# THE NGONDE KINGDOM OF NORTHERN MALAWI

## c 1600-1895

by

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## ABSTRACT

This study of the Ngonde kingdom of northern Malawi is based mainly on oral traditions collected during the period July 1971 and May 1972, and on the records of the Free Church of Scotland in Edinburgh, and of the Foreign Office in the Public Record Office, London. The rise of the kingdom can be traced to the early seventeenth century, when the dynasty of the Kyungus settled on the Karonga plain. Contrary to what many commentators have written, there is evidence to show that before the arrival of the Kyungus, some influence was exercised over the inhabitants of the plain by the Simbowes. There is also evidence to show that the trade in ivory had no effect on the growth of the kingdom, and that the Kyungus did not take part in this trade before the late nineteenth century. After establishing themselves, the Kyungus emerged as divine rulers kept in seclusion, leaving the actual administration of the kingdom to the six hereditary counsellors, the makambala. Following the expansion of the kingdom in the eighteenth century, the Kyungus emerged from seclusion, and took an active part in the secular affairs of the state. As the number of princes eligible for the throne increased, they began to rival each other, and, in fact,

plunged the country into a civil war. The kingdom was saved from disaster by the Ngonde belief in the supreme powers of the Kyungu, which enabled him successfully to intervene and settle disputes. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Ngonde were under external pressure, particularly from the Nyakyusa and the Ngoni. With the migration of the Henga-Kamanga into Ungonde in about 1879, and the arrival of the Arab traders and the African Lakes Company three years later, the political situation became more tense, culminating in the Arab War of 1887-1894.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| A.L.C. | African Lakes Company |
| C.O. | Colonial Office |
| F.O. | Foreign Office |
| J.A.H. | Journal of African History |
| J.R.A.I. | Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute |
| L.M.S. | London Missionary Society |
| N.A.M. | National Archives of Malawi |
| N.L.S. | National Library of Scotland |
| P.R.G.S. | Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society |
| P.R.O. | Public Record Office |
| S.A.A.B. | South African Archaeological Bulletin |
| S.H.T.N.M. | Selected Historical Texts: Northern Malawi |
| U.M.C.A. | Universities Mission to Central Africa |

# NOTE ON PLACE NAMES

A number of place names have changed since Malawi became an independent nation in 1964. Among them are the following:

| Old name | New name |
|---|---|
| Florence Bay | Chitimba |
| Fort Hill | Chitipa |
| Deep Bay | Chilumba |
| Kota-Kota | Nkhota-Kota |
| Fort Johnston | Mangoche |
| Fort Manning | Mchinji |

# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

The Ngonde live on the north-western shores of Lake Malawi (see map I). They border on the north with the Nyakyusa of southern Tanzania, on the west with the Sukwa and the Lambya, on the south-west with the people of Wenya and Nthalile, and on the south with the Henga of Mwafulilwa, who are a branch of the Tumbuka-speaking peoples. Like other peoples of northern Malawi and the Songwe river area, the Ngonde are patrilineal and patrilocal, that is, descent passes through the male line, and on marriage a woman goes to live at the husband's home. However, they are more closely related to the Nyakyusa than to any other ethnic group in this region. Their language, KyaNgonde, is a dialect of KiNyakyusa, and like the Nyakyusa, they are great cattle keepers, though always in the context of a mixed farming economy.

Ungonde, as the country of the Ngonde is called, covers an area of approximately 850 square miles and has a population of over 60,000 people.[1] In pre-colonial and colonial times, the country fell under the jurisdiction of one ruler, the Kyungu,

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[1]This figure is based on the Malawi Population Census 1966: Final Report, p.2, table 2.

whose traditional headquarters were at Mbande, on the banks of the North Rukuru river, six miles upstream from its exit into the lake. Today, Ungonde is divided into two sections, the north under the Kilupulas, and the south under the Kyungus, and the two form part of the Karonga district of the northern province of Malawi.

Three factors influenced the decision to focus my study of the history of northern Malawi on the Ngonde. The first one is that little work has been done on the traditions of the Ngonde and their kingdom. Secondly, Ngonde traditions seem to be central to the surrounding area, in the sense that the traditions of some of the neighbouring peoples can be better understood by relating them to those of the Ngonde. Finally, I lived in the Karonga plain for eight years, and I am familiar with the people and the country. Our knowledge of the area has hitherto been dependent upon the work of anthropologists and amateur historians, the majority of whom have dwelt on aspects that have most interested them. There are also a number of books and memoirs written by missionaries and colonial administrators who worked in the region at the end of the nineteenth century and early this century.

The first of these books is D.R.Mackenzie's <u>The Spirit-</u>

Ridden Konde (London, 1925), which is, as the title suggests, a description of the customs and religion of the Ngonde as witnessed by the author at the time he wrote it. Mackenzie was a missionary, first in Rungwe district in southern Tanzania, and later in northern Malawi, during the first quarter of this century. He is reported by people who knew him to have been fluent in Kinyakyusa, Kyangonde, and CiTumbuka, and thoughhis Christian values tend to colour his presentation of the Nyakyusa and the Ngonde, it is evident that he came close to understanding the people about whom he was writing. His chapters on Ngonde religious beliefs, and on the Kyungu and his counsellors are useful, but his interpretations are unsophisticated, and therefore must be treated with great care. It is unfortunate that, well-placed as he was to do so, Mackenzie did not attempt to delve into the history of either the Nyakyusa or the Ngonde. Another criticism of the book is that factors that distinguish the Nyakyusa from the Ngonde are not always clearly stated, and it is necessary to be familiar with the little literature of the area that is available, or with the two peoples themselves, to be able to follow it without becoming confused.

More important is Saulos Nyirenda's lengthy article, 'History of the Tumbuka-Henga People', which was translated and edited by the Rev. T. Cullen Young, and subsequently published

in African Studies (Vol. V, No. 1) in 1930. Saulos Nyirenda was a boy when, around 1879, two groups of the Tumbuka-speaking peoples, the Henga and Kamanga, led by Kambondoma and Kanyoli, rebelled from the Ngoni, and sought refuge in the area south of the Ngonde kingdom. Together with other Tumbuka-speaking families, Nyirenda's family moved on to northern Ungonde where they made their new home. Nyirenda himself knew Mlozi, the famous Arab half-caste trader, and accompanied the British when they fought him. In 1897, he attended an acting teachers' school at Khondowe, then recently established as the headquarters of the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, and after teaching in mission schools for a number of years, he joined the African Trans-Continental Telegraph Company. In his 'History of the Tumbuka-Henga People', Nyirenda goes into some detail on the interaction of various northern Malawi peoples, particularly the Henga-Kamanga, Ngoni and the Ngonde during the 19th century. He also gives an account of the migration and settlement of the Henga in Ungonde, and describes the relationship between the Arabs and the Henga-Kamanga on the one hand, and the British and the Ngonde on the other, during the 1880s and the 1890s. The main weakness of the paper is that it looks at the history of the region from a Kamanga point of view. It is biased, exaggerating the power and influence of the Chikulamayembes,

the ruling dynasty of Nkamanga. Nyirenda's clan had risen to prominence with the help of the Chikulamayembes who, like the Nyirendas, were balowokas (those who immigrated to Malawi by crossing the lake). The Chikulamayembeship had been abolished after the Ngoni invasion of Nkamanga, and the movement for its revival was started by Henga immigrants in Karonga. Nyirenda was one of them, and the fact that the paper was written sometime between 1900 and 1909, at the very time that the movement for the re-establishment of the Chikulamayembeship was at its height, explains why it is so Kamanga-centred.

Nyirenda's bias towards the Kamanga is in some ways offset by Adventures in Nyasaland (London, 1891) written byL. Monteith Fotheringham, who was the agent of the African Lakes Company at its northern headquarters, Karonga, from 1884 until the early 1890s. Although this is primarily a diary of the struggle between the Europeans and the Arab traders, the author also describes the attitude of the Henga and the Ngonde towards the Arabs and the Europeans, and the relations between the two northern Malawi peoples. It is obvious from the book that Fotheringham liked the Ngonde, and distrusted the Henga for siding with the Arabs. It is a pity that, although he was well respected by the Ngonde, and although he seems to have understood local politics, Fotheringham's book does not present any picture of the life at the court

of the Kyungus. This may be attributed to the fact that he was preoccupied with the Arab question, and to the fact that for most of this time, the Ngonde were in disarray.

Also important is British Central Africa (London 1897) by Sir Harry Johnston. In this book Johnston discusses a variety of subjects, ranging from zoology to languages, but it is his chapters on history, missionaries, and slave trade, that are of some relevance to the present study.[2] In so far as the on-the-spot accounts of the daily events in the north during the 1880s and early 1890s are concerned, the book is not as detailed as Fotheringham's Adventures in Nyasaland. But as Johnston was the official representative of the British Government in British Central Africa, as Malawi was then called, it is interesting to see how he viewed the situation at the time, and how he wanted the future of the country tobe shaped. As he confesses, Johnston did not come into contact with the people of the north as much as he did with those in the south, and his description of some of the customs of the Ngonde, Lambya, and Nyiha, is generally derived from the information passed on to him by Europeans

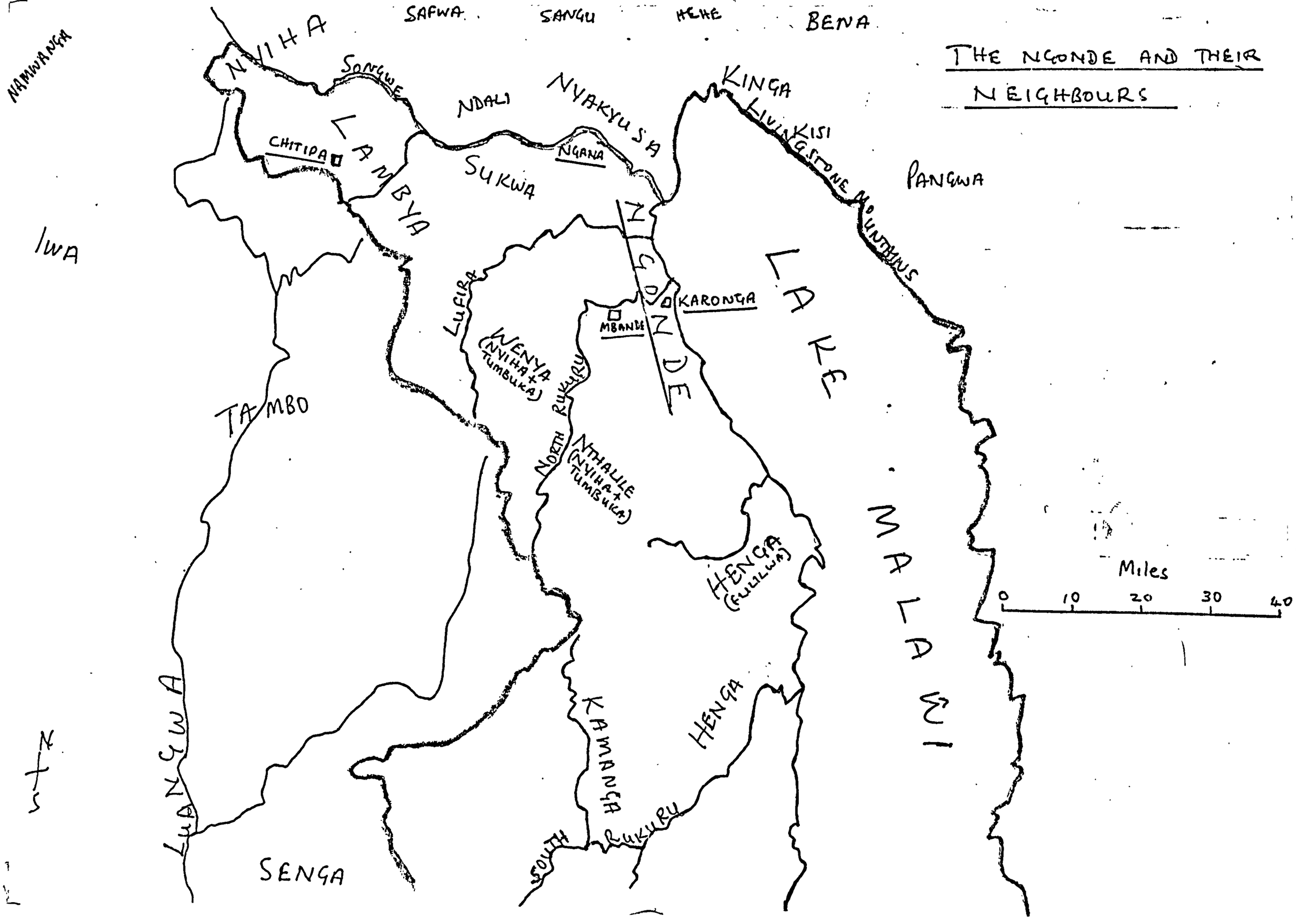
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[2]His history chapter is mainly on the activities of the Arabs in East Central Africa during the second millennium A.D., and on the settling of the Portuguese and other Europeans in Central and Southern Africa.

MAP I

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# THE NGONDE AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS



resident in the north end of Malawi. These included J. B. Yule an official of the British Administration, and Dr. David Kerr-Cross, a missionary who worked in Ulambya and Ungonde.[3]

Two other books, After Livingstone by Frederick Moir, and The Rise of Our East African Empire by F. D. Lugard have sections on northern Malawi. Frederick Moir was the joint manager of the African Lakes Company from 1878 to the late 1880s, and was instrumental in establishing the Company's station in Karonga. As a source, the book has two short chapters in which the relations between the African Lakes Company and various Nyakyusa princes are described. It also has chapters on the commercial transactions between the Company and the Arabs, and on the general conduct of the Arab War. But, like Fotheringham, Moir does not describe in any detail the political or social life of the Ngonde. As for Lugard, the sections in his book that deal with northern Malawi are useful as narratives of the campaign against the Arabs during the brief period (1888-1889) in which he was personally involved. They also provide an insight into his ideas on the expansion of British rule in Africa.

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[3]Neither Kerr-Cross nor Yule seem to have written their own memoirs.

Another notable contributor to our understanding of Malawi history is the Rev. T. Cullen Young. Young was a missionary in northern and central Malawi for over thirty years, and served at a number of stations including Karonga. He was one of the few missionaries of his time who took an active interest in studying African customs, traditions, and languages, and published several papers and books on these subjects, the most important of which is his Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples in the Northern Province of Nyasaland (London 1932). In this book Young considers three main themes: migration, settlement, and development of chieftainship in northern Malawi. His approach to the history of this area is very Kamanga-centred, largely because of what appears to be a heavy reliance on Saulos Nyirenda and other Henga-Kamanga informants like Andrew Nkhonjera. In the book the Tonga are depicted as an offshoot of the Chikulamayembe's Tumbuka-speaking peoples, an assertion that has since been disproved by Professor J. Van Velsen;[4] the Chikulamayembes are also said to have ruled the area between the Songwe in the north and Mwase Kasungu in the south, a fact that we know is not true. Very often Young arrived at historical conclusions

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4J. Van Velsen, 'Notes on the History of the Lakeside Tonga of Nyasaland', African Studies, 18, 3(1959), pp. 109-113.

without strong evidence. For example, his attempt to trace the origins of the Ngonde to the Lake Chad region was based on the fact that Kyali, the river that the Ngonde are reputed to have crossed during their journey from southern Tanzania, sounds like Chari, the river in north Central Africa.

The Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples has recently been reprinted by Frank Cass. Although it has the limitations that have just been pointed out, I would not go as far as a reviewer of the book has in suggesting that 'the history of northern Malawi has not been served well by the reappearance of Young's book'.[5] In his book Young asked prominent northern Malawians to write long commentaries on his presentation of the history of their particular areas. Thus, for Ungonde, Amon Mwakasungula, Mark Mwakabanga, and Patrick Mwamlima wrote a section called 'The Nkonde Point of View' in which they singled out statements from the main text with which they disagreed, and which they attempted to correct. Unfortunately, although this critical commentary contains some invaluable information on Ngonde history, the three authors failed to discuss certain issues that a student of Malawi history would today consider important. In the appendix of the book, Young attempted to

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[5] A review of the Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples by H. Leroy Vail appeared in African Studies, 30, I (1971).

to classify all clans in the main Tumbuka-speaking zone according to their country of origin. Although the Ngonde are not included in the scheme, it is, in my view, one of Young's greatest contributions to the history of Malawi. Indeed, the classification of the clans, and the commentary by Mwakasungula, Mwakabanga and Mwamlima, justify the inclusion of the Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples of the Northern Province of Nyasaland among the main sources of northern Malawi history.

Perhaps the best work on Ngonde traditional history is Godfrey Wilson's The Constitution of Ngonde published by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in 1939. Godfrey Wilson was an anthropologist by training, and while working in Unyakyusa he was struck by the fact that although the Nyakyusa and the Ngonde seem to belong to the same culture, their political systems were different. In Unyakyusa there were numerous autonomous principalities, whereas in Ungonde there was a single kingdom under the authority of one ruler, the Kyungu. So, in 1937 he crossed the Songwe for a brief stay in Ungonde to try to find out why this was the case. Thus, this work is a by-product of his research into the social systems of the Nyakyusa.

In The Constitution of Ngonde, Wilson traces the development of the kingdom from the arrival of the Kyungus in the Karonga plain to the early part of the reign of Peter Mwangalaba, who

became the Kyungu in 1933 after having been a successful employee of the African Lakes Company. Apart from Reuben Mwenifumbo, who was a leading historian in Ungonde, and whose ancestors were among the people whom the Kyungus found in Ungonde on their arrival in the country, Wilson, appears to have relied solely on the information given to him by Kyungu Peter and his counsellors. Consequently, this essay is basically a skeleton history of Ungonde from the eyes of the court of Mbande. Wilson does not discuss the situation in the Ngonde plain during the pre-Kyungu period, neither does he examine satisfactorily the establishment of the kingdom. Wilson attributes the rise of the Ngonde kingdom partly to the wealth of the Kyungus, which he says resulted from their control of the trade in ivory, an aspect of administration that he claims the Nyakyusa rulers did not enjoy. Yet he does not provide evidence to support this thesis. For instance, he does not say who traded with the Ngonde, the manner in which this commerce was carried out, and the period when it is supposed to have commenced. His list of Kyungus starts with Magemo who, on his own admission, was the seventh Kyungu. It may therefore be argued that little of use could be said about the role of the ivory trade in the emergence of the Ngonde kingdom when nothing was known about the reigns of the earlier Kyungus. Another criticism of <u>The Constitution of Ngonde</u> is that

the migration of the Kamanga and the Henga into Ungonde, in spite of its significance for the history of northern Malawi during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, is completely ignored.

An overall view of northern Malawi history is attempted by Monica Wilson in her Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor (Cape Town, 1958). This does not claim to be a definitive work, but an effort to draw the attention of serious scholars to the region between Lake Malawi and Lake Tanganyika. Her analysis of Ngonde history is very similar to that of her late husband; for the Tumbuka areas, she uses Young's Notes on the History as a source. The importance of the book is that for the first time, the Lambya and the Sukwa are considered, albeit only in passing. In another book, Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa (London 1959), Monica Wilson concentrated on the development of rituals associated with Nyakyusa rulers, and the Kyungus of Ungonde. As far as the latter are concerned, there is little new in the book, and most of what she discusses can be found in her Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor and in Godfrey Wilson's The Constitution of Ngonde. For Unyakyusa, Monica Wilson does not appear to be very critical in analysis of traditions, most of which seem to be telescoped, and as has recently been pointed out, she tends to view Nyakyusa history from the

situation she found in the 1930s.[6] For example, her portrayal of the chiefly cult of Mbasi as evil, and that of Kyala - which was comparatively new - as popular, is a reflection of the developments in the area during and after the establishment of German missions and German rule in southern Tanzania.[7]

My own study of Ngonde history has been pursued over four years. I started work on it in October 1970, when I registered as a research student at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, and between that period and June 1971, I read almost all the published literature on northern Malawi that was available in the United Kingdom. I also consulted various archival sources in Great Britain, starting with the material deposited in the Public Record Office, London. Here I went through the files in the F.O. 84 and F.O. 2 series which deal mainly with the suppression of slave trade during the last quarter of the 19th century, and with the establishment of colonial administration in British Central Africa. These files contain correspondence between the Foreign Office and its officials in British Central Africa, and also between the British nationals -

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[6] S.R.Charsley, The Princes of Nyakyusa, Nairobi, 1969, pp. 1-33.

[7] Marcia Wright, 'Nyakyusa Cults and Politics in the Later Nineteenth Century' in T.O.Ranger and Isaria Kimambo (eds.), The Historical Study of African Religion, London, 1972, pp. 154-159.

such as the employees of the African Lakes Company and the Scottish missionaries - in the field, and Consuls and Government officials at Mozambique and Zomba. The observations of some of the correspondents on the political situation in northern Malawi during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, not only gives us a picture of the area at that time, but also makes it possible to speculate on the state of affairs in the distant past More important, however, the information from these records was of assistance in working out the broad and specific questions to ask my informants in the field.

I also visited Edinburgh to study the archives of the Church of Scotland deposited in the Natinnal Library of Scotland. These comprise mostly the correspondence between the Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland and the missionaries stationed at various places in the north Nyasa region, and also between the missionaries and the Rev. Dr. Laws, who was for a long time the resident head of the Nyassa mission. I was particularly interested in the records of the Ncherenje (Mweniwanda) station, which is located in Ulambya, sixty-five miles west of Karonga, and which was established in 1882 to cater for what was then called north Nyasa. As this was the first attempt to make real contact with the people west of the northernshores of Lake Malawi, I had hoped to find detailed descriptions by the

first missionaries of the people amongst whom they worked. In fact, their observations proved to be much less detailed than I had hoped. The missionaries seem to have been more concerned with tackling problems - mainly of health, communication, and language - which beset them on their arrival, than with investigating the history and ethnography of the area. Nevertheless, some of the correspondence and reports throw somelight on the situation in the Chitipa uplands during the 1880s and 1890s.

While in Edinburgh I took the opportunity of reading the diaries, correspondence, and personal papers of the Rev. Dr. Laws and other Scotsmen who were involved in north Nyasa. These documents are in the custody of the University of Edinburgh library, and I am grateful to Professor George Shepperson of the Department of History for guiding me to them.[8] In addition to the sources in Edinburgh and the Public Record Office, I searched the archives of the London Missionary Society in Livingstone House, London, for material relating to northern Malawi. This occurred mainly in the correspondence between the L.M.S. missionaries based in the Lake Tanganyika area and their counterparts

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[8]Professor Shepperson has in his possession a collection of Livingstonia papers which he kindly made available to me.

in the Nyasa region.[9] Details of all the archival sources that I have consulted are included in the bibliography.

These written sources and archival records widened my background knowledge of the history of Malawi, and helped me to formulate questions to ask my informants in the field. As part of the preparation for the ten months intensive field work, I also studied the methods of researches carried out elsewhere in Africa into various aspects of pre-European history.[10] These studies made me more aware of the methodological problems that I was likely to encounter in the field.

