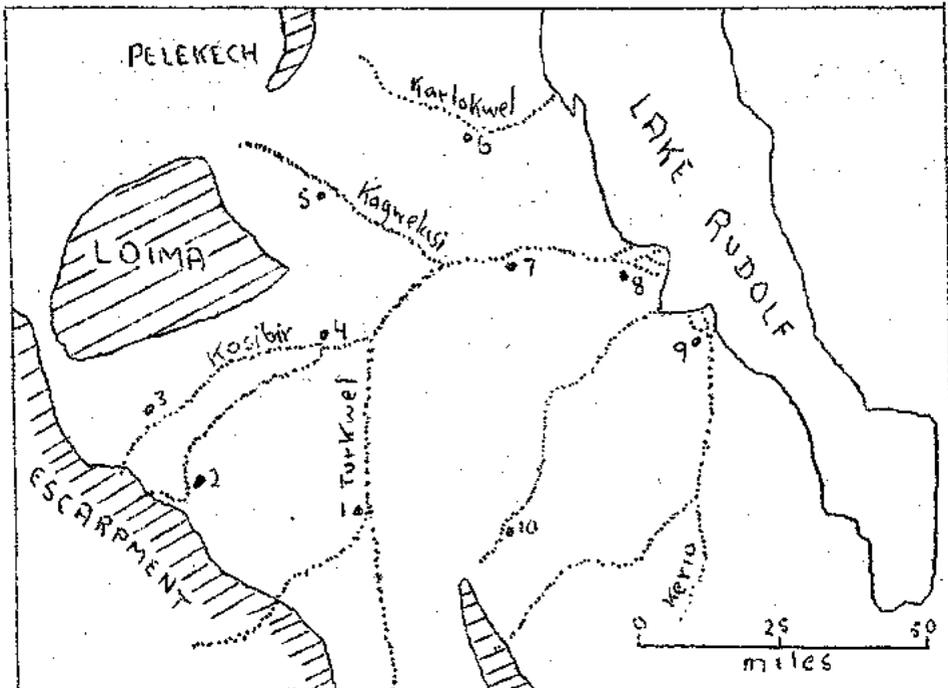
My main problems were (and still are) how is the naming of the new set effected, and how is it that over, say, the whole of central Turkana, where there are many initiation centres, yet usually the same name is adopted by all? Surely the implication is that there is some machinery of organisation and conformity? Surely here will be found the real crux of the whole age-set system? And so perhaps it is, but not in the way that I, at any rate, expected. Many Turkana have told me: "It just happens that our age-sets are all the same. No-one makes it so; no one person decides what the naming will be or compel others to agree. It just is so;" as one man put it. And so it is. The whole essence of it, and of the age-set organisation in general, being the lack of formal shape, the lack of formal or even 'ad hoc' leaders, or dominant initiation centre or area.

On sketch-map 5, of central Turkana, are shown the location of initiation centres there, covering Ngissir and Nggamatak sections. These centres are the principal meeting places in good wet seasons for other activities than purely initiation. Their exact position will vary slightly over a time. This is because the remaining members of the oldest surviving set of each alternation must be present to purify and bless the initiates and to supervise the sharing of the meat, especially those two particular pieces, the 'apol' and 'emacher'. For at this pre-eminently age-set ceremony they, the most senior of all, must be there. Now usually these old men are scattered over the country near to the different centres. But it may occasionally happen that all the members of the oldest set have died in one area of a section. Thus the centre there could not operate at that time. Initiates and all the people must travel to the nearest centre where there are old men still living. I should say that this is unusual, but I was told in 1949 that if it were a good year and initiations were held (in fact it was a bad year and they were not in the end) the people living in the Oropoi valley area of Ngilukumong in north-west Turkana would have to go to the Naitera river some thirty to forty miles distant, where apparently there are living at least three old men of the most senior Leopard set. Nevertheless I made certain that there normally was an initiation centre for them at the Oropoi itself, and knew men who had been initiated there in the past.

The exact position may also vary slightly according to the needs of the local people. That is to say that past initiation centres are not believed to be special in any way. The actual site is a suitable group of shade trees ('akireket') as near the centre of the locality as can be managed.

Initiations occur on several days, each separated by a few days in between. On each day between six and fifteen youths come forward. On the first day of a new initiation season at any centre, a time fixed by general consent at the initiative of influential men, no-one knows what the names of the two new sets are to be. But everyone well understands that no name that has ever been used before can be taken again. There is no specific sanction against this. "It is bad," the Turkana say; or, "We are afraid to."

At some time, as the men are assembled to watch initiation and join in the feast (I do not know exactly when) the question of names is brought up for public discussion. Everyone has a right to state his opinion whatever his seniority, as is usual at Turkana gatherings. Then various men propose names for consideration. For instance:- one man may say that because of some recent outstanding event the new set should be named in commemoration of it (actual examples are, a locust plague when the Stone set of that year was called "the locusts"; an exceptionally good wet season produced "(those) of the grass and water"); another man claims that he has been visited by the High God in a dream who suggested a certain name (this could be anything in the realm of nature); another man might suggest commemorating the significance of some tribal matter (e.g. the power of the British is noted in "the shillings" and a "swahili"); another might suggest the name of the animal speared by the most senior of the new set (e.g. "the black-headed sheep" or "the young yellow oxen"). Names

SKETCH MAP NO. 5.INITIATION CENTRES IN CENTRAL TURKANALANDInitiation Centres:-Territorial Sections:-

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. KOTERUK river..... | Nggamatak. |
| 2. LORENGAGIPI river..... | Nggamatak. |
| 3. LOGIRIAMA - upper Kosibir river..... | Nggamatak. |
| 4. LORUGUMU - lower Kosibir river..... | Nggamatak, Ngimasuk, Ngatunyo. |
| 5. KAGWELASI river..... | Ngimamong, Ngatunyo. |
| 6. KARLOKWEL river..... | Ngiboicheros, Ngissiger. |
| 7. Lower TURKWEL river..... | Ngikuniye, Ngikajik. |
| 8. LARAMET TURKWEL - delta..... | Ngiboicheros, Ngikajik. |
| 9. LARAMET KERIO - delta..... | Ngiseto. |
| 10. LOKICHAR river..... | Ngithonyoka. |

N.B. Positions of centres are only approximate. There may be at each centre members of other sections than those given above, as only the predominating sections are shown.

Centres 2 and 3 are relatively new ones, being situated in country once held or disputed by the Karamajong. Older men in these areas were initiated at centres 1, 4 or 5.

put forward in this way are then discussed freely and lengthily until public opinion is concentrated on one of them. This is not a formal process, and no one 'runs' the meeting. It is an adjustment of opinions until a general consensus is reached. Sometimes the name is fairly easily determined owing to its very appropriateness. At other times the debate may be prolonged. But sooner or later a single name becomes prominent and is finally agreed on. This the old men formally tell to the initiates, both on that day and on all succeeding days.

Thus at each centre two new names are decided upon. But age-set names are usually the same for at least all areas of a section, and often extending to two or more sections. All the areas shown on the map tend to have many names the same. Sometimes it will happen that men at centres where initiation is late in starting will have heard of the names taken at some other centre, and will adopt them themselves. But this cannot often occur, and where centres are far apart can probably never occur. Occasionally also some outstanding event may precipitate the adoption of the same name at two or more centres. The initial stage is then that there are a number of centres which have adopted different names. There then begins a process of mutual adjustment and indirect exchange of views. No man, or men, are responsible for spreading the new names chosen at their centre, or for discovering the names chosen elsewhere. But by the normal going to and fro of people, visiting, attending weddings, dances, age-set gatherings, and in the old days at times of raids, people learn what has been done elsewhere. As far as I can learn, no special gatherings occur at which discussion takes place, but every other gathering for whatever purpose is an opportunity for such discussions. Gradually, first one and then another will discard its originally chosen name and accept that of another centre - on the same sort of grounds as the original public discussion came to its decision, the appropriateness of the various names. It seems likely also that certain centres are credited with superiority, and their lead ought to be followed. Thus the original 'homelands' of the Nggamatak were the middle Turkwel, from whence in the last fifty years 'new' areas have been colonised to the west (Kosibir valley, Lorengagipi, Logiriana). Centres in these areas (Nos. 2, 3 and 4 on the map) are supposed to follow the lead of the centre in the 'old' area (No. 1 at Koteruk river). Another centre may possibly be followed because of the presence there of some famous war-leader or diviner. Again because Nggamatak are relatively wealthy and numerically strong, and many Ngissir areas relatively poor and numerically weak, the latter may tend to follow the former's lead. A Ngissir (Ngikunye) man told me that this would be so. And probably other considerations apply. I do not know yet.

But by this process of dissemination, discussion, the tendency to follow certain leads, a gradual adjustment occurs whereby the new sets tend to come to have the same names, the original ones being dropped. Whereas at the original discussions at each centre I do not think that the initiated youths themselves have any say in the matter, they certainly will in all future discussions. I can find no geographical route by which the adjustment takes place, but I doubt if it follows the same track twice together, or if the same centre always originally chooses the name ultimately determined upon. The process will of course take time and will not be completed during the one wet season. But the Turkana always assure me that completed it will be. Indeed they go further and insist that gradually, eventually, there will be a single name for the whole of Turkana land, though this may take many years. For instance, I told Nggamatak men, and at another time Ngissir men, that the names of their most junior sets were different from those of Ngilukumong in north-west Turkana land. They agreed that this might be so; but they did not know. They said in years to come the difference would be ironed out and everyone would have the same name. In actual fact this is not the case, since my lists of sets taken in different regions do not agree even among the more senior sets. Differences are greatest the farther the distance between regions. Thus the Ngkwatela of the north, even Turkana admit, are different from the Ngilukumong of the north-west. Yet even in these farthest separated regions (or sections) there is some agreement, especially over certain names. For example, in the Stones alternation every section^x contains, "the grass and erdung trees", "the locusts", "the lame sheep", and "the broken spears".

x I have found it easier to collect lists by sections as this was a fairly reliable way in which to check up on my informants, and to cross-check.

No such agreement seems to exist in the Leopards alternation, but "(those of) the grass and water" is to be found everywhere but in the north-west, and "the esoguru plants" are everywhere but in the north-east. However those common names are not always in the same places in each total series; e.g. men of "the lame sheep" in the north-west are few and very old, the seniormost Stones, but in Nggamatak they are men of about fifty years old and important men in most walks of life; in Ngilukumong and Ngimasuk in Stones Alternation "the grass and erdung trees" are senior to "the broken spears", in Nggamatak and Ngissiger they are reversed. The lists of age-sets given in Appendix 6 reveal other inconsistencies. So the process of adjustment is not entirely exact and efficient. Nothing, even quoting this evidence, will prevent the Turkana insisting that "all Turkana have the same age-sets. Names are the same. They are all one."

As an example of the types of names, I give below my list collected at Oropoi, Ngilukumong, north-west Turkanaland, with free English translations. The most senior are given first in each alternation.

<u>Leopards</u>		<u>Stones</u>	
Ngiputiro	- wart hogs	Ngichodomethekin	- lame sheep
Ngkwakork	- rabbit fur	Ngilibaro	- wet season grass
Ngiolesoguru	- esoguru plants	Ngkorio	- giraffe
Ngkabwangak	- (those when the enemy raid was) broken	Nginyangardung	- grass and erdung trees
Ngkolitom	- elephants' tusks	Ngibelekwara	- broken spears
Ngkwange	- ekwange trees	Ngikapelimethekin	- sheep with black head and white body
Ngiporokine	- ?	Ngitathenyok	- sheeps' tails
Ngiropie	- shillings	Ngibelekali	- ?

The actual names of the sets are not of great importance structurally since no special social or mystic significance attaches to them. And an age-set song can be made up to fit whatever name is decided upon. But I have described the naming of sets and the process of adjustment, (1) to illustrate the Turkana contention that all sets are the same everywhere; and (2) to show what type of process is involved in this sphere of relations. This latter is especially important as it gives a key to the rest of age-set organisation - and perhaps to much else that is puzzling in Turkana social and political structure. The lack of formal leaders or even broadly defined groups of men to initiate activities, and the absence of formal processes is an outstanding feature of the Society. This will be seen again when we see the organisation of military affairs and the part of the age-sets in that.^x

By this process of the spreading of names a man can usually find the equivalent age-set to his own if he goes to a neighbouring area, or when he comes into contact on dry season pastures with men of other regions. Where names are quite different there is usually not much difficulty in discovering that which is the equivalent. I have noticed that men travelling round the country with me have fitted in easily and can list the various sets as the equivalents of their own series. Thus the system is universal to all Turkana men. In the old days when raids were composed of men and sets from many parts there was no difficulty in the way of combination.^{xx} On the other hand because of the dispersal of initiation centres and their automatic coincidence with good wet season activities, the age classes are split up into units. In fact they are the only units with any sort of permanence, and what I am here calling 'age-sets'. They consist of age-mates initiated at one centre,

x See Chapter 14 on "Raiding and Conquest".

xx It is interesting that in the few cases where members of foreign tribes are assimilated into Turkana society, the only necessity, other than expected permanence of living in the country, is initiation into an age-set. A man cannot stand outside the system of attitudes and activities involved in the age-set organisation in the wet season.

who commonly associate in activities related to their co-membership, brought together by common habitation and exploitation of the same countryside. It would be wrong to view these sets as regiments or to try further to sub-divide them on a military basis. This would indicate an altogether too formal approach quite out of keeping with the Turkana viewpoint. There are small groupings within the set, but these have no corporative or named unity, and break up and reform according to the movements of the men involved, based as they are on contiguity and compatibility of members.

What membership means

The present description will be concluded with some remarks on the general type of relations established between members of a set. I have already pointed out that no particular set is responsible for arranging the initiation of youths nor for supervising a newly established set. Thus no particular inter-set relations are created. There exists only a general recognition of seniority of those sets above one's own, and juniority of those below. Members of one's father's set can be addressed as "father" ('apa') but this is not usually done. Age-mates can be addressed as "brother" ('lokwato') but again it is unusual. There is no bar to marriage attached to membership of a set, i.e. daughters of senior men or sisters of age-mates or juniors are all potential wives. Both my genealogies and Turkana bear each other out here.

The institution of the "dance-ox" is described elsewhere,^x and from this it will be seen that the cult is closely bound up with the age-sets. One of the most noticeable features of membership is the privilege accorded to co-members, and to no others, to call a man by his ox-name. This tends to create and emphasise a feeling of mutual membership of a closed society, since it is an everyday thing. Periodic events concerning co-members' dance-oxen bring it into high relief at certain times. The essence of membership is comradeship and friendliness which tends to go beyond those feelings aroused in a man's own neighbourhood and community. It is a comradeship based on membership of an exclusive group which engages in certain activities as a group. It may be worth pointing out that from a Turkana standpoint I cannot subscribe to the view which would substitute "fraternity" for "age-set" in terminology. There is a very great difference between sibling relationships bound up in the family and a complex of stock rights, and age-mates relationships which are based on certain kinds of activities only, and which in practice for fruitful development need some extra bonds, typically those involved in stock rights. This general sentiment of comradeship, intruding as it does into many aspects of life, is perhaps the most important feature of membership. It is difficult to pin down since it is a matter of subjective feeling, an attitude, which tends to determine action in other fields. More specifically age-mates help each other in all arrangements to do with marriage, up to and including the birth of a first child to a wife. A man's age-mates act as supporters in his courting and his request to the girl's father. They help gather the bridewealth, and are essential witnesses, along with his kinsmen, of correct payment of it. In emergencies a man can call on his age-mates for the gift of an animal towards the bridewealth (or towards compensation), but I gather that this is not common. Age-mates have a right as well as a duty to attend first pregnancy and first birth ceremonies - a right which allows participation in the accompanying feasts. Where "marriage by seizure" is undertaken, strong support (physical and moral) is essential to its success both in the actual seizure of the girl and in the parleying with her father afterwards. In all this sort of thing age-mates are the principal supporters, as opposed to the man's kinsfolk who are chiefly concerned in the permanent aspects, e.g. the collection and distribution of bridewealth, approval and acceptance of the bride, the general stability of the marriage and inter-family relations set up by it.

Earlier in this chapter it has been mentioned that the cohesion of a set is affected a good deal by the dispersed and mobile nature of the population. Men who are initiated at one centre tend to form a single set, although in larger scale relations members of sets of other sections are accorded equal rights and privileges in a general way. But men who live fairly near one another in good wet seasons will not be together in poorer wet seasons,

x See pp. 17-19.

nor during the dry seasons. To give an example:- men whose centre is at Logiriana in Nggamatak country will in the dry season be scattered with their stock on different parts of Loima Mt. (Naminit, Nangoleki, Cheptakenya, and Kanaro), on the north-east slopes of Moroto Mt., on the Kapelo/Kateli section of the Uganda Escarpment, and on the Escarpment farther north, west of Komacheri. Camel, sheep and goat herds will be scattered the length and breadth of the plains (Kosibir, Puch, Kapil, Logiriana, Munyen, Komacheri, etc). And in each of these areas they will be scattered in neighbourhoods of from one to ten homesteads, intermingling with the homesteads of families from other initiation areas. Thus for most of the time men will not be in touch with most of their age-mates. In the plains it is rare for there to be more than five or six members of any one set together at a time, i.e. within reasonable distance of each other, meeting at water points, in the pastures, at feasts, etc. In the mountains this will be complicated by the presence of members of other sets from regions up to a hundred miles away from their own. And not only this but homesteads are seldom static for very long, and therefore new relationships are liable to be broken up and other new ones must be started. During the dry seasons, therefore, sets are largely quiescent and the observer might perhaps be forgiven if (as I did) he believed them to be empty anachronisms. In the poorer wet seasons (such as 1949) movements away from the mountains will be incomplete and some people and herds may not leave the mountains at all. So that even then the population and age-mates are still dispersed.

Another point is that because of this state of affairs age-set activities are associated with plenty of food and little trouble and work in herding. Without plenty of milk and millet as well as meat Turkana are disinclined to be active. Large gatherings, large dances, big meat feasts are more difficult, less pleasant. And today there lacks the incentive to come together for raids.

All this, together with the fact that all the most close social relationships are based on rights in stock, makes age-set relationships those of a general kind which need some other basis to raise them to a more important level. As the age-set organisation stands in Turkanaland today it does not offer sufficiently strong relationships in men's eyes as against those of kinship, marriage, "best-friendship" and mutual help. Even the emotional and dramatic highlights of life are not necessarily bound up in membership of a set. Dances and feasts, military defence, and to a lesser extent offence, can occur outside any specific set membership; marriage and the development of the individual are almost totally outside it, as is perhaps most important of all, the rights, responsibilities and inter-relations based on pastoralism and ownership of stock.

As leadership in Turkanaland is a function of many other social traits and relationships, so the inter-personal relationships are a resultant of many-sided activities. Of these age-set membership and activities are only one. They are only a single strand in the mesh that binds man to man. Where no other strand exists co-membership is not enough to maintain any strong and stable relationship. Where other things are equal the extra strand of co-membership may be a decisive factor.

CHAPTER 13

INTER-TRIBAL HISTORY AND RELATIONS

The Turkana belong to the wider group of peoples which I am terming the "Turkana-speaking group" - linguistically, culturally and historically. Both the Turkana themselves, and the other members of the group recognise this general affinity, both in everyday relations and in legendary history. Common sources of historical origin are given generally as the eastern part of Uganda, very roughly where the Karamajong live today. The Teso, a very much larger, and, today, culturally different people, to the south-west of the Karamajong, recognise both the same general affinity and the same source of origin. They say that they entered their present territory from the north and east, what may have been 250 years ago, when it was more or less unpopulated. Their

language is very similar to that of the Turkana, and in fact there are some mutual differences with the Karamajong. The Turkana do not, as far as I know, recognise the name Teso, but always refer to these people as the Kumam. The Kumam are actually in the north-west of the Teso country, and they use a vocabulary that appears to be partly Turkana and partly Chopi.^x The Lango, to the west of the Karamajong, speak a language whose vocabulary is part Turkana and part Acholi. They have a myth of common origin which includes the Ngijie, Karamajong and Turkana.^{xx} They do not appear to be known to the Turkana today.

Turkana myth of origin

Turkana have few legends relating to the past, but one is remembered all over the country; and everywhere that I have been the account is much the same.

Long ago there was one tribe, the Ngijie, which lived in the country occupied by the present Ngijie people; i.e. to the west of the Turkana and to the north of the Karamajong. One day an ox strayed and some of the young men went to search for it. They descended the Escarpment into the Tarach valley in what is now western Turkanaland, following the tracks of the ox. Finally they caught up with it, and found an old woman of their own tribe who had come down into that country to look for wild fruit. They found a rich empty land of flowing waters, fruit-laden trees, and grass. They stayed for a few days eating the wild fruit. Then they returned up into their own country. There they related their adventures and what they had seen, to their relatives and friends, and aroused such enthusiasm that in company with a crowd of young people, men and women, they descended into the Tarach valley again. They took their stock and began to live there permanently. The older people ('apakothi' - "our fathers"; or 'luarpolok' - "the big ones" or the older ones) stayed behind in the old country and continued to be known as the Ngijie. The migrants became called the Turkana and they lived at first in the Tarach valley. The country was rich and excellent for stock, and the people prospered. They were divided into Ngimonia and Ngichuro, and later were divided into the present territorial sections. Today, say the Turkana, they and the Ngijie are like paternal cousins. There has never been any fighting and raiding between the two peoples. When the migrants first reached Turkanaland they brought with them cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys, but no camels. Later, at the instructions of the High God via the diviners, men were sent far to the east to fetch camels from the Boran and Somalis.

I have not been able to discover what clans or age-sets were involved in the migration^{xxx} or whether the migrants came from any particular part of Ngijie country. The only reason for the migration that I can discover from the stories was the wonderful richness of the empty new country.^{xxxx} The Turkana themselves cannot explain why they came to be called Turkana, nor why they subdivided later on.^{xxxxx} All the Turkana are supposed to have originated from this one migration.

x Walshe: Uganda Journal 1947; vol.11, pp.101-5.

xx Tarantino: Uganda Journal 1946; vol.10, p.16. Also Uganda Journal 1949; vol.13, pp.145-53.

xxx Masterman, writing in 1926, said that the clan of the old woman is supposed to have been Ngoleroto (Admin. records).

xxxx There is never any mention of overcrowding, civil war, etc., all of which explanations have been deduced by Europeans.

xxxxx European suggestions that the name Turkana is based on the name of the major river, the Turkwel, are incorrect, since in the Turkana language the two are pronounced quite differently. The river should be spelt something like 'Tirkwel'. Another suggestion that the name is derived from the word for a cave, 'atukwen' seems to have no more justification. The Tarach valley is supposed to have looked like a cave from the height of the Escarpment. I cannot say that it does to me or to any Turkana that I know. No-one has ever told me this story. The Turkana themselves say that the 'luarpolok' - "the old ones" or ancestors decided on the name. To them it is not a matter of importance.

That the legend is fundamentally true, cannot, I think be seriously doubted; the Ngijie themselves have the same legend, which some of them have recounted to me. Both they, and their inveterate enemies the Karamajong, agree that Turkana and Ngijie never fought each other, but allied together against the Karamajong and Dodoth. As far as I could discover in a brief visit, the Ngijie clans and sections are not the same as those of the Turkana. There appear to be some external cultural traits which the two have in common, but which the Karamajong and Dodoth do not have; e.g. types of decorations, and clothing. The two important elements to be noted are: (1) the affinity between Turkana and Ngijie, which goes beyond the general affinity in the Turkana-speaking group; (2) the movement of the Turkana eastwards from what is now Uganda.

The Turkana themselves are not wholly clear on the matter, and at various times I have been told other versions; one, that all the people lived in Turkanaland, and that the Ngijie moved upwards and westwards in order to find better pastures and to make more permanent gardens; another that the Karamajong and Turkana both lived in Turkanaland, and that the former tribe was formed by a breakaway of young men with their father's stock. In such matters where the idea of the general inter-relatedness of the peoples is the thing which has stuck in men's minds, these stories, which are not the general account, are individual versions of the same idea, and possibly a memory of continued intercourse after the breakaway. Obviously no reliance should be placed on any one story as proof of any particular historical event.

The Turkana-speaking group

As explained before^x the Turkana-speaking group consists of the Turkana, Karamajong, Ngijie, Dodoth, Taposa, Jiye, and Donyiro. The Turkana, although they have no name for this group, can give all the names of the constituent tribes, and call them "one people" ('ngitunga epei'). They all speak mutually understandable versions of the same language, differences being mainly in certain vocabulary and pronunciation, with some grammatical variations. The tribes recognise the general affinities of culture and history between themselves, making them different from other tribes. Turkana, with and without the alliance of the Ngijie, made war on all the rest, intermittently allying with one against another. The Karamajong have told me^{xx} that they and the Dodoth were always allies against the Turkana and Ngijie, and never fought each other. They have no common boundary today. They both consider Turkana and Ngijie to be their main enemies, and even today (motor road notwithstanding) a single Karamajong or Dodoth does not like to venture across Ngijie territory alone, but only in groups or with a Ngijie friend. According to King^{xxx} the Taposa and Jiye both lived in Karamajong country long ago. Jiye were the first to split away, and moved north-east followed by the Taposa. The latter arrived on the Liyoro river (in present-day Taposaland) some 160 years ago, bringing a still existing sacred stone with them. They travelled via Thungut and Mogila in Turkanaland, from whence they were driven by the Turkana in the last fifty to seventy years. King also states that the Donyiro (their own name is Nyangatom) split off from the Taposa at Liyoro and moved farther east to their present location about 60 years ago.

It may be noted that, with the exception of the Donyiro, each of the members of the group are called by their own name by all other members. In the welter of tribal names to be found in this part of East Africa this may be significant. The Turkana, and, as far as I know, all the other tribes each regard themselves as a separate unit. Turkana say that they are paternal cousins.

x See pages 2-3 above.

xx Mr. Clarke, of B.C.M.S., Lotome, Uganda, has also been told the same story.

xxx See "A Tribal Survey of Mongala Province", ed. Nalder; Part 2, Chapter 1.

All the peoples are principally stock owners, but only Turkana own camels. As far as I know, all but the Turkana work a fairly simple scheme of transhumance, between wet and dry season quarters. The three Uganda tribes have relatively permanently pallisaded homesteads in the wet season areas, where live the older people and younger children, and where the gardens are. Speaking very generally these three are more wealthy in cattle than the Turkana though with rather fewer sheep and goats. There appears, on a very cursory examination, to be a rather stronger territorial and clan organisation, and stronger magico-religious beliefs than in Turkanaland. The westernmost section of the Karamajong, the Labwor, have been strongly influenced by the Acholi and Lango. They, of all the group, do iron-work. Their language is different also.

The Taposi live in a low plains country, but somewhat better watered than Turkanaland, so that they are able to cultivate more. A kind of transhumance is operated between major water courses Thingaita and Lokolyan, where they live in densely populated villages in the wet season, and the surrounding plains in the dry season. From what little information there is the Taposi appear to have smaller herds of cattle than the Turkana, but about the same sizes of flocks of sheep and goats.

Apart from the Turkana (and possibly Donyiro) all the people make and drink beer from their own millet, and depend to a greater extent on grain food. In so far as clothing, decorations, weapons, etc., are concerned they all seem to be very similar. Too little, often nothing, is known about their social organisation to make any comparison.

Turkana relations east and south

To the north-east are the Marile and to the south-east are the Rendile and Samburu. As will be seen in the next chapter Marile and Samburu were most probably earlier inhabitants of eastern Turkanaland, and were partly driven out and partly absorbed in Turkana society by inter-marriage. It is also probable that the original Masai course southwards was through what is now Turkanaland.^{xx} This may help to account for the introduction of the tall 'Hamitic', red-skinned type among the Turkana, which is absent amongst the rest of the Turkana-speaking group. The Turkana themselves tell of the Ngkor (i.e. the Samburu) who lived in eastern Turkanaland by the Lake, and a few people have told me that many Turkana are descended from them. In north-east Turkanaland men admit a good deal of inter-marriage with the Marile, some of whom also tend to be reddish skinned. It is interesting to note that today many of the Lake shore dwellers (Ngiboicheros in particular) are rather different from most other Turkana. They are slightly built, red skinned, but without the tall gauntness so typical of other Turkana.

Although the Suk also formerly inhabited parts of Turkanaland, and were either driven out or went of their own accord in a general movement southwards, there are few if any signs of intermarriage between them and Turkana; and, as far as I know, neither side claims such affinities. It is generally claimed, by Europeans, that the Plains Suk, who from photographs at any rate appear to be tall slim men like so many of the Turkana, have borrowed many cultural traits from the latter. That the Suk are in many ways different from most of the Nandi-speaking group is no doubt true, but the specific borrowing from the Turkana is at best unproved. Suk have also had long contact with the Karamajong, and possibly the Teso in earlier days.

It is very tempting to indulge in reconstruction of the historical affinities and geographical movements of the present tribes in this part of East Africa, but not altogether rewarding; nor are the theories entirely to be proved. We must accept that far too much is vague or missing altogether. There are no long genealogies, nor lines of political or magico-religious families to help. The Turkana themselves are extremely vague and disinterested. In so far as present-day inter-tribal relations and social organisation is

x Mr. Clarke tells me that an "average" Karamajong might own over 100 cattle; i.e. great wealth by Turkana standards.

xx See. Fosbrooke; "An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System". Tanganyika Notes and Records; 1948. No.26. pp.2-3.

concerned most of this is largely unimportant. Where a nomadic, pastoral society is concerned history is not a vital matter either to the people themselves or to the sociologist. Where there is a settled population and complex social and political systems the situation is rather different. I do not therefore intend to add much to the already considerable list of theories and accounts of East African tribal movements and histories. I suggest only that the following observations will help to put the Turkana people into a reasonable and credible background.

- (1) There are linguistic and cultural affinities between the Turkana-speaking group and the Bari and Lotuko to the north-west, Masai and the Nandi-speaking group to the south, and the Teso to the south-west.
- (2) The legendary accounts by the Bari and Lotuko on the one hand and the Masai on the other, give common sources of origin to the north and east of Lake Rudolf.
- (3) There is a linguistic group composed of the Teso (who today, at any rate, are culturally different) and what I am here calling the Turkana-speaking group.
- (4) There is fairly general agreement amongst the Turkana-speaking group of legendary sources of origin somewhere in what is now the Karamoja District of Uganda. There is mutual recognition amongst the members of this group of general affinities; objectively affinities are both linguistic and cultural, making the group different from its neighbours.
- (5) There is especial affinity between the Turkana and Ngijie, where joint accounts posit a common original tribe. There was undoubtedly a good deal of close intercourse between the two tribes up to the coming of the British.
- (6) There was a complete absence of warfare between Ngijie and Turkana, and also probably between Karamajong and Dodoth.
- (7) Turkana made more or less continual warfare, in the nature of spasmodic raiding and thieving, on all other members of the group, and on all other neighbours (except the stockless Teuth).
- (8) There has most probably been considerable inter-marriage between Turkana, and Marile and Samburu. Thus physically the Turkana are rather different from the rest of the group, who are more of a single negroid type.

To all this must be added, that within the last 70 or so years there has been expansion of the Turkana outwards in every direction, taking in territory formerly lived in by other members of the Turkana-speaking group and other tribes. Thus today, for the most part, Turkanaland forms a distinct geographical as well as social unit. It must be added, however, that had not the British arrived Turkana might well have pushed a good deal farther south, in the wake of the Masai. They had already reached Lake Baringo, and occupied much of Samburuland. This aspect of Turkana history will be dealt with in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 14

RAIDING AND CONQUEST

The following description of the organisation and techniques of raiding relates entirely to the past since active warfare by the Turkana was stopped by the British during the early 1920's. Directly, therefore, it does not perhaps bear on the present social scene. However, warfare was undoubtedly such a vital thing in Turkana social life, and especially in the lives of the young men and in the age-set organisation, that it is impossible fully to appreciate the current situation without some knowledge of what went before. There seems to have been a strong tendency for the age-set organisation to disintegrate; further, the chief occupation of younger adult men has vanished, and left something of a vacuum in their lives.

In the second place because of the successes in warfare the Turkana have been able to increase their territories during the last fifty or so years, driving other tribes out. The description of raiding, therefore, will be followed by an account of this expansion of the Turkana, and some indications of what this has meant to the tribe.

At the outset it may be emphasised that today, about 25 - 30 years after the cessation of raiding, warfare is still prominent in people's minds. Almost all men over about 50 years of age have been on raids, many have killed enemies and profited by stock seized during raids. Old war-leaders are still alive and remembered. Even the young men, who cannot possibly have taken part in a raid, can give, and delight in giving one, full details of imaginary raids in the usual dramatic way of Turkana recitation. Although warfare has vanished in fact, to the memory and the imagination it is almost as real as it ever was. Talk of military matters is still able to arouse the greatest enthusiasm. I may add that, were the British to leave tomorrow, the military activities could be started again the day after with no difficulty. The desire for war remains, the classification of enemies and the weapons and knowledge how to use them. Even the uninitiated youth can handle spears and shield with every assurance and conventional technique.

The technique of warfare

Warfare consisted of raids into enemy territory, which might be single affairs - penetration, battle and immediate retirement back to their point of departure in Turkanaland; or they might be multiple affairs, when a Turkana force lived in enemy territory for some time (a few days, or even, I am told, a week or two), making single raids in different directions. As far as I know, but here I failed to enquire sufficiently, raiding could occur at almost any time of year, though probably the wet season was the most favoured time.

Raiding was initiated in three sorts of ways:- firstly by an age-set (or part of a set), secondly by a recognised war-leader, and thirdly by a diviner. Local members of an age-set (i.e. those living at a radius of about 20 miles from a central convenient meeting place) often came together, especially in the wet season, for their own particular group activities, e.g. for a feast, a dance, the spearing of a dance-ox, to be "doctored" by the diviner, etc. On such an occasion the idea of a raid would often be discussed and plans tentatively formulated. The news would be carried all around by age-mates and other sets would join in the arrangements until large numbers of men were assembled at some point.^x Whenever new age-sets were initiated they would immediately set about working up enthusiasm for a raid. It was a point of honour that newly initiated men should go on a full scale raid as soon as possible. In the old days members of the more junior age-sets would often roam about the country living off the land, hunting and killing wild

x There appeared to be some conventionally recognised points at which men assembled. These would, I think, depend on local water supplies, temporary distribution of population, the "home-area" of the age-set taking the lead, the location of a diviner and war-leader.

animals, attending feasts and dances and so on. Such young men had few responsibilities of families or herding. They indulged in all the enthusiasm, freedom and glory of energetic, adventure loving people. The arrival of such a roving band and their determination to seek adventure and honour, would often fire off the enthusiasm of the local men to start a raid. Two or three such groups coming together might jointly set about preparations. Finally, any man who wished to go raiding for his own purposes always took the initiative through his own age-set. Such purposes might be the desire to avenge the death of a member of his family or the death of his dance-ox at enemy hands, or the desire to obtain stock with which to marry, or the desire for one reason or another to gain personal honour in fighting.

Although there was no formal institution of war-leader, from time to time, and place to place, certain men through their ability, personality and successes would come to be recognised as leaders. Administrative records contain the names of one or two such men at the beginning of the twentieth century.^x Less famous ones are still living and have been pointed out to me as war-leaders. Many are now very old men today, but a few are still active local leaders in civil affairs, and at least two^{xx} are Government headmen today. No man who had not killed at least one enemy could have become a recognised leader for otherwise he was not recognised as an outstanding warrior, nor a really brave and successful one, whose feats impressed other people. There are many men who killed enemies and not all became leaders. However, as the position of leader was so informal, except in the outstanding cases, such as the men already mentioned, there would always have been several men who would each command a following and who together would organise actual details. One old man gave the names of seven such men (himself included) who had been prominent in central Turkanaland; in the Oropoi valley I got a list of six. Very often the initiation of raiding was in their hands, since the bulk of the Turkana were little concerned with leading, only in actual participation.^{xxx} It appears from the autobiographies of Lonyamong and Ekai that leaders were themselves very enthusiastic fighters, so, with possibly the need to maintain their following and their reputation, they would often initiate raids themselves, and oppose other plans of raids which did not fit in with their own strategy. Even if a raid was originally initiated from other sources, these men were the ones who actually planned the details and led the fighting force and deployed the scouts.

Thirdly, a diviner ('imuron') might initiate raids. Very often the diviner himself might be a war leader, actually leading and participating in raids. If he was not he would in many cases work in very close collaboration with one or more war leaders. Not all diviners were actively connected with warfare, but any one who wished to become famous and active outside his own small locality would participate in military affairs. In fact as a medium with the High God it was unlikely that he could altogether keep out of them, for he had (if he was a diviner of any success and importance) to make known the High God's wishes on the raid in question, give his blessing and guidance, and magically purify and protect the raiders before they set out. A properly organised raid could not occur without the cognisance and assistance of a diviner. If military success followed, then the diviner began to make a reputation whereby his position as a leader became established. He could actively initiate a new raid by receiving a message in a dream from the High God commanding that a raid be made in a certain area (and, incidently, that

x E.g. Ebe, who was constantly leading raids against Samburu, Rendile and even Masai, from eastern and south-eastern Turkanaland; after about 1914 Ebe was forced to shift his field of operations to the north where he organised and led raids on the Marile and Donyiro. Ekales, who led raids on northern Suk and the Karamajong, from central and western Turkanaland; Lokwai, his son Lonyamong and Ekai (the latter two later became Government headmen) led raids on Marile and Donyiro and other northern tribes from northern Turkanaland.

xx Erkadile and Ekomwa.

xxx One can still see this today in the organisation of dances, feasts, etc.

certain stock were to be captured and brought back for the diviner). Even if instructions were not quite as specific as that the diviner could announce that a certain time was favourable to raids in general, or in particular, upon a certain part of enemy country.

In whichever way the raid was initiated, however, the general organisation was the same. The acknowledged war leaders ('erkartabon'; pl. 'ngikartobok') with the diviner took over the actual planning of the affair. Messages sent out by age-sets, leaders and diviners brought crowds of men to the arranged centre from where the raid was to commence. The men would assemble by age-set and by region, more or less under the supervision each of their Senior-Men. Scouts ('ngirotutin') would be sent out to spy out the approaches to the enemy country and, if possible, to discover the location of enemy homesteads, sizes of both human and stock populations, and any other useful information, such as the whereabouts of water-supplies, any military activities of the enemy themselves, and so on.

The raiding force would vary in size from a few dozen men in minor affairs, to several hundred in really important ones. There was no restriction as to the area from which people came, although naturally if it were a southern affair people in the west and north would scarcely attend. However, I have been told that age-sets would travel for up to 100 miles to join in a really big raid, although it is perhaps more likely that roving age-sets would hear about an intended raid and come to join in. People living to the east of the Turkwel and near the Lake have told me that they raided the Samburu to the south but also the Karamajong and Suk to the west. Ngilukumong in the north-west mainly raided Dodoth, Didinga and Taposá, but also took part in raids against Karamajong, Jiye and Donyiro. There is in general a tendency for people chiefly to raid their nearest neighbours, and in asking men what enemy they have killed I find that this is borne out in their replies. Undoubtedly, however, an outstanding leader or diviner amongst the Turkana, or outstanding successes by some enemy tribe, would tend to bring together Turkana from over a wide area. My information here is of the scantiest but there may have been a working division between Ngimonia and Ngichuro. The war leaders and diviners appearing in Administrative records seem to be divided between the two. Thus Ebe and diviner Lowalel led forces that were probably mainly or only Ngichuro (particularly Ngisetó, Ngithonyoka, Ngiboich - eros); Ekalez led forces that were probably only or mainly Ngimonia (particularly Nggamatak). This may have been only the regional principle at work as already described.

Occasionally, it seems, temporary alliances would be made with some enemy against a third tribe. The Turkana allied with the Marile against the Donyire in the north, and occasionally with the latter against the former. Suk and Turkana allied against the Samburu, and possibly against the Karamajong. No alliances were permanent, except perhaps with the Ngijie. Allied forces probably never fought actively, side by side, but rather on a very rough plan of contemporary blows at the joint enemy. Quarrels between allies afterwards, regarding shares of booty, were not uncommon and even the cause of renewed fighting, this time between the former allies. Turkana scarcely trusted their own people in matters of booty, let alone foreign peoples. Alliance was purely a matter of mutual convenience and there was really no moral obligation to stick to it.

As the men arrived they camped in the meeting area, and dances and feasts would be arranged. Not all the men would have their womenfolk there, but there would be a fair number to join the dancing and to work up the fighting enthusiasm of the men. A diviner might announce the orders and wishes of the High God. He would be primarily responsible for deciding which day was most auspicious for the force to set out. For one reason or another, greater foresight, his own plans, or the demands of the High God, a diviner might declare that the whole raid was unpropitious, that the men should wait - perhaps indefinitely. Where he alone, or together with war leaders, had arranged the whole affair, this of course would mean only a delay of a day or two. But in other circumstances it might mean a long postponement. The average man from the purely practical point of view was scarcely worried about the general inter-tribal situation nor large-scale strategy. He only wanted, most enthusiastically and determinedly wanted, to go and fight the enemy, kill a man or two if possible, and get a share in the booty. He was

likely to be little concerned about other considerations - whether the enemy was aware of the coming raid, whether they were preparing to meet it in strength, whether the terrain was in their favour, etc. And above all there was in no sense any disciplined regiment of warriors who could be controlled to follow set patterns of tactics. Once, therefore, a beginning was made in arranging a raid it was unlikely that the diviner's opposition would create more than a very temporary delay. A propitious sign, the blessing of the High God, were to be welcomed; but propitious signs were invariably debatable phenomena and almost any man might hold that a certain time was propitious even in opposition to the diviner. The latter by his contact with the High God and by his greater skill in reading auguries of animal's entrails or sandals could claim greater knowledge. But very many men could throw sandals; and sandals can be thrown until they do give propitious signs.^x In fact, it appears to reduce itself to the fact that men could only be led and not driven. If the idea of a raid was firmly fixed in men's minds no diviner was likely to change that idea very much. Men have told me this themselves. Presumably the skill of a leader and diviner lay partly in his ability to follow the general run of opinion. When a new age-set wanted to go raiding soon after initiation nothing would stop them. Their fathers and elder brothers would want them to prove themselves in battle, and anyway the former would probably be whipped into a condition of intense enthusiasm to join in a raid - an enthusiasm in the latter fifty or so years of warfare heightened by the general successes enjoyed by the Turkana.

An important duty of the diviner was to purify and strengthen the warriors by smearing them with clay.^{xx} But refusal to do this could not have prevented a raid, since lay-men, and especially the war leaders, could do it if necessary, and would in any case have to help. Warriors were smeared from head to foot, including face, with the clay, over which designs might be drawn according to personal inclination and ability. Lonyamong in his autobiography tells of a raid on the Donyiro when his father's mother and wife first smeared all the assembled warriors. His father himself was then smeared by his wife. His approach from out of his homestead at the end was the sign of the force to move off. Besides this all warriors wore their best plumes and ornaments. Each carried two spears, a hide shield, wrist and finger knives if possible, and his head-rest/stool.^{xxx}

There was no specified age at which men ceased to take part in raids. It was mainly a matter of the individual's strength and wishes. Certainly men up to at least the age of forty would normally take part. The almost invariable

x I have seen sandals thrown to locate strayed animals, and they are continually thrown until the message agrees with the already more than half-formed pragmatic opinion of the men. The reading of the sandals is equally controversial, and like European tea-leaves, is open to almost any interpretation. See Chapter 20 for fuller account of auguries and sandal throwing.

xx Apparently, the colour of the clay depended on the orders of the High God principally, but white clay was most often used.

xxx I have once been given an account of a special purification ceremony where, after a ceremonial feast of meat, all the men crawled through the legs of the diviner, and an arch of thorn bush. The diviner laid his spear in the arch. The warriors might take all day to go through, and as the diviner stood there he would call for tobacco and water. When all the men had passed through, he would pull his spear through and close the arch of the thorn bush. This was supposed to make the enemy sleep hard and not see the approach of the Turkana. Another ritual was to bury a stone, over which all the warriors stepped. The diviner would sleep over the stone at night, and thus make the enemy sleep hard. I have not been fully able to verify these accounts owing to the difficulty of getting information on any subject connected with the work of diviners.

tactics were that the total force divided up into Stones and Leopards. All the force kept together until the selected enemy settlement was near. Then the Stones went on one side and Leopards on the other, thus delivering a pincer-like attack on the objective. Strictly speaking, the men went into the attack in order of seniority of their age-sets - the most senior in the van, the most junior in the rear. However, there was practically no leadership or control, so that once the attack was launched men were quickly completely mixed up, juniors and seniors fighting side by side. How far a really junior man would get in the initial attack would, I am told, depend on his enthusiasm for the fight. Seniors neither could nor would attempt to hold back juniors. On the other hand the recognised war-leaders did try to keep the more junior in reserve in case the fight went badly, or in case an enemy attack was made in the rear. Younger men have said how they would have to wait in the rear, at first, and would be the ones to begin driving away the captured stock. Knowing the extreme enthusiasm of roused Turkana, and their complete lack of control at these times, I suggest that any form of organised battle formation must have been rudimentary and unreliable. Only initiated men were supposed to go on raids, and women and girls never took part.^z There seems to have been little idea of leaving some kind of defence force behind to guard the families and herds. If another, or even the same, enemy raided into Turkanaland whilst the warriors were away it was just too bad ('kimek', i.e. "never mind, it cannot be helped" was the comment of one informant). Very often in the overwhelming enthusiasm of the whole preparations, pre-initiate youths would follow the warriors, taking clubs, fighting sticks, knives and stones. The men would attempt to send them back, but often would not succeed. Consequently, occasionally youths might actually take part in the battle and, according to my informants, even kill an enemy. It seems that the precocity and enthusiasm of such youths was really a matter of pride to their elder brothers and fathers.

Scouts taken from the younger age-sets would be sent out in front to spy out the land and look for ambushes. The war-leaders would lead the main body, going in front of it. The journey to enemy country might entail living off the land and sleeping a night or two en route. There appear to have been no taboos enjoined on either warriors or these remaining at home, whilst the raid was on.

Actual attack was invariably at dawn when there was just light enough to see but when, it was hoped, the enemy would be still asleep. Once the attack began everyone pitched into the fray, yelling his ox-name and fighting where and how he could. No enemy man, married woman or very small child was spared. Fighting seems to have been of the utmost ferocity - no quarter asked nor given. Young girls and boys were spared, and were retained by their respective captors. Once fighting died down - and supposing the Turkana were victorious - the stock would quickly be loosed and driven off, before a counter-attack could be launched. Return would be made to their own country, or to some base point from where fresh raids could be mounted.

After the raid

As soon as it was felt that the distance between them and the enemy was sufficient, the captured stock would be shared up. Who actually decided the time and place I cannot discover; but at some given time all the warriors made a concerted rush for the animals. For it was up to each man, although perhaps with some support from close friends and kinsmen, to grab as much stock as he could and defend it against all his comrades, who would think little of seizing animals from him by force if necessary. Apparently, apart from spears, all weapons and force could be used. The seal was set on a man's share by his cutting his clan's brand on the animals. In the meantime many injuries would be given and received. There was no idea of either equal shares, nor shares on the merits of the warriors in the recent battle. One seized what one could, branded them, and defended them against everyone else. The noise, confusion and fighting must have been intense. Such a method of sharing^{xx} is not untypical of the general outlook and relations between Turkana. There was a more equal chance for all at the beginning; but each man must look after his own interests, and create and defend them by force.

x Barton says that he was told that women sometimes did join raiding parties; J.A.S. 1921. p. 204.

The only special allocation was for the diviner who had helped in the preparations for the raid. He would be given a few animals. If in a dream from the High God he had been told of certain beasts of specified colours and types, those also would be picked out and saved for him.

It is further typical of the Turkana that after all the struggle and confusion in seizing the captured animals, each man would be thereafter expected to give some of his share to kinsmen, in-laws and friends. Even such men with him on the raid who had done poorly would demand a share more or less straightaway. When each man finally returned home he would have to make gifts to his father, elder brothers, paternal cousins, fathers- and brothers-in-law, best-friends, etc. - if any of these had not been on the raid with him. For a returning warrior has extra stock and he must share such good fortune; as he would share any other quantity of stock he received (e.g. in bridewealth). Such sharing is quite axiomatic. However note that it is not only a free gift of animals of these men, it is also both an affirmation of the recognised relationships and also to a certain extent placing the receiver of the gifts under an obligation to the giver. How, for instance, can a man who has received a share of someone's captured stock, refuse to give animals when that person later wishes to marry, to pay a fine, to take a young bull, etc., etc.?

On the return of the warriors to the original centre, there is much feasting and dancing. The captured stock are herded together by a few boys until the men begin to disperse and go to their homes. I once suggested to some of my informants that there might be thieving of the stock at this time by warriors who had less fortune when the general seizure took place after the raid, or by other men. At first my informants could not see the point, and then, understanding, they were scornful that anything like that could happen, for every man knows not only his own animals and has his brand on them, but he also knows those of several of his kinsmen and friends. I mention this merely to show the attitude of Turkana to their holdings of stock in such situations.

At some time soon after the end of the raid and the return of the warriors, those who had killed an enemy (man, woman or child) put in their claims which in the general gathering of people had to be substantiated by witnesses. It is unlikely that a formal gathering occurred for the purpose, but rather that claims were made at the time of feasting and dancing. Presumably it was usually not difficult to obtain one or more witnesses of a man's feat although I have been given accounts of tests by ordeal.^{xx} In the event of the feat being proved the man was entitled to the cicatrices of a hero ('ageran'), i.e. lines extending from shoulder to stomach, and made by cutting the flesh with a sharp thorn. This, the Turkana say, was a most painful operation and I can well believe it. No doubt it was regarded as something of a test of courage and endurance for whilst each man was operated on, the girls and women came to watch, and to call coward on anyone who flinched or cried out. As far as I know the number of cicatriced lines depended on the desire of the man, usually about four or five each side. Earlier writers^{xxx} say cicatrices are made on the right side for killing a male and on the left for killing a female, and that each line (or set of lines) indicates some specific feat. My information is inadequate, perhaps, but I have spoken to large numbers of men who wear these cicatrices and acknowledge their feats, and as far as I can see there is little difference between them in relation to their feats. Following the successful conclusion of the operation the man was acclaimed a hero, given a new name, covered with beads and feathers by the girls, smeared on the face with coloured clays and, in general, feted.^{xxxx}

x Either at the centre from which the raid was mounted, or when each warrior returned to his own neighbourhood.

xx None of which agree in detail.

xxx E.g. Rayne, Hulley.

xxxx Rayne is incorrect in saying that only a man who has killed an enemy may marry. Similar mis-statements have also been made that a newly initiated man must 'blood his spear' before he can become a full warrior. The Turkana themselves do not say this, although they do say that a new age-set is always anxious to go on a raid now they are warriors. In actual fact it can be realised that if every Turkana man is to kill at least one enemy, there must soon be few enemies left, when the number of Turkana men far exceeds that of any other tribe. Probably not more than half of the men wear the hero's cicatrices, and there can be few if any man who failed to undergo the operation when they had killed an enemy. Undoubtedly, also, many Turkana earned their cicatrices by killing Government troops, police and others in the early days of the British conquest.

If the age-sets were only nominally in evidence during actual battles, yet during the trek towards the enemy settlements and at the dances and feasts before and after a raid men kept strictly to their sets, and also to their two divisions, Stones and Leopards. This was evident both in seating arrangements at feasts and in sleeping arrangements. It was particularly important in the group dances ('akimunwar') that were a vital part. Each age-set as a separate unit danced in mimicry of its own name as well as certain conventionalised dramatic dances. The effect of this must have been a consolidation of group feeling and an increase in group competition in display, and in admiration from the girls and women. This, together with the normal heightened emotions of the dance, would be especially important in creating and sustaining enthusiasm for the coming raid.

Only unmarried girls and boys were taken captive. These were claimed and taken back to Turkanaland by their respective captors. There was nothing but the normal consideration for brothers or sisters accorded to them both on the way back or afterwards. Captives became members of Turkana society and of the family of their captors. Boys were treated as younger brothers or sons of their captor, herded his stock and married with his family herds. The status of girls seems to have varied (if my information is correct). Some men tell me that girls were treated as sisters and must be married out of their captors' clans. Bridewealth was received by a girl's captor. Some slight difference in a captive girl's status seems to be indicated in that payments of bridewealth could be more spread out, and a captor was supposed to be less insistent in demanding payments. Some men tell me, however, that it was possible for a man to take his captive girl as a wife, an affair which would be regularised by a gift of stock from the man's father to the girl.

When raiding was not taking place such captured girls were allowed to visit their families in their former country, once they had been married and borne a child. Visits by their relatives into Turkanaland could also be made to such a girl.

It is worth pointing out here that when raids were not in active preparation or operation there could be intercourse between tribesmen, formerly enemies. Men have told me that in the old days Turkana and Karamajong went to each other's dances, and even weddings. I know that the north-west Turkana met the Dodoth and the north-east Turkana met the Marile and Donyiro, similarly. For one thing there was always a certain amount of inter-tribal trade; for another, there were more or less common pastures in times of temporary peace, and thirdly, from time to time there were alliances against a common enemy. I cannot imagine that a Turkana could continue to feel great animosity to e.g. Dodoth or Marile in times of peace. The tribes-folk were too alike and understood each other's values and attitudes automatically. The easy peace and comradeship between different tribes-folk today, when raiding is stopped, is evidence of this. The very similar way of life, practically the same language and dress, etc., make intercourse very easy. Even today, when Donyiro and Marile raiders still kill Turkana and seize their stock, everyday relations between individuals are most usually friendly.

The general meaning and effects of warfare

Turkana, like all their neighbours with whom they fought, took part in raids for two reasons - to capture enemy stock, and to gain excitement and honour. It would be difficult to say which was the more important and the two were inextricably bound together. Sometimes one, sometimes the other, was chiefly responsible for a particular raid; usually both were equally important, and always both were in operation. I have mentioned already that members of junior age-sets were always very keen to go raiding - in order to prove themselves brave and capable of endurance. No doubt the admiration of the females was an important matter. But there was also the craving for the sheer adventure of raiding, created by the accounts of older men and whipped up by initiations, dancing and feasting etc. The desire for the excitement is, I believe, inherent in all the stories I am told today. There is real pleasure in handling and using weapons and in the actual fray, quite apart from anything else. Warfare was an essential part of social life, and it conditioned emotions and attitudes. It was a tribal institution of the first order - indeed it was the principal occupation of the young men. All their experience and training directed them towards it.

On the other hand the capture of stock was no less an essential element. Men would specifically go raiding to get stock with which to marry, or to establish their own homesteads and herds - i.e. to achieve their independence. Younger sons may often have to wait before their fathers can afford to give them enough stock to marry. Many fathers are always too poor throughout their lives to provide for more than one or two sons. Many men who were poor could become wealthy.

The existence of the general institution of warfare over the whole of this part of East Africa (i.e. as far as the Turkana was concerned) meant that the herds of men varied enormously according to the degree of success of the enemy. Warfare in one way provided its own impetus. The man whose herds were seized was anxious to go raiding in order to establish his own herds again, as well as from a desire for vengeance. The increase of a man's herds in this way was not only legitimate but extremely praiseworthy. In accounts given to me, although the excitement and adventure and glamour of the fight was always emphasised, yet, and perhaps because it was so unconscious, the capture and later sharing of stock was invariably stressed; and the accounts always end with descriptions of the stock and so on.

For various reasons, which will be examined below, warfare enabled the Turkana gradually to increase the extent of their territory at the expense of almost all their neighbours. Now, this, I think was not a direct cause of war in most cases. The men today never tell me that they went to war (or would like to go again) to conquer new territory. Their notions of warfare, i.e. largely individual raids, were not of the kind best suited for conquest. Boundaries between pastoral tribes are notoriously vague, even in modern times, depending as they do on the demands for pastures in accordance with annual variations in climate and vegetation. In poorer years pressure outwards would be great; in better years pressure would be slight, possibly absent. But if, as in the case of the Turkana, raids became increasingly successful, the only thing for the enemy peoples to do would be to begin to live their way from the Turkana, leaving, of course, their frontier pastures empty. Since most frontier pastures were disputed territory, the slackening or disappearance of enemy resistance there was a sign for the Turkana to occupy the land themselves, and also to occupy the frontier lands, already held, in greater numbers, both human and stock. This is more or less what happened as between Turkana and their neighbours, with the gradual effect of conquest. It would not be a steady process, but would depend on the demands for new pastures, success in raids, temporary alliances, and so on. The same kind of general progress, almost accident of conquest, is to be seen in the fairly recent history of other East African tribes, e.g. the Masai, some of the Nilotes. In the case of the Turkana the process was proceeding relatively smoothly right up to the time of the British conquest. Territory which one generation conquered in this way, the next generation regarded as indisputably Turkana country. Of course, not all the successes went in Turkana favour, so that conquered land must have been lost sometimes. No doubt the defined regularity we see today was never present in the old days except with territory in the heart of each tribal area.

The causes of Turkana success in warfare

(1) The larger population

Basing my remarks on contemporary estimates of population, the Turkana with about 80,000 men (say 15,000 fighting men) far outnumbered any of their neighbours. It is doubtful if their strongest enemies, the Karamajong, had more than about 6 - 7,000 fighting men, whilst many of their neighbours have total populations of less than 15,000 today. There has probably been some increase in population of Turkana over the last 50 - 100 years when considerable inter-marriage and absorption with Samburu peoples must have occurred. But apparently both Suk and Karamajong stories mention the greater population of the Turkana, and the number of children in Turkana families.

x I.e. Samburu, Rendile, Taposá, Donyiro, Jiye, Didinga.

I am aware that the Turkana occupied a larger territory and had to deal with enemies on all sides (except due east where Lake Rudolf was located). But it must have been possible for the Turkana to put large forces into the field at any one time against a single tribe. Northern Turkana travelled west to help the western people raid the Dodoth and Taposa; central Turkana travelled west to help the western people against the Karamajong and Suk, and south to help the southerners against Samburu, Rendile and Suk; and so on. The roving bands of age-mates gave the Turkana a fairly mobile fighting force.

(2) The harder country of Turkanaland

Literally, down in the Rift Valley, Turkanaland is, as we have seen, a hard country for men and their stock, where pastures were all too frequently inadequate. To maintain their herds, and therefore raise standards of living, the Turkana were compelled to become frequent and fierce raiders. Other people's stock were essential to their economy and to their social system. This must have been so even in average years, but in the worst years the only way of maintaining their own herds was by raiding. Doubtless the ferocity of raiding was increased by the drive of hunger and economic depression. In a way the Turkana had much to gain and relatively less to lose.

(3) Advantages of terrain

Because of the geographical identity of Turkanaland the natives were usually, as it were, fighting on their "home-ground", in country to which they were well accustomed. Further, when raids were made actually out of Turkanaland into the heart of enemy territory (e.g. into the Suk uplands or into what is now Uganda), the Turkana must have had the easier task in getting away downhill with their captives, than the raiders of those areas into Turkanaland would have had in getting out and upwards. Indeed it is difficult to imagine how e.g. the Karamajong or Dodoth could have driven captured stock in a violent hurry up the Escarpment passes out of Turkanaland.

Further to this point is the fact that the whole population of Turkanaland was essentially mobile and therefore less easy to be raided by their neighbours. Populations of their neighbours were often less mobile, and more open to attack therefore.

(4) The incidence of cattle disease

In the latter half of the 19th century there spread several cattle diseases over East Africa, most particularly rinderpest. During the 1890's rinderpest attacked the herds of Dodoth, Karamajong and Suk with deadly effect (much as it did elsewhere in East Africa). The Turkana herds undoubtedly suffered a good deal less. There are no accounts of the terrible famines and poverty of that period in Turkanaland as can be found almost everywhere else in this part of Africa; and today there are few signs of the permanent or periodic incidence of rinderpest (or any other disease) on a large scale, away from some restricted frontier areas.^x Mountain pastures such as Loima, Pelekech, Lorienetem, Thungut, etc., appear to be completely free of disease, and as far as I can gather, always have been. Further, whatever degree of cattle disease did effect Turkana herds, the people were still able to rely on camels, goats and sheep, which were largely untouched. It is fairly certain that the Turkana took advantage of the weakness of their neighbours to expand their territory. Neighbours had no camels and fewer goats and sheep upon which to rely.

(5) The introduction of firearms

At the same time as many neighbours were weakened by cattle disease the Turkana began to obtain firearms. Apart from the Marile, the Turkana got arms before any of their neighbours because of their proximity to Abyssinia, whence arms and ammunition could be traded for ivory or stock in more or less unlimited quantities. Due to the policy of Abyssinian traders and officials the sale of arms was generally restricted to the Turkana. If the Uganda tribes, Suk or Samburu, obtained rifles they must have got a few only. Early Europeans report that Turkana rifle-fire was rather less to be feared than their spear-charges. Yet the possession and use of rifles against unarmed neighbours, especially coinciding with the latter's time of greatest weakness due to famine, must have given the Turkana a considerable advantage. North-western Turkana, for instance, have told me how the Dodoth

had no rifles and how they were afraid of the Turkana and easily beaten.

(6) The influence of Abyssinian-based traders and bandits

It is impossible to say exactly when men from Abyssinia began actively to organise and support the Turkana against the latter's western and southern neighbours. Certainly by the time the British arrived Turkana were being armed, encouraged and even led by Abyssinians against the Samburu, Suk, Karamajong, Dodoth and Taposa. More detailed information can be found in accounts by Rayne^x and Yardley^{xx}, as well as Kenya Government records, etc. Here it is sufficient to note the strong support and leadership given by men, not always unofficially, from Abyssinia. These men wanted ivory, a share of captured stock and slaves. Probably it was a final phase in the spread of the Ethiopian Empire of the latter half of the 19th century. When the British first arrived there were a few battles between the K.A.R. and Abyssinians, as well as many between Abyssinian equipped and led Turkana. The extra superiority that this afforded the Turkana as against the Suk and Uganda tribes must have been great. We have historical records of only the latter part of it.

It may be added that Northern Turkana (i.e. that part nearest to Abyssinia) was one of the last areas in East Africa to be brought under British control. In the meantime Suk and Karamajong had been more or less pacified and raiding prevented. It seems that the latest raids by Turkana into Uganda were on relatively peaceful conquered peoples. In northern Turkanaland became concentrated all the outlaws, bandits and ivory poachers of East Africa, from British East Africa and Abyssinia. To a certain extent the neighbours of the Turkana suffered for all this.

Finally perhaps a word or two on the skill of Turkana fighters and fighting is appropriate. I hesitate to include their skill as a factor in the conquest of neighbouring territories. There is no proof that the Turkana was a better fighting man, nor that the war organisation was more efficient. Certainly most early Europeans praise the Turkana bravery tempered surprisingly enough as it was by caution. The Turkana was not a foolhardy fanatic in war, but preferred to live and fight again another day^{xxx}. It is more or less impossible to separate the already described elements in Turkana success from their skill in warfare. The closely related Karamajong, Dodoth and Taposa should not have been any less skilled or brave, neither were there any differences of weapons or strategy before rifle appeared. Only against the Didinga and Ngkeroma were the Turkana wary of fighting.^{xxxx} According to early travellers the south-eastern neighbours were very much afraid of the Turkana.

x "The Ivory Raiders", by Major H. Rayne; 1923; passim.

xx "Parergon", by J.H.R. Yardley; 1931; passim.

xxx cp. Mr. Crampton's remarks on p.4. above. Also see Rayne's opinion op.cit.

xxxx The Didinga and Ngkeroma are both hill people who fought on rather different strategy from the Turkana. They used a good deal of cunning in tactics, ambushes, concealed spear throwing. The Ngkeroma also have bows and arrows. "They are very bad fighters," said one man to me, "They do not come and fight in the plains. It is bad to fight in the mountains." The charge of spearmen across more or less open plains was the "proper" way to fight; not skulking behind bushes and rocks and overhead in trees, killing men without being seen. With the disarming of Turkana of rifles, the Marile were added to the number of "bad" fighters. They fight with rifles against spearmen. Just as, one may add, the Turkana themselves did formerly.

Turkana did not frequently meet other highly renowned military tribes. Bari and Lotuko to the north-west were out of touch; Buganda were too far to the south-west. There were a few clashes between Turkana and Masai, in which honours appear to have been even; although these must have been when the Masai were already in decline after about 1880. The following section will indicate just how successful the Turkana were.

Turkana conquest

Bearing in mind the more or less indirect and spasmodic nature of Turkana conquest a brief account can be given. Unfortunately we have no records before Von Hohnel's visit in 1888 and little of consequence before about 1906. Both in connection with the Turkana and with other tribes various writers have made historical estimates of various phases.^x The available information is I believe too scanty on which to base estimates. We cannot really tell when Turkana first came into Turkanaland. Indeed the very notion of their "first coming" may not be altogether true, certainly not as a single specific event. Certainly if they were principally made a separate people by breaking away from the rest of the Turkana-speaking group in general, and Ngijie in particular, it must have been a long time ago since in the meantime they have developed into so numerous a people. I shall therefore confine my own account to what is fairly clear and certain, and what is useful from the point of view of understanding the current position.

From Turkana accounts it is fairly clear that the original centre of the Turkana was in what is now still the centre of their country, i.e. Lower Tarach, Kagwelasi and Middle and Lower Turkwel basins with Pelekech, northern and eastern Loima and possibly Lokwanamur.

Possibly the first line of expansion (or merely continued expansion from the west?) was eastward to the shores of Lake Rudolf. This country was occupied chiefly by the Samburu, or at least Samburu-like people. Samburu legends support this evidence as to their territory previous to the present location south of the Lake.^{xx} Turkana refer to them as Ngkor and call them the red-skinned people. One can but suggest that by their intermarriage and absorption into Turkana, the latter gained their present red-skinned "aristocratic" physical types, who are absent in the rest of the Turkana-speaking group. By 1888 at any rate Turkana were in possession of central Turkanaland and the western Lake Shore, as far south as the Kerio, and as far north probably as Labur. By that time however Turkana were raiding to the west and south-west of the Lake according to Von Hohnel, and the Ngibelai and Ngebotok were on the Upper Turkwel.

Other tribes occupying territory in Turkanaland were as follows:-
(both Turkana and the following tribes agree on this evidence).

- Suk - some part of Loima, upper Turkwel.
- Marile - north-western shores of Lake Rudolf, Labur and Lorientom.
- Donyiro - Lokwanamur and across to the west, to Thungut.
- Taposa - Thungut and Mogila.^{xxx}
- Dodoth - Oropoi, Naitera, Thungut and Merzuk.
- Karamajong - Upper Tarach, Kosibir, western Loima, and as far east as the Turkwel.
- Samburu - (after leaving central and eastern areas) Suguta and southwards.

x E.g. Baker-Beall and McKean in Memoranda to Kenya Land Commission 1932; Beech: "The Suk"; Hobbly: Geog.-Journal 1906; et alia.

xx Cp. Bader: Memo. to Kenya Land Commission; Evidence, Vol.2, and passim.

xxx According to King, op.cit., Donyiro split off from Taposa only 80 years ago.

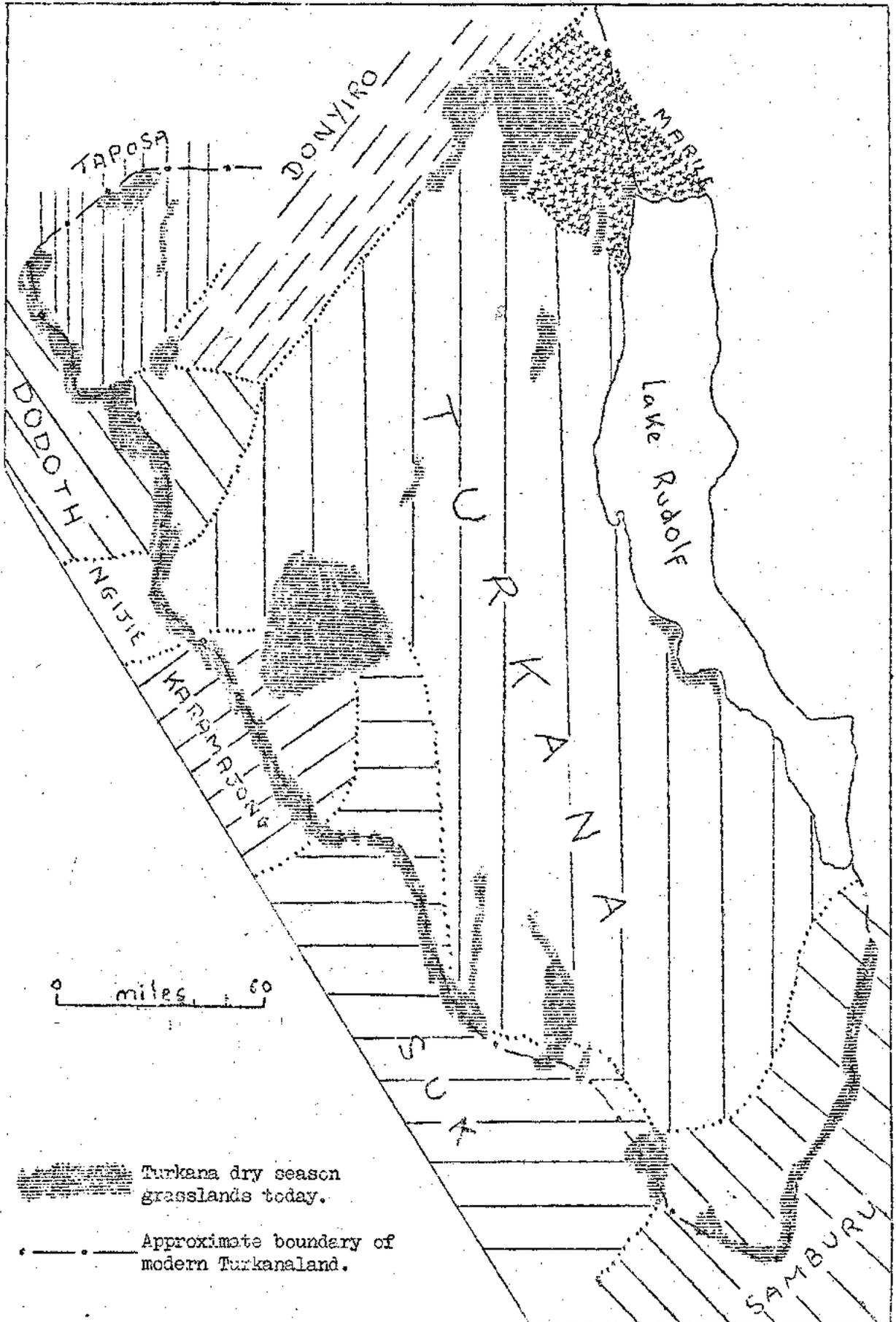
The Suk must have left Loima fairly early (driven by Turkana, or going of their own accord in a general southward movement?), and the Samburu were driven up on to the El Barta plains and Leroki Plateau fairly early also. For the rest no earlier than 1850 can be put as the date of first occupation by Turkana. In one area formerly occupied by the Karamajong (upper Kosibir) the present inhabitants are the first Turkana colonists there and about the oldest man among them cannot be more than 60. Living men (now very old and of the senior-most age-sets) have told me stories of Karamajong occupation of western Loima, and of Karamajong raids from there to Naminit (Muruasigar) and Lorogumu, when heavy defeats were taken by Turkana. I have spoken to a very old Karamajong man who knew all of these places in western Turkanaland. Much the same can be said of Dodoth occupation of Oropoi, Naitera and Thungut, of Taposa occupation of Thungut and Mogila, according to both their own and Turkana accounts. The Donyiro and Marile occupation of Lorienetom, Lokwanamur and the adjacent river and plains areas is the most recent of all, coming within the period of active British authority; and some of the areas are still disputed. There are accounts of Donyiro families being raided and killed in northern and western Turkanaland as late as the 1920's. Glenday found Donyiro living west of Lokwanamur in 1926. Marile herded stock on eastern Lorienetom and Mayen valley during the last 25 years. Relations between these last two tribes and the Turkana have been artificial to some extent. They were all three tied up in ivory hunting and stock raiding from Abyssinia between about 1880 and 1920; since when the Marile and Donyiro have been more or less driven and kept back by British arms. Where there must have been a good deal of intermingling between the three tribes, they are now forcibly kept apart by what amounts to an enforced no-man's-land north and east of Lorienetom.

In the South, where the British arrived earlier, Turkana appear to have been driving the Suk and Samburu before them, though the Suk did not let them have it all their own way. Nevertheless Turkana penetrated as far south as Lake Baringo and occupied most of the El Barta plain. Only the British prevented consolidation of this; and in 1921 the Turkana were forcibly moved north out of Samburu country. One early High Administrative officer gives it as his opinion that the Turkana would have reached Kitale if the British had arrived about 30 years later. I can only agree that the Turkana might quite well have been yet another tribe in the general movement of peoples from north to south in East Africa. However it is to be noted that they were also expanding west and north at the same time. Speculation is not more valuable than vague reconstruction. What is important is that the outer parts of what is now undisputed Turkana territory were all conquered within probably not more than 50 - 75 years ago, much of it within living memory. These "new" areas have been colonised within living memory, often with the original men and women still alive there. New dry season pastures have been gained, and the hold on old ones strengthened. The pastoral value of gaining western Loima, Thungut, the eastern slopes of the Uganda Escarpment and Maroto Mt. Lorienetom and the Turkwel/Malmalti plains are incalculable. From this alone one can say with fair confidence that the size of Turkana herds must have increased over the last half-century, and probably the human population also. Turkana tell me that "long ago we were few. We all lived together" - referring presumably to the occupation of central Turkanaland only.

The effects of this territorial expansion and probable increase in human and stock population must have been extensive where culture and social and political organisation are concerned. It is now impossible to estimate just how much and what that change has been. We may be tempted to point to the skeletal structure of clans, territorial sections, alternations and memories of old practices, as the remains of earlier culture before expansion. It would be difficult to say:^x

x I hope to do a short tour of field work amongst the Uganda Ngijie after finishing my Turkana research. This may throw more light on the general situation.

SKETCH MAP NO. 6

THE APPROXIMATE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED BY NEIGHBOURING TRIBESABOUT SEVENTY YEARS AGO - diagrammatic map.

N.B. At any one time the limits of occupation depended on the state of warfare. Boundaries could never have been entirely fixed.

Some time before this it is fairly certain that the Samburu occupied most of the area due west of Lake Rudolf.

Defence

Just as the Turkana were more or less continually on a war-footing and making frequent raids on all of their neighbours, so they themselves were constantly being raided by the same enemies. It may be re-emphasised that nearly all of the Turkana dry-season pastures, most particularly dry season grasslands, were on the frontier, disputed territory. Some distinct geographical areas were jointly occupied by the Turkana and one or more neighbouring tribes (e.g. western Loima, Thungut, Lokwanamur, Lorienetom) and there was not a single dry season grassland that was not to be reached by enemies. Turkana herds, especially cattle, were potentially always in danger. There had, therefore, to be constant watchfulness, constant preparedness to defend the herds and to mount counter-attacks in cases of successful enemy raids. This permanent war-footing was an important feature of social life. Indeed it may have been a further cause of the successes of the Turkana's own raiding, since the social system was built on a basis of more or less permanent war-making. The men who were always alert in defence, frequently forced to fight to defend families and herds, would also be well prepared, and experienced, to take the offensive.

Undoubtedly, as the Turkana have told me themselves, there must have been rather fewer herds and people in these dry season pastures. For the present-day heavy concentrations of stock and people would have been easy targets for well-led enemy forces; and they would have been less mobile. It is relatively easy for a few men and women with a single herd to slip away and hide and avoid enemy parties, than for many herds totalling hundreds of cattle, goats, sheep and camels, with many women, children and old men. In the most dangerous areas herds were accompanied only by the young men, scattered thinly over the whole pastures. In this way a successful raid could not wipe out many men nor take many stock. Women and girls remained at the back near to rearward water points.

In all but the very safest areas (and these were few and confined to central Turkanaland near the Lake) men were constantly on the alert. I am not sure if scouts and guards were specifically sent out to warn people against potential attacks, but if not at least, I am told, it was the recognised duty of the younger men to keep strict watch especially when the herds were out grazing. All suspicious signs, tracks and strangers were quickly reported around the neighbourhood. Certainly at such times of suspicion men were sent out to try and discover if an enemy group were planning anything. The Turkana are good trackers and signs of enemy scouting parties or enemy thieves were noted and followed up. If it was believed that an enemy raid was imminent a retirement of people and stock was made. The degree of movement was probably high in those most dangerous areas.

It must be mentioned that although raiding was the chief form of capturing stock and killing enemies, yet, on both sides, there was also a certain amount of thieving by small parties of three or four men, who in daylight would attempt to kill the two or three herdsmen and drive off the herd before a general alarm could be made. Perhaps only a few cattle would be seized on such an occasion, and these could be driven off very quickly with the minimum of trouble. Where two tribes lived closely to each other at certain times of the year this was a common practice. It is still carried on by Marile and Donyiro, against the north-eastern Turkana, and one or two minor Taposá sorties have also been made. Neither have the Turkana been guiltless in recent times against one or another of their neighbours.

As with the arrangements of attacks, so the organisation of defence was slight and 'ad hoc' only. For this and other reasons enemy raids were often made on Turkana homesteads. The Turkana admit quite frankly that they were often very seriously defeated, and, whilst emphasising their own successes, they have given me accounts of enemy successes. Indeed some of the very old men appear to have been very impressed by the defeats of earlier days. Presumably this is because defeats involved one's own families and herds, seriously affecting one's social position and depleting one's family. The loss of near kin, wives and children must be cause enough to make a man remember these things. Successes in one's own raids were rather more impersonal, involving general honour and increase in

stock. The dead enemies were strangers. Turkana wives, children and herds were unaffected. Nevertheless it is rather curious that the Turkana do not attempt to hide their defeats. It demonstrates that they are not boasting proud people relating only their successes, forgetting their defeats and failures. I have already mentioned how the Turkana admit the greater cattle-wealth of Karamajong and Dodoth, and envy their greater agricultural wealth. By their own standards they can acknowledge their own superiors in certain aspects of life, or at certain times. So an old man vividly remembers losing the whole of his herds in a Karamajong raid; another man can never forget losing most of his sheep and goats as well as two of his three wives, and several children, in a Marile raid. I have heard several such stories given to me in a general conversation on warfare, and not actively sought out by my own questions and suggestions. For instance, there was a successful, if bloody, raid by the Masai on the upper Turkwel, another by Karamajong on eastern Loima, and another by them near Lorugumu - just to give examples of the sort of thing remembered and related. I do not think it occurs to the Turkana to hide these things, and to act as if they were seldom if ever defeated. It was just part of life - a part which could dramatically, suddenly and fortuitously change a man's life, bringing him from wealth to poverty - a part to be accepted more or less philosophically, possibly avenged, but deeply remembered. Such defeats must have been common enough to convince Turkana that, successful as they were, they were not invincible or entirely secure. They illustrate the fluctuations not only in individual lives, but in the war relations of the Turkana and their neighbours. At some time or another severe defeats were taken at the hands of all their neighbours. Turkana could afford to despise none. Only the young men - the men who have not known real warfare - boast of their invincibility of the Turkana. The old men remember and tell me both sides. They reach a pitch of pride in telling me of great successes, and a real sorrow and feeling in telling me of what must have been crushing defeats, great losses of stock and people.

When an enemy raid was made there was usually little that the people in the first homesteads to be attacked could do, except to defend their herds and children as best possible in the circumstances. The general practice was that men should carry on the fight as long as possible whilst boys and women should try to get the stock away. A really successful enemy raid in force would, however, quickly wipe out a whole homestead or the small primary neighbourhood. It is unlikely that this could be done without warning being given to the neighbouring homesteads, either by a messenger from the attacked homesteads, or by the noise (an essential part of warfare in these parts, as warriors flung themselves into the fray with fierce, abandoned cries and whoops). In frontier areas especially men were more or less always prepared for a raid, always on the alert to go to the defence of neighbours, whilst their women and boys drove off the herds into the bush and hills as fast as they could go. In accounts given to me, there always appears to be some recognised central point where men could gather on such an occasion - usually the homestead of one man who had created a position for himself as temporary local leader. Turkana can usually point out one man's homestead in a secondary neighbourhood which would be a rallying point, from where messengers (boys and youths) would be sent in all directions to warn other local families and fetch other men. For it would never be known what fresh enemy attacks were to be made, and a counter-attack on the retreating, successful force would often be begun. Where a counter-attack was mounted a certain amount of ad hoc organisation would be necessary under this prominent man and one or two other outstanding men. But in dealing with the actual enemy attack there was no organisation. Every man who could get hold of his weapons rushed to defence. There was no discrimination of age or age-set. Other men rushed up as they heard what was happening. This was vitally necessary. One either fought to defend one's family and herds, and those of neighbours, or else they were killed or driven off. Writers on the Masai, for instance, have spoken of a defensive organisation. This is not correct, I think, when we are considering this type of raiding-warfare. It was purely a matter of everyone and anyone rushing to common defence whilst cattle and families were rushed away into the bush. As far as I can gather both Turkana and enemy raids were usually sudden affairs, lasting only a very short time, and involving immediate withdrawal with captured stock and people. Even were the Turkana suspecting a neighbour of planning a raid, they could not tell where it was to be made over as much as a 50-mile front. Raiding forces were very mobile and could strike suddenly over long distances, withdrawing

equally quickly out of range. In the case of the Turkana their homesteads were also compelled to be very mobile, in order that quick moves could be made to get out of reach of enemy forces.

That there were occasionally large-scale battles, where forces of several hundred men met on either side, is most probable. Turkana do not recount them directly, yet there are references to them turning out in great numbers to repulse an enemy (and also being met by large enemy forces when raiding on their own account). Where two tribes were in fairly close contact at times, including some inter-marriage, it must sometimes have been the case that one side got wind of the other's military plans and arranged to meet them. In such cases organisation was on the same lines as that for offensive operations under the general order of age-sets and acknowledged leaders.

CHAPTER 15

CONTEMPORARY RELATIONS

British Administration

In 1926 the British (Kenya) Civil Administration took over control and administration of Turkanaland. There were at that time two Districts - North and South Turkana, and these were merged into the present single District in 1933. Between 1910 and 1918 there had been civil administrators in southern and western Turkanaland; but from 1918 to 1926 the military had entire control. The K. A.R. were retained in north-eastern Turkanaland until 1942 for frontier defence and control.

Today the chief administrative centre is at Lodwar, situated on the Turkwel river about 70 miles from the latter's delta on Lake Rudolf. Lodwar is just over 200 miles by motor-track from the nearest European (Kenya Highlands) centre and railhead at Kitale. About 120 miles further north is the main Kenya Police centre, Lokitaung, where also lives a District Officer. There is a chain of Police posts in the north-eastern border region, and a single fort at Mogila in the north-west. There are no other Government centres or forts, although the Administration maintain small detachments of tribal police at various points as the circumstances warrant them. There are a number of indifferent lorry tracks which roughly touch on most regions in the country.

The principal task of the Administration has been to maintain the 'pax Britannica', and to deal with the north-eastern frontier region where are the partly or wholly unadministered tribes of the Abyssinian borderlands and the south-eastern corner of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. An annual male poll tax is levied at six shillings a year, but this can be waived in part or whole at the discretion of the local Administration, according to the nature of each year. Tax-collections are combined with general administrative safaris over much of the country. Legal cases are heard and tried at the District Commissioner's Offices in Lodwar. At Lodwar and Lokitaung there are native dispensaries. Very small native schools, each under a native teacher, are at these two places also. There are no European-run schools nor missions in the country, although at present two missionaries have permission to visit in western and southern Turkanaland respectively.

There are no native courts, tribunals or councils such as operate almost everywhere else in Kenya Colony. There was, of course, no system of chieftainship or even general councils of important men in the old days. The indigenous political system was not understood in the early days of the Administration, and even had it been the type of British Government needed specific individuals (chiefs) whom the Administration could use for executive purposes, and through whom the native could approach British officers. Government head-men were therefore created, some of whom were former acknowledged war-leaders and other important local men. Unfortunately, no records exist explaining how the original headmen were appointed nor how their areas of responsibility were defined. Most of them were appointed in

the first place by the K.A.R., although the earlier civil administration had attempted to treat with local leaders. There seems to be little doubt that neither they nor the rest of the natives understood the British scheme, and early headmen were neither trusted by the British, nor did they themselves trust the Administration. One such man (Ekalez) was deported from western Turkana and died at Eldoret, in what to the natives were obviously most suspicious circumstances. In the same year, 1926, the most prominent diviner/war-leader (Lowalel) was similarly deported and died out of the country. Perhaps therefore it is little to be wondered at that headmen had to be brought in by force in 1928 when it was wished to take them to Nairobi to meet the Prince of Wales. In fact, one escaped his escort and dared not show his face. In these early days the system of headmen was forced upon the people and many of the appointed men were not at all satisfactory. Indeed it must have been extremely difficult to get hold of the right sort of men. Writing in 1926, Mr. V. G. Glenday (District Commissioner, Northern Turkana) stated, "the imposition of a system of Chiefs and Headmen has been the cause of much of the opprobrium which the Government has received, because most of the persons appointed were rapacious individuals who collected hundreds of sheep and goats from the populace on the ground that this was a forcible levy by the Government, and never returned a single penny to the owners of the money which Government paid."^x

Today the position is more regularised and, if only by over 20 years' usage, is more accepted by the natives. There are now 26 headmen, most of whom have also sub-headmen to assist them. It is impossible accurately to define the boundaries of their respective areas, in accordance with the normal inability of the Turkana to recognise any boundaries. According to the registers, the population under each headman vary between about 5,000 and 25,000. But it is not impossible for any native to change his "allegiance" to a headman, simply by moving his homestead. According to Administrative records and reports these areas of headmen are supposed very approximately to coincide with the indigenous territorial sections^{xx} and in fact preliminary grazing control schemes are planned on this assumption. In point of fact this is very often not the case at all. Very few headmen are responsible for people only of their own sections, and where one section has a single headman, many members of that section come under other headmen. It is not necessary in this context to go into the details of the many wide discrepancies. For such purposes as the organisation of taxation they do not much matter. But where practical schemes such as grazing control, water supplies, etc., are based on that incorrect assumption, it may lead to misunderstandings and poor success. What is, perhaps, more important, is that the areas and populations of the various headmen are only related to good wet season locations of the Turkana. As I have attempted to show earlier^{xxx} the important dry season movements and dispositions of people and herds are in no way related to the territorial section and not entirely to wet season locations. On every dry season grassland there are mixed up people from at least two, and often more, sections, and also of two or more headmen. Further, at the convenience of Administrative officers, all headmen live at or roundabout certain conventional spots in the plain where they can be located by officers and met on administrative safari. Few headmen, that is to say, live where the bulk of the people do for very much of the year (i.e. in the mountains and forward plains). The large and vital area of Loima rarely sees a headman, let alone all of the headmen, many of whose people live there. Consequently, these people are for much of the year, for the whole of some years, quite out of touch with both headmen and Government. Where the sub-headmen might be of value in such a situation, they are also badly distributed, sometimes living only a few miles from their own headmen, leaving wide areas untouched. As far as the current system is concerned it would be impossible, even

x "The Marile Patrol", 1926; Appendix 2.

xx See Chapter 6 for description of distribution of the territorial sections.

xxx Cp. Chapters 6 and 7, and passim. Note Table No.4, p. 63.

assuming the unlikely wish or understanding, for headmen to live with their people, scattered as they are in various dry season grasslands, or very thinly distributed over extensive plains areas: i.e. the situation for about seven or eight months of most years.

Headmen are supposed, and to a certain extent do obtain and pass on to the Administration all important information and disputes between their people. They can to a limited extent settle disputes themselves - or rather, in actual practice, can be a focus of discussion. For what I have seen indicates that they cannot act as judges or even arbitrators. The Turkana do not think of them in that way, nor are many of them in a secure position of authority, nor all having general respect and influence. The headmen themselves are too much "pure native", to attempt to make themselves local judges and leaders. Disputes are affairs between individuals in minor matters, and between groups (the kin and close friends of each party) in more important affairs. The more influential headmen do, I think, attempt to enforce reconciliation at such times, but if they themselves are involved in the dispute (i.e. are in one of two groups) then they act not in the public good (a vague conception to the Turkana) but purely, or at least mainly, for their own party. I know of cases where this has occurred. A headman will not put his connection with Government before his relationship with his paternal cousin or brother-in-law. Some headmen have very little following since, although chosen by the Administration, they are not in fact the men with most local influence and respect. Of course at the moment there is very little that these men have to do - many appear to get by purely with calling their people more or less successfully for tax collections. Indeed with a tribe like the Turkana very little more is possible. It does not seem likely that very great economic, social or political development can take place in this hard country. On the other hand if proposals for grazing control or the provision of extra water supplies are to be implemented, the position of headmen (if that is to be the system to be maintained) must be strengthened. At the moment headmen are neither entirely to be trusted, nor do they understand the scope and implications of their position. At the moment little or no attempt is made to recruit the services of other prominent men or to enlist their sympathies and understanding in the cause of the government. As far as the ordinary tribesman is concerned he must pay annual tax, and must not raid or carry fire-arms. Where in the past he secured extra grazing rights by force of arms, today he obtains concessions from the neighbouring Administration via his own Administration - which however can be increased in so far as none of the Administrations are aware of his actions and neighbouring tribesmen are friendly.

Although the position of headman is entirely at the appointment of the Administration and not hereditary, yet it is beginning to create a new class of wealthy men and families. The wages of headmen are low^x but these men are the bulk of the few people who receive regular or sizeable cash incomes. They can therefore afford to buy goods from trade centres, and in many cases they also purchase stock and increase their herds with new strains from outside Turkanaland. They are also able to take advantage of the perennial shortage of cash of other natives at tax-collections to purchase cheaply a good deal of stock to augment their herds. They have to compete sometimes with Indian dealers but not invariably, and they have a rather better position to take the pick of animals offered at these times. No headman that I have met is anything but outstandingly wealthy today, whereas not all of them were in such a fortunate position previously. Such increases in wealth are, I think, largely at the expense of other natives.

To facilitate government the Administration maintains a force of about eighty tribal police. They are all Turkana who largely retain their tribal affiliations but are given a minimum of European training. Unfortunately, neither wealthy families nor the more prosperous areas are willing to furnish young men for such a job, and it appears that too many of them come from the poorest areas, and poorer families. Most families, naturally, are not willing to let potential herdsmen go to a job which is both misunderstood and distrusted. These men take messages, act as guides and in general do manual work on safari. They have been, and still can be,

of great use in the disputed frontier areas, where they augment the Kenya Police detachments. They (and to a lesser extent all Administrative employees - camel and donkey syces, station hands, etc.) form another class of people receiving cash incomes. Unlike the headmen, however, they normally live in one of the two Government stations. Their cash is therefore frittered away in buying luxuries which make them the most decorated of all Turkana (with beads, iron wire, cloth and some clothing), and they tend increasingly to become atypical of the rest of the population. Some of their cash does however percolate to their families, friends and other natives. None of them turn it into herds upon which they can later retire. As I have already said very many of them come from poor families - many indeed are illegitimate sons who have not been able to fit very easily into normal tribal life. To some extent they do form a channel by which European things and ideas pass to ordinary tribespeople, but not to any great extent as far as I can say. I have known personally about twelve of these men, who have accompanied me on my journeys in Turkana land, and none of them have had very much idea of the aims and ideas of the Administration, beyond that the D.C. was almost omnipotent and knows everything.

These facts are introduced here to make more complete the account of the modern social system of the Turkana. To a certain extent, even here, the white man's government, his material possessions and ideas, react upon the Turkana. Headmen and tribal police are two of the chief channels by which such novelties are maintained and introduced following the military conquest of the country. The Administration is regarded as alien as a matter of course. It is invariably referred to as 'ngimoi a Lodwar', i.e. "the strangers (or enemies) at Lodwar." Lodwar itself, not without some justification, is regarded as a place of bad reputation which may corrupt men's sons and take them away from their families. The reputation of the female camp-followers both there and at Lokitaung is not welcomed by many Turkana. Lodwar itself was scarcely a place of any importance to Turkana in the old days. There is permanent water to be obtained in the bed of the Turkwel there, but owing to bare rock and sand, vegetation is of the poorest. So that Lodwar is practically entirely a white man's place. Turkana have no name for any settlement of people larger than a homestead, except for 'adakar' which I have translated as "neighbourhood". There is no term to describe Lodwar except with borrowed Swahili words.

As I have pointed out earlier there was, perhaps not unnaturally, much hostility to the Administration even after pacification of the country was completed. This tends to remain in more or less passive opposition. Government is not understood; no effort is made to co-operate. People in out of the way mountain areas on Loima, seldom if ever visited by the Administration, always show considerable aversion to any friendship. In the north-east where Turkana have been twice disarmed there has been much grumbling and genuine suspicion against a Government which does not at the same time prevent or actively punish raids by the Donyiro and Marile. Although this inability is no fault of the Kenya Administration, the Turkana can scarcely be expected to appreciate that. They would like to fight these two enemy tribes who undoubtedly have made several raids on Turkana since the latter's disarming. Mr. McKean noted this in his Annual Report for Northern Turkana, 1928. The situation is somewhat similar today.^{xx}

x Some permitted re-arming went on during the military campaign against Italian controlled tribes in Abyssinia during the recent World War II. Disarming was ordered the second time in 1949.

xx The following is a list of some of the raids made on northern Turkana land since 1926.

- 1927 - 80 Turkana fishing people killed.
- 1928 - Donyiro raid on Ngkwatela.
- Marile raid on Kalim.
- 1929 - 40 Turkana killed.
- 1933 - 38 " " "
- 1939 - 160 Turkana killed by Donyiro and Taposa.
100 " " " Marile.
- 1940 - 8 " " at Namarun.

Both 1948 and 1949 have seen Turkana killed by both Donyiro and Marile and stock was seized. In some cases the Kenya Administration has been able to exact compensation, notably for the murder of five herdsboys by Donyiro in 1948.

Writing of the years 1916 - 18, Rayne stated of the Turkana, he has "rifle or spear in hand, ever ready, on the slightest excuse or provocation, to stalk and pick us off as we do the birds and wild animals. Savage and wild as the country he lives in, so he will remain, in my opinion to the end,"^x of time; he himself wills that we talk to one another from the rifle muzzle."

Major Rayne had considerable experience of the Turkana in some of the worst years of military action against them. Yet today my wife and I have been able to travel hundreds of miles and to live far away from Government centres, without any trouble at all. Never, even in the most hostile country, has a spear been lifted against us. The Turkana is pacified today, and except where strongly and continually provoked by these north-eastern tribes, causes very little trouble to the Administration. He is in many ways still wild and continues in his traditional ways. But there has been this great change. He is, perhaps, because he has learnt a lesson after much bitter fighting, a peaceful man in most respects. That, I think, is the principal effect of the European's arrival. Otherwise he remains the free man he has been for a long time. Yet his peace is not the haughty, scornful acquiescence of, for example, the Masai; it is a thorough-going acceptance of the strong-arm of the white man. Were the white man to leave, Turkana could rapidly be set on a military basis again. As it is, they acknowledge fully the more powerful tribe who has defeated them in war.

Trade

Today, with the exception of the Donyiro and Marile, the Turkana maintain easy relations of friendship with all their neighbours and former enemies. Since the Administration took over there have been relatively minor affrays, but nothing of more than temporary significance, and those chiefly involving disputes over grazing and water rights in frontier areas. Turkana can and do go into all of these tribal areas for purposes of trade and are not molested. Similarly foreign tribespeople come into Turkanaland to bring trade goods. In any frontier region there is usually a good deal of visiting both ways, especially where there has been inter-marriage. With the rest of the Turkana-speaking group there are, of course, no serious language or cultural differences to hinder the closest intercourse. In the latter part of the dry season Turkana and their herds intermingle with these tribesfolk and their stock with very little difficulty. With the Suk and Samburu, relations are almost as close although local trouble does occasionally arise still.

Even before the pacification of this part of East Africa, the Turkana traded with some of their neighbours, and since then regularly trade with them all. Table No.7 gives a list of the trade goods obtained by the Turkana both from other tribes (i.e. by visiting homesteads and native centres in foreign territories) and from Indian stores (both in Turkanaland and outside). As will be seen some of the trade-goods are things of vital importance to the Turkana, e.g. spears, cooking pots, ornaments, millet, and for the last 40 or 50 years, cloth. No iron-working is done in Turkanaland nor amongst their close neighbours. To the west the Labwor and the small tribe, Nyangeya, both carried on iron-working; and from there via Ngjie and today via Karamajong, Dodoth and Didinga, Turkana obtained spears, knives, iron wire and sheets of iron from which to hammer out (cold) beads and fine wire ornaments and chains. I do not know from whence southern Turkana obtain their iron - probably from or via the Suk. Ostrich egg and feathers came from Uganda and Taposaland where these birds are still plentiful. Apart from the Samburu and Rendile, all Turkana's neighbours have a surplus of grain to barter. This is mostly millet, unground. Tobacco is similarly obtained all around.

TABLE NO. 7

TRADE-GOODS OBTAINED BY THE TURKANA

<u>Trade-goods</u>	<u>Obtained from Indian Stores</u>	<u>Obtained from other Tribes</u>
Millet	X	XI
Maize Meal	XI	X
Tobacco	X	X
Spears		XI
Iron	X	X
Ox-bells		XI
Cooking-pots	X	XI
Cloth	XI	
Beads	XI	X
Ostrich Eggs		XI
Ostrich feathers	XI	X
<u>In minor quantities only</u>		
Tea	X	
Coffee ('buni')	X	X
Sugar	X	

N.B. X denotes from where the good is obtained today.

The figure 1 denotes the prime source of supply.

Where there is no figure, sources of supply are about equal.

Trade-goods are obtained by expeditions to Indian stores (in or out of Turkanaland) and to purely native centres. Small parties of a half dozen men with donkeys are made up from a neighbourhood, who go off to bring back goods both for their own and for neighbours' families. Such trips are usually made to the nearest trade centre, but occasionally longer journeys may be made for special goods, or when goods are not available temporarily nearer at hand. Indian and (a very few) native stores in Turkanaland are marked on the map.^x Apart from Lodwar and Likitaung where there are some six or so stores each, there are eight other places in Turkanaland with stores, usually one, but sometimes two or three establishments. Even where these are supposedly owned by Africans, they are in fact controlled by three Indians, who have almost a monopoly of supply from Kenya. In addition there are important trade centres at Moroto, Kotido and Loyoro in Uganda, and others in Suk country. Sometimes trade journeys are made to native homesteads in Uganda (including the Teuth people), Taposa, Marile and Suk country, where direct barter takes place. Apart from these trips, goods can be obtained from itinerant traders who came from Uganda and the Suk. Most of those I have met are private traders who buy (or obtain on credit) cloth, tobacco and sometimes millet and beads, from some store, and make a living on the profits of the sale. Some are Turkana, others are neighbouring tribesmen. They frequent the dry season grasslands where are the larger concentrations of both people and wealth (i.e. stock). In a month in one part of Loima (Nangoleki) I counted four

x See End-paper, map of Turkanaland.

visits by such traders, all from Moroto in Uganda. In the Oropoi valley in the early wet season Dodoth and Teuth parties were coming down the Escarpment almost every other day with grain, spears, iron, tobacco, etc. Natives have told me that they can satisfy all of their needs from such traders without making journeys themselves. I can believe it, although the thinly populated plains areas receive few traders. Most men however have been on trading expeditions at one time or other, and can tell me about the foreign lands.

The goods which Turkana give in exchange for these things are very few in type. Goats, sheep, goat-skins and cattle hides. The stockless Teuth will accept lumps of meat. Only the first three items are traded in any quantity. Members of trading expeditions always drive a small flock of goats and sheep with them. Itinerant traders collect a flock as they barter their goods. These they drive back to their base trading centre to sell for cash. A few cattle and camels are sometimes used in barter but it must be infrequent. I have not seen it happen.

In Uganda goats and sheep fetch high cash prices due to the demands for meat by Buganda and others further south. Turkana in general know this, but usually scarcely think it worth while to make the journey. It is possible to get enough tobacco for the moment's needs, for a goat, from an itinerant trader. The "prices" of these traders are high. The amount of tobacco for a goat is probably less than half that to be obtained at, e.g., Moroto or even Lodwar stores. But the Turkana is widely separated from economic man. He wants tobacco (or cloth, or beads, etc.) and a trader has some. One makes the best bargain there and then. Lodwar, Moroto, etc., are all a long way off, demanding a lot of trouble to get there. And future greater amounts are less attractive than present small amounts. On the other hand all Turkana feel that traders are an exorbitant lot. The very idea of making a living by buying and selling (even tobacco and spears) is considered wrong. If a trader has more tobacco than he needs for himself he should give it away, not sell it - just as any ordinary man would have to do. Nevertheless, traders are convenient. I should say that traders make a fair profit, unless it is eaten up by the storekeepers from whom they buy their stock-in-trade.

Almost all trade is carried on by barter and higgling. A goat is bartered against so much grain, with perhaps a piece of iron wire as a make-weight. So many skins will buy maize meal at a store, and perhaps a string or two of beads as well. There is no fixed price. Goats fetch up to 15/- in Moroto and up to about 10/- in Lodwar. Turkana rarely handle the cash, but take goods straight away. Money is neither completely understood nor trusted. Only shillings are accepted - neither notes nor cents are wanted. There is only one word meaning "to barter", 'akigel', from which we get "to buy" i.e. 'akigelun' (literally "to barter towards") and "to sell" i.e. 'akigelar' (literally "to barter away from"). I have already referred to the chronic shortage of shillings at times of tax collections. Turkana seldom, if ever, use shillings between themselves. Many of them, once their tax needs are satisfied, are not keen on getting shillings.

There is also a little internal trade. This cannot be much since the Turkana have such a homogeneous culture. However, the Ngebotok, and to a lesser extent, the Ngissir at the deltas of Turkwel and Kerio do have a surplus of millet grain and gourds which they barter for goats and sheep to other Turkana. The Ngebotok especially do a fair trade in grain, people coming from as far as 50 or 60 miles away to trade. These two sets of people who trade things with fellow Turkana are rather looked down upon for that reason, among others.^x

In addition, whilst not a matter of trade, Turkana make trips over their own country to obtain free supplies of salt, and ochre (red, grey, yellow, green, blue, orange, white, mauve, etc.). Supplies of these whilst plentiful are localised. Most mountains carry ochre deposits. Salt comes mainly from Lake Rudolf, but also from a few other local sources. It is

x See pages 32 and 60.

chiefly magnesium sulphate or soda, and is greatly in demand as a relish when chewing or sucking tobacco. The ochre is equally in great demand for men's head-dresses, dance-decorations for men and girls, and for ritual purposes. It may be worth adding a note here, that Turkana ochre is in great demand by Karamajong, Ngijie, Dodoth, Didinga, Donyiro and Marile. True to their own values Turkana regard their ochre deposits as a free good (like land, grass, water, salt, etc.) and therefore they make no use of their excellent deposits in trade. The other tribesfolk make up parties to come and fetch it, freely. It must have been a somewhat hazardous adventure for them in pre-British days, but today is just a peaceful trip.

The only Turkana specialists are the very few women who can make cooking pots from baked clay. Whilst there cannot be much internal trade in these pots, Turkana can seek out such a woman and get her to make a pot. I gather that they are only made to order.

European employment

Compared with most of the Kenya tribes the Turkana contribute very little to native labour within the Colony. There are some fairly obvious reasons for this:-

(1) There is a considerable difference between the climate of the Kenya Highlands and that of Turkanaland. Kitale is the obvious European centre, from which there is a lorry trade and some half dozen lorries each way during a week. But the Kitale area is over 6,000 feet high with more of a sub-tropical climate, which during the wet season is both cool and damp. Turkana do not like this, and cases of severe bronchial trouble and even death are not uncommon.

(2) Turkana have a genuine attachment for their own country. Men do not want to leave it even if and when they can, and return there almost as soon as possible if they do leave.

(3) There is neither opportunity nor convention of learning to speak Swahili (the lingua-franca of East Africa). Outside the Government centres of Lodwar and Lokitaung almost no Swahili is spoken. There are no missions nor sizeable schools. Without Swahili, European employment and mixing with natives of other areas is difficult.

(4) Turkana food standards are not easily met outside their country. The normal food for native labour is maize meal. Turkana like this, but in general feel that they have not fed properly without meat and milk.

(5) Despite the loose social organisation of the Turkana, men can almost always find a niche in their society through the complex of rights in stock. Even relatively loosely tied people are to be welcomed in other families - men for herding, women for milking, watering, etc. There are social misfits, e.g. some illegitimate sons, younger sons of large families, sons of very poor men, and some of these do find their way to European employment.

(6) There is little demand for the material or mental goods of the European. What few demands there are can usually be more or less satisfied. There are few sources of supply to create conventional demands which have to be met by gaining extra wealth. Turkana like to have extra cooking pots, decorations, maize meal, cloth, etc., but their desires are seldom strong enough to induce them to go off to work. Cash itself is not wanted.

(7) There is no tradition of migrant labour. The outside world is looked upon as hostile, and a matter for strong suspicion.

(8) Turkana are not fitted for much European work and do not appear, so far, to be very amenable to training.

What labour there is today can be divided into three classes. Firstly, there is work for the Turkana Administration-tribal police, camel and donkey syces, station hands, and Kenya Police. These are all located at Government centres. Secondly, there is work for the Kenya Public Works Department on road maintenance. The three hundred odd miles of the Kitale to Lokitaung road is thus maintained, and, under the fairly easy conditions

of unskilled labour, Turkana have shown up so well as now to be recruited for other road work in the Kitale area, where other natives are not usually keen on such poorly paid work. Thirdly, there is some Turkana labour in the Kitale area on European farms and ranches. Some of these latter men are not too reliable and, out of their own environment, have earned a bad reputation for thieving. I can give no estimate of numbers but it can scarcely be more than a few hundred and most Europeans prefer not to have them. Apart from cattle herding, they cannot be of much use.

Finally, brief mention should be made of a permanent Turkana community in the Esiolo district, northwest of Kenya Mountain. These Turkana migrated there before final British pacification of Northern Kenya, and are largely employed as herds for Somali camel owners there. They have a poor reputation both with the Somalis and the Administration. Once again, out of their own environment, they take to thieving and other bad habits.

CHAPTER 16

JUDICIAL AND POLITICAL

Judicial ideas and procedure

There are no crimes that a member of Turkana society can commit against that society. Every crime committed, or injury received, whether physical or material or mental, is a matter firstly for the two individuals concerned and secondly for the "stock-group" of each. Neutral members of society seldom participate except as very interested spectators and commentators. Occasionally in the most serious of crimes, e.g. adultery and witchcraft, other men will join in the attempt to chase and kill the offender. Nevertheless it is still recognised as principally the affair of the wronged man and his logical supporters, and except in the heat and excitement of the moment other people remain spectators. If society as a whole, or local sections of it, were considered to be an interested party in some crimes and disputes, there would have to be some institutional mechanism by which public social action could be taken. In fact except in the most general way there is no such mechanism. Any dispute is invariably the subject of very great interest and discussion by anyone and everyone who knows the principals. It is an especially important piece of gossip upon which any man can state his opinion and give his reasons, including his estimates of the evidence, characters of principals and witnesses, punishment to be given and any other matter of importance and relevance. All this, with the usual dramatic accompaniment, will be done at any place where a few men meet for one purpose or another - at a water-point, in the pastures, at a feast or dance, under a shade-tree, etc. There is no set place, time, or number of people; but, since both of the principals and their supporters are invariably included in many of such informal gatherings, whose make-up is fortuitous, they will not only be given all the local public opinion but be moved to defend themselves against adverse opinions and criticism. In this way public opinion can have an effect upon a dispute, and it is possible that the opinions of influential men will be especially effective here. No man can entirely afford to ignore more or less general public opinion since he has to live with, and will wish to co-operate with, his neighbours afterwards. This factor is undoubtedly limited because of the easy ability of any man to move his homestead out of a neighbourhood where he is unpopular and severely criticised, and because, as already noted earlier, no Turkana is quite entirely bound by his informal ties of neighbourliness, co-operation and friendship. A man and his family cannot, however, entirely be independent, for outside of short periods, some co-operation is desirable even essential. Again a party to a dispute does not stand alone, but depends upon his supporters, and they too will be influenced by the trend of public opinion. They will less readily give their support in a case where their principal goes against that general trend - some may even refuse support altogether.

In this matter it must be pointed out that, as far as I understand it, there is usually little dispute over whether a man did or did not commit the injury complained of, e.g., adultery, theft of an animal, refusal to pay portions of bridewealth still outstanding, refusal to repay loans of stock, physical injury, and even witchcraft. The principals in a case and the whole history of its development is most usually completely common knowledge. The characters and histories of the principals themselves are automatically well-known. So that, even if sufficient witnesses are not forthcoming, people (a principal's supporters and neutral parties) can say whether or not their accusation is correct. With relatively small population based very largely on inter-personal relations, this must, I think, be so. In a society of large population where relations between people are largely impersonal and indirect, a more complex judicial system is essential, complete with investigation and discussion of the evidence and witnesses. Guilt or responsibility is often a debatable point. Where there is a more or less complex and centralized political system there must usually be checks against corruption even in the most autocratic of regimes. In such a society as that of the Turkana this is scarcely necessary. Almost all the associates of the principals know as much about the case as the principals themselves, and all have a shrewd knowledge of whether such and such a man or woman would or would not do the thing complained of, and is telling the truth. In purely indigenous affairs I have never heard such discussion of guilt or responsibility.^x More or less as a matter of form many accused parties will declare innocence and absence of responsibility, but if this is untrue it is only as a starting-point of the discussions, and an unwillingness to meet the consequences. It is more of a psychological than a social phenomenon. Indeed I would go so far as to say that the verdict of public opinion is seldom if ever wrong.

What is, however, a matter of opinion is what the punishment should be, or to what extent the responsible party should meet his obligations. That is to say there can be differences of opinion over the degree of guilt or responsibility, over the nature of extenuating circumstances, and over the ability to make amends for injuries caused or contracts not adhered to. Thus some animals may have been seized from a man's herd or kraal, but the person or persons who seized them may claim a right to do so on the grounds of previous injuries or failure of contract. Physical injuries may be claimed as the results of fair fight following reasonable provocation against the one who committed them. Above all there is very great scope for disagreement over the size and nature of compensation. This will be dealt with below.

The stock-group

The principal in judicial affairs is the injured person if he is an adult man, or the husband of a married woman, or guardian of a child. If the principal is killed then his general heir^{xx} assumes his place.

Seldom, if ever, does a principal in a dispute stand on his own, except perhaps in the most minor cases. A man will automatically seek and obtain the support, physically, morally and in discussion, of a fairly well defined group of men, which at the beginning of this chapter I termed the "stock-group". It is composed of the men who have mutual stock rights with the principal. It includes therefore, (1) adult male members of the principal's extended family, (2) fathers-in-law, brothers-in-law, mother's brothers, sons-in-law, (3) according to circumstances it will also include other near patrilineal kinsmen, possibly some matrilineal kinsmen (e.g. sons of mother's brother), father's sisters' husbands, best-friends, "god-father", initiation patron, and closer members of the principal's age-set and co-operative community. Exact membership at any time, most especially for those men in category (3) above, mainly depends on, (a) the closeness of practical relations between the principal and each potential member, (b) the seriousness of the dispute, and (c) the geographical proximity of potential members at that time.

The reason for the support of this group lies in the fact that almost every dispute between Turkana involves stock either in the actual details of the case, or in the punishment (compensation) to be awarded, and often both. The whole complex of rights in stock is immediately involved in any

x This appears only when the European attempts to establish formal gatherings at which the matter is discussed.

xx As shown in Diagram D on page 94.

event. In all but the most minor affairs, all or most of the men in categories (1) and (2) above will be involved unless temporary geographical distances prevent it. Thus a paternal cousin or brother-in-law is scarcely to be expected to come from fifty miles away, certainly not at once, even after the necessary interval before he hears the news. In a really serious case such as homicide, adultery or grave physical injury most of them would turn up sooner or later, especially when their principal was the injured party and in the right, and appeared likely to get insufficient compensation. Men in category (3) will usually come in the more serious cases. If at the time they happened to be in very close practical (everyday) relations with the principal, they will in any event give immediate and full support. For instance, a sister's husband might at the time, although not permanently, be a man's closest associate and friend, in addition to the formal tie by marriage. In such a case the sister's husband would give as strong support as the principal's brother. As always in Turkana relationships, current practical and informal relationships are very important.

The stock-group is not a corporative entity, and is relevant only to the principal in each case. Not even brothers have quite the same stock-group. Relationships in the group are made up from mutual rights, obligations and assistance between the principal and each member. Mutual relationships are not all of the same value, of course; e.g. compare the close relations between brothers, or between father-in-law and son-in-law, with the relatively loose ones between best-friends, or between father's sister's husband and wife's brother's son. Neither are mutual relationships necessarily balanced in all cases; e.g. as between brothers relationships are more or less evenly balanced, but as between father-in-law and son-in-law they are not since the former has greater demands on the latter, than vice-versa. Within the stock-group of a man is a central core consisting of men of his extended family. This group of men, by reason of the most specific common rights in stock, appear in all of each other's stock-groups, and make a more compact entity. It must be emphasised that although in general membership is fairly well defined, especially as regards the closer relationships, on the fringes of the group it may be a matter of difficulty to say exactly where the line is drawn. In practice, for the Turkana themselves, there is no difficulty since in these rather uncertain cases, practical relations settle the issue. Thus whilst a wife's brother is most usually a firm supporter of the principal, theoretically the former ought to support the latter's brother also. Whether in fact he does depends on contemporary circumstances.

The precise nature of the support given by this group based on common stock rights, lies in the fact that if their principal is the injured party he will receive either restitution of his property (e.g. an outstanding portion of a bridewealth payment) or compensation (which is payable only in stock). On receipt of this he must share it amongst his stock-group, according to the degrees of relationships involved. Therefore it is in their own interests to support him and obtain the greatest payment from the offender that they can. On the other hand, if their principal is the offender then he is liable to have to pay out stock and he will claim contributions from his stock group, again roughly according to the degrees of relationships. So that it is in their own interests again to support him and try and keep the out-payment as low as possible. I do not suggest that this mercenary attitude is the only factor involved. It is not. There are strong emotional attitudes inducing support of the principal; there is all the psychology of close social relationships and friendship involved. In fact a man may well be supported for example purely on account of the attitudes built up between father-in-law and son-in-law. That, at any rate, is how a Turkana would put it. "He is my in-law ('ekamerun')!" would be all the explanation required. Again one helps a man now in the expectation of receiving his help at another time for one's self. Not only common rights in stock are involved (possibly the strongest social force in Turkana society) but also the whole force of social institutions of family, marriage and economic co-operation.

It may be mentioned here that the stock-group is not a purely judicial institution but comes into play in all of the crises of social life, i.e. in Turkana categories, whenever transactions of stock are involved; thus for example, marriage and bridewealth, inheritance, depletion of herds by starvation, disease or warfare.

Compensation

Before considering the actual nature of the support given to a man by his stock-group, I shall first describe the nature of compensation. Almost any injury can be remedied by the payment of compensation by the guilty party to the injured party. Compensation ('akibute' - or in its practical aspect of actually handing over, 'akitach', literally "to pay back", or the repayment) is invariably in stock, and nothing else. In the most serious cases, homicide, adultery, witchcraft, compensation can be waived by taking the life of the offender. This is the one case where a Turkana may use a spear against another Turkana, and may kill him without fear of vengeance or compensation - payment. It also is the one case where neutral parties may sometimes join with the injured party and his closest associates in hunting the guilty man. After first discovery of an adulterer or witch^x the whole neighbourhood, so I am told, took up the hue and cry after the person accused. If that person got away, or was well away before guilt was established, the injured party would go in search of him to kill him. Although the practice has now been stopped by the Administration, who hold the injured party as guilty of murder in such cases, yet all Turkana, even in discussion with Administrative officers, insist most strongly that this is a wholly proper practice. In the long-drawn-out case in north-west Turkanaland where a man Tioko accused Naling of adultery in a still unsuccessful Administration hearing (extending over about seven years) it seems fairly certain that Naling's life was only saved by the presence and intervention of tribal and Kenya Police who, so it happened, were there on frontier duty. However, knowing the possible consequences it seems that such an accused person would attempt to get well away, and under the protection of his own stock-group; when direct vengeance would involve a fight between the two groups involved. As far as I know this did not often occur since such large internecine fights were not desired by anyone, involved parties or neutral people. Here society might step in under the form of local influential men who were neutral in the affair, e.g. war-leaders, Senior-Men of age-sets, and local wealthy influential men. In fact the older and more influential members of the two parties involved would probably prevent it. Such fights did sometimes occur, but in general if the guilty man were not killed more or less in the heat of the moment of discovery, he would not be killed at all. In cases of adultery or witchcraft only the person actually guilty could be so killed. In cases of homicide at least near patrilineal kin could be killed in lieu of the murderer. I am not certain how wide a range of men this covered.

In general, therefore, compensation was payable for all cases of injury. If blood vengeance was achieved compensation was wiped out. On the other hand if another man on either side was killed whilst blood vengeance was being taken, a new claim could and would be made for compensation by the dead man's kinsmen.

Compensation is payable in the following cases in order of gravity:-

1. adultery; homicide (intentional or accidental);
2. injuries resulting in complete incapacity;
3. loss of sight;
4. loss of, or loss of the use of, parts of the body.

There appears to be little distinction, if any at all, between intentional and accidental injuries.

Neither compensation nor blood vengeance are legitimate between members of the same stock-group. As I have pointed out, however, the actual limits of the stock-group are not closely defined. In this respect members (and their nuclear families) of the deceased person's extended family, fathers-, brothers-, and sons-in-law, and mother's brothers are definitely included. Whether compensation would be claimed against the more distant members of the stock-group would depend on the contemporary, practical relations when the incident occurred, plus the degree of feelings aroused amongst the nearer members of the stock-group. At bottom all formal

x The determination of the guilt of a witch is dealt with in Chapter 20, pp. 243 et seq.

social relationships depend for their actual expression on the actual practical relations at the time. A mother's brother's son, or a co-member of the co-operative community, might at the time be indulging in some form of close co-operation (e.g. sharing a joint homestead, herding a part of the man's stock). In such cases a man might not wish to take judicial action against this person. On the other hand he might perhaps be persuaded to take action by close members of the stock-group (e.g. brothers). It must be emphasised that the stock-group is not a corporative entity, apart from the central core of the extended family, but depends on mutual stock-rights tempered by contemporary practical relations.

The sizes of compensation are not fixed. They vary according to:-

- the gravity of the offence;
- the wealth of the guilty party (including his stock-group);
- the depth of feelings of the injured party (including his stock-group).

The most grave offences are perhaps easiest to take as illustrations; i.e. adultery and homicide. These are the most heinous actions that a Turkana can commit, and, if blood vengeance is not taken, compensation should be as high as possible. Whenever a native is asked what compensation is payable for murder, he will say "many cattle, fifty, sixty, seventy, a hundred, and very many camels, goats and sheep"; some more laconically just say, "a hundred cattle". Now "a hundred" has something of the same big number connotation to a Turkana as it has to the English followers of cricket, therefore it must not be taken literally to mean 100, no more, and no less. But to a Turkana, a hundred cattle plus other stock in equally large quantities, is a very great number. And that is how he thinks of such compensation - a very great number. Precisely how many in any particular case depends on the other two factors stated above. In all payments of stock for whatever purpose in non-economic affairs (with the single exception of the fine for fathering an illegitimate child) the actual number of stock depends on the wealth of the guilty party^{xx} including particularly the principal and his extended family, and also the rest of his stock group. A poor man may possibly have few or no cattle at all, and may only be able to scrape together a few head from his stock-group; the number of other stock may also be relatively small. On the other hand a wealthy man may have a herd of over 50 cattle in his own homestead and the herds of members of his stock-group may be equally large. In such a case 100 cattle plus large numbers of other stock would not be impossible as compensation. Of course this theory might not work quite so smoothly in practice. For one thing the guilty man may send his herds off elsewhere to hide them - although with Turkana this cannot be easy since it is impossible to keep things a secret, and the injured group would send off men to seize such stock with a heightened sense of righteous indignation against the wrong-doer. In the second place all members of a man's stock-group may not always give him the support they should. Relations may already be strained, and some of them may be unwilling to reduce their herds in order to help him. Members of his extended family would be unlikely to take this attitude and even if they did their stock could be seized by the injured group. But more distantly connected men might get away without having to give support, willingly or unwillingly.

The demands of the injured group will be partly dependent upon the depth of feelings aroused by the offence. If only because the injured principal (or his heir if the man is dead) is to receive stock which he will share out, he will not usually be lacking in support from his own group. If the offence is particularly grave - and here perhaps some

x Turkana often say that this immunity to judicial action extends to all members of a man's clan. This is almost certainly untrue today, since as we shall see below, it is claimed theoretically that the whole of a man's clan should give him support in judicial affairs, including contributions to compensation payments and shares of receipts. This at any rate is not true in practice, any more than that the whole of the clan is involved in a man's complex of stock rights.

xx Or in the case of bridewealth and non-judicial matters, of the paying party.

difference between intentional and accidental homicide is recognised; repeated adultery or rape of an unwilling wife - feelings would run high and demands would be large, insistent and repeated. The same would be the case where the guilty party refused either to acknowledge guilt or to pay compensation. As we shall see it is recognised procedure that stock can be seized by force, involving fighting if necessary, if demands are not met. Once seizure and fighting begin the demands of the injured party are likely to increase in the heat of the struggle. More avaricious men take the opportunity to make greater demands. Some men are headstrong and easily worked up into emotional excitement when words and demands run high. Other men are more placid (none altogether so, however, since the Turkana temperament is not that way inclined); or there may be elder members of the injured group who act as restraining influences. Possibly the status of the injured man may be important. My information here is not consistent, but it is likely that an influential man will be able to make greater demands than a poor nonentity. The influential man will also have a larger stock-group to give support. I am uncertain here, but it does not seem likely that much difference is made whether the injured principal is man, woman or child. Cases of the murder of a child seem to involve no less compensation than where a man is murdered. An important factor is the nature of pre-existing relations between the two groups, especially the two extended families of the principals. Where friendly relations existed the injured party is likely to be more lenient. Often relations were already strained or may not have existed at all. In that event there is nothing to restrain maximum demands being made. Thus some men, when asked about the compensation for these gravest offences, say that all of the offender's stock should be taken, be he wealthy, or poor, and even that, be he poor, stock of his extended family etc., should be taken. Repeated demands should be made, they say, so that having taken all of the offender's herds, the injured party will return and take whatever he has been able to assemble over a few months - and again after a few more months. Only the injured party can declare compensation complete. Other men, when asked about it, say that just a few stock should be left to the offender in order to provide milk for his family. Even these less rigid demands, however, usually include one or more repeated demands. There seems to be no doubt that even with the more lenient people Turkana feel that an offender must be punished as much as possible and that the injured party should be compensated as much as possible, in those grave cases. The loss of a person, member of extended family, participant in stock rights, and friend is not only, I think, a cause of conventional action in judicial procedure, but is also a matter of genuine loss and emotional feeling. I have not come across a case of homicide, but I do know the way in which Turkana speak of it and the feelings they express. Although there is no strong corporate group, beyond the nuclear family as the basis of society, which will be actively depleted of a member, yet in the web of corporate activity and rights in stock there are people who will combine both to mourn the loss and to obtain compensation. As far as can be ascertained Turkana have no philosophic theory as to why compensation should be payable, or why stock are "equivalent" to the loss of a man, or certain other injuries. It is, to them, purely axiomatic. At first sight the inclusion of adultery amongst the gravest offences, along with homicide, may appear incongruous^{xx} but that is most definitely how Turkana see it. Indeed, since homicide is a very rare event; adultery is usually given alone, as the most serious offence known. It is not an uncommon event. The reason for the gravity of the offence of adultery is, I think, because it hits at the basis of the nuclear family, the one corporate, consistent and strong unit in society; and also because it goes against the monopoly of sexual rights in the wife gained by the husband by the payment of bride-wealth - a payment which is not a low one.^{xxx} There is also a certain magical taboo on adultery which is not unimportant.

x Some officers in the Administration have expressed some surprise and disagreement with Turkana views and have considered attempting to make a change to circumstances more compatible with English law.

xx Seldom less than 20-30 cattle, and about 100 goats and sheep and a few head of camels.

xxx These aspects of adultery will be more fully discussed in Chapter 18 below, p. 216.

Subject to all the qualifications mentioned above, an approximate figure of about 50 cattle, 200 goats and sheep and some camels would appear not out of the ordinary for compensation for adultery or homicide. But Turkana assure me, consistently, that a wealthy man would have to pay up to 100 cattle. On the other hand in generally poorer areas consistently lower payments might be expected. Thus men living in the most arid parts of Turkanaland suggested between 30 and 50 cattle, but (most significantly) 20 or 30 camels; i.e. 50 - 80 cattle if, as we must, we assume cattle and camels are equivalent. A really poor man cannot pay such amounts even if all his stock are taken, and all that can be obtained from his stock-group. Some informants tell me that this is just too bad, and accept it philosophically. Others say that then the poor man should be killed in compensation. As one man put it: "If there are no cattle, what else can one do?" Today blood vengeance is forbidden inasmuch as the avenger is held as a murderer by British courts. It is therefore difficult to get more than estimates. There are a few records of compensation claims for adultery. They are all between 50 and 60 cattle, although where a poor man was involved a payment of 50 goats and sheep and 10 cattle was allowed by a District Officer,^x whilst I have notes of a case where only 10 head of cattle were paid. It is, at this stage, extremely difficult to know what differences, if any, there are between original numbers demanded, numbers actually agreed on, and finally, numbers paid. Amongst the Bedouin it is a recognised practice to demand a very high number, which is afterwards whittled down at the insistence of neutral parties and even perhaps of the guilty party. It is possible that the Turkana may do something like this, especially in the cases where offenders are poor men.

Other offences fetch smaller compensation. Approximate figures given to me are:-

- more or less total incapacity, following wounds - about thirty cattle, at least 100 goats.
- loss of sight - 20-30 cattle, at least 100 goats.
- loss of, or loss of the use of, part of the body - up to 7 or 8 cattle, 10-30 goats.

N.B. (a) these are claims, not actual payments known to have been made;

(b) cattle and camels are regarded as roughly equivalent.

If a wounded man dies, even after "many months", it is regarded as homicide. Meanwhile, or until he gets better, the wounded man ought to be looked after by the guilty person and fed in his homestead.

In addition to these payments there must always be at least one ox extra to provide a purificatory slaughter. This ox is speared and its stomach cut open in the normal Turkana fashion. The undigested contents of the stomach are then smeared over the face, shoulders, chest and stomach of the victim and of the guilty person. This is done to adulterer and adulterous wife, to a murderer, a man who has wounded another and his victim. It may be noted here that this purificatory ox is the only animal payable in the case of rape of an unmarried girl, when the girl must be so smeared. Her father may go after the guilty man to fight him with stick and knife in righteous indignation. He cannot claim compensation for assault on his daughter.^{xx}

There must also be one or more animals to provide a feast when compensation is declared sufficient and the relevant ceremony of re-establishing normal relations between the two groups is carried out,

^x Mr. Ellerton in 1946. I do not know whether he accepted local demands or set the number himself.

^{xx} This was strongly argued in a recent case at the District Commissioner's hearing in Lodwar, and the Turkana could scarcely be persuaded to pay 2 head of cattle in addition to the purificatory ox. All my informants agree that no compensation is payable.

Sometimes the purificatory ox may suffice. At others where compensation proceedings have dragged out, the ox will have been killed earlier for each party separately, and other animals will be needed for the ceremonial feast.

The process of obtaining redress for an injury

As might be expected in Turkanaland, there is no formal process to be followed in order to obtain redress for an injury. There are no courts, no judges, no arbitrators, often no convenors of public gatherings. There is no structure of political offices through which action can be taken. No man owes allegiance to another politically. A man must primarily act for himself. An injury is a matter for the injured person, the guardian of that person, if the latter be a woman or child, or the heir if that person is killed - i.e. the principal. The process is one of self-help. However, no man stands by himself in social activities. In this case, he seeks and obtains, as of right, the support of his stock-group. Thus the principle of mutual help is set into operation. An injured party is responsible for taking action in the first place, but he does not, and cannot, take action alone. Even in minor disputes a man rarely acts completely alone, and if he does, he is well aware that his action will receive the moral support of local members of his stock-group.

Crimes and disputes can be classified as follows:-

1. Minor cases - i.e. where no compensation is payable -
 - (a) involving only fighting:
 - abuse; slander; milder forms of witch-craft;
 - ill-treatment of a relative or friend; denial of pasturage, water, etc.; Rape;
 - (b) involving restitution of property, possibly fighting in the first instance, and, if necessary, seizure by force:
 - theft of stock, theft of material possessions; non-fulfilment of obligations.
2. Major cases - i.e. where compensation is payable, although fighting may occur in the first instance, and seizure by force is the ultimate sanction. -
 - (a) fine ('ekichul'):
 - for fathering an illegitimate child;
 - (b) compensation ('akibuto'):
 - adultery, homicide, physical injuries.

N.B. Unless the consequences fall upon some individual, there can scarcely be any judicial action taken against an offender in general social or magico-religious matters. In general the breaking of ritual observances brings an automatic punishment of ill-health and misfortune. The practice of anti-social magic or witchcraft would only arouse public action when proceedings were begun by a particular injured party. For instance, the father, brother or son of a person killed by witchcraft would turn on the suspected witch, and, supported possibly by an enraged neighbourhood, drive him away or kill him. The only offence that can be committed is against an individual, and only he or his guardians can initiate action.

In all cases of injury, physical, material or moral, the first impulse of a Turkana is to fight, either to defend his actions or to avenge the supposed wrong. Even when later a compensation claim will be met, fighting most usually occurs. I have never obtained any clear account from a native as to why a man fights; it is more or less an automatic reaction in the heat of the moment, or of deeply incensed person. The Turkana themselves regard it as quite normal and in more minor cases scarcely think it reprehensible. Younger men are quicker to resort to fighting, but older men are not against it, and will get their sons to take physical action for them. Such being the temporary nature of Turkana emotions and the very general magnanimity of character, bad feelings are not usually left after a fight, once the affair is over and tempers cool. It is an outlet for uncontrollable feelings. What fights I myself have seen, have not resulted in much damage to either party. I mention this for, to a law-abiding European, it may seem of little consequence to say that, in this fighting,

spears cannot be used - only sticks, knives, stones and fists. In fact these apparently blood-thirsty weapons seldom do much harm. A cut or two, a bruise, and no more. Occasionally a serious injury might be given, but I have met nothing which could be a permanent disability. For one thing the contestants are usually so excited that they are not able to inflict much damage; for another fights do not last long and consist of more noise and jumping about, than actual blows; and finally, if the fight seemed likely to become serious by-standers would part the men. I am told that women sometimes fight each other with sticks, and I can well believe that they may. Women's disputes are, however, more likely to be domestic affairs involving temporary shrieking and scratching, before others step in. If a woman is injured by a man, her husband, or if she is unmarried, her father or brother, take her part against the offender.

In the minor offences as listed above it will be seen that some are caused for fighting only. Thus to take one example - abuse. If the injured person can get at his opponent in the heat of the moment, the fight would take place there and then as tempers were on edge. But if the offender were out of reach when the other man heard about it, it is probable that tempers would have mended before the two men met and nothing would come of it at all, unless it were reiterated again. On the other hand, in more serious affairs such as rape or the ill-treatment of a man's sister by her husband, the action remains deeply impressed on the relative of the injured girl or woman and he will seek to fight the offender whenever he meets him. Indeed he may go in search of him. If the injured party loses the fight, as there is no reason why he should not - nothing can be done except perhaps to resume the fight on another occasion. Although direct evidence is lacking here, I do not think a Turkana would make a secret, unexpected attack on the guilty man in such cases. He might possibly in cases of adultery and murder - as well as against an enemy tribes-man, - but not in these minor affairs. The point is that these are minor affairs; affairs mainly of injured feelings and unbalanced emotions of the moment. One does not relieve such feelings by crafty, cold-blooded, unexpected assault, but by direct challenge, high words followed by blows. Possibly, whether one wins or loses or if the fight is indeterminate, emotional satisfaction is obtained. I have seen two such men who came to my wife for first aid afterwards, for cuts and bruises, walk off together chatting amicably, where a little before they had fought bitterly.

In the case of theft, the stolen thing should be returned, or as close a substitute as possible. Thus either the stolen goats itself, or one which is as fat and large of the same sex; either the stolen feathers, or equally large, firm ones of the same colour. Occasionally simple restitution is sufficient so long as the affair is not settled in the heat of the moment of discovery. Often, however, the owner feels a not unjustified anger at his loss and will, as in all such cases, resort to force. He does not forfeit his right to restitution however. Petty thieving is fairly common in Turkanaland between Turkana themselves and a frequent cause of local quarrels. Most usually it is the youths and young men, not owning their own stock, without much responsibility, and who want a feast. They get a beating and their father must recompense the owner of the slaughtered animal. I know of no case where older men were involved in petty thieving - they can usually make their own feasts, or beg from someone, and have the responsibility of the head of a family and a stock owner. Hungry travellers are another source of petty thieving. In such cases, especially where the theft was for a feast, little is done apart from restitution. Unless the animal stolen was exceptionally valuable - dance-ox, bull, goat-buck, etc. - little is thought of it. The theft of a really valuable animal is seldom made. Such animals are too easily recognised by people other than the owner; and it is recognised that the owner's wrath will be great. He may even bring some supporters to beat up the offender very thoroughly. For much the same reasons large thefts of stock are most infrequent. I know of no cases at all. It is scarcely a feasible project

x It is instructive to note that neither my wife nor I ever had anything stolen by natives, except those very few who had had considerable contact with the European and the outside world. At one time, for example, we left a small tent full of equipment and food for a matter of nearly four weeks, entirely unguarded, except by the people who were living near, whom I asked to look after it for me.

in such a society as Turkana. It could hardly be carried out secretly, nor maintained a secret. It is a crime of such magnitude as not to be considered seriously. Only real enemy (i.e. a foreign tribesman) would do such a thing. Cases of thefts of material possessions follow the same lines as for stock. In all such cases restitution ends it all, except that the character of the offender may be besmirched a little. In fact most Turkana seem to regard petty theft as almost amusing, especially in the case of youths - as long as they themselves are not the owners of the 'stolen animals'.

Cases of non-fulfilment of obligations are similar in procedure to those of theft. Principally, what is required is payment of whatever is owing; e.g. repayment of a loan, an overdue part of bride-wealth, payment of a goat or ox for services rendered, etc. In each case however undue delay in payment without good reason, would possibly lead to fighting between the principals. Where payment was purposely delayed, or obligation denied, the creditor can and will go with his supporters and take by force what he claims is due. This may involve fighting again. Before such a drastic step, however, there will almost certainly have been discussion between the two parties, demands are made, evasions or denials offered. If there is good cause for delay, or it is a matter of the debtor's forgetfulness or laziness, the matter can be settled by discussion. I repeat, Turkana do not begin to use force or to fight, unless tempers and emotions run high. The matter of repayment of a debt, implementation of a promise of payment, is not primarily a fighting matter. It will be discussed amiably at first, and may be settled at that stage. True to the unspoken Turkana dictum, - if you do not ask for something you never get it, - these cases can be settled by the creditor seeking his rights. If there is good cause for delay, it cannot be helped. The creditor must wait, and meantime he will have re-established his rights for future reference.

In the event of major offences the nature of compensation has already been described. The fine ('ekichul') for fathering an illegitimate child is basically similar to compensation, except that it appears to be fixed at 30 head of stock. No other number has ever been given to me, and I have notes of a number of cases. Some informants say 30 cattle; others say a mixture of all types of stock to a total of 30 head. The indebtedness remains outstanding until the fine is completely paid off to the girl's father. Judicial procedure, i.e. traditional procedure by which wrongs are proved, and compensated, is the same for both 'akibuto' and 'ekichul'.

If the offender is present when the offence is discovered, i.e. in the heat of the moment, there will almost certainly be some fighting. A murderer might be killed himself, so might an adulterer; a man who has caused severe wounds might be beaten up, so might the lover of a pregnant girl. In these cases the injured person can scarcely take action himself, and close kinsmen and friends take his stand. If however the offender gets away, the heat of the moment passes. Feelings may be so deeply wounded however that the injured person's supporters may go after the offender to beat or kill him. Once away this is unlikely to happen to an offender, since he will normally take good care to keep out of the way, and in the adequate protection of his own supporters. Unless a pitched battle between the two groups is to occur he is pretty safe, and unless it does, force will temporarily give way to discussion. First each principal would be busy summoning as man of his stock-group as could be assembled quickly. They may possibly scarcely need summoning. As I have already said, the question of guilt and innocence is rarely debatable, although as a matter of form the offender may deny his guilt. But there is no court, no judge, and therefore no formal procedure necessary to prove guilt. What is debatable is the size of compensation and the time of payment. Such debate will be carried on between the two groups concerned until either mutual agreement is reached or until the injured party loses patience and goes to seize what it considers rightful, by force. Again the heat of the moment, and the depth of feeling, precipitate the use of force. Denials of guilt, offers of paltry numbers of stock, general evasion and unpleasantness, plus the general support of public opinion, may eventually cause feelings amongst the injured principal and his supporters to run high, so that direct action is taken. Sometimes, I am informed, direct action might be taken without preliminary attempts at discussion. It depends in either case on the feelings and opinions of the people concerned. Direct action consists in peremptorily seizing the guilty man's stock to the believed rightful

number for proper compensation. This can happen either as the stock are herded in the pastures or as they are in the kraals in the homestead. Spears again must not be used, but all other weapons may be. Deliberate assault on the people with the stock will not be made, unless those people attempt to protect their herds. Men and youths undoubtedly would so attempt unless quite hopelessly outnumbered. In that case therefore a pitched fight may occur, in which the attackers might be successful and go off with the stock, or they might be driven off themselves, still without compensation.

If discussions do occur they are informal, and anyone has a right to be present, and all interested parties have a right to express their views and opinions. If possible the elder members of the principals' extended families should be present, including the head of each. Their opinions and their claims to experience in such affairs are important, although they might be over-ruled and ignored by a roused and determined crowd of younger men. In cases where discussion had not occurred it might be instigated by a Senior-Man of the oldest age-sets, or by some other prominent local man whose influence gives him a hearing even in matters where he is neutral. These outstanding political figures do not, however, act as judges or even arbitrators. It is not their office, but that of the two groups involved. These important men are, if it may be put this way, merely the voice of public opinion giving its view on the case in particular and attempting to abolish the discord in social life that has arisen.

As I have stated previously, compensation is not necessarily all paid as the successful result of one demand. Also it is paid not only from the herds of the guilty principal but is made up by contributions of members of the stock-group. Similarly the compensation is not wholly retained by the injured principal but is partly distributed through his stock-group. Although the principal himself is chiefly responsible for declaring compensation sufficient, he must abide by any strong opinions amongst his supporters. He is not entirely a free agent. Sooner or later compensation will be believed adequate and the guilty party will be informed. To make the conclusion binding there must be a ceremonial end of the matter. The essence of this is a meat feast where the two groups eat the same animal although as distinct groups still. The meat is ritually divided. One common account is that a leg of the carcass is held by a representative of each group, one either end. The bone and meat are then broken in half by smashing it with a large stone, at the same time the injured party saying something like, "No more words. All words are finished. Compensation is paid. All is finished now." There is no set formula. I have been told by headman Imana, a reputable and reliable informant, that the ritual conclusion is made by the two representatives holding either end of a live goat, which is cut in half with a spear. Each group then eats its share of the carcass. Possibly both are permissible procedures. In any event once this ritual and the meat feast are over the whole matter is at an end. There is no element of a feud and continual vengeance, the idea of which may be raised again under fresh circumstances, as amongst some tribes. Indeed the value and nature of a feud is, I contend, entirely in contrast with the ethos of Turkana society. The institution of the feud, quite apart from tribal psychological considerations, necessitates a rather more corporate group organisation than is anywhere present in Turkanaland. The stock-group is too vague, too relative to each individual man, for it to be the basis of a feud. The development through time of the extended family alone would be enough to cut away the constituents of the feud. Also, there being no system of land rights, there is absolutely nothing to prevent one of the parties moving away out of social touch with the other, even if, as is actually inevitable, the stock-groups involved did not disperse geographically as well as socially.

A note on the nature of law and justice

The mainsprings of Turkana judicial procedure - i.e. the settlement of disputes and compensation of injuries - are self-help and mutual aid. Any action to be started must be at the initiative of the injured principal and his stock-group. The principal sanction of correct social behaviour, and of proper procedure when disputes do occur, is the

permanent possibility of resort to force by the injured party. On the other hand there are quite definite moral rules recognised and observed. Children are taught moral principles by their parents which are the principles behind adult social action. As might be expected these moral precepts do not exhort respect for one's distant ancestors nor obedience to superior persons and leaders; that is to say they are practical precepts for the social life of the people - indeed they are contained, by inference, in all of social organisation and social action. I give here some of those which young men gave to me, as told to them by their fathers. They appear to be traditionally phrased, since I have been given them in chorus by young men.

- 'Nikoko ibere etoin' - "do not steal a person's things"
- 'Niorek apethe a etoin' - "do not seduce a person's daughter"
- 'Niar emong iche etoin' - "do not kill the ox of (another) man"
- 'Ani ebuni, teji' - "if someone comes (to attack you) fight (him)"
- 'Netanyama akero, tanyam - "when you are hungry eat your own animals"
'ngebarin lukun'
- 'Nuterun erono, eroko - "false witness is bad, false witnesses are bad"
ngiterun'
- 'Nia ngakero tolimok - "tell people true words, not slander
etungunan, isomathi naelioko' and lies"
- 'Eya ngakero arei - "there are words that are true, lies are bad"
iteni, erono eliko'
- 'Nibuliar ngide' - "do not beat (and frighten) children"
- 'Toythikina ngidekun - "start off your sons with stock" (i.e. when the
ngebarin' sons marry)
- 'Toting logerr lokolon - "look after your dependents as I have looked
atingitur aiyon ion' after you in the past"
- 'Erono etoin erkapilan; - "a person who is a witch is evil; he goes
erimerime ngitunga' round and round (the home-steads of) people
(at night)" i.e. the conventional actions of
a witch when attempting to harm other people.

In addition to these maxims, there are other moral precepts which men express from time to time, such as:- "it is wrong to fight about land"; "an adulterer is very bad"; "when a man refuses to give back your stock, you fight with him"; "I helped you earlier, you must help me now"; "you must give me meat when you kill an animal" - All these are extracts from ordinary conversation and discussion, being axioms upon which some particular action or opinion is based at the time.

In addition it must be re-emphasised that all Turkana consider themselves "one people" ('ngitunga epei'), or "brothers", amongst whom there can be no fighting with spears, and between whom compensation is payable for all injuries. The range of political action will be described a little later, but here it is important to note that outside of a man's stock-group relations between himself and other Turkana are based on these same moral principles. Turkana society is not divided into objective groups, so there are not intra-group and extra-group relations and moral principles, (as there might be were clans of ritual importance, or strong political or territorial groups) Moral principles are universal and non-sectional as far as other Turkana are concerned.

Since there are no specified codes of law, nor any persons who make, perpetuate or explain the law, legal action can only rest upon the moral principles of each individual, influenced and supported by his own stock-group and associates. The legal system is directly based on moral principles of the people's social life. A man believes he is wronged, and attempts to take action to make it right again. Political or legal

expediency is not known; each man has little that could compel him to observe it, even if it did exist. Thus Turkana law is at once fairly simple and individualised. Legal procedure is force, mitigated by institutional techniques aimed at avoiding or decreasing the likelihood of bloodshed, or continuation of the anti-social antagonism between certain individuals and groups. It is difficult, if not impossible, to state the laws of Turkana, for to a certain extent each man interprets it according to his own circumstances and feelings. More certainly it is impossible to give the penalty of an offence. As already explained penalties, at least compensation, are a matter of discussion and can vary a great deal.

The outstanding exception to the uniformity of the application of moral principle and legal procedure, is the stock-group. A man cannot seek compensation from a man to whom he is already related by common stock rights. More importantly however a Turkana will say that he cannot take legal action against such a man. It would be a negation of the whole relationship, i.e. of mutual rights and obligations. If offence is so grave or repeated then the relationship would be broken. Neither side would recognise rights of the other. In that case action by force or discussion might follow. It is, I think, obvious that a man cannot claim compensation from his paternal cousin, or his brother-in-law. Any physical injury must be forgotten once the purificatory animal has been eaten. Over-due debts must be collected by friendly persuasion, and more latitude allowed. Legal action and the continuity of stock relationships are incompatible. Brothers have been known to fight each other, even a man and his brother-in-law, but it is most uncommon, and very unfortunate. It must be remembered also that because of the pre-existing relationships, it is highly unlikely that such men will give serious offence to another. Theft is out of the question for one has a right to demand stock, and other possessions. Even the heat of the moment is unlikely to result in fighting between the men. Adultery or homicide is not unknown between such men, but is considered grave enough to be hurriedly hushed up, or to split up the stock-group beyond re-integration. There are also some general magical sanctions. In-law relationships are partly involved in magical ideas, especially as between a man and his father- and mother-in-law. An offence by one of these parties would be the cause of magical as well as human retribution. Like many Turkana magico-religious notions, this is not well defined, but a vague threat. Similarly adultery by a brother is involved in magical dangers. In general pre-existing relationships are usually sufficient to prevent any offences between such persons; and when they do occur, relations may often be strong enough to prevent any strictly judicial action being taken. As was noted in cases of jealousy, friction, etc., between co-wives, so with estrangement between such men, it is always possible for the two parties to live a good distance apart so that whilst the formal relationship is not severed the everyday aspects can be ignored. Mobility of movement, lack of land rights and the separation of pastures easily allow of this.

Because of the importance and strength of stock rights upon which the group (or the collection of relationships involved) depends, support must most usually be unequivocal. The guilt of the principal must not be conceded on the one hand, extenuating circumstances played down on the other. A man cannot be expected to tell the truth where it goes against his own side, nor can he in any way support action against one with whom he has stock-relationships. To give an example of this: following a theft of some shillings of one of my camel syces, I told the man to go to the local headman about it. The thief was known immediately because he was the only man who could have had the opportunity to take the money. He and his family denied everything. As it happened the accused was the brother-in-law of the headman. Without going into the case at all, the headman said that he could have nothing to do with it. The man who had lost the money, and the rest of his associates (my Turkana staff) did not grumble against this decision. To them it was perfectly natural that the headman could not precipitate action against his brother-in-law. In point of fact the headman was sure enough of the guilt of the accused to offer compensation to my syce in the form of milk and meat for the fortnight that I remained there. I am told, for I know of no such case myself, that if the offence is serious then the least the guilty man's stock-group can do is to stand aside. They may attempt to mitigate the punishment, they certainly will where compensation is to be paid; but they

will not take, or actively support, any action against the man. It would be quite impossible if the strength of the relationship is to be maintained. Here the Turkana recognise that social ties take precedence over moral principles - or, we may say, that a higher moral principle (that involved in the composition and maintenance of the stock-group - for moral principle it ultimately is) takes precedence over less principles.

In conclusion of this description of judicial procedure it may be pointed out that, in my experience and according to my information, crime is not common amongst the Turkana, apart from petty thieving and such minor temporary matters of everyday life. Cases of adultery can be found, but the stability of marriage indicates their relative infrequency. Cases of homicide are even rarer. I know of no specific ones, although the Administration have had to deal with a few cases.^x The even tenor of this largely untouched native social life is usually only marred by the local fight following the theft and slaughter of a goat, or the violent disagreement of opinions. Once over, it is over and done with for good. Normal relationships will be scarcely affected, if at all.

The range of political action

Theoretically and according to the Turkana themselves, the whole of the tribe is a single political unit. That is to say that within the tribe customary law is the same between all people and groups of people in whatever part of the country they are living; compensation is payable between all Turkana, and it is murder for one Turkana to kill another, unlike the lawful feat of killing a foreigner; Turkana should never take spear against another Turkana but only jointly against common foes; and in addition, a special feature of the tribal unit is the complete ownership of all land and usufruct of land. If this were strictly adhered to it would infer that the tribe is a good deal more a corporative unit than is in fact the case. Even in military affairs, perhaps the largest scale activity of the people, offensive forces were made up on a rough regional bases. Turkana from the north did not take part in raids on the Suk, any more than those from the south took part in raids on Taposa, and so on. In practice a man's normal sphere of activities, economic and social, does not bring him into contact with fellow tribesmen in relatively distant parts of the country, either in co-operative affairs or in judicial matters. It is impossible if only because of the large tribal area, relatively sparsely populated, and with no centralised organisation. At any one time the tertiary neighbourhood marks the limit of the range of a man's political unit. Other members of this unit are near enough, territorially, for relations to be maintained as and when necessary. Outside this unit a man seldom comes into contact with other men; although it must be remembered that the membership of such a unit is really relative to each secondary neighbourhood, and also continually changing from season to season and year to year. Considering judicial action alone - it is fairly easy to reach them and make one's demands and discuss matters. Moreover the use of force is easier over short distances. It is impossible for me to say how far judicial action can be taken beyond these approximate limits. In the first place, however, note that it cannot often be the case that such action is called for. Men who seldom, if ever, come into contact with one another, seldom if even make trouble for each other. In theory, for instance, compensation is payable throughout the whole of the tribe; in practice in those few cases where compensation ought to be made outside the tertiary neighbourhood, it must be increasingly difficult to organise over a distance. In practical terms it means that a body of men have to walk a long distance into regions where they neither know people, nor are known by people. Neutral opinion in a "foreign region" would (if I may put it this way) scarcely be neutral any longer, but rather opposed to the unknown band. A murderer for instance might be able to get away a sufficiently good distance to prevent effectively the chances of either taking blood vengeance or successfully claiming compensation. Debts would be difficult to recover. On the other hand the judicial process can be temporarily suspended until, in the constant web of migrational movements, the two parties come within striking distance again. I know of few cases where judicial action was required outside the rough limits of a tertiary neighbourhood, except where other special reciprocal ties existed. Thus, for instance, a father-in-law is in an exceptionally good position to obtain outstanding bridewealth payments from a son-in-law as long as the latter feels bound by the in-law relationship and the sanctity of marriage.

x Here I do not refer to European notions of murder but only to native ideas. Thus the killing of a foreign tribesman or of a witch or adulterer, is not homicide to the Turkana.

I can only suggest that the effective political unit at any one time is the range over which persuasion and force can successfully be used. But the composition of this unit changes almost continually, so that an offender who is at one time outside the limits, may at a later date be within them.

The nature and scope of political leadership and influence

Throughout the foregoing description of Turkana social structure I have been at pains to point out frequently, in the relevant context, the absence of either formal political leaders, or coherent corporative groups capable of taking consistent political action. Further in the description of judicial procedure and law I have shown that it is up to an injured person to initiate and, with the support of his stock-group, put through action either to recover stolen property or debts, or to obtain compensation. The general trend of public opinion was shown to be only a general, background feature, unorganised and not explicit. Nevertheless there are occasions when political action must be initiated, if not directed by ad hoc leaders both in the purely judicial sphere and elsewhere. There are also men who are both able and even willing to do this, and who to a greater or lesser degree can be sure of a following.

Leadership even if not residing wholly in a single individual at any one time, must at least reside in a collection of a few men whose views tend to coincide. Public opinion remains relatively inchoate, a matter of a range of views and possible action, unless some kind of leadership arises. Occasionally public opinion may be so uniform and so aroused that common action follows, almost inspired. The general wrath against a witch may "boil over" and precipitate violent action. Even here, as I pointed out earlier, it is unlikely to happen except at the instigation of a particular injured individual in a particular case. And that individual would act anyway even if neutral parties were not moved to help. He would, in fact, expect that help, but acts in any event. The opinions of disinterested parties, then, lead to action spontaneously, seldom, if ever. In most purely judicial cases, only the groups directly involved take action - neutrals stand apart as close spectators. One function of a political system, the organisation of law and order, is left in the hands of interested parties. This is one of the principal political processes in more complex societies. A second important political process is the authorisation and control of change in law and custom relating to the political unit as a whole. At the present time Turkana live in a relatively static society, minor changes, only, occurring, such as changes of dress and ornaments and the introduction of a few new material goods. The colonisation of new territories over the last sixty or seventy years or more, has been purely an individual affair. There has been no control, nor any features to favour one group as against another. Individuals (or rather individual families) moved as it was thought expedient. Others stayed behind, equally at their own desires. Again the everlasting movement of herds and families is purely an individual matter as I have already described.

The scope of political action involving the collective action of groups of people, and therefore also involving a degree of leadership, is restricted. Nevertheless it does exist. In the old days one of the most important aspects of this was in the field of external relations; i.e. in practice, raiding and defence. Whilst being properly aware of the limitations of leadership here yet some leadership there is. We have seen that the acknowledged war-leaders ('ngikartobok') and the diviners played important roles. In age-set activities the Senior-Man is acknowledged at least as first amongst equals. Certain men, at certain times, take it upon themselves to enjoin conciliation and discussion upon opposed parties in judicial affairs. Perhaps most important of all is that leadership demonstrated in the position of local influential men. They are those who may initiate gatherings to discuss local problems, who may act as a very vague kind of chairman, whose opinions are respected and advice followed, who are informed on local affairs, and who initiate local social events such as initiation, large dances, feasts, etc. Enough has perhaps been said already in this Report to show the strongly individualistic nature of the Turkana people and of

their disinclination to be led. There is almost total lack of social sanction that can compel a native to follow others; there is much to induce him to follow his own desires. At any gathering any man, young or old, rich or poor, may and does express his opinion on any matter of discussion. Native tradition, custom and law is seldom complex enough for men to become outstanding as bearers of tradition and tribal lore. Little premium is put on old age, therefore, as a claim to the wisdom of experience. Any man unwilling to follow leadership can easily dissociate himself, either in the particular instance, or totally, by moving away with family and herds. Thus any claim to leadership must necessarily be in general terms and delicately imposed. It is, in fact, largely ad hoc, according to the situation. This is so even where some man is credited with outstanding influence which in itself is more or less persistent. He is most unlikely to be leader in all affairs at all times. Moreover, because of the movements of the people, the creation and disintegration of neighbourhoods, the collection of people, amongst whom such a man exercises this influence, changes continually.

In society political leadership usually, if not always, emerges from leadership of important groups within the general structure, or by virtue of certain properties of a magico-religious nature. In Turkana society the only groups which show any degree of cohesion and corporate action are the age-set, the co-operative community and the extended family.^x The age-set plays a certain but not entirely fixed part in warfare, but Senior-Men of sets are not necessarily, or perhaps even usually, war-leaders. Today the military aspect of the age-set organisation is gone. In peaceful activities age-sets function largely as esoteric groups with few external functions. They do, it is true, play a part in furthering and protecting rights of members, but such action is mainly relevant to each individual, and not organised activity under specific leadership. There are no police or other political functions attached to any set as such. The organisation and external functions of the co-operative community are not yet clear enough for me to suggest them as important political groups. I think it is unlikely that they act as groups in relation to the rest of society; nor that the influential man (or men) in a community acts in the rest of society by virtue of his position in a community. The position and powers of the head of an extended family are not specific either. As I pointed out earlier his position depends largely on the degree of relationship with the heads of member nuclear families. Extended families, like nuclear families, are universal and relatively homogeneous. Since they rarely have a depth of more than three generations their sizes are neither large nor unequal. There are no special extended families, or patrilineal lines, which are supposed to be any more important than any others. Each member of an extended family has stock-right relationships outside the family, which to a certain extent are relative to him alone. As we have seen the operative unit of judicial action is not the extended family but the stock-group. True, the head of the extended family should, if possible, take a prominent part in members' judicial affairs (and also in a marriage); but always the chief person is the principal in the particular affair to hand. Men do not ever act purely as members of an extended family, under the leadership of its acknowledged head. They only involve the extended family in certain affairs as a chief element in a rather wider and vaguer group.

x I ignore here the nuclear family group, which by its universal existence and homogeneous make-up prevents it being important as a factor in political leadership. It may be noted however that a man must not only be the head of his own nuclear family, but must also have a sufficiently large family to leave him plenty of leisure time, if he is to undertake any kind of leadership. For example, a man with average herds and few if any sons or younger brothers or dependents, will have to spend more time in actual herding and supervisory work and will spend less time in purely non-family matters.

Another general quality of political leadership is the possession of magico-religious virtues. The only people who have these in Turkanaland are diviners, and to a much lesser extent, Senior-Men. My information on diviners is not satisfactory, but, especially since the cessation of war, my impression is that they are largely magico-religious, functionaries in a society which, by and large in everyday affairs, is not greatly swayed by such things. Turkana attitude to life is typically matter-of-fact. They seek magico-religious help and support, but do not depend on it. Consequently the diviner seldom achieves great importance even if his specialised powers give him a degree of fame. If he does achieve importance, it is at least most probable that other qualities are involved.

Qualities and opportunities for leadership

I shall now examine the qualities and opportunities for leadership and influence in Turkanaland. Before proceeding, however, it is essential to point out that it is seldom, if ever, the case that a man achieves a degree of influence and importance on the basis of only one quality or opportunity. The most important man I have met have invariably enjoyed a combination of opportunities, even all of those set hereunder.

(1) Wealth in stock

This is a valid reason, in itself, for respect. More importantly, it is the basis of a wide range of personal relationships based on stock rights. See pages 103 - 107 above.

(2) War leadership

In earlier days this was a most important quality for leadership in non-military affairs, as well as important in such a vital matter as war. Although war is now ended, there are still former war-leaders who remain prominent men. War-leadership is also a kind of training in influencing men, making decisions, etc. Reputation as a warrior is also important.

(3) Personality and ability

This is bound up with all other qualities, for in the egalitarian Turkana society a man must stand out in purely inter-personal, informal relationships if he is to attain any influence over other men. It is a 'sine qua non' of war leadership along with skill and success in military activities. Where there is little or no institutional mechanism to support leadership, it must in the last resort depend upon a man's own personality and ability to gain and keep influence. It can rarely if ever be sufficient on its own; for example, I have known poor men who are above average in general ability and force of personality, but who never appear to stand a chance of much influence in this society.

(4) Position of Senior-Man of an age-set

This can be important in respect of the seniormost age-sets, in so far as it is combined with other qualities. See pages 131-2 above.

(5) Position of Government headmen

This is an entirely novel feature in Turkana society. It will probably be increasingly important, associated as it is on the one hand with that supreme control of force and authority, the British Administration, and on the other hand with increasing wealth in stock from the regular cash income. It is interesting to note, however, that where the Administration's choice of headman does not coincide with other indigenous qualities of leadership, the headman has little following and influence except as formal representative of government in matters of tax-collection and a medium for British officers.

In conclusion, it may have been noticed that I have used the two words "leadership" and "influence" more or less interchangeably as equivalents. Influence does, I think, adequately define the type of leadership that exists in Turkana society. Only in a very restricted sense can a headman give orders because of the Administration back of him.

These criteria may be compared with a list made by Wagner in his essay on the Bantu of North Kavirondo in "African Political Systems" 1940. There he gave:- (a) the privileges of primogeniture; (b) wealth; (c) the quality of being a good speaker and debater; (d) reputation as a warrior; (e) possession of magico-religious virtues; (f) age. (pp. 230-5).

and even then he is likely to be ignored as an upstart, until the British begin to make trouble. Purely indigenous leaders can never issue orders to implement plans. There is nothing whatsoever to compel anyone to obey and follow him. Even sons are not too susceptible to their fathers' discipline. Leadership is rather implied in social activities than expressly acknowledged. The leader is he whose opinions are listened to after everyone else has had his say and is silent; he is the one whose policies are often, but not always, followed. His range of information and personal allegiances is greater. He achieves fame and respect not only for the frequency of his meat feasts and gifts of milk, but also for the number of wives he has, the sizes of bridewealth he has paid,^x and perhaps the number of sons he has. If he is a really able man he will appreciate that he cannot drive but can only lead and modify the actions and plans of his fellows. He scarcely forces his way to the front or makes himself too consciously prominent. Otherwise influence would over-balance into an attempt at authority, which would be opposed to the egalitarian nature of society and its members. Most collections of men living near each other temporarily (i.e. secondary neighbourhoods) have one or more influential men - not always, however, the same man for the whole time or in every affair. Some men achieve a much wider influence beyond the limits of purely temporary neighbourhoods. The autobiographies of Ekol and Lonyamong^{xx} give some account of the rise of two such men in pre-British days. Such men appear, above all, to be gifted with that ability and personality which makes their influence important, widespread and, of course, successful.

A note on the effect of the British Administration upon Turkana judicial system

The over-riding authority of the British Administration has, of course, introduced an entirely new feature into Turkana politics and judicial systems. Administrative officers, with the usual powers of magistrates in the Colony, are able to try different degrees of judicial cases, and to award and enforce punishments and compensation. There is of course, in the normal way, appeal to higher courts against verdicts and sentences of local officers acting in their capacities as magistrates.

Nowhere in Kenya has the final distinction between native customary law and English law been closely defined - doubtless it is not entirely possible. However it is a very general ruling that in the more serious cases (from an English point of view) English law prevails over native law. Thus in Turkanaland it is considered murder if an adulterer or a witch is killed, although according to Turkana custom it is not regarded as punishable homicide, but entirely justifiable action against what is felt to be a most grave threat to an individual. Similarly warfare has been made a serious crime by the Administration, and the killing of an enemy is also considered to be murder. On the other hand charges of witchcraft are not provable in an English court and cannot be recognised as crimes in themselves by an English officer, although steps may be taken to try and put a stop to the trouble being caused by a supposed witch. Finally English law will not allow the use of force by an individual in any judicial process, i.e. to exact compensation or revenge. Nor do English notions of justice allow of the seizure or payment of the whole of a man's stock in compensation.

At the same time it must be noted that the Administration is not, so far, well equipped to learn of all the crimes and disputes, whether concerning English or native law. There is no permanent policing of all, or even most, of the country, and natives, neither understanding nor trusting the Administration, do not bring up cases before officers. Cases reach the ears of officers either by direct report by the individual concerned, to one of the two Government stations or to an officer on safari, or by indirect report via the local headmen. Apart from the general mistrust by the Turkana, the infrequency of

x Usually increased in gossip and local history.

xx Appendix No. 8.

safaris and the long distances between Lodmar and Lokitaung and many parts of the country, make direct reports relatively infrequent and unsatisfactory. Indirect report depends on the relations between headmen and natives on the one hand and between headmen and the Administration on the other. Often the latter, not infrequently the former, are not what they might be. Neither individual native nor headmen appreciate any other outlook and values than their own. They do not welcome or understand the intrusion of foreign legal values and procedure. Both prefer to get a dispute decided by their own customs, and not to introduce the Administration at all. The Administration do not wish to be involved in all cases, only the more serious ones or those where settlement is not reasonably reached.

The headman as a new and, moreover, a permanent, influential man has tended to become an arbitrator and conciliator; but anything he may do depends most particularly on his own ability, personality and general position as a Turkana, rather than as a headman. Some headmen have this general influence; others do not. Scarcely any headman is willing quickly to intrude himself into a dispute where he is a neutral party - and indeed if he often tries to do so he will quickly become unpopular. No headman is willing to be an impartial conciliator where he is an interested supporter of one of the disputants. In addition it must be remembered that in many of the most densely populated areas - dry season grasslands - there are usually no headmen for long periods.

The position is, therefore, that indigenous judicial values and procedures continue relatively unaltered, except for those few special serious cases newly introduced as crimes.^x On the other hand it seems that the new right of appeal or of reference to an officer affords disgruntled persons a chance to obtain intervention on their behalf. The Administration is looked upon as a kind of appeal court in some, but not all, instances. Also it is looked upon as an institution which may be able to take action for an individual in an area where he himself cannot; e.g. a case of adultery where the adulterer lives a good distance away out of reach (at least temporarily) of indigenous procedure, i.e. a Turkana from a distant region or a foreigner. In very many cases where complaint has been lodged with an officer the dispute has been going on for some time without success for the injured party.

Apart from the headmen and their sub-headmen (all of whom are Administrative nominees) there are no local native officials whether indigenous or appointed, so there is bound to be a good deal of difficulty in keeping a check on headmen, and also in obtaining the support and action of other people. Other local influential men have no particular reason for wanting to help the Administration; nor do they, in their tribal life, regard themselves as anything like formal conciliators or spokesmen.

x Though it is by no means to be taken for granted that all such cases reach the attention of officers.

PART THREE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INDIVIDUALCHAPTER 17FROM BIRTH TO MARRIAGEPregnancy and birth

The early diagnosis of pregnancy is made by a woman's co-wives, who, when they are sure, inform their husband. In the case of a first pregnancy, especially, but also at later occurrences, the husband must inform the wife's parents. In the former case only, either her father or her mother - I am not sure whether it is invariably the father, invariably the mother, or a matter of indifference which - come to the son-in-law's homestead where the daughter is living, bringing a he-goat, a sheep, tobacco and grain and fat. The animals are slaughtered outside the homestead and the parent must skin and cut up the carcasses. The skins are given to the daughter for her sleeping-mats (her husband will already have provided her with some skins for mats and hut roofing), the meat provides a feast for the husband and his age-mates who assemble at the homestead, although women's portions are retained for women of the family. The tobacco is given to the age-mates. Afterwards the husband gives his parent-in-law a sheep which is killed outside the homestead, and the meat of which is taken home by the parent-in-law the following day.

The significance of this ritual is probably the setting of the seal on the marriage after the ability to produce children is shown in pregnancy. It also sets the seal on the in-law relationship thus begun, for hitherto the respective men have only eaten at the same formal feast either as strangers (before the marriage), or at the wedding feast where they ate in specifically separated groups.

I am told that during pregnancy the woman should not eat honey,^x she must not be smeared with the stomach contents of a goat (i.e. the normal method of ritual purification), nor must she cut up camel meat, although she may cut up goat or beef. I have not been given an explanation of these taboos. The husband may sleep with his wife until she is about six months pregnant. The normal diet is available to the woman as far as she wishes. We have encountered pregnant women who, from personal inclination, do abstain from some food which they personally think does not agree with them at the time, e.g. milk, grain. Turkana are of course well aware of physiological processes involved in pregnancy and birth, and if the woman is not closely related, nor present in the company, she is said to be 'epoti' - "pregnant" (literally "carrying a load"). The husband is unwilling to use this word, or indeed to discuss the matter, and will only, if essential to refer to his wife's condition, say that she has a "child inside". Whether this is conventional or whether it indicates a more deep-seated disinclination to talk about it, I do not know. On the whole Turkana do not talk about such personal matters. The woman does not appear to be in any particular state of impurity. She can, for instance, still carry on her usual work with the stock. Indeed until she is not strong enough she continues to carry on as usual in all activities. Both men and women are solicitous of her welfare, however, and she will not be forced to do more than she feels able. Right up until actual parturition she continues to mix with all her usual associates, even after she has ceased much active work. This is the normal thing for any person who is temporarily incapacitated. A sick woman, for instance, carries on as best she can, not from any harsh compulsion of her husband or co-wives, but because she desires to remain an active member of the family group in work and leisure.

x In Turkanaland honey is a rare delicacy, so that this taboo is not very arduous.

The actual birth, in the case of a married woman, should take place in her homestead, and in her night-hut if possible. There are no specialised midwives; the conventional helpers being the man's mother and her co-wives. Very often her sister comes just before the expected time of birth in order to do her work and help her generally. A concubine ('apethe angabus') must have her baby outside the homestead of her father (or brother) in the bush, where the afterbirth is left. She then returns into the homestead and lives in her night-hut. If the baby is a boy the umbilical cord is cut with a spear; if a girl, the cord is cut with a knife. The woman gives birth kneeling down with her knees spread widely apart. The actual birth is not necessarily a private affair and the husband's kinsfolk and local friends come to await the event and to congratulate the father. I might say, proud father, for even the father of an already large family, is inordinately pleased and proud of his wife's success and of his new child. Whether son or daughter, the new child is welcomed unreservedly.

The wife must remain inside her night-hut for at least 4 or 5 days. The hut is covered with skins and she is not expected to do anything but rest. At the end of 3 or 4 days the baby's head is shaved. A goat is provided by the husband for a purely female feast, attended by the new mother, and all other women who come, including of course, all the women and girls of her own household. The skin of this goat provides a carrying skin for the baby.

After the birth completely new fire must be made in, or at the entrance to, the new mother's night-hut. Everyone knows how to make new fire, and anyone can do it in this instance. Ordinary fire-sticks are used, such as are used on any occasion when new fire is made.^x The actual time for which a new mother remains in her night-hut is not fixed. It is a period of recuperation and convalescence for her, not so far as I know, connected with any taboo, etc. When I told one man that I knew of a woman who left her hut after five days, he said, "That is bad. She will not be well. She will not easily have other children." The usual period is between five and ten days. Before she emerges out of her hut the mother must ritually wash the baby in hot water. After that both she and the baby can emerge.

When the baby is born the parents of the woman are informed, but there is no formal news-telling, nor always a special messenger sent. If her parents live near they will hear more or less straightaway, if not, it is likely that the husband sends someone to tell them.

The father-in-law comes to see his daughter and the baby, and a small meat feast is given by the man. The mother-in-law is not allowed to enter her son-in-law's homestead, so she must wait until her daughter can visit her later on. Usually, though this is not compulsory, the father gives a few animals to his daughter and son-in-law, as also does the husband's father.

The new mother is not forced to recommence her work again but takes it up gradually as she feels able to do. A month must elapse before she can enter the kraals or milk the stock.^{xx} I do not know of any ceremony or ritual purification at that time. After the month has elapsed the baby is dressed with a few beads around the stomach, neck, wrist and ankles. This does not seem to be a ritual, but rather a desire of mother and father to see the child decorated as a typical Turkana. Until that time the baby wears nothing. At this time also the child is given charms by

x Usually a woman gets her fire from a co-wife or neighbour who has a fire going. On this occasion it is insisted that completely new fire be made. No explanation is given, beyond the statement that it is 'etalio', i.e. compulsory from a general magical sanction. Cp: page 69.

xx A month (i.e. a moon) is calculated here from the stage of the moon at the time of the birth until the same stage of the succeeding moon.

its mother and made by her - usually a few rough-hewn wooden beads, perhaps the claw of a goat, or a piece of goat or cowskin. These are fastened round the neck and retained for life. A good many men and women continue to wear them always; all people keep them and use them in times of insecurity, disease and danger. They have a vague magical protective value, seemingly purely because they came from the mother at this very early stage when the baby first achieves recognition as an individual.

Personal names

Contrary to the idea stated by one or two writers previously, there is no one set way by which a child is named. Every child has at least two names - a big name and a mother's name. It is probable that the latter, the mother's name, which is entirely the concern of the mother alone, is given her when her baby is born. It is some name that takes her fancy or refers to some event at or just after the birth. This name is used by the child's mother, and possibly occasionally by the father. The "big name" ('ekero larpulan') is the one which is in general rule, and which a person normally gives when asked. I have already described on page 106, one method of giving this name, i.e. by getting another man, a kinsman or friend of the father or mother, to "give" his name to the baby. This is not an invariable practice, especially where the family is large. After the first few children, unless special circumstances make it advisable, other men are no longer asked to give their names. It appears to be the father who decides the determination of the big name. He may choose the name of a recent ancestor, of some natural phenomena related to the approximate time of birth,^{xx} he may choose some name that he fancies, or the name of his dance-ox. It is difficult to disentangle reasons afterwards. I have never heard of any magico-religious value in names. A person's names are very ordinary and common-place. It is worth pointing out again how the Turkana do not associate the names of people or groups of people (e.g. age-sets, clans, sections) with the literal meaning of the name. A name in itself has no intrinsic value or meaning to Turkana. Consequently the apparently most inappropriate personal names are given, such as "the stupid one", "donkey", "sheep", "territorial section", "mountain", and so on. They are not incongruous to Turkana. I doubt if they ever think about it. It is not important.

This name is given by the father, or "god-father", if any, at the end of the first month of the child's life, when it can be taken among the stock and wears beads and charms.

Apart from these two names, which every person has, there may be other names, which are either nicknames given by friends at any time, or special names used by a lover. There is no rule about these any more than there is in e.g. England. But sometimes a child - not usually a grown-up - will have four or five names by all of which it is commonly known amongst brother and sisters, young friends and parents. Older sisters sometimes use the special mother's name for a young child. At first sight it is most confusing for a newcomer - especially a newcomer who wants to take genealogies, etc. The average Turkana newcomer is little troubled by all this since he just ignores the children and all their names, contenting himself with "child".

It is perhaps relevant to add that, for a man, two other names can be added in adult life. One is the ox-name, i.e., taken from the name of a man's dance-ox. This may change as frequently as the dance-ox itself

x As was explained earlier this request of a man is one means of seeking a kind of formal friendship with that man, both for the father and for the child. A father will not wish to continue to contract such obligations over more than a few children. On the other hand, if circumstances necessitate and make a new formal tie valuable, it can be done, among other ways, by asking the man to become "god-father" of the latest baby.

xx E.g. "hyena" because of hyena being seen or heard at the time; or the name of the place at which or a geographical feature nearby the place where birth occurred.

does. Secondly, there is the hero's name given by fellow-warriors to a man who is proved to have killed an enemy. This name invariably ends in '-moi', from 'emoit' - "enemy", and has some kind of reference though not always very specifically, to the feat performed. Some men seem to be known by this name more or less by everyone; others are only called by it on special occasions.^x

Infancy

For two or three months the young baby is not taken out very much, but remains in the mother's hut, completely covered with skins to protect it from any rays of the sun or very strong light that might filter through the structure of branches and leaves. Even when it is first carried abroad the infant remains a skin-covered bundle on a girl's back with its feet only protruding. Sometimes, if not always, it is first carried on the back of a young girl whose back is not so broad as that of the mother.^{xx} Later the mother carries her own child. It is always carried on the back in the goatskin sling. Not until it is six or seven months old is it carried with a bare head. Babies are so carried until they are about two years old. The mother carries it everywhere she goes and does most of her work whilst the baby is on her back, usually fast asleep. Thus she milks, fetches firewood, cuts up carcasses, repairs fences, goes visiting, all with her baby. We have seen mothers, carrying a few months old baby, joining in the dance in the evenings. So early is the Turkana introduced to the dance! Apart from the inconvenience of leaving her baby unattended, a mother undoubtedly likes to carry her baby about with her. She chatters and sings to it as she walks and works. She jogs up and down to soothe it.

Both parents are extremely and obviously proud and fond of their young children. After about the age of four or five, when there are often younger babies and when the child is becoming somewhat independent, this attention cools off, especially on the father's part. Until such time however a child is petted, spoilt and played with. We have seen not only mothers, but fathers also, playing with a young baby, singing lullabies to it, dancing it up and down to Turkana dance rhythms. Men will put up with almost any amount of nuisance from an infant. Mothers are completely absorbed in the child, even if it is no longer a novelty to have a small baby. There is always great solicitude for a baby. When food, especially milk, is scarce, a first share is always retained for the youngest children. Indeed they may often be the only persons drinking milk in the latter part of the dry season. All Turkana have a weak spot for infants, whether their own or other people's.

A mother breast-feeds her baby either until the next one arrives or until the age of at least three years. There is no specific time for weaning and I have seen children of about four years old being given the breast as a solace even when there could have been no milk. Like most native mothers, the Turkana mother gives her breast to the child whenever it is hungry, fretful or troublesome. Again there is no set time at which babies are introduced to other foods. One mother, I saw, was giving her five-days-old baby diluted camel milk. It is considered good to feed them on animal milk as soon as possible. Cereal food is given fairly early, according to circumstances. When animal milk was scarce in the dry season, my wife had, at one place, a continual string of mothers and young babies coming because of the latter's stomach trouble. We discovered that all, and some probably under a year old, had been fed with millet

x The existence of a hero's name, or spear name, is also found amongst the rest of the Turkana-speaking group, also Lotuko, Acholi, Didinga, Iango. See Seligman, "Pagan Tribes", passim. Seligman stated that Lord Raglan was of the opinion that the 'emoi' ending of this name is Acholi in origin. In fact the Acholi ending is '-moin', whilst the '-emoi' ending is clearly derived from a quite normal word in Turkana, 'emoit', s.; 'ngimoi', pl.

xx This is the explanation given to my wife by Turkana wives.

porridge. As one of the mothers put it, "We have no other food." No mother could be induced to believe that it was wrong to stuff the baby with this heavy food, although without exception they, and their husbands, were very worried about the babies' health. A serious illness of a baby is a matter of very great concern to all the family, however many other wives and children there may be.

Boys invariably go naked until they become men, but small girls are given the unmarried girl's v-pinafore to wear as soon as they can walk. The very greatest modesty is shown from then onwards, on the part of the girls. As they grow older they are given a small skin back skirt and a cloak - the full dress of an unmarried girl. A girl accumulates beads as she goes along, gifts from her parents, her grand-parents and older brothers and sisters. A boy seldom wears more than a string or two of beads - often not even that.

Infants are more or less left to their own devices once they can walk. There is very little danger that they can meet in the day time. They play in groups - siblings and children of neighbouring families, in the river-bed, the huts, the kraals, and so on. A favourite thing for small girls is to build small bush huts like those of their mothers', or to construct a miniature homestead of stones, putting in all the huts, kraals and fences, etc. Boys also make homesteads, but they, significantly enough, bother little about huts and the rest, but concentrate mainly on filling the whole thing with cattle and camels (i.e. stones) with very large stones for dance-oxen and bulls.

Childhood

Almost as soon as it is able the child must begin to do its share in the household and homestead. In Turkana life there is no room for anyone who does not do his share. The whole co-operative economy of the homestead-unit and of the total nuclear family depends on this. Very small children begin by fetching and carrying small things for their mothers or elder sisters, brothers, and for their fathers. They learn to do as they are told, and they learn who can give them orders; and gradually, they learn the different kinds of work required of boys and of girls. Although at first both sexes tend to play together and are kept under the supervision of the mother or older sister, they soon begin to break apart. Small girls follow their older sisters about and begin to carry small pots of water from the water-hole, or a small branch or two from a tree, and so on. Small boys are not expected to do this, but, by about the age of four, are put onto masculine work - herding. Very roughly there is a scale of types of herds according to the age of the herdsboys. It is as follows:-

Kids, lambs, young camels	-	from about 4 years old		
Goats and sheep, calves	-	" " 7	" "	
Camels	-	" " 12	" "	
Cattle	-	" " 14	" "	

Thus the small boy of about four years is introduced to herding amongst the flocks of kids and lambs, or herd of young camels. Not that this is his introduction to stock, for it is not. He will have been brought up among stock from very earliest times and will usually have shared the playground floor of his mother's hut with a kid, lamb or calf. He has never been responsible for stock before though. Now with an older sibling, full or half brother, or even cousins, he learns the responsibilities of herding. No longer can he play and wander aimlessly about but must stay and watch the stock. He is taught this primary lesson both by his elder sibling and by his parents. For the young stock are always kept near the homestead where parents and older people can keep an eye on both them and the small herdsboy.

The precise way in which a boy moves through the herding scale depends, of course, on particular circumstances - the number of herdsboys available, the type of stock in the homestead, the size of herds. In a family with many herdsboys younger sons do less responsible herding; where there are few boys, a son will be put on herding camels or cattle very early. If a boy lives in a cattle-homestead he cannot herd goats,

and so on. Both cattle and camel herds usually have an older son, possibly already initiated, in charge. Men do not like to leave cattle and camels (if there are more than a handful) solely in charge of young boys. Each older son in charge of such a herd will have a younger sibling or two to help him. It is the ambition of boys to herd cattle, but some do not do so before they are initiated and become men. Once a man, then the general attitude seems to change. For one thing men do not do very much actual herding, unless they are members of a small family or homestead unit; and if they do, it is more a matter of helping out the younger herdsboys. Consequently a man may herd any type of stock. But for boys it is almost a point of honour to herd the bigger stock. We have sometimes asked boys, in and around our camp, where their sheep and goats are, and have been told with aggrieved dignity that "I herd camels (or cattle)". In actual fact it is the goats and sheep which involve the greatest responsibility. There are more of them, they stray easily unless closely watched, and it is easier for one to get lost, or to be taken by a prowling hyena or leopard. Camels also wander very easily, but there are usually fewer to watch, and they are more easily seen. Cattle wander least of all and can be, and are, left for hours at a time without their attendant herdsboys. The ox-bells also help boys to keep track of them.

Passing through the rough scale of herding is the educational system of the Turkana. Each boy starts as junior herdsboy with a herd under an older sibling (or an adult) and gradually becomes in charge of the herd; then he passes on as junior in the next grade of herding. At each stage, as a junior, he is taught and supervised in the work by the older herdsboy, and, as a senior, he himself becomes a tutor. But he learns more than merely the work of herding. He learns the routines of watering, of migrational movements; he learns the geography of the region and the details of terrain, flora and fauna. His eyes learn to see great distances, to pick out men a long way off, to pick out wild animals, straying stock, birds, etc. He learns how to defend himself against others, and both himself and the animals against wild beasts; the art of using the fighting stick, how to select wood and make sticks of different types; what berries are good to eat and where and when they are likely to be found; what tree bark is good to eat, and from what trees chewing-gum is obtainable; all are gradually picked up. He learns how to walk in order to cover long distances most easily, and how to endure long, hot days in the pastures with little food and water. His body becomes tough and inured to hardship. In short, he becomes a man through years of experience and imitation of elders. He also learns, automatically almost (at least they become automatic) the conventional customs and techniques and attitudes of the Turkana. He is able to listen to the men talking at the water-points or in the evening round the fire in his father's sleeping place, or in the pastures. He hears stories of their lives and experience, and all the local gossip. There is little of a really conscious notion of education in all this, although as time and occasion warrant, a father or elder brother will either in assistance or anger tell a youngster what he should do, what he has done wrong, etc.

Because of his many days, with only a companion or so, out in the bush herding stock, it is a lonely life, and one in which a boy must learn a good deal of self-reliance. From a very early stage he discovers that unless he stands up for himself and makes sure of securing his own rights, no-one will do it for him and he will forfeit those rights. He increasingly becomes an almost independent individual, and the authority of father or elder brothers falls lightly. By and large he obeys his seniors, but he can and will show a defiant spirit of independence against all strictures. Turkana fathers recognise that growing sons cannot be too closely controlled. Scarcely anyone really wishes to do so, for all Turkana like to feel that a man is free of other people's authority, as I have mentioned several times before. There is no tradition of authority, and consequently a father seldom attempts to go too far with his sons. If he does he is likely to be defied and ignored. In a static society such occasions arise but seldom; life goes on in a relatively uninterrupted way. The organisation of herding, watering, moving, etc., although always changing, is really always the same. Techniques are constant and traditional. Boys of a certain age do one sort of herding; boys of another age have a different responsibility. And as a boy becomes a

man it is generally recognised that he is a fully independent person, whose opinion is not less valuable and important than his father's. Where opinions differ there is usually scope for each to go his own way, with a tacit agreement to differ.

Meanwhile the young girl is growing up with her sisters under the supervision of her mother. As soon as she is strong enough she begins to take part in all of her mother's work, learning as she goes along. Her contribution to the life and economy of the family are no less valuable than her brother's. Indeed, once she reaches the age of about 10 she is quite indispensable. By that time she is fetching water, cooking food, and doing many of the purely feminine domestic tasks, such as clothes-making, beadwork, vessel-making, etc. All this is under the more or less direct tutelage of her mother and her mother's co-wives. It begins as a combination of young imitation of her mother's actions and activities, and direct orders to do this and that; it ends with the girl undertaking more or less full women's work, being, though unmarried, almost classed as a woman. The separation between the sexes at least at the age of about 4 is decisive and complete. Brothers and sisters are partners in the mutual enterprise of the developing family, rather than close friends. The male and the female spheres of life are quite distinct. Boys are away most of every day and undertake no piece of work co-operatively with their sisters. Their fields remain wide apart. The girl remains fairly closely under the supervision of her mother. The girl's education is rather more specific, under a teacher. She lives, as it were, in a different world from that of her brother, full of domestic details, feminine gossip, and for much of the time within the confines of the homestead. Where a boy may go travelling with his father, elder brother or some kinsmen, to help drive stock for trade, or herd donkeys, etc. (for men like to have a boy or two to do the odd jobs when they are making trips), the girl stays at home, moving only with the homestead as her mother moves. The boy becomes rather more independent, self-reliant, and yet, because of his duties and functions as herds-boy is very much left out of a good deal of social life. Whatever happens the stock must go out to graze or browse, and they must be herded.. Boys must go out with them. Thus at times of feasts, dances and more special occasions such as initiation and marriage, the boys are left out. It is not thought that a boy ought to be hanging about at feasts and dances; they cannot participate fully because they are boys and not initiated; they ought to be looking after the stock. Girls on the other hand, always at home, see everything that is going on. All or most social affairs involve the women as well as the men,^x and quite essentially so for most dancing. The small girl follows her older sisters and her mother. Whereas a boy is nothing until he is initiated - that is to say, he cannot join in feasts, dances and male gatherings of any sort or purpose (except occasionally on the fringe) - the unmarried girl can, and indeed must join in social activities. This is because the girl becomes of marriageable age much earlier than her brother. Once past puberty,^{xx} a girl is considered marriageable, even if she does not marry much before the age of 17 at the earliest. She is, therefore, essential at all dances since all except the special age-set group dancing, are inter-sex affairs. Whenever there is a feast girls help to prepare, cook and carry out meat to the men; whenever there is a dance she takes a prominent part; weddings, initiation, preparations for war and celebration on the warriors' return, all involve dancing, and all involve the girls. They are objects of attention, and mild or serious-flirtation on the part of any man under 35 or 40 years old.

Thus although in one way kept tied to the mother and the confines of the homestead, yet, once past puberty, the girl grows up quickly into full adult society where she has an essential role. The boy has independence

x Even a purely masculine feast is often cooked for by women.

xx Informants say that there are no rites, etc., when a girl first menstruates: It appears to be regarded as an uneventful stage of physical development. As far as we know menstruation at any time is not accompanied by special ritual behaviour.

thrust upon him whilst still only a child. He is left under the vague tutelage of older boys, having relatively little to do with adult society. Boys and youths almost form a society of their own outside adult activities. On the other hand puberty makes little difference to a boy. He must wait until initiation before his entry into the full range of social activities.

Initiation

"Only boys are initiated," say the Turkana, "girls get married." I have been told this so often that I conclude that the Turkana see initiation for men and marriage for women as equivalent affairs. That is, they bring the male and the female respectively into full adult status - or almost so. For there are slight reservations. The initiated male does not become a full adult man ('ekile') until he is married and the independent head of a nuclear family; the married woman does not become a full adult woman (i.e. a "wife" - 'aberu') until she bears a child.

Now boys are initiated at just about the same age as girls are married, i.e. between 16 and 20 years old, with an apparently strong average around 18 years old. But whereas until that time a boy is debarred from much of social life, especially the critical highlights, and only now begins to join fully in adult activities, the girl has been joining in ever since about puberty when she becomes marriageable, when she begins to blossom out and become physically attractive to men. Indeed the period preceding marriage is her fullest time in non-domestic social activities, her freest time too, since she can associate with men fairly freely, as a wife cannot. Flirtations and even more serious affairs can be carried on before, but not after. The male's time for all this extends from initiation until whatever age he begins to tire. Most men of about 35 years old are still enthusiastic about dances and weddings, initiation, war, dance-oxen and age-set activities; they still actively court the unmarried girls and actively look for new wives.

Thus the development of the male and the female follow quite different lines according to age, education and the nature of participation in social activities. Marriage will be dealt with in the following chapter; here I shall describe male initiation.

Some account of the age-set organisation has been given in Chapter 12, where the group aspect of initiation and age-set membership was emphasised in relation to social structure. The Turkana youth is of course involved in the group organisation; he is initiated not only into adult manhood, but also into a specific group (the age-set); he becomes not only a warrior but also a member of a military unit; and he is given a permanent position in the totalage structure, both as a member of one fixed group vis-a-vis other groups, and in the order of seniority. All this is an essential part of individual development, since it both offers scope for future activities and sets certain general limits on them. However, especially since the age-set organisation is not very rigid nor involved in everyday affairs, and because a Turkana does not take a general overall view of his society but is concerned chiefly only with his own small section of it, initiation is important principally as a step, perhaps the most vital single step, in a man's life, i.e. in the history of individual development. By the ceremony of initiation a youth attains all the privileges and opportunities of adulthood. Before that time he is, as I have tried briefly to show, almost entirely kept out of adult activities and most of those things so attractive to the Turkana - feasts, dances, war, flirtation, sexual satisfaction and marriage, independence with his own family and herds, and so on. All this is the long-term effect of initiation, which all Turkana know about. But at the actual time initiation, whilst affording a position in the age-structure of society and openings to adult life, is also a mystical event when the boy as an individual passes through a psychological change involved in the impressiveness (to him) of the event and in proving himself and becoming a man.

The time at which a boy is initiated is decided by his father who must provide the essential male animal to be speared. There is therefore a certain amount of variation of initiates' ages. Perhaps even more important is the fact that initiation only occurs in the

best wet seasons (i.e. about once in three to five years) so that a youth may have to wait a year or two even when his father is willing. The approximate physical age of initiates is between 16 and 20 years. The Turkana do not, of course, reckon physical ages and the father is guided by general physical and moral development. I am not sure what other factors enter into a father's decision. Probably the eagerness of the boy himself may have something to do with it, although on the whole Turkana boys do not press to be initiated too early. Youths have told me, in answer to my enquiries, that they are "too small" yet and will wait a little longer. There is not, as far as I know at present, any pre-initiation informal grouping of youths such as is found in some East African societies. The formal age-set is not preceded by any informal organisation or collaboration. Decision to seek initiation is purely a matter between father and son. This decision, however, is taken some time before the actual wet season arrives. It will be made during the dry season; that is, before anyone can tell whether the forthcoming wet season will be favourable for initiation - if there are excellent rains all the people and cattle are able to leave the mountains and join the rest of the population in the plains, with camels, goats and sheep, there will be plenty of milk, butter, fat stock for slaughter, and millet. If the wet season turns out disappointing the youth must wait until the next one, or the next. Once it is decided that he is to be initiated at the next opportunity he should become what is called an 'etokotim' (from 'etim' - "hair"). That is, he allows his hair to grow long and works it into tight little curls after the fashion of women. Today it is uncommon to see this and it appears that the custom is either dying out, or else is being curtailed to that time just before actual initiation. But all Turkana know about it and say it ought to be followed, and most men tell me that they did their hair like a woman's before they were initiated. I have seen only a very few youths however who have followed it today.^x

When local opinion agrees that the season is favourable for initiation the initiates come forward. As already explained^{xx} not all the initiates come to be initiated on the same day. Only about 6 to 15 come on any one day in order of their seniority. Stone initiates group together beneath one lot of trees, and Leopard initiates group together under another, a little way off, making the two separate. An initiate has nothing to do with his contemporaries of the opposite alternation. From what I am told, and I have not seen the ceremony, the initiates of the one alternation sit in a line in order of seniority. One by one, they come forward, spear in hand, and spear their male animal (a castrated bull, camel, goat or ram). He should kill the beast with one thrust of the spear, or else it is an adverse reflection on the youth, and supposed to presage vague bad fortune, or worse. In fact, I doubt very much if most of the

x It is possible that the motive behind this practice is to emphasise the pre-initiate's lack of manhood, by making him "like a woman". When he is initiated afterwards, he has the hair cut slightly and fashioned into the man's conventional muddled head-dress. The parallel of the Masai initiates, who dress like girls, will occur to the reader. As far as I know, and I have not seen the actual initiation ceremonies, the Turkana custom is less thoroughgoing than that of the Masai. See Hollis: "The Masai"; page 298 and Plate XIX.

xx See Chapter 12, page 133.

youths do kill the animal with one thrust, especially if it is an ox or camel, since experienced adult men cannot always do this when slaughtering for a feast; nor are all, or even most, animals likely to stand quietly whilst they are killed. Initiates are not supposed to have speared an animal before, but only told how to do it by other men. Yet the strong tradition is that every youth kills with one thrust and apparently every youth believes that he will do so. My cook, Lerkwang, who most likely has never handled a spear very much at all, and who was to have been initiated in 1949, told me that he would kill his he-goat with one thrust, and was annoyed when I suggested that he might not, and that he did not know how. Despite this strong assertion I have never heard that a youth suffers any loss of status, etc., if he does fail.

When all the initiates of that day have each killed their animals, the members of the oldest existing age-set^x slit open the stomachs of the animals and each initiate is smeared with the undigested stomach contents of his own animal. He is smeared over face, shoulders, chest, stomach and thighs, in the normal way of ritual purification. The old men say a few words to the youths of general exhortation and encouragement, such as "You are a man. You must leave behind the things of a child. You must fight enemies." And so on; there is no set phraseology, nor any great importance attached to this. Next the old men perform the three types of ritual spitting on the boys, with water, milk and the pulp of a certain kind of wood. This is best interpreted as a blessing, including formal show of friendliness and welcome (i.e. into the status of adulthood). This concludes the part of the ceremony devoted principally to the initiates themselves. There follows a male feast of all the slaughtered animals. Women and girls, mothers and sisters of the initiates, and others, prepare and cook the meat, reserving portions for themselves. The Senior-Man of the oldest age-set cuts out the 'apoi' and 'emacher'^{xx} and supervises their cooking separately from the rest of the meat. I do not know whether these pieces of meat are distributed only amongst the most senior men present, or whether the initiates themselves are given any. The main meat feast follows the normal lines.

After the feast is over each initiate goes off to the homestead of some man with whom his father has made prior arrangements. There is, as far as I can discover, no special term for this man; I shall refer to him as the "patron". He usually lives at some distance from the initiate's father's homestead, possibly as much as 30 - 40 miles away, and is, I think, of the same alternation as the initiate (i.e. the opposite one to the latter's father). How the patron is selected I do not know, but probably he is already a friend of the father. As I explained earlier^{xxx} the patron is not only important at this time of initiation, but remains one of the people with whom the initiate maintains the mutual stock rights in later life; therefore the father will doubtless choose his son's patron with care, a discrimination no doubt reciprocated by the potential patron. The initiate goes off taking things given to him by his father - a spear (perhaps two), stool, sandals, cloth, bead necklets, possibly some iron-wire. He goes alone and lives in the patron's homestead for a short period. I have various accounts of this period, but the most general length of time is five nights. Others have told me four nights and ten nights. During that time the initiate does nothing but sit about in or

x I do not know whether these old men are of the same or opposite alternation to that of the initiates. Probably the same. But, on the other hand, I am told that the members of the senior sets of the opposite alternation attend the ceremony - i.e. as the Turkana put it, "the fathers of the initiates".

xx See page 132.

xxx See page 106.

near the homestead. He is fed by his patron and is "like his son". The initiate strips himself of his ornaments, cloth and sandals, and with his spear and stool, gives them all to his patron. The latter gives an equal return gift of the same things. Thus the accoutrements of the new young adult man are all the gifts of his patron. Further the patron gives the initiate some coloured ochre, and also proceeds to fashion the back part of his hair into the mudded bun ('emedot') which is the prerogative of the adult man. This is the first mudded head-dress he has worn. At the end of the period the initiate returns to his father's homestead and tells his father that he has completed the matter. He is formally told (though, of course, he already knows) that he is now a man ('ekile'; more exactly 'ekile netherokit' i.e. "a young man") of such and such an age-set. When the front hair has grown sufficiently, for it will have been nearly all shaven off as a pre-initiate, the young man is given his first mudded front head-dress ('aicheria') and is thereafter a full adult man. Both the latter head-dress and all future ones are made up with no ceremony at all. Almost all men can do it - friends helping each other.

Although not strictly speaking a part of the initiation ceremony, Turkana usually go on to tell me that when all the youths have been initiated they should go on a raid in enemy territory. There is a general, not very explicitly stated, idea that the new men should prove themselves as warriors.^x The young men themselves are, of course, enthusiastic to go raiding, since it is to them at that time the height of their ambition, the acme of all their education and ideas. There were, it seems, two ways in which this could be done. One was for the new age-sets to go alone into enemy country, there to live off the land and to steal stock and, if possible, kill enemies. There was no concerted raid, and the sets split up into small groups who could move about fairly easily, quickly and secretly. They would remain away for two or three weeks. Apparently the new age-sets from the neighbours of the Turkana would likewise come into Turkanaland as marauders. At such times, well known to all tribesfolk, great care had to be taken by the local inhabitants. No large attack would be made, but a lone man or woman would be stalked and killed, or one or two head of stock driven off. The age-sets tend to live in the temporarily empty territories on the edges of their enemy's wet season centres.

This kind of thing is not really raiding, but the honour of taking enemy stock and even perhaps of killing an enemy was none the less for all that. The corporate spirit of the new age-sets would be well expressed in such activities. A second way of proving themselves and obtaining a first taste of military activity and honour, is to take part in a full-scale raid organised by the older age-sets and usual war leaders. It is impossible for the new sets on their own to organise such a raid. They would have no leaders, no experience of warfare, nor knowledge of enemy country. Furthermore the older men would be strongly against such novices involving themselves in a raid, for after all these newly initiated men are recruits to the Turkana military force. In any event, however, it was most likely that a raid would be organised, for all the men would, as always, be keen to go raiding, especially as they would be keyed up by the excitement of the recent initiation ceremonies and all the feasts and dancing of a good wet season.

From this time on the young men have the status of adult men. They can attend all the dances and feasts, and take part in their own age-set's activities. They can court the girls, have sexual intercourse and think of marriage. They will be given more consideration and

x Incidentally, there is no special name for a warrior as distinct from the normal word for an adult man. Young men are called 'ngilick netherok' until they are married and set up their own independent homesteads, herds and nuclear family. Then they are called 'nglick'. In normal conversation all initiated men are called 'ekile', s.; 'nglick', pl.

responsibility by their fathers. Instead of being mere herdsboys they may now be in charge of homestead and their father's stock. Young adult men do continue to do ordinary herding work, especially where herdsboys are scarce, but gradually the amount of such work will decrease; more and more time will be spent with other men of the neighbourhood under the local shade tree. Between this time and marriage is the man's most free time of life. His responsibilities are relatively few, the herds are still under the general supervision of his father, whilst he already has all the privileges of adulthood. Young men are the leading spirits where the arrangements of feasts, dances, etc., are concerned. They travel around a good deal, going to other feasts and dances, or a trading expedition, or on trips to fetch ochre or salt. In the old days such young men, with few ties, would often roam about the countryside in bands, hunting wild animals, joining in other region's raids, dances, feasts and courting girls. The autobiographers of Lonyamong and Ekal give details of some of this kind of thing.^x This is not done these days, raiding is prevented, wild animals are scarce, age-sets are less active, less corporate groups. On the whole the young man now stays in his own neighbourhood for most of the time. He still is, however, the most mobile individual in society and most concerned and interested in feasts, dances and travel. It is the time before marriage, before the responsibilities of family and herds.

The equivalent period for girls is also before marriage, but in their case, before they reach adulthood. As I have pointed out earlier, Turkana say that for a girl marriage is equivalent to initiation - i.e. it is the entrance to adulthood. Unmarried girls do not have the same freedom as young adult men. They are subordinate to their parents, who attempt to keep them away from serious affairs with men before marriage. Pre-marital sexual intercourse is not thought to be proper, and any daughter caught with a man is usually severely beaten. Indeed an irate brother or father may even fight the girl's lover in the heat of the moment. Although Turkana always tell me that there is no difference in bride-wealth between an ordinary girl and one who has had a baby out of marriage, yet many of the latter type appear never to get married (unless quickly taken by their lovers), but remain as concubines. In any event, parents do not like their daughters to go so far with men before at least formal "engagement" has been made between the couple. In practice of course it is almost impossible for parents to restrain their daughters entirely, whilst young men consider it to be a matter of pride to seduce a girl. The favourite story of young men is an account of a man creeping into a homestead secretly at night and either sleeping there with the girl or taking her out into the bush, whence she returns at dawn, supposedly unseen by her parents or brothers. It is difficult to know how far this is an ideal and how far actual practice. If a man or girl are caught it is considered a most humorous affair by all the other men. The unfortunate man is "ragged" by all his companions.

It would be wrong if I gave an impression of unbridled licence where sexual matters are concerned. There is no such thing either in theory or practice. After engagement (i.e. formal completion of arrangements for marriage) a man may sleep with the girl. Before he can only do so by stealth, which may land both him and the girl into trouble, and, should his intentions run that way, only make it more difficult for the man to get the girl's father's permission to later marriage. Above all, there is a fine of 30 head of stock if the girl becomes pregnant. Payment of such a fine may seriously hamper any other plans of marriage, since it means considerable depletion of a man's herds - or his father's herds. If the latter, a man's father will be less willing or able to help him in marriage, and he will also incur the wrath of his brothers. Moreover, at least in theory, and to some extent in practice, this fine is still payable even if the man wishes to marry the girl. Finally, there is no institutionalised method of young men obtaining sexual enjoyment of unmarried girls.^{xx} Relations between young men and unmarried girls are largely mild. flirtatious only - at dances, water-points, etc. Outside this men have little to do with girls. The two

x Appendix No.8.

xx E.g. as differing from the Masai warriors' lodges.

sexes have quite different spheres of economic and social activities. Indeed men tend rather to look down on the girls and would consider it most undignified to associate much with them. At such places of joint activity as water-points, dances, and in the homesteads there is a mild sense of friendliness which never approaches intimacy. Platonic friendship is quite out of the question.

CHAPTER 18

MARRIAGE AND CONCUBINAGE

For both men and women marriage is a decisive point in individual development. I have already referred to this in the last chapter but it may be briefly repeated here. For a girl it is the most important single feature of her life, the means by which she becomes an adult woman (there is no distinction between "woman" and "wife" - both are 'aberu'), although there remains the final step of becoming a mother. A man must have already reached adulthood before he can marry, but until he is married he cannot begin to complete his development by becoming the independent head of his own nuclear family, homesteads and herds. Further marriages are a consolidation of all this. As far as I know almost every man marries at least once; I have not met a man over about 40 years of age who has not a wife. Every girl, without exception, becomes either a wife or concubine. Since in many ways wives and concubines enjoy similar status, and in everyday affairs lead more or less similar lives, I shall follow my description of marriage with a description of concubinage. It will be convenient also to treat here the closely related topics of divorce, widowhood and inheritance of wives.

The range of eligible marriage partners

Strictly speaking a person cannot marry, or even have sexual intercourse with, a member of either his father's or mother's clan. When asked, this is always the ruling that Turkana give. There is no bar to marriage on account of membership of territorial section, alternation, age-set, or even of tribe. Even in the old days Turkana married foreign girls, either war captives or by normal arrangements. The only bar would be that, and Turkana stressed this very strongly, one would never marry a girl whose father was "stockless", thus eliminating at least one neighbouring tribe, the Teuth, also the Ngebotok section of Turkana themselves.

This is a practical consideration rather than a specific legal or ritual bar, and really only concerns the individual's preferences and inclinations. Whereas the breaking of the taboo on sexual intercourse between members of prohibited clans (i.e. incest) is not only likely to cause grave automatic magical consequences^x but would bring very practical retribution from the families of the two people. This means

x As usual magical sanctions are not specifically defined. It is just deeply felt to be bad. One man said the transgressor would be dead before a full day had elapsed. Another said a witch would come and kill him. These are, I think, only the attempted formalisations of the general idea. Incest is such a tremendously grave crime that men, and women, cannot even contemplate it. "It is very, very bad," is what I am told. I know of no cases of it happening. Marriage between prohibited parties would, of course, never occur, since neither family would have anything to do with it, and both man and girl would be beaten-up by their families and be in severe disgrace.

in effect that near kin, both patrilineal and matrilineal, are unlawful marriage or sex partners. But because of the wide range of many of the Turkana clans^x a considerable number of non-related and unknown people are debarred. It has never been suggested to me unsolicited, but on my own suggestions some, though not all, men say that it would not be incest to have sexual intercourse or even marriage with a member of one of the two prohibited clans if that member lived a very long way away, and if there were not, or were not likely to be, any other relations between the two families of the partners. I do not know of such a case in actual fact and it would be most unlikely to occur since most marriage partners rarely come from more than 50 - 60 miles away, most from not more than 20 - 30 miles away. There are other important practical considerations however. A man would not marry the sister, or even close kinswoman of his own wife, or of his brother's wife. There is no legal or ritual bar but men have been quite shocked when I suggested this possibility, because, as they said, it would be very foolish to contract in-law relationships with people with whom one already had such ties. For marriage is not only a matter of the tie between a man and woman but also sets up very special and important relationships between the man and his wife's family, and to a slightly lesser degree, between his and her families. I have already explained some of the importance of the in-law relationship^{xx} and Turkana recognise all this quite clearly. Consequently it would be a stupid waste of an opportunity to contract new in-law relationships. The pre-existing in-laws would not agree to a second marriage either.

There is another recognised practical limitation in the choice of a marriage partner on the part of a man, that is, because of the permanent in-law relationships to be established, a rich man is most unlikely to marry into a relatively poor family. He wants in-laws with whom strong and useful stock relations can be maintained. He wants to be fairly sure of obtaining assistance in stock matters from his new father-in-law and brother-in-law, in the ways already described. Similarly a poorer man, although he would like to, is unlikely to be acceptable to the more wealthy family of a girl. Within broad limits, therefore, a man tends to marry within his own economic range, as estimated in terms of wealth in stock. Almost every marriage I have been able to investigate shows this. It is the reason why the Ngebotok and Teuth girls are not considered eligible partners and why other Turkana will not agree to their daughters marrying men of those groups. In those cases where both man and girl are adamant it is possible either to get her father to agree or to force his hand. I shall deal with this below, but here I may say that it is not common. Usually a girl is not willing to marry into a poor family.

Needless to say parents of a girl always take regard for the moral nature and personality of the prospective husband, and may refuse his suit on those grounds alone. Equally the man, and his wives and mother, enquire into the suitability of the girl. I do not infer that very often there is not considerable physical and emotional attachment between couples, especially where the man is young and has no or few wives. On the other hand, both the nature of marriage and the function of a wife, and the very practical outlook of Turkana generally, makes a man take good care, usually, that the girl will make a good wife. This is usually done by his mother (before he has a wife), and by his wives (in the case of later wives). It is recognised that both he and they will come to look over the girl, to see specimens of her work (e.g. beadwork, pots, etc.), and before the final arrangements are made the girl must build a hut to demonstrate her abilities to her suitor's mother or chief wife. Ordinarily a man will abide by his wives' decision - indeed some men will let his mother and wives select the girl in the first place, before he makes a definite approach to her father. All Turkana are quite clear on

x See pages 67 -68.

xx See pages 103-104. One informant said, "A man could not court the daughter of his father-in-law."

this point, and parents recognise that their daughter must be approved by her suitor's wives. As I pointed out earlier^x it concerns a man's wives and mother even more than him that a bride should be satisfactory. She will be their constant companion and fellow-worker. If she is a poor worker then she will be a liability in the net-work of family co-operation. If she is a witch, has a malicious tongue or is in other ways unsociable, she will not make a pleasant companion for her co-wives. Since co-wives are often thrown upon each other's company a good deal in the life of the homesteads, often a lonely life, this is of the utmost importance. Thus the criteria of a good wife which are always looked for by a man, and especially by his mother and wives, always include the following, as told to me by both men and women:— she must not be a bad, lazy worker ('akalenyana'), that is, she must be able to milk, water and generally look after stock properly; she must be able to build good fences and huts, she must be able to make good vessels, do good bead-work, etc.; secondly she must not have a slanderous, malicious tongue, she must not be a witch, and she should be of a pleasant disposition and character.

Finally a girl would not be approved of if she were known to be infertile, for both a man and his wives want her to bear children. Usually this cannot be known before marriage, and it is not a cause for divorce afterwards. On the other hand, younger men especially may make a girl pregnant before marriage. It is not essential and I do not think it is often done. Parents of girls are generally not too keen on it (i.e. the pre-marital intercourse) and older men, less desirous of sexual relationships, do not bother. It may be noted here that although it is a recognised function of wife to produce children (I put it in the most objective terms) yet on the whole Turkana do not stress the point much and have never included it in the criteria of a good wife.

Preliminaries to marriage.

As regards preliminaries to marriage, payment of bridewealth or the actual wedding ceremonies, there is, to my knowledge, no difference between marriage of a first wife and any further marriages, except that in the former case a man's mother is his most important female supporter, whilst in the latter cases her position is taken by his chief wife backed by any other co-wives. Marriage itself, and the actual wedding, is known as 'akortar', and the actual wedding is always the same. Proceedings leading up to the wedding can be divided into two principal types, all other ways are only modifications of these. First there is "marriage by discussion" (also known as 'akortar') and "marriage by seizure" ('akomar', meaning literally "to take away").

In both cases the preliminaries of courtship are the same, compounded of a mixture of flirtation and courtship by the man of the girl, and careful selection and appraisal by his wives and mother. Young men invariably tell me that they see a girl who takes their fancy and make overtures to her. A man meets a girl at dances and weddings, at the water-points. Sometimes two or three men go off together "to court the girls". Not all of this is necessarily serious; some is for the excitement of flirting, and some in order to seduce the girls, but at the back of it all is the idea of finding a girl who appeals to the man. Especially in the case of younger men, i.e. below the age of about 35, some kind of understanding is usually reached between the man and the girl before formal discussion is begun with her parents. In the course of normal social relations between men and unmarried girls there is always a good deal of this kind of courting going on. Some young men have told me that "every man has a girl" although at any one time that girl is not necessarily the one he will seek to marry. Since brothers can only get married in order of seniority, it means that younger brothers are well aware that they cannot contemplate marriage for several years. Both men and girls realise that all temporary liaisons do not mean ultimate marriage. Nevertheless this is the normal method of approach by young men who almost always desire the informal approval of the girl before they begin any formal steps. Older men, say over about 35, rarely indulge in such preliminary courtship. Such a man usually consults with his wives regarding a suitable match. How far he, and they, are guided by the desire to marry into a family where future in-law relationships will be valuable is difficult to determine. I suspect that an older man is probably as much attracted to the marriage of a girl by her parents' and family's position as by the girl herself.

x See page 80.

As I have said, in any event it is most unlikely that a man will seek to marry below his economic level.

Apart from active courtship there is a method of betrothal of a man to a girl who is not yet of marriageable age. This is a very common custom, especially in the more wealthy families, and, I think, does represent a definitely recognised way of linking families together. The girl is almost certainly chosen because of her parents and family - the man, as always, is accepted because of his position. Such betrothal takes place not much before her puberty. I have never met a case of genuine infant betrothal. There is a definite agreement reached between the man and the girl's father so that the girl is promised to the man. There is at the time no discussion about bridewealth, for all that is left to follow the normal course of "marriage by discussion" at the time of the actual marriage. The contract is sealed by the man putting an iron bracelet on her wrist, which is also a sign to other men that the girl is promised to another. As far as I can discover, the contract is a moral rather than a legal one. Neither party can compel the other to adhere to the agreement, nor take any action if the other breaks it off. The bracelet must be taken back in the event of termination of agreement. Nevertheless I know of many cases where the agreement is maintained. Doubtless it depends on relations between the man and the girl's father. During the time of betrothal the man should be a constant visitor to her parents' homestead; and they refer to each other as in-laws and give the usual gifts appertaining to that tie. The man is a welcome visitor to his prospective father-in-law's homestead and should not be refused milk or meat or other food that is available. At this stage the man has little to do with the girl - she is too young to be interesting to him as a person, although he gives her presents of beads, ironwire, etc., and she attends to his needs when he visits. When she is past puberty ("when her breasts begin to swell") it is permissible for the couple to sleep together in the bush; though the father, at any rate, is not keen that she should become pregnant. No fine ('ekichul') for impregnating the unmarried girl would however be payable, but the actual wedding would be speeded up. In the meantime the man's wives or mother will take good care to watch the girl, to see how she works and what her character and reputation are. In no kind of marriage arrangements is this aspect overlooked. Presumably a man could ignore his women's opinions, but I have never heard of it, and no man ever suggests it. Everyone is well aware of these very practical and vital considerations of marriage.

The approximate age of marriage for girls cannot usually be less than 17. Girls, who must be about a year or so past puberty, have been pointed out to me by their mothers and others, as not ready for marriage for three years or more. I have seen many wives of about a year's standing, or less, who I estimated could not be younger than 17 or 18. Some brides appear to be about 20. Neither my wife nor I have seen brides of much less than about 17, although it is, of course, difficult to guess ages. I am judging on physical appearances, plus the position of girls in a family in relation to initiated brothers, etc. Unfortunately I erred in not questioning people themselves on this point, but, because of the constant reference to the necessity of a bride being a fully trained and competent worker, it may well be that immediately after puberty a girl is not yet considered sufficiently trained. My wife asked two betrothed girls who were about the age of puberty if they knew the work of a wife. They both said that they did not know how to build huts or how to make the best vessels - that is to say, they were not entirely competent at this work, for in fact they must have been watching and helping their mother for several years and were already doing the maximum work as regards milking, watering, food preparation, etc.

It is impossible to give an approximate age for the first marriage of a man. It depends on many variable factors such as the seniority of a man in relation to his brothers and half-brothers, the stock wealth of the man's father, the desire of the father to take a wife in preference to his son being married, the support of other members of the extended family, the approval of the prospective father-in-law. I think that it is safe to say that any man wishes to marry as soon as possible. It is an essential step towards independence, a matter of pride and desire for sexual satisfaction, whilst it need not necessarily prevent

him carrying on life as hitherto. Lonyamong, in his autobiography, tells how after marrying his first wife he was able to return to his former activities with his age-set and military and political work, leaving his wife behind in the homestead (once she was pregnant). It is general policy for a man to see that his eldest son is married as soon as possible in order that he may become heir on the former's death. The elder son and his wife, furthermore, will be able to take charge of the cattle homestead in the mountains, relieving the father of the responsibility. An eldest son is therefore married by about the age of just over 20 if the size of the herd allows. Other sons, especially if the family is large, may not be married much before about the age of 30. By that time, however, very few men remain unmarried. Further marriages occur as the size of the herds permit; and in general, further marriages depend largely on the man's own herds rather than those of his father's. Thus there may be a gap up to 10 years between one marriage and the next.

Reference should be made to Table No. 5 on page 79 above, where a sample of the marriages of 63 men is given. For convenience, it may be repeated that over the whole sample the average number of wives was 2.2 per man, of men over 30 it was 2.4, and of men over 40 it was 3.2.

Once informal agreement has been reached between the man and the girl, or a suitable girl has been selected by the man and his womenfolk, proceedings follow either "marriage by discussion" or "marriage by seizure". In the former event, marriage by discussion, which also covers earlier betrothal, the prospective husband must take the principal role on his side and the girl's father on her side. If it is a man's first marriage he must however gain the approval of his father, from whose herds the bridewealth payment chiefly comes. It is, of course, most likely that the father already knows of his son's intentions since his wife, the son's mother, will already have been actively concerned in the proposed match. Formal approval of his father is sought when the man brings a sack of tobacco and tells him of his wishes. On the whole a son knows what his father's reactions are likely to be and how far the family herds can afford to be depleted, and has probably mooted the subject already. However, formal approval and the necessary meat feast is believed to be necessary. The father ritually blesses his son by spitting water and milk over him in expression of approval.

Once the approval of his father is obtained the man is free to go to the girl's father. He goes accompanied by the local members of his age-set, who give him moral and vocal support. He must take a sack of tobacco (bought for the purpose from a trader and weighing about 5-10 lbs.) and one or two sheep or goats. There may be more than one such formal visit, though not, I think, more than one formal gift-taking. As is usually the custom for visitors, the group of men must wait outside the girl's father's homestead until the father goes to meet them, welcome them and invite them into the home-stead (to the day-hut of the girl's mother if possible). The father is, of course, in the stronger position - he is in his own homestead where he is master, he has the approval to bestow or withhold. From now on this father (i.e. the prospective father-in-law) remains in the dominant position, both during and after marriage. The request is made in conventional terms. "I have come to ask for your ox," says the man; "My ox is very small, and thin and young," replies the father. "The ox is very good, fat and not too young," returns the suitor; and the conversation continues in like manner. The precise words are not conventional, only the type of thing said.

Just as the man's father was probably aware of his son's intentions, so the girl's father is equally aware most usually of all that is afoot. If he did not soon learn for himself, his wives would tell him. Consequently he is probably prepared for the suitor and has thought over his own attitude. The suitor may already be a friend, or the son of a friend of his, and no objection is likely to be raised. Again the suitor or his father may be a wealthy man, or one of influence and popularity, and no objection is likely to be raised. On the other hand the suitor

x Some informants say he also brings a goat or sheep to slaughter, but I cannot understand from where he could get an animal since he has no herds of his own. More probably a goat is taken for a family feast to seal the agreement.

and his father may be relatively poor, or in some way considered inferior to the girl's father. The suitor's character may not be believed to be good. Perhaps the father has other plans for his daughter. In the former, satisfactory, cases, approval is unlikely to be withheld, although conventionally acceptance will not be made immediately. That would look as if the father wished to be rid of his daughter, and anyway deprive him of the great pleasure of being begged and of the ensuing debate with him in the best position. In the latter, unsatisfactory, cases approval will be withheld, and the suitor and his age-mates will depart unsuccessfully, only to return one or more times again. It is possible that the father may be persuaded to change his mind.

In any event, before his final approval, a man ought to find out his daughter's opinion on the matter. In most cases a man will not force his daughter to marry against her wishes, although he may bring strong pressure to bear on her. All my informants have been agreed that a girl's refusal is binding. A harsh father may attempt to compel her, so may her mother; but at least twice I have been told that a girl would threaten to run away or hang herself sooner than submit. I do not know of an actual case of this, either the threat or the deed. On the other hand, a daughter may cause her father to give his approval to the match. It is strongly felt that her attitude ought to be binding on her father, though I gather that many daughters are willing to be guided by their father, who has, after all, very considerable influence and authority with the girl. Should a father remain adamantly against the marriage it is possible for the couple to force his hand by clandestinely meeting until the girl becomes pregnant. In such case a father can scarcely refuse, if only because any other match is likely to be prevented, and the girl may otherwise become a concubine with no bridewealth transaction. I am told that even a poor suitor can force the father's hand in this way if the girl is a willing partner. Discussion re-opens - after a suitable interval whilst the father's temper cools; but Turkana are invariably philosophical - and fresh suit is brought and formal approval given. Once approval is given the two men regard each other as in-laws and begin to act in that social status towards each other. Discussion can now begin on the vital subject of bride-wealth.

The second method, marriage by seizure, ('akomar'), is used where the girl's father is against the marriage, and consists in premeditated, secret seizure and carrying off of the girl to the suitor's homestead, where she remains until formal arrangements are made between suitor and her father. Emley^x stated that this procedure was regarded as very creditable both in the eyes of the man's age-mates and friends and even in the eyes of the girl's father - so much so that bridewealth would be less. I have enquired into this carefully and have not found much trace of any such attitude. To-day, at any rate, a man is not thought much more of by anyone, nor is bride-wealth reduced. Two cases of seizure that I have details of, appear to show that, if anything, the girl's father takes up a firmer attitude about the size of bridewealth. Discussing the matter with some of my better informants I was only told of the idea of forcing the girl's father's hand in cases of refusal to agree to the marriage. The procedure is not uncommon and may be resorted to by men of all ages. It is regarded as a thrilling adventure by the young men who take part in it and even wives talk excitingly about it.

What happens is this. If the rejected suitor is a fairly young and active man, i.e. under about 35 years old, he and a group of his local age-mates undertake the task. If the suitor is an older man he gets one of the more junior age-sets (or rather the local members of one) to undertake it for him, on the payment of animals to provide a large meat-feast at its successful conclusion.

If the girl is a willing partner to the plan, it is undertaken with her connivance. If she is not then she is made to submit to the scheme. Either way the group of men come to her homestead at some time when it is believed that few or no male members of her family are about (not a difficult task) or perhaps at night (although with the homestead gates closed and men sleeping in the homestead this is really a less favourable time). They seize the girl and bodily carry her away. In the accounts I have, the adventure is always successful; whether they have failures or fights with the girl's family, I do not know. Doubtless a well organised affair will encounter little difficulty for there are all kinds of occasions when a girl is unprotected - when the men are away with the herds, or gathered under a distant tree, when the girl is out fetching water, firewood or wild fruits, or is visiting. If the girl is in league with the men she can easily arrange to be on her own at a convenient place and time. Even if she is aware of the plan she should make formal resistance and cries for help - if she is not, she will undoubtedly make very real ones, for it may be a profound shock to the young girl to be bodily seized by the young men. She is carried by the men, a hand over her mouth, for a distance, until they are out of earshot of the neighbourhood. Thereafter she goes along with the men, or, if she still resists, is driven ("like a goat") along by the men. Naturally, she has little chance of escape. When she reaches her suitor's homestead she is stripped of her unmarried girl's clothes and decorations and given a wife's skirt and pinafore and perhaps fresh beads and ornaments. How far compulsion goes I cannot say. Seal is set on the enterprise by the wearing of the wife's clothing. Whilst the girl could not be kept indefinitely against her will (any more than a wife can be made to stay with a husband she dislikes, after marriage) it appears unlikely that she does anything but accept her lot. The man's womenfolk would take charge of her and probably persuade her to submit. My experience of Turkana leads me to suggest that undue force or cruelty would not be used. Once the girl agrees to accept her position the man has intercourse with her and she is called "his wife".

Allowing some time for her family, especially the father, to get used to the idea, the suitor waits, and then, accompanied by his age-mates, goes off to open discussions formally with his prospective father-in-law, taking the usual gifts. The father more or less has to accept the situation as a "fait accompli", and in the two specific cases I know of no action was taken against the suitor. The suit was approved and bride-wealth discussions began. I am told that it is possible that the girl's male kin may try to beat up her abductor, and might even consider going off in a body to bring her back. But it is unlikely that they will do anything other than vent their feelings in heated words. For one thing, the abductor's homestead may be some long distance away, and he himself is sure to have considerable moral and physical support from his kinsmen, age-mates and neighbours; for another thing, it is a recognised institutionalised procedure in the preliminaries to marriage. As I have said before Turkana are normally philosophical and magnanimous. The father accepts the fact that the suitor has got the better of him. Since the latter has cohabited with his daughter she is likely to become a concubine unless he agrees to the marriage - if she becomes a concubine she gets no bridewealth and all the trouble of collection of fines for illegitimate children of the union. Moreover some men morally disapprove of concubinage - where their own kinswomen are concerned.

From then on, quite normal marriage discussions follow, just as in the alternative preliminary procedure of "marriage by discussion" that is, debate begins on the question of bridewealth.

Bridewealth

This, in Turkana, is called simply "stock of the marriage" (ngebarin akortar') or "cattle of the marriage" ('ngatuk akortar').

Here is not the place to discuss the social function of bridewealth, and I shall confine myself to a few relevant observations.

1. Bridewealth is made in stock and nothing else. There is no substitute or additional asset recognised. Cattle, camels and goats and sheep are the stock involved, usually some of each. Donkeys are not normally given unless the girl's father particularly asks for them.

2. The Turkana word used in connection with transfer of bridewealth is 'ainakin', i.e. "to give". The word for exchange, or to buy or to sell, is never used.

3. The essence of the actual marriage is the transfer of the bridewealth stock. Unless and until they have been transferred the marriage is not legal or complete (with certain reservations to be examined below). If bridewealth is not given the girl is a concubine and not a married wife, with concomitant effects in her position in her "husband's" family and her father's family; e.g. her legal guardian remains her father who is responsible for any offences she may commit; further her father (or her brother on the death of her father) is bound always to support the woman, to feed, clothe and protect her should she so wish. She cannot inherit when her "husband" dies; nor in his lifetime is her "husband" responsible for her welfare or bound to give her support. She never attains the firm position of a married wife in the structure of a nuclear family. Above all the children legally belong to their mother's father and not to their progenitor (physical father). The latter cannot, of right, exercise any claim or loyalty from his children - nor in reverse can the children claim legal rights against their progenitor. Finally, if bridewealth is not paid the "husband" cannot claim sole sexual rights in the woman, for it is not adultery if she cohabits with another. Or to put it another way, there is legal and strong sanction on a woman's fidelity and morality (for it is believed immoral to be unfaithful) once bridewealth has been transferred.

4. Transfer of bridewealth is ceremonial and public and therefore is an efficient method of making known the act of marriage, and of the mutual satisfaction of both parties to the marriage.

5. The transaction of bridewealth links together not only the man and woman, but also the man and his father-in-law, and - in a more general way, the extended families of the man and the woman. Enough has already been said in Chapter 10 to show the vital importance transfers of stock have in Turkana social life. Marriage is one of the most vital of social acts committed by either man or woman, enabling, as it does, the production of children and thus the stable development of the nuclear family and the continuance of the herds in the patrilineal line. It also involves transfer of allegiance of the woman from one family to another. Finally, it indissolubly links together the two families, most especially the two nuclear families. The only method by which seal can be set on this contract is the transfer of stock. Thereafter each party belongs to the other's complex of stock rights. As I have already tried to show, mutual stock rights transcend all other social considerations. Not only is the marriage formally contracted but thereafter the two families are bound together in relations of friendship and co-operation.

6. The marriage cannot be dissolved unless the bridewealth is returned; or, if the marriage is dissolved, the husband can only retain legal and social rights over the children if he selects not to demand the return of the bridewealth.

7. In many African tribes where the institution of bridewealth exists (i.e. over most of East, Central and Southern Africa) observers have very frequently reported that the transfer of bridewealth is a kind of compensation to the girl's family for the loss of a member, and something of a 'quid pro quo' for the transfer of the reproductive abilities of the woman. I have never heard the Turkana suggest this explicitly, though it is implicit to a certain extent. But they do not stress the feature of the use of the child-bearing qualities of a wife when they are telling me about the choice of a wife and marriage, whereas they do stress the importance of competence at work, and individual character. Turkana have never told me that bridewealth is to be regarded as a type of compensation for loss of the girl to her family.

8. The size and composition of bridewealth is always related to the size and composition of the suitor's herds, and the herds of his extended family. The more a man has the more he can afford to give, and the more therefore he will be demanded to give. Bridewealth is never an entirely fixed amount, but varies from marriage to marriage, family to family and region to region. Consequently there is always a good deal of haggling over the exact amount of bridewealth. For one thing the woman's father wishes to obtain as much as possible, and, within limits, the suitor wishes to give as little as possible, although the average Turkana would not really wish to give too small a number as it would be a poor reflection upon his ability to give and upon his wealth. Wealthy men achieve no little fame by the sizes of the bridewealth they give - sizes which, I might add, lose nothing in the telling in the years to come. In the second place, I feel sure that the Turkana really enjoy the haggling over amounts of stock to be given and to be received. It is all part of the game; it is an intriguing contest between individuals, a series of efforts to get the other to yield a little, to give way on one point in order to gain success on another.^x Further, it would not do for the prospective father-in-law to give way too quickly to the offers of the suitor.

The actual size and composition of bridewealth varies a good deal. In a general way men and women tell me that between 30 and 60 cattle is usual, although in poorer central Turkanaland fewer cattle, even in theoretically average figures, are given to me. I have what are fairly accurate records of 28 cases of bridewealth transactions. From these the average figures are:-

30 cattle; 15 camels; 85 sheep and goats.

The ranges of numbers are:-

5 - 50 cattle; 0 - 40 camels; 0 - 100 goats and sheep.

I have only six cases where donkeys were included, and all but one are in instances where other stock were in small numbers.

As I have stated before cattle and camels must to a very great extent be regarded as equivalents in non-economic stock transactions. If these two are coupled together there is an average number of 45 and a range of 5 - 80. In some instances, from central Turkana where camel herds tend to be larger and cattle herds smaller, the number of camels exceeds the number of cattle. Normally, however, camel herds are small, few above about 15 head, and therefore numbers in bridewealth are small. It will be seen that these average figures are almost the same as my own very rough estimates for the sizes of herds given on page 15. I can assure the reader that this was entirely unpremeditated, and that I worked out the bridewealth figures some months after the others, and on entirely different bases. It is, however, significant that the two figures should coincide, not because a man should give the whole of his herds, for he does not since he collects contributions from his extended family and others, but because it does indicate how ability to give is estimated.

So far I have mentioned only the suitor and the girl's father as being involved in these discussions. The girl's father is invariably the chief figure on the girl's side. On him alone depends approval of the suit in the first place, and he is principally involved in decisions about bridewealth. He does not have to obtain much more than the tacit approval of the rest of his extended family. At bottom the latter have little say in the matter so long as they get a reasonable share in the bridewealth, when it is received. That, they can and will demand; and the girl's father cannot refuse them. As I mentioned elsewhere, limitations are set on the father's power for lowering his bridewealth demands of a favoured suitor because of the more or less inelastic demands of the extended family, and of one or two other people. Normally, however, a father will seek the advice of senior members of his extended family regarding the proposed marriage and ask their support in the actual discussions about bridewealth. A man has no particular wish to stand alone in these matters.

x In actual bridewealth discussions I have little evidence, but I suggest that a Turkana would much prefer to start at 25 cattle and work up to 30 by haggling, than to get 35 straight away. Certainly in economic transactions this is so, as I have found when buying sheep.

On the suitor's side - if he is already married and owns his own herds, then he is the principal figure in the discussions. If it is his first marriage - that is to say he will be using his father's herds from which to provide the bridewealth - then his father is more important. Even then, however, I understand that the suitor, the son, is the principal at the discussions, acting on the instructions and scope allowed by his father. As far as I know, not only is there no formal meeting between the two extended families, but there is no meeting between the two fathers, unless they happen to live very near and meet in the course of everyday life. During the discussions the suitor should be accompanied by some of his age-mates who speak on his behalf and also act as witnesses. In the case of the suitor's side of the matter, it would appear that he has to be more careful about getting the approval of the rest of his extended family, if only because he is dependent upon their contribution towards his bridewealth. I do not think that this should be overestimated, however, for once the suitor and his father have given approval of the intended bride and her family, it is unlikely that others will have strong objections, especially since their general grounds for objections are smaller. Their ties with the new family of in-laws are less binding than on the suitor and his father. And again, members of the extended family cannot really refuse to give stock towards the bridewealth. The suitor will beg of them and they can scarcely refuse what he asks - or only by precipitating disruption of the stock relationships existing, and the extended family. Further, they only need, usually, to commit themselves to the extent of a few head of stock. However considerations of friendliness and a certain degree of a feeling of dependence do cause the suitor and his father to seek the approval and support of the men in the extended family. Moreover it is felt essential that most or all of them should attend the actual handing over of bridewealth and the wedding ceremony. If possible the head of the extended family should himself perform the handing over ceremony. Turkana are quite conscious of the complex of stock rights that exist in the extended family and wish to make use of them and to sustain them. On the other hand I wish to show that marriage is scarcely a continual joint project between two extended families acting as corporate (temporarily) units. Outside judicial proceedings, where joint action is (or may be) necessary in the way of physical action, the extended family rarely acts as a unit vis-a-vis other extended families. Rather one member, in his dealings directly with a member of another extended family and indirectly with the latter's co-members, exercises his rights within his own extended family as between himself and each of his co-members. In practical terms, he goes round to each of his co-members and tells them about the intended marriage and proceeds to beg stock, at the same time promising to keep the person informed, and advised later about the time of the actual wedding. A suitor makes trips all round the countryside to the homesteads of the extended family, and to other people with whom he shares stock rights and who will therefore give a contribution towards bridewealth. By this time, however, the principal discussions will have been concluded with the girl's father and the approximate bridewealth settled. More than one visit will be necessary by the suitor to each of his contributors - one to beg and one to fetch the stock, and sometimes another to beg an increase in the contributions when the full bridewealth has not yet been made up and promised. All this may, in difficult cases, take months to accomplish, involving hundreds of miles travelling. It is usually carried on towards the end of the dry season and at the beginning of the wet season. A father's brother may live 40 or 50 miles away in one direction, a paternal cousin or best-friend or godfather, etc., etc. equally far off in another. It is, I may add, a time of very great difficulty and emotional disturbance for the suitor, who in some cases will be practically exhausted physically and psychologically by the time he has all the bridewealth assembled. Even then his troubles are not at an end since he must supervise the handing over and indulge in further haggling with his new father-in-law to try and reduce the actual numbers.

It should be mentioned here that, whilst I have no concrete evidence, I suspect that there may often be two figures for bridewealth - one the originally decided figure, and one that actually is given over, which may be rather less. Figures given to me by husbands or husbands' families are usually higher than those given by a wife or her family. Further I know that further haggling does occur just before the actual handing over ceremony, and in at least one case I witnessed the suitor

was banking on the fact that he would not have to give the number first decided on but several head less.^x Men undoubtedly like to tell of the size of their bridewealth transactions, and I can see no reason why a wife's father or family should tell me less than they actually did receive. It is not to their credit to say they received less.

Contributions to and distribution of bride-wealth concern principally the extended families of the suitor and the bride respectively. But all other members of the stock-group are concerned also, excepting in-laws who take no part in bridewealth processes, although they may attend and join in the actual wedding. Contributions come principally from the suitor's father, brothers (if independent), father's brothers and their sons (if independent), mother's brothers, father's mother. Secondly, smaller contributions may be begged off the suitor's godfather (if any, and not already included in extended family), initiation patron, best-friends, father's sisters, and possibly more distant patrilineal kinsmen. The latter's contributions will usually be small, a head of cattle, two or three goats, whereas the former people are normally expected to give more freely. As far as I am aware, even if a man and his brothers are wealthy enough to provide almost all of the bridewealth, there is still the customary travelling round to all these other people and begging of token contributions, one ox here, a goat there. A man likes to exercise his rightful claims on members of his stock-group and thus to strengthen the different relationships involved. Relationships which are potential and dormant for long periods are invoked and re-awoken, as it were, and then kept actively in being. If it is really scarcely essential to take advantage of one's rights at the moment, it is of advantage to invoke them in order that at a later occasion they can be claimed when actually necessary; e. g. a later marriage, judicial compensation, depletion of herds, etc. A man also likes to feel that he has the general backing and approval of these people, even although he himself (or his father) makes the main decision and undertakes most or all of the bridewealth discussions.

Distribution of bridewealth is made by the bride's father and is rather more detailed since actual portions are handed over to women as well as to men. The details of distribution are decided upon beforehand and doubtless people come to exert pressure in favour of their own claims and rights with the bride and her father. The actual bridewealth is spoken of as being given to the girl's father - he is the titular receiver. In fact, the different head of stock are handed over to each of the recognised claimants, not going to the bride's father at all. Table No.8 gives the details of distribution in one case that I have recorded. Whilst not necessarily being typical of all cases, it will give an idea of what happens. Every case is, of course, peculiar to itself, and distribution depends on the size of bridewealth and the number of people who are able and wish to exercise claims. As I pointed out in regard to claims of inheritance, some cases are fairly simple, especially where the number of head to be distributed is comparatively small. Where a large bridewealth (or large inheritance) is concerned there is more scope for discussion, and more distant relationships are likely to be invoked since there is a chance of thus obtaining a head or two of stock.

x In fact he had eventually been unable to collect the requisite number owing to depletion of herds in the disastrous dry season.

TABLE NO. 8

DISTRIBUTION OF BRIDEWEALTH

N.B. All people mentioned are given as relations of the bride.

	CATTLE	CAMELS	GOATS, SHEEP
Father	5	2	20
Mother	5	5	20
Mother's co-wife (i.e. wife 2)	1	1	7
Mother's co-wife (i.e. junior wife)	1	1	5
Father's younger brother	4	2	20
Father's youngest brother	3	2	10
Father's brother's son	1	-	10
Father's sister	1	-	30
Mother's brother	2	-	--
Father's mother	2	3	--
Mother's mother	-	-	7
TOTALS	25	16	129

I failed to make sure wherein lay the difference between the stock actually allocated directly to the bride's mother and the latter's co-wives, and that allocated to the father. This distinction is always made when I am given such figures by Turkana. As we have already seen (pp.90-93) a man does not ordinarily hold any stock inside the nuclear family, but allocates his herds amongst his wives for domestic purposes. He may re-allocate his share of bridewealth to his wives, or elsewhere, e.g. to an older unmarried daughter. It is very likely that he will soon be visited by one or more of his best-friends, who, hearing of his good fortune, will beg a cow or ox or two or three goats.

Notice that bridewealth is not retained solely inside the patrilineal group. Some goes to the mother's brother and mother's mother; some goes to the family into which the father's sister has married. In this particular case the "god-father" was not included, nor specifically a best-friend. I have several notes of both these being included in other cases, and here again stock pass out of the patrilineal group, the extended family. By definition, however, stock does not pass out of the stock-group of the bride's father, unless in exceptional circumstances some third party has been waiting for the repayment of a debt, and now takes the chance of securing redemption of it.

Notice that in two cases (mother's brother and mother's mother) stock go to the in-laws of the bride's father. I have already said that in-laws do not feature in the collection and distribution of bridewealth. In this instance the Turkana do not regard this as an example of the working of in-law relationships. Each of these two people (and in other cases there might well be others) receive a share directly because of their blood-relationship with the bride, through her mother, their kinswoman (sister and daughter respectively).

Portions of bridewealth received by people do not follow a rigidly set pattern for besides the formal relationships there is also consideration given to practical, everyday relations between each one and the bride's father at the time.

There are times when the suitor is not able to raise the necessary number of stock to make up the agreed bridewealth. Discussions will be re-opened in that case, as the suitor attempts to obtain a reduction. The result depends very largely on personal relations between suitor and prospective father-in-law. Very often, I gather, relations are good enough to enable the suitor to obtain a reduction; sometimes they may not be, and the girl's father insists on the formerly agreed number. If he admits a reduction then probably the wedding can be arranged and carried out straightaway, or as soon as the wet season permits. If he refuses to reduce the number, the only thing the suitor can do is to make the rounds of his stock-group again. Marriages are delayed in this way, but, so far as I am aware, are not ultimately prevented. It must be very unusual if the father will not, in the end, give way if the suitor really cannot collect enough stock. In one case, I knew the situation was aggravated by the death of the girl's father after bridewealth discussions had taken place (following "marriage by seizure" preliminaries). The father's brother inherited and became the girl's legal guardian, and therefore principal in the marriage arrangements. He was quite adamant in demanding the agreed number of stock. He did not know the suitor very well and had not the same emotional ties with the girl that her father had, and therefore was a good deal less solicitous for her or for future in-law relationships. The suitor could at first only collect twenty cattle instead of thirty, although he had obtained almost all the sheep and goats and camels. On the refusal of the girl's uncle to reduce the number - i.e. thirty - he managed to get five more, but could not get a further five, although not for want of trying. The girl's uncle had been quite adamant, I was told, even to the extent of declaring that he did not care if the suitor was left with no cattle at all. All the Turkana I discussed the situation with, thought that this was very wrong, since no man should be left without a milking cow or two to provide milk for his family. The suitor had one wife already, and one child. Unfortunately, I only got the story and comments of the suitor himself and his friends and relations, and some neutral persons. The girl's uncle lived about 50 miles away and I was not able to talk to him. The upshot was that the suitor was going to drive all the stock he had been able to collect, and go to the neighbourhood of the girl's uncle. He was asking all his near male kinsmen and all other friends he could persuade to go with him to plead and support his cause. I was asked to go myself but unfortunately I was not able to do this as my tour of field-work was almost ended and other arrangements had been made. I was told I must say, "There are a lot of cattle now. Let him (the suitor) marry the girl. Take these animals. They are enough, enough", and so on. People I spoke to were all of the opinion that the girl's uncle would accept them in the end. The suitor, practically exhausted by all his efforts of several months, was quite obviously banking on this belief. He felt that with all the supporters he was to take with him he would not be refused any longer. I have not yet learned what did happen.

This was an unusual case but it does show what sort of thing happens and how eventually compromise should be reached.

Another way of making a compromise is for payment by instalments to be agreed to. A fairly large transfer is made at the time of the wedding, and the rest as and when possible. This can only happen when either very good relations exist between suitor and father-in-law, or when the girl is already pregnant and the father's hand therefore forced. In either case the father has to take the risk because after the first handing over of stock the marriage ceremony is completed and the daughter becomes legally the suitor's wife. The father-in-law can only claim the rest of the stock by moral right. He cannot in practice use the normal judicial procedure - force and the threat of force - since, even between so estranged in-laws, fighting just could not occur. Every Turkana value and principle is against it. I know of no case, in fact, where subsequent payments were not made, although here again a benevolent father-in-law might be prepared to waive his rightful demands until such time as his son-in-law benefited by inheritance, ect. Bridewealth by instalments is not very common however. It leaves a situation of peculiar indebtedness outside the law, as it were, and a millstone on the shoulders of the son-in-law.

The Wedding

When all the bridewealth stock have been collected there is little to hold up the wedding. If the wet season is poor there may well be a wait in order to see if conditions will improve, for it is felt that there ought to be a lot of food available for such a large-scale social event as a wedding - milk, millet, fat animals for slaughter. However, sometimes there may be no delay at all, and only where the suitor already has two or three wives will the wedding be postponed until better times. Such men can more easily afford to wait.

The actual time of the wedding is decided by the suitor and his supporters. Their arrival near the homestead of the girl's father is the signal that the wedding is to occur in a day or two. I am told that the bride's family will not know until a messenger from the advancing bridegroom's party arrives at the homestead maybe a few hours or a day before their actual arrival. However in many cases the bride's family must be well aware of the fact that the groom is rounding up the bridewealth stock and his supporters are gathering, preparatory to setting out.

The groom's womenfolk (wives, father's wives and other kinswomen) are amongst the first arrivals, and they build a new homestead near to that of the bride's father's - say about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile away. This is built just like a normal homestead with huts for the groom's womenfolk and kraals for the stock. Besides the bridewealth, enough stock must also be brought to provide milk and meat for the people whilst they live there - a period of one month at least. The rest of the herds, if any, may be left in the old homestead tended by boys with perhaps one man and one woman to look after things. Bridewealth and other stock are kraaled here, just as normally, and mixed together. For the next day or so the rest of the groom's supporters arrive, and men camp outside the homestead, whilst women find shelter with the groom's womenfolk. Similarly the bride's father's supporters arrive. "Anyone can come to a wedding" the Turkana tell me. Each principal wants his extended family, the rest of his stock group, age-mates, neighbours and co-members of his community to be there. In addition the friends of both come. And finally anyone else who wants to join in the feasts, dancing and general excitement, turns up. Young men come in bands for the dancing and to flirt with the girls. Almost every adult within a day's walk will take advantage of the affair, to come. Weddings are occasions of great festivity, eagerly attended and looked forward to and talked about afterwards. Everything attractive in their life seems to be reflected in weddings - stock, feasts, dancing, meeting friends and gossip, flirtation, and tremendous excitement.

On the second or third day the first stage of the wedding is performed - the handing over of the bridewealth. On that day all the stock are kept in the kraals of the groom's new homestead. The person who actually hands over the animals should be the head of the extended family of the groom, but unless there is an elder brother, an older man will usually do it for himself. In any case heads of other nuclear families within the extended family will help as of right. As the Turkana say: "They are all our cattle," i.e. the bridewealth comes from all of them, all have rights in them, even if they are not in their own herds. These men go into the new homestead where the women already are. Outside at a distance sit the bride's father and his supporters in a group. In a separate group sit the rest of the groom's supporters. Doubtless in practice there will be a considerable amount of moving about and the two groups will be blurred. Turkana gatherings never keep still and precisely ordered. Age-mates of the groom stand by to act as messengers and interlocutors.

Inside the kraals the man who is to drive out the stock holds an ordinary kind of walking stick in one hand, and a tobacco horn made out of a cow's tail in the other.^x First the cattle are driven out,

x This, the 'elado', is the symbol of marriage and has been carried about by the suitor wherever he has been in arranging and collecting the bridewealth.

then camels, then sheep and goats, and donkeys (if any). Each head of cattle is struck ceremonially with the stick and driven to the gate of the homestead.^x The man doing this calls out the type of animal, and this is relayed to the waiting bride's family, where the father agrees to accept it and states to whom it is to go. This is relayed back by the age-mates and the animal is driven out by the men in the homestead, at the same time saying, "this black ox is for so-and-so", whatever the animal is and to whomever it may be going. Each head of cattle and each camel is so dealt with, and I gather that it could be possible for one to be refused on account of poor quality, though whether it ever is I do not know. Goats and sheep are driven out in batches according to the numbers allocated to each recipient among the bride's father's supporters. Whether conventionally or in earnest I do not know, but before all the agreed number of stock are driven out the men driving them call a halt and ask if sufficient have yet been given. Probably it is pure convention as a last piece of bargaining for I have not heard of any good coming of it. The bride's father knows whether all the agreed number have been collected, and if so is not likely to relent at this stage. There may well have been last-minute bargaining before this ceremony began.

In this way each ox, cow and camel is handed over individually before an audience of witnesses. Herdspeople that they are, almost everyone will remember not only how many were handed over but also which beasts each recipient had. I should say without doubt, that identification and witness is complete. It may be noted that such witness is not only by the two interested parties but by more or less neutral third parties also.

Once this handing-over ceremony has been performed both parties wish to complete the wedding ceremonies, and if possible that will be done the next day. Sometimes, however, there may be a delay, since the bride's family may not all have arrived - no notice having been given by the bridegroom of his coming. Some important member of the extended family may not have arrived, having to come a long distance. I know of a case where the final ceremonies were postponed for about ten days whilst the bride's father's eldest brother was sent for, some 35 miles away. The handing over of the bridewealth was completed without him, but the final seal was not set on the marriage until he could arrive and give his final agreement. This was a case of a fairly closely integrated extended family. Where this family is less coherent I am sure a delay such as this may well not have occurred. If there is a delay both groom and bride's father must provide an ox or goats and sheep to feast the waiting people. Indeed even if little or no delay occurred such minor feasts may still be provided in the evening following the handing-over ceremony.

Once the stock have been handed over, the bride is fetched by the groom's brother, or near kinsman, amid conventional and even real protestations and struggles on her part. Conventional struggle there should always be, say the Turkana; but sometimes in the case of a younger, embarrassed bride she is, at the last minute, frightened to leave the well-known accustomed security of her own homestead, to go and live in a strange homestead amid relatively strange men and women. Little sympathy is wasted on her, but women have told us how such and such a young wife cried when she first came to live in her husband's homestead and family. That night the groom sleeps with her in a night-hut already built by his womenfolk. The next morning^{xx} the bride is stripped of all her clothes and ornaments (i.e. those of an unmarried girl) and is given a wife's clothing, metal belt, "wedding ring" (a metal neck ring of the appropriate colour according to her husband's alternation - it is called 'alagam') and fresh beads and ornaments. This is performed by her husband's womenfolk who have made her new accoutrements for her previously. She is made to fetch water ritually from the water-point and bring it to her husband to drink. As she carries the water vessel on her head her co-wives try (and presumably

x Hence the word used to cover this act - 'adethingeth', i.e., literally "he strikes", roughly meaning to single out and drive each animal on this special occasion.

xx A few informants have told me that it is the previous evening.

usually succeed) to knock it off her head, and compel her to bring more water. The bride must also bring firewood and food for her husband. Once this is over she is fully accepted formally into her new family. She is called 'aberu' - "wife", by everyone. Her old clothing and decorations are distributed to her husband's unmarried womenfolk (sisters and daughters).

The concluding stage of the actual wedding is the spearing of the "marriage-ox" ('emong akortar') followed by a huge feast and dance. The spearing of this ox is absolutely vital to the completion of the wedding, even although the bridewealth has been accepted. It marks the formal and binding acceptance of the bride's father, both of the bridewealth and of his new son-in-law. The ox is provided by the groom, and is driven out of his kraal to the bride's father's homestead by him, his age-mates, and as many other of his male supporters as may care to join in. It is a moment of intense excitement since it not only concludes the wedding, but heralds the feast and dance - the big events for all but the important principals, and looked forward to by them also. The animal is driven at a run, followed by shouting, dancing men. The bride's father signifies his final and complete approval by permitting the ox to be driven into the central goat kraal of his homestead. There it is speared by a brother or close kinsman of the groom (not the groom himself). Once speared, the womenfolk of the bride's father quickly set to work to skin and cook the carcass for the feast. I am told that often another ox, or a camel or two or three goats and sheep are also killed, in order to make up plenty of meat for all at the feast. The ideal is that everyone, men and women, should, on this occasion above all, have sufficient meat to eat. Milk, millet porridge and blood will be given by the bride's father to make the feast complete.

Whilst the food is being prepared, the men and women deck themselves out in their best finery. The men all wear their best ostrich plumes, beads, bells and cloth, and probably are painted with ochre. The women, especially the unmarried girls, put their best beaded skirts and pinafores on, all their beads, iron wire, iron bangles, etc., and the unmarried girls smear themselves liberally with oil and fat and red ochre. Excitement and anticipation grows to fever pitch and preliminary dancing may begin, even before the feast. But, "we must eat much meat before we can dance well," says the Turkana.

The feast is held in four main groups - two groups of men and two of women. Each party (i.e. groom's and bride's) sits nearer to their own homestead, the groups of men nearest to each other, and the women behind them, possibly inside or at the entrance to each homestead. Thus the two parties to the marriage are kept apart, and men and women, as always, eat separately. Each group of men will be split up into Stones and Leopards. The bride's womenfolk bring out the food to each of the groups. The bride herself is now a member of the groom's group.

When the feast is over dancing can begin. Once dancing is under way, the first feature is the special group-dancing ('akimwar'). The only times such dancing occurs is at weddings and at gatherings of age-sets; i.e. when the special identity of groups is to be emphasised. In this dancing everyone takes part - none are too young or too old. For those less active this dancing need not be very strenuous since they can just join in the outskirts of the more energetic people. Everyone, however, should join in this group-dancing. It is always described to me as a great feature of weddings. This will be followed by ordinary dancing ('edonga') when the older folk can drop out. The younger men and girls may go on dancing for many hours.

After the wedding

This concludes the wedding, and all but the people who are living in the homesteads of the groom and bride's father, now disperse more or less straightaway. The groom should continue to occupy his

x I can only guess that this is to demonstrate that she is subordinate to senior wives or the wives of the groom's father. No Turkana explanation is forthcoming "It is our custom:" is all they say.

special homestead for a month before returning to his former neighbourhood and the remainder of his herds (if any). Sometimes such a return is not made, and the groom's nuclear family continue to live there until pasturage conditions make a move desirable in the normal course of events.

The bride is known as 'aberu nateran' (as near as can be in English this means "bride-wife"). She is known by this title until she bears her first child, when she is a full wife, or 'aberu'. As I have described earlier, her first pregnancy and parturition are necessarily accompanied by certain ceremonial by her father or mother, and from then on her full status as wife is completely recognised.

As I mentioned earlier, a man may sometimes be allowed to pay his bridewealth by instalments. As far as I am aware, in such cases he need not, though he may, continue to live near his father-in-law. Since the "marriage-ox" has been speared the girl is legally his wife and I doubt if the father-in-law could take her back again contingent upon not receiving further bridewealth payments. However such contracts would not be made unless the father-in-law knew and trusted his son-in-law; and apart from diplomatic pressure it is doubtful if any further action will be taken.

There is a further type of institution known to the Turkana - though I do not know whether it is often followed. If a poor man desires to marry the daughter of a fairly wealthy man, the latter may accept him. More likely he will refuse, but a determined suitor and girl may force his hand when she becomes pregnant. It is unlikely that he will refuse his consent then, and he must accept what stock the improvident suitor can afford with the best grace possible. Since there are so few stock, so I am informed, the groom and his bride come to live next to the father of the latter, sharing in his food supply, and helping in his work in their respective ways. When the first baby is born it will live in its mother's father's homestead "where there is plenty of milk and food". By the time the child is a few years old its father may, if he wishes, move away on his own, just as he would from his own father's homestead and nuclear family. The father-in-law cannot and will not prevent this. Before departure the father-in-law should kill an ox for a feast at which they eat together, presumably signifying amicable relations. This then is a kind of matrilocal marriage and the only type I know of in Turkana society.

A note on in-laws

Frequent references have already been made to the close social relationships between a man and his in-laws, and this note will be mainly a brief re-statement here in order to make the description of marriage more complete.

All in-laws, of whatever degree, are known as 'ekamerun', s: 'ngikamerok', pl. This comprehensive term indicates a general relationship of mutual help in all walks of life, plus close emotional ties of a very strong order. Turkana like to talk about their in-laws with an avidity and pleasure that is quite remarkable in comparison with their normal taciturn nature. I have never come across a case of really bad feelings between in-laws, nor of refusal of one to help another in whatever way. A man feels most closely tied to his father-in-law (as a subordinate), to his brother-in-law (as something of an equal) and to his daughter's husband (as a superior), but similar kinds of ties, though different in degree, are felt with all in-laws. A man justifies some action, say a gift, by saying that "he is my in-law", when the person referred to is the brother of his own brother's wife, and so on.

As explained in the notes to kinship terminology, given in Appendix No.4, terms of address to in-laws are the same as for the equivalent relations inside a man's own family. Thus father-in-law is referred to as "father", brother-in-law as "brother", and so on.

A man always feels somewhat subordinate to a member of a family from which he took a wife, and somewhat superior to a member of a family into which his daughter marries. "Does he not give you his daughter for your wife?" asked one informant, when I questioned him on this point. The superior person in the relationship can always seek greater help or larger gifts. A man must save certain portions of meat from a slaughtered ox or camel for his father-in-law; a gift which is not reciprocated. A father or brother-in-law can ask for larger shares of stock at a man's inheritance, etc., than vice versa. None the less, relations are in general of a reciprocal nature.

Avoidance is practised between son-in-law and mother-in-law. Neither is supposed to go into the homestead of the other, nor to sleep in there. When visiting, each must sleep outside the other's homestead, probably in that of a neighbour, or else in the bush. Very occasionally a man must take a gift to his mother-in-law - e.g. at the time of the birth of the first baby of her daughter - at such times he must make sure that his whole body is completely covered with his cloth from neck to toes. He must not enter her day-hut but must stretch his hand across the threshold to give her the gift (supposing it to be tobacco or millet or beadware, etc.) making sure that his fingers do not touch hers. He must leave straightaway. The man must not associate with her activities outside the homestead of either, e.g. at dances. A wife is not subject to these taboos, but she cannot, of course, sleep with her husband at her mother's homestead.

I have described the stock-relations between in-laws in Chapter 10 and also mentioned elsewhere the co-operation that may take place in matters of herding and migrational movements. Brothers-in-law very often share a joint homestead, or deliberately live very close to each other. Beyond his own brothers a man feels relatively little emotional tie with others of his extended family, hence its comparative instability and small range. With in-laws, a man feels exceptionally strong emotional ties, as well as realising the formal relationships of mutual stock rights. Expression of these relationships may take any form of co-operation and assistance, according to current circumstances of needs, territorial proximity and social circumstances. As far as I can determine, a man feels complete confidence in his in-laws, with no reservations. The same cannot be said of any other type of relative outside the nuclear family - and even sons cannot maintain that very high esteem. Both sons and father, and brothers, besides a strong social and emotional tie, have also a kind of underlying competitive opposition.^x There is no such ambi-valence where the in-law tie is concerned.

Divorce

Divorce, i.e. a complete break-up of a marriage - is rare, and I know of no cases. It is recognised, however, that divorce may occasionally occur. The inevitable grounds given to me for separation are incompatibility of husband and wife, creating a hostility which ends in mutual dislike and agreement to part. It would be set off finally by some supposed or real indiscretion of the wife and the husband would send her off to her parents. Adultery is not a cause for divorce - a husband would not feel justified in getting rid of an adulterous wife. But repeated adultery might be felt cause enough: it would depend on the husband. Inability to bear children is not cause for divorce, and although I have enquired whether it may be indirectly the unspoken cause, I have not found any reason to think it may be. A barren wife is given the second child of another wife (after magical cures for barrenness have failed) and the matter ends there. It is important to note that one of the accredited causes of hostility between husband and wife is the latter's bad work and bad character - the two things always stressed when choosing a wife. A wife who is "proved" to be a witch or sorcerer may also be divorced. Very occasionally a wife may leave her husband and return to her parents or go off to a distant part of the country with another man. Parents

should and will try to send her back.

If there are no children of the marriage at the time of divorce the husband can demand the whole of the bridewealth to be returned - the very same animals, or close substitutes if any have died. If there are children a husband has the choice between retaining them and his legal fatherhood, and claiming return of the bridewealth - but not both. I am told that if the children are very young they usually go with their mother, but this is conventional convenience rather than legal necessity.

In any case divorce is rare, and once a woman bears two or three children is very rare indeed. Marriage is very stable in Turkana society. One reason for this stability is that wives have a fairly free hand in domestic affairs, especially in their own huts. Whilst a husband and a chief wife may exercise disciplinary authority over wives, and a husband may beat a wife occasionally, on the whole friction is slight. Cases of "hen-pecked" husbands are not altogether unknown, I think, whilst in very many cases a wife is the moral equal of her husband in their inter-personal informal relationships. Where friction does arise, whether between husband and wife or between wife and wife, it can be avoided by the two living in different homesteads of the family. A husband is inevitably loth to divorce a wife since it must seriously upset the economic and domestic organisation of his nuclear family and herds. A wife is equally loth since she will almost certainly permanently renounce the status of a full wife and degenerate to another man's concubine. Remarriage is possible but I have yet to find a man who says he would marry a divorced wife. Once a wife, a woman is obviously most unwilling to give up her position. Finally, nearest kinsmen facilitate conciliation and benevolence. The restoration of bridewealth is cause enough to induce a father-in-law to make the strongest efforts to smooth matters over.

Widowhood and re-marriage

On the death of a man his widows have two courses open to them - to re-marry a kinsman of their husband or to remain a widow, either returning to her own people or remaining with her husband's (typically her youngest son). "Remarriage" is really incorrect from the Turkana point of view, for once she has been married with stock she cannot marry again when her husband dies, and it would be dealt with as adultery if she went to live with a man, who was not a clansman of the dead man. In practice I do not know of anyone but brothers or sons taking - literally inheriting - widows, but Turkana always say any clansman can inherit a widow (but Turkana make several erroneous generalisations about their clans as I have shown, *passim*).

Inheritance of a widow is arranged at the end of a month after the man's death. She is known as 'aberu nakeroma'. Typically a brother has first rights over widows if he wishes, followed by sons - except, of course, that a son cannot inherit his own mother. Arrangements are made more or less informally between the inheritor and the widow - neither can be forced against his or her will to agree. The notion of compulsion of a widow is quite absent, though in the case of a young widow doubtless the strongest persuasion would be made. The widow is likely to agree if only to obtain a secure home and the chance of bearing children. The inheritance may even be of a temporary nature so long as the widow is capable of child-bearing. All children she bears are legally the children of the dead husband, according to Turkana, though in practice this is of little importance since for later claims on stock they will make joint claims on both legal father's general heir and physical father who reared them. However the placement of a boy in an alternation and in age-set seniority is determined according to the legal father.

If a widow is not inherited, and this is usually the case if she is near to or past the menopause, she may possibly return to her own people, or even sometimes go to her married sister. This is unusual for if she has been married any length of time she, and most especially her children, will be closely tied to her husband's family. The normal thing is for her to live with her youngest independent son, or with the guardian of her sons until one becomes independent. Here she occupies the important

status of mother of the head of the family, already referred to in these pages. In any event, if she is inherited, she will invariably come to live with her son once she is past child-bearing. Ties with her proxy-husband will not be strong enough to hold her with him after that time.

As a general rule widows who have not yet any independent sons are well treated. A place can always be found for a widow even if she is past child-bearing and is not one's mother. I know of cases of men with two or three elderly widows of their fathers. Possibly they are not quite so well fed and looked after as a man's own wives and children, but they should have a small herd of their own, inherited from their husband's herds, from which to get milk, blood, and occasionally meat. They can cultivate their own gardens. And they join in the general co-operative activity of the homestead. Almost every homestead has a widow living there, an inherited child-bearing wife, a father's aged widow, the head's own mother, a brother's elderly widow, etc.

Extra-marital sex relations

Normally there is no permissive extra-marital sexual intercourse. Turkana are always invariably quite rigid on this point. It is adultery for any person other than her husband to sleep with a married woman. I have already described the legal aspect of adultery; it is a crime equally grave with homicide as regards the compensation payable. There must also be a special ox slaughtered with whose undigested stomach contents to purify the adulterous woman, for both her lover and she are magically impure on such occasions. They are both very dangerous to both stock and human beings. If there is an illness in either man or beast the presence of an adulterer will make that illness fatal. There is no formal difference between agreed adultery by a wife and the rape of a wife. Both create liability to pay compensation; both require ritual purification. Naturally in the latter case the wife is sympathised with instead of severely blamed. Adultery is not cause for divorce, although where a wife was known to be a willing partner she will be severely beaten by the husband, assisted by his and her own brothers or near kinsmen. In the old days an adulterer could legitimately be speared to death if caught.

The only occasion when extra-marital intercourse is permissible is in the case of the known impotency of a husband. In such a case, in order to have children, the wife cohabits with her husband's brother or close kinsman. But this must be with the express permission of the husband, and both wife and kinsman must be ritually purified first. Neither should cohabitation be prolonged beyond the time when the wife conceives. Children of such unions are legally children of the husband, not of the proxy husband.

Where old men marry young wives, Turkana tell me that it is often the case that the man is unable to either satisfy his wife or give her children, due to his advancing senility. It may be that the old man appreciates this and allows a kinsman, probably his eldest son, to be a proxy-father to children of that wife as described above. In some cases old men are jealous of their sexual rights and will not allow this and his kinsmen cannot force his agreement since the special ritual purification is necessary before one of them can cohabit with the wife. They would not dare to take the risk of dangerous ritual impurity - a very potent danger as between kinsmen. Therefore a blind eye is turned by the husband's kinsmen if the wife takes a lover. It is recognised that she has the right not only to sexual satisfaction, but to bear children in the full status of wifhood. I do not know of such a case, personally, but I have been told the same story by several men at different times, so presumably the principle must be true. In fact, few ageing men take new and young wives. Their grown-up sons would be most unlikely to agree to stock going in bridewealth that way, when they themselves wanted to marry. However, it may occasionally happen.

It is to be noted that brothers and near kinsmen have not any sexual rights in a man's wife, whilst he is alive (and there can be only one heir after his death), except in these unusual cases of impotency. Cohabitation of a man with his brother's wife is still adultery, and although neither death by spearing nor compensation is enforced (it scarcely could be with the extended family) there is recognised to be great impurity about the sinning couple which still must be magically removed. Doubtless also relations between a man and his kinsman are far from cordial afterwards. The danger and evil of this kind of adultery is demonstrated in the fact that any mutual and recurrent illness or misfortune among the herds is put down almost automatically to adultery on the part of a wife. I do not know how the adulterous wife is determined but Turkana assure me that no further proof of adultery is needed and the (supposedly) guilty wife is made to undergo ritual purification and may even be beaten. From what we know of Turkana family life, we feel sure, however, that this would not occur without many accessory causes.

A husband is not prevented from cohabiting with an unmarried girl. Her father and brothers will object strongly if they find out, but no legal action is permissible unless the girl becomes pregnant, when the normal fine of 30 head of stock is payable. Such cohabitation may be part of the man's courtship of the girl, and after formal betrothal (agreement to the marriage by her father) it is more or less permissible.

Barrenness in wives

Barrenness is not considered to be, directly or indirectly, a legitimate or reasonable cause for divorce. However it is every woman's ambition to bear children and her husband equally desires sons and daughters. There appears not to be any special hurry about a bride having her first child, for often advantage is taken of her lack of encumbrances to send her to the cattle homestead where small children are not wanted. Thus she may not see her husband very often. We know many cases where a wife has not borne her first child until about two years after marriage. If after a year or so a bride does not become pregnant the husband begins to show concern, and begins to try magical processes to cure her.

There are two parts to this magic, one that can be done by the husband and wife themselves, and one that must be undertaken by the diviner. The local diviner is consulted and he will specify certain applications of types of ochre which on successive days are smeared over both husband and wife - I am not sure whether the process is always the same, probably not entirely. In one case I observed, on the first day, both man and woman had yellow ochre on the forehead; on the second day, the man had white ochre on his forehead, arms and upper part of his back, and the woman had three white streaks from eyes to forehead, and down her arms; the woman was also given wooden beads to wear round her head over the forehead. The ochre was allowed to remain until it wore off. In another case, which I was not able to observe so closely, the man was smeared with grey ochre all over his face, and the woman was also smeared in some way. In this case the man only underwent the one operation as far as I could discover, whilst his wife was sent to live in another homestead for a time.

The assistance of the diviner is believed to be essential and a fee of a goat or two is paid if the cure is successful. The husband and wife also take conventional action themselves. The wife must let her hair grow long and not shave it as women ordinarily do. A goat is killed by the husband and part of its intestines is hung round her neck, together with a piece of gazelle skin shaped rather like a European baby's bib. She must go about like this for several months. At the end of this time - I do not know how the period of time is calculated - another goat is killed, she is smeared with its undigested stomach contents, and can now shave and wear her hair in the normal fashion. After this she should conceive. If she does not then she is believed to be permanently barren, and nothing else can be done.

The barren wife suffers little loss of status. She is still a properly married wife and in due course a co-wife will give her one of that wife's own young children for her own. Doubtless she does suffer later in not having children to support her in her old age, for she will not, as far as I know, be given more than one child by another wife. Nevertheless she remains a more or less normal member of the co-operative nuclear family in rather better circumstances than a dependent old widow. I have never heard of a barren wife being stigmatised for her inability. In the two cases I actually observed everyone appeared to have only sympathy for the women.

I have no reliable figures but it appears as if one-child-barrenness is not uncommon in Turkanaland (like much of Africa). As far as can be learned nothing is done in such cases. On the other hand, it seems that many women bear large numbers of children with some ease. Large families are not uncommon, nor is the wife who has borne seven or more children thought to be unusual.

Concubinage

This follows several forms, but always a concubine is known as 'apethe angabus' - i.e. a girl who wears a wife's pinafore; and by implication is a mother. In some cases "unmarried mother" would be a fair description, in others the woman is a permanent concubine, an "unmarried wife" as it were. The significant feature of this institution is that an unmarried girl bears a child - that is to say, bridewealth stock have not passed and the physical father is not the legal father, and never can be, nor has he specific legal obligations to maintain either woman or child. He must however pay a fine ('ekichul') of 30 head of stock to the girl's father or guardian. To become an unmarried mother is not a fixed bar to marriage, although many such women do not become wives later on. Sometimes pregnancy before marriage is the unfortunate, or even-intended, consequence of the cohabitation of a betrothed couple. In that case marriage would be speeded up, the fine probably waived and legal paternity equated with physical paternity. This cannot be called concubinage as it is purely temporary.

In some cases the unmarried mother is not married by her lover for one reason or another (see below). Occasionally, having paid the fine, the lover has little more to do with her and she remains at her father's homestead. She may get married, probably at a lower bridewealth, but in many cases she does not, but eventually lives or cohabits with some other man and possibly bears other illegitimate children. Cases of real prostitution must be rare - I know of none - though probably some women may associate with more than one man during their lives, but not at the same time.

In the majority of cases, however, the lover continues to associate with the woman. This is what I am calling concubinage. She may continue to live at her father's homestead, where he visits her - this is typical of the case where a lover is himself unmarried and has no homestead of his own. She may alternate his visits to her father's homestead by visits to his for periods of several weeks or even months. Or, finally, she may go to live permanently in his homestead. In all cases she is still an 'apethe angabus' and in all cases her lover must pay the legal fine for an illegitimate child. A girl only becomes a concubine when she has borne an illegitimate child and not before. If she lives wholly or partly at her father's (or his successor's) homestead she builds her huts there - both day-hut and night-hut as a wife does - and will be given an allocation from his herds, usually part or whole of the lover's fine. In this way, at least some concubines fare quite well with a fair-sized herd which in due course will go a long way towards providing bridewealth for an illegitimate son. I know of two certain cases of this and have heard of others. Turkana do not appear to regard it as out of the ordinary. In this case the concubine ends up as mother of the head of an independent nuclear family, with all that it implies. In the meantime the association with the lover may fall through. For deliberate or accidental reasons the lover may be living a long way from the concubine's homestead and gradually the relationship breaks down. Children, as they grow up, realise that the

mother is not a wife but do not know much of their progenitor. As far as they are concerned their mother's father, or more typically their mother's brother, is their father. In him resides at least potential authority - of paternal affection and concern, I cannot speak. The concubine comes to occupy almost the position of a wife in her guardian's homesteads.

The alternative to this is for the concubine to live more or less permanently in her lover's homestead, and there to become all but a legal wife. She has her own huts, probably an allocation of his herds and joins in all the co-operative activity of homestead life. The children of the union still do not legally belong to their progenitor, but it is likely in those cases that the latter will be almost their 'de facto' pater - he will, for instance, help boys marry, and receive large shares in girls' bridewealth. The children, like their mother, join in the corporate life of the nuclear family, and for all sociological purposes (other than purely legal) are members of that nuclear family. As her own family of children increases and as the children grow up into useful workers in the homestead, the concubine becomes increasingly like a wife.

The general attitude of Turkana, men and women, to concubinage, is one of philosophic acceptance. It is not a specially desirable state for a kinswoman to attain, but if she does, then it is accepted as a 'fait accompli'. A father may be temporarily very angry with his daughter and beat her - even, I am told, forbidding her to return to his homestead until after her child is born. No man ever says that he wants a concubine instead of a wife; no woman says she would prefer to be a concubine rather than a married wife. Some people are not willing to talk about concubinage very much. But by and large it is amoral rather than immoral - one of life's difficulties to be accepted and not so troublesome as many of the things which might happen in that hard life. A well established concubine is, to the newcomer, scarcely distinguishable from a full wife. In the homestead she has her own huts and herds; externally she wears most or all of a wife's clothing and accoutrements. When she first bears an illegitimate child she ceases to wear the unmarried girl's v-shaped ostrich-egg trimmed pinafore. She begins to wear an oblong pinafore like a wife's, usually heavily decorated with beads along the edges. At first she continues to wear the rest of an unmarried girl's accoutrements - untrimmed back skirt, special types of bead work, and to smear herself with fat and red ochre. Outwardly, at any rate, she often looks like an unmarried girl still. As time goes on and she becomes established as a mother and housewife she gradually seeks the company of married women instead of girls, and takes to wearing all of a wife's clothing, etc. - decorated back skirt and metal beaded belt. She leaves off girls' types of beadwork and discontinues to smear herself with fat and red ochre. To all intents she becomes as a wife and instead of being referred to as "my girl" ('apethekan') she is called "my woman" (or wife) - ('erkaberu') by her lover. Other people come to regard her as a woman, as an 'aberu'. Indeed the ethnographer finds it difficult to discover which women are concubines, although close questioning reveals that everyone does know which women are unmarried.

It is difficult to give comparative numbers of concubines and full wives. Nearly all Europeans have been impressed by the number of concubines, some administrative officers even going so far as to state that marriage was rare, unstable and breaking down rapidly. Such views are largely erroneous however and result from observation almost only of Turkana living in and near the two Government stations. Here there are large numbers of tribal police, syces, station herds, hangers-on and, increasingly, Kenya police. These people are taken out of their own social environment and put in a place where Turkana values are not understood and where there is plenty of scope for irregular practices - the typical result of military life. I may add that both Lodwar and

x This smearing is absolutely forbidden to all married wives other than those of Ngissiger section.

Lokitaung have poor reputations with Turkana and they scornfully tell me of the bad and lazy girls who run away there where they can find plenty of loose men and easy food, etc. These Government-employed men usually have few or no stock with which to marry even when they wish to. Further, more or less the worst (i.e. from the English point of view) moral implications have been put upon even these abnormal liaisons - some of which, by the way, are quite permanent. In fact concubinage is a recognised Turkana institution to be distinguished quite clearly from prostitution and the like. Most concubinage, by far, is on a definitely permanent basis in Turkanaland.

The following table gives what satisfactory evidence I have on this topic. It shows the results of tentative censuses made in three widely separated areas; viz:-

- (1) The Oropoi valley in north-western Turkanaland, secondary neighbourhood, see Map No. 4. on Page 112.
- (2) The Logiriama area of western Turkanaland, co-operative community, see description on pages 121 - 124.
- (3) The Karibur district of north-eastern Turkanaland, secondary neighbourhood, see Map No. 3, on Page 110.

TABLE NO.9.

THE FREQUENCY OF CONCUBINAGE

	<u>Wives</u>	<u>Concubines</u>	<u>Total Women</u>	<u>Men involved in total</u>
1. Oropoi	51	9	60	24
2. Logiriama	21	1	22	8
3. Karibur	12	4	16	8
Totals	84	14	98	40

It may be noted that group (3) is a relatively poor one as regards sizes of herds, whereas groups (1) and (2) are average or above average in wealth. At the moment I should not like to correlate relative poverty in stock with concubinage, nor vice-versa. Indeed the causes of concubinage do not lend weight to any such argument in the long run. Both wealthy men and poor men have concubines. These causes are as follows:-

(a) A man is not willing to give bridewealth for a girl who is a poor or lazy worker, or who is reputed of bad character - slanderous tongue, witchcraft or sorcery, or bad reputation in sexual activities. This is always the cause of concubinage given me by Turkana. Their theory is that ideally a girl only becomes a concubine temporarily - until the man can marry her - but that her lover finally is unwilling to give bridewealth for such a potentially poor wife.

(b) A girl who bears a child out of marriage is often prejudiced in the eyes of men, if her lover does not marry her. She may only find a niche in society and sexual satisfaction, by becoming a concubine. This is not universal but is often the case.

(c) A potential husband may not be able to afford bridewealth at the time, and if the girl bears a child, arrangements can be made for her to live with him until he can find sufficient stock. Often the situation deteriorates into permanent concubinage, either because the lover never does possess sufficient stock, or because, when he does, he is unwilling to marry her.

(d) Besides absolute poverty whereby a man cannot afford to marry, there are many men who cannot marry for a time and who therefore take a concubine. These are men whose elder brothers are not yet married, and a younger brother cannot obtain stock to marry until all brothers senior to him have married. Again temporary concubinage may deteriorate into permanency.

(e) Men are usually unwilling to marry a divorced woman since it is held that there must be serious defects in her as a wife. She is acceptable however as a concubine where the lover's responsibility for her is purely arbitrary.

In conclusion it may be noted that girls are not necessarily or even usually unwilling to become concubines especially as ideally concubinage is believed only to be a temporary pause before full marriage. A girl may be sincerely desirous of living with her lover and father of her child. She may well be willing to forgo the status of full wife for the satisfaction of living with her own lover, even when his obvious poverty shows that he is unlikely to marry her. The man is not unwilling since he thereby obtains an extra adult female worker and her children as workers as they grow up. A poor man with only one wife thus increases his family. One fairly wealthy man I know lost much of his stock, two out of three of his wives and several children in a raid by the Marile. He never recovered his position, but was able to augment his nuclear family by a concubine, whose position was made extremely secure by the natural death of the last remaining wife many years afterwards.

The illegitimate offspring of a concubine has a defined legal status as the legal child of his mother's father. Thus legally he is the half-brother of his own mother's brother. In matters of inheritance an illegitimate son is scarcely treated as this, although Turkana say he ought to be. For one thing in affairs of stock, pre-existing mutual stock rights are the vital thing. If the illegitimate son has been living away from his mother's family - i.e. has been living with his progenitor - practical considerations preclude him from a major share in his legal father's or legal half-brother's herds. However he can and will claim some share; he will also seek bridewealth contributions from his legal guardians. In fact, it ultimately depends on which family he has been living in - his legal guardian's or his progenitor's. Whichever it is he will tend to look there for most help when he marries and in matters of inheritance. If he lives with his legal guardian he will be in a fairly strong position. He may of course fall between two stools and get only the minimum of assistance and co-operation from either family. Then the illegitimate son is left on his own, and it is probably these men who tend to seek employment by the Administration, etc. In the old days, they either remained poverty-stricken hunters with few stock, or else allied themselves as herdsmen to some wealthy man who was short of labour. Some such men might however create wealth and position by their own efforts. The autobiography of Ekal (Appendix No.8) gives a good example of this. An illegitimate son may do fairly well on his mother's herds - mainly the product of her lover's fine, plus bridewealth received for a sister. In the case of an illegitimate girl, her bridewealth is received chiefly by her mother and brothers and by her legal guardian.

Like most, if not all, of Turkana social relationships and legal positions, in all this the practical relations are of first-rate importance. There is a defined legal position - the child is the child of the mother's father and should therefore be treated and classified entirely as his child. This may occur if the child lives with his pater and establishes good working relations with members of that nuclear family. But the strictly theoretical position, Turkana admit and my evidence shows, is not always maintained. Practical relations may be almost nil with the family of the pater and very strong with the family of the progenitor. There is scope for agreement or clash of personalities. A legal and physical son, or grandson of the illegitimate child's pater may take the opportunity to deny the rights of the boy, where he neither would nor could where his own full brother or father's brother is concerned. The progenitor may be concerned with the welfare of his child, or he may not. He is not compelled to be since he is not the legal father, the pater. Like the type of practical compromise reached by Turkana in matters of inheritance, so in this case a practical solution is determined, depending upon the personalities and circumstances involved. Turkana see no difficulty in all this. They deal only with specific individual cases, not with generalised principles - for that is how their legal system operates.

In conclusion it may be re-emphasised that marriage and therefore the nuclear family, is a stable institution. This can, I think, be presumed from the rarity of divorce and desertion, on the one hand, and from the excellence of domestic relationships on the other. On the latter point it can be remarked that, during eleven months of more or less continuous field-work when my wife and I almost always lived next to one or more homesteads, we encountered only one case of ill-feeling between a man and his wife, and that was only temporary. Indeed we have invariably been struck by the concord to be found within the homesteads, especially as between a man and his wives and between wives themselves. That the Turkana themselves consider the stability of marriage and the family to be a vital matter is evident in the severity with which adultery is treated. Where concubinage does exist it appears very often to be more or less permanent, so that a concubine is not to be distinguished from a full wife so far as her own behaviour, or the behaviour of others towards her, is concerned.

When it is considered that the extended family and the stock-group are largely amorphous groupings, dependent on a range of interpersonal relations and mutual stock rights, whilst the clan is extremely vague so far as social function is concerned, it may be realised how vital the nuclear family must be. It is the basic unit for the ownership of individual herds and for economic co-operation, making it a relatively self-sufficient unit, despite the inevitable sub-division into homestead units for much, or even all of the year. Further, it is of course the group within which children are born and reared and find their emotional attachments. A wife tends to become completely absorbed into her husband's nuclear family, quitting her own for good. Due to the absence of strong legal or clan ties through her own original family she finds little to attract her away from the nuclear family of her husband, of which she is inevitably one of the keystones. The type of relationships found in the neighbourhood association is not such as to compete with family relations. Finally, each wife, and gradually each child, has strong, inalienable rights in defined portions of the family herds.

CHAPTER 19

ADULT LIFE

Achieving independence

The story can now be resumed of the history of the development of the individual. So far the Turkana man has grown up as a herdsboy, achieved adult status via initiation, and taken a first wife; the Turkana woman has grown up as a domestic worker under the tutelage and care of her mother, has entered much of adult life before she herself became an adult, and has been married and become a "bride-wife". Her next stage of development is to become a mother when she also becomes a full wife. Pregnancy and parturition have already been described in connection with the first stages of childhood in Chapter 17. Her position in her husband's nuclear family now depends on her seniority as a wife and the number of children she bears, is responsible for and later becomes dependent upon. For the rest her development is bound up with the development of her husband.

A man does not achieve independence immediately after his first marriage - except in those unusual cases where he is the eldest (unmarried) son of a deceased father. Ordinarily the newly married son continues to remain part of his father's (or brother's) nuclear family, probably

x It is interesting to note the more or less completely reversed conclusion reached concerning the Nuer, another pastoral tribe, by Evans-Pritchard. See "Some aspects of marriage and family among the Nuer", 1945; p.65.

continuing some kind of herding work and supervision. Turkana say that a married son ought not to live in the same homestead as his father, and I have only seen it happen once. The son and his wife live in one of the other of the family homesteads, typically the cattle homestead, leaving the father in the plains with the browsing stock. Very many cattle homesteads consist of one large fence, inside which are the huts of a son's wife, barely fenced off from the cattle at night. Here live the son and his young wife, with one or two of the former's younger brothers who carry on the actual herding. Sometimes two married brothers, or paternal cousins, with their young wives live together at the one cattle homestead. I am not quite sure what the system is in the wet season when the cattle come down into the plains and where, normally, the father (i.e. the head of the family) likes to live, with his cattle. Either the married son goes with the sheep and goats to the more arid plains areas, or he lives in a homestead built nearby for, say, the non-milking cattle, browsing stock, or etc. Possibly a married son and his wife could live just outside the father's homestead, the young wife building a night hut beyond the main fence. Even in the wet season it is unusual for all of a family's herds to be in a single large homestead. I have never heard Turkana state it explicitly, but there seems to be an optimum size for a homestead necessitating sub-division into two relatively close ones, or more. In any event, except with the smallest of family or herds, sub-division can be retained in the wet season for the convenience of the newly married son. I do not know of any especial taboo against a married son living with his father; possibly it is a first expression of that son's early independence.

After marriage the father should provide a few stock for his daughter-in-law - chiefly milking stock, a few head for meat and a donkey or two for transport. In fact, if a daughter-in-law is in charge of the domestic side of a homestead - parallel to her husband's authority over herding, movements, etc. - she will have the milk of the stock of the homestead whether she "owns" it or not, just as a wife of the head of the family would. Her husband will be able to give permission for animals to be slaughtered for meat, or to be bled. However, he and she are allocated stock as the nucleus of their gradually emerging independent herds. When the bride bears her first child, a few more stock should be allocated to her husband, and to her; and her own father should add to that number also. The sizes and timing of such allocations must, of course, depend on the wealth of her father-in-law and the number of other demands on his herds by other sons. In the old days, young men were able to augment their first small herds by successful raiding - and this was a recognised method.

As soon as possible the young man takes a second wife, but how soon he can do this depends, again, on the sizes of the family herds and the demands of his brothers. By now it is likely that his first wife has borne two or three children, the first of which is reaching the time when he can begin to herd stock. The man begins to think about making himself the head of his own independent nuclear family with his own herds. For this to happen he must have - (a) sufficient stock to support his family in milk and food, gifts and trade-goods, (b) sufficient males to do the herding work, (c) sufficient females to do the domestic work and watering. Two wives and one or two sons may be sufficient initially - or he may persuade a young unmarried brother or other kinsman, or kinsman of his wife, to come and live and work with him; and a younger sister or kinswoman of his wife, or a concubine may help in the domestic work. The actual time of the break-away, then, is in part related to the development of a man's incipient nuclear family and in part to what other labour he can obtain. In some cases he may become independent whilst his father is still alive and active; in other cases the death of his father and the consequent redistribution of herds and break up of the old nuclear family precipitates the independence of married sons, even those who have yet no children capable of working. It is not uncommon to find a young man with but one wife, and only very young children, but with fair-sized herds - the nuclear family being made up with younger brothers and sisters and possibly an inherited widow. Younger brothers later marry, and later still break away from the older brother who legally is their guardian and acts as their father would have done.

Until this break-away, a man (and his wife and children) has been part of the nuclear family of his father, both in terms of formal kinship and, more importantly, in terms of everyday practical, co-operative organisation - that which really makes the nuclear family a social entity. With the break-away, the son (and his wife and children) leaves the father's nuclear family, as far as its practical co-operative features are concerned, and establishes an entirely new nuclear family based on both formal kinship and practical organisation. At this stage a man becomes a full 'ekile', i.e. a full adult, for until this time he has not been more than a "young man" ('ekile netherokit'). He is now 'ekile nawi' - "man of the homestead". This is the goal of every man and it is something of a triumphant stage of development. A man is, of course, still tied to his father and his brothers, and to his extended family, with all the mutual stock rights and types of co-operation that implies. On the other hand he has realised a very great degree of freedom and action and opinion with regard to pastoral, economic and domestic organisation. Even as head of his father's cattle homestead he had a great deal of freedom of action; but now he is quite independent. He can move his herds more or less as and when he pleases. He can associate with whomsoever he likes - in-laws, other kinsmen, friends - and can enter into neighbourhood and community co-operation as he thinks fit and feels able.

A man's first wife now becomes the chief wife of an independent nuclear family. Hitherto she has been, at least nominally, beholden to her mother- and father-in-law, although whilst she is away from them, especially in the dry season, this has not mattered much. Formally she must act and behave generally as a submissive daughter to her parents-in-law; but most young wives see relatively little of them, and this is not irksome for much of the time. A husband's mother is supposed generally to supervise her new daughter-in-law, especially in domestic affairs where her husband will not be competent. Once she becomes the chief wife of an independent family, however, a son's wife is practically independent of her mother-in-law. Even when, as should ideally be done, a man's mother comes to live with him, the authority of the chief wife cannot be reduced by the mother's presence. The mother is not head of the domestic side of the family - that is the unassailable position of the chief wife. Further junior wives are subordinate to their chief wife and not to their husband's mother. The mother has formal high status and respect, but this does not affect practical activities very much.

Middle age

As suggested on page 96 above, even the eldest son can scarcely expect to become independent before the age of about 28 years, and maybe later - for he is unlikely to marry before the age of about 20 - 22 and must ordinarily wait until his own sons are old enough to begin responsible herding work. There are exceptions of course. I have seen cases where young eldest sons of not more than 21 years old have been thrust into independence and the headship of family, herds and homesteads by the early death of the father. In such a case the young man takes over his father's old nuclear family and herds almost intact, except that now his own wife becomes chief wife and his mother (formerly chief wife) now takes the formal status as mother of the head of the family. Possibly a younger wife of his father may go to live with a near kinsman, or may become his own inherited wife. On the other hand, for sons other than the eldest the achievement of independence may be long delayed, contingent upon a much later marriage and probably fewer head of stock available.

In any event, except where the situation is thrust upon a man by his father's early death, when he first achieves independence it is only with a small nuclear family and relatively small herds. Later development follows a slow, gradual pattern as the herds increase, especially by the inheritance of stock from the extended family in general and his own father in particular. One or more extra wives are married as the sizes of herds allow; more children are born; older children can take on greater responsibility in herding, migrational movements, etc. At first a man must depend on younger brothers, or near kinsmen, or poor strangers, to live at and look after his other homesteads where he himself is not living. But as his own sons grow up they are able to undertake this. More female labour is available as daughters grow up. Altogether, therefore, as his

nuclear family increases in size and age, a man continues to develop his independence. Typically he will have sufficient sons to do all the herding and also supervisory work, and sufficient wives and grown daughters to do the domestic work. He himself can do less and less work, though I have often noted that the more successful men always continue to be actively concerned with their herds, checking upon the condition of animals, watching the pastures and water and insisting on watchful herding. Even so the adult man, the father of growing children, has a fairly easy time of it, indeed I feel sure he considers it his due to relax now, and let other people do the work, whilst he whiles away his time in pleasurable leisure with his neighbours beneath a shade-tree, at meat-feasts, etc. Throughout this monograph I have often referred to the type and nature of the adult man's activities and there is no need to repeat that again here.

Development for a woman's middle life is slightly different since she carries on with her domestic work whilst she is able, only perhaps leaving her work of watering stock to her growing daughters and step-daughters. Most women continue to bear children until they reach the menopause and therefore the activities of rearing and training children continue, especially in the case of daughters. However, growing daughters do begin to take more and more work off a wife's hands, and senior wives assume that more junior wives should take a heavier share. A chief wife, especially, is in a fortunate position since all of her husband's daughters, as well as the junior wives are under her authority. It is difficult to generalise, and a wife in a wealthy family has a far easier time than one in a poor, probably small, family. In any event, a wife is always tied to certain domestic duties in her own huts and in the homestead in general. She must cook for her own children and for her husband; she usually continues to do at least some milking; she has a good deal of work to do when the family moves, including loading and driving her own donkeys and helping in the building of the new homestead. Just how much work she must do depends on the sizes of the herds and the number of other women and girls to help out. At one time she may be the only wife in a homestead, in the following wet season she may be living with all of her co-wives, daughters and step-daughters.

Thus the family develops, and the story of its development is really also the story of individual male and female development. The daily and seasonal routine of life goes on as already described in earlier chapters, occasionally disrupted by one or other of life's crises. In the old days when raiding occurred the family fortunes might vary considerably through time. An enemy raid might seize all of the goats and sheep, or all of the cattle, reducing the family to speedy poverty. Or a successful part in a good raid by the head of the family (men continued to go raiding for as long as they wished - certainly until 35 - 40 years of age) might considerably augment the herds. The man, or any of his family, might be killed or captured by enemies. Even to-day fortunes still vary a good deal owing to the vagaries of climate and pastures, and, to a much lesser extent, stock disease. Except in very good years (so rare in Turkanaland!) some stock die of combined exhaustion and starvation every dry season. During one of the really grave famine years (such as the classic one of 1932) whole herds may be decimated - and not a few of the families too.

At the time of the first son's marriage the nuclear family is at its peak. The herds are likely to be large, there are a maximum number of male and female workers. So far there have been no serious extra-familial distractions and relationships. The man is head of his family at its largest, and may still be contemplating further marriage. The man's own relationships outside the nuclear family will have crystallised so that practical relations and considerations will have singled out certain of the formal relationships for consolidation. Thus this paternal cousin, that brother-in-law, and that friend or co-member of the co-operative community become important as against the whole possible range of formal and informal relationships. Suitors may be already approaching him concerning the betrothal or marriage of his daughters, giving him a first taste of the superiority of the father-in-law. Finally a man may have achieved some influence in political affairs and in the general discussions of his fellow-men. He is, as it were, at the prime of his life; his nuclear family at its most compact and largest. His place in

his society is more or less fixed, whether he be poor or wealthy. He is unlikely to do much better for himself from now, for his family begins to disintegrate; and what was a part of a larger extended family, begins to become an extended family itself. The growing generation begins to usurp his position and his wealth.

Old age

Once a man's sons begin to marry there is a two-fold drain on stock - to provide bridewealth, and to provide stock for the son's new family. There may also be a drain in contributions to the bridewealth of brother's sons at about the same time. Further, there is also a drain on the labour resources of the family. Married sons tend to move away and they may possibly take with them younger brothers or cousins. At the same time, daughters are leaving to marry into other families, to be, that is, more or less lost to their father's family as far as labour is concerned, though in some few cases there is the additional help of a son-in-law. So an old man's nuclear family diminishes, and his herds diminish. One of his wives may even leave him to live with one of her independent married sons.

As I pointed out earlier a Turkana does not always live to see all of his sons achieve their independence - indeed in many cases younger sons cannot marry until after his death when his need for herds is gone. It is very unlikely that a man will live to see his grandsons marry and achieve independence - I know of no instances. And anyway an old man scarcely becomes the venerable head of an extended family of his own patrilineal offspring. Only his death and subsequent inheritance dispositions can set that extended family on a relatively firm basis. During his own lifetime all that an old man sees is the decline of the extended family based on his own father, and a decline in his own authority and in the cohesion of his own nuclear family. His independent sons, and even those not yet reaching that stage, gradually usurp his authority and his wealth; and of course as he becomes a really old man it does not worry him overmuch. An old man appears to take little part in active life and to have a disinclination to move about much. Whilst he is yet alive he is respected as a father, as head of the incipient extended family, and above all, as "owner" of the herds. Wives continue to live with an aged husband for the most part, and I have seen them devoting a good deal of care and attention to such an old man. In some cases, at least, all the former respect and subordination persists.

In public life the old men are increasingly excluded from affairs. This is not due to any formal policy but sheerly through a disinclination of the old men to go about much. The really active people in public life are those in middle life whose families and herds are still mainly intact and whose physical vigour remains. One rarely sees old men taking much part in conversations and discussions; if they consort with their neighbours it is only to sleep or doze on the edge of the neighbourhood group. Old men attend feasts, and often act as distributors of the cooked meat, especially where age-sets feature. Sometimes they may be important as Senior-Men, or as surviving members of the oldest age-sets. They may lead communal prayers to the High God. But they do little in helping the affairs of the neighbourhood. They are more or less content to allow their sons to take their places. As far as my limited experience goes, Turkana men appear to lead a very active life, involving a good deal of physical effort (mainly by the very long distances commonly walked in the hot climate), but once they begin to slow up the decline is rapid. Thus on personal estimates, I should say that many active men of around 55 years old are to be seen, but very few men of about 60 years at all.

The old woman tends to carry on with her domestic duties to the end. Possibly the majority of older women are widows - each homestead seems to have one or two - and although they are given a home and food their lot is not always easy. Deliberate neglect or wilful cruelty is not seen except in the abnormal cases of any society; but an old woman, especially someone else's widow, must perforce take a back position when food is scarce, when tobacco is short, when millet is running out. Men usually follow this pattern too, except that men always have first shares in meat supplies, both of the neighbourhood and the homestead. The old women fare badly in

the latter half of the dry season when food is short, and by their general weakness are invariably unable to go to the cattle homesteads in the mountains where milk is more plentiful. In the long drawn out dry season of 1949 I know of cases where most of the wives and children went to live with the cattle, where milk remained. The old women could not make the journey and they had a bad time of it. Otherwise a woman lives out her life as she always has done. Even if she becomes a dependent widow she still has her own huts, possibly an unmarried daughter or two, and she should have a small herd inherited from her husband. From this she can get milk and meat; and she joins in the general co-operative activity of homestead life, almost like a wife of the head. If she is the mother of the head, she has a fairly strong position, since her son will see to it that she is looked after as well as can be.

Death

When a head of a nuclear family dies - i.e. a full independent adult man ('ekile') - he is buried by his wives and children in the centre of the central goat kraal of his homestead. If he dies away from the homestead he should, if at all possible, be brought back there to be buried. If he dies right away out in the bush he must be buried there. If there are no goats in that particular homestead he is buried in the cattle kraal. He is laid on his side, head pointing east. His stool and tobacco horn are buried with him. His beads and ornaments are stripped off him and given to his relatives. Some informants say his spear is broken in two and buried also; another man said the shaft was buried but his wife kept the blade; another said that the spear was taken by the man who spears the funeral ox. Perhaps customs differ in various parts - an unusual occurrence in Turkana land, but the different versions come from different parts of the country. Once the grave is filled in it is covered with stones and the herd of goats driven into the kraal to stamp the earth down thoroughly. A full wife - i.e. a married woman who is a mother - is buried inside her day-hut, which is pulled down over her. All other people are put outside the homestead - some people say they are just left in the bush, others say that a grave is dug and large stones and bush piled on top to keep off hyena and jackals. Probably both are practiced at different times according to the feelings of relatives. The chief point is that they are not formally buried inside the homestead.

In any event, however, the occupants of the homestead must move as soon as inheritance discussions (if any) have taken place. For about four days there is a period of intense mourning which may, I believe, be conventionally dictated, apart from the real emotional considerations of each case. I have not witnessed funeral and mortuary ceremonies, but accounts agree to a surprising degree. All my informants say that the near kinsfolk of the dead person show great grief. Men are so beside themselves that they attempt to spear themselves, and friends and neighbours must forcibly restrain them. Whilst I know the Turkana are capable of surprising things in the heat of emotion, yet there is no suicidal trace anywhere else in a man's life, real or conventional. But without fail people tell me that close relatives try to spear themselves at the death of wife, child, brother, father or mother.

At the end of the four days the first funeral feast is held, attended, say the Turkana, by members of the dead person's clan, - i.e. probably the extended family, or those of the latter who can arrive in time. The number of stock killed depends on the wealth of the family herds. One to three oxen seems to be the number for the feast. As is usual at a feast, anyone else who cares to come - i.e. who lives near enough and knows of the event - joins in the feast. If the deceased was head of the family, inheritance discussions will probably have already begun. Description of these have been given in Chapter 10. All that needs to be added here is that these discussions must be completed before the old homestead is vacated. In simple cases the discussions will be brief and a move can be made once the first funeral feast is over. In other cases discussions may continue for up to ten days, i.e. where the inheritance situation is complex and agreement hard to reach. At the end of another month (one very reliable informant said two months) the actual physical distribution of the dead man's herds is made by the general heir. Widows can now be inherited by their husband's kinsmen - hitherto sexual intercourse was

taboo. And the dead man's nuclear family is split up - some sons setting up independent homesteads, others going to an elder brother, father's brother or paternal cousin; widows and children go to live with their respective menfolk. A long time after this - at least six months, but maybe as long as twelve (in the wet season anyway) a second funeral feast is held at which several more of the dead man's stock are slaughtered - I have been told of a case where three more oxen and five goats were killed. In some cases at any rate,, maybe in all, this feast is initiated by the dead man's age-mates who come to the homestead of the general heir and beg the animals. The feast is then held somewhere near to the latter homestead and of course any members of the dead man's extended family who live nearby and hear about it and can get there, arrive to join in. As far as the age-set is concerned it seems to be a mixture of honouring the dead comrade and a good excuse for a feast. It is part of wet season age-set feasting, and the man's heir cannot rightly refuse to give up the animals.

A man's or woman's grave is likely to be remembered by the children, especially the sons. Most men do not know where their father's father or father's mother is buried. As I have explained already, grandparents are something of a childhood myth only for the Turkana. I have questioned the Turkana closely on this score, since I was inquiring what, if any, ancestor cult, etc., there might be. Men say that they do not make special journeys to their parents' graves, nor try to live near them,^x but if by chance they happen to be passing near they will turn aside to visit the grave. Twigs and leaves would be scattered over the grave and a prayer said, asking for food, stock, wives and good health. I asked if the parent heard these prayers, and was told that they did not, but that the High God did.

I have only one other case where dead parents are involved in prayers and entreaties, and that is in the case of millet failing to grow. After the requisite sacrifice of a goat and scattering of its flesh over the garden, the wife (i.e. the owner of the garden) calls out to her parents to make the millet grow. Here again I am told that it is the High God who hears these things and who can, if he wishes, make the crop flourish. There are many other instances of praying to the High God directly when deceased parents are not mentioned.

This is about all the information I have been able to obtain about the dead. Some people say they do not know what happens to a person when he dies, others say that he goes to the High God, but can tell me no more.

. As will be seen later Turkana notions of the High God are typically vague and unpredictable.

Upon the death of a member of the nuclear family, or possibly other close relatives, surviving members go into formal mourning. The women shave their heads completely and then allow their hair to grow without fashioning it until it is again long enough to be made up in the usual way. Men break up their mudded head-dresses and allow their hair to grow long and untrained for a month or two. There appears to be no formally prescribed period. If the deceased is a more distant relative it is unlikely that all the family will go into mourning unless very close practical relations had previously existed. One member of the family alone goes into formal mourning. I saw a case where a small girl of about six years of age was the only member of her family in mourning for her father's father's brother. Turkana told me that it was quite usual. In this case the girl's father had not seen the deceased for many years and they did not come into contact in the course of the annual cycle of pastoral life.

x Conditions of the pastures are always the dominant factor in determining where a man lives.

PART FOURCHAPTER 20THE MAGICO - RELIGIOUSThe nature of the magico-religious in Turkana land

My account of the magico-religious sphere of Turkana life will be rather brief, for two rather different reasons. In the first place I have encountered more reticence over magico-religious matters than perhaps anywhere else. This, in part at least, is due to the early actions of Europeans in these matters on two vital points - the pursuit, capture and abduction of important diviners who were in the forefront of the native opposition to the British^x as well as the general harrying of war leaders with whom more important diviners were associated; and the ruling that the slaying of witches was murder, to be treated by the British system of justice. Both these things were vital matters from the general tribal point of view as well as the narrower magico-religious view. In addition it may be suggested, tentatively, that the native is very much impressed by the superior magic of the white man which enabled him to conquer the Turkana and to do all the amazing things which are partly seen and partly reported about him.^{xx} All this not only makes the people extremely suspicious of any mention of the magico-religious, no matter how cautiously introduced, but it gives them, I believe, a kind of inferiority complex about their own culture which gravitates against frankness. Our firmest Turkana friends usually give the briefest explanation when it cannot be avoided and shut up determinedly at any other time. For a long time I thought that, with the passing of war, diviners also had vanished, so universal and prompt (a little too universal and prompt in fact!) was the story that they were all dead. Even after I had lived near to a diviner and talked to him, and had seen at least one other for a few days, informants and casual acquaintances continued to deny that there were any these days - and, on being confronted with my own experiences either denied that there were any or laughed it off as a quite unimportant thing. I could give other examples of similar difficulties.

The second reason for the brevity of the present account is more important. Despite the reticence and downright lies told me in this particular sphere of activities yet I have been able to piece together what is at least a complete outline of the situation, the activities, relationships and beliefs involved. It has been impossible to conceal everything and two tribal policemen have been invaluable informants here.^{xxx} But it has become increasingly obvious to us that Turkana magico-religious activities and beliefs are both relatively meagre, and generally vague. In all things, at all times, the Turkana, man or woman, is essentially practically-minded, unimaginative, non-speculative. He is very well aware of the limitations and difficulties imposed by a harsh environment and, as I have attempted to show, follows certain social and pastoral techniques the best to deal with them. He does not resort a great deal to the supernatural and mystic side of life, for he is eminently one who takes a "common sense" point of view and who is inevitably philosophical in adversity, danger or the unknown. Within the obvious limits of his culture he is well able to manipulate certain techniques which bring expected and desired results. Thus the type and timing of migrational cycles can be seen

x Both Lowalel and Koletiang were so treated, the former dying in prison away from his followers, which caused much disaffection and distrust.

xx For instance, it is almost impossible even to begin to explain to Turkana about my lorry. They have no notion of a vehicle, of the wheel or of any type of machine. It is just magic of the highest order.

xxx Both knew my wife and me very well, and, fortunately, both fully believed, still, in all they told me.

as a direct result of the distribution of pastures through the years; or the internal organisation of the nuclear family is created to deal with the different types of stock where their various pastures are irregularly distributed. All this is a severely practical, traditional set of processes, and scarcely, if at all, are mystical techniques and ideas involved. The major variable in life is the rainfall and Turkana do, admittedly, participate in certain ceremonies by which to influence the timing and amount of rain; further, they believe that rainfall is more or less directly connected with the High God. But, as I hope to show later, the Turkana do not depend on these ceremonies nor organise the migrations on the assumption of their success; nor is the exact nature of the connection between rainfall and the High God very explicit. Indeed it may be noted here that any notions to do with the High God are almost always vague, semi-formulated and indecisive.

Turkana are no savages living in a demon-filled world, hemmed in on all sides by vaguely or explicitly deadly beings, forces, or etc. They do not feel that much more than correct application of traditional techniques is necessary to proper success. At the end of the last chapter I noted the almost complete lack of ancestor cult. Spirits are known but on the whole they scarcely interfere with one's life. There is a High God but he can usually only be induced to act in human affairs by special sacrifice, and is by no means to be depended upon. One can go for weeks without hearing his name, or any things about him being mentioned in conversations. Perhaps most noticeable of all, there is no magic or special ritual attached to the techniques of animal husbandry, though there, of all places, one might have expected to find it. The major crises or climaxes of social life are unattended by magico-religious practices as far as all my information goes. I know of very little private or domestic magic used in any processes by individuals, except that which is indubitably bad and anti-social, i.e. witchcraft and sorcery. Even where there are certain rites specified, their observation and implementation is often tardy and half-hearted. This kind of impassive, practical attitude can be demonstrated by an incident which I recorded in my notebook. With a companion I was walking round some gardens at the beginning of the wet season. We came across a particularly bad garden where the millet was almost withered, and obviously not growing at all well. My friend drew my notice to this, and told me that the only way to make such poor millet grow was to kill a goat, scatter its meat (or at least its intestines and undigested stomach contents)^x over the garden, the woman calling on her deceased parents to let the crop prosper. Following this, said my friend, the High God would possibly make the millet grow. At this point the husband of the woman who owned the garden came up, and I asked him if he or his wife had performed this ritual yet. He replied that it had not been done yet, for they were waiting for the next rains to come, when the crop might begin to grow again and then a goat need not be killed at all. The crop continued to wither for a fortnight before rain fell, and, as far as I know, the rain came too late to save it. That man was well aware that without rain his wife's millet could not grow and therefore had no intention of wasting a goat on any ritual.

The constituents of the magico-religious system

So far my account has been almost entirely negative, but with the intent of clearing away certain possible pre-suppositions. Briefly I want to give here the elements of the Turkana magico-religious sphere of social and individual life, and in the order in which they will be described.

First, there is one single and potentially supreme High God - "potentially", because, although omnipotence is attributed to him, yet in practice only certain powers are expected of him. Secondly, there are diviners of different degrees; some are foretellers of the future (with sandals or the entrails of animals), some are medicine

x A practical point this, since in the latter case the wife-owner and her husband could eat the goat meat!

doctors; some, however, combine these plus the ability to make direct contact with the High God whereby they can seek his powers and obtain information about his wishes in regard to human affairs. This highest type of diviner, by the High God's powers, can foretell the future, heal the sick, combat witchcraft and sorcery, make raids successful, produce rain, cure barrenness, purify age-sets, etc., etc. Thirdly, there is a small amount of private magic in which the High God and his medium, the diviner, are not actively involved and which almost anyone can do, or in some cases any one who stands in certain relationship with a sufferer. Fourthly, there are witches, some of whom are entire products of the imagination and some who are real persons; both types do not manipulate material apparatus and are scarcely capable of most of the techniques and deeds attributed to them. Fifthly, there is sorcery which is a kind of destructive magic, is probably actually practiced and relies for its success on the manipulations of material things. Finally, there are evil spirits who live in the hills and mountains, but who have little to do with human beings.

The High-God - 'Akuj'

The name for the High God - 'Akuj' - is exactly the same as for "overhead" and "sky", and is linguistically related to one of the forms meaning "up" - ('kaju'). It is impossible to get the Turkana to differentiate between these different meanings of the one word for they are all bound together, inextricably inter-related. For the High God is the sky, he is all that is above men's heads. True to form the native does not speculate or ponder over these things sufficiently to wish to be more explicit. Clouds (and nowadays, aeroplanes) move "overhead" - 'akuj' - and Turkana scarcely suggest that they are moving in or through a vast ubiquitous High God. In fact when I ask about it they tell me that they consider the High God as a person. Although it has been denied to me that people know whether Akuj is a man or woman, yet the masculine form of pronoun is always used ('logo').^x Anthropomorphism goes further, since Akuj is thought of as owning a huge homestead somewhere up in the sky where he has vast numbers of all kinds of domestic stock feeding in evergreen lush pastures.

The High God is omnipotent - everyone says that. On the other hand no-one expects him to work miracles. Although he has power over the rain, he is not expected to make it rain in the depth of the dry season, nor to convert Turkanaland into rich pastureland. On the other hand Akuj has great power in human affairs if it is possible to induce him to use it. Further he can kill people who do certain things, e.g. commit incest, fail to carry out certain ritual, etc. On the whole Akuj is a good influence in human affairs, but he may refuse to give help. He may refuse to send rain in the wet season - even after the correct ceremony has been performed. No-one knows why he refuses at such times. On the other hand, pointed out one informant, it is just as well not to say anything detrimental about Akuj, since he may kill you if he hears it.

Where ideas and beliefs are so vague, even partly contradictory, it is difficult to obtain very full information and often very easy to obtain wrong information. As I have said above, Akuj will punish those who contravene certain social and ritual rules, and consequently he is often invoked by a person as the sanction against some action which he himself considers wrong but which scarcely belongs in the general body of beliefs. As far as my own information goes I think it can be fairly stated that Akuj is invoked as a general, indeterminate sanction against transgression, but he neither always acts, nor acts in the same way.

x The fact that the word commences with an "a" might suggest a feminine implication, but many words which in English we should term masculine are either given feminine or common prefixes.

Also no-one really knows why or how he acts. And here in this sea of vagueness there is complete scope for individuals to use their imaginations to make up all kinds of peculiar stories - especially, perhaps, those few individuals who have heard some garbled account of other people's magico-religious beliefs, or who know of some otherwise inexplicable event. Thus I was given a long, involved account of the work of Akuj and of evil spirits in connection with the alleged disappearance of a youth which on further investigation proved to be the fabrication of one person. Again it is fairly evident that some persons are more susceptible to super-natural beliefs than others. Talking of incest or women's clan taboos, one informant will stress the potential powers of Akuj and say how the inevitable result of the contravention of these rules will be death at his hands. Another person, and this is the case with the majority of people I have talked with, merely say that these rules never are broken anyway, and that it would be bad if they were, and leave it at that. To them Akuj is not the all-pervading essence that it is to some people. Doubtless this is true for many of mankind's religious notions. Even in our own society, and outside organised sects, the interpretations of the divine person and divine powers vary a great deal, ranging from indifference to intense emotional fervour of one kind or another. All this must depend largely on each person's experience, circumstances at the time and the psychological make-up of the individual. In Turkana society there are some people who feel Akuj to be a more powerful and ever-present entity and power, whilst others scarcely think about the matter. One man, we knew, talked a good deal about Akuj, and was dismissed by some of his neighbours with the remarks, "Oh, he is always talking about Akuj!", in a bored, rather contemptuous tone. On the whole the apathetic attitude to Akuj is the general one.

This tends to be borne out in the belief that Akuj does not intervene for the good in human affairs unless he can be actively induced to do so. At certain times his powers are recognised and it is felt that use ought to be made of them. There is no idea at all, so far as I know, of keeping in the favour of Akuj in between times. One only approaches him when there is need to obtain his help. The chief avenue of approach is via the diviner, and I shall describe this later. The other method is by direct communal prayers that were not directed to a specific end, although generalities are usually included as well. There may be several reasons why prayers are offered to Akuj. I know only of two - for rain, and for the healing of a very ill person. Prayers are made at the time of a full rain-making ceremony when a diviner is leading the affair, but prayers for rain can be made without the ceremony, as I have seen. Usually, but not invariably, such prayers are made at the conclusion of a neighbourhood meat-feast. Prayers are always made in the same fashion with the senior-most man (by the age-organisation standards) leading on his own, and the rest of the men (women and children play no part) acting as chorus to his pleas. If there are several age-sets (or groups of members of age-sets) assembled, prayers may be led by each senior-man in turn, but accompanied by all the men present in chorus. Whether this is done or not depends on the number of men assembled. In the case of a small group of men drawn from a secondary neighbourhood, I recorded the actual words used when Akuj was being invoked to heal a youth who had a very badly swollen foot which looked as though it was spreading to the rest of his body. He was in a very low physical and mental state. I shall not quote the whole series of entreaties and choruses which lasted about five minutes, but only a sample of them to illustrate the general type. L stands for the leader of the prayers, C indicates the chorus of the rest of the men, sitting and lolling about on the ground under a shade tree. Entreaty and chorus follow one another rapidly, with an occasional pause by the leader.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|
| L. | Edia loadiaka toithik | - L. | Do not trouble this sick youth. |
| C. | Toithik | - C. | Do not trouble (him). |
| L. | Toithik | - L. | Do not trouble (him). |
| C. | Toithik | - C. | Do not trouble (him). |
| L. | Eringa nyejok | - L. | He is not well yet. |
| C. | Tojoker | - C. | Make (him) well. |

L. Tojoker	- L. Make (him) well.	} These entreaties and chorused replies are repeated a very great number of times.
C. Tojoker	- C. Make (him) well.	
L. Eringa nyejok	- L. He is not well yet.	
C. Tojoker	- C. Make (him) well.	
L. Ejoka ?	- L. Is he well ?	
C. Eya	- C. He will be .	
L. Ejoka ?	- L. Is he well?	
C. Eya	- C. He will be.	

Prayers, that I have heard, always end with the leader asking if the desired thing is to happen, and the chorus give their affirmation that it will. Thus after entreaties for rain, and incidentally for the health and fertility of cattle, camels, goats, and sheep (individually), for the health and fertility of wives, for many children, for much food (items enumerated) and for general well being, the whole list of things is repeated, perhaps several times, whilst the chorus state their belief that all will be so in due course - a kind of "amen".

Prayers are not necessarily always efficacious. Akuj may or may not take the necessary action. In either case nothing more is done. If the desired effect does not occur, the fact is accepted philosophically. If on the other hand it does, it is accepted equally phlegmatically. I have seen both types of occasion. In the case of the sick youth referred to in the example quoted, he began to get better the next day when the skin of his foot burst and large quantities of pus were exuded. There was no question of publicly giving thanks or honour to Akuj nor making any kind of offering. On another occasion when prayers were made for rain the result was negative although it rained (as everyone could see) some 30 - 40 miles away across the plains, owing to the nature of the prevalent wind at the time. After about a week's wait it was decided that rain was not going to fall and the people of the neighbourhood all moved away to the more fortunate areas. In both cases the activity or inactivity of Akuj was accepted in a matter-of-fact way without more ado.

Akuj is also supposed to hear the prayers addressed formally to one's dead parents over their graves, or in the millet garden. Again he may or may not act.

I have also noted down various other stories about Akuj in connection with dead people, the beginning of the world, the stars, etc., but so far I have not been able to verify them satisfactorily.

The diviner - 'imuron' (pl. 'ngimurok').

The chief avenue of approach to obtain the services of Akuj is by way of the diviner. Occasionally also Akuj may himself originate some activity via the diviner. Before considering this however a few words on the origin of diviners themselves will be relevant.

Anyone can become a diviner. The powers are not restricted to any class of persons on a clan, section or any other basis. I have never heard of a practicing female diviner, and most people declare that a woman could not become one; although a few have told me that perhaps the less important, less skilled diviners could be women. An excellent account of how men become diviners is given by Penley^x which agrees substantially with my own information. The qualities of a diviner are in no way hereditary but can come to any one. When a youth, or very young man, the future diviner suddenly disappears, leaving no trace or explanation. Not every youth who so disappears becomes a diviner, for Turkana know that people are carried off by lions, are captured by enemies or even

desert their families to seek adventure. Consequently the vanished youth is more or less given up as lost and there the matter ends. There appears to be no pre-disposition on the part of the future diviner to cause him to be singled out by his fellow men; nor so far as Turkana know, why he should be singled out by Akuj. For Akuj it is who takes the youth away. Later, - up to a month or so later - the youth re-appears to tell an amazing story of his disappearance. For he was called by Akuj and was taken to the latter's wonderful homestead in rich pasture country where there are great herds of stock. My accounts say that such a youth would relate that he was taken into the hills or mountains to a place he did not know of, by a track he did not know of. Penley stated that a future diviner would disappear near to two permanent pools of water on the Lomenyangaparot water-course in central Turkanaland. Probably his information related to one or more diviners in that part of the country. My own information was chiefly obtained in north-west Turkanaland. The youth remains in Akuj's homestead, living on the plentiful food there, and on his return he is reported to be well-fed and physically very fit. Whilst he is there he learns (by methods unreported) all the knowledge and techniques of a diviner. When he returns to his people he tells this story and he is purified in the customary way, by the smearing of the undigested stomach contents of a goat. "Sometimes he gets better", said my principal informant on this topic, "and it is all finished. But another time a man does not get better when he has been away for a long time." Those who do not "get better" ('tojoker' i.e. "he becomes good, well, fit" etc.) are taken to be diviners. Wherein lies the quality of "not getting better" I do not know unless it is the persistence with which the returned man insists on his new powers. At any rate he can now begin to prove himself by successful practice.

Penley (op.cit.) suggests, on what evidence I do not know, that a lost person lives on wild fruit during the time of his absence. I have no factual evidence, but can agree in theory. If this is so, three possible explanations are open. The potential diviner may be well aware of the untruth of his story about his visit to Akuj; or the story (possibly enlarged on by my informants, although Penley's account agrees with mine) is simply a romanticised account of lonely wanderings which is scarcely intended to be factually true; or thirdly, the potential diviner may wander in some kind of delirium or amnesia. Of these the last does not appear to fit the situation. The two diviners I have met, both highly qualified practitioners, did not appear to be at all psychologically unbalanced, or in any other way out of the ordinary. To the best of my knowledge there are no features of the profession which involves trances, or any other kind of psychological mechanism which a European might call abnormal. Muria, the diviner I knew best, in north-western Turkanaland, was a very gentle, old man whose behaviour at all times was quite normal for a man of his age. It is more or less impossible to pick out a diviner from amongst a crowd of other men by his behaviour, and even when he is actively at work there is nothing outstanding about him. The one external feature which may be a clue to his profession is a string of wooden beads or cowrie shells around the head over the forehead. I neglected to enquire into this, which I have seen only diviners wear. Austin mentioned^x certain men whom he termed "chiefs", who wore such cowrie shell head-strings in 1898.

A diviner lives a normal Turkana life, with his homesteads and herds, following the usual pastoral and migrational routines that I have described elsewhere. It is probable that a well-established diviner will be a fairly wealthy man - i.e. above average in sizes of herds and numbers of wives - for he receives fees of a goat or two, or more, for some of his services to individuals, and in the old days always

received a share of the captured stock from a raid in which he had been instrumental in organising or assisting. Muria, in north-west Turkanaland, was a wealthy man. On the other hand, Arlokwel, the other diviner I have met, was only about 30 years old and was not a wealthy man. Possibly by the time he reaches Muria's age (nearly 60 years old) he will have been able to accumulate more stock. One or two people have told me that diviners are "always rich men".

The Turkana word 'imuron', which I am translating here as diviner, refers in general to a class of mystical specialists. There is the man who can foretell the future by throwing sandals or by reading the entrails of goats; there is the man who has a knowledge of medicines; there is the man who can carry out anti-witchcraft and anti-sorcery and magical cures of disease, and barrenness; and there is the man who brings rain. These are roughly in the order in which Turkana classify them, although ultimately their importance rests upon their professional success. As far as can be learned each higher grade of diviner is accomplished in the practices of all lesser grades, and possibly a diviner works his way up through the various grades. There are also gifted men who know how to throw sandals ('akilamlam') with great success, but these men are not diviners, since almost any adult man knows how to do this. Some are just more successful than others. Whether each grade of diviner is initiated into his profession by a visit to Akuj I do not know; certainly all the really important diviners are supposed to have been. It is likely that they all have.

Foretelling the future ('akilamlam') is done by throwing the sandals, interpreting the entrails of a goat or ox, or, with the highest grade of diviner, by direct information from Akuj. To throw sandals, any pair can be used. They are placed soles together, twirled into the air with a jerk of the wrist and allowed to fall onto the ground. The pattern they form on the ground can be interpreted taking into account which side up each falls, how (if at all) one lies on another, and in what direction each lies. Any man can do this, but certain lay-men are acknowledged to be especially skilled. Unless the matter is of some importance a proper diviner will not be consulted - for he will charge a fee of a goat or two. A group of men will sometimes throw sandals to determine the whereabouts of stray animals, the likelihood of rain, the direction of potential movements, and so on. Sometimes it is performed more or less as a diversion over quite trivial affairs, and the sandals will be thrown many times (ten or twenty times) until a satisfactory result is obtained. Not every man agrees on the interpretation of the result of each throw and pleasant argument ensues. I have seen this done where a few donkeys had strayed, and where the arrival of an expected visitor was discussed. But there are occasions when sandal-throwing is more serious - when it will directly affect decisions about migrations and weather expectations, and most importantly concerning raiding. I am told that in the old days certain lay-men earned a wide reputation forecasting the success of raids, determining auspicious occasions on which to set out and so on. Ekal (whose autobiography is given in Appendix 8) is reputed to have relied to a great extent on his sandal-throwing when leading raids. But there are apparently professional specialists - diviners - who have great skill in sandal throwing, and will also interpret the entrails of a goat or ox slaughtered for the occasion.^x Such men have a mystical power from Akuj which allows them their abilities. They will also use these powers to foretell the type of treatment for sick people or any other occasion when they are consulted by individuals.

The diviner who has knowledge of human medicines, I know little about. Although we have often tried, we have been able to learn little about medicines. There are one or two wild fruits which everyone knows of, e.g. 'apedur' is a type of bean which eaten raw or stewed in

x I have not full details of divination techniques.

water is good for stomach upsets; 'eosogu' when stewed, is good for coughs and chest complaints. Butter and fat are used as lotions. These are regarded as natural medicines, are not connected in any way with magic, and can be used by any one. I have not been able to meet a medicine-diviner and have been unable to get information about such a man or his activities. I cannot say how far they are magical and how far natural herbs, fruits, roots, etc., are used. As is common in Africa the word for medicine is the same as for tree - 'ekitoit',s.; 'ngikito',pl.

The more important diviners, both through their own skill and knowledge, and their ability to communicate with Akuj, use definitely magical processes - processes, that is, which in their external aspect are not necessarily important or significant, but whose importance and effectiveness lies in some special intrinsic, unobservable quality. Thus, for instance, men may often smear themselves with coloured ochre for mere decoration, but a diviner can cure people, physically or ritually afflicted, by the smearing of ochre; many people wear beads and pieces of animal skin for decoration but a diviner can make such things work cures, ward off evils and afford special strength and stamina. It is difficult to classify these men according to their activities, for they show differences of degree of skill, knowledge and success rather than differences of type of activity. Indubitably, such men receive all their abilities from Akuj, both their original initiation into their profession and their subsequent motivations. I shall deal with anti-witchcraft and anti-sorcery work later in connection with those two topics. The general procedure however is for private individuals to come to see the diviner because they have a disease, or because a wife is barren, or because protection against general danger is required. Possibly in certain cases the diviner can prescribe treatment straight-away, but most usually he must commune with Akuj first. This is done in sleep, for Akuj will come and talk to a diviner as he sleeps, in dreams. In any particular case Akuj will prescribe treatment for the individual, and this treatment is carried out next day. The principal treatment is the smearing of a certain coloured ochre on the patient, and possibly his or her family also. There is a range of possible colours - white, grey, red of various shades, blue, green, yellow, black, mauve, orange, are the usual ones, but occasionally other shades are to be seen. Cure or protection depends primarily on the colour of the ochre used, and secondly on the places of application. The first of these is the more important and that which is always mentioned to me by Turkana. I have very little information about the details of application. One case I observed is described on page 217 in the case of a barren woman. But in any case these details are not important since they need not necessarily be the same for each similar case. As far as I can determine the colour of ochre to be used and the parts of the body to be smeared over are not the same for the same cases. Akuj orders the diviner to use one sort of ochre and details of application at one time, and a different sort and details another time. As always, the work of Akuj is arbitrary and cannot be foreseen by man. The more common details of application are the complete covering of the body with ochre, from head to toe, back and front, and the smearing of face, shoulders and chest only. But I have seen others which included certain lines or dots or patterns of ochre. It is difficult to say what ochre is more common - I have seen more white, red and grey than any other, but then these are the ochres which are the more commonly found in Turkanaland. The diviner himself need not necessarily apply the ochre but may merely inform the client what is to be done. The ochre remains on the client until it wears off, unless, as is sometimes the case, there has to be a second application of another colour of ochre or on a different part of the body.

Another type of treatment is the provision of ritually processed wooden beads, a strip of goat skin to wear round the neck, or wrist, a strip of cow-hide, etc. These are usually rather general protective charms provided by the diviner, but in some cases they are prescribed as part of the treatment for illness, when the latter is exceptionally serious. These are continued to be worn more or less indefinitely. Thirdly, in addition to one or other of these two treatments, or on its own, the prescribed treatment may involve the slaughter of an animal,

the undigested stomach contents of which are smeared over the front of the client's body and possibly of his or her family.^x This treatment is most commonly met with in private magic, but is sometimes used by the diviner.

In all cases of the treatment of a client privately the diviner can legitimately charge a fee. This is at least one goat or sheep, but if the diviner feels a client can afford more, may be two or three goats or even an ox. At least one animal is payable at the time of treatment, and any others should be paid when the treatment is seen to be effective. Everyone with whom I have discussed the matter agrees that in the case of the treatment being ineffectual the original fee will be demanded back. In connection with the treatment of the barren wife, I have been told that no fee is payable until she becomes pregnant.^{xx} The fee may then be up to ten goats.

Through his communication with Akuj the diviner is sometimes told that a certain man is about to be attacked by some disease or other evil, and that a specified treatment should be given. This is purely at the instigation of Akuj. Next day or after waking from sleep^{xxx} the diviner goes to find the man so indicated and tells him of his dream-message and what the treatment must be in order to ward off the danger. A fee is payable to the diviner for this service if the man follows the treatment. I saw a case of this as between diviner Muria and a neighbour, and everyone appeared to believe the man was in real danger, although at the moment he was fit and well. He underwent the prescribed treatment, which was a complete covering of his whole body with white ochre.

A diviner in contact with Akuj is, of course, in the best position to foretell the future and in regard to raiding this is one of his principal duties. But this power can be used for the benefit of private clients who come to consult the diviner. I know of no actual cases but this is what I have been told by several people. He may augment this with divination by sandals or animals' entrails.

The diviner and his public functions

So far the private practices of diviners have been described, where he treats individuals who come to consult him on some private, specific matter. The diviners whom the Turkana consider most important, and of whose activities the enquirer is usually told, are those who practice in public affairs (i.e. in addition to their private clients). Public practice is involved in age-set affairs, raiding and rain-making.^{xxxx}

There is only one aspect of age-set affairs which involves the diviner, and then possibly not invariably. During the wet season an age-set may of its own accord come together to be "doctored" ('imurontoi'), presumably for the word 'imuron' - "diviner". All the members of the set are smeared all over their faces and the fronts of their bodies with ochre, which in general purifies and strengthens each man, and incidentally must emphasise age-set membership. This is followed by the inevitable feast and dance. Usually the age-set goes to visit the local diviner and he prescribes the type of ochre to be used and may himself treat some or all of the men. But in some cases at least some of the men will be

x Le. all the wives and children of the man; the husband and own children of a woman; mother, father and full siblings of a child.

xx This suggests that such treatment is often not successful. One or two informants have said that many women are not cured.

xxx Akuj may visit a diviner when the latter is sleeping in the day-time sometimes. The diviner may go off in order to sleep and so commune with Akuj, returning to his client when he wakes up.

xxxx It is perhaps worth pointing out that a diviner is not concerned in marriage, initiation, death (unless witchcraft or sorcery is believed responsible) or migration. These are all principally private affairs in the first place, but they all have a definite public element.

treated by their fellows, if not all. Sometimes, I am informed, an age-set merely doctors itself - men helping each other till all are finished. I have not seen this happen. I have however seen an age-set which has been doctored by the diviner, and undoubtedly all the men were much worked up about it and felt that they had undergone an important experience. As far as could be ascertained each set may be so treated once during a wet season, and there did not seem to be any extraneous reason why the set I observed was treated at that time. It is a magical treatment and for the most effectual results the diviner is the person best qualified to prescribe the actual details by the recommendations of Akuj. No information was gained about fees.

I have already described the activities of the diviner in connection with raiding, on pages 144-46 above. To recapitulate briefly:- He may recommend a raid on a certain part of enemy territory, where Akuj has told him there are few enemy warriors and much stock. He may advise against a raid on the grounds of it being unpropitious. He may advise the best time at which to set off on the raid. He will ritually bless and possibly "doctor" the departing warriors. He may perform magic to make the enemy unsuspecting and hard sleeping. If commanded by Akuj that a raid in a certain quarter should be made, he may announce that certain specified animals should be brought back for him. Finally for his services he will be given a share of the stock captured on the raid. As I have already pointed out, some diviners were very important in military affairs and, as far as early Administrative and K. A. R. Records go, were often instrumental in initiating raids. For that reason they were harried by the early Administration and two (Koletiang and Lowawel) were captured and imprisoned by the British, the latter diviner dying in captivity in Eldoret in 1926. These two and others were reported in the Records to be extremely powerful and to have exercised considerable authority, even in non-military affairs.

The third, and most important, public activity of diviners is rain-making - or rather the organisation of certain ritual by which to induce Akuj to send rain, for a diviner himself can not make rain. To-day of course the military activities of diviners are finished, so the relative importance of these compared with rain-making cannot be made. To-day, without doubt, the diviner who can conduct rain-ceremonies successfully is believed to be the most important man. I have been told of a diviner, called Ekeruva, who lives more or less permanently on Loima Mt. and who is the greatest diviner of all because of his reputed success over rain-making. 'Imuron Larpulan. Erkarpu lan darn ngitunga' - "He is the great diviner. He is the chief one of all people" - was how he was described to me, by one enthusiastic man. Further he is supposed to be the only rain-diviner in the whole of the vast and vital Loima area. Although I have not met this diviner, I quote this as typical of the attitude to the man who successfully brings rain. Muria, whom I have met, was also able to bring rain and it is his activities in this connection that I shall draw on mainly in what follows.

When the rains are unduly delayed or comparatively insufficient the local important diviner is expected to take the necessary action to rectify things. As usual he is visited by Akuj in a dream whilst he sleeps. Akuj tells him that in order to get rain a certain animal of specified sex, colour and size must be found and slaughtered. The next day the diviner begins his search for the requisite animal, if it is a domesticated one. He visits the local water-points at watering time when all the stock will be driven there in the normal course of events. If he cannot find the animal he must go farther afield until he does. In this instance, Muria wanted a fully grown grey male camel, and he was able to obtain it within his own secondary neighbourhood. He informed the owner that he wanted it for the rain-making ceremony and the rest of the men gathered there - for it was, as I say, watering time, and news had gone round that Muria was active - joined in the conventional begging song to persuade the owner to give up the camel for the public good. This he did after a decent interval, and the animal was forthwith driven off on its own and put into the camel kraal of one of the local influential men. Sometimes however the search must be more prolonged, for whilst a male grey camel is fairly

common, a certain coloured goat or ox or cow might not be. Sometimes too, the owner may be unwilling to surrender his animal - it may be a particularly special one (e.g. an outstanding milch cow, a bull or goat-buck) or he may be poor. If he is adamant to all pleading and begging the diviner states firmly that this and no other animal must be taken, then (I am told) the owner must finally give way. He could not stand out indefinitely for everyone would be against him. Friends and kinsmen might sympathise at his loss and offer to provide another animal for his herds after the ceremony - for it is recognised that the loss of some animals (especially working-males) is very severe. Ultimately however there can be no opposition to Akuj's demand. Everyone wants rain to come - rain is the most important single item in Turkana life by far, since all else depends on it - and everyone believes that Akuj must be obeyed if rain is to come. Indeed I have been told by a very reliable informant that, were he disobeyed, Akuj might deliberately stop all rain over the locality, whilst permitting it to rain everywhere else. I was given an actual example of this happening long ago.

Sometimes the request of Akuj would be for a gazelle or dik-dik. In which case the men of the locality would go out to hunt one. Many men are needed for this as the animal must be captured alive. Both the captured animal and the hands of the captors must be washed in water before the actual ceremony can take place.

In the instance that I observed, the camel was taken from its temporary kraal the following afternoon and taken to a convenient spot (not a special one in any other way) for the people of the secondary neighbourhood where Muria lived and the adjoining secondary neighbourhood. By that time all or most of the men of the two neighbourhoods had had time to learn of the intended ceremony and feast. Not all the men went; particularly the younger men, i.e., under about 30 years old, did not go. A few older men did not go either, and, although I was unable to make sure, it seems to be up to any man whether he goes or not. It is not compulsory but at worst the feast is attractive to men. In this instance, being a camel feast, possibly one or two men, who did not like to eat camel, would be deterred. At the meeting place whither they had driven the beast, it was speared by its former owner. Muria formally announced that Akuj had demanded such an animal to be killed before rain would be sent, and that, the camel now speared, rain would soon come - in 10 days time I was told by one man. The men's portions of the animal were roasted and eaten there by the men, the rest being left for the women to fetch away. The feast ended, prayers were offered communally to Akuj for rain and general prosperity.

This is the kind of thing done in the case of domestic stock sacrificed. If a gazelle or dik-dik is prescribed, the animal is held over a goat, its throat cut and the blood allowed to drip over the goat ("like the rain" said my informant). Both goat and gazelle or dik-dik are eaten at the following feast.

Reverting to the particular case observed, it may be added that rain did not fall within 10 days. The rainless period (for the early wet season rains had broken and then ceased) lengthened out to almost a month and was becoming serious. Millet was withering away, goats and sheep sent eastwards to the lower Tarach/Lotagipi area had to begin moving west again because of the lack of water.^x And although there was sufficient and quite good graze for the cattle near the mountains, yet everyone was well aware (many men pointed it out to me) that this grass ought not to be eaten now (June) by the cattle but many months later, as it was dry season pastureland. In other words the local Turkana were quite seriously worried by the shortage of rain, coming, as it did, after an extended dry season. The rain-making ceremony and its hoped-for results were extremely important. But no results came and in fact it was almost three weeks afterwards before it did rain,

x I.e. the expected movements at the end of the wet season, not at the beginning.

though everyone saw it rain earlier to the west in Uganda and north west in Didinga-country. Yet I heard no grumbling against Muria and all the men appeared to accept the position stoically. Muria himself admitted that he did not know when rain would come. "Hold on to (i.e. look after and do not slaughter) your cattle very well (carefully)", he said. Thus was the arbitrary will of Akuj accepted. "When will it rain?" I asked people, now and then. "We do not know. Akuj alone knows", a man would reply. To a certain extent this is a cliché since I have heard it so many times all over Turkanaland. On the other hand it does express a conventional attitude.^x

Earlier I stated that a diviner does not produce rain by his own direct efforts but acts as an intermediary between Akuj and the Turkana. This perhaps is why the unsuccessful diviner is not blamed until his failures mount up and confidence in his powers is lost. However it is recognised by the people that different diviners have different degrees of success - in rain-making or any other practice. Men have told me about this although they have not been able to suggest why it is so. As I say, Turkana are not inquisitive and accept things prosaically. Since these most important of diviners - those who can conduct rain-making ceremonies - are relatively few in number it would seem that it is difficult to seek the help of another diviner since there is some kind of territorial quality about rain-making, such that it is not by any means inevitable that a diviner can help bring rain all over the country. Akuj prefers to work by regions - an idea which corresponds with the fact that rain very often is localised, most particularly the storms of any one day. Sometimes "foreign" diviners are consulted. The famous Dodoth diviner, Ekwaebon, was consulted by north-western Turkana many years ago before the British arrived.^{xx} Famous diviners in the early days of the British were reported as having a very wide reputation for rain-making - a reputation that would appear to have more or less coincided with the range and success of their military exploits.

The present position of diviners

As we have seen the more important diviners were vitally concerned with military affairs - inevitably so because of their special mystic abilities, and, if early British reports are to be believed, also because some of them were outstanding personalities amongst their fellow-men. Since 1926 and the deportation of Lowalel, the last of the military diviners, the Administration has not had any trouble from these men. Indeed I have nowhere found any references to them or to their activities in Reports and Memoranda by Administrative officers. This alone warrants the statement that at the moment diviners are innocuous practitioners.

x It may be noted here that Turkana are very poor weather prophets. They have almost no weather-lore at all, and do not seem to be able to read the sky signs in the way most European countrymen can. I found that immediate local weather forecasting was not difficult once one knew a little about wind directions and the type of storms and rain Turkanaland receives. But I have only met one Turkana who could give any forecast. To a certain extent this is mental inertia and possibly an unwillingness to intrude on the province of Akuj ("Akuj alone knows") for I have noticed that sometimes herds and flocks are kept in the kraals when rain is expected, and the women get their huts ready.

xx "He was like Akuj. He could make the rain fall when he wanted", said one man.

My own experience only covers one diviner at all well, and a brief encounter with one other. I have been told about others in areas which I have not visited. In all I have heard of the names of six; but undoubtedly there are more than that since such large and important areas as north-east, extreme north-west and extreme south Turkana land are excluded from my list. Further, several people have told me that roughly each territorial section has a "big diviner", i.e. one who can conduct rain-making ceremonies, and has all the powers of the diviner known to the Turkana. On questioning it appeared that this was only a general rule not a specific necessity. The diviners I know of belong to the following sections:- Ngilukumong (diviner Muria), Nggamatak, Ngithonyoka, Ngiseto, Ngiboicheros, plus one other I have not been able to place but who certainly belongs to the Ngimonia dichotomous part of the Turkana.

In addition there are a number of lesser diviners who only practice divination by sandals and entrails and can use medicines. No estimate of these can be attempted, but they cannot be more than two or three for each "big diviner", possibly fewer. Actual numbers of all types of diviner must depend on the number of men who are "called" and "taught" by Akuj.

Bearing in mind the trouble and disaffection that have been aroused by "witch-doctors" in Kenya - the Nandi and Kipsigis 'laibon' for instance - it may be pertinent to point out here, that as things stand in Turkana land it is unlikely that diviners will be a source of trouble in the future, any more than they have been in the last two decades. Before they could become a serious source of trouble there would have to be some real basis of disaffection amongst the people as a whole (which there is not, as far as can be judged) and an opportunity to take to war again (which, with the former efficient subjugation of the country, and the establishment of British Administration in Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan, is most unlikely).

Private magic

By private magic I mean that kind known of and practiced by individuals, on behalf of themselves or near kinsfolk, without the intervention of a professional magician (i.e. diviner) or even resort to the assistance and intervention of Akuj. It may be that some people know more or practice more than others, but, as far as I know concerning the Turkana, there seems only to be a general fund of private magic which all adults know and which is learned of by adolescents in the same way as they learn other facts, techniques and beliefs, i.e. by imitation of adults, by conversation, by experience. Adolescents will see the magic being used on the various occasions and learn it along with the rest of their tribal culture.

There is not a great deal of private magic in Turkana land. As I have stated earlier there is no magic (private or otherwise) concerning animal husbandry, migrations, agriculture, fishing, hunting, gathering, material culture or trading - i.e. all the economic activities of the people. Concerning the major crises of social life - birth, initiation, marriage, parenthood, death, major judicial processes, severe depletion of herds - I have already described what happens and it will be seen that almost all the acts of individuals at these times are of a sociological rather than magical quality. That is, they involve external and symbolic recognition of the new development in an individual together with re-affirmation of existing ties, so that the first becomes assimilated into the second. Thus for example, a feast - there is very usually no magical significance in this (no invocation or use of mystic powers) but typically a coming together of the people involved in some matter and affirming their interrelationships by the act of eating together. At the same time the people may be sub-divided amongst themselves (e.g. age-sets at an initiation feast, bride's and groom's families at a wedding feast) because of certain recognised differences within the total group. I have repeated 'ad nauseam' in this report how a meat feast is included in practically every group activity of the Turkana, and in relevant contexts have given examples. Very few of these can be interpreted as sacrifices even where some magico-religious activity is in progress. Very few, that is to say, are of a magical nature.

Indeed the actual eating of the meat, as apart from slaughter of the animal, is never with magico-religious significance. People eat meat - men especially - as a part of social intercourse and because it is often easier to persuade some-one to kill a beast where many are assembled. On very many occasions an important figure must slaughter animals to feed those gathered together, e.g. the groom and bride's father at a wedding, the guilty party at the conclusion of compensation proceedings, the wife's father at his daughter's first pregnancy.

This is mentioned here lest the constant reports of meat feasts on important occasions are taken to be sacrifices. Genuine sacrifice does occur at a rain-making ceremony, in accordance with the commands of Akuj. Sometimes Akuj orders that an afflicted person must kill a goat or ox - again a sacrifice or offering. The spearing of a male animal at initiation may perhaps be termed a pseudo-sacrifice, for although the beast is not killed at the demand of Akuj nor in any way offered to him, yet it obviously has a mystical significance both to initiate and spectators.

A common cause of the spearing or other kind of slaughtering of an animal is to get at and use its undigested stomach contents for ritual purification. This cannot be called a sacrifice since the actual slaughter is unimportant. What does matter is the use of the stomach contents. This use is one of the main pieces of private magic known by the Turkana. It is done whenever a person is believed to be physically or ritually afflicted, or in some way impure or dangerous. The act of smearing the undigested stomach contents is believed to cure or cleanse the individual of disease, impurity, danger or other evil. Usually the one who performs the act is a near kinsman (typically father, brother, husband, etc.), but I cannot suggest here that the actual person who does this is magically prescribed. Naturally a close kinsman is most concerned over a person's welfare and is most likely to take on the job. Anyone could do it efficiently - in fact close kinsmen do. Thus the ritual impurity of a principal is a serious crime - homicide, serious wounding, adultery, rape, witchcraft, sorcery - comes into this class. Similarly the ritual impurity of one who has broken a clan taboo or committed incest. On the other hand in the case of an initiate, only the members of the oldest extant sets can do this; in the case of a barren wife her husband should do it. Fire is in some believed to be very dangerous and when a married woman is involved in any accident with fire, only that person's father (or if he is dead, her mother, and if she is dead her brother) can properly come and purify her. This he must do even if he lives a long way off. Such an accident would involve the destruction or spoiling of an article of clothing or some vessel of that woman, or the burning of her huts.^x Purification would extend to the children of the woman.

Apart from this ritual purification about which everyone knows, there is little else of a magical nature known. Charms and good-luck symbols are given by mothers to their children and, even when grown up, people treasure them as protective agencies. It is doubtful if these can be called magical; rather they accrete emotional value because of their source of origin and period of possession. Really efficacious and special protective charms are obtained from a diviner, e.g. as a protection against witchcraft - these then are magically endowed, but I never heard that a private individual could provide them, only a diviner. Sometimes when a person is ill a goat (possibly even an ox) is slaughtered and a strip of its skin hung around the sick person's neck. It may remain there until long after he is better. Probably this sort of treatment is more often prescribed by a diviner than initiated privately.

As already described, most ordinary men know something of prophecy by throwing the sandals, and some men are noted for their successes. Probably a few lay-men know how to read the entrails of animals, although

x In the case of a married man he himself must spear the goat and smear himself with the stomach contents. It may be noted that if huts or any part of the homestead are burnt some of the stomach contents are scattered over the ground in the homestead and over vessels containing milk or fat. Then the homestead must be vacated, the family building another 50-100 yards away. "Fire is bad, very, very bad", said one man, but I could get no reason why, except the counter question "Would you like your hut burnt down?".

I have never met one who admitted it. There are no other types of oracle known.

Witchcraft

A witch is known as 'erkapilan' if a man, 'akapilana' if a woman. Witches are believed to be able to injure or kill a person by the "evil-eye", or as the Turkana themselves put it, "by looking at you". That is to say, that a witch does not manipulate material things in order to invoke magical processes, but obtains his (or her) effect by some inward quality. As far as I know a witch does not commit harm at a distance, but must direct the evil gaze of his eyes on the victim. This may be done during the day, and possibly the witch may be spotted in the act, either by the victim or some-one else. Typically however the witch is associated with the darkness and unknown quality of the night. A witch comes and circles round and round the victim's homestead as the latter is asleep. That is, the actual witch does this in person, not some kind of emanating spirit - for one can see the actual footprints the next morning, people say. After circling round the witch enters the homestead, bewitches the intended victim with the evil-eye and leaves, unknown to the sleeping people. Another method of attack is for the witch to turn the evil eye on food which the victim will eat. I have been told that a witch may "put something into your food", but apart from the evil-eye, I have never been able to get a definite answer as to whether any material substance is used also.

A witch is entirely evil and his (or her) powers are used to no other end but the injury or murder of some-one. As far as can be ascertained there is not necessarily any extrinsic reason why a witch should harm his victims. Apparently also the work of a witch is voluntary. The desire to injure and kill is in them and they consciously commit their crimes.

There are three ways - objectively speaking - by which a witch can be detected. The first is by the eyes, for the ability to work the evil-eye shows up in normal times in extraordinary eyes. They are not unusual in any common specific way, but out of the ordinary in some way or other which attracts attention - particularly staring types of eyes are often quoted and imitated for my benefit; but I think a squint or some other optical affliction would be ascribed to the quality of a witch. However, many people have peculiar eyes due to the very prevalent eye diseases in this dusty, sandy, sun-glaring countryside, so that peculiar eyes are only one indication of a witch. Another indication is to put a hand over one's mouth, withdraw it quickly and the name of the witch will fly out of one's mouth. Thirdly, the diviner may reveal the name of the witch either by the oracle of sandals or entrails, or by information from Akuj. The diviner is consulted by the victim or his family at such times.

In actual fact these three methods, as told to me by the Turkana, appear only to be confirmatory and explanatory. I should explain that I write with personal experience of only one witch, but that one was exceptionally well known to my wife and me, since most fortunately she was the concubine of one of my staff and lived in our camp for about seven weeks. I have records of other cases where people I know were involved but never saw the accused witches. In this particular case the woman, about 22 years old, was outstanding from the point of view of personality and intelligence, and my wife in particular had made friends with her in order to obtain linguistic help and general information. She was the best female informant we have had, and she accompanied us on camel and donkey walking safaris. She was the daughter of a concubine and had come to earn a fairly easy living at Lodwar, the Government station. She was not a prostitute, but had lived with several different men at different times and had a son a few years old. She was attractive to Turkana men (and probably other Africans) but her clothing, beads and decorations, her knowledge and skills were all purely Turkana - and, it may be added, she kept both herself and her accoutrements excellently turned out (from

x This has some sort of evil quality about it. The injunction not to go round and round a person's homestead is one of the moral precepts taught children by their fathers, See page 177.

a Turkana point of view). The important feature about her was her forceful personality. She was always at the forefront of all that went on and carried herself and behaved more or less as an equal with men. Where most women kept in the background in public affairs, she would be well to the fore, voicing her opinion alongside any man. Probably six or eight years of station life had given her this quality. In brief - she stood out in both male and female company. Further we heard vague rumours of early trouble between her and other women at Lodwar - whether this was over men or not I could not discover, but I can well imagine that she would clash with some of the other women. This woman was believed to have killed a child and to have made other women seriously ill, "by looking at them" and their food. So firmly was it believed that she was a witch that the District Officer was asked to send her away, which he did (although she did not go). Later she joined my camp with one of the tribal policemen. As it so happened the child who had been killed by witchcraft was the child of the sister of my cook and it was from him and another tribal policeman that I learned this story. They, and everyone in our neighbourhood, firmly believed her to be a witch. Her eyes were unusual - staring, intense and noticeable at once, even by the most innocent person (i.e. myself and my wife). It was demonstrated to me how her name flew out of one's mouth when the hand was taken away sharply. But it was, I think, obvious - and this is the vital point - people had made up their minds about her before they applied the test. She was a very unusual type, forceful, loud-voiced, intelligent and probably the source of jealousy, rivalry and wounded feelings. From what specific motive she was first accused as a witch cannot be discovered, but once she was accused it suited everyone else to agree to make her a kind of scape-goat, rather than leave a vague, unknowable feeling of unrest and suspicion in the air. She was just the person to be accused rather than the average normal kind of man or woman. From what I have been told this would appear to be the usual way in which a witch is determined - i.e. by pre-existing strained relationships, unusual traits, jealousy or some other cause of dislike.

Once accused as a witch almost any unusual unpleasant occurrence can be attributed to him. In my own experience the Turkana do sincerely believe in the evil potentialities of witchcraft, are seriously afraid of witches, and liable to attribute anything evil to their practices. The actual proof is at best purely circumstantial and would appear only to support pre-determined ideas. The witch himself is more or less defenceless against general public belief. There are not, as far as I know, any methods by which an accused person can prove he is not a witch. It is, however, possible for a witch to be exorcised by medicines and by a diviner.

A witch is a potential danger to everyone within his reach and Turkana believe this quite really. In the case of this woman in my camp, I found that my cook (who was much impressed by his sister's loss) kept all his food well out of sight of the witch, and would have nothing to do with her whilst he was cooking and eating his food. Both he and my second tribal policeman were afraid of her and told us how evil she was and how she ought not to live in our camp. In fact, as I learned afterwards, my neighbours had only allowed her to come to live near (i.e. in my camp) because her man (my tribal policeman) promised the local headman that she would not indulge in any witchcraft whilst there. As far as I know she did not, nor was she accused of any - possibly because on the one hand she was living comparatively well on her man's food allowances and in a European's camp and scarcely desired to make trouble, and on the other hand there was no cause for our neighbours to accuse her of any evil deeds whilst we lived there. This, I think, shows another aspect of the notions about witchcraft. For in this case the supposed witch had committed her crimes about seventy miles away in connection with people unknown to our neighbours. Therefore cause for alarm and suspicion were comparatively small. Doubtless the presence of my wife and I afforded some degree of protection to all concerned which was not typical.

Eventually, when both she and her man were about to leave us, we confronted her with the accusations we had heard about her being a witch in the hope that she might give us some information. This was unfortunately a failure since she resolutely denied not only the accusation but also facts which we knew to be true (such as her banishment from Lodwar by the D.O.). In other words she was not co-operative in any way, although we tried the sympathetic approach on the basis of our former friendship. She was not the type of person to acknowledge that she had been singled out as a suspicious character, indeed as an evil character, by her fellow-people; nor to allow herself to be browbeaten about it by native or European. In fact it is quite likely that she did not cause direct harm to people, nor was she any more or less bad charactered than anyone else.

A witch is believed to achieve his powers by virtue of a special lump of something inside the stomach called 'egulut'. One may actually see the shape of this lump in a witch's stomach and one may feel it also. No-one has been able to tell me how the lump comes there, but I am assured that once a person has that lump he is a witch for life. I have met no-one who actually knows at first-hand the mother of the witch described above, and have not been able to find out if she also was an accused witch. Most informants say that they do not know if a witch's parents or children are also witches. There does not appear either to be any suggestion of learning to be a witch from someone else. One becomes a witch by having the 'egulut' lump in one's stomach. An objective observer might add that one does not become a witch until one is accused, openly or tacitly, of working witchcraft. Whether the accused person has always been a witch is unimportant to the Turkana. What does matter is that at the time he is, or has just recently been, engaged in performing witchcraft and is therefore a potential danger to everyone.

Before the British arrived, it is universally agreed everywhere that people killed a witch and that this was not looked on as murder. Since a witch is judged by his deeds, so action is taken against a witch on account of some specific evil deed against some-one. Most informants say that the injured person (or rather his or her close kinsmen) would initiate action but that everyone else would tend to join in the hunt and killing. I asked my best informant why everyone joined in and he replied, "A witch is bad for all people. Who knows who will be bewitched next?" Two reliable informants told me that a husband ought to spear a witch if she was his wife, a father his child, a man his brother, etc. In the case of the death of headman Aichila's wife by witchcraft in 1949, the accused witch was another of his wives. I was reliably told that Aichila was only restrained from killing his accused wife by his neighbours and that he sent her away to her own family.

To-day the British Administration hold it as murder if a witch is killed and British courts will not accept "proof" of witchcraft. The indigenous penalty of death therefore has been, at least outwardly, changed to one of severe beating and banishment from the neighbourhood, as happened in the case of Aichila's wife recorded above.

Although all my informant's statements appear to agree that once a person is a witch he always remains one, yet I have in my notes records of one case of what may be called "temporary witchcraft". A man became ill for no apparent reason, and eventually went to a diviner who diagnosed that he had been bewitched by his own mother. He was told to kill a goat, smear himself with the undigested stomach contents and he would recover. Later the man's mother's brother heard about this, and openly accused and beat his sister, the man's mother. She fled and came to the local headman with complaint and for protection. The whole affair was publicly and lengthily discussed by all who happened to be present; and eventually, when the son who had been bewitched arrived and added to the discussion, the headman suggested that the whole matter should end there, since the son was now well again. This was accepted and son and mother are, I am told, friendly again. The mother flatly denied all accusations of witchcraft. The settlement of this particular case undoubtedly owed much to the intervention of and general respect for the local headman, Imana, who, as I have said elsewhere, is an extremely influential man. Whether a less influential and respected man could have settled it all so amicably I do not know.

Some, but not the majority, of Turkana wear on their wrists or in their hair, or carry tied in their clothing or to a stool or stick, anti-witchcraft charms provided by a diviner. These (called 'erisik') may be a piece of goat skin, cowhide or one or more small lumps of wood. They are considered to be very efficient but I have not met a person wearing one who at the time was actively involved in a witchcraft attack. Most people do not bother and this again tends to support the theory that a person does not particularly think about or fear witchcraft until it or its human perpetrator comes physically and temporarily near. By this I do not infer that Turkana do not genuinely fear witchcraft and hate witches - there is no evidence that they do not and much that they do. What I do suggest, however, is that a Turkana does not walk in fear of his life and of the lives of his family and friends. He lives chiefly for to-day and if to-day there is no good reason to fear actual witchcraft he forgets about it. It goes into the same category of potential fear as that of disease and sudden death or any of the other unknowable and therefore unavoidable catastrophes of life. Further there is nothing in the social climate of Turkana nor in the general psychology of individuals which tends to make the native suspect his neighbours and companions of evil purposes.

A person attacked by a witch can, if there be sufficient time, consult a diviner. Sometimes the victim dies very quickly (my cook's sister's child died within 3 hours) or, especially in the case of a child, he may be seized in the night and disappear for good (I have only been told that this happens and know of no case). On the other hand all victims do not die; they may be temporarily unconscious, or may be ill in some other way. I am not clear how one can tell whether any particular illness is due to natural or witchcraft causes, for the vast majority of illnesses and accidental self-injury is taken to be by natural causes. Some of the common diseases and maladies are known and named, e.g. dysentery, malaria, chest and stomach complaints, fever and head-aches, sores, gonorrhoea, syphilis, rheumatism, boils, abscesses, etc., etc., and I have never heard that any of these were caused or in any way induced by witchcraft. It seems that only where illness is sudden, unusual and not to be diagnosed, where it probably includes the appearance of wasting away, that witchcraft is suspected. When a witch is known in the neighbourhood there may be no need to seek confirmation from the diviner or even by one's own efforts of sandal-throwing. Thus the woman described above was accused of being a practising witch without mystical confirmation. If guilt cannot be fixed so easily then either the sandals or the diviner (or both) are consulted. A diviner's revelation is taken as exact proof. Further the diviner may be able to prescribe treatment in time to save the victim. This treatment is either some type of application of ochre, or the ritual slaughter of a goat and smearing of its stomach contents. As is commonly done in such mystical cures not only the victim, but also his or her family are included in the treatment, for a man's wives and children, a woman's husband and children, a child's parents and full siblings, are believed to be in danger also and must therefore be purified and guarded.

In the old days when "proved" witches were killed there could not have been much chance for a witch to be exorcised, though doubtless some accused people escaped from their immediate victims and neighbours. To-day when witches are allowed to live on, there must be more opportunity for exorcism. A high-grade diviner can undertake this, by following the instructions of Akuj in the usual way. There are, I am told, potent medicines which can also effect a cure sometimes. In the case of the woman already described, her man (the tribal policeman, living with me) who fully believed in his concubine's powers, was desperately anxious that she should be cured. He was very attached to her and until she was accepted as cured she could not return to Lodwar to live with him. The medicines, he told me, were only obtainable in distant countries - Karamajong and Dodothland - and he would need to travel there to get them. Even then they took several months to effect a cure and might fail altogether. Altogether it is a hazardous undertaking. So far this particular witch has not been cured and I have no record of any witch who has been.^x

x Note the discrepancy between, once a witch always a witch, and this possibility of exorcism.

How far an accused person believes himself to be a witch, or how far anyone attempts to practice the conventional techniques of witchcraft, I cannot say. Once accused his fellows give him no opportunity to prove the reverse. One does not take any chances with a witch - one must be ruthless or else maybe one's own family may be attacked by him.

Animal witches

Animals and birds are also capable of containing the witchcraft lump ('egulut') inside them and of bewitching people. This belief is largely confined to domestic stock but is sometimes attributed to other animals and to birds. The indication of witchcraft is some kind of unusual behaviour on the part of the animal. The animal is called by the same term as for a human witch. No explanation of why or how an animal becomes a witch could be obtained. I finally suggested to informants that it might be hereditary or possibly a case of possession by a human witch or spirit; but this was denied.

To take a few actual examples that have been pointed out to me by Turkana:- An ox or cow that returns from the pastures on its own before the rest of the herd are driven in, and which, on arrival at the homestead, bellows and paws at the ground and roams about round the kraals, is a witch; a donkey which brays unusually loudly and lengthily and paws at the ground restlessly, refusing to eat and remaining aloof from its fellows, is also a witch; a donkey that refused to remain near the homestead at night (donkeys are seldom kraaled but collect near their homestead during each night) but goes off to graze on its own, is a witch. I was once shown some calves, two of which had repeated spasms of the tongue, when that organ, apparently involuntarily, shot out of the mouth several inches, and curled rigidly at the tip. The calves looked fit enough otherwise, but I was told that this ('inyala') was a sure sign that these two calves were witches.

In all these cases, and others which I have merely heard accounts of, the animal ought to be speared immediately by the head of the family, otherwise the whole family is in great danger of being bewitched. In the case of domestic stock it is only the family who are in danger; neighbours or even co-inhabitants of the same homestead are not harmed. In the case of the two calves, for instance, the head of the family came from some twenty-five miles away at the request of his wife, who lived in the homestead where the calves were. He agreed that it was a very evil thing. In point of fact he was all the more anxious not to take any chances because he had had a lot of misfortune recently - the loss of a lot of stock by disease and starvation, the loss of his chief wife by the witchcraft of one of her co-wives. When discussing this case of the calves with other people it has been suggested to me that the owner might first try scraping the animals' tongues with a knife. If they were not cured then they must indeed be witches.

Once again therefore the Turkana show their common-sense character. One first ought to take all practical measures that might be effective before finally condemning the animals.^x Similarly an ox or donkey or goat might be given time to correct its behaviour. As one man put it, "If you are poor you will not wish to kill off any of your stock. You say 'never mind; let it be'. But if you are a rich man you may be able to kill the witch."

It should be added that the word 'erkapilan' - "witch" is often used in everyday speech as an expression of exasperation with something or some animal which is recalcitrant. One of my donkeys was always restive when being loaded and was called 'erkapilan' in anger, much as

x It may be suggested also that a cow or donkey behaving in an unusual manner would perhaps not be finally declared to be a witch unless some trouble or fear of trouble arose, and people began to look around for a cause.

the Englishman might perhaps cry, "You devil, you". An ox which was one evening unusually noisy, bellowing and jostling its fellows, was casually referred to as 'erkapinlanlo!' - "That witch!" (that blighter). In such cases no-one means to suggest that the animal really is a dangerous witch, no-one feels afraid of it. The term is, in fact, used half-jokingly, and the expression behind it is very different from that when a real witch is mentioned.

Sorcery

Turkana specifically differentiate between a witch ('erkapilan') and a sorcerer ('erkarsoban') and if asked what the difference is, they reply something like the following:- A witch kills you by looking at you, a sorcerer kills you by doing something to some former part of your body, such as a piece of hair, excreta, urine, nail parings etc., or even maybe some personal article of clothing. That is to say, the sorcerer actually manipulates certain material articles to obtain his ends; a witch is believed to obtain his ends purely by some inherent power. As far as we are dealing with only the Turkana, it remains an open question whether there are people who really practice witchcraft, or whether witches are a figment of worried, frightened, perplexed minds and that the onus is shifted onto some unfortunate, unpopular person. Quite possibly there are both sorts of witch. In any event the supposed witch is able to do what he does by some (apparently mysterious) inherent power physically residing in a lump in the stomach. One cannot help being a witch if that power is inside one; and, I think, one must subsequently practise and use one's powers.

A sorcerer, on the other hand, engages in certain operations with certain materials, and, what is more, undoubtedly voluntarily uses the ability to do so. Turkana can never say why a witch harms and kills people, but they can suggest why a sorcerer does - because he or she dislikes, hates or is jealous of the victim for real or supposed reasons. Anyone can be a sorcerer for it seems to be possible consciously to learn the techniques. Although the exact way in which the techniques bring about the desired end is not understood, it is known that a given technique properly performed, will produce the given end.^x Again it remains an open question whether there are real persons indulging in sorcery or whether they are figments of the imagination. Probably this point may be cleared up by further investigation for my present remarks on sorcery must be taken as purely preliminary and tentative, based on the information of only a very few people and without personal observation of an actual case.

Like witchcraft, sorcery is wholly evil and therefore to be condemned. I have never been told of any circumstances in which sorcery would be permissible or approved. The aim is to harm, and possibly kill the victim and even the victim's family. As we have seen in both warfare and the settlement of disputes by force, an idea of secret, stealthy action is disapproved of. Turkana fight in the open with spears, not like the Ngkeroma or Didinga who skulk in ambushes, et ., and kill people without warning and without noise. To take blood vengeance or to seize compensation stock, one does not creep up stealthily at night and stab someone in the back, but advances in force in the open with full confidence in one's rights and procedure. In the same way it appears that one does not try to revenge one's self on an enemy by sorcery if one is fully in the right. There are well recognised and justified procedures at such a time, i.e. one goes and fights one's enemy and or demands compensation. But the sorcerer does his work secretly. He obtains something of his victim, and, in seclusion, works the techniques of sorcery - the results of which are unheralded, and mystical. They are pre-meditated and not

x Turkana are little concerned about the intricacies and metaphysics of causation, any more than the average European is when he switches on an electric light. Depressing the switch produces light automatically - so long as the system is working properly.

carried out specifically in the heat of the moment's righteous indignation. Both witchcraft and sorcery are wholly bad magic.

No-one has ever told me of a sorcerer being caught in the act, nor of an accused sorcerer admitting to his deeds. Discovery and proof of a sorcerer is made by the diviner to whom the victim's family go. He divines the cause of the harm by sandals, the entrails of an animal or by communication with Akuj. No other proof seems to be necessary. As with a victim of witchcraft, so the victim of sorcery goes to the diviner with his or her family, for the latter are also believed to be in an unprotected condition. They must undergo the prescribed treatment along with the actual victim. It is a question of very near kin being liable to "catch" the effects of sorcery as if it were a contagious disease. Other people, even kinsfolk, outside the nuclear family, even though they may live at the time in the same homestead, are believed to be immune.

How much sorcery is practised, or is supposed by divination to be practised, I cannot say as yet. As I stated before, the cause of sorcery has been explained to me as hate, jealousy, etc. on the part of the sorcerer. My best informant on this topic said that co-wives were the commonest sorcerers, when there was trouble between them. If this is true (and it was purely an unsolicited statement) then it may be suggested that sorcery is relatively rare. My wife and I lived next to Turkana homesteads for the whole of our field work and we have observed (indeed one could scarcely fail to observe) all the incidents of everyday life; and my wife has been very friendly with a good many wives in different parts. We have seen a few quarrels between co-wives; we have heard co-wives' opinions of each other, and we have seen the daily and continual co-operation and generous assistance. I have already stated^x that our opinion is that co-wives are almost universally good friends and beneficial associates. Had there been any case of sorcery between co-wives, or indeed between anyone else for that matter, it could scarcely have been hidden from us. Such a case would, I am sure, have been a nine-days-wonder, just as are cases of family quarrels, theft, seduction, bad workmanship, witchcraft, etc., etc. Yet we have not encountered a single case of sorcery in eleven months of field-work. Indeed it was only by luck that I first heard about sorcery at all - a chance remark which included the hitherto unknown word 'erkarsoban', which we found to be "sorcerer".

So far as can be discovered without an observed case, there is no prescribed punishment for sorcery. It should be noted that sorcery appears to be more a family affair than the public thing that witchcraft is. The victim and family are given or prescribed treatment by a diviner and there the matter ends. On the diviner's discovery of a sorcerer, the latter is accused although not necessarily in public. He may or may not admit the accusation, I am informed. Usually, especially if the accused person is a wife, she will probably be severely beaten by her husband. She might be hurriedly sent off to another of her husband's homesteads or on a protracted visit to her own kinsfolk. Unless there is a repeat of sorcery, there the matter rests. What would happen if a person is accused of being the cause of a victim's death by sorcery, I do not know.

Spirits

Finally, in the survey of Turkana magico-religious beliefs, there are spirits ('akipy'; pl. 'ngakipy'). These are the least important of all the beliefs, and ideas about them are extremely vague. I say this with a fair degree of assurance, for, like Akuj, but unlike the other magico-religious beliefs, people are not particularly averse to talking about them.

Typically, spirits live in the hills and mountains. This is rather interesting in view of the very general love of the plains and

x See pages 78-80.

relative dislike of the mountains by the Turkana. As explained on page 38 the Turkana are people of the plains. Spirits are mostly malevolent if they interfere in human affairs at all. They can come at nights and torment people as they sleep. "They come right into your homestead at night. They talk to you; they sometimes dance and sing. Another time they tell a man to kill a certain goat. Next morning he wakes up and he goes and kills this goat and scatters the meat round inside the homestead. People do not eat this meat." This is how a man described the spirits, but he could not say why the goat had to be killed nor what purpose lay behind scattering the meat. Although no-one has mentioned that spirits come to people in dreams yet they always come to people when the latter are asleep, so we may infer that spirits are partly a dream phenomenon.

The conventional statement as to where spirits live is, "in the mountains"; but there is also a special word for their home, 'ekapilimen'. This would appear to be derived from the same root as 'erkapilan' - "witch"; but I neglected to enquire into it.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to discover what exactly spirits are. One man suggested that some were dead people but I have no other confirmation of this. They are vaguely thought of as people, but unlike the rather anthropomorphic Akuj, I have not heard ~~that they live~~ in homesteads, nor keep domestic stock, nor live like human beings. Although they live "in the mountains", when people themselves are living in the mountains they always say that the spirits live in another area of those mountains. That is, they are always, vaguely, some distance away. The fact that they do live there has never, to my knowledge, hindered people in herding their stock there. Recognition of their habitation in the mountains, and their power in human affairs, is given on every mountain or hill pass. At the top and bottom of every pass can be seen a pile of stones; for each person must lay a stone at the bottom as he goes up, or at the top as he goes down. To make quite sure, some people put one at the top and one at the bottom. This is not an arduous rite since loose stones are everywhere plentiful in the hills. On some of the more frequented passes these piles of stones are very large. For instance, the pass leading up from Lorusi Aliban onto Loima Mt. (Kanaro) has several piles at the beginning of the steepest part - one is about five feet high and four or five feet in diameter at the base. One is so old that vegetation has more than half overgrown it. All are composed of small stones, easily picked up in one hand. The Turkana say that they do this "because of the spirits". If a man neglects to do it he will become ill and perhaps die. One tribal policeman accompanying my cara an through such a pass failed to do this, probably because he felt himself slightly Europeanised and superior. I pointed this out to another Turkana who said that he would soon become ill. In fact he did not but my informant was not disturbed. "He should have become ill," he said, some time afterwards, "you do become ill if you do not put a stone there, for the spirits will be angry." This ritual is known as 'akinun'.

One other spirit phenomenon is the rainbow. Turkana say that a rainbow is bad because it means that there is not going to be much rain. Their interpretation of it is that the spirits in some way both hinder the rain and make the rainbow. The same word is used for rainbow as for a spirit - 'akipy'.^{xx}

x This is specifically stated in connection with a diviner's communications with Akuj.

xx It has been suggested that this word is connected with the word for "water" - 'ngagipy'.

In conclusion, I should like to re-emphasize the normal Turkana attitude to all these magico-religious beliefs. Undoubtedly they are to the native not merely metaphysical doctrines. They are, as it were, true principles of action and behaviour no less than ideas concerning animal husbandry or rights in stock. One must water goats at least every other day or else they will weaken and die; you must slaughter the requisite animal and smear yourself with the undigested stomach contents or else, when in a state of disease or impurity, you will weaken and die. To the Turkana the two causes and their respective effects are quite similar in actual operation.

On the other hand, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, the Turkana are typically prosaic, matter-of-fact and non-speculative and do not dwell on the mystical, the magico-religious aspect of life very much. The greater proportion of their time, and of their social and individual principles of action, are involved in pragmatic, common-sense, objective notions, behaviour and attitudes. One can go for days in their company without encountering any mention of their magico-religious beliefs, most especially since they are involved in no economic activity nor in almost all social relationships. Attempt has been made above to demonstrate the essentially vague nature of all these beliefs. There is very little which is entirely specific. That in itself leads to the conclusion that they are little involved in the vital features of social life.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE TURKANA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

(Abbreviations:- J.R.A.I. - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
 J.A.S. - Journal of the African Society.
 Geog. J. - Geographical Journal).

A - TURKANA

1. Works containing mainly anthropological information:-
 (In chronological order)

- Von Hohnel: "The discovery by Count Teleki of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie", 1894; vol.2. ch.5.
 Johnston H.H.: "The Uganda Protectorate", 1902; vol.2. pp. 841-53.
 Hobley: Notes on the geography and people of the Baringo District of the East African Protectorate; Geog.J. 1906; vol. 28. pp.471-81.
 Dundas: Notes on the tribes inhabiting Baringo District, East African Protectorate; J.R.A.I. 1910; vol.40, pp.49-72.
 Beech: "The Suk, their language and folklore", 1911; ch.2.
 Rayne: Turkana; J.A.S. 1919; vol.18, pp. 183-9, and 254-65.
 White: Notes on the Turkana tribe; Sudan Notes and Records 1920; vol.11, pp.217-22.
 Barton: Notes on the Turkana tribe of British East Africa; J.A.S. 1921; vol.20, pp. 107-15, and 204-11.
 Barton and others: Political history of the Turkana; Administrative Records, Lodwar. 1921.
 Emley: The Turkana of Kolosia District; J.R.A.I. 1927; vol.57, pp.157-201.
 Penley: Superstition among the Turkana. A southern Turkana heaven Man 1930; vol.31, pp.139-40.
 McKean:) Memoranda to the Kenya Land Commission, 1932; Evidence
 Beall:) vol.2, pp.1755-64.
 Von Hohnel: The Lake Rudolf Region; J.A.S. 1938; vol.37.
 Lewis: The pastoral peoples of North-west Kenya; Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences 1948; Series ii, vol.10, no.7, pp.245-51.
 Hulley: Short notes on the Turkana; MS. no date; at the University of Cape Town.

2. Explorers' travels through Turkanaland:-

- 1888 - Count Teleki and Von Hohnel:- "The discovery by Count Teleki of Lakes Rudolf and Stephanie", by Von Hohnel, 1894; vol.2, ch.5.
 1897 - Cavendish and Andrew:- Geog.J. 1898; vol.11, pp.372-96.
 1898 - Austin:- Geog.J. 1899; vol.14, pp.148-52.
 also:- "With McDonald in Uganda" 1903.
 1899 - Welby:- Geog.J. 1900; vol. 16, pp.292-306.
 also - "Twixt Sirdar and Menelik" 1901.
 1899 - Donaldson - Smith:- Geog.J. 1900; vol.16, pp.600 et seq.
 1901 - Austin:- Geog.J. 1902; vol.19, pp.669-90.
 also:- "Among giants and swamps in Central Africa" 1902.
 1903 - Brooke: Geog.J. 1905; vol.25, pp.525-31.
 1903 - Powell - Cotton:- "In unknown Africa" 1904.

3. Works containing technical information of a non-anthropological nature.

- Worthington: The Lakes of Kenya and Uganda; Geog.J. 1932; vol.79, pp.275-82.
 Champion: Teleki's Volcano; Geog.J. 1935; vol.85, pp.323-36.
 Fuchs: The Lake Rudolf Rift Valley Expedition; Geog.J. 1935; vol.86, pp.114-37.
 Champion: Physiography of the region west and south-west of Lake Rudolf; Geog.J. 1937; vol.89, pp.97-118.
 Dixey: Hydrographic survey of Turkana; Kenya Government 1943;
 Edwards: Report on the grazing areas of Turkana; Kenya Government 1944.

B - NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

H.B. This is not intended to be a full bibliography of these tribes and their countries. References are given which it is thought may be of some use to those principally interested in the Turkana. As far as is known all of the anthropological bibliography on the Turkana-speaking group is included hereunder.

x indicate a Turkana-speaking tribe.

- Karamajong x - Persse; Ethnological notes on the Karamajong; Uganda Journal 1934; vol.1, pp.110-15.
 - Turpin: The occupation of the Turkwel river area by the Karamajong tribe; Uganda Journal 1948; vol.12, pp.161-5.
- Dodoth x
 Karamajong x)
 Ngijie x) - Barker; Sudan Notes and Records 1923; vol.6.
 Dodoth x)
 Labwor x) - Wayland: Preliminary studies of the tribes of Karamoja;
 Teuth x) J.R.A.I. 1931; vol.41, pp.187-230.
) - Leeke: The northern territories of the Uganda Protectorate;
) Geo.J. 1917; vol. , pp.201-8.
- Taposa x)
 Jiye x) - King: in "A tribal survey of Mongalla Province" ed. Nalder,
 Didinga) 1937; part two, ch.1, and passim.
 Didinga) - Seligman: "The pagan tribes of the Nilotic Sudan" 1932; pp.360-5.
) - Driberg: "People of the small arrow": 1930.
) also: Clan functionaries among the Didinga; J. A. S. 1939;
) vol.38.
- Marile - Shackleton: The Merille or Gelubba; Ms. Kenya Govt. 1933;
 N.A. D.M. 19. iv, no.193.
- Teso - Wright: Notes on the Iteso social organisation: Uganda
 Journal 1942; vol.9, pp.57-80.
- Kumam - Walshe; The Kumam; Uganda Journal 1947; vol.11, pp.101-5.
 Lango - Driberg: "The Lango"; 1923.
 - Tarantino: Lango myth of origin; Uganda Journal 1946; vol.10,
 pp.12-16.
 also: Notes on the Lango; Uganda Journal 1949; vol.13, pp.
 145-53.
- Suk - Beech: "The Suk, their language and folklore" 1911.
 - Totty, Chaundy & Huntingford: "The people and district of
 West Suk": 1944 (Ndia Kuu Press, Nairobi).

It is to be noted that nothing at all has been published concerning the social life of the Donyiro; and only the briefest mention is accorded to the Jiye in the works quoted above. Regarding the whole Turkana-speaking group, it would be difficult to discover even the basic outlines of the social system of any one of these tribes from the material available.

DESCRIPTIVE TERMS USED IN CONNECTION WITH STOCK

Descriptive terms used in connection with stock of all kinds are usually a combination of a distinctive colouring and some physical feature associated in a particular case with that colouring. They are the same for any type of animal, except that male animals are prefixed 'na'. The following lists are probably incomplete, but contain the more common terms.

Colours (given in masculine form):-

Loputh - grey	Lomug (or Lomuk) - dark brown
Longorr - grey-brown	Lokuperot - pinky-brown
Lariangan - red-brown	Lakwan - white
Lonyang - yellowy	Likriorn - black

Lomeri - spotted (any colours)
Lokori - blotched (any colours other than black and white)
Longeruk - blotched (black and white)

Physical features

Akoli - flank	Atulia - side of head
Iling - head and neck	Ongo - side of the face
Ethil - middle of body	Etul - ear
Ekapil - stomach and chest	Ekwel - ?
Arkow - back	Aruk - hump
Engoria - head	

These terms are used to differentiate an animal from others near to it at any time, or from others with which it may come into contact, rather than specific names for animals. Thus to a certain extent the actual term used depends on the circumstances of its use.

E.g. an ox which is black with a white band round the middle of its body.

In a small herd, or part of a herd this would normally be called 'Lothil' - literally, "the middle of the body, one".

But if there were another ox in the herd or near the first ox, which had a red band on a white body, there would be need for further distinction, since both animals could be called 'Lothil'.

The first ox could be called now - Lothilakwan' i.e. the ox with a white band round its middle; or, 'Lothilikriorn' i.e. the black ox with a band of a different colour.

E.g. an ox with a grey body and brown flanks

- 1) 'Lokoli' - the ox with the distinctive flanks,
- 2) 'Lokoliariangan' - the ox with the brown flanks,
- 3) 'Loputhakoliariangan' - the grey ox with brown flanks.

An ox of a single colour is simply called by that colour, with occasionally the addition of a superlative:-

- e.g. 'Lomug' - the dark brown ox (or other male animal),
 'Likriorn chut' - the pitch-black male,
 'Lakwan Kyu' - the completely white male.

By the combination of these traits any man can differentiate between any two animals in a herd, with, if necessary, the finest of distinctions. To the Turkana no two animals are ever quite alike.

For everyday use the shortest form of description is used:-

e.g. in the case of well known animals such as dance-oxen, or bulls, rams, goat-bucks, etc. Thus a man's dance-ox may simply be 'Lomeri' - the spotted one.

NAMES OF THE HORNS OF OXEN AND TO A LESSER EXTENT GOATS AND RAMS

N.B. The common prefix 'lo-' is the normal masculine singular.

- Loliem - no horns.
- Lotidang - short horns.
- Lotodo - one horn only.
- Lokomar - one horn forward and one either upwards or curving slightly backwards.
- Lolook - both horns downwards.
- Lonapa - both horns backwards.
- Lopeta - each horn sideways.
- Lowala - both horns upwards (usually curving slightly).
- Lomagal - one horn backwards, one forward.
- Loriengor - both horns overhead, but slightly backwards.
- Lologur - overlapping overhead.
- Lodepa - both horns forward, overlapping.
- Loyopo - both horns forward, down at the tips, one higher than the other.
- Lokodur - both horns forward, with the tips down and curving inwards.
- Lochogur - both horns forward and down at the tips, but well apart.
- Lokoduth - both horns forward, tips just slightly downwards.
- Lothogul - both horns curving above the head but not overlapping.
- Lokoda - both horns slightly backwards, overlapping.
- Lonuya - both horns forward, tips down and just meeting.
- Lochur - similar to Lonuya, but horns at about 45° to forehead.

APPENDIX NO. 3

WILD FRUITS, BERRIES AND NUTS EATEN BY THE TURKANA

1. Those cooked and eaten as a main food.

Name	Type	Method of cooking	Time when ripe	Where found
Ebe	Berry	Boiled in water	Dry season	Plains
Ungomo	"	Boiled in water, or crushed and dried.	Wet season, can be stored until the dry season	"
Edapal	"	Stewed in water for an hour or more and water poured off. New water added, further stewing, water poured off. Third water is retained after more stewing, and whole is eaten.	Dry season	Plains
Ngipul	Nuts	Kernels boiled in water. Milk added before eating.	Dry season	Plains
Erdung	Berry	Same process as Edapal above, but with only two waters.	Dry season	Plains
Elamach	Berry	Boiled for about twelve hours.	Dry season	Plains
Ayongwel	Nut	Crushed and made into bricks with blood or fat.	Dry season	Plains
Etete	Nut	Either roasted and eaten hot, or boiled.	Dry season	Plains
Ngitit	Pods of Eowi tree	Pounded up and mixed with blood.	Dry season	Plains
Erpat	Nut	Crushed and pressed into cakes with blood and milk; or stored in crushed form until used.	Wet season and early dry season (Cakes will keep for some months).	Plains
Esuwat	Nut		Dry season	Foothill of Uganda Escarpment only.
Apedur	Bean	Stewed in water.	Wet season	Plains
Ekali	Nut	Crushed and dried. Eaten with soup, blood, milk or fat.	Wet season, will keep for several months.	Plains
Ekwalia	Nut of dom palm	Usually crushed and eaten raw, but may occasionally be used in stews.	All year round except the end of dry season.	Sandy areas of Central Turkanaland.

2. Those eaten as snacks when picked.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Time when ripe</u>	<u>Where found</u>
Ethiokwun	Berry	Late wet season and early dry season.	Plains
Ngkallio	Berries	Wet season	Plains
Epat	Berry	Wet season and also at times of short rains.	Mountains
Ameyena	Berry	Wet season	Plains
Edome	"	Dry "	"
Eronyit	Nut	Wet "	Foothills of the Uganda Escarpment only.
Angimo	Berry	Wet season	Mountains.
Alam	Small "plum"	Wet and dry seasons.	Mountains and banks of the Turkwel.
Aponga	Nut	Dry season	Mountains
Ekingwal	Nut	Dry season	Plains
Emenai	Bark of a tree of same name.	Dry season	Plains

Notes:-

(1) Certain fruits which are main foods are also eaten raw from the tree - e.g. Ngitit, Etete, Apedur, Ungomo, Ekali.

(2) Edome and Ethiokwun though not cooked, and seldom collected to be eaten at home, are eaten in large quantities by herdsboys and others in the bush, and can almost be classed as a main food.

(3) The bark of some trees is infused and a drink made - e.g. Lukwangoram, Elemal; the leaves of Erumsosing are infused; both bark and fruit of Erdot (sausage tree) are also infused to make a drink.

(4) An exudate from certain trees is used as a chewing gum called Anakat. An edible root, Egelai, is chewed raw or stewed.

APPENDIX NO. 4

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Father	-	apa
Mother	-	ito
Son	-	lokork
Daughter	-	nakork
Child	-	ikwokwo
Brother	-	lokwato
Sister	-	nakato
Grandfather	-	apar
Grandmother	-	atar
Son's son (ms)	-	lopopait
" " (ws)	-	lototait
" daughter (ms)	-	napopait
" " (ws)	-	natotait
Daughter's child referred to descriptively as "child of my child"	-	'ikwokwo erkakwokwo'
Father's brother	-	apa
Father's sister	-	eya
Mother's brother	-	amai
Mother's sister	-	eya
Brother's son (ms)	-	lokork
" " (ws)	-	luyiyait
Brother's daughter (ms)	-	nakork
" " (ws)	-	nayiyait
Sister's son (ms)	-	lochen; term of address - ame
" daughter (ms)	-	aichen; " " " - ami
Sister's child (ws) or informally any sibling's child	-	ikwokwo
Father's brother's son	-	lokwapa
Father's brother's daughter	-	nakapa
Mother's brother's son	-	lokamai
Mother's brother's daughter	-	nakamai
Father's sister's son	-	lokaiy
Father's sister's daughter	-	nakaiy
Mother's sister's son	-	lokeyait
Mother's sister's daughter	-	nakayait
Husband	-	lokiliakan
Wife	-	aberukan
Wife's father	-	ekamerun; term of address - apa
Wife's mother	-	akamerun; " " " - ito
Daughter's husband	-	ekamerun; " " " - lokork
Wife's brother	-	ekamerun; " " " - lokwato
Wife's sister	-	akamerun; " " " - nakato
Sister's husband	-	ekamerun; " " " - lokwato
Husband's father	-	ekamerun; " " " - apar
Husband's mother	-	akamerun; " " " - atar
Husband's brother	-	ekamerun; " " " - lomui
Husband's sister	-	akamerun; " " " - namui
Brother's wife (ms)	-	aberu
Brother's wife (ws)	-	namui
Father's brother's wife	-	ito
Mother's brother's wife	-	ito
Husband's brother's child	-	ikwokwo
Husband's brother's wife	-	nakato or namui
Co-wife	-	nakain

APPENDIX NO. 5.

THE CONVENTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PORTIONS OF MEAT

When cattle or camels are killed the meat is distributed in the following fashion:-

(1) Portions set aside for special gifts

(a) right hind leg - 'amuro' } - father, brothers and in-laws
breast - 'atorum' } of the head of the homestead.

(b) left upper fore leg - 'akwart epei' - man's sister.

(2) Portions providing a feast for the men of the neighbourhood at the time of the slaughter

right lower fore leg -

left lower fore leg -

right lower hind leg - 'ekipiers'

right ribs - 'esepepei'

left ribs - 'kedien esepepei'

loins - 'egur'

also on ceremonial occasions - the 'apol' and 'emacher'

(see page 131).

(3) Portions retained in the homestead, and distributed (a) amongst the other wives by the wife whose animal was killed; and (b) distributed by the wives to other women of the neighbourhood.

Portions given to the mother of their husband and his concubine depend on the generosity of the wife in question.

left hind leg - 'amuro epei'

right upper fore leg - 'akwart'

liver - 'eman'

heart - 'etau'

intestines - 'emaliten'

stomach - 'abui'

kidneys - 'alu'

head - 'ako'

and any other meat, if any left over from other portions, also blood - 'arkot'.

(4) Tongue - 'angajep' - the head of the homestead
tail - 'ekosim' - the wife whose animal it was
skin - 'ejamu'.

When a sheep or goat is slaughtered there may be no distribution outside the homestead, or only among a small circle of the man's closer intimates, who come to eat the men's portions. It is unlikely that any will be set aside as special gifts. Distinction of men's and women's portions persists, unless the animal (of whatever kind) is killed specifically for a men's feast, and if no woman does the cutting and cooking.

(4) NGISSIR (NGIMASUK) - given to me on Loima Mt. (Nangoleki).

<u>Leopards</u>	<u>Stones</u>
Ngiputiro - wart hogs	Ngimatheth - locusts
Ngkwalitom - elephants' tusks	Nggerowe - bucks
Ngitapino - guinea fowl	Ngichodemethekin - lame sheep
Ngimericharda- fur leg circlets	Ngikapilikwara - spear shaft
Ngimerithie - spotted leopards	Nginyangardung - grass and
Nginyagipor - grass and water	erdung trees
Ngwaria - small rain pools	Ngibelekwara - broken spears
Ngilingakori - goats with red	Ngiriokumu - black stones
heads, red and white	Ngisale - Swahili
bodies	
Ngukwakora - white goat bucks	

The following list was given by Masterman (an early administrative officer) in 1926. He gave no indication of the area where he obtained the names.

<u>Leopards</u>	<u>Stones</u>
Ngikime	Imases
Ngikorichom	Netira
Elingakwa	Gerrawoi
Ngetapino	Nichodemethekin
Nguakork	Nkorio
Imerichada	Niporogine
Imerisia	Nyangardung
Ninyagipor	Nibelekwara
Ngwaria	Nguwortha (these latter were
	supposed to be the
	youngest initiated
	men in 1926, and were
	about 20 years old).

The following list was given by Hulley in his unpublished manuscript. He gave no indication of the area where he got the names, although it is known that most of his experience was in western Turkanaland. He stated that the last groups given were those for the period up to 1920 - 21.

<u>Ngimurr</u>	<u>Stones</u>
Ngitukoi	Ngkoriam
Nkorio	Lelingaukwa
Ngitome	Ngitapino
Ngkwaghala	Ngimerichada
Ngkalel	Ngwelimongin
Ngitingemong	Ngirriithai
Ngkapelikwara	Nggwarra
Ngimazez	
Nggeruhoyi	On the Tarach the following are
Ngichodemethekin	used:-
Ngiporrogine	Ngkolitom
Nyangadu	Ngikwakhoki
Ngbelakwara	Ngkabwanak
	Ngwelesuguru
	Ngkwangai.

APPENDIX NO. 7.SOME NAMES OF TRIBES NEIGHBOURING ON TURKANALAND

N.B. The names given in capital letters are those used in this report. Names are given in pairs, the first of which is always that of the tribe itself, and the second the name of the tribe who uses that name; e.g. Suk - British, Masai; means that the British and Masai call that tribe the Suk; whereas, Pokot - own name, means that the same tribe call themselves the Pokot, etc.

Merille - British; MARILE - Turkana; Dathanaich - own name; Geluba - Galla; Heleb - Ethiopians.

DONYIRO - British, Turkana; Nyangatom - own name; Bume - Ethiopians

NGKEROMA - Turkana; Murutuini - Marile; Tid, Tirma, and possibly other small 'tribes' or sections - own names (this group of peoples lives in the south-west part of the Ethiopian Highlands called Tid, Tirma and possibly the Boma Plateau).

SAMBURU - British, Masai; Ngkor - Turkana; Lokobb or Loingop - own name; Wakwavi - old Swahili; Burkeneji - early travellers (from a still existing nickname)

TEUTH - British; Nggulak - Turkana-speaking group; Towso or Teuso - own name; Dorobo - early travellers (there is no connection with the Nandi or Masai Dorobo).

SUK - British, Masai; Ngupe - Turkana; Pokot - own name.

TURKANA - British; Ngiturkana - Turkana-speaking peoples; Elgume - Masai.

With the exception of the Donyiro, all the members of the Turkana-speaking group call one another each by one name only. Slight dialectal differences sometimes make the one name sound a little different among the members.

APPENDIX NO. 8.THE AUTOBIOGRAPHIES OF TWO OUTSTANDING TURKANA LEADERS.

The following autobiographies were recorded by Mr. E.R.Shackleton, District Officer, Lokitaung, in 1932. They are given in the present report for two reasons; first, because they have been hitherto unpublished, and secondly, because they give an account of a part of Turkana life that has vanished - an account, moreover, that it is impossible to obtain even today.

Both of the men, whose lives are told here, were outstanding leaders of the Turkana both in peace and in war; both reached the height of their influence before the British came, and had had dealings with the Ethiopian officials of their time. It is most likely, though neither of the autobiographers refer to it, that both of these men led military forces against the British. Both lived in north-eastern Turkanaland - the last part of the country to be brought under British control, and that part most influenced by the neighbouring Abyssinians, officials and others. In the end both became official headmen under the Kenya Administration. Both are dead to-day.

As will be seen, Mr. Shackleton states that he took down the stories of the two men, as they were given to him. Doubtless he worked through a Turkana/Swahili interpreter, translating into English himself. With a very few minor corrections I give his own version here. Corrections that I have made are the following:- the name of the tribe "Malire" changed to "Marile". The word 'manyatta' has been changed to "homestead."^x In addition footnotes have been added in explanation of some points, especially where those points tie up with my own account in this report.

The Autobiography of Chief Lonyamong

(An autobiography following as closely as possible his precise words, and given without any interrogation or prompting).

So far back as I can remember my father Lokwai was always at his homestead. He was the head of all this country, Turkana, Marile and Donyiro, and he settled disputes. He was to the Marile as a brother. My father used to go to war, and the Marile used to go with him.

Now the Donyiro said that the Turkana were as women. They would strike at a shield which was stuck in a tree, but if there was a man behind it they would be afraid to strike. So this greatly annoyed my father. He thought hard, and said that if he went to war without the Marile they might be annoyed, so he went and talked to them about this. He talked to them for four months. And the Marile said, "Oh, this is good. We will not interfere at all. We will follow behind you like hyenas and perhaps we will get a little stock out of it."

So my father returned and called his brother, Ludwarkarpel, and Ludwarkarpel went with one Marile and spied out the Donyiro. Now at this time my father was below the Lokibuk.^{xx} There they returned, and my father at once prepared for war.

x 'Manyatta' is a Masai word taken into the Swahili language, and commonly used by officers in Turkanaland for the homestead ('awi'). It is a completely wrong use of the original Masai word since in that tribe it denotes a rather different structure and collection of people. See Fosbrooke; op.cit. page 43 and photograph.

xx A pass in the northern part of the Labur Range.

I was only a youngster, and some days I would be herding the goats and other days I would be at the homestead. And many men came to the homestead to collect for war. White earth was brought in a bowl and everybody was painted with this white earth. My father's mother and my mother painted everyone and I saw it all. Then everyone came out calling on his bull^x, and afterwards my father was painted. Then he came out and all at once went off to war. They passed the spur of North Labur and slept at Athericho. In the morning they went to Napakai, and stayed there during the day until about two o'clock when they moved to Karuthe. On the way they passed through Marile homesteads. At dawn when the sky became crimson they attacked, one section crossing the river and the other remaining on this side.^{xx} They found the Donyiro dancing and finished them and took their stock. And the Marile took some stock. So my father turned and said, "Now I have finished this Donyiro business. They are but women."

After that my father made peace with the Donyiro. He called them into the Marile country and told them that the old business was over. So there was peace - peace - peace; but there was something still in the hearts of the Donyiro. I was only a child. People began to run about. Odd people were killed here and there by the Donyiro. Then they killed my brother.

Now when my father saw that they had killed a son of his he was very angry. So he took another war to them. And again at Topoth. Then my father told people to stop. "It is not good to exterminate a whole tribe," he said. So he went again to the Donyiro and said, "Stop all this, don't kill people. I have told you to stop killing people." So they made peace.

So I grew up and my father lived together with the Marile and I became big. And my father seduced Marile girls, and the Marile gave him their girls. And he gave them his daughters. Three of our daughters went to the Marile.

My father would say, "Peace is good. The spear is bad like the hot sun; peace is like the rain which pleases the people. Peace is like a little child. The mother tells the little child to stop crying when it runs to her." All this he used to tell to the Turkana and the Marile. If the Turkana stole things from the Marile he would always return them. Thieves came in those days from Lodwar and Kakuma and caused much trouble stealing things from the Marile.

My father told me, as I grew up, that a man who murdered another was to be avoided as the snake.

Then came a bad year. My father was on the Lomogol. The Marile brought their children to the Turkana and went off themselves to live on the fruits of trees. So my father sent his brother to tell the Marile to come to the Lomogol; and they all came to the Lomogol.^{xxx} I never remember any fighting between my father and the Marile. I remember only peace.

I was now growing up. I had my spear and my rifle. My father told me to adhere to the Habash.^{xxxx} Then God took away my father.

x Probably their dance-oxen.

xx These sections referred to here are probably the Alternations. Normal war tactics was for the raiding force to divide up into these two alternations to deliver a pincer-like attack. See page 147 above.

xxx This is probably a reference to an invitation to the Marile to come and pick wild fruits on the Lomogol water course in Turkanaland, i.e. a friendly gesture.

xxxx Habash is the local term meaning the Ethiopian Government.

I remained. I was now a warrior. I knew everything. I left the stock to my elder brother and I was like a lion roaming in the bush. My elder brother remained with the stock. I killed zebras. I met lions in the road and killed them. Even if I was alone I killed them. I was like a madman, roaming the bush and going far in search of rhinoceros. Then I would come back to the homestead and join the others. Then I would tell everyone to come to Lorienetom where there were many rhinoceros. I would kill a rhinoceros at the foot of the mountain and call the people to come down from the top, and they would leave their homesteads and come and eat the rhinoceros. Then perhaps I would sleep at one of those homesteads.

I walked with the Marile I danced with them. I was not the eldest, I was in the middle, so that there was an elder brother, and I did not want stock. The others had it and stayed with it. Everyone liked me. When there was trouble it was brought to me and I would take it to my elder brother to deal with. Or I might settle it myself. Dabel, my elder brother, then dropped behind, and I came ahead and all the news came to me.

Then there was trouble with the Habash and they called me. Loithe was a chief under the Habash and he died. So trouble arose, and I was called and the others could not put it right. So I was called for always it is my part. People said that if they painted the homestead of the son of Lokwai everything would come right.^x "We don't know what to do," they said. "This is your work. Don't throw us away. Come and stop the Habash. Perhaps if you will go to the Habash they will listen." "But", I said, "Dabel is the elder, it is good for him to look into this matter." But they replied, "Dabel is at the homestead, you roam the bush. It is better for you to look into this matter." So Dabel told me to look into this matter.

So I spied. When people were buying or selling I was always there, looking and listening. I went away. I left my people. I went to Addis Abbaba and even beyond. I went away. I went to Addis Abbaba to Ras Tafari, he who had a white woman as a wife.

Now formerly the ruler of all this country was Menelik. After him came Chapero and after Chapero died he left two brothers, Desisto the elder, and Ras Tafari the younger. But Ras Tafari ousted Desisto and they quarrelled over this.

Up in Addis Abbaba before Government came to Nairobi I heard they were coming. There was a big letter about it. But it was said that there was a boundary called the Wei-Wei country.^{xx} Where that was I do not know, but it was the limit of the Government.

Ras Tafari had a white woman as his wife and because of this he wanted to allow his "brothers-in-law", the Government, to come up to this country. But his people objected and quarrelled with him about it. Europeans, said the people, are very bad. They make people carry loads of stones; they indulge in sodomy. All this I heard in Addis Abbaba. I did not know. How could I? I just heard and listened, nodding my head in approval as is the custom of a listener. I spent six months there, and on

x This reference is rather puzzling, but it is possible it means that the people wanted to come to Lonyamong's homestead, there to be "doctored" by being smeared all over the front of their bodies with the white clay or ochre. See p. 237 above.

xx The Wei-Wei is a river in the country of the Plains Suk and was reached by many early explorers. It marked the northern limit of British control before the creation of administration in southern Turkanaland in 1905-9. See page 3 above.

the seventh I returned. I saw Ras Tafari and talked to him as I am talking to you now. And he gave me many presents of clothes and a present of a horse which I brought back to Turkana with me. And there was a great feast at the time, and I was taken into a great hall inside. There food was brought, cooked food and raw meat and food of all kinds. I ate honey, honey, honey. I was with Lokali and Obik at the time, two other Turkana. At Maji^x I got a present of a gun and a shield with a brass (gold?) inlaying on it.

Now when I had gone to Addis Abbaba I had left a girl behind. But when I returned I found that there was cattle disease - lukoip^{xx} - which had killed off all the stock. But I collected together odd head, looking for them here and there, and gave them to my prospective father-in-law, and I took a bull there and killed it for him, and so I married a wife. But after that I went back into the bush. Sometimes I was with my age-group and at other times I was with my wife. And then I saw that my wife was dying with hunger. Now there is a tribe called the Nkoroma so I went and fought them and brought back much stock. It was a fight which lasted many hours, for in those days we had many cartridges. And we beat those people and that day I killed four men.

When I returned I cut off my hair and I put red earth on my head, and the girls brought beads and put them on my neck. And I killed the 'ngithibuth' goat and put it intact on the fire. And when it was hot I took it off and slit its stomach, and its intestines spouted over my body.^{xxx}

Those days I did not sleep at the homestead but roamed from one homestead to another. We used to go to a homestead and hold a dance and always I got beads. Everywhere the girls put beads on me. My neck was crowded with beads like a woman's. Wherever we went the girls would grind up earth and paint our bodies. For in those days I was still a warrior. I cut the slits in the ear of my bull,^{xxxx} and my bull would go into the herd, and I would follow it and spear it, killing it. And the people caught me and said, "Oh, catch him, he will finish off all the stock." So they caught me and took me to a place of trees. And they gave me food, only milk, and the milk was brought to me so I did not see it milked.

Then that was over. So I went in with my group^{xxxxx} and we danced and seduced the girls. And I seduced one girl and another man seduced another, and the girls agreed. But when their fathers heard about it they were very angry and beat their daughters. But I went and told them not to do it. I told them that even if they beat me I would not give them up. So I stayed with her until she had a child. I then gave thirty head of stock and so paid for her and took her away, and went off to my group.

x Headquarters of Government in south-western Abyssinia.

xx Probably pleuro-pneumonia.

xxx This must have been part of the ceremony for a man who has killed an enemy. See page 148 above.

xxxx This must refer to the dance-ox whose ears are nicked after a feat of bravery of its owner.

xxxxx Age-set?

And I thought and I thought. We are but a few but we wanted to go to war. The elders told us not to go but we went and we did not listen to them. I went very far afield to the Njie^x. One man I killed on the road, and we got much stock at one homestead. They were in great numbers - the enemy. So I brought the stock back to the homestead. And I remained for four months and then I went again. But they were afraid this time and ran away. But they went another way to Turkana and we missed them because they had gone another way; and they killed many Turkana.

So I remained, and then the Njie came and brought war. They got much stock below the Emoitha Pass. And we fought them very hard, and some escaped and went off, but many we put to flight. And we followed them but they had separated up into twos and threes. Some of the stock they killed with their spears. But we came on twos and threes and got back much of our stock, but some went off. So we returned and waited, and then we went to them. We took war. We went to Kuran^{xxx} where all the stock was collected at one water-hole. This was stolen Turkana stock. We followed. We got to Akathenot (?) where we left the road and found the homestead and fought it and got much stock. But they followed us. So we waited and fought them and drove back our pursuers. Then we returned and came back with their stock and brought it back to our homesteads. I had killed an enemy so I was treated as previously.

And ever since I have killed a man I have worn nothing but the best ostrich feathers - white.

So I was with my group, and roamed the bush.

I stayed two months and then I took hold of the words of the Abyssinians. I was their chief. If they said, "Bring a bull," I brought it. But then they took stock by force. They took a bull of mine and more stock. And I was annoyed at this. "Do not do this or I will not give you any!" But they refused so this was very difficult. They would not return the bull that had been taken by force. So I quarrelled with him, but he came every time and took stock. Then he returned to Maji. I saw much stock that had been taken. It was on a hill near Kibish. So I went to Maji and complained, but when they came to Maji they disposed of the stock overnight and little remained in the morning. I said it was cheating and that more had been brought to Maji. But only six head could be found, and they were returned to me.

Then shortly news came that the Abyssinians wanted stock. Fifty bulls and two hundred goats they wanted. "Heh!" I came again.^{xxx} I got to Kalin. I went to the Lomogol and everywhere. And then I heard that the Abyssinians were at Lokarumu and passed Liwan.^{xxxx} So I took stock and met them on the road. Now when they took the stock they did not say that it was too little. They did not complain. Yet afterwards they collected much stock. We held out about the stock question, and I went and talked to them, but they defeated me. It was all very difficult.

Then we heard that some lions were killing people. People were being driven away. So I went with five brothers and a son of the Marile. People tried to dissuade us, and said that the lions were very fierce, but I said, "Let us go and see with our own eyes. And we got

x This tribe must be the Jiye whose country is on and around the Kurun water course, which is just to the west of the Ethiopian boundary between 5° 30' and 6° north.

xx

xxx "Heh" is a very popular ejaculation of great surprise and astonishment.

xxxx The Abyssinians were approaching on the eastern side of Lorienetom Mt.

close to the lion and heard him growling and lashing his tail. I said, "Follow me!" and I went quite close and the lion sprang behind some bushes. And I followed, jumping over the bushes, so the lion ran away. I said, "Come!" as we followed; the lion stopped and stayed under a tree. Then I shot it. The bullet passed behind the near front leg and hit the off leg. So everyone came close up. Then the Marile, whose father had been killed by a lion, was given a shot. The shot fell short and the lion charged us. And it got in among the people.

It flashed past me and I swung round. It threw people on all sides. It got my brother and tried to devour him, but my brother put the butt of his rifle into its jaws. I pranced round aiming but not firing for fear of hitting people. Then it came at me; it caught my arm and we stood up together, it stood up and I stood up. And it tried to get at my head but I dodged my head. Then men came and caught hold of it and as they dragged it away it bit my right leg. But it only bit flesh not the bone. And then it was killed.

So people carried me to the homestead. A little while later I heard that there were other lions eating the people. I went with my brother and followed the tracks where it had dragged its kill. We located it in the grass. Two of us followed it. We followed it here and there and every time it went off. Then it passed me in the grass and I speared it. It turned and came at me and it sprang and I stood up. It got me and clawed me all over. And I stood up. Look at my thigh! Look at the marks! It clawed me. And the spear was in it. Then my brother came and speared it and it ran away and fell down close by with a spear in its belly. And it died there.

And the bits of loose flesh were cut off me. I stayed. Many days my sores took to heal. And then I danced and was able to walk again.

And I went to a medicine-man^x and asked him what was the matter with one leg. Always my right leg was wounded. I asked why this should be so. So I said, "It is good that you should fix this."

And formerly I was at a man's homestead and some leopards took a calf and went off with it. I told the people to wait. So I came up and we searched for it and found it. I shot it in the buttocks and it died. And then we looked for its mother. It came. I was with Lobila and Lokito. I told Lokito to wait and not to fire. We went under a tree and saw it. It was lying down. I shot it in both its fore paws. It could not get up. I shot it again in the neck. So we went to a dance and we ate two goats.

In those days we did not sleep in the homestead. We slept outside, perhaps in a river bed or in the bush. We, our group, were a very wild group. If we took a dance to the Marile it was a real dance.

And then my people were wiped out by the Marile. That defeated me. It still defeats me. Everything since then has defeated me.

There is nothing else to tell. That was the end of my manhood.

(This concludes Lonyamong's narrative. There was nothing dramatic in his declaring the extermination of his group brought his story to a close. It obviously seemed to him natural and he was surprised that one should want to hear anything further. That which follows was given in the same way without interrogation. It is, however, significant that he considered that his story finished as above and only proceeded by special request.)

That day they were very angry because the Marile had killed two Turkana children, and because Nathipan had been killed. Everyone cried out for Nathipan.

x. The man I am calling diviner in the text; Turkana word is 'imuron'.

So I went to Maji to ask the Abyssinians why the Marile had killed him instead of reporting the matter to me even if a thief had taken stock.

Now, I said, the country will not be good. But the Abyssinians did not hold this thing in their hearts. And while I was on the road back I heard that the Turkana had taken war against the Marile, and I thought my people have no cartridges. I heard that my group was finished.

I left Maji and came to my homestead and cried out because of my group, and I found that all those of my group who had not been killed were crying out for those who had been killed. "Why have the Marile killed us?" Then Lirole, the medicine-man of our group, came to me and said, "Come to me and I will arrange things". Then he dreamed and he said, that the Marile had gone to war elsewhere, and that if we took war to their country we would find much stock and many women.

But the Marile were at their homesteads. We never reached their homesteads but were met on the road, and we fought, but we had no cartridges and so we were put to flight. And the Marile followed us but I put my pursuers to flight. I defeated them. But when people saw so many killed they cried out, "Our group is now finished; where shall we go?" And many threw away their rifles and went empty-handed to the enemy that they might be killed as if they had been women. For they had no cartridges.

Naur and Lothen were killed early on. They were great leaders.

I did not know that my people had been killed for I was on the flank. Always it is my place. The centre is bad, for all go there and none think of the flank. But I go into the flank and drive the enemy into the centre. And I did not go back to my homestead and the women thought that I was dead. But I was in the bush crying for my group that had been killed. I remember, I did eat. I told the others to leave me. I said I could not tell whether I would go back to my homestead. Meanwhile my homestead moved. And then, weak with hunger, I followed my homestead. I arrived there in the evening and people saw me coming and came out to meet me on the road.

I have not killed a Marile, a Karamojong, Suk or a Turkana. I say that because has one killed a man unless he brought his rifle and ornaments to show his father, for how else would anyone believe him?

Since that day I have remained at the homesteads.

But formerly I have killed a Habash. We fought with the Habash. They grabbed stock at Kakuma from the Turkana and we were on our way to war with the Dodoth. But we met the Habash with all this Turkana stock and fought with them. I shot a Habash and killed him and then they all closed in on me. We fought and fought and I got shot in the right leg - always in the right leg. Look at the mark! But all the warriors surrounded me and dragged me away. After that they took me and hid me. Then after a little while the Habash came and looked for me. But the others ran away in opposite directions and led the Habash away from the thicket where I lay hid.

In the old days I killed a Topotha, four Njie, four Nkoroma, and two Habash. But always I killed many fierce animals. I killed a great elephant once.....(Here follow many hunting tales, all given in great detail. All refer to a time prior to the killing off of his group. They tell of rhinoceros and elephant).

And I collected my horns of rhinoceros and my tusks and traded them. I got two rifles per tusk of elephant and two belts of cartridges. Very many. Thirty cartridges for one horn; twenty, ten and nine for others for they were of different sizes.

I would start shooting a rhinoceros in the morning and shoot it all day until sunset. Then I would rest a few days and then shoot it again, finding it in the grass where it was grazing.....(more tales of hunting - how he was chased by a wounded rhinoceros and the infuriated beast was in an open patch of grass.....) and I fired at it and missed

it, and it stamped and was furious, and I said, "This thing has annoyed me all day." So I went up very close and shot it again in the shoulder, and it fell down and everyone thought it was dead and rushed up to it; and it sprang up and charged among them. Then everyone fired at it and missed it. So I went and followed it and it was floundering about in the bushes, beating itself against a tree. So I decided to shoot at its sound leg. And I shot it. Then it floundered on both knees and men came and grabbed its tail and speared it all over.

But since that day when we parted from the Marile I have remained in my homestead. Then I heard that the Government had come to Lodwar and Kakuma^x. And all went to the Government but I was at the Kerach. And news came that cattle and donkeys and everything were being sent to the Government. And I remained while the others were taking stock to the Government.

Then I and Korinyang were called to a baraza at Kakuma.

And in those days the Donyiro wanted to fight the Turkana, but I told them not to fight. But they killed the Dorobo.^{xx} But the Donyiro came and killed Nadima and Ethoken, and they came and brought war and they finished off the Dorobo and they finished the stock at Zingote.^{xxx} But the Dwana followed and went to Topotha and fought with Swahilis. Then they came and killed the Dorobo and Erako followed. And I began to think that they would soon come and kill me, so I went to Nakalale and stayed there, and everyone was crying out. Then I heard that the Turkana were crying for Lonyamong. So I went there and asked who was calling out for Lonyamong. Who is telling them of Lonyamong?

And all collected together and called me and when I went in front of Dwana McKean^{xxx} he told me to be chief. He wanted me to go to Lokichogio,^{xxxx} but I said that I had a bad leg. He offered me a mule, but I said that would hurt my leg, but he said that I must come even so. So I went to Lokichogio where there was K.A.R. There were eight Europeans. We had a baraza and I went back to my homestead. Since that day we met the Europeans they have held me and refused anyone else.

And I was at Lodwar and Dwana McKean went to a high official about building a boma^{xxxxx} at Lokitaung and I returned to my homestead.

Then Lopoken came and called me and said that the Dwana wanted to know about Lokitaung. He asked me if it was good or bad.

I was told to send bulls first and then to go afterwards. People went to Kalin first and sent ten bulls, and I gave ten bulls, but the Dwana said that there were only nine.

So I stayed with the Government.

- x Lodwar was first a K.A.R. station about 1918; Kakuma (on the lower Tarach) was a joint K.A.R. and administrative station in 1916.
- xx The people referred to here are most likely the Teuth who live near to Thungut Mt. (Zingote is the name of old maps). In very recent times the Donyiro have been not only fighting near Thungut but herding their stock there.
- xxx District Commissioner, North Turkana, 1928.
- xxxx This is at the southern end of Mogila Mt. in the north-west.
- xxxxx Swahili word meaning here, a Government station.

112.

The Autobiography of Chief Ekal

(An autobiography following as closely as possible his precise words, and given without any interrogation or prompting).

Who can remember his childhood? The mother is in the hut and she gives birth to the child. For five days she stays in the hut and then comes out and drinks milk and eats everything.

Then the child is carried about on her back. Can I remember that?

Then it begins to crawl, catching at the legs of people. Can one remember that?

A little while and he plays in the homestead - perhaps with dung. Then he begins to herd the stock, and perhaps one day he kills a buck or finds the meat of one which has been killed by another. He learns what is good grass and what is bad.

A little while and he kills a lion. Then he puts away the things which he did when he was a child. He brushes them behind him - they are the things of his foolishness. His father tells him, "You remember the place where you were born? That is all finished. You must think for yourself." And the child is a man.

My mother was Nkor^x - do you not see my red skin? - they who dug the wells.^{xx} They divided, some going to their own country on the other side (of Lake Rudolf), and some to the Marile country. My mother went with the former and when a young girl she was brought by the Ngibilai.^{xxx}

A man from Kagwalathi seduced my mother when she was a girl. He took her away and they came to Oburikoroli (?), where they first had a daughter. Then they moved to Kalokol^{xxxx} where I was born. There also my father died when I was too young to remember him. Another man took my mother. He was a Ngisiger and a fisherman. My mother stayed with him, and I grew up and while still a child I went off on my own, leaving my home. I would get odd fish by hanging around the fishermen or meat by following the hunters of wild animals. My brother stayed home.

When I was so high I got my spear and then I killed crocodiles and hippopotamus in the lake, and fish. I became a hunter and was a scout who went out to scout for game, and I killed a lion and other wild animals. And in the course of my wanderings I would go to the Marile country and my mother told me her tribe was there.

So I walked with the Marile. I went to the Donyiro and to the Nkera.^{xxxxx}

After these wanderings I came back to Turkana and at that time I was a warrior and took part in fights with the Marile.

About this time my step-father died leaving a young brother of mine. But he was very young so I stayed at home to look after the

X Ngkor - this is the Turkana word for the Samburu, who did formerly live partly in eastern Turkanaland.

xx The Samburu are reputed to have dug some wells in northern Turkanaland. This is mentioned in several British accounts though on what evidence I do not know, nor exactly which wells. Most water holes are re-dug every dry season.

xxx Ngibelai - the southernmost Turkana territorial section.

xxxx Karlokwel river flows into the Lake at Ferguson's Gulf - about 3°50'N.

xxxxx Ngkera may be a Turkana-speaking tribe - reports vary, though a few Turkana tell me that this is so - they live north of the Marile and Donyiro on the Omo river.

homestead and my mother. But often I would go hunting - perhaps to Lorienetom. Five, six days I would spend at home and go hunting.

Then came the Marile and fought the Ngisiger and finished them off. That day I was hunting. They killed my mother but I and two brothers were away hunting and so escaped. Then soon after that one of my brothers died. I then moved to Lorienetom. I was only a hunter and had no property.

So I went to Majixto the Abyssinians and to Bago, then I came back. Another year I went to Chwa (Addis Abbaba) and returned. And so I got a little property and some cloth and a few cartridges and I traded and got a few goats.

Then I, even I, who was then but a hunter without property, brought war against the Tapotha. So I got much stock off the Tapotha, and I came back with it and married a wife. Then I returned to the Ngisiger and after a little while I married another wife.

But while I had been a hunter, living in the bush, I had had many children.

And so I remained. And the Ngamonía (Nkwatela)^x came and took the stock of the Ngisiger, fighting with them.

And the Ngisiger called for me and I gathered together the elders and they asked me to help them against the Ngamonía. So I made peace with the Ngamonía.

And then I gave my mind in with the Abyssinians and worked with them, and the Marile, Donyiro and Ngisiger became peaceful. But the Ngamonía were angry and said, "Why has Ekal arranged all the country except us?"

Then came the Europeans. That was a year of great drought and we and the Marile were all together in the Marile country.

So Government came and the Ngamonía were on Lokwanamur. And Government came by way of Kalin, Kakalai and Lokolio. The Turkana were afraid and moved to Lukumi and others climbed Nkoroma.^{xx} But I told people not to run away. I said that if the Government wanted to capture stock, let them capture it. If they wanted to kill us, let them kill us. We heard that the Government were capturing young girls. So I said, let them do it.

And so one day came six mules, and men riding them.^{xxx} Very early morning they came from the Lomgol and I told the men not to run away. So I stayed and greeted the men and they asked where there was water and I showed them. And they camped there. That day I sent them two goats and a sheep and I spoke with them that afternoon.

Then I sent twenty goats and two bulls to them at Lokolio, and they asked who sent them and were told, "Ekal, a former chief under the Abyssinians." Then in the morning four men were sent to me with a bag of tobacco. Some of my people ran away saying that if we took the tobacco it would bring us to war. But I stayed and took the tobacco and I called together Jalinga and others and divided the tobacco. And I

x See page 57 in my report for explanation of this terminology. Really both Ngkwatela and Ngisiger are parts of Ngimonia, one of the dichotomous parts of the Turkana. Incidentally this is the only report that I know of about internecine war in Turkana-land. Other Ngisiger have strongly denied the possibility.

xx The south-western area of the Abyssinian Highlands where lived the Ngkeroma.

xxx These men may have been the British officers of the three-Government Labour Patrol, 1918.

sent ten goats to them, taking them myself to Katheriko (?) where the Europeans slept.

Later two men came to call me and I went and we danced a ngoma^x. This was at Kalamukuin by the lake and I told them to kill me if they wished. And they were very much surprised that I did not run away like the other Turkana. So they told me not to run away but to stay and look after my people the Ngisiger.

But the Nkwatela had heard that the Government had killed off all the Ngisiger. Then they heard afterwards that I, Ekal, had met the Government and that the Ngisiger still lived.

So I remained. And then I was in both with the Government and was also one of the men of the Habash. Then the Marile began to fight the Turkana and the Turkana appealed to the Government.

And I went to Lodwar and I saw Bwana Kerr. I slept there three nights because I wanted to weigh up this Government. So I weighed it up and saw that one half was good and the other half was bad. There were so many new things, it was so big, and there were many words. So I came home and remained.

A little while and the Government came to Kalakel. I sent ten bulls and a dance.

The Marile were then enemies.

Again I sent fifteen bulls to Government.

Then the Abyssinians came down even to my homestead. They came to trade even to my homestead, at Loperinowi, bringing rifles, cartridges and cloth. Then they went but two remained.

Then someone told the Government that I was not hearing them and that I had Abyssinians at my homestead. So Government came and fought me and killed one of the Habash and captured me and the other Habash, and took us to Lodwar.

They kept me four months and let me go^{xx} but the Abyssinian was kept longer. When he was released he came to my homestead again.

And then I got tired, so I told Emonyang^{xxx} to take over the work on the Government side and I would look after the Marile and the Abyssinian side. So Emonyang worked for the Government.

After a little while I heard that I was wanted. A Bwana came to Lokitaung.^{xxxx} They then went down the gorge by night. We had scouts out and heard that they were coming - their mules were seen emerging from the gorge. They followed us to the spit as far as the spot where the Consul pitched his camp the other day. Then they got

x Ngoma - Swahili for dance.

xx According to the Annual Report for N. Turkana, 1928, Ekal actually escaped from a K.A.R. safari in 1925 and was an outlaw until 1928.

xxx Emonyang is still headman in north-east Turkanaland.

xxxx Almost certainly Mr. Glenday, District Commissioner. See "The Merille Patrol 1926" (Administrative records).

Erdung and told him to collect everyone. And people went but I did not.

And the patrol moved by way of the Lomogol, Lorusia and the Nkwatela country to Kakuma.

Comes Bwana McKean^x. He sent Echum and Enalire to tell Ekal not to run away.

Then I heard that he was coming and that he was looking for me. So I went to see him and he asked me why I had run away and left Government, and I told him that I had grown tired. He said that he had nothing against me. So I agreed to come in with him. And since that day that I met Bwana McKean there has been nothing bad.

Everyone since that day has followed Government, because they heard that Ekal had gone into the Government.^{xx}

And I asked that the Government should come to Lokitaung to help us.

After a time Umo and another came to call me to Lodwar, and I went; and Bwana McKean was very pleased and said that he had been arguing with his superior who had said that I would not come. Now he would get a lot of credit for being right.

So he told me to go and in ten days' time to see what was coming. So I went and in nine days' time I sent Ekuru to look at the road, and he saw the safari coming.^{xxx}

And so the Government came to Lokitaung. Since that day there has been no trouble.

x Mr McKean was D. C. North Turkana in 1928 and was mainly responsible for making Ekal a Government headman in that year.

xx The very reason why the Administration had been so anxious to get the friendship of Ekal and to make him a headman was because of his obvious influence among the Ngissiger.

xxx This refers to the K.A.R. movement to Lokitaung where a new station was established at the end of 1928.

THE MOVEMENTS AND DISPOSITIONS OF A CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY

(Between September and August, 1948-9, in the Logiriama, Lorusi Aliban, Loima (Kanaro) region of western TurkanaLand).

Fuller details are given here concerning the movements and dispositions of the co-operative community described on pages 121-125. It will be seen that I am only able to give the exact dispositions of the homesteads for two periods of the time - normal dry season and the wet season proper. Only at these times was I actually living with these people. The accounts of other dispositions and movements are made up from reports given to my wife and me by almost all the men and many of their wives. Nevertheless they are not so detailed as could have been wished, most especially concerning the "stranger" homesteads with which homesteads of this community made up primary and secondary neighbourhoods.

(1) OCTOBER - dry season

Primary neighbourhood at Kanamut.

- 1) Joint homestead of IMANA and EGERU, brothers. Goats, milking ewes, lambs, kids, all camels. Imana lived here with wives 1 & 3. Egeru lived here about half of the time with wives 1 & 3. Their mother and father's widow also here.
- 2) Joint homestead of ATHAGOL and CHILA, brother-in-law. All goats, sheep, lambs and kids. Chila lived here with both his wives. Wife 1 and mother of Athagal lived here.
- 3) Homestead of ATHIERKWUN. Goats, milking ewes, kids, lambs, all camels. Athierkwun lived here with wives 1 and 2. Also his mother and two widows of his father.

Primary neighbourhood at Kakoromosing.

- 1) Homestead of LONGORR. Goats, sheep, kids and lambs, all camels. Longorr lived here with wives 1 and 2.
- 2) Homestead of AICHOW. Goats and milking ewes, kids, lambs. Aichow lived here part of the time with wife 1. Also his mother and two widows of his father.
- 3) Homestead of LONGOMO. All goats and milking ewes, lambs and kids. Wife of Longomo lived here; also his mother and two widows of his father.
- 4) A "stranger" homestead. Sheep, goats, kids and lambs, camels. A man and his wife lived here.

Primary neighbourhood at Kapelo (Karamajong Escarpment).

- 1) A large cattle camp with no definite fences except for the kraals - divided as follows:-
 - (a) Wife 2 of IMANA. Oxen, a few milch cows, sheep. A young poor man was herding the cattle.
 - (b) EGERU and wife 2. All cattle, sheep. Egeru's half brother, Aleri, was herding cattle.

- (c) ATHAGAL and wife 2.
All cattle.
- (d) LONGOMO and concubine, Agiru.
All cattle, all camels, sheep.
Longomo's younger brother was herding cattle.
- (e) "Stranger" with cattle - from Lorengagipi.
- (f) "Stranger" with cattle - from Lorengagipi.
- (g) Wife of "Stranger" with cattle - ditto.

- 2) Homestead of LOPORLA.
Cattle, sheep and goats.
Lorporla lived here with his wife.

-
- Primary neighbourhood at Nakeekoroiakwan (Karamajong Escarpment).
- 1) Joint homestead of IMANA and ATHIERKWUN.
Milch cows and calves, a few oxen.
Wife 4 of Imana.
Wife 3 of Athierkwun.
Luwoton, brother-in-law of Athierkwun, was head of the homestead, until his death in February. This whole homestead then moved about half-a-mile - cattle were now herded by uninitiated boys only.

-
- Primary neighbourhood at Kateli (Karamajong Escarpment).
- 1) Cattle camp with no external fencing.
 - (a) AICHOW and wife 2.
Cattle and sheep.
 - (b) Sons and daughters of ATHIERKWUN.
Cattle and sheep.
 - (c) Sons and daughters of LONGORR.
Cattle.
 - 2) Wife of a "stranger" - from Logiriama.
Cattle.
 - 3) Wife of a "stranger" - from Logiriama.
Cattle.

-
- Primary neighbourhood at Kathagoulo Hills.
- Here there were three "stranger" homesteads.
Heads of families and wives lived here.
Sheep, goats and camels.

ALL THESE PRIMARY NEIGHBOURHOODS MADE UP A SINGLE SECONDARY NEIGHBOURHOOD AT THIS TIME. ALL PEOPLE AND STOCK WERE USING THE SAME WATER POINT AT KANAMUT.

(2) MARCH

(a) LONGORR disagreed with the rest of the men regarding the likelihood of rain. He declared that current cattle and camel pastures were exhausted and that the early rains were uncertain. He moved about ten miles farther north to the Komacheri watercourse with goats and camels. Here he joined a primary neighbourhood consisting of two other homesteads.

(b) Camels of IMANA, EGERU and ATHIERKWUN were sent ten miles west to the southern tip of the Karamajong Escarpment, where a new homestead was built on its own. Here camel herds were herded by herds-boys of each man. Wife 3 of Egeru lived there to supervise the milking, etc. Egeru spent a good deal of his time there - thus dividing his

days between three homesteads.

(c) About the end of March AICHOW followed Longorr northwards, taking all this stock and also bringing the cattle of Longorr.

(3) EARLY MAY

Cattle and sheep of IMANA, EGERU, ATHIERKWUN, ATHAGAL, CHILA, and LONGOMO moved north to the Komacheri water-course to graze on the northern part of the Karamajong Escarpment near to Longorr and Aichow, who had moved there in March. Also the camels of Longomo.

With the cattle and sheep now:- LONGORR, EGERU, LONGOMO, ATHAGAL, AICHOW.

With the goats, some camels, a few milch cows, milking ewes:-
IMANA, ATHIERKWUN, CHILA.

(4) LATE MAY/EARLY JUNE

All cattle, milking and non-milking, went east about 12 miles onto Loima Mt. (Kanaro) and were based on Lorititio water-point (head waters of Lorusi Aliban water-course). Two months before this I had visited this area, and I reckoned that there were then about 1,000 cattle a day watering there, and a proportionally high human population. Like the members of this co-operative community, many other people had gradually moved there with the failure of the early rains in the lower parts of the country. Thus by this time the mountain area was comparatively densely populated, and the cattle homesteads of the co-operative community were situated in a very large secondary neighbourhood with at least thirty or more "stranger" homesteads.

With the cattle now:- EGERU, ATHAGAL, LONGOMO, and almost all the wives of the other men, even including the chief wives of those men who did not go with the cattle.

With all the sheep, camels of Longorr and Longomo and Aichow:- LONGORR, AICHOW.

With goats and camels of Imana, Egeru, Athierkwun, Athagal and Chila:- IMANA, ATHIERKWUN, CHILA, and the old women. These three men made at least one trip to the cattle homesteads.

(5) LATE JULY

(Wet season dispositions which remained until at least the end of August).

Primary neighbourhood at Kathagoulo Hills.

- 1) Homestead of IMANA.
Milch cows, a few oxen, two milch camels.
Imana lived here with wives 1, 3 and 4.
A brother-in-law herded the cattle.
A pauper, an old man, herded the two camels.
- 2) Joint homestead of ATHAGAL and LOPORLA.
Cattle and the score or so of Loporla's goats.
Athagal lived here with both his wives.
Loporla (absent from the community for some months previously) lived here with his wife.

- 3) Cattle camp with no external fences.
 (a) EGERU and wives 1 and 2 - with cattle.
 (b) Wife 2 of IMANA - oxen and a few milch cows.
 Older daughter of ATHIERKWUN - with cattle.
- 4) Homestead of AICHOW
 Cattle and camels.
 Aichow lived here with both his wives.

Single
 homestead
 near
 Munyen.

Homestead of IMANA, EGERU, ATHIERKWUN.
 Camels.
 No women, girls or heads of families.
 Homestead under the supervision of
 Imana's eldest son.

Primary
 neighbourhood
 at southern
 tip of
 Kathaloulo
 Hills.

Here were five or six cattle homesteads where lived
 heads of "stranger" families with most or all of their
 wives.

ALL THESE PRIMARY NEIGHBOURHOODS MADE UP A SINGLE SECONDARY
 NEIGHBOURHOOD AT THIS TIME, NOT ALL PEOPLE AND STOCK USED THE SAME WATER
 POINT, AND AVAILABLE WATER POINTS VARIED ACCORDING TO THE TIME OF THE
 LAST RAINS.

Neighbourhood
 at
 Kapil.

- 1) Goat and sheep camp of IMANA, EGERU, AICHOW,
 ATHIERKWUN and LONGOMO.
 Main goat and sheep flocks.
 Athierkwun lived here with all his wives.
 He supervised all the flocks. Actual herding was
 done by herdsboys of the respective men.
- 2) An unknown number of "stranger" goat and sheep
 homesteads.

This is a "rearward" area only usable for pastures at this time
 of year. All the men normally herding their goats and sheep nearer to
 the mountains to the west and north have them in this area in the wet
 season.

Neighbourhood
 at
 Nakwapua.

- 1) Homestead of LONGOMO.
 Cattle and camels.
 Longomo lived here with his wife and concubine.
- 2) Homestead of CHILA.
 Goats and sheep of Chila and Athagal.
- 3) Homestead of LONGORR.
 All stock.
 Longorr lived here with all his family.
- 4) Homesteads of "strangers" with cattle, camels, sheep
 and goats.

Nakwapua is a normal wet season centre and usually comparatively
 densely populated at this time of year, as it is also a good garden area.

N.B. At times wife 1 of Egeru, wife 4 of Imana, and wife 3 of
 Athierkwun came to live in one or the other of these homesteads in order
 to cultivate gardens in the Nakwapua/Lorusi Aliban area. Land was obtained
 through Longorr and Longomo, who had in-laws there and whose wives also
 gardened there.

Primary
neighbourhood
at
Kanamut.

- 1) Homestead of IMANA and EGERU.
A handful of goats and six camels.
Here lived the men's mother, and their father's
widow, with wife 3 of Egeru.
 - 2) Homestead of ATHIERKWUN.
A handful of goats and a few camels.
Here lived Athierkwun's mother and two of his
father's widows.
-

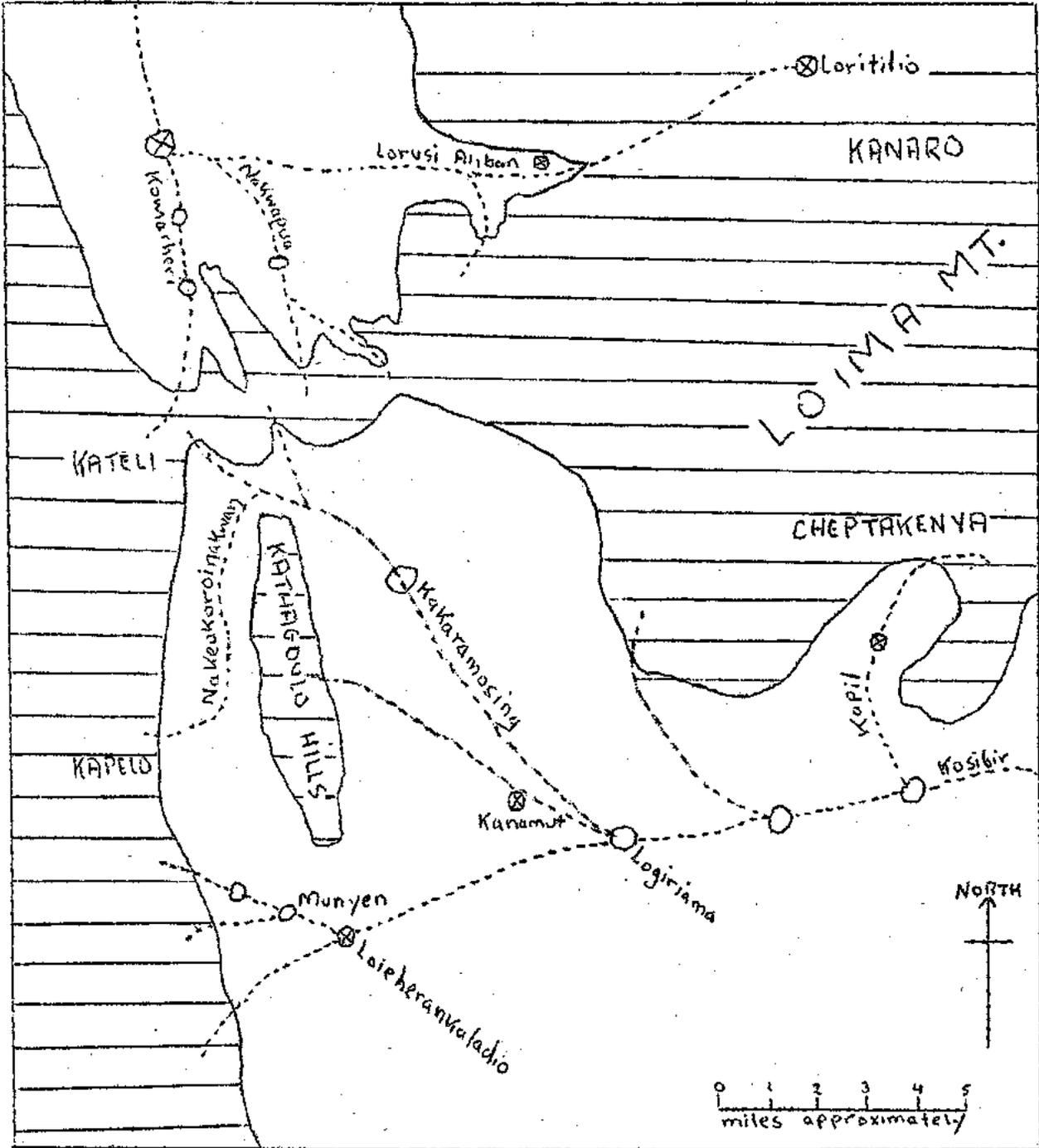
Primary
neighbourhood
at
Kakaramosing.

- 1) Homestead of AICHOW .
A few goats and camels.
Here lived his mother and two widows of his father.
 - 2) Homestead of LONGOMO.
A few goats and camels.
-

N.B. These last four homesteads were remnants of the former dry season goat homesteads, all of which had moved slightly (some no more than thirty yards) the better to accommodate themselves to wet season conditions of flowing water courses. The people told me that these old women did not like moving about a lot and so these special arrangements had been made to leave them where they were, with a minimum of stock from which to get milk, with almost no herding. There were one or two small girls with their fathers' mothers, but no boys or men.

SKETCH MAP NO. 7

SKETCH MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE MOVEMENTS AND DISPOSITIONS
OF A CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY



⊗ Permanent water point for stock.

○ Seasonal water point for stock.

Land over about 3,500 ft. is shaded in.

All places mentioned in the text of Appendix No.9, pages 276-280, are shown in this map.