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HEALING, CIVIL SOCIETY, AND COLONIAL CONQUEST

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AFRICANA

Healing, Civil Society, and Colonial Conquest

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Historians of tropical Africa have produced three quite separate bodies of scholarship about a social process, during the conquest period, that would more profitably be understood as unified. First of all, there is the history of conquest as a political process. The literature on this is a rich and full one. It shows that Europeans were unable to establish their rule without first conquering by force of arms; the founding of colonies was a violent process. African political leaders were unwilling to give up their sovereignty unless it was clear that they could not prevail against European force of arms. The Oxford History of East Africa surveys what was later to become the national map of Kenya to argue that if one marked down all the armed engagements, in the period of conquest, it would leave few blank spaces. The whole of Kenya had to be conquered, bit by bit. The same would be true for other colonies. The political literature of conquest asks why some polities submitted after a brief struggle while others fought on for decades, and why some people, having been conquered once, arose to fight again once colonial administration had already begun.

The second body of literature is the history of this period as one of plants and animals, crops and pests, and especially as a history of disease and of mortality. The problems were especially severe in eastern and equatorial Africa. According to one estimate, the southwestern corner of the Sudan had a population of a million and a half in 1882, which then declined to 400,000 by 1903. All through eastern and southern Africa, this was a period when rinderpest wiped out a majority of people's cattle -- often 85% or more. In Kenya, workers from the highlands, who had not been exposed to malaria, were forced to work as laborers in the coastal plain, where nearly fifteen per cent of them died every year. It was a period, also, of major environmental change, when bush infested with disease-carrying tsetse flies spread over huge areas of Tanzania and of Zambia. It is very strange, and very interesting, that the history of these processes, and the history of the politics of conquest, are almost always treated separately, as though they were happening to different groups of people, living on separate continents.

The third body of literature which ought to be a part of this story is the history of healing, which is itself a strangely fragmented one. Healing, as a transaction between a healer and an individual patient, is only rarely part of the African historian's subject matter. The history of conquest, however, is filled with the actions of spirit mediums and diviners, who are typically described as religio-political authorities. Because they are understood in this way, the history of religion during

the conquest period has been the subject of fascinating studies. When histories of conquest focus tightly on the transfer of sovereignty, however, they describe religious ~~leaders~~ authorities as leaders of a kind of reserve army, who rise up to continue the fight after kings and chiefs have been defeated. Asare Opoku writes, for example, in the UNESCO history of Africa, "Africans used their religion as a weapon to resist colonial rule and its threat to their values, and often relied on magic and the intervention of their ancestors and gods in their fight against colonial oppression."(514) John Hargreaves, in the Cambridge History of Africa, writes (referring to the Baule), "Faced with...bewildering upheavals, some Africans turned to traditional religion. As their political leadership was converted into an agency of...tax collecting, political initiative...passed largely from the chiefs to the diviners."

If we reexamine the history of spirit mediums and diviners, however, it is difficult to see why they are not also called healers, and why their history is not explored as part of the history of healing. In many parts of tropical Africa in the period just before colonial conquest healers worked at two levels to deal with misfortune and with threats to survival and reproduction. At the local level, they were concerned with the reproduction and survival of individual descent or kinship groups, or even of individual households -- healers were concerned with the infertility of an individual woman, or the illnesses of children in a household, or the suffering and pain

of an elderly man. But at a wider level some among them were also concerned with large-scale threats to survival and well-being: with epidemics and famines, with warfare, widespread diseases of cattle, and with witchcraft.

Among the Rendille pastoralists of northern Kenya, for example, late nineteenth century diviners dealt with the infertility of individual women and the illnesses of individual children, but they also advised on how large-scale cattle movements could be undertaken without losing cattle to trypanosomiasis; they told people which dry-season grasses were likely to be the richest in any given year, and they advised on threats of armed invasion. In Tanzania, Pare diviners of the Mbaga lineage travelled widely, dispensing medicines to prevent the damaging effects of locust invasions. Chwezi mediums in Uganda and Nyabingi mediums in Rwanda played double roles, treating individual illnesses, but also commenting on the use of natural resources, and on the quality of royal rule as bringing life, health, and prosperity or death, disease, and famine.

If we see spirit mediums and diviners in this light, then we can understand that historians have taken diviners or mediums and divided them in two. When a diviner treats an individual illness, she is called a healer; when she provides a remedy for collective misfortune, she is called a religious or political leader. In part, this is a result of the fact that in many African traditions public prosperity and widespread success in growing food are discussed in the language of health. Historians

who write in the European tradition treat prosperity and satiety as economic matters; they treat policies to achieve prosperity as political, and prayers for food as religious.

It is important, however, not to see African healers as public health officials in ethnic disguise. Matthew Schoffeleers, some years ago, argued that the societies of central Africa had ritually directed eco-systems, because the mediums in regional spirit cults had the authority to prohibit the kinds of farming or fishing that were thought to damage collective well-being. But some forms of control over the collective conditions of health were based on knowledge that many people shared -- that was not restricted to healers. To the west of Lake Victoria a great many people, at all social levels, shared the knowledge that wilderness regions infested with tsetse flies were dangerous to cattle; all these people, separately and collectively, worked to regulate the exposure of cattle to the dangerous regions. In Mozambique, among Mzila's Ngoni, the system for controlling exposure to tsetse was an affair of state; subjects were compelled to draw near to the king in order to clear brush and tsetse out of a central zone; the king then also established game reserves in which tsetse and wild mammals coexisted without the human intrusion that would spread disease to people and to cattle. In Shambaai, in East Africa, it was senior men in a descent group who were responsible for condemning to death the infant twins whose survival would threaten many lineage members with extinction. In any one society, control

over the collective conditions of health was in the hands of actors at many different social levels. Nevertheless, some authorities specialized in organizing the response to misfortune, whether that misfortune was individual or whether it was collective.

The implication of this is that even before colonial conquest, people within African societies had grounds on which to criticize and evaluate their political leaders, and a social basis from which to do it. They were able to evaluate the success of a political leader at establishing the basic conditions under which people could survive and prosper. They evaluated whether leaders made it possible for people to be fruitful and multiply, to feed themselves and to be free of illness. These issues did not only come up at the time of political struggle. They were with people always at a private level; and they were with people at a public level in years when famine threatened, when drought or warfare, locusts or disease, presented a challenge to survival. The criteria on which people could evaluate their political leaders and assess the public conditions of their survival were grounded in practical knowledge of childbirth or of the environment, of animal diseases, and of epidemics. On all these issues there were multiple bodies of knowledge, and there were lively debates. These forms of practical knowledge made it possible for people to judge and to criticize their leaders, and to take action against them if leaders posed a threat to survival.

Within the scope of this paper there is room for an extended discussion of only one region -- the frontier area to the north of Rwanda -- although the issues are ones of widespread applicability, from the Maji Maji War in Tanzania to the Women's War in southeastern Nigeria.

The northern part of Rwanda, the Kigezi district of southwestern Uganda, and the adjacent portions of Zaire formed a frontier region even in the years before colonial conquest. This was an area without kings and largely without hereditary chiefs, wedged between the kingdom of Rwanda to the south and the kingdom of Nkore to the east and northest. In Kigezi, the high mountains supported a dense population of farmers, mostly at altitudes above 6,500 feet. These farmers lived with the luxury of independence from pastoral over-rule. Just to the south they would have been dominated by Tuutsi cattle keepers; to the north and east they would have been subordinated to Hima cattle-keepers. But in Kigezi they were autonomous. This was a frontier region also in a second sense. It was a place to which refugees could flee to find land on which to live. When the Rwanda state expanded in the nineteenth century farmers who did not want to be subordinated fled to Kigezi; when slave trading reached a particularly violent stage in eastern Zaire, refugees found a home in Kigezi.

The inhabitants of this region drew on many different healing traditions. People who lived at a single settlement, and saw themselves as descended from a single ancestor, made

sacrifices to that ancestor when misfortune struck. In some particularly important descent groups -- often the descendants of early settlers -- the senior man, called the mwami w'enjura, performed rituals to control the rain, to bring rain in times of drought and to hold back the rain at flood times. Other healers included specialists in divining for sorcery, or treating sorcery, and also mediums who communicated with spirits known as Chwezi. Still others who practiced Ryangombe mediumship, bringing people into special relationships with spirits widely honored in the kingdom of Rwanda. Others practiced divination and sorcery through the use of spirit familiars. And still others were mediums of Nyabingi spirits. This is only a partial list of healers.

It is important to understand that Kigezi was part of an enormously diverse therapeutic field, and it was one that had no ethnic boundaries. Anthropologists of healing too often write as though a single ethnic group has a single coherent set of healing practices. That was rarely the case, and certainly not the case in Kigezi, where each set of healing practices had a wide regional distribution, and local people chose among them, exercising personal preference, or perhaps preference according to occupation or regional fashion.

Nyabingi mediumship is especially interesting in the current discussion because mediums of Nyabingi led the people of Kigezi, of northern Rwanda, and of eastern Zaire in a series of resistance battles against colonial rule that lasted for more

than thirty years. The exact number of mediums who led people into battle is not clear, but certainly there were well over a dozen mediums who fought to overturn colonial rule.

Nyabingi mediumship operated also at the level of household or village misfortune. Most observers said that women consulted Nyabingi when they were experiencing infertility, but infertility in this context is, quite likely, a shorthand for something else: for the ability to bear children and have those children thrive so that they live to become socially recognized progeny. One scholar, writing about an entirely different place, has called this natality: the ability to conceive children, to bear living children, and to have them survive into maturity -- to reproduce the social group. When men consulted Nyabingi mediums about the deaths of children, they were similarly concerned with the capacity of their social group to multiply. The records of the period show that men also consulted Nyabingi when cattle were dying, and I think that this can be understood within a similar frame, for cattle were used both as bridewealth for the group's reproduction, as payment for healing, and as gifts to bind clients so that the group could grow by a different set of means. If we see Nyabingi healing as the ritual of personal reproduction and group survival, as medicine for achieving the social purposes of natality and virility, then we can begin to make sense of many disparate ethnographic accounts of individual healing from the early twentieth century onwards.

In accounts from the 1920s and 1930s, we have descriptions

of women who experienced infertility or the illness of a child, or men who were worried that their children were not thriving or their cattle dying. If they dreamt that their afflictions came from Nyabingi or were told by a diviner that this was the cause, they would travel to an established medium, make an offering, and also build a small extra room on their houses, with an uruhimbi, a small table on which to make offerings to the spirit. Among these afflicted people, some developed reputations for having especially powerful ties with the spirit of a dead medium, or with Nyabingi herself. People would come to consult them. According to one description, the medium would remain inside the alcove and the sufferer just beyond it, and then the voice of Nyabingi, different from the medium's, would speak about the sources of affliction and the measures to be taken.

These healing elements are ignored in political interpretations of the resistance movements. Elizabeth Hopkins, for example, wrote about "the coalescence of traditionally diverse populations [in opposition] to European rule," and attributed this to "the political techniques of Nyabingi." Mediumship was important, in her account, only because it enabled mediums to "evoke supernatural forces to punish those who...failed to accede to Nyabingi's demands." Alison Des Forges was similarly interested in the skill of this movement's leaders at drawing together people of diverse origins, from every rank of the region's societies, and legitimizing coordinated political action.

I would argue, however, that the Nyabingi movements need to be understood within the context of an extended crisis of health, of reproduction, and of well-being. The author who has written about the history of health in this period has called it the story of a slow assassination. The disasters began when rinderpest wiped out more than half the cattle in 1890-1891. Then, in the late 1890s, Tuutsi cattle-keepers relied on the support of the German conquerors to move into parts of the region and to seize some of the cattle that remained. Smallpox epidemics swept through the area in 1892-3, 1907, and 1911. Jiggers were introduced for the first time in the 1890s. There were major famines in 1897-1898, 1900-1901, 1902-1903, 1904-1906, and 1911. When the Belgians took over Rwanda in World War I, they believed that the country's population had declined drastically under German rule. In most cases, the effects of disease and famine struck with special severity in the regions where Nyabingi mediums were to be especially active: the north of Rwanda, and the region stretching across the border into Kigezi in Uganda.

According to Kiga oral traditions, during the famine of Rwalanda, in 1897, people turned to their baami w'enjura -- to the headmen concerned with rain. These met together to consider how best to meet the unusual challenges and discovered that they were overwhelmed. This was the time when the first of the anti-European Nyabingi movements began to emerge. In a later period, people invoked Nyabingi by saying, "Lady of the great spirit,

come save, cure your people...save us from evil, from sickness, from the Europeans, from the Batutsi."

The district records indicate that the people of Kigezi attributed epidemics of influenza and cerebrospinal meningitis in 1919 to the Europeans, and once again called on Nyabingi to heal the land. The oral traditions about Nyabingi show that people thought of mediumship as a way of dealing with natural disasters and as a way of constructing a social context in which ordinary people could thrive. A White Father reported statements that when tremors shake the earth, you know that it is Nyabingi passing. One set of oral traditions about the original Nyabingi describes how her death led to earthquakes, epidemics, and violent storms. In another version the consequence of her death was extended drought. During the conquest period itself Muhumuza, the most powerful Nyabingi medium after the turn of the century, argued with her people that if they could unite to find the sacred drum Kalinga, then cattle would arise from beneath the ground. People joined in the search for the drum just after rinderpest had taken most of their cattle, and Tutsi from Rwanda had been seizing the few that were left. Cattle arising from beneath the ground would come at a time of great need, when survival and reproduction were threatened. One Nyabingi song says,

She is the Queen of our Land
....It is she who walks on the lotus blossoms in the wet lands
Without making the flowers move
It is she who makes all our work
Flower into abundance.

Traditions about Gahu, a major medium during this period, say that "She passed among the people and had them spread their supply of sorghum on mats in front of their houses. She inspected the harvest of ...rich and poor [a]like. She then took the grains from the mats of the rich and placed them on the mats of the poor." Other traditions say that Gahu first became a mugirwa, a medium, during a particularly severe famine, when baskets of food appeared outside her door each day, as a sign of her contact with the spirit.

The historical literature is shallow when it argues that the Nyabingi movements, and other resistance movements like it, can best be understood as political movements -- as defenses of sovereignty. Political autonomy counted, but the spirit mediums fought as part of a longer term process in which they aimed to heal misfortune, and to establish the social and ritual conditions under which their followers could survive, could eat to satiety, and could realize their ambitions to be honored parents and founders of lineages. Because healers participated on this basis, resistance and its defeat led to transformations in African healing.

The visual, verbal, and performative language of Nyabingi mediumship was richly evocative of reproduction and health. In Kigezi and northern Rwanda a great many metaphors of health and illness, satiety and famine, revolve around fluids that flow, and the association of illness and famine with blockage of flow. The king of Rwanda, for example, was responsible for rain, and was a

conduit of flow. Each morning he took a milky laxative to purge impurities because the health of his body was the health of his kingdom; when the kingdom was healthy, rain flowed freely from heaven to earth, and the flow passed through the king. Popularly practiced forms of sorcery blocked flow, and the purpose of healers was to restore fluidity to the body. Healthy flow was, of course, not only the flow of rain from sky to earth, but also the flow of cow's milk and mother's milk. In Kigezi the mwami w'enjura -- the ritual specialist in charge of rain -- rubbed open cuts on his body with herbs that induce lactation in cows, and then went out into the lake to ask the ancestors for rain.

In Rwandan myths, the archetypical bringer of death and famine was the woman whose flow was blocked: the small old woman or the young woman whose breasts did not flow with milk. People explained to missionaries in Kigezi that "women without breasts" -- I take this to be flat-chested women -- were sources of barrenness, presumably because people believed their milk could not flow. These women would never marry and informants claimed that they would at times be killed in order to preserve the fertility of others around them. According to the ritual codes of Rwanda's court, destructive and deadly floods could only be prevented if the king's ritualists captured a Twa woman without breasts, one who originated in Kigezi. They would sacrifice her beyond the northern limits of the kingdom, in the area that came to be called Kigezi. After her blood flowed on foreign soil

Rwanda itself, the kingdom proper, would prosper.

What makes this relevant is that oral traditions describe some of the most powerful Nyabingi mediums as being either old women with white hair or young women without breasts -- people who symbolized blockage, but then in some way became responsible for flow -- for the flow of the rains and for lactating cows. Images of ritual fertility and impurity are at the heart of Nyabingi mediumship.

My own study of these matters is at an early stage, and I am not sure that I fully understand the images of flow and blockage. But I believe that the associations between Nyabingi and images of fertility are so densely packed that they must shape our understanding of the history of conquest. The interventions of the mediums at the time of conquest had something very important to do with the flow of rains, the place of impurity in the land, and the ritual conditions that make survival and reproduction possible.

The political process by which Nyabingi mediums emerged as leaders was just as paradoxical, in a sense, just as fraught with contradictions, as the symbolism of Nyabingi mediumship. Kigezi was, you will remember, a region in which political authority was in the hands of descent group leaders. Men who were especially effective at building their personal wealth, at marrying many wives, and at attracting clients, built lineages that were especially strong. The men with the greatest ritual authority were those, like the bami w'enjura, who emerged from the oldest

descent groups.

The most powerful mediums, on the other hand, were outsiders who had no status within the descent politics of the region, and they were sometimes women in a region where authority was concentrated in the hands of men. The three most famous leaders of resistance -- Muhumuza, Ndungutse, and Ntokibiiri -- were all outsiders. Muhumuza was a woman who emerged during the most disastrous period of famine and disease, just before the turn of the century. No one knew where she came from. She was able to declare, at one stage, that she was a Rwandan noble, mother of the royal heir, and at another time that she was not merely a medium but Nyabingi herself. When she was captured by the British and taken off, leadership of the movement was taken over by Ndungutse, who was again a medium entirely without local roots, in a society where family counted for everything. And then Ntokibiiri, who led the resistance after 1915, was from an unknown family in the Congo, from among the Hunde people.

People in Kigezi say that Nyabingi is muyaga -- the wind, that circulates every place. Descent groups are rooted in the soil, associated with ancestors who rest beneath the soil, but Nyabingi is from everywhere and nowhere.

The fact that the most prominent mediums had no power base in descent politics meant, of course, that they could speak for everyone -- say what it was that needed to be said. Any descent group leader in Kigezi who tried to assume general leadership during the conquest period was known to be promoting the

interests of his own particular group. He could not assemble a following drawn from many groups. But Nyabingi mediums with no local roots could speak about the general interest, without suspicion that they were representing particular local interests.

The paradox here was that they once they announced their message, they could only build substantial followings by negotiating with the leaders of the descent groups. Muhumuza and Ntokiibiri both made numerous alliances, through negotiation, by arranging marriages between key followers, and through the blood pact, so that each emerged as the leader of a carefully constructed coalition. A medium could only attract a large following if she could speak from a position outside descent groups; but she could only move her followings to extended action by concluding alliances, and thereby undermining the moral authority with which she spoke.

In Kigezi, free floating leaders had the greatest freedom to emerge and to move about, like the wind, during the period of conquest, because it was a time of crisis when many people acknowledged the appeal of a strong message. Once the period of crisis was over, lineage leaders worked to reestablish their authority, and especially to capture the influence of Nyabingi. Whereas many of the mediums during the period of conquest were women who established contact with Nyabingi spontaneously, after the upheavals were over their authority passed on, in most cases, to their sons. Lineage heads and rainmaking headmen began to add the role of Nyabingi medium to the leadership roles they had

already. And in cases where women served as mediums, they often had to accept a form of mediumship in which their husbands sat beside them and spoke, also, in the name of the spirit.

The strange outcome was that when Nyabingi became assimilated to authority positions, its influence declined. In a sense the mediums lost authority when they gained authority; when they were no longer the wind, but rooted to the soil, they could no longer speak about the fertility of the land as a whole.

When mediumship was like the wind it passed from one person to another, to another, in mysterious ways that left the conquerors confused and stymied. In 1911, for example, Ndungutse, a man with no known roots, took over as the most powerful medium in Kigezi. A year later, in April 1912, the British succeeded in locating him and killing him. They reacted with confusion, however, when they learned that forces led by Ndungutse were still at large in Kigezi. They did not know whether they had in fact killed Ndungutse, or whether they had been mistaken. They did not understand, of course, that Ndungutse, like the wind, disappeared and then reappeared again, and that another person could be Ndungutse. In 1913 the British arrested the second Ndungutse and sent him off to exile, but as late as 1935 Ndungutse was still at large.

Spirit mediums played on this sense that Nyabingi, the wind, is everywhere and nowhere, and accepted that one Nyabingi would die and another would appear. Some spirit mediums, when cornered by colonial forces, committed suicide by jumping into Lake

Bunyonyi, where humans had long established contact with the spirits. The medium died knowing that another person would take over the spirit's role.

This process by which rootless mediums, often women, spoke out, is one that had a prior history in Kigezi. In the mid-nineteenth century, when Rwanda's king Rwabugiri was trying to conquer this area, Nyabingi mediums led the resistance against him. According to one oral tradition, the king's soldiers found the most important medium, killed her, and took her head back to the royal court. When they arrived in the king's presence, the head began to speak, reproaching Rwabugiri with his crime. As the story goes, the frightened king had his soldier executed for murdering her, and then let her territory go. We might take this as a description of the frustrations faced by conquerors who try to defeat enemies who are like the wind.

It appears that taking a medium's head was the only way Kigezi's rulers could know that they had killed the right person, for the British were driven to take the same measures against Ntokiibiri, a medium known for the hand on which he had only two fingers. When the British killed him they paraded the two-fingered hand around the district and also sent his head off to the British Museum.

Because Nyabingi was like the wind -- was not attached to any one place or group, not even attached to any one person's body -- spirit mediums were able to carve out for themselves a position from which to make a partially autonomous critique on

the way society was ordered, and on how those in positions of authority were making it easier or harder to achieve reproduction, fertility, and satiety.

It was intolerable to the colonial conquerors that ordinary Africans should have positions from which they could make an autonomous critique of the quality of rule and the conditions of everyday life. Men who held positions as chiefs or kings could be defeated or coopted, but mediums who stood apart from formal political positions were impossible to control. Bringing the Nyabingis mediums under control then became the preoccupation colonial regimes.

The initial measures taken against healers were done on an ad hoc basis. Nyabingi mediums were simply removed from the area with their retinues, taken to a different part of the country, and left to live out the rest of their lives away from home. Muhumuza, one of the most famous, lived in Uganda's capital until 1945. Others were executed on the spot, as was Ntokiibiri. Still others were jailed. A report written by a Catholic missionary lists 29 Nyabingi mediums in the Rwanda Uganda border area, of whom three were killed when first encountered, and eight died in colonial prisons.

The permanent solution, however, in all colonies was legal regulation -- in British colonies through anti-witchcraft ordinances. In the Tanzanian ordinance, the definition of witchcraft included "the purported possession of any occult power." In the Ugandan law, possession of any material object

which was an instrument of African medicine could be taken as evidence of witchcraft.

Under the law in most colonies, then, it was possible to convict virtually any African healer of witchcraft, and to send that person to jail for periods that varied -- one, or two, or five, or seven years. And yet the vast majority of therapeutic interventions were carried out, on an everyday basis, by African healers. This meant that colonial officers had complete discretion to prosecute healers. They left thousands of healers alone, and jailed a few. For the most part, healers were prosecuted only if they worked at the level of the larger community, virtually never if they engaged in treating illness on an individual basis.

The result, over the long term, was to reshape African healing so that the patient was now an individual, and in this way the practice of a healer resembled the private clinical practice of a European doctor. Many healers abandoned activity at a public level. Those who continued to work at the level of the wider community did so in ways that were hidden from view, and which were therefore difficult to legitimize.

The wars of conquest transformed African healing, and by doing so transformed civil society. Spirit mediums and other ritual authorities were persecuted, in the colonial period, because they had an autonomous position from which to criticize the social order, and because they were convincing enough in their critiques to move people to action.

The historical literature often casts religious authorities as pursuing the same goals as kings and chiefs, but by other means; it argues that they were defenders of sovereignty against the colonial conquerors. In the case of Nyabingi mediumship, and in many others like it, reading the record with some attention to cultural detail shows that the mediums' concerns were not narrowly focused on questions of political sovereignty. At the core of their concerns was an understanding that colonial actions threatened survival and reproduction. They, and their predecessors, had long been accustomed to defending reproduction when it was threatened by callous political leaders. Conquest threatened reproduction, and the mediums once again fought in its defense.

These mediums held authority within a sphere somewhat separate from the sphere of formal political authority -- a sphere in which ritual knowledge and practice were brought to bear to shape the conditions of survival. The colonizers took every possible measure to destroy this separate sphere, to re-shape both African healing and civil society. With spirit mediums and other healers out of the way, along with other semi-autonomous African intellectuals, the colonial authorities hoped to be the only ones capable of shaping the social conditions of survival. They did not entirely succeed in their project. Africans created new institutions and remade old ones, all with the purpose of re-shaping the social conditions of survival. But that is a later part of the story.