In Ungonde, as in other societies with a centralised political structure, traditions of the rulers are handed down from one generation to another in a more formal manner than those of the commoners. Every Kyungu is required to know the history of the royal family, and normally he learns it from his father, his uncles, and the court officials called the makambala. There are no persons specially charged with the task of learning and reciting traditions of the kingdom, neither are there any esoteric groups or secret societies such as the Nyau of the Chewa which, among other functions, seek to preserve tradition. However, the makambala (singular, likambala), whose offices are hereditary, are

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[9] Most of the L.M.S. records relating to East and Central Africa have now been transferred to the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

[10] For example, Jan Vansina, Oral Traditions: A Study in Historical

generally regarded as the custodians of tradition, and are often consulted by members of the royal family on details of the history of the Ngonde kingdom. They are collectively the principal adjudicators in the kingdom, and their judgement of cases is often based on tradition and historical precedent. Their own history is very much tied up with that of the Kyungus, and in the main there is no conflict between their traditions and those of the royalty.

Commoner clans also have a committed interest in preserving their traditions. It is important for members of a clan to know the details of how their ancestors came to settle in a particular area in case their presence is challenged by their neighbours, or by higher political authorities such as village headmen. Some people take the trouble to learn their traditions for the sake of doing it. Others do it so as to be able to proudly tell their friends about their ancestry. Every clan has a recognized head who holds a title that passes on from one person to another. The head of a clan settles disputes between members of his clan, and also represents and protects the interests of his followers whenever

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Methodology, London, 1965; D.W.Cohen, The Historical Tradition of Busoga, London, 1972; S.R.Karugire, A History of the Kingdom of Nkole in Western Uganda to 1896, London, 1971; I.N.Kimambo, A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania, Nairobi, 1969; B.A. Ogot, A History of the Southern Luo: Migration and Settlement, Nairobi, 1967; Mutumba Mainga, Bulozi Under the Luyana Kings, London, 1973.

they are attacked by other people. He is also expected to know the tradition of the clan and to pass it on to his heir. Traditions are handed down through generations in various other ways such as informal family and village gatherings where young men and women listen to older people narrating stories of thepast. Details of past historical events are also learned during other social occasions like beer parties, where very often arguments on varying subjects arise and are hammered out.

Northern Malawi is an area within which many migrations of clans and small groups of people have taken place, resulting in the development of a complex heterogenous population pattern. Because of this, dependence solely upon traditions of the royal lineages would be quite insufficient. Thus, although I noted the few names that were mentioned in some of the written sources, I kept my list of informants open, so that it should be as broad as possible. Indeed, one of the first things that I did on my arrival in Malawi was to compile a list of clans living at the north end of Lake Malawi, and when I reached Karonga I made a more detailed survey of the clans, and broadened my list of prospective informants. During the course of the field work, more names were suggested. These were then noted, their descendants and relatives traced, and where possible, interviewed.

I did not have to learn any of the local languages, and neither did I require an interpreter because besides my own CiLambya and related languages, I speak fluent KyaNgonde, and CiTumbuka. However, I needed someone to introduce me to the people, and to assist me in settling down and working out a programme. But as I did not have enough money to engage a full-time research assistant, I decided to make use of local primary school teachers who were willing to help me during their spare time. I found them very useful, as they were quick to realize what I was trying to do, and to appreciate some of the problems involved in research of this nature. Most of them were keen to learn more about their own history, and as in many parts of East and Central Africa, teachers command respect, are always up-to-date with local developments, and are thus in a position to advise one on how to approach particular issues, especially the more sensitive ones.

Throughout my field work, I used cassette recorders for they are light, sturdy, and easy to operate. The only problem with them is that should the tape break, it is irreparable and the interview is thus lost. This happened to me once, but fortunately the text of the interview was relatively unimportant, and so the loss incurred was slight. My informants were not suspicious of the cassette recorder, rather they were amused by it, and in almost all cases I played back part of the recording. This practice

was useful because very often new questions arose out of the re-play, thus giving us the chance to go over some of the points that had been overlooked during the interview itself.

My questions fell into five broad subjects; clan history, general history, trade, religion, and specific historical events. I usually began by asking questions concerning the origins of the informant's clan, its first home, reasons for leaving the original home, the routes taken by the ancestors before settling in the area presently occupied, names of families found in the area, praise names of the clan, and finally, the family tree. As I was interested in establishing trading patterns in the re-gion, I also asked questions about trade, trade items, trade routes, peoples with whom their ancestors traded, and methods of trade. I then inquired about indigenous religion, particularly, ritual centres, leaders of rituals, occasions when they prayed and offered sacrifices, types of sacrifices, bodies or spirits to whom these sacrifices were offered, and the role of rulers in religious matters. There were some informants who could narrate their clan history very well, but who knew nothing about religion or trade. There were others who did not know their family tradition as well as could have been expected, but who were well informed on specific subjects and particular events. It was easy to be discouraged by informants in this category after the

first five minutes of the interview and to terminate it quickly, but I learned that with patience and good guidance it was possible to acquire some useful information even from such informants. I also discovered that there was not always a useful response to broad questioning, and that often it was necessary to guide the discussion, while carefully avoiding leading questions. In fact I had to adopt this approach when dealing with almost all informants who were over eighty years old, many of whom were incoherent (and sometimes half senile) and yet in possession of a wealth of information about the past. There was another category of informants whose knowledge of the 'general history of their areas was good, and as time went on, I made a point of spending more time with them. On the whole interviews lasted between one hour, and two and a half hours.

I was aware that occasionally there was dissension between members of the same clan, and that where this was the case, traditions were likely to be blurred and even contradictory. Whenever such a situation was detected, I interviewed more than two members of a clan so as to obtain a balanced version of its tradition. Deliberate attempts to present a biased history of minor clans, or indeed, of segments of their own lineage, is common among powerful families, particularly those who belong to the ruling groups. It was primarily because of this that I made a very serious

effort to interview representatives of different houses of the ruling dynasties. Although the main traditions of the royal lineage tended to agree, there were, quite often, conflicting versions. It was not unusual to hear statements such as, 'our house is senior, not A's', or, 'that great ruler X gave us a bigger portion of this land, but the Ys have, through deceit, managed to claim most of it now'. Though trivial and sometimes comic, such differences of opinion were useful for they encouraged me to explore more.

Before starting the field work, I had two major fears. The first one was that, as a person brought up in the area, I would not be taken seriously. The other was that elderly people would not discuss their past with a young man willingly, but as it happened, my fears were groundless, and everyone proved friendly and co-operative. The important thing for me was to explain what I was trying to do and how I was approaching it. Informants were happy to narrate their traditions and to have them recorded. It was not uncommon for an individual to say to me, 'Oh yes, this is what I have been waiting for. My family's history is going to die'. On occasions, people, who for various reasons, thought that I should interview them, approached me themselves and invited me to their homes. I personally made all the appointments,usually

two or three days before the interview. This helped to establish confidence between the informant and myself, and also gave us the opportunity of getting a rough idea of what to expect from each other. The only problem with such appointments was that whenever I returned to the informant's home, I often found gathered around him a group of relations and neighbours, a factor that did not always make the task of conducting the discussions any easier. During group interviews some people tended to dominate the discussion even when they did not know much about their traditions, and in some cases, informants were not free to discuss their clans' traditions for fear of offending their relations and neighbours. However, it is fair to point out that some group interviews proved useful, for they gave me a chance to meet new good informants, and to arrange private interviews with them. I also did not mind holding group discussions aimed at going over some of the topics that had been raised in other interviews. For example, on the 9th of October, 1971, I interviewed Headman Walter Mwambanya Mwafongo who is a leading historian in Ungonde, and also a member of the House of Ngana. On the following day, I met a group of eight elders, including Mwambanya Mwafongo, to discuss various issues that he, and other informants I had interviewed in the previous three weeks, had raised. During the course of this noisy, lively, and long discussion, new and valuable information came to light.

Thus, although I was inclined to discourage group interviews, I did not avoid them completely. I should also mention that I never paid my informants because I did not want to tempt them into fabricating stories for financial gain. Fortunately, only one informant asked for money, and when I refused to pay him, he explained apologetically that he did not want to embarrass his family, but that he was forced to do it because he was in financial difficulties. Normally, I voluntarily gave presents - usually salt, tea, and sugar - to old and helpless informants, two or three days after the interview. As these gifts were not always expected, I found that many people appreciated the fact that I was giving them to show my gratitude for their hospitality, courtesy, and the historical information they had provided.

Having read all the written sources before commencing field research, I was able to detect any element in the texts which came from the published literature. On the whole, traditions from the north end of Malawi have not been 'contaminated' by written works and thus can be relied upon as viable historical sources. Godfrey Wilson's The Constitution of Ngonde, and Mackenzie's The Spirit-Ridden Konde are almost unknown in Ungonde. The only printed work which seems to have had some influence, albeit a minor one, is Young's Notes on the History of Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples

of Northern Province of Nyasaland. The Bible also appears to have affected the way some northern Malawians view their past. For instance, among the many popular legends that explain the origins of the Kyungus is one that traces their ancestors to Iraq, from where they are said to have emigrated to Egypt, then to Mahenge which is on the borders of Uhehe and Ubena in Tanzania, and finally to Ukinga. Equally curious is the version that says that the first Kyungus came from the lands across the Red Sea and that when one day he saw smoke coming out of Egypt, he decided to find out what was happening. So he took his royal stick, smeared it with remains of the flying serpent, nyifwila, hit the sea with it, and since, according to Ngonde belief this snake and water are incompatible, the sea was divided into two, thus making it possible for the Kyungu and party to migrate to Egypt where they lived for some time before moving on to Uganda and Ukinga.[11]

Although these accounts are widely accepted in Ungonde today, there is no evidence to show that they are authentic. They are recent additions to Ngonde mythology, and seem to have been influenced by the teachings of the Bible. The reference to the

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[11]For example, Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71. SHTNM, I, p.284; SHTNM, 12, p.431.

'hitting' of the lake with a stick and to the subsequent separation of the waters is almost certainly derived from the Biblical story of the crossing of the Red Sea by Moses and his countrymen. However, these tales are symbolic and serve a purpose in Ngonde society, and hence deserve some consideration. They help to emphasise, and to build up the greatness and extraordinary powers that the past Kyungus are supposed to have possessed. It is interesting to note how the nyifwila has been incorporated into the story, for as we shall see, this snake is in Ngonde rituals itself associated with power. Attempts to trace the origins of the Kyungus to the north-east may also be due to the fact that northern Malawians who went to mission schools early this century, were taught about the Hamitic origins of the Bantu-speaking peoples because this was the accepted theory at the time.[12] Informants who live in the remote parts of the region and who never went to school are not aware of any of these theories. So with critical judgement and selection, the data collected from the field can be as useful as any evidence that historians normally depend upon.

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[12]For example, Gilbert Mwampote Sichali (see Biographical Notes of Informants) and the late Rev. Amon Mwakasungula (the author of Ndaga Scotland).

While in Malawi, I spent one and a half months working in the National Archives of Malawi in Zomba. I was interested mainly in the District Note Books, particularly the North Nyasa District Note Book.[13] These books contain reports on various topics, including traditional history, recorded by early district officers, and in one of them I found two short sections, each four pages long, on the customs and traditional history of the Ngonde. The traditional histories, probably recorded in the 1920s, are no more than lists of 19th century Kyungus and their children. But though they are not detailed, and the informants are not cited, they are, so far as it is known, the first recorded lists of Ngonde rulers. I then went through all the monthly, quarterly, half yearly, and annual reports from the district officers at Karonga between 1912 and 1932 to find out if they contained anything that might throw more light on the history of Ungonde. Those reports which contained cases of land disputes and other such matters, often included historical background to the conflicts,

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[13] The North Nyasa District comprised of the present Karonga, Chitipa, and most of Rumpi districts. The headquarters of the district were at Karonga.

and in this way they were a useful source of information. I also looked at the material from the Livingstonia Mission headquarters at Khondowe which is housed in the National Archives of Malawi. This material, which was not filed and is in an appalling condition, is composed mostly of correspondence between the Church of Scotland missionaries in old Nyasaland, minutes of local Kirk committees, and school records. In the main it covers the period after 1895, and was not of immediate use to me.

I worked in the National Archives after spending six months collecting oral testimonies from informants in northern Malawi. Ideally, it would have been preferable to have read the material in the National Archives before starting on the oral interviews. This would have broadened further my background knowledge and would probably have affected the shape of some of my questions. However, there were some advantages in following the programme that I did, that is, in conducting interviews for six months, then taking a break for six weeks, and spending the last two months in the field again. First, it enabled me to take stock of my work, and to make a detailed plan of how I was going to effectively spend the remaining period in the field. Secondly, it gave me an opportunity to transcribe most of the interviews from the tapes, to compare the different oral testimonies and to

note down all the discrepancies between them, and also to discover matters that I had not discussed with my informants. Finally, it enabled me to compare the oral testimonies with the material from the National Archives of Malawi, and to formulate new questions to ask my informants - particularly the more knowledgeable ones - during the last two months of field research.

It must be stressed that the history of Ungonde cannot be considered in isolation, and that only byplacing it within a wider context of the reginn can we understand the factors that influenced particular developments in the kingdom. To achieve this I carried out interviews in the neighbouring areas, Misuku, Chilumba (Mwafulilwa's territory), Wenya, and Nthalile. The total number of families interviewed throughout my field work is 163. These break into the following: Ungonde, 80; Misuku, 14; Ulambya, 32; Wenya, 16; Nthalile, 11; Chilumba, 9. As just pointed out, most of the interviews have been transcribed from the tapes, and have already been translated from the vernacular language into English. I have selected seventeen testimonies to accompany this thesis, and these will henceforth be referred to as the Selected Historical Texts: Northern Malawi (SHTNM).[14] The selected texts will be

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[14]Northern Malawi here refers to the old North Nyasa District, i.e. Karonga, Chitipa, and part of Rumpi districts.

numbered from 1 to 17, and whenever any of them is quoted or cited, it will be referred to as SHTNM, followed by the number of the text. For example, whenever Gilbert Mwampote Sichali's text - which is the first on the list - is cited, it will be referred to as SHTNM, 1. I have also compiled biographical notes of most of my principal informants, particularly those whose texts I have quoted, and these too will be found in the appendix.[15] But whenever the testimonies not included in the selected texts are cited, the informant's name and the date of the interview will be quoted thus, Headman Mwangalaba, 28.5.71, or, Petros N'gambi Mwenemlembe, 23.4.72.

The only manuscript history written in Kyangonde that I was able to find was Ndaga Scotland (Thank You Scotland), by the late Rev. Amon Mwakasungula, and at present in possession of B. Pachai of the University of Malawi. The manuscript contains some valuable information on the history and culture of the Ngonde, but as the title suggests, it deals mainly with the activities of the Scottish missionaries and the African Lakes Company, and how they are supposed to have protected the Ngonde from unfriendly

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[15] A more complete list ofmy informants will also be included in the appendix.

people such as the Ngoni, Arabs, and Swahili. The manuscript , which would appear to have been completed after July 1964, seems to be a response to a call from the elderly Ngonde elite to do for the Ngonde what Yesaya Mlonyeni Chibambo has done for the northern Ngoni in My Ngoni of Nyasaland (London,1942), and what Samuel Josia Nthara has done for the Chewa in Mbiri ya Achewa (Zomba, 1945). But Mwakasungula's work does not reach the standards of either of the two books, primarily because, unlike Chibambo and Nthara, he appears to be more concerned with describing Ungonde in the period after the arrival of the Europeans, and not pure traditional history. Many dates, and names of individual Europeans, most of which can be checked in books and archival records, are wrong and misleading. This is unfortunately because it is said that he was one of the best Ngonde historians of his time.

By the end of my field work, in May 1972, I had collected enough data from which to write a thesis. The data was still disorganized and required to be put in proper order before I could start to analyse it. On my return to London, I went through all the transcribed testimonies, and where necessary, listened to the tapes again to make sure that the transcriptions were correct. I then arranged the text according to areas and ethnic

groups, and proceeded to make notes from the texts, selecting the material that I was going to use in writing. The first major problem of analysis was to place the events that are described in the texts in proper historical context. In other words, I had to work out a chronology of the area, and to establish definite connections between these events and the periods in Ngonde history during which they occurred.

Unlike some regions of Africa such as Zimbabwe and Benin, there are no early Arab or European accounts which refer to northern Malawi, and which can be used in reconstructing a chronology of the area.[16] Consequently, one has to apply other methods, and in the case of Ungonde, the most reliable is the succession of the rulers, the Kyungus. I reconstructed a list of Kyungus based mainly on the many genealogies supplied by my informants, and this involved, among other things, studying the succession system, and the relations between the Kyungus and their contemporaries in

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[16] J.Frederic Elton, Travels and Researches Among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa, London, 1879, pp. 314-324. Elton and party (which included H.B.Cotterril, the editor of Travel and Researches) were the first known travellers to pams through northern Malawi and to record details of their journey, and even then there is little information in their diaries that can aid one to reconstruct a chronology of the Ngonde.

the neighbouring principalities. Since any attempt to work out a chronology of the Ngonde will mean going into details of the history of the area, thus causing confusion to the reader, a separate section discussing the problems and methods involved in the exercise will be found in Appendix A. At this stage it is enough to present the reconstructed list of Kyungus (see below), and a broad periodization of Ngonde history.

There are five main chronological divisions in the history of Ungonde. The first phase starts with the time when

1. Syola
2. Kiposa
3. Mwakalosi
4. Magemo
5. Kasyombe
6. Mwenengubwe
7. Mwangonde
8. Mwakasungula
9. Mwambelo
10. Gwasapasi
11. Mwafongo
12. Mwaulambo
13. Mwakabanga I
14. Mwangalaba I
15. Peter (Mwangalaba II)

(Reconstructed list of Ngonde rulers. For details see Appendix A)

the plain was inhabited by the Early Iron Age cultures around 300 A.D. and ends with the period of the Simbowes, which may be dated to the sixteenth century. The second period begins with the arrival, some time between the end of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, of the Kyungus and the establishment of the kingdom of Ngonde. It ends with the death of Magemo who, it seems, was the fourth Kyungu, and reigned some time in the early part of the eighteenth century. The third period starts with Magemo's successor, Kasyombe, and ends with the death of Kyungu Mwangonde in about 1840. This era saw the establishment of the House of Ngana by Kasyombe, the result of which was the expansion of the kingdom; it is also marked by internal strife and by the attempts of the Kyungus effectively to expand their influence in the kingdom. Between 1840 and 1894, the internal strife continued and was worsened by external threats, such as the Ngoni invasions of the early1840s. This period is also marked by the coming of the Europeans to northern Malawi and the establishment of colonial administration. The accession to the Ngonde throne of Mwakabanga I in 1894, marks the beginning of the fifth phase of Ngonde history, but falls outside the scope of this study.

## Chapter II

## THE ENVIRONMENT AND THE PEOPLING OF NORTHERN MALAWI

The history of northern Malawi cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of its environment. This is true for this region of Africa as it is for other parts of the world. Indeed, there is sufficient evidence of its impact on the modes of life of many peoples and on the development of political and social institutions. The term environment is used here in its widest sense to include terrain, soils, climate, vegetation, drainage system, and the relation of an area to its immediate surroundings. The choice of the words 'influence' and 'impact' is deliberate and calls attention to the fact that the environment is just one of the several factors that affect the course of man's history.[1]

Research elsewhere in Africa has amply demonstrated the importance of the environmental factor. Thus, in his study of the history of western Kenya, Ogot has shown how variations in geography influenced the migration routes and pattern of settlement

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[1]Geographical determinists would argue that the environment is the sole determining factor in man's life. They do not seem to consider his ability to modify or even change part of the environment by such schemes as irrigation. For a detailed study of this subject, see, W.G.East, The GeographyBehind History, London, pp. 1-15; S.R.Eyre and G.R.Jones, Geography as Human Ecology, London, 1966, pp. 13-30.

of the Luo.[2] Similarly, Kimambo has described how physical variations within Upare affected the way different sections of the Pare developed, and how they as a group differed from their neighbours such as the Sambaa.[3] In northern Malawi today the most densely populated area is Karonga lakeshore plain, particularly the section that is inhabited by the Ngonde. It is also in this area that some centuries ago, there emerged a kingdom, that of Ungonde, with characteristics that distinguished it from any of its neighbours, including the numerous chiefdoms of the Nyakyusa to the north. Though not much bigger in size, the upland district of Chitipa that is to the west of Ungonde has, in contrast, a sparser population and has been part of five different states in the past. The environment would appear to be one of the major factors accounting for these differences. There is, therefore, a strong case for examining its impact on the history of the region.[4]

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[2] B.A.Ogot, History of the Southern Luo, pp. 131-134.

[3] I.N.Kimambo, A Political History of the Pare of Tanzania c1500-1900, pp. 13-25.

[4] For an examination of the environment on Malawi as a whole, see S.Agnew, 'Environment and History: the Malawi Setting' in B.Pachai (ed.), The Early History of Malawi, pp. 28-48.

The Karonga lakeshore plain is part of the Malawi Rift Valley and lies at an altitude of 1,550 to 2,000 feet above sea level. It is about seventy miles long, about four to five miles wide in the north and centre, and about 12 miles wide in the south. It is shaped like a funnel, and is flanked in the south by the Chombe and Fulilwa mountains, and along the west by the Plateau and hills of the Upper Rufira and Misuku, all of which have heights ranging between 4,000 and 7,000 feet. The slopes of these mountains are steep, rugged, and interrupted by deep valleys, which are not suitable for human habitation.[5]

In the past these highlands were an obstacle to migration out of the plains and they tended to isolate the inhabitants of the lakeshore from those in the uplands. This is confirmed by oral traditions of the Ngonde, Sukwa, and Lambya which, while indicating some migration of people towards the lakeshore, do not suggest any outflow into the mountains. There is in fact still today a strong inclination among the lakeshore peoples of northern Malawi to confine themselves to their habitat and not to move out into the highlands. The opposite is the case with mountain folk who seem to

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[5] A. Young and P. Brown, The Physical Environment of Northern Nyasaland with Special Reference to Soils and Agriculture, Zomba, 1962, p.120.

adjust themselves easily to varied conditions. The reluctance of the Ngonde to move into the uplands meant that they had to make maximum use of the land available to them in the lowlands. This, in turn, affected the course of political development in the region by, for example, restricting the fissiparous tendencies that are a common feature of Nyakyusa society. Indeed, limited land seems to have forced the Ngonde gradually to abandon ubusoka, the coming out ritual once practised north and south of the Songwe, which took place every generation, and which involved, among other things, the division of property by the rulers between their sons. The amount of land that a Kyungu could aportion his children was finite. Although it was possible for them to expand northwards across the Songwe, they had to be prepared to contend with a southward advancement of the Nyakyusa. In fact one such attempt was made in the 18th century by Mwenitete, an heir to the throne, who after renouncing it, escaped to Unyakyusa and settled there. After an involvement in a local feud, his children were expelled and forced to return to Ungonde where they were allotted a small piece of land.[6]

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[6] SHTNM, 15, p.456/458; S.R.Charsley, The Princes of Nyakyusa, p.34. Charsley seems to confuse this incident with a similar event in which another Ngonde prince, Mwambeta Mwakasungula, who was a close relation of the Mwenitetes, fought a number of Nyakyusa princes. This part of Ngonde history is fully discussed in Chapter IV.

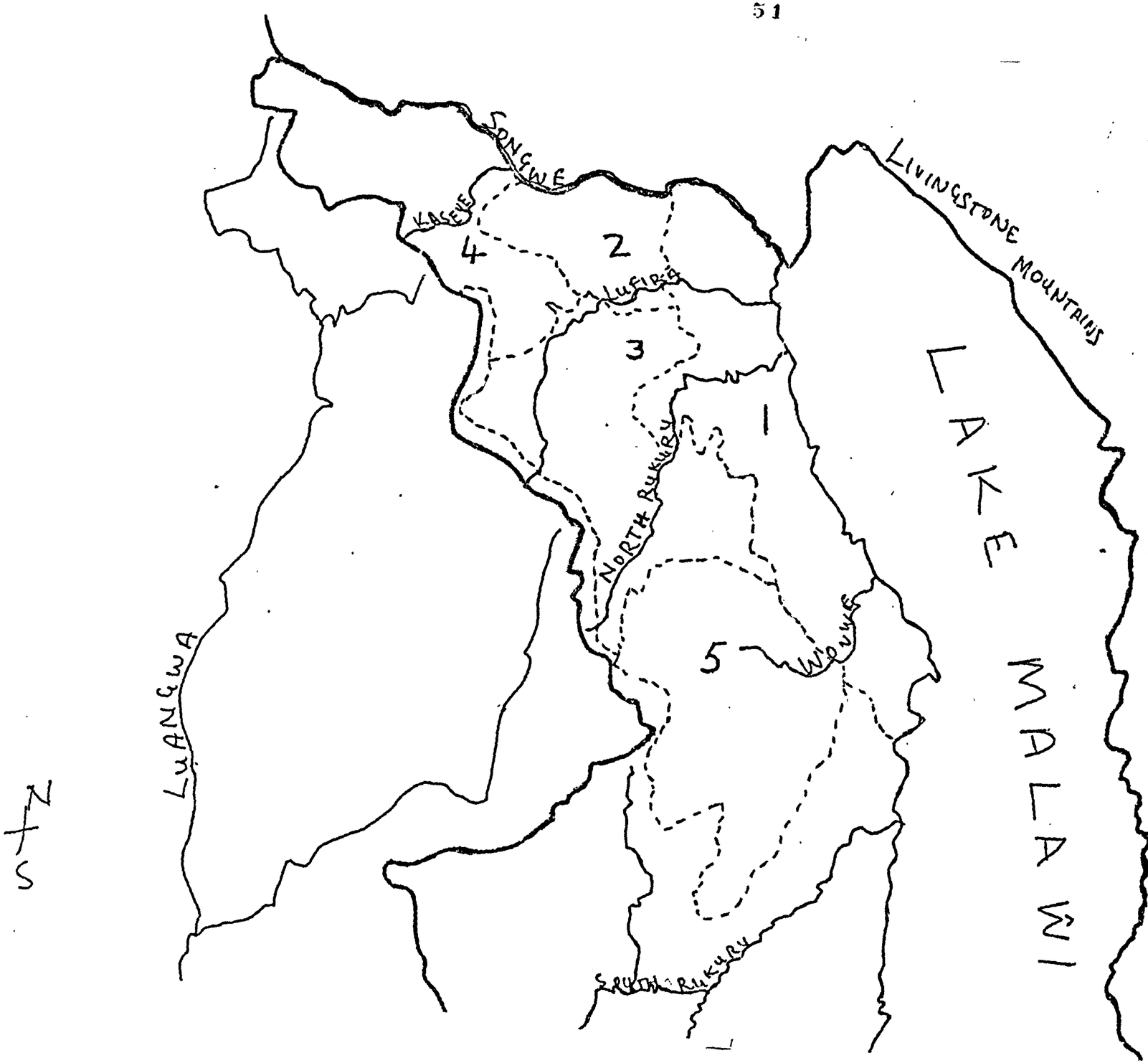
Another aspect of the environmental factor is the effect of the drainage system on settlement. The Karonga plain is dissected by a number of rivers - notably the Lufira, the north Rukuru, and the Wovwe - flowing from the mountains to the lake. The special characteristic of these rivers is that although they have well defined banks and beds, they do not have valleys. Thus, during the flood season, most of the alluvium from the highlands is deposited on the plains alongside the rivers. Not surprisingly, the plain is dominated by the calcimorphic and hydromorphic soils. The former, grey to dark brown in colour, are formed from the alluvium and are found mainly along the rivers. The hydromorphic soils are thick black clays, usually water-logged in the wet season, and dominate the marshes of the northern section of the plain. Both types of soils contain many plant nutrients and minerals.[7]

Malawi's weather is very much influenced by the winds and pressure systems of the tropics and doldrums that lie between 32° and 35° south latitude. When the North East monsoons and the South East trade winds meet, they produce the intertropical convergence

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[7] Young and Brown, op.cit., pp. 87, 91; A.R.Stobbs and A.Young, 'Natural Regions' in S.Agnew and M.Stubbs (eds.), Malawi in Maps, London, 1972, p.14.

MAP




# MAIN PHYSICAL FEATURES OF NORTHERN MALAWI

KEY

1. KARONGA LAKESHORE PLAIN
2. MISUKU HILLS
3. PLATEAU AND HILLS OF THE UPPER LUFIRA (CHITIPA URLANDS)
4. ULAMBYA PLAINS
5. THE NYIKA PLATEAU

Miles
0 10 20 30 40

zone, the southern limit of which lies above Malawi between the months of November and April, and during this period the whole country experiences heavy rainfall. The northern lakeshore area has a higher annual average rainfall- about 75 inches - than most parts of the country, largely because of the moist south-easterly air stream which in April and May passes over the still comparatively warm lake and then falls as rain.[8]

The amount of rainfall coupled with a lasting supply of water from the lake, rivers, and wells, thus tended to encourage the growth of a settled agricultural society. The other favourable factor was the rich fertile soils which, in spite of their clay content, are friable and easy to work. They are also suitable for crops such as maize, cassava, beans, and rice, all of which have for some time now been replacing bananas and millet as the chief staple food. Ngonde traditions are agreed that until the introduction of what Murdock calls the American complex, cassava and maize, probably sometime in the 16th and 17th centuries, their chief food was millet and bananas.[9] Unlike many other crops,

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[8] J.G.Pike and G.T.Rimmington, Malawi: A Geographical Study, London, 1965, p.73; Stella Lineham, 'Climate: Wind and Weather' in Agnew and Stubbs, p.26.

[9] G.P.Murdock, Africa: Its Peoples and Cultural History, New York, 1959, pp. 234-235.

the latter are easy to grow, of high yield, and, in the case of the banana, perennial. They were thus able to sustain an ever-growing sedentary population. Famine does not appear to have been a problem in Ungonde, and it is clear from traditional evidence that the Ngonde traded food-stuffs to the Kinga and Kisi, both of whom live in and below the infertile Livingstone mountains.[10]

There is evidence to show that population was growing at this time, and that as a result of this, there developed some disputes between families over land tenure. There is, for example, a reference in the traditions of the Sichali (Kisyombe) family to a quarrel that took place six generations ago between one of their ancestors, Nkhomo, and his neighbours over the killing of his dog, and to the permission given to him by the Kyungu to 'disperse' all his adversaries with a stick (khomo), and thereafter, to leave his home and settle further south.[11] The 'dispersal' of the people would appear to refer to a redefinition of land boundaries that seems to have taken place in southern Ungonde around this time. Some years later, Fotheringham observed that the Ngonde were good agriculturists and that 'each garden

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[10]Details of this trade are discussed in Chapters IV and V.

[11]SHTNM, I, pp. 280-1.

has a specific boundary which is seldom overstepped'.[12] Fotheringham's superior, Fred Moir, remarked on the scarcity of trees in Ungonde, the only onesremaining being those cultivated for shade near the dwellings of the chief.[13]

Ease of communication has played a significant part in the history of Ungonde, for despite the fact that the plain is almost surrounded by a long and high range of mountains in the south and west, it is not completely cut off from the rest of the world. The lake provided an important link with peoples living around its northern-eastern shores, some of whom, like the Kisi, were experts in constructing and paddling canoes. In the distant past the Kisi could not cross the lake because their canoes were too small to combat high waves. Instead, they rowed along the shore of the lake but, as the quality and size of canoes improved, they were able to cross it.[14] Reference has already been made to the trade that developed between the Ngonde and the peoples of the Livingstone mountains. The Ngonde produced food and exchanged it for Kisi pots (which they used, among other

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[12] L.Monteith Fotheringham, Adventures in Nyasaland, London, 1891, p.24.

[13] F.L.M.Moir, After Livingstone, London, 1923, p.23. This suggests that most of the land had been cultivated.

[14] Headman Mwalughali, 22.9.71.

things, for storing food) and for Kinga iron products such as hoes. It is evident from clan histories that many of the people who settled in Ungonde in the 19th century and who trace their origins to the north east, came originally as traders.

Unlike the Lakeshore plain, the highland country to the west of it is a land of great physical diversity and may be divided into three broad regions. The first of these are the beautiful and picturesque Misuku hills situated at an altitude ranging between 2,000 and 6,200 feet above the sea level. Their main physical features are high parallel ridges, valleys, and plateaux. The annual rainfall is about 60 inches and the mean minimum and mean maximum temperatures are 50°F to 55°F and 80°F to 85°F, respectively. The soils have low nutrients reserves and do not stand production of high yielding crops for long, and naturally the population tends to concentrate in patches where the soils are fertile and where they can grow maize and their staple foods millet, bananas and beans.[15] Although today the population is high (55 persons per square mile), it would appear that most of the people living

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[15] A.R.Stobbs and A.Young, 'Natural Regions', p.40; Young and Brown, op.cit., p.53, also figures accompanying maps facing p.30.

in this area have migrated from Undali, across the Tanzanian border, during the last one hundred and fifty years, particularly during the Sangu wars at the turn of this century. The development of irrigation systems, which led to an improved use of land, and the introduction of coffee as a cash crop during the 1920s and 1930s, have made the Misuku hills a more attractive place to settle, and would explain the further increase in population in recent years.[16]

Joining the Misuku hills in the north, and the montane grassland plateau of the Nyika in the south, are the plateaux and hills of the Upper Lufira. Their average height is 4,500 feet above sea level in the west, rising to 7,000 feet in the south-east. Their main characteristics are steep stony slopes and high altitude plateaux, the Mafinga and Periwombe being the most notable ones. The mean annual temperature is 50°F to 70°F, and the mean annual rainfall is 30 to 40 inches.[17] The higher, uninhabited zones of this area are covered by brachystegia hill woodlands and have infertile soils, like those in the western sector. Shifting cultivation is still practised, and the chief

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[16]The Misuku hills are today among the chief coffee growing areas in Malawi.

[17]Stobbs and Young, op.cit., p.40; Young and Brown, op.cit., figures accompanying maps facing p.30.

foods are millet, beans and maize. The population is sparse, 20 persons per square mile. People tend to settle in valleys such as Chambo Mbalizi, Lufira, and Malope, because of the rich soil containing allium that is deposited there during the rainy season.[18]

North west of the plateaux and hills of the Lufira are the gently undulating Ulambya plains which run in a south-easterly and north-westerly direction and lie at an altitude of 4,100 to 4,500 feet above sea level. They are traversed by wide marshy valleys and are dominated by poor sandy ferrallic soils. The mean annual temperature and mean annual rainfall are 65°-70° and 34-40 inches respectively, and the staple crops are millet, beans, and maize. The average population density is 36 persons per square mile, the largest concentration being in the fertile river valleys of Witimba, Kaseye, and the Songwe.[19] As will be seen later, the Ulambya plains seem to have been a major migration route of the people entering northern Malawi from the north and north-west. It is an open country and is accessible

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[18] After touring this area in 1911, the district officer of North Nyasa reported,'..... between Mwenimlembe and Mwenewenya I could find no more than 30 huts in that big stretch of the country. The population is very scattered and tax collecting is very hard work either to Europeans or natives.....' District and Monthly Report (5.8.11), File N.N.K. 2/4/2, Malawi National Archives.

[19] Stobbs and Young, op.cit., p.40; Young and Brown, op.cit., figures accompanying maps facing p.30. The Ulambya plains are sometimes collectively known as the Chitipa plain.

to Misuku, Wenya, Nthalile, Ungonde and even the areas further south that are today inhabited by the Tumbuka-speaking peoples. Traditions of some of the oldest clans in the Chitipa highlands, Ungonde, and the Tumbuka-speaking areas indicate that their ancestors came through Ulambya.

From this general survey of the geography of the Chitipa, it is evident that the poor soils and the varied nature of the terrain are a cause of the sparsity of population. The method of planting after felling and burning of trees often leads to shifting cultivatin, because after the first good yield of a crop, the soils become exhausted and usually people have to move to new lands.[20] This instability in population movement is not very conducive to the development of major polities. In each of the four natural regions that have been discussed above, there grew a state. In the Misuku hills and the Ulambya plains there emerged the chiefdoms of Misuku and Ulambya, respectively, and in the plateaux and hills of the Lufira there developed two chiefdoms, Wenya and Nthalile. The details of the rise of these states insofar as they effect the Ngonde kingdom will be discussed later.

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[20] For a detailed and general study of shifting cultivation and its effects on African populations see, W.Allan, The African Husbandman, London, 1965, pp. 3-24, 49-74.

Meantime we shall trace the peopling of northern Malawi from the earliest times.

The earliest evidence so far of human occupation in Malawi is an ancient butchery site excavated by J.D.Clark at Mwanganda in Kyungu area. Here stone artifacts - choppers, scrapers, and knives - were found lying beside the fossilized remains of an elephant that has been estimated to date as far back as the Later Pleistocene, that is, some time between 50,000 and 100,000 years ago. Implements belonging to the same period have been found on other sites in the district. Nothing else is known about these people and the absence of this information appears to be due to the fact that few areas have been investigated by archaeologists, rather than to the fact that northern Malawi was without population at this time. However, there is in the whole Karonga lakeshore plain a very wide distribution of artifacts belonging to the Middle Stone Age period. The artifacts show that these people were hunters and gatherers who, aided by the abundance in the plain of quartzite cobbles - which they used as raw material for making tools - were able to develop their skills and to exploit their rich environment.[21] They seem to have been succeeded

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[21] J.D.Clark, 'Digging for History', Society of Malawi Journal, I (1968), p.61.

by a more sophisticated Late Stone Age culture.

Excavations carried out at Fingira and Nchowo on the Nyika and along the lakeshore, show that the Late Stone Age population led a very varied life. Besides stone implements they used bone tools - arrows and awls - and bone ornaments, and on their rock shelters and caves are painted pictures of people, animals, scenes of dancing and hunting. These designs are different from the naturalistic art of the Bushmanoid type in the south but are similar to the paintings of other Late Stone Age sites in Central Africa. Skeleton remains found at some burial sites at and around Hora in Mzimba district and Fingira on the Nyika, show that they were short, robust, and 'exhibited both Negroid and some bushmanoid characteristics'. The most recent radio carbon date obtained from a Late Stone Age site is around 170 B.C., and was obtained from a rock shelter at Nchowo Ridge on the Nyika.[22]

Shortly after this period there would appear to have arrived in this area the first cultivators and users of iron tools. Charcoal from Phopo Hill near Lake Kazuni has been radio-carbon dated to 292± 95 A.D., representing the earliest known occupation of northern Malawi by Iron Age culture. Also found

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[22]J.D.Clark, 'Prehistoric Origins' in Pachai, p.22.

at Phopo were iron slag, tuyere fragments and faunal remains. It is unlikely that the Stone Age population was exterminated or driven out by the newcomers. The discovery at Phopo of Stone Age and Iron Age artifacts lying together in one bed would seem to suggest that some of these people lived side by side, and that perhaps through a gradual process the earlier population was absorbed.[23]

We are still left with the problem of trying to identify these early cultivators and iron users. Pottery sherds uncovered at Mwaulambo village on the banks of the Lufira river in Karonga, at Lumbule Hill near Livingstonia, and at Phopo near Lake Kazuni show a northern connexion. The wares from all these Early Iron Age sites are characterized by thin fabric, smooth finish globular bodies and channelled curvilinear motifs. Pottery with similar features has been found at Nkope in southern Malawi, and the charcoal samples associated with sherds from two sites in the area has yielded two radiocarbon dates, A.D. 755±100 and A.D. 360±120.[24] There are also resemblances with pottery from Ziwa in Rhodesia, Dambwa in southern Zambia, Kalambo on the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika, and at Kwale in eastern Kenya, indicating that the Malawi pot sherds belong to the Early Iron Age pottery

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[23] K.R.Robinson, and B.Sandelowsky, 'The Early Iron Age of Northern Malawi: Recent Work', Azania, III (1968), p.113.

[24] K.R.Robinson, The Iron Age of the Southern Lake Area of Malawi, Zomba, 1970, pp. 117-118; idem, 'The Iron Age in Malawi: a Brief Account of Recent Work', in Pachai, p.55.

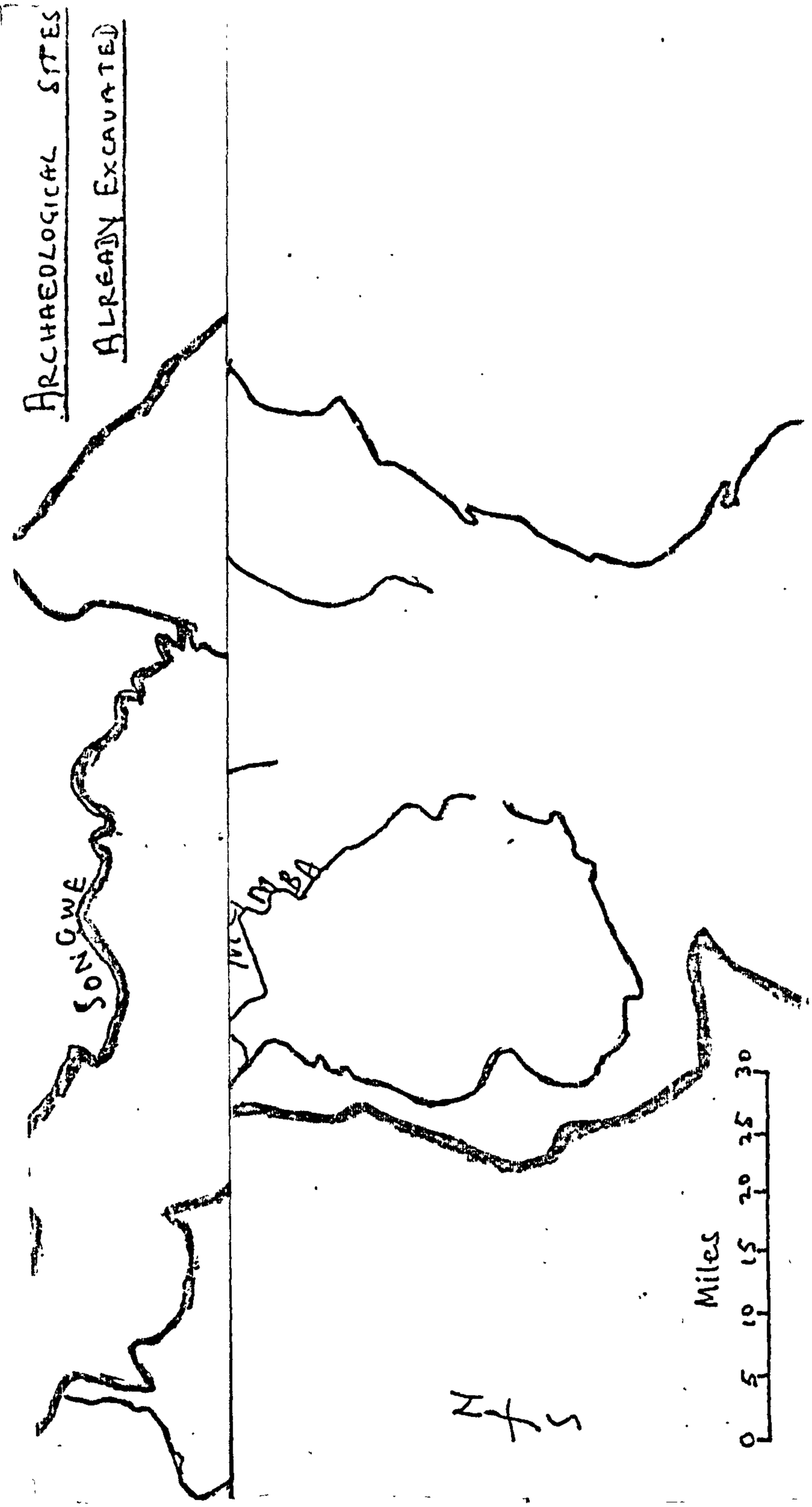
tradition of Eastern and Central Africa, which, in spite of minor differences, seems to have a common origin. Indeed, most authorities are nowadays in agreement that the Early Iron Age cultures of East and Central Africa represent the appearance of the Bantu-speaking peoples in this part of the continent expanding eastwards and southwards from the general direction of the Congo basin.[25] The minor variations in the pot sherds seem to be due largely to the manner in which bearers of this culture adapted themselves to the different environmental conditions in the areas that they settled. There is a great similitude between the sherds from sites in Malawi and those from sites in Central Tanzania and south-eastern Kenya. This suggests that the Early Iron Age peoples of northern Malawi were more closely linked with the eastward expansion than with the southward one. Radiocarbon dates from sites in northern Malawi also suggest that by the end of the first millenium A.D. most of this region was occupied by Iron Age population. The discovery of grindstones, quern fragments, and bowls at Phopo and Lumbule indicates that they may have practiced agriculture.[26] Both sites

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[25] Roland Oliver, 'The Problem of the Bantu Expansion', J.A.H., VII 3 (1966), pp. 361-376; Thomas Huffman, 'The Early Iron Age and the Spread of the Bantu', South African Archaeological Bulletin, I (1970), pp. 1-21.

[26] Robinson and Sandelowsky, op.cit., pp. 133-134; K.R.Robinson, The Early Iron Age in Malawi: an Appraisal, Zomba, 1969, pp. 3-4.

MAP II




1. Nwaulambo (Nwavavambo)
2. Rukuru
3 Nwanganda
4 Ngonde
5. Lumbule
6. Nchowo (Nyika)
7. Phopo (Lake Kazumi)
8. Mt. Hora

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES ALREADY EXCAVATED

LAKE MALAWI

SONGWE
LUFIRA
LUANGWA
NORTH RUKURU
RUMPI
SOUTH RUKURU
KASITO
MZIMBA
Miles 0 5 10 15 20 25 30

1. Mwaulambo (Mwavarambo)
2. Rukuru
3. Mwanganda
4. Mbande
5. Lumbule
6. Nchowo (Nyika)
7. Phopo (Lake Kazumi)
8. Mt. Hora

and the other Early Age Site at Mwaulambo are situated on river banks with rich alluvium.

Archaeological evidence from different sites in northern Malawi suggests that by the beginning of the second millenium A.D. a new wave of migrants had entered the area. The material culture of these new comers was more advanced than that of the early Iron Age people and is not very different from that of the people who occupy some of the remotest parts of northern Malawi today. Some of the main characteristics of this culture include houses made of wood, daga, and grass, which method of building is still known to the Phoka of the Nyika plateau and to the Nyiha of southern Tanzania. The pottery ware is different from that of the Early Iron Age culture: it has thin fabric, shaped like a gourd, and is generally associated with pots from Ukisi in the Livingstone mountains region. Radiocarbon dates from Later Iron Age sites in the Karonga plain range from $1090^{\pm}$ 80 to $1450^{\pm}$ 80.[27]

There seems to be a correlation between these archaeological findings and oral traditions of some of the earliest known inhabitants

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[27] K.R.Robinson, 'The Iron Age in Malawi: a Brief Account of Recent Work', pp. 57-60.

of Malawi whose descendants still live in the area today. These include a few clans in the Chitipa district, and the six Ngonde clans whom the Kyungus encountered in the Karonga plain some time between the middle of the 16th and 17th centuries, and whom for convenience we shall call the pre-Kyungu clans. Migration stories of these clans give us a picture of the way in which their ancestors entered northern Malawi, and of the factors which appear to have influenced their decision on where to settle.

According to the tradition of the Mwenendekas, their ancestor left his original home - which they no longer remember - and settled at Ngalati on the southern edge of the Ulambya plains. From there he moved to Chiteka on the slopes of the Misuku hills, and then descended to Mpata near Mbande hill.[28] Although they claim that they were the first to arrive in this area, the Mwenendekas admit that the whole Mpata vicinity belonged to the Musyani (also known as Mwambila) clan. The Musyanis trace their original home to Ukukwe in the Rungwe mountains where their ancestor once lived before settling at Ipenza, on the borders of Unyiha and Ulambya. Kasanga's son, Chilongo, was also called

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[28] SHTNM, 9, p.396

Musyani, and it was he and his family who settled at Mpata.[29] In the plains the Musyanis say they found the Mwenekisindiles living near the point where the north Rukuru enters the lake. The latter had arrived here earlier from their home in Mwera on the north-eastern shores of Lake Malawi. They were fishermen and claim that they came to Ungonde by way of Unyakyusa.[30] The Mwenifumbos also claim Mwera origins. Like the Musyanis the Mwenifumbos say that their migration route took them through Ulambya and Undali before finally settling at Nthola on the lake.[31] The last of the pre-Kyungu clans, the Mwenelumpembes, trace their origins to Ubena in Tanzania. Their forebear, Chisamba Simwaka, embarked on a long adventurous journey which took him from Ubena to Usango, Unyiha, Isoka, and then up to the Nyika plateau where he is said to have married into the Phoka family of the Mbales. He finally descended into Karonga where he settled in the west on the slopes of the highlands.[32]

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[29]Brown Nthakomwa, 21.9.71.

[30]Mwenekisindile, 15.10.71.

[31]Grant Mwenifumbo, 21.8.71.

[32]SHTNM, II, p. 416

From these accounts of early migratinns into northern Malawi, we can see that the pre-Kyungu clans entered the plain from two main directions: the north-west, by way of Ulambya, and the north, through Unyakyusa. It is noticeable that in spite of the claims by the majority of the clans to have entered the plain through Ulambya, only two, the Mwenendekas and Mwenekibombwes, do not trace their origins to the Rungwe district. Though this may be true for some of them, it would appear that the claims are not correct, and this may be attributed to the fact that it is considered prestigious to be associated with the Rungwe/Ukinga area because this is also the original home of most of the families which rule different chiefdoms in northern Malawi today. Let us take the case of the Musyanis to illustrate the point. As we already have seen, traditional accounts of Musyanis claim that their ancestors originally came from Ukukwe, and that the growth and expansion of the family took place on the borders of Ulambya and Unyiha. Musyani is a noun derived from the Lambya, Nyiha, Mambwe and Namwanga verb, ukusyana /to forge/, and we are told that Musyani was a smith.[33] Thus they are more closely

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[33]This would seem to indicate that these were minority migrations. Indeed, as will become clear on the following pages, these immigrants seem to have entered the Karonga plain in small groups and family units, bringing with them different skills, and thereby contributing to the development of a dynamic society.

connected with the Unyiha region than they are with Ukukwe. It is very likely that the Ukukwe-Unyakyusa element in their tradition was borrowed from that of the Kyungus.[34]

The story of the Mwenelupembes provides us with an illustration of the way in which well preserved traditions can help us to build a clearer picture of the early movement of peoples in northern Malawi. As we have described above, the account of the migration route taken by the ancestors of the Mwenelupembes sounds exaggerated. The present head of the lineage is one of the most reliable historians in Ungonde today, and there is little reason to doubt his testimony. However, there are a number of references in their tradition which raise questions. The first one is the reference to the family name, Simwaka, which is said to have been the name of their ancestor. These Simwakas are related to the Simwakas of the Chitipa district who are among the oldest clans in the area and who are Nyiha and originally came from north-eastern Zambia.[35] This would seem to suggest that the Simwakas of of Ungonde (the Mwenelupembes) are of Nyiha origins. Yet there is reference in their tradition to a marriage between one of their

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[34] Brown Nthakomwa, 21.9.71; a good example of how this process occurs is discussed by Roland Oliver in 'The Baganda and the the Bakonjo', Uganda Journal, XVIII, I (1954), pp.31-33

[35] Simwaka, April, 1972.

ancestors and a member of the family of the Mbales who are Phoka: and who entered northern Malawi from southern Tanzania at about this time.[36] This would appear to confirm the story of the Mwenelupembes whichstates that their ancestors originally came from Ubena. However, the relationships between different families and allusions to the Chitipa district, seem to indicate that a lot of interweaving of people, and possibly, a splitting of families in groups occurred in the Ulamba plains during the first four centuries of the 2nd millennium A.D. It is conceivable, for example, that the Mwenelupembes met the Simwakas somewhere in the Chitipa district, married into the family, and changed their name to Simwaka.

The pattern of settlement followed by the pre-Kyungu clans in the Karonga plain is also an indication of the general areas from which the families came. It is interesting to discover that the clans which claim Mwera origins, the Mwenekisindiles and Mwenefumbos, settled on the shore of the lake where they could, presumably, fish, and where the conditions were similar to their homeland. Those who came from the upland country settled further inland where it was drier, and where they could cultivate millet.

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[36] A.W.Chikomabakaya Msiska, 'An Account of Phoka History up to the Coming of the Livingstonia Mission', Final Year Undergraduate Research Paper, University of Malawi, 1970.

Indeed, we know that the Mwenelupembes lived at the bottom of Mpanda hill - which is part of the highlands marking the western borders of the Karonga plain - for a long time before moving towards the shore. All these clans, however, settled within a short distance of one another, the longest distance being fifteen miles. The Mwenelupembes in the south, the Mwenifumbos and Mwenekisindiles in the east, and finally the Musyanis and Mwenedekas in the west near Mbande hill. These zones became the property of the lineage, and the villages were named after the clan. For example, the sections occupied by the Mwenelupembes and Mwenekisindiles became known as Lupembe and Kisindele, respectively. Each clan was independent, and had its own head who looked after the welfare of its members. All disputes within the family were brought to him for settlement.

The pre-Kyungu clans had their own religious beliefs, some of them common to other African societies, others peculiar to the area. As recent search in African religions has shown, religion is, in many pre-literate societies, one of the main custodians of history, and it is important to appreciate their religious beliefs in order to understand the way they lived.[37] Like many

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[37] For example, Douglas Werner, 'Some Developments in Bemba Religious History', Journal of Religion in Africa, IV (1971), pp. 1-24;

African societies the early inhabitants of Ungonde believed that the spirits of the departed, abasyuka, maintained their interests in family affairs, and acted as intermediaries between the spiritual forces of the world and the living. The abasyuka were capable of causing disaster if, and whenever, they felt unhappy with the living. Because of this it was important to ensure that they were appeased all the time, and any time there was trouble, such as disease affecting a family, sacrifice was made by the head of the lineage at a shrine, erected at a place selected for the purpose. This was a personal or lineage affair and did not transcend family boundaries. Thus, the Mwenifumbos had their own shrine at Ilola where the clan gathered to pray to the spirits of their ancestors.[38]

On a wider cosmological level, however, the pre-Kyungu people believed in the supreme being or High God, Mbamba (lightning) to whom was attributed the creation of the earth and all its inhabitants. But as Mbamba was too remote to be directly involved in the everyday affairs of men, it was possible to approach him through an intermediary spirit whom,it was believed,took the

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T.O.Ranger and Isaria Kimambo (eds.), The Historical Study of African Religion, London, 1972; H. Leroy Vail, 'Religion, Language, and Tribal Myth: The Tumbuka and Chewa of Malawi', Paper read at the Conference on Religions in Central Africa held at Lusaka in September 1972. Most of the Lusaka conference papers have been summarised by Terence Ranger inhis article, 'Territorial Cults in Central Africa', J.A.H., XIV, 4 (1973), pp. 581-597.

[38] Grant Mwenifumbo, 21.8.71; Mwenekisindile, 15.10.71; Headman Shamuna Kisyombe, John Silunda, and Mwangobola Mkwasi, 29.9.71.

physical form of a snake. This snake had several homes and was known by the name of the place it resided at any particular time. Its important residences were at the Chibondo pool in south Ungonde, the Nthola lagoon, the Kambwe forest and nearby lagoon , and the Filagule hill which is part of the highlands that form the western borders of the Karonga plain. The nature spirit was mostly concerned with health, wealth, and the fertility of the whole land. Indeed, it was believed that if it passed through the foundation of a new cattle shed, or near feeding pasture, cows produced more milk. Traditions of the pre-Kyungu peoples place the snake in a binary situation of symbolism. It seems that whenever this divine snake was in a lagoon or marsh, it was associated with disease, and whenever it was in the forest or mountain it was associated with rain. The snake was believed to move from place to place and its movements were detected by the blowing of wind from one location to another. For example, if heavy winds blew from Kambwe in the direction of Filagule, elders knew that the spirit had changed residence.[39]

The main residence of the snake, however, was at Kambwe in the village of Kisindile, and Mwenekisindile seems to have been the chief custodian of the place. Whenever there was an outbreak of epidemic disease such as smallpox, or some other disaster

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[39]Headman James Karambo and Mwenechiluba, 18.8.71.

like locust, all the senior elders of the plain met at Kisindile where they prayed and made offerings, usually flour placed in a basket, chicken, and sometimes meat, to the spirit. Mwenekisindile was, clearly, an important person in the area. Although all the villages were politically independent under the leadership of clan heads, and though prayers that effected individual villages were said locally, the inhabitants of the plains were linked by the divine snake which was common to all, worshipped, and invoked by all the clans. It is emphasised by pre-Kyungu traditions that although Mwenekindile played this key ritual role, there was no central political authority in the area in the period before the arrival of the Kyungus.[40] As we shall presently see, this does not appear to have been the case. At this stage it is sufficient to say that the Mwenekisindiles seem to have played an important part in the success of the establishment of the Ngonde kingdom by the Kyungus, and in the failure of the Simbowes who it would appear preceded the Kyungus.

Although traditions of these clans do not specifically mention the existence of any central political authority in the area at this time, there is evidence to show that some influence

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[40] Brown Nthakomwa, 21.9.71; Mwenekisindile, 15.10.71; Grant Mwenifumbo, 21.8.71.

was wielded over other inhabitants by a personage called Simbowe. The Simbowes originally came from Unyiha, in the present day south-western Tanzania,and, it would appear, were just one family among many groups of people from the interior of the so-called Nyasa-Tanganyika corridor that were migrating to the south and south-east around this time. We do not know exactly when the Simbowes arrived in the Karonga plain, but, we know that when they entered the area they found the Mwenifumbos and Mwenekisindile already there. Traditions of other pre-Kyungu families such as the Mwenedekas, Musyanis, and Mwenekibombwes, all of whom lived close to Simbowe's village at Mbande, and all of whom claim to have entered the area by the way of Chitipa district, are silent on this point. This lack of information may be attributed to distortion from which oral traditions often tend to suffer; perhaps it has been lost with the passage of time. It is also possible that these clans do not want to be associated with the Simbowes. The only clue comes from the traditional accounts of the Simbowes themselves and of the Msukwas. According to these, there was some contact between their ancestors before the coming of the Kyungus. The importance of this is that if it is accepted that the Kyungus, who met the Msukwas on their way to the plain, reached the region sometime towards the end of the 16th century, or early in the 17th century, and if it is also agreed that the

Mwenekisindiles and the Mwenifumbos settled in Karonga sometime after the 13th century, the arrival of the Simbowes must fall between two periods, perhaps half a century or so before the Kyungus appeared.

The task of examining the place of the Simbowes in the history of Ungonde is a difficult one, not necessarily because information about them is scarce, but mainly because of the way the Kyungus and descendants seem to have played down the true facts about them, to the extent that the court version now prevails. According to the court version, the Simbowes were hunters without a fixed home who chose to operate from Mbande because it lay in the heart of elephant country.[41] Both Monica and Godfrey Wilson accepted without criticism the history of the Simbowes as presented by the Kyungus.[42] The descendants of the Simbowes hotly contest this version of their history. They emphasise that their ancestor was not a hunter, but that, like other people, he came to the Karonga plain in search of a good place to settle. This he found near Mbande and was living there happily until the Kyungu arrived.[43]

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[41] Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71; Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71; SHTNM, 1, p.286

[42] Godfrey Wilson, The Constitution of Ngonde, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Paper No. 3, 1939, p.10; Monica Wilson, Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa, Lond n, 1959, pp. 11-12.

[43] SHTNM, 6, pp.364, 368; Simion Wabifya Kamisa and Dadeyo Kamisa, 18.11.71; Mbowe and brother, October, 1971.

The first indication of Simbowe's prominence is that he is referred to in some traditions as the mwene or namwene, owner.[44] Although mwene usually denotes ownership of property, particularly land, it specifically refers to political headship of a village or a wider area. Simbowe is said to have owned Mbande hill and the land immediately below it. Mbande is situated in the centre of the area occupied by the pre-Kyungu people, and as we shall presently see, was the focus of the inhabitants of the region. A more important clue to the problem of solving the real status of the Simbowes is to be found in the name Mbande. Mbande derives from the word imbande (conus-shell) which the Simbowes are said to have possessed and which also gave the name to the small square-shaped hill at the bottom of which they settled.[45] The imbande was an ornament and a symbol of authority, and we are told by the accounts of the Simbowes that whenever their ancestors died, the imbande was fixed on their foreheads before burying them. Conus-shell discs were also used as a decoration and as an emblem in many parts of Central Tanzania. Aylward Shorter, who has worked extensively on the history of Central Tanzania and on the significance of the conus-shell in chiefly institutions, says that disc

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[44] For example, SHTNM, 2, p.297,301; SHTNM, 8, p.386.

[45] SHTNM, 6, p.365.

emblems formed a very important part of the regalia of the rulers of the Nyitumba Kimbu, Sagali Nyamwenzi, and Bungu, all of whom wore them during different ritual ceremonies. In fact shell-discs became a key factor in the establishment of new chiefdoms. A ruler of a new chiefdom had to possess a shell-disc and had to get the permission of a sponsor, usually a powerful potentate, before including it in his regalia. These requirements had to be fulfilled by a new chief before he could receive the recognition of other chiefs. These conus-shells are said to have come from the East Coast, and their use as royal emblems of the chiefdoms in the interior of Tanzania may be dated to the early 18th century.[46] Conus-shells were also used widely by royalty in central and southern Africa. Early Portuguese travellers are reported to have seen a white shell medal on the head of Mwenemutapa, the rulers of the medieval empire of the Karanga.[47] Just to the north of this area, archaeologists found at a burial site at Ingombe Ilede a group of graves of what appear to have been important people. In them were found many ornaments which included copper, gold, and conus sea-shell discs.[48]

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[46] Aylward Shorter, Chiefship in Western Tanzania, 1972, pp. 102-5, 186-9.

[47] J.R.Harding, 'Conus Shell disc Ornaments (Vibagwa) in Africa', J.R.A.I., XC (1961), p.52-55.

[48] Brian M. Fagan, Southern Africa During the Iron Age, London, 1965, pp. 94-97.

Thus in many parts of East and Central Africa, the conus-shell disc-emblem was associated with authority. This fact, and other evidence reinforces the suggestion that the Simbowes were indeed a force to be reckoned with in the Karonga plain. Ngonde traditions which mention this prestigious object imbande, also refer to the way the Kyungus coveted it, and to their pre-occupation with plans to seize it.[49] We must not, however, take these accounts too literally for, although it seems evident that the Kyungus were after the emblem, tradition also refers to the burning desire of the Kyungus to occupy Simbowe's social position. It would thus appear that the imbande is here used interchangeably with political authority. Indeed, it is said that when they finally took ownership of the Mbande area, the Kyungus remarked, 'Yes, we have now found the real imbande', and from then on Mbande village became the headquarters of the Kyungus and the conus-shell formed part of their royal insignia.[50] Perhaps one of the most revealing statements on the status of the Simbowes was made by Mwenelupembe, head of a pre-Kyungu clan. When asked about how his ancestors knew of the arrival in the plain of the

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[49] SHTNM, 3, p.315.

[50] Ibid.

Kyungus Mwenelupembe, answered, 'We knew of the Kyungu's arrival at Mbande soon after he destroyed Simbowe. The destruction of Simbowe made us accept Kyungu's authority'.[51] This strongly implies that the Simbowes were powerful, respected, and, perhaps, feared by the people amongst whom they settled.

It would also appear that the Simbowes were raincallers, mperafula, a skill that must have appealed to some inhabitants of the plain. The fact that they possessed this skill is affirmed by traditions of the Msukwas, the rulers of the Misuku hills, who were, and still are, famous raincallers. Their accounts claim that their ancestors taught the Simbowes the art of rain-calling and that they (the Simbowes) consulted them whenever they were in trouble. For their part, the Simbowes claim that their ancestor had special instruments for calling rain and that many people, including the Msukwas, went to them for advice.[52] As our prime concern is to try to establish the position of Simbowe in the plain, and not necessarily to find out who of the two taught the other the art of rain-calling, we are happy with the corroboration in traditions that the Simbowes had this special ability.

Why, it may be asked, should a rain-caller be important in an area which usually has enough rainfall? The fundamental

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[51] SHTNM, II, pp. 418-9.

[52] Bnniface Msukwa (Mwenemisuku), 12.11.71; SHTNM, 6, pp. 364, 366, 368.

thing to remember here is that these specialists are attributed with powers of not only calling but also of withholding rain. Even in areas like Ungonde where there is normally adequate rainfall, there are seasons when more rain falls than is required, causing floods and having adverse effects on crops. These are the occasions when the services of a specialist are needed. There are also times when it is irregular, and here, too, the specialists are asked to intervene. But there is more to it than this. In many African societies rain is a very sacred phenomenon: it is an expression of the kindness and divineness of God, a bridge between the past, present, and future, and in this sense, a link between man and the divine.[53] Because of this, rain-callers tend to enjoy special relationships with people whom they serve, and there are known cases where such religious experts have attracted or rallied followers around them and founded states. Perhaps Simbowe came to this area posing as such a specialist.

All indications therefore suggest that the Simbowes held a more influential position in the Karonga plain than we are meant to believe by the court traditions of the Kyungus. It is possible

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[53]John S. Mbiti, African Religion and Philosophy, London, 1969, pp. 179-181.

that they had not had the chance to establish themselves firmly in the area before the Kyungus entered the scene. It is also possible that they did not manage to cultivate the support of all the inhabitants especially that of Mwenekisindiles and Mwenifumbos, both of whom settled in the area before the others arrived. These two families were also closely connected with the centres of the preternatural spirit and it is not unlikely that these spirits exercised their opposition to the Simbowes through Mwenekisindiles and Mwenifumbos. However, this aspect of the story of the Simbowes is best told in relation with the history of the coming of the Kyungus to Ungonde.

# Chapter III

## THE KYUNGUS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF NGONDE

The Kyungus trace their origins to Ukinga. According to tradition, their forebear Ngulube, who is said to have come from an area north-east of Ukinga, married a Kinga woman by whom he had two sons, Lwembe and Kyabala, generally accepted as the founders of the Nyakusa and Ngonde lines of chiefs, respectively.[1] Ngulube is today venerated by the Ngonde and Nyakyusa as the supreme being,[2] and is also cited in the prayers of the Kinga, Bena,[3] Sukwa, Lambya, Safwa, Kuulwe,[4] Ndali, and some sections of the Nyiha. The ruling families of most of these people claim to have come originally from Ukinga. For example, Lambya traditions claim that the ancestors of the Mwaulambyas came from Ukinga.[5] The Msukwas of the neighbouring Misuku chiefdom also trace their origins to Ukinga.[6]

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[1] SHTNM, 3, p.312 ; SHTNM, 1 p.284 ; Mwakasungula, Ndaga Scotland, pp. 125-126; Young, Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga, p.56.

[2] Monica Wilson, Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa, p.12.

[3] A.T. and G.M. Culwick, Ubena of the Rivers, London, 1935, p.100.

[4] Roy G. Willis, The Fipa and Related Peoples of South-west Tanzania and North-east Zambia, London, p.66.

[5] Samson Mwaulambya, 28.12.71; George Nyondo Mwenibuluma and group, 23.4.72; Yoram Malimali Mkhondia, 20.4.72.

[6] Boniface Msukwa, 12.11.71; Maynard Nzila Msukwa, 21.11.71.

Ngulube was described by one of Godfrey Wilson's informants as of 'pale' complexion, and probably of Arab origin.[7] This tradition, which Godfrey Wilson confesses was not directly supported by other informants, has since been used by Monica Wilson to advance the view that the ancestors of the Ngonde and Nyakyusa rulers came from North-East Africa.[8] It seems inadvisable to rely on isolated evidence of dubious nature which, as argued in the introductory chapter, appears to have been influenced by stories of the Bible, and by theories of the penetration of the Negro peoples of Africa by conquering waves of superior Hamites, on which most of the early Livingstonia Mission-educated Malawians were brought up.[9]

There is, however, another story of origin which is common to many peoples of the Songwe region, and which also seems to be connected with Ngulube. Accounts of the Mwaulambyas, for example, say that their ancestors originally came from 'a dark house' (inyumba inditu) near Njombe in lower Ubena, and that

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[7]Godfrey Wilson, The Constitution of Ngonde, p.10.

[8]Monica Wilson, Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa, 12; Idem, The Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor, p.8.

[9]See the section of the introductory chapter in which Ngonde references to Iraq, Egypt, the Red Sea, and Uganda are discussed.

they lived in Ukinga for some time before crossing the Kibila river at 'the strange stone' (ibwe ingubiti), moving on to Undali and finally settling in the land presently called Ulambya.[10] The Ngana branch of the Ngonde have a tradition which also alludes to the ibwe ingubiti on the Upper Kibila river, where there is also a well that contains many small fish (iswi sya bunyega).[11] Monica Wilson also came across traditions in Unyakyusa referring to a 'dark house' near Njombe from which all people of the area emerged, 'and then came to Ilongo (Kwilongo) in the forest, in what is now Bena country'. She was also told of a tradition which refers to a 'few men' who came from a 'rocky shore to the north west', and travelled to the east shore of Lake Nyasa where they increased in numbers, and then spread northwards through Bukinga.[12]

Although recorded traditions are still lacking for some of the major ethnic groups north of the Songwe, it is evident from the stories narrated above that two areas, Ubena and Ukinga, are central in any consideration of the early history of the eastern section of the Nyasa-Tanganyika corridor. It would appear

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[10] Redson Mwenibwiba Nyondo, 20.11.71; Timoti Nyondo and group, 19.11.71.

[11] SHTNM, 4, p.327.

[12] Monica Wilson, Communal Rituals, p.12.

that there was a movement of people from the lower Ubena region south to Ukinga, a movement that has, over a long period of time, come to be associated with the eponymous ancestor, Ngulube, who, as pointed out earlier, is said to have come from the area north-east of Ukinga. A further dispersal of families seems to have taken place in Ukinga in two main directions: westwards into Unyakyusa, Undali, Usafwa, Ulambya, and the adjoining areas, and south-eastwards into Ukisi. Those who migrated westwards may have crossed the Kibila river at a point where two large stones meet and form a kind of bridge which is described as dangerous, and which is still used today. This would account for the reference to 'the strange stone' (ibwe ingubiti) in the traditions of the Ndali and the Lambya.

Most of the clans connected with the Ngulube 'diaspora' moved into areas already occupied by the ancestors of some of the oldest clans in northern Malawi. Thus, in Ulambya the Mwaulambyas found the Sikweses and the Chilimas, both of whom had earlier migrated from Unyiha;[13] in the Misuku hills the Msukwas found the Silumbus and the Simwayis who also seem to have migrated from Unyiha;[14] in the Karonga plains, the Kyungus

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[13]Efron Chilima, 20.11.71; Samson Mwaulambya, 28.12.71.

[14]Simwayi, 12.11.71; Salimu Silumbu, 14.11.71; Boniface Msukwa, 12.11.71.

found the Mwenendekas, Mweneni fumbos, and other clans whose early traditions were discussed in the last chapter; and finally, the Nyakyusa found in their new homes, the abïilema who are believed by Monica Wilson to have been the earliest Bantu-speaking inhabitants of the area.[15] The whole movement seems to have taken place gradually, with the Mwaulambyas, Msukwas, and perhaps, the Safwa rulers being among the first clans toleave the Ukinga area, followed later by Kyabala and Lwembe, the founders of the Ngonde and Nyakyusa ruling families, respectively. Ngonde and Nyakyusa traditions are agreed that Kyabala and his family arrived in Unyakyusa earlier than Lwembe's lineage.[16]

So, like Kintu, the mythical state founder of Busoga and Buganda,[17] Ngulube seems to represent a whole process in the history of the Nyasa-Tanganyika corridor during which a number of clans migrated from the Ubena region into Ukinga, from whence they spread further into the Songwe area. In every case it seems to have been the newcomers who established themselves as

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[15] Monica Wilson, The Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor, p.2.

[16] Ibid., p.13; Idem, 'Reflections on the Early History of North Malawi', in B. Pachai (ed.), The Early History of Malawi, p.140; Mwakasungula, Ndaga Scotland, p.126.

[17] D.W.Cohen, The Traditional History of Busoga, London, 1972, pp. 70-109.

rulers over those who were there before. Traditions are not clear on the factor that made the Ngulube clans attractive to the autochthones. However, there is a Lambya account which associates the Mwaulambyas with the arrival in the area of an unspecified breed of cattle.[18] Similarly, Nyakyusa traditions connect the arrival of cattle in Unyakyusa with the rulers.[19] Since we know from studies on the spread of cattle in East, Central, and Southern Africa, that cattle existed in these areas before the dispersal of the Bantu-speaking peoples, the groups associated with Ngulube may have brought with them a new breed of cattle, perhaps the short-horned Zebu type which are prevalent in the area today.[20] It is probable that some of these Ngulube clans provided the indigenous people with their cattle on an usufruct basis, thereby establishing a network of clients, which further consolidated their influence.

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[18] George Nyondo Mwenibuluma, and group, 23.4.74; Mwenichendo, Jan. 1972.

[19] Monica Wilson, Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa, pp. 7-9, 12-13.

[20] C. Ehret, 'Cattle Keeping and Milking in East and Southern Africa: the Linguistic Evidence', JAH, VIII, I 1967), pp. 1-17; Ehret argues that the art of milking cattle was introduced to Southern Africa from the North-East Africa, probably by the Bantu-speaking peoples. Ngonde traditions give the impression that milking was practiced before the arrival of the Kyungus, so this factor may be ruled out.

This movement of peoples occurred more than eight generations ago. Since, as has been argued in Appendix A, a dynastic generation in Ungonde probably averaged between thirty-three and thirty-five years, the eight generations amount to about three hundred years, going back, therefore, to the seventeenth century. This seems to suggest that the migration of the Ngulube clans from/southwards took Ubena place some time between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. These conclusions would appear to tally with Monica Wilson's findings for another Ngulube group, the Lwembe lineage of Unyakyusa, which according to her, reached the Rungwe valley in the period between 1550 and 1650.[21] Since it is known that the ancestors of the Ngonde and Nyakyusa rulers were among the last Ngulube clans to leave the Ukinga area for the west, it seems reasonable to suppose that the whole migrational movement of the clans connected with Ngulube, occurred some time in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth century.

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[21] Monica Wilson, Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor, p.13; Idem, 'Reflections on the Early History of North Malawi', p.140. See also the reconstructed genealogy of the Ngonde rulers on p. 89.

Genealogy of Ngonde

Rulers : Reconstructed.

[The Starred Kyungus belong to the House of Ngana]

Mwenembako
Kafwimbi
Mkoma
Mkinga
Ngabo

Syola(1)
Kipoosa(2)
Mwakalosi (3)

Mwenitete
Magemo(4)
Nkhalye
Syalilinga

Mwalyambwile
Mwakyandile
Mwaitubi
Mwamakula

Kasyombe(5) *

Mwangonde (7)

Mwafongo
Mwenengubwe (6) *
Karambo
Mwasakabanga
Mbwili
Mwandambo
Msomba

Mwene-nyumba
Mwankenja
Mwambelo (9)
Mwakasungula (8)
Mwansele
Karonga

Njola Mwafongo (11) *
Gwasapasi (10) *
Mwandambo (12) *

Mwangwebo
Mwanganda
Mwangolela
Mwanyongo
Malema
Mwakabanga (13) 1894–1903

Fwangalubilo Mwangalaba(14) 1904–1932
Peter Mwangalaba(15) 1933–1965
Mark Mwakabanga
Amon Mwakasungula
Mwambetania

On the death of Kyabala, his four sons, Mkoma, Kafwimbi, Mwenembako, Mkinga, and their sister, Ngabo, set out on a long march towards Lake Tanganyika. We do not know why they left the Rungwe region, but if it is true that the ancestors of the Kyungus arrived in Unyakyusa - which is part of the Rungwe district - before the founders of the Nyakyusa lineage,[22] it would not be too far fetched to speculate that the coming of a powerful force in the shape of Lwembe's lineage may have exerted some pressure on them.

When they reached Unyiha, Kyabala's children turned south to Ubisa, and as the journey progressed, Mkinga emerged as the leader of the group and assumed the name Kyungu. From Ubisa they took an easterly course, leaving two brothers, Mkoma and Kafwimbi to found new lines of chiefs in Unamwanga and Uiwa. The remaining party then proceeded to Ulambya, where they left Ngabo, who was by now pregnant and too tired to continue. Ngabo gave birth to a son whom Ngonde traditions claim to be the founder of Ulambya.[23] In Misuku they found the famous rain-caller, Msukwa, and after

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[22] M. Wilson, The Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor, pp. 12-13.

[23] Mwakasungula, Mwakabanga, Mwamlima, 'The Nkonde Point of View', p.69; Mwakasungula, Ndaga Scotland, pp. 126-128.

establishing a friendship with him, the group descended to Isaki in the Songwe valley. Mkinga is said to have died here and to have been succeeded by his son, Syola.[24]

The foregoing story of the migration of the Kyungus appears to have been romanticised and exaggerated. Namwanga and Iwa traditions do not agree with the claims of the Ngonde. The rulers of the Namwangas, the Msianis, are said to have come from Ubisa and not to be related to the Kyungus.[25] The Iwa who live to the south-east of Unamwanga say that their chiefs, the Waitwikas, are descendants of Muchinga, the third son of Msiani. They are called Iwas because Muchinga stole (kwa) the royal drums of his father and established his own state.[26] Like the Namwangas and Iwas, the Lambya dispute Ngonde references to the founding of the chiefdom of Ulambya by a relation of one of the early Kyungus. Lambya traditions say that their ancestors were already established in the area when the Kyungus passed through on their way to the Karonga plain.[27] This is affirmed by the accounts of the Sikweses

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[24] Ngabo is sometimes known as Kiluba (Chiluba), SHTNM, 1, pp.284-6; SHTNM, 3, pp.312-3.

[25] J.C.C.Coxhead, 'The Native Tribes of North Eastern Rhodesia, their Laws, and Customs', R.A.I. Occasional Paper No. 5, 1914; Willis, op.cit., p.33.

[26] J.C.Chisholm, 'Notes on Manners and Customs of the Winamwanga and Wiwa', Journal of African Society, IX, 1910.

[27] Redson Mwenibwiba Nyondo, 20.11.71; A.B.Chikombwe Nyondo, 21.11.71; Samson Mwaulambya, 28.12.71.

and Chilimas, both of whom were found in the region by the Mwaulambyas and both of whom became the senior counsellors of the Mwaulambyas. According to these accounts, the first son of the Kyungus' sister did not become a Mwaulambya because he was not born of royal Lambya blood, and upon the advice of Sikwese and Chilima, some land within the chiefdom was set aside for him. His descendants still live there today.[28] Indeed, if we accept that the Mwaulambyas and Msukwas left Ukinga in the early period of the Ngulube diaspora, these Ngonde claims cannot be true.

It is difficult even to estimate the size of the party that reached the Karonga plain. Traditions have it that besides his family, the Kyungu was throughout his travels accompanied by Kyumba and Katenga, both of whom had their own families, and both of whom were later to hold important offices at the court of the Kyungus at Mbande.During the course of the trek the Kyungu and party were joined by three heads of families, Ngosi, Mbomba, and Mulwa, all of whom because the Kyungu's counsellors. Ngosi is said to have joined the party in Undali, Mboma in Unyiha, Mulwa in Utambo. Because these persons rose to prominence at Mbande,

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[28]Efron Chilima, 20.11.71.

traditions tend to give the impression that they were the only companions of the Kyungu.[29] It is only natural that a party which covered such a long distance should have increased in size as it advanced, either by capturing people or by simply attracting them to their way of life. Evidence seems to suggest that by the time the Kyungu reached Isaki, the number of followers had increased. Both Lambya and Ngonde traditions refer to an incident that took place soon after the Kyungus left Ulambya for the Karonga plain when one of the Kyungu's brothers, Mwenembako, slipped away from the main group and remained behind for some time.[30] The mere fact that Mwenembako was able to do this unnoticed suggests that the party was large. Lambya traditions also say that when the Kyungus passed through, their ancestors advised them to proceed east partly because Ulambya was already occupied, and partly because the Kyungu's party was 'too large to be accommodated'. So though it seems that the party was much smaller than some later mass migrations of people such as the Ngoni, it probably snow-balled as it progressed.

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[29] For example, Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71; SHTNM, 12, p.432; Headman Mulway, 10.10.71.

[30] Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71; Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71; Samson Mwaulambya, 28.12.71; George Nyondo Mwenibaluma, 23.4.72.

It would appear that during his sojourn in Misuku the Kyungu heard of the Simbowes from the Msukwas, who, as noticed above, knew the Simbowes well.[31] It also seems that the Msukwas gave the Kyungu a picture of the lakeshore area, its inhabitants, geography, and most important of all, of the Simbowes, their headquarters at Mbande, and of their influence in the region.[32] The Kyungu did not descend directly on Mbande, but approached the plain from Isaki on the point where the Songwe cuts through the Undali and Misuku hills. From Isaki he sent parties to reconnoitre the interior of the lakeshore plain, and to try to establish preliminary contacts with some of the inhabitants. Traditions recall that among the first persons to be approached by the Kyungu's envoys was Mwenekisindile, who, as pointed out in the last chapter, was very closely associated with the main shrine of the local nature spirit.[33] They also contacted the Mwenifumbos who were connected with another shrine of the nature spirit.[34] By showing respect to the guardians of these shrines,

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[31] Mwangalaba, 25.6.71; SHTNM, 3, p.313.

[32] Boniface Msukwa, 12.11.71.

[33] Mwenekisindile, 15.10.71; Mwakasungula, Mwakabanga, and Mwamlima, 'The Nkonde Point of View', p.69.

[34] Grant Mwenifumbo, 21.8.71.

the Kyungu recognised their important role in the society, and in so doing he identified himself with their religion. This further strengthened his relations with the local people. Traditional accounts of some of the pre-Kyungu clans mention the appeal made to their ancestors by the Kyungu that they 'the owners of land, the priests, should pray for him', and his pledge to them that the centres of religion would remain unchanged.[35] This kind of agreement between the 'owners of land' and 'newcomers' is by no means peculiar to Ungonde. A similar arrangement seems to have been made in central Malawi between the new arrivals, the Phiris, and the Bandas, who were already settled in the area and who controlled the religious shrines. The Phiris became secular leaders and the Bandas continued to take charge of the religious affairs of the region.[36] Unlike the Kyungus, the Simbowes seem to have disregarded the local religion and so to have displeased some clans. Some accounts refer to him as 'the man who had no regard for our way of life', and as 'the proud man'. It is significant

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[35] Ibid.; Mwenekisindile, 15.10.71; also, Reuben Mwenifumbo quoted in, Godfrey Wilson, The Constitution of Ngonde, p.11.

[36] Matthew Schofeleers, 'The Chisumphi and Mbona Cults in Malawi: A Comparative History', Paper presented at the Conference on the History of Central African Religious Systems held at Lusaka, Zambia, in 1972, pp. 2-6.

that resistance to him appears to have come mainly from families closely involved in local religion.[37]

As guardian of the forest and lagoon at Kambwe, Mwenekisindile was in a strong position to influence others. We do not know whether Mwenekisindile actually used this influence but we are told that he made an alliance with the Kyungu, and it is probable that he helped in planning the attack on the Simbowes. Kisindile village commanded a good entry point to the Simbowes' quarters at Mbande which would appear to have been fortified and difficult to approach. As the tradition of the Simbowes says,

> 'His /Kyungu's/ aim was to take over our place, but he did not dare to come near us because we, the owners of the land, were not easy to deal with. We did not fear anyone and we were prepared to fight at any time."[38]

The tradition goes on to say how difficult it was for the Kyungus to cross the river that passed near Mbande, and how much this frustrated them. Since it is unlikely that the Kyungus failed to cross the Rukuru which is always shallow during most of the dry season, this tradition seems to refer to some kind of fortifications that the Simbowes may have built to protect their village. It may also refer to the strength of Simbowe's supporters who lived at Mbande, and to the detailed preparation that the Kyungu

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37. Mwenekisindile, 15.10.71; Grant Mwenifumbo, 21.8.71.
38. SHTNM, 6 p.361.

appears to have made before attacking Mbande. It would seem that the Kyungu made most of his plans in Isaki, and that the majority of his followers did not move to Mbande until the period immediately before the invasion of the Simbowes.

There are two versions of how the Kyungu occupied Mbande. According to traditions collected by Young, the Kyungu journeyed south to Nkhamanga to consult Mlowoke Chikulamayembe the Kamanga chief who is supposed to have advised him to go back to Mbande and wait for elephants to pass near the hill. As the Simbowes were hunters, so said the Chikulamayenbes, the elephants would distract their attention thus leaving the way for the Kyungu and his compatriots to take Mbande.[39] But according to a more popular version, the Kyungu went to a village near Mbande and approached a woman working in her garden of millet. He asked her about the occupant of Mbande and when she told him that the hill belonged to Simbowe, the Kyungu decided to accost him, but warned her that should any trouble arise, he would run and hide in the mound of grass she had gathered. He also pleaded with her not to reveal to Simbowe his hiding place, but his attempt to get on

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[39] T. Cullen Young, 'Tribal Intermixture in Northern Nyasaland', N.R.A.I., LXIII (1933), pp. 7-11; Idem, Notes on the History, pp. 34-55.

Mbande failed because as soon as Simbowe saw him approaching, he ran after him, and as originally planned, the Kyungu went straight into the heap of grass. While Simbowe was questinning the woman,the Kyungu, using his magical powers, 'created' elephants and guineafowls, and when Simbowe and his supporters saw the animals and birds, they pursued them into the bush. Meantime, the Kyungu and followers climbed the hill, sounded the drum, Mwenekelwa, proclaimed the area his own, and thus ended the prominence of the Simbowes in the area surrounding Mbande.[40]

The version that refers to the role that the Chikulamayembes played in the take-over of Mbande by the Kyungus,,cannot be true, because we know that when the former arrived in northern Malawi from across the lake some time in the 18th century, the Kyungu dynasty was already in power in the Karonga plain. This account appears to have been influenced by Young's Tumbuka-speaking informants, who were at pains to give the impression that the whole of northern Malawi once fell under the jurisdiction of the Chikulamayembes. The story of the miraculous 'creation' of animals and birds by the Kyungu to confuse Simbowe, has been taken at face value by the Wilsons, both of whom have used it to reinforce the idea that the rise of the Kyungus was due to control of trade in

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[40] SHTNM, 3,pp.314-5; SHTNM, 1, p.286 ; Brown Nthakomwa, 21.9.71.

ivory.[41] Although it is true that Mbande lay in elephant country, and although the Ngonde ate elephant meat, there is no evidence to show that professional elephant hunters existed in the area at this time, or even that ivory was traded with the world outside Ungonde. Ngonde traditions are all agreed that there was no trade between their ancestors and foreigners at any significant scale until well into the 19th century.[42]

The descendants of the Simbowes do not leave us in any doubt about the method used by the Kyungus in overthrowing their ancestors. According to their accounts, the Kyungu had, since his arrival in the plain, been plotting to supersede their ancestor, and he succeeded in doing this by killing him at a beer party held in the Kyungu's house. The death of Simbowe is said to have been marked by the 'shaking of the earth', an event that signalled his followers to escape to the lands beyond Ungonde for fear that the Kyungu and his successors might follow them.[43] Major Sanderson is the only commentator to try to reconcile the official version of the Kyungu and that of the Simbowes. In an unpublished paper, 'The Wangonde', Sanderson describes how, while the supporters of Simbowe were in the bush in pursuit of elephants, the Kyungu captured

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[41] M. Wilson, The Communal Rituals, p.20; G. Wilson, The Constitution of Ngonde, pp. 10-11; 47-48.

[42] The question of the role played by the ivory trade in the emergence of the kingdom of Ngonde is examined in greater detail in Chapter IV.

[43] SHTNM, 6, p.362 ; Simion Wabifya Kamisa and Dadeyo Kamisa, 18.1.71.

Mbande with little fighting, and how the 'unfortunate Simbowe' was killed at once, and his people learnt of the disaster which had overtaken their chief by hearing the 'triumphant beating of the Chungu's magic drum which was made of iron that had a distinctive note'. He concluded, 'it is evident that only a reputation as a wizard of extraordinary powers could have given Chungu such an easy victory'.[44]

It is possible that, in an attempt to prove that he was better than the Simbowes, the Kyungu posed as a 'wizard of extraordinary powers'. But having recognized the local religion and won the support of the clans most closely connected with it, the Kyungu did not have to pose as a magician. It would appear that the tale of the 'creation' of elephants and birds represents a highly idealised Ngonde historical charter which is used to explain, and, often, to justify, the political and social system that developed after the establishment of the kingdom by the Kyungus. However, the story of the drum has an important symbolic meaning. It legitimizes the assumption of power by the Kyungus at Mbande, for without the drum - which is one of the main instruments of authority in Ungonde - their influence might not have been reinforced. Similarly, the 'shaking of the earth' that is supposed to have

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[44] Major G. Meredith Sanderson, 'The Wangonde' in Sanderson Papers, National Archives of Malawi, Zomba. Major Sanderson was the medical officer at Karonga in 1919.

occurred on the death of Simbowe seems to symbolise the defeat and surrender of the Simbowes to the Kyungus, and the beginning of a new era in the lives of the Simbowes, and in the history of the area. Stories of this nature are common in Africa. For example, on their arrival in Milasi, the senior of the two women founders of the Twa dynasty of Ufipa is said to have asked for the royal stool, to have sat on it, and to have pronounced the words 'This is my country: may the people live for ever'. The sitting on the royal stool is, according to Willis, a symbolic expression of the transfer of authority from the ruler of Milansi to the two women.[45]

There are reasons to believe that the Kyungus' drum, Mwenekelwa, may have originally belonged to the Simbowes. According to the accounts of the royal family, the Kyungus found the ancestors of their official drummer, Mwenetumba, at Itumba in Unyiha, and asked him to join the party because they were impressed by his skill as a drummer. But the tradition of the Mwenitumbas state clearly that, although their ancestors originally came from Itumba, they did not meet the Kyungus before they migrated to the plain. The Mwenitumbas were then living at Kitengele Mwakinema, a few miles west of Mbande. The Mwenitumbas claim that the drum,

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[45] Roy G. Willis, 'The Fipa' in A. Roberts (ed.), Tanzania Before 1900, Nairobi, 1968, p.86; idem, 'Traditional History and Social Structure in Ufipa', Africa, XXXIV, 4 (1964), pp. 343-46.

Mwenekelwa, was in fact theirs,and that the Kyungus requested that it be brought to Mbande. But when it failed to produce sound, Mwenitumba was commanded to go to Mbande, and as a reward for his skill he was appointed a court official (likambala).[46] The claims of the Mwenitumbas seem to be supported by the tradition of the Mwenedekas, a pre-Kyungu clan, which says that on taking over Mbande, the Kyungu asked one of their ancestors to give him a boy who could become the royla drummer. Mwenedeka responded by sending Mwenekinemba (also known as Mwenitumba) to Mbande.[47] It is possible that the name Mwenekinemba has been confused with, or derives from the place, Kitengele Mwakinema, where the early Mwenitumbas lived for a period. Anyhow, the importance of this evidence is that it suggests that the drum was probably made locally and not in the original home of the Kyungus as the court traditions would have us believe. In fact, there is a hint in Ngosi's testimony which says that it may have belonged to the Simbowes.[48] This also seems to confirm the view that the Simbowes were trying to establish political authority in the area, and that the Kyungus

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[46] SHTNM, 10, p. 404

[47] SHTNM, 9, p. 397

[48] SHTNM, 12, p. 433 ; the informant's family is very close to the court of the Kyungus.

may have inherited some of the instruments of power from them.

Ngonde traditions do not agree on the name of the Kyungu who overthrew the Simbowes. Some accounts say that Kyungu Syola, the son of the man who led the original party from Rungwe, did it. Others claim that like his father Kafwimbi, Syola died in Isaki, and that it was his son Kiposa who fought Simbowe. Others still claim that Syola died after the successful invasion of Mbande, and that in accordance with his will he was buried in Isaki because this was the place where he and his advisers had planned their assault on Mbande. Most accounts are full of praise of him: the brave one, the magician, and founder of the kingdom.[49] We are here dealing with events that took place in the distant past, and probably over a long period of time. Traditions tend to exaggerate Syola's greatness at the expense of his immediate predecessors, Kiposa and Mwakalosi, because it was he who expelled the Simbowes. There is no doubt, however, that during the reigns of these early Kyungus the political and religious realities of the area were greatly altered.

From the rather thin traditions covering this period several factors emerge. The Kyungus did not immediately disturb the way of life of the indigenous people. They were left to manage their own affairs and all that was required of them was to show allegiance.

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[49] SHTNM, 3, pp. 313, 315.

They did this by sending tribute - in the shape of food - to the Kyungus at the beginning of every harvest season.[50] It is also probable that, to consolidate their position, the Kyungus and their advisers married into some of these families. We know that later Kyungus often married into established families, and there is every reason to suppose that the earlier ones did so too.

A new ritual centre was established at Kyimbwe, just two miles north of Mbande, and prayers were said at the beginning of the rainy season, just before the harvest period, and whenever droughts occurred. One of the Kyungu's officials, Mulwa, became the custodian of the centre, and although the Kyungu did not attend the rituals in person he gave blessing to Mulwa before he went to conduct the rituals. If, for example, people complained of a prolonged epidemic and Mulwa sensed feelings of uneasiness in the kingdom, it was his duty to take up the matter with the Kyungu, and on a chosen day, all fires in the land were extinguished and ashes thrown at Kyimbwe.[51] This ritual was called ukutaga ikikungu, purification. But even without the occurrence of epidemic disease, all the residents of the kingdom met at Kyimbwe

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[50]Grant Mwenifumbo, 21.7.871; Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71.

[51]Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71; Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71.

once a year to renew their allegiance to the Kyungu.[52] Again, all fires were extinguished just before the ceremony and new fires were provided from the royal fire which was always kept burning at Mbande, and which symbolised the omnipotence of the Kyungus.[53]

At Kyimbwe prayers were not addressed to the nature spirits, but to Kyungu's ancestors, and as a cult of the Kyungus developed, royal ancestral worship began to replace the worship of the spirit.[54] Whether this was calculated or not, it is difficult to tell, but it would appear that the eclipsing of the religion of the autochthones by the chiefly cult took place gradually. Kisindile (Kambwe) was retained as a ritual centre, but offerings were rarely made there. Mwenekisindile continued to act as the custodian of the centre.[55] Thus although a new cult was introduced into the society, the transition from the pre-Kyungu to the Kyungu period does not appear to have been too radical for the acceptance by the indigenous people.

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[52] Ibid.

[53] For a treatment of the significance of fire in various African societies see, Mbiti, African Religions and Philosophy, p.56.

[54] Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71; Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71.

[55] Mwenekisindile, 15.10.71.

Associated with this development was the emergence of the Kyungu as a divine ruler. He became the priest king and communicator with God. As in other parts of Africa where divine kings reigned, the Ngonde believed in the purity of their ruler, and to avoid contamination and so ensure that disaster did not fall upon the kingdom, the Kyungu had to be confined to his residence. As a living representative of God, it was vital that he did not fall sick, for his health and the well-being of his subjects were inseparable. A strong Kyungu meant a prosperous country, a good yield in the gardens, and ability to avert evil, and any Kyungu who showed signs of ailing was quickly smothered by his counsellors known as the makambala (singular: likambala).[56]

The actual administration of the kingdom was left to the six makambala,[57] Katenga, Mulwa, Kyumba, Ngosi, Mboma, and Mwenitumba. It will be recalled that the ancestors of these court officials accompanied the original Kyungu for most of, and in some cases throughout, the journey from the Rungwe valley. During the course of this journey they seem to have become close confidants of the Kyungus, and on the establishment of the kingdom they formed the

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[56] D.R.Mackenzie, The Spirit-Ridden Konde, pp. 69-75; Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71; Headman, Mwangalaba, 28.8.71.

[57] Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71; Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71.

bureaucracy at Mbande. The office of likambala was hereditary, and because of this the makambala represented stability and continuity in Ngonde society. They became a very powerful force in Ungonde and they guarded their position jealously. Although they owed allegiance to the Kyungu, and although the Kyungu could appoint new makambala, they grew into a tightly-knit group, and prevented any outsider from approaching the Kyungu. They were the only people, other than the heads of the pre-Kyungu clans, who could see the Kyungu in person. Otherwise all complaints were channelled through the makambala, whooften dealt with them without seeking the Kyungu's service. They received tribute on behalf of the Kyungu, stored it, and distributed some of it between themselves, the Kyungu's wives, and the minor officials at Mbande.[58]

Each likambala headed a department. Ngosi was the chamberlain, Kyumba the major domo, and Mulwa head of rituals. Mwenitumba was the official drummer, but as the drum was sounded at special occasions only, he assisted in other duties at Mbande. Mboma's duties are not remembered but it seems he was connected with the military aspects of the administration. There was no standing

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[58]Grant Mwenifumbo, 21.8.71; Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71.

army in Ungonde, but as the area of the kingdom was small, it was possible to call all the people any time the country was in danger of invasion. Katenga was the senior likambala and played the role of a modern prime minister.[59]

The makambala were also the kingmakers. They were the people upon whom the responsibility of deciding who was to be a Kyungu rested. The most important qualities that they looked for in a candidate were courtesy, sense of duty, and ability to get on well with the court officials. As a patrilineal people the Ngonde also required that a candidate be a male, and a descendant of the first Kyungu.[60] Immediately the makambala selected a new Kyungu, his name was presented to the spirits of the departed by Mulwa, the likambala in charge of rituals, and as soon as the divining rod indicated that they had accepted the chdice, the Kyungu to-be was called to Kbande but was not warned of what was going to happen to him. On his arrival he was requested to enter the Kyungu's house and as he passed near the chamberlain, Ngosi, who was at this time dressed in Kyungu's robes and sitting on Kyungu's bed, the prince was seized by him, told of the decision of the ancestral spirits to make him Kyungu.

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[59]Asumani Kyumba 17.10.71; Aram Mboma, 27.10.71.

[60]Headman Mwangalaba, 28.8.71.

He was crowned, and the drum Mwenekelwa was immediately sounded to inform people of the installation of a new ruler.[61] The new Kyungu had to take ifingira, a mixture containing the potent flying serpent, nylfwira, hairs and flesh from different parts of the body of his immediate predecessor.[62] He was also anointed with lion's fat, given the royal stick (~~kamisa~~ mulima), a spear, and a lion's skin on which to sit. It was believed that by the time the new Kyungu had gone through all the rituals on Mbande hill, he was transformed into a god.[63]

All the developments discussed above seem to have taken place gradually, probably during the reigns of the first three Kyungus, Syola, Kiposa, and Mwakalosi (see genealogy below), all of whom ruled Ungonde in the seventeenth century. The historical evidence covering this period is thin, but we know that Mwakalosi had a daughter, Syalilinga, and two sons, Mwandemange Mwenitete and Magemo. On the death of Mwakalosi, Mwenitete renounced the throne and escaped to the lands beyond the Songwe river. Magemo became the Kyungu instead. Mwenitete was not interested in the

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[61] SHTNM, 9, p.400 ; SHTNM, 10, p.411-12; D.R.Mackenzie, op.cit., pp. 69-72.

[62] Signifying continuity in Ngonde traditions and institutions. In the West African kingdom of Oyo, the Oba (king) ate the heart of his predecessor. Peter Morton-Williams, 'The yoruba Kingdom of Oyo', in Daryll Forde and P.M.Kabberry, West African Kingdoms in Nineteenth Century, London, 1967, p.53.

[63] Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71; Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71. For a comparison

Syola

Kiposa

Mwakalosi

Mwenitete Magemo Syalilinga

Mwamakula Mwalyambwile Kasyombe

Mwenengubwe

Kyungu ship because he was afraid that the makambala might kill him if he became ill. He was also afraid that as all but one or two male children of the Kyungus were killed at birth by the makambala, his own children would inevitably suffer the same fate.[64] The killing of the kings' children and kings' brothers, was practised in many African kingdoms. In Benin, for example, all contenders to the throne and their children, were killed. The brothers of the kings were spared until they reached the age of twenty or twenty-five. In Buganda all but two or three of the king's brothers were killed. The two or three were allowed to grow in case the king should die.[65]

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of the election of kings in African kingdoms see Tor Irstam, The King of Ganda, Lund, 1944, pp. 45-54.

[64] SHTNM, 15, p. 458.

[65] Irstam, op.cit., p.74.

The main explanation given by the makambala for killing the male offspring of the Kyungus is that, if allowed to live, there was the possibility of illicit relations developing between them and the Kyungu's wives. This would endanger the welfare of the Kyungu, his subjects, and the kingdom. The makambala also feared that once allowed to grow, the princes might prevent them from smothering the Kyungus.[66] There are, however, other plausible explanations of this practice. First, there was the prestige of the office of the Kyungu which had to be preserved. As the Kyungu was believed to be divine, the credibility and dignity of the throne at Mbande had to be maintained, and one way of achieving this was to avoid succession disputes that would inevitably occur if the lives of many princes were spared. Secondly, the future of the senior court officials was at stake. We have seen how powerful the makambala were at Mbande, and how they were the virtual rulers of the kingdom. In view of their power, and apparent access to the wives of the Kyungus, it is likely that they were scared of the possibility that their powers and freedom might be limited if the numbers of the princes were allowed to grow. Traditions cite the case of Kyumba who was accused, and found guilty, of committing adultery with one of the Kyungus' wives

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[66] Godfrey Wilson, The Constitution of Ngonde, p.13.

and who was consequently demoted from the position of a major domo to that of a mere likambala.[67] This case took place some years after the practice of killing the male children of Kyungus was stopped, and it is possible that this factor had some bearing on it.

Magemo's reign is presented in traditions as uneventful, largely because it falls between two important periods in Ngonde history, namely, the establishment of the Kyungus in the Karonga plain, and the expansion of the kingdom. However, it is clear that the way for the enlargement of the kingdom was paved during his Kyungushipp, and in view of this, and of the far reaching effects that this development had on the people and their political system, the account of the part played by Magemo must be told. According to the story, two makambala went to Ngana - the area which today forms the north-western section of Ungonde - to visit one of the Kyungu's relations, Mwaisondole, who was a fisherman living in the Songwe valley. But as Mwaisondole did not receive them well, they went to an influential fisherman of Ndali origins, Mwamkwisi (also known as Mwakasekele), who welcomed them and gave

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[67] Headman Mwafongo and group, 10.10.71; SHTNM, 2, p.309.

them a quantity of dried fish.[68]

On their return to Mbande they spoke very well of Mwamkwisi, and begged Kyungu Magemo to send them on another mission to Ngana. They also saw Katenga, the senior likambala, told him of the fish that they had brought from Ngana, and managed to persuade him to ask his own wife, Nkhalye Syalilinga, who was also a princess, to go with them to Ngana,presumably personally to supervise her husband's interests in the transactions between the Ngana fishermen and the representatives of Mbande. Nkhalye Syalilinga did not go back to Mbande with the makambala, because, unknown to her husband and the Kyungu, the makambala married her to the local ruler Mwamkwisi.[69] When they were asked about her they answered that she had decided to remain behind to dry fish so as to make it easier for the royal porters to carry it to Mbande. Mwamkwisi may have demanded that the makambala should take this unusual action as a price for the special treatment they were receiving from him and his fishermen. On the other hand they may have done it voluntarily after discovering that Syalilinga liked Ngana and was prepared to stay. It is also possible that from the start their intention was to embitter the relations between the Kyungu and Katenga, and so diminish his influence at the court.

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[68] SHTNM, 2, pp.297-8; SHTNM, 4, p.328 ; Sub-chief Mwakawoko, 16.10.71.

[69] James Karambo and group, 18.8.71; SHTNM, 1, p. 288.

On their third visit to Ngana, the makambala found that Syalilinga had given birth to a boy. They went back to Mbande, but this time they told the Kyungu the true story. Kyungu Magemo was very upset by the news and it is said that Katenga was demoted from the office of senior counsellor to a mere court official for having permitted his wife to go to Ngana. However as time passed Magemo became reconciled to the idea of his sister's marriage to a stranger, and gave blessing to it by directing that the boy be given his own childhood name, Kasyombe. It seems that Magemo was forced to come to terms with his sister and new husband because,as he grew older and his reign drew to a close,it became evident that as he had no son to succeed him the nearest available relation was his nephew. Indeed he made it clear in his will that should be die, Kasyombe must became the Kyungu.[70]

Although we are not told about the reaction of the makambala to this development, it seems they were not very happy about it. As a patrilineal people, descent follows the male line, and it was obviously a new practice for the Kyungu to come from the female side. Though Kasyombe must have paid visits to his mother's homeland, it is unlikely that he had been involved or interested in the affairs of the state at the time. Thus in the view of the

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[70] Headman Mwafongo and group, 10.10.71, SHTNM, 4, p.328-9; Mwakasungula, Ndaga Scotland, pp. 137-141.

makambala, he was an initiated heir, and there is evidence to show that on Magemo's death they tried to disregard his will. They sent a message to Mwenitete's son, Mwamakula, now living in Unyakyusa, to go to Mbande, but aware of their intention to make him Kyungu, he, like his father some years before, turned down the invitation. Mwamakula's refusal seems to have forced the makambala to honour Magemo's will by asking Kasyombe to succeed his uncle. Kasyombe came to Mbande with his wife, Fongo,and his son by her, Mwafongo, and in accordance with custom, he inherited the six wives of Magemo.[71]

The death of Magemo and the accession to power of Kasyombe opened a new chapter in Ngonde history. First, the small kingdom of Ngonde which had hitherto been composed of the villages surrounding Mbande, was doubled in size, for now Kasyombe, who was already head of Ngana, also became the Kyungu at Mbande. Ngana, the area in the north-western corner of the Karonga plain, was mainly a fishing village under the rule of the Mwamkwisis whose family originally came from Undali. Kasyombe was a descendant of this clan, and from the time he occupied the throne at Mbande onwards, the country between the Songwe in the north and Lupembe in the south fell under the jurisdiction of the Kyungu, and with

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[71] Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71; SHTNM, 2, p.298 ; Mwakasungula, Ndaga Scotland, pp. 141-143.

minor extensions later, it remained so, until well into the colonial period.

Another significant change resulting directly from the accession of Kasyombe is that ofrom then onwards, the powers of the Kyungu and his general relations with the makambala changed very much in the ruler's favour. As we saw earlier, Kasyombe was brought up in Ngana and was not really part of the Mbande congregation. He found it difficult to conform to the rigid rules that his predecessors had been subjected to. He refused to be confined to Mbande, and went on tours of the kingdom whenever he wanted. Soon after arriving at Mbande, Kasyombe put an end to the practice of killing the male children of the Kyungus and threatened to kill all the makambala if they tried to tamper with his wives and children.[72] All Kasyombe's children grew up, and as far as we know, so did those of his successors. Not unnaturally, the makambala were very disturbed by Kasyombe's attempts to restrict some of their traditionally accepted duties. They regarded this as a challenge to Ngonde customs and institutions. However, they did not do anything about it immediately. They continued to perform most of their usual functions such as supervising the collection of tribute, and adjudicating disputes between different families in the kingdom. The only difference was that the Kyungu now actively

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[72]Headman Mwafongo and group, 10.10.71.

participated in the administration of the kingdom.[73]

Towards the beginning of the last quarter of the 18th century, i.e. around 1775, Kasyombe died of a wound inflicted on him by a leopard. The makambala were not given the change to smother him, as he was immediately carried off by his close relations to Ulambo, where he was nursed. He was succeeded by his second son, Mwenegubwe, and not Mwafongo. The latter was disqualified by the makambala because he was born before Kasyombe came to Mbande. Mwafongo seems to have spent most of his time in Ngana after his father's accession, and he was generally considered hostile to the makambala.[74] Although traditions are silent on Mwenengubwe's reign, it would appear that he followed his father's hard line in his attitude towards what the makambala saw as the Kyungu's proper role in the kingdom. There is an incident remembered in the tradition of the Mwenelupembes which suggests that the makambala did not get on well with Kyungu Mwenengubwe. According to this tradition, some time during the reign of Kasyombe, Mwenegubwe who was then a mere prince, was assulted by the people of Lupembe during a visit to the area. He never forgot this incident and when he became Kyungu he sought to revenge it. He ordered the makambala to punish the head of Lupembe, but as the makambala sympathised

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[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

with the culprit, they refused to obey the command. Instead they urged Mwenengubwe to settle the matter in a more amicable way.[75]

No doubt the makambala thought that Mwenengubwe was overstepping the limits within which a respectable Kyungu was expected to operate. In the pre-Kasyombe days, Mwenegubwe would have been confined at Mbande, and any displeasure that he claims to have incurred during his visit to Lupembe would have been investigated by the makambala in a more dignified manner. It must also be remembered that the interests of the makambala and those of the heads of the pre-Kyungu clans such as Mwenelupembe were now similar: both felt threatened by the rise of the princes, and both sought to preserve the status quo. The pre-Kyungu clans must have realised that the numerous princes would spread to the outlying areas and would ultimately replace them.

Mwenengubwe does not appear to have ruled for long. The makambala became so unhappy with the Ngana king that they smothered him, but before doing this, they asked Mulwa to recall his nephew, Mwangonde, who was living in Utambo.[76] Traditions do not give a uniform explanation of the circumstances surrounding Mwangonde's birth, or indeed, the details of what happened to him in the early days of his life. Since this subject arouses passion and controversy

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[75]SHTNM, II, pp. 324-5

[76]Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71.

among the Ngonde, it seems reasonable to consider it in some detail. One popular version relates that Kyungu Magemo married into the Mtambo family of Utambo, on the borders of the present Zambia and northern Malawi. His wife was related to Mulwa the likambala, who it will be recalled originally came from Utambo. When she gave birth to a boy she immediately informed Mulwa who advised her to leave for Utambo because of the fear that should his colleagues hear of the birth of the baby theymight kill it. Indeed, on hearing the news of this birth, the makambala approached the Kyungu and asked him to clarify the matter. The Kyungu told them that he had not seen the woman for some time, and was not aware of any new developments, but he advised them to check on Mulwa. Mulwa answered them that he had not seen the woman, and that since she was the wife of the Kyungu, he was not directly responsible for her. The umwafi, poison for ordeal, which was the standard method of testing serious charges, was prepared and administered on Mulwa three times. He vomited, and thus proved his innocence.[77]

The second version alleges that Kyungu Magemo died leaving his wife Nankonde expecting a baby and that Nankonde, who up to that time had given birth to female children only, was this time almost certain that it would be a boy. This tradition goes on to

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[77] Ibid.; Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71; SHTNM, 10, p. 410.

say that Mulwa secretly arranged her escape to Utambo where, as expected, she gave birth to a baby boy. It is argued by people who believe in this version that the story has been suppressed by the descendants of Nankonde's son because it raises the crucial question of the legitimacyof Mwangonde. They add that there is no reason to fear telling the truth, because it is clear that she was impregnated by her husband Magemo.[78]

Although Kyungu Magemo was probably aware that his wife was expecting a baby it is unlikely that he was told of his son's birth. Had he been informed about it, he would probably have not directed that on his death he should be succeeded by his nephew, Kasyombe. It must be remembered that during Magemo's reign, the influence of the makambala was at its apex. They still controlled the private life of the Kyungu. So although Magemo slept with his wives, the makambala regulated their visits to the Kyungu's main residence.[79] It seems more likely, therefore, that just before the birth of the child, Mulwa's sister escaped to Utambo. The child, Mwangonde, grew up in Utambo, and as the dissatisfaction of the makambala with Ngana rule increased, Mulwa was requested by his Colleagues to recall his nephew to Mbande.

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[78] Headman Mwafongo and group, 10.10.71.

[79] Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71.

## Chapter IV

## THE PROBLEM OF SURVIVAL: THE KINGDOM c.1780-c.1860

On his return from Utambo, Mwangonde did not go to the court of Kyungu Mwenengubwe. Instead he established a new village, which later became his headquarters, at Uiwa, so-called in memory of the area where he spent most of his early life.[1] Although traditions do not say why he decided to establish his capital on a new site, there are two possible explanations for this. First Mwangonde was recalled from Utambo by the makambala because of their dissatisfaction with the way Kyungus Kasyombe and Mwenengubwe had conducted the affairs of the kingdom. Under these two Kyungus, the influence of the makambala had started to wane, and they were anxious to regain it. It seems that on his arrival, Mwangonde was briefed about their plans, and advised not to go to Mbande, but to wait in the background until the death of Mwenengubwe. Indeed the circumstances surrounding the death of the latter - who must have died a young man - and the accession of Mwangonde are suspicious.[2] In view of the confusion and

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[1] Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71; Headman James Karambo and Mwenechiluba, 18.8.71.

[2] Mwenengubwe was about the same age as Mwangonde and, therefore, must have been born at the beginning of the second half of the 18th century, say around 1760. If Mwangonde became Kyungu in the 1780s, Mwenengubwe must have died in his early twenties. For details of the chronology of the Kyungus and Ungonde, see Appendix I.

uncertainty in the traditional accounts of what happened to Mwenengubwe, and of the evident determined efforts of the makambala to reassert their influence, we can only assume that he was ritually smothered by them. The other likelihood is that Mwangonde was prevented from taking up residence at Mbande village by a ritual problem such as not having drunk ifingira, the mixture that was believed to make a ruler strong and redoubtable. This would have been very important for him in order to receive the respect from Mwenengubwe's Ngana brothers. In this connection Mwangonde's choice of Uiwa, which is in the neighbourhood of Mbande, is significant. It was vital for him to select a location near the symbolic Mbande hill in order to show his legitimacy. This demonstrates the idea of continuity and change that appears to dominate Ngonde history.

Both Godfrey and Monica Wilson have suggested that the Kyungus began to descend from the top of Mbande hill during the reigns of Mwenengubwe and Mwangonde.[3] This is based on the assumption that, until Kasyombe's time, all the Kyungus had lived on the hill. But, as we saw in the last chapter, Mbande hill was a ritual centre associated with the ancestral cult of the Kyungus, and it remained sacrosanct. Ngonde traditions emphasise that no

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[3]Godfrey Wilson, The Constitution of Ngonde, p.18; Monica Wilson, Communal Rituals, p.21.

Kyungu ever lived on it, not even Simbowe. In fact, it is impossible to live on this hill, because it is stony and rugged, and there is not enough room for a Kyungu, his family, and officials to build their residences. The traditional headquarters were in the valley below the hill, particularly the area on the north bank of the North Rukuru river. It was Ngonde custom to bury the Kyungus in, or very close to, the house of the senior wife, and with a few exceptions, the rule was strictly adhered to.[4] This is one way by which the Ngonde are, today, able to recognize the sites where the past Kyungus dwelt. As the table below shows, most of the Kyungus were buried at the base of Mbande hill or a little away from it.

| Kyungu | Place of burial |
|---|---|
| Mwakalosi | Mnyangala |
| Magemo | Kasanga |
| Kasyombe | Lulangwe (or Kasanga) |
| Mwenengubwe | Ibutu |
| Mwangonde | Uiwa (Bwiba) |
| Mwembeta Mwakasungula | Mkungwe (Lupangala) |
| Gwasapasi | Mkungwe |
| Njola Mwanfongo | Bulwilo |

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[4] SHTNM, 10, pp.405-6; Headman Mulwa, 10.10.71; Headman Mwafongo, Donald Mwandwanga Mwafongo, and group, 10.10.71.

| Kyungu | Place of burial |
|---|---|
| Mwaulambo | Lulangwe |
| Mwakabanga I | Ipota |
| Mwangalaba I | Mwenechungu |
| Peter (Mwangalaba II) | Uiwa (Bwiba) |

(see map of Mbande area - map IV)[5]

It must also be pointed out that the Ngonde do not always distinguish between Mbande village and the hill, and this can be confusing to anyperson who is new to the area. The main reason for this lack of distinction is that the hill was associated with the Kyungu in his religious role as a personification of God, whereas the village was linked with him in his political role as a ruler.[6] The Wilsons seem to have taken the tradition that refers to the descent from the hill by Mwenengubwe and his successors, too literally. The tradition would appear to refer to the general easing of the restrictions on the Kyungus that started on the arrival of Kasyombe at Mbande.

The return of Mwangonde, and his accession to the throne, meant that for the first time there were two ruling houses in

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[5] On every royal grave was planted a tree that belongs to the baobab family. These trees, locally known as mizumba-zumba, are very big and easily recognizable. Each burial site has a particular name (for example, Kasanga, Mkugwe), but they are all concentrated in the Mbande area.

[6] People closely connected with Mbande hill and its rituals tend to assume that everyone understands this distinction. This is particularly so with the inhabitants of Mbande village. See, for example, SHTNM, 2; Headman Mulwa 10.10.71.

MAP IV

Lulangwe (Ukonongo) 13 miles

Ipota (5 miles)

KAMBWE Lagoon (Kisindile)

SILU HILL

O Bulwilo
O Kasanga
O Mnyangala

NORTH RUKURU RIVER

LAKE MALAWI

Karonga Boma

Mbande Hill

O Mkungwe

O Lupangala

Uiwa (Bwiwa)

Mkungwe

Mkungwe

O Ibutu

MBANDE HILL AREA.

MILES

1 3/4 1/2 1/4 0 1 2

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in Ungonde. The first was the House of Ngerenge (also called Kerenge) composed of the direct descendants of the first Kyungu to arrive in the plain. Mwangonde belonged to this house. The second was the House of Ngana which comprised the descendants of Kasyombe, the son of Mwamkwisi by Kyungu Magemo's sister, Syalilinga. Naturally, this factor was to have far-reaching effects on the kingdom. Indeed, as we shall presently see, it was to lead to bitterness between some members of the two houses, a bitterness that plunged the country into a civil war. But the question which just be asked first is, why were the Ngonde, particularly the bureaucratic makambala, willing to accept the emergence of two houses?

It would appear that in spite of their dislike for the princes of the House of Ngana, the makambala passively acquiesced in this development because they saw it as a way of ultimately keeping the Kyungus relatively weak, and so consolidating and strengthening their own position. As shrewd and experienced administrators, who saw themselves as custodians of tradition as well as kingmakers, the makambala must have been quite aware of the political advantages of allowing, if not encouraging, the growth of two ruling houses. Rivalries, which are inherent in dynasties with more than one lineage, or without a fixed succession system such as primogeniture, would obviously become part of the political life. Such a system would breed instability

in the kingdom and the makambala would be the main beneficiaries. There would always be uncertainty among the prospective Kyungus and the general public as to who would succeed a reigning Kyungu, and the makambala would once again be the people to decide. No consistent succession system, such as an alternating system, seems to have been developed, or allowed to evolve, and an examination of the genealogies of the two ruling houses (see below) shows this. Although traditions do not explain why this did not occur, it would appear that it was also a deliberate attempt by the makambala to preserve an element of uncertainty in matters of succession which would always be resolved by them in council. Thus the question of the legitimacy of any ruler would, as in the pre-Kasyombe days, be left to them. Evidently this was a good substitute for the old system of confining the Kyungus to the court and of killing all the male children but one or two. This shows the ability of the makambala to adapt themselves to changing times without losing their important role as a stabilizing force in Ngonde society, and their skill in manipulating things to their own advantage.

The makambala were certainly successful in their relations with Kyungu Mwangonde. We hear of no friction between them. He was their choice and initiate, so perhaps their dealings were bound to be smoother than otherwise. But traditional accounts

seem to suggest that he was by temperament a pragmatist, a quality that he demonstrated when he took a sensible approach to the problems of his cousins, the members of the House of Ngana by quickly allotting them some land outside Mbande.[7] This action must have pleased the makambala and received their support, for again it meant dispersing the potential Kyungus to different areas, leaving them (the makambala) the choice of who was to succeed the throne. Indeed, it is possible that they advised Mwangonde to take this action.

But the dispersal of the members of the House of Ngana, and the allocation of land to them did not go well with Mwanfongo, who was the eldest son of Kasyombe and who was by-passed by the makambala in favour of his brother, Mwenengubwe, because of his bad temper and aggressiveness. Mwafongo was in Ngana when Mwangonde allocated land to other members of the House of Ngana, and it is said that, on hearing of this, he grew angry because he felt that it was an insult for the Kyungu to turn them into 'cattle herders' and that, in any case, under the rule of the Kerenges, they would receive a raw deal. So, quietly and without informing the Kyungu, he approached his younger brothers, Mwaulambo, Mwenengubwe, Msomba Karambo, Mwasakabanga, and Mbwili, and tried to persuaded them to return with him to their original home in Ngana. ~~Karambo, Mwasakabanga~~ →

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[7]Headman Mwafongo, D. Mwandwanga Mwafongo, and group, 10.10.71.

~~and Mbwili, and persuaded them to return with him to their original home in Ngana.~~ Karambo, Mwasakabanga and Mbwili left with him for Ngana. The rest are said to have refused to go because they were happy with the land assigned to them. When Kyungu Mwangonde heard of what Mwafongo had done, he urged him to leave his brothers alone and assured him that they would not be ill-treated. It is said that the Kyungu punished Mwafongo by rendering him sterile.[8]

Godfrey Wilson termed this the first civil war.[9] If this was a war between the houses, we must find out who supported each house and for what reason. Civil wars require that there should be support for each side. There is no evidence to show that Mwafongo, who saw himself as the head of the House of Ngana, fought or even attacked, the Kerenges. It would appear that his plan was to secede from the now enlarged kingdom, and to establish a kingdom of his own. His actions may have been motivated by his own frustration at not having been made Kyungu on the death of Kasyombe, and by not having been consulted by Mwangonde before the allocation of land to his brothers. But if it is true that his complaint was that the Kyungu was trying to turn his brothers into 'cattle herders', and if it is also true that later, Mwangonde promised him that should the Nganas return they would not be maltreated,[10]

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[8] Ibid.; SHTNM, 2, p.305.

[9] Godfrey Wilson, The Constitution, p.25.

[10] Headman Mwafongo, D. Mwandwanga Mwafongo, and group, 10.10.71.

it seems Mwafongo had some genuine grievances. Although cattle are a very prestigious possession in Ungonde, 'cattle herding' is a job that is left to servants, poor people, and slaves. What this tradition seems to imply is that Mwafongo's brothers were being degraded by the Ngerenges, and as the senior Ngana prince, Mwafongo, was urged by his sense of duty to protect them from further degradation.

Mwafongo does not seem to have been personally opposed to Mwangonde. The cause of fear was Mwangonde's ambition and the rashness of sons like Mwambeta. He must have feared that should they come to power, the Nganas might be mishandled. Godfrey Wilson interprets this as a quarrel between the sons of Kasyombe and Mwangonde, because the latter regarded their Ngana cousins as '.... only commoners, we object to their proximity'.[11] He is probably right in suggesting that, in spite of the fact that Kerenges and Nganas were first-cousins, the Kerenges still looked upon the Nganas as commoners who had come to reign at Mbande because of an accident caused by the practice of the makambala of killing the male children of the Kyungus. It is easy to give this simple interpretation if one depends, as Godfrey Wilson did, solely on the information from the Kerenges. The problem was more complex than this, and as we shall soon see, land appears to have been the main cause of contention.

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[11] Godfrey Wilson, op.cit., p.25.

Although Mwafongo's attempts to secede failed, it is significant in two respects. It shows that the union between

| Magemo (Kyungu iv)<br>Kerenges | Ngana |
|---|---|
| | Kasyombe (Kyungu v) |
| Mwangonde (Kyungu vi) | Mwenegubwe (Kyungu iv) |
| Mwakasungula (Kyungu vii) | Gwazapasi (Kyungu ix) |
| Mwambelo (Kyungu viii) | Njola Mwafongo (Kyungu x) |
| Mwaulambo (Kyungu xii) | Mwaulambo (Kyungu xi) |

Ngana and the original Ngonde kingdom was unstable and not easy to maintain. Secondly, it demonstrates how deep-rooted was the belief in the potency of the Kyungu as the giver and taker of life. For example we are informed that when Mwafongo was 'rendered sterile', he told Kyungu Mwangonde that he was not going to fight him because 'you are the Kyungu and therefore my father. Although I am older than you, I cannot fight you because of this respect that I bear for you.'[12] The Kyungus were believed to be a source of fertility, and it was this faith in his strong power, and in what he represented, that made him an unquestioned conciliator, and ensured the continuity of the kingdom.

Though Mwafongo had retreated to Ngana after Kyungu Mwangonde's reprimand, he does not appear to have been very happy with the way the matter was settled. On his return to his home,

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[12]SHTNM, 2, p. 306.

he mobilized his people and enlisted the help of the Ndali, a group of people living in the Undali mountains in southern Tanzania. It will be recalled that Mwafongo's grandfather, Mwamkwisi, who was also the father of Kasyombe, originally came from Undali, and it would appear that the Ndali began to back Mwafongo in his attempt to secure better conditions and more land for his brothers. It is said that when Mwafongo was 'made sterile' by Kyungu Mwangonde, the Ndali told him not to worry about it because their local doctors would administer medicine to make him regain his fertility.[13] Whether he regained it or not we do not know. However, we are told that although he later married other women, he did not have any more children. So perhaps the Kyungu's curse on him was effective. But we must not take the Ndali doctor's offer too literally. It seems that the offer was for military assistance for, as we shall see, the Ndali were good iron smelters and smiths, and made weapons such as axes and spears. This must have been an added advantage for Mwafongo and his party.

We do not know who was backing the Ngerenges. The traditions of this House are silent on this matter because, one suspects, their ancestors emerged as the losers. The accounts of the makambala

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[13] Ibid., p. 306. It is worth noting that Mwafongo's own mother was a Ndali.

are also silent about it, but it is not unlikely that they were pleased by the feuds between the princes. The rather ambiguous role that the makambala played in this war is one reason that makes one feel that they had welcomed the emergence of two ruling houses. As argued earlier, such quarrels and confusions would have the effect of giving them more room to manoeuvre things and fully to reassert their influence. It is possible, though, that the Ngerenges drew their support from families that had settled, and were settling, in the area that had in the pre-Kasyombe period formed the kingdom of Ngonde. Another source of support could have been the families of the mothers of the princes, most of whom were well established and had many followers of their own.

The Nganas led by Mwafongo, and the Ngerenges led by Mwambeta, met on the northern borders of the present day Kilupula's area. The Ngerenges suffered a major defeat, and among the casualties were two sons of Mwangonde, Kalonga (also known as Mwambungu), and Mwansele.[14] The war ended when Kyungu Mwangonde brought the two sides together and ordered them to live together in peace and harmony. The Nganas were given more land, and according to them it was this concession that ended the fighting. They got what they

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[14]SHTNM, 2, p. 307; SHTNN, p. 324.

had been asking for and there was no reason to continue with the war. They emerged victorious and the Ngerenges as losers, because they lost some of their land.[15]

It is said that, as a result of Mwangonde's intervention, Mwambeta, who had led the Ngerenge campaign, ran away to Kisaku, in Unyakyusa. This action is regarded by some Ngonde as a disapproval of his father's mediation of the dispute. Others say that Mwangonde secretly advised his favourite son, Mwambeta, to go into hiding because he feared that he too might be killed.[16] The second interpretation is more convincing because it is said that, as a result of Mwambeta's prolonged exile, the Kyungu was unhappy, and that his anger was expressed by causing a long drought in the kingdom. The drought ended when the people approached the makambala and asked them to beg the Kyungu to forgive them, particularly the culprits. He promised to do so only if his son returned. This seems to indicate that bitterness between the two houses had not ended. Indeed, as one tradition says,

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[15]SHTNM, 2, p. 307., Headman Mwafongo, D. Mwandwanga Mwafongo, and group, 10.10.71.

[16]Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71.

> 'The makambala went to Mwafongo and begged him to allow them to bring back Mwambeta (Mwakasungula) and thereby appease Kyungu Mwangonde. Mwafongo told them that he was no longer opposed to the idea, for the brothers for whom he had been fighting were now free and had gained plenty of land. The makambala went to Mwamba and collected Mwambeta. As they reached Itete and the Songwe, rains started pouring, and by the time they had reached Mbande it was raining heavily.'[17]

The tradition goes on to say that on Mwambeta's return, the Kyungu called the Ngerenges and Nganas to Uiwa (Bwiba) and once more advised them not to fight.[18] But this time he allocated Mwakasungula some more land. He was happier now, so there was to be no major feud between the two houses. Thus, as suggested earlier, land would appear to have been the main cause of strife between Nganas and Ngerenges.

While he was in Kisaku, Mwambeta is said to have involved himself in a local vendetta in which he won a major victory. Around this time, many Nyakyusa princes were arguing and fighting over the recognition of a new cult, Kyala, which was undermining the popularity of older and more established cults, Mbasi and Lwembe.[19] One of the most persistent opponents of the new cult

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[17] SHTNM, 2, p. 307

[18] Headman Mwafongo, D. Mwandwanga Mwafongo, and group, 10.10.71; Godfrey Wilson, op.cit., p.26.

[19] Marcia Wright, 'Nyakyusa Cults and Politics in the Later Nineteenth Century' in Ranger and Kimambo, p.159; S.R.Charsley, The Prices of Nyakyusa, pp. 30-44.

was Prince Mwaseba, and yet, he was also among the weakest Nyakyusa princes. It would appear that Mwaseba asked Mwambeta to help him fight Prince Mwakyusa, who was very powerful and an ardent supporter of the new cult of Kyala.[20] At about this time, too, the Mwenitetes who, it will be recalled, had renounced the throne on the death of their father, Kyungu Mwakalosi, and who had gone to live in Unyakyusa, were being harassed by Mwakyusa for, it would seem, supporting the Lwembe and Mbasi cults. Traditions of the Mwenitetes recall how their ancestors suffered at the hands of Mwakyusa, and how in the end they were forced to return to Ungonde.[21] Thus it was not difficult for Mwasemba to persuade Mwambeta to attack Mwakyusa who was assisted by an even more powerful prince called Mwakasungula. So awesome was this villain that when Mwambeta killed him, he proudly adopted the name Mwakasungula.[22]

While this was happening north of the Songwe, other major developments were taking place south of the border. There a dispute that is generally referred to in the traditinns as 'The

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[20] Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71; SHTNM, 3, p. 314.

[21] SHTNM, 15, pp. 455-6.

[22] SHTNM, I p.290; Simon Pupwe Kapawike Mwalilino, 30.9.71; Malange, 29.9.71.

Bamantha affair' was raging between Bamantha Gondwe Chikulamayembe and Mwafulilwa, the heads of two important dynasties of the of the Tumbuka-speaking peoples.[23] The Chikulamayembes had come from across the lake in the middle of the 18th century, originally as traders, and achieved political power in Nkamanga by marrying into some of the oldest and most influential clans such as the Luhangas.[24] The Mwafulilwas too had originally come from across the lake, probably also in the 18th century, and had settled in the area immediately to the south of Ungonde. Unlike the Chikulamayembes, the Mwafulilwas were not traders, and it is clear from traditions that they came to the area as immigrants. Though the two families were not related, and though the countries that they ruled were independent of each other, it would appear that the founder of the Fulilwa dynasty was assisted by one of the early Chikulamayembes in establishing himself in the area.[25]

It is said that while Bamantha (the fourth Chikulamayembe) was on a visit to Fulilwa, as the area ruled by the Mwafulilwas is called, he was asked to help in making a hoe handle. Bamantha,

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[23]Darson Mponela, 24.10.71; SHTNM, 3, p. 319.

[24]H.Leroy Vail, 'Suggestions towards a Reinterpreted Tumbuka History' in Pachai, pp. 157-160.

[25]Darson Mponela, 24.10.71.

who regarded himself as senior to Mwafulilwa, was insulted by this request, and declared war on Fulilwa. Kyungu Mwangonde was asked to mediate, and sent his son, Mwambeta, to deputise on his behalf. Mwafulilwa was found to be in the wrong, and for this he was asked to give both Bamantha and the Kyungu a number of women.[26] Some Ngonde traditions go further than this. They claim that in fact the Kyungu fought the Chikulamayembe and that, as a result of the war, there was a revision of boundaries.[27] This seems to be a reflection in traditions of a long-standing disagreement on the questinn of the boundary between Ungonde and the Tumbuka-speaking area in the south, and the Ngonde tend to overplay the conciliatory role of the Kyungus in the Bamantha affair in order to prove that their territory extended further south than some people think it did.[28] As for the Chikulamayembes, it would appear that this was part of their grand plans to extend their influence to the outlying areas, and particularly to control the ferry crossing at Chilumba, in Fulilwa, probably for purposes of trade. As we have seen, the Chikulamayembes were originally

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[26] Ibid.

[27] SHTNM, 3, p. 319

[28] This is evident in, for example, Mwakasungula, Mwakabanga, and Mwamlima, 'The Nkonde Point of View'.

traders, and economic factors underlay their loose 'empire'. Bamantha's immediate predecessor, Pitamkusa, had already subdued some of the weaker rulers who lay in the Chikulameyembes' way, and Fulilwa, which was of strategic importance for them, was next on their list.[29] For Ungonde the significance of this episode is that it is the first direct contact mentioned in the traditions between the Kyungus and their counterparts in the south. This indicates that the internal political situation was beginning to stabilize, and that consequently, Mwangonde was confident enough to venture voluntarily into the world outside his own area. The contact between the Fulilwas and the Kyungus was to prove useful during the Ngoni raids some years later.

Not long after this incident took place, a group of people, believed to be of Bemba origins, and led by a certain Kyepele, invaded Hewe, which lies west of the Luangwa and north east of the Chikulamayembes' Nkamanga. According to Tumbuka traditions, the Hewe ruler, Katumbi, appealed to Bamantha, the Chikulamayembe, for aid. The Chikulamayembe responded quickly, but also sent a message to Kyungu Mwangonde asking him for Ngonde assistance in repelling the invaders. Ngonde fighters led by Mwangonde's son, Mwambeta Mwakasungula, and assisted by Mwafongo,

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[29] Young, Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples, pp. 98-103; Vail, 'Suggestions towards ...', pp. 157-60.

went to Hewe, and the joint forces attacked the Bemba, burnt their camps, and forced them to withdraw westwards.[30] The Ngonde version of this event accords with that of the Katumbis and the Chikulamayembes. The only disagreement is that the traditional accounts of the Ngonde say that their ancestors joined the war at the request of Uyombe which they claim was a vassal state.[31]

These 'invaders' are identified by a Bemba tradition as a group of Bemba, Sukuma, and Bisa people who, after the defeat of Chewe by Chilesye, ran away from Ichinga and settled at Mawuwo on the eastern side of the Luangwa river. While they were there these people began to brag that they were on a mission from the Bemba chief, Chilesye Cepela, to conquer the Tumbuka-speaking peoples. The tradition also confirms the methods used by the joint Ngonde, Yombe, and Nkamanga forces in defeating the Bemba.[32] Andrew Roberts, who is the leading authority on Bemba history, reckons that this event took place in the early 1840s.[33] His

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[30] Chief Katumbi, 'The History of Katumbi', p.4. (This is a private paper in possession of Dr. H.L.Vail of the University of Zambia); Saulos Nyirenda, 'History of the Tumbuka-Henga People', Bantu Studies, V, I (1930), pp. 18-20.

[31] Mwakasungula et al., 'The Nkonde Point of View', pp. 73-77.

[32] Andrew D. Roberts, A History of the Bemba, London, 1974, p.121.

[33] Ibid.

calculation is based on the fact that when the Ngoni reached Ungonde in about 1840, Mwambeta Mwakasungula was on the throne at Mbande. As the Ngoni invasion of Ungonde is discussed in greater detail below, it is sufficient to say here that Ngonde traditions collected by the present author seem to support Roberts' calculation. However, the significance for the Ngonde of the so-called Cepela war is that, like the 'Bamantha affair', it gave a further chance to future rulers such as Mwambeta Mwakasungula to meet more people outside Ungonde and see how these people conducted their warfare. It also shows that Kyungu Mwangonde was in the process of embarking on an expansionist policy which, if it had not been for the arrival of the Ngoni, might have extended the Kyungus' territory.

Thus Mwangonde's long reign (c.1780-c1839) was by no means uneventful. We have seen how internal tensions almost destroyed the Ngonde kingdom, and how he saved it. We have also seen how active he became in foreign affairs. There is a danger, however, of emphasising these aspects of his rule at the expense of other constructive developments within the kingdom itself. Perhaps the most important of these was his attempt at an effective control of the outlying villages, most of which belonged to the pre-Kyungu clans who, as we saw earlier, had hitherto been left undisturbed. Mwangonde employed two methods in achieving this. First, he married into some of the prominent families in the country. For

example, he married into the Sichalis, and by a Nachali he had a son, Mwambelo, who was later to become a Kyungu.[34] This was a shrewd move, because the Sichalis lived in the southernmost part of the kingdom, and Mwangonde was thus assured of their support.

The other method was to 'assign', or 'second' his sons to the heads of some of the pre-Kyungu families. As a descendant of one of these clans put it to Godfrey Wilson,

> 'A Kyungu would send one of his sons (i.e. a chief) to a certain noble saying, "I send this your son to build with you, his father" - for the nobles were called "father" by the sons of the Kyungu - so the noble would give his affection to the son of the Kyungu and the noble would lose his power. And yet, even so, in the old days the two of them, chief and noble, would remain on friendly terms..'[35]

Indeed, this measure had the effect of diminishing the influence of the heads of the pre-Kyungu clans in the eyes of the common people. However, they continued to be respected by Kyungu Mwangonde, and continued to have direct access to him. In fact the ties between the individual families into which the Kyungu married, or the clans to which the Kyungu's sons were 'assigned', became closer. Perhaps this would explain why there seems to have been no protest at their loss of 'power'. On the other hand if the process was, as it appears to have been, a gradual one, it is

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[34] Headman Mwambelo, 25.9.71.

[35] Godfrey Wilson, op.cit., p.19.

possible that they did not realise that they were losing their powers to the princes until it was too late.

All the princes who displaced the clan heads had their own counsellors drawn from the more established commoners. These were known as mafumu (elders) and not makambala, the latter designation exclusively applied to the six hereditary court officials at Mbande. Besides this distinction between mafumu and makambala, the whole administrative system of the princedoms was modelled on Mbande. Each princedom was named after the founder prince. For example, the area in which Mwambelo lived became known as Mwambelo. It must be emphasised that the princedoms were not autonomous. The Kyungus remained supreme. They could, and did, intervene in the affairs of the princedoms whenever they thought fit. All the princes and their subjects had to attend the annual rituals such as the kikungu (purification) ceremony. They were also expected to contribute to the food granaries at Mbande by sending tribute at the beginning of the harvest season. They also sent people to work in the royal gardens called milasa.[36]

On the death of Kyungu Mwangonde, the makambala asked the rightful heir Karonga to succeed, but the latter, on the advice

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[36] Headman Mwafongo, D.Mwandwanga Mwafongo, 10.10.71; Headman Mwangalaba, 25.9.71; Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71.

of his mother, renounced itin favour of his brother Mwambeta Mwakasungula. Karonga is said to have refused the throne because Mwakasungula had been Kyungu Mwangonde's companion for a long time, and that 'all medicines of chieftainship are in his possession; how is it that you take me instead of him? And it is he who has done the fighting not I.'[37] It is true that Mwakasungula was an experienced warrior and organizer and that, had Karonga succeeded to the throne, the two might not have worked together well. However, there are other possible reasons for his refusing the Kyungu-ship. First, although the influence of the makambala was waning, they retained some of their ritual functions, and it is not unlikely that Karonga and his mother were worried that should be hecome Kyungu they might smother him. Secondly, Karonga may have felt unable to deal with some of the powerful members of the House of Ngama. Finally, and perhaps more important, a new external threat was facing the kindgom: the Ngoni had struck the south of the present day northern Malawi and were approaching Ungonde. This was a national emergency, and only someone of the qualities and experience of Mwakasungula could handle it.

In about 1840, the Ngoni arrived at Mawali in the South Rukuru river valley, in Chulu's area, and from there they sent

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[37]Godfrey Wilson, op.cit., p. 28; SHTNM, 3, p. 324

advance parties to find out about the interior, mostly about cattle which was one of their main pre-occupations. Ngoni scouts returned with favourable reports on the availability of cattle in the lands beyond the Henga valley.[38] Two attacks were made on Ungonde but they were successfully repelled. During the third assault Kyungu Mwakasungula, who was leading the defence, was fatally wounded, and he died shortly afterwards. Mwakasungula had made a decree that on his death the throne should go to his brother Mwambelo, because he was the only man capable of fighting the Ngoni. Though his wishes were followed, Mwambelo refused to go to Mbande on the ground that it would have left the southern part of the country to the Ngoni.[39] Meantime, the Ngoni invaded Fulilwa. Mwafulilwa surrendered to them, but before doing so, he sent word to Mwambelo asking him for help. With a threat on his doorstep, Mwambelo responded and went to Mwafulilwa's assistance. The Ngoni were repelled but they returned, this time making a direct attack on Mwambelo's country, and, as usual, they made their assault in the early hours of the morning when everyone was asleep. The Ngonde mode of fighting was open air confrontation, and they found it difficult to cope with the Ngoni strategy. Many people, including Kyungu Mwambelo, were

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[38] Yesaya Mlonyeni Chibambo, My Ngoni of Nyasaland, London, 1942, p.43; idem, 'Makani Gha Wangoni' in Midauko, Livingstonia, 1965, p.62.

[39] SHTNM, I, p.281

killed. He was succeeded by Gwasapasi, who immediately conceded defeat and gave the Ngoni cattle. The invaders thereupon retreated.[40]

Apart from the Ngoni wars, Mwambelo's short reign does not appear to have been very eventful. The only other thing remembered of him is that he was mentally unbalanced.[41] He is said to have turned against all his wives, torturing them physically,and finally expelling them to their homes. It is difficult to believe that a responsible Kyungu like Mwakasungula would have deliberately entrusted the security of the kingdom to a mentally unstable person. Mwambelo had been brought up at his mother's home in south Ungonde, and does not appear to have held much respect for some of the minor details of the institutions at Mbande. We are also told that he was a strict disciplinarian, and it is highly unlikely that he got on well with the makambala. His refusal to be crowned and live at Mbande was deeply resented by the makambala, and it is not surprising that some traditions refer to him as mentally ill.

One of the effects of all these events was to promote communication and trade between the Ngonde and most of their neighbours.

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[40] Ibid, pp.291; Godfrey Wilson, op.cit., oo. 28-29; Godwin Ndovi, 'Makani Gha BaNdovi', in Midauko, pp. 16-17; SHTNM, 7,pp. 373-4

[41] Headman Mwalughali, 23.9.71.



1. NYIHA IRON FURNACE situated in Mbalazi Valley in the Chitipa District. Probably built in the 18th century or 19th century

2. TAMBO/NYIHA IRON FURNACE situated at Namasasa four miles west of Chitipa Boma Probably built in the 18th or 19th century

PLATE 1.



PLATE 2.

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As a result of the wars there was a need for more weapons, the most important of which was the spear. The Ngonde did not have the ore from which to smelt iron, but the Kinga had good mineral ore and were famous iron smelters. They made hoes and sold them to the Ngonde in return for food which was plentiful in Ungonde.[42] The Kinga also brought with them war-medicine which they bought from the Bena, and exchanged it for umwafi poison used for ordeals for which the Ngonde were famous, and which many African peoples used for judging cases. Once these hoes wore out, the Ngonde sold them to the Ndali in return for bark-cloth, amabi, which the Ngonde did not make. The Ndali went back to their homes with the worn-out hoes, ifisuka, and forged them into spears, axes, and sickles. They then returned to Ungonde with these tools and bark cloth, and exchanged them for more ifisuka.[43]

The bark-cloth had to be worn with a belt, ilinyenta (plural: amanyenta), usually made of copper or brass wire. Coppersmiths existed in Usangu and Unyiha, but the Ngonde acquired theirs through the Ndali, and sometimes, the Nyakyusa. The Ndali also bought salt from Ulambya and Unyiha, and sold it to the Nyakyusa and Ngonde. As both the Nyakyusa and Ngonde were great cattle keepers,

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[42] Headman Mwangalaba 25.9.71; Mwaihombe, 21.10.71.

[43] Headman Karambo and group, 18.8.71; John Mwakyusa Mwandenga and Jacob Mwandenga, 26.10.71; Brown Nthakomwa, 21.9.71; Monica Wilson, Good Company, London, 1951, p.61.

they needed salt in large quantities for their cattle to lick and, of course, for their own consumption.[44] It is clear from oral traditions that the trade was organized on an informal basis. The general pattern was something like this: A Ndali would give his merchandise to an associate in Ngana, who would in turn pass it on to another acquaintance in Ungonde. The latter would sell it, and return the proceeds to the Ndali through the Ngana intermediary. Some people, particularly the Kinga, preferred to trek to Ungonde and sell their products. It was necessary to do this where the trade involved food because of the time it would take for the intermediaries to pass on the commodity.

Thus, it seems that the Ndali became the main middlemen between the peoples of the Lake Malawi region on the one hand, and the Nyiha and related peoples on the other. They would appear also to have played the role of the people that Christopher St. John must have been looking for when he wrote 'if the trade route

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[44] A. Yangamanya Mwakalimi Kita, 13.11.71; Headman Mwenichinga and group, 20.11.71; some of this salt may have come from Uvumma near Lake Rukwa. The Nyakyusa bought some of their salt from the Bena. Monica Wilson, Good Company, p.61. Brass and copper wire was also used by smiths for decorating spears. H.B. Cotteril described the Nyakyusa spears as, 'most cruel looking weapons with their long sharp barbs /and/ made of a very white, pure native iron, and the shafts are often beautifully inlaid with a delicate tracery of brass and copper wire'. J. Frederic Elton, Travels and Researches among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa (edited by H.B.Cotteril), London, 1879, p.323.

through the corridor never achieved the status of the Nyamwezi or Bisa routes, it was partly because there were no indigenous peoples who had sufficient opportunity to develop the entrepreneurial talent of the Nyamwezi or Bisa.'[45] The Ndali had all the potentials of entrepreneurship, but time was against them. As Gray and Birmingham rightly say, any attempts by local people to develop the potential would have been thwarted by the arrival in the region of the Swahili and Arab traders from the East African coast.[46]

The development of this trade coupled with the increase in communication - resulting from the wars - had definite consequences on society. It led to an increase in the population of the kingdom. Traditions of many Ngonde clans go back five or six generations only, and most of these clans trace their origins to Unyakyusa, Ukinga, and Undali. This seems to suggest they settled in Ungonde during and immediately after the wars.

It has been proposed by Godfrey Wilson that the Kyungus' powers and the growth of the Ngonde kingdom was partly due to the Kyungus' control of the ivory trade. Wilson seems to have

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[45] Christopher St. John, 'Kazembe and the Tanganyika-Nyasa Corridor', in R.Gray and D.Birmingham (eds), Pre-Colonial African Trade, London, 1970, 220.

[46] Gray and Birmingham, 'Some Economic and Political Consequences of Trade in Central and Eastern Africa in the pre-Colonial Period' in Gray and Birmingham, p.23.

been influenced by two factors.[47] First the story of how the Kyungus are supposed to have expelled the Simbowes, a story that, we have argued, must not be taken literally. The second factor is that when the Wilsons were working in Ungonde, in the later 1930s, the Kyungu of the time was Peter Mwangalaba, who had become rich as ta result of working for the African Lakes Company, and later establishing his own business concerns. Wilson seems to have wrongly linked Peter Mwangalaba's personal commercial abilities and successes with 'a tradition in Ngonde that Mbande was a centre of trade as well as Government ....' But we know that Peter became Kyungu in1933, long after embarking on his successful business, and that his association with Mbande had nothing to do with his riches.[48]

There is yet another weakness in Wilson's analysis. His list of Kyungus starts with Magemo who, according to him, was the

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[47]Godfrey Wilson, op.cit., p.13.

[48]According to Godfrey Wilson, Peter Mwangalaba's capital in 1923 was worth 'well over £1,000, and had four shops of his own'. Ibid, p.79. In his report to the Provincial Commissioner (Northern Province) the Resident at Karonga, Mr. Kenyon Slaney, said this of Peter: 'Peter Mwakasungula is an educated native, and is a very wealthy one. He is said to have made large profits from the cotton industry, and is certainly a very considerable trader. He naturally attaches great importance to his business, and it is on these grounds that I am opposed to his becoming Principal Headman of the Karonga Section. He would, I feel, subordinate his 'boma' work to his trading ...' File No. NN/7/I, National Archives of Malawi.

seventh Kyungu but who, as we saw in the last chapter, was in fact the fourth Kyungu, and must have reigned during the early part of the 18th century. Furthermore he does not say anything about Magemo's predecessors, and how this trade is supposed to have helped them and the kingdom. There is no evidence in oral traditions to show that the early Kyungus were involved in the ivory trade, or that there was any contact with traders such as Swahili or Bisa before the 19th century. Traditions state very explicitly that although one tusk of every elephant occasionally killed - killed for meat - was sent to the Kyungu, it was not sold to anybody but was used to decorate his home. This is corroborated by the observations of some of the first European travellers, who reported that they found no evidence that the Ngonde had sold ivory to outsiders. One of these Europeans, Herbert Rhodes, the brother of Cecil Rhodes, reported that the area had the largest reserves of elephants and local people were happy when he and his party shot them.[49]

Earlier we referred to the arrival in the 18th century of Mlowoka Chikulamayembe in the region south of Ungonde, and the emergence, by the early 19th century, of his loose empire based

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[49] Cited in H.W.Macmillan, 'The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company: 1878:1908', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1970, p.16.

primarily on trade. It is true that, through incidents such as the 'Bamantha affair', the Kyungu came in contact with the Chikulamayembes. But traditions of the Ngonde and of the Tumbuka-speaking peoples do not show any evidence that the Kyungu became involved in this trade at any scale as a result of this contact. It must not be assumed that every ruler was interested in the ivory trade. We know for example that although the Yao and the Bisa were famous long-distance traders, the Chewa, through whose country these traders passed, did not take part, certainly not a significant part, in this commerce.[50] Similarly, the Tumbuka-speaking people who live to the east of Ubisa were not involved in this trade until well into the 19th century.[51]

If the ivory trade had developed on the scale that Wilson seems to imply in his proposition, the bureaucratic system - in this case the makambala - would probably have improved. We know from the studies of other African kingdoms that trade on a large scale often led to the expansion of the administrative machinery in order to cope with new pressures. In the kingdom of Oyo, for example, special offices were created to ensure that all trading highways were free from raiders, and that wealth continued to flow

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[50] E.A.Alpers, 'The Role of the Yao in the Development of Trade in East-Central Africa (1698-1850)', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1966, p.206.

[51] Personal communication from H.L.Vail.

into the capital.[52] Nothing approaching this developed in Ungonde, and the bureaucratic machinery remained rudimentary. From the evidence that is available, the makambala continued to concern themselves primarily with the internal politics of the kingdom.

When the Kyungus arrived in Ungonde they found rudiments of a polity, and they built on this. The kingdom was expanded when Kasyombe became the Kyungu. But the major unifying factor of the Ngonde was the belief in the spiritual powers of the Kyungu. He was believed to have the ability of bringing good and evil on the society. This was proved during the civil war, when his subjects thought that he caused the drought, and begged him to forgive them. He was the ultimate judicial authority, and, as such, appeals could be made to him by his subjects in the princedoms whenever they felt unhappy with the way justice was administered at a local level. All items of regalia were kept at Mbande, the principal ones being the royal drum (Mwenekelwa), the royal stick (Mulima), and the royal spear (Kamisa). Without these items nobody could become a Kyungu, and this fact was a major deterrent to the breaking up of the kingdom. Another factor

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[52] Peter Morton-Williams, 'The Yoruba Kingdom of Oyo' in D. Forde and P.M. Kaberry (eds.), West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century, London, 1967, pp. 36-39.

that discouraged ambitious princes from seceding was the general lack of land. By the second half of the 19th century, some Nyakyusa princes had settled on the northern bank of the Songwe, and, as we have seen, most of them were hostile to the Ngonde. In the south was Mwafulilwa. Thus there was no room for expansion, and it was in everybody's interest to utilise the little that they had.

To sum up, the period of Ngonde history that we have just discussed is marked by tension caused partly by conflict between the two ruling houses, Ngerenge and Ngana, and partly by outside groups such as the Nyakyusa, Bemba, and Ngoni. Yet in spite of the internal and external pressures, the kingdom survived, but was not left in a very strong position to face future problems, such as the northward migration of the Henga followed by another Nyakyusa war, the arrival of the Arab and Swahili traders and, finally, the establishment of the African Lakes Company. The survival of the state seems to have been largelydue to the deep faith of the Ngonde in the spiritual powers of the Kyungu, a belief that enabled him successfully to intervene in feuds between different factions within the area of his jurisprudence, and at the same time to rally behind him all his subjects in times of danger.

# Chapter V

# THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NORTHERN MALAWI, c.1850-1880.

The submission of Kyungu Gwasapasi to the Ngoni army in the 1840s, the terms of which involved the transfer of herds of cattle to the victors, had a devastating and far-reaching effect on internal Ngonde politics during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Ngoni left soon after receiving the cattle and did not return until many years later.[1] Gwasapasi's immediate predecessors, Mwakasungula and Mwambelo, both of the House of Kerenge, the senior branch of the Ngonde ruling family, had been killed while defending the kingdom from the invading Ngoni. The Ngonde army generals, who were always chosen from the royalty, had expected the successor of Mwambelo to continue fighting and to deploy all the resources available in the land. The latter included experienced men who had taken part in wars against the Nyakyusa and Bemba, and all the weaponry, mainly spears and long knives, accumulated during the pre-Ngoni period. On the death of Kyungu Mwakasungula, his brother and successor, Mwambelo, had

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[1] After finally settling in the Kasito valley and the highlands on the west and east of it, Ngoni rulers sent numerous parties to raid the neighbouring regions. In 1892, they overran Nthalile in the Chitipa uplands, and then proceeded to southern Ungonde, where they attacked Lupembe village. They were repelled by the Ngonde, aided by the British, who were in the area at the time. James Chilongo, 3.1.72; Gogo Nyamphaka and Gogo Nyasoko, 7.11.71; Y.M.Chibambo, 'Makani Gha WaNgoni', in Midauko, p.85; Life and Works, January 1893.

continued to fight, and Gwasapasi was advised by the generals to follow his predecessors' example. The princes were convinced that in spite of the major assaults launched by the enemy forces, they had not succeeded in going as far as the interior of the kingdom. On this account there was a possibility of forcing them back to the south for good. But to achieve this, it was vital for the Ngonde to have a strong Kyungu who, like Mwakasungula and Mwambelo, would be prepared to lead them in the field as well as at Mbande, the ritual headquarters of the kingdom.[2]

The desires of the military strategists were in direct conflict with those of the traditionalists, the makambala, who, not very happy with the developments inthe institution of the Kyungushipsince the time of Mwambelo, were determined to resist the forces of change which manifested themselves through the princes. The office of the Kyungu had become too secular for the liking of the makambala, so much so that some of the functions that were traditionally regarded as the preserve of the latter were now being performed by the Kyungus. For example, the Kyungus began to take a more active part in judicial matters such as settling disputes between different factions,and they toured the kingdom whenever need arose. These departments had hitherto belonged solely and

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[2]Headman Mwafongo, D.Mwandwanga Mwafongo, and group, 10.10.71.

to the makambala, and all they had been required to do besides was to report to the Kyungu. Now, with the personal involvement of the Kyungu in the day-to-day affairs of the state, it was almost impossible for the makambala to play one faction against another to their political advantage,without the Kyungu discovering it. To aggravate the situation, the Kyungus had become too interested in the army, a new phenomenon in the history of Ungonde. Even the much admired and revered Kyungu Mwangonde had avoided getting involved in the military aspects of his administration and had left everything to the princes. The makambala were now resolved to reverse the trend of events and were even ready for a showdown with the most influential princes, Mwakasungula, Karonga, Mwakabanga, Malema of the House of Kerenge, and Njola Mwafongo and Mwasakabanga (Kilupula) of the House of Ngana.[3]

The installation of Gwasapasi as Kyungu by the makambala in the 1840s was the first act to trigger off a series of conflicts between the makambala and the princes. The result of this was to weaken the fabric upon which the kingdom lay. The princes were so displeased by Gwasapasi's appointment and his subsequent surrender to the Ngoni that they threatened him with violence. To them he was a traitor, a moron, incapable of ruling the country,

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[3] Ibid.; Asumani Kyumba, 17.10.71.

above all a rubber stamp of the makambala very much in the tradition of their great ancestors. The makambala, who must have backed Gwasapasi's surrender, were forced to bow to the pressures of the princes because they feared that the latter might cause unrest at a time when the kingdom required to start reconstructing what had been destroyed during the wars. Some time towards the end of the 1850s, Gwasapasi was deposed, and, in accordance with custom, was secretly smothered by the makambala in order to make way for a new Kyungu.[4]

This was the first major confrontation between the makambala and the members of the royalty since the time of Kyungu Kasyombe and Mwenengubwe. It will be recalled that at that time Kasyombe, and his son and successor, Mwenengubwe, triumphantly restricted some of the powers of the makambala such as the killing of the male children of the Kyungus and the confining of the kings to their residences. But though the issue at stake then, and during the post-Nguni period, was essentially the same, namely the struggle for supremacy or ascendancy, the differences in the nature of the quarrels are significant. In the earlier dispute, the makambala were trying to shield the tradition and custom of the kingdom from what were regarded as radical changes that the members of

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[4] Ibid.; in SHTNM, I, p. 291. Gwaza Pasi is said to have been killed by the makambala for surrendering to the Ngoni.

the House of Ngana were resolved to initiate. Though the kingdom expanded as a result of Kasyombe's accession to the throne at Mbande, there were no princedoms as yet; no war had been fought with an external power; and no grand administrative system that can be discerned had yet evolved. As for those outside the ruling circles, the commoners, there is no indication of involvement in the affair and, in view of the distant relationship between the Kyungus and their subjects in those days, it is highly unlikely that they were involved to any notable degree.

In contrast, the post-Ngoni dispute took place in different circumstances and involved more people. It was thus more potentially explosive, and posed a greater threat to the survival of the kingdom. In this struggle the belligerents were the Kyungu and the makambala on the one hand, and the princes, supported by the commoners, on the other. Since the time of Kyungu Mwangonde, the princes had increased numerically, and, through the policy of allotting land to them, there had developed a kind of confederacy in which the Kyungu, by virtue of his ritual and secular powers, remained supreme. The princedoms were, as far as organization was concerned, a replica of the set up at Mbande. The princes had their own subjects, who were nearer to them than to Mbande; and, finally, the princes, their mafumu, and commoners, held rituals and prayers whenever disaster struck their princedoms. In all, therefore,

the commoners were more personally involved in the politics of the country, albeit at grassroot level, than their counterparts in the pre-1800 period. There was yet another side to this issue. The 'modern' princes were well-travelled. Some of them had seen service in the wars against the Nyakyusa, Bemba, and the Ngoni, and had been exposed to the ways of life of these people. This contact with the outside world influenced and, indeed, was reflected in, their attitude towards the monarchyy and its functions. There is no evidence to show that the princes were trying to change the ritual aspects of the Kynnguship but there is little doubt that they wanted to add more to the secular aspects of it. By insisting that Kyungu Mwambelo's successor be a fighter, a trend started during Mwakasungula's reign, the princes were reforming the institution of the Kyungushipp.[5]

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[5]The rulers of the immediate neighbours of the Ngonde had more secular powers than the Kyungus, and we cannot minimize the influence of this factor on the Ngonde princes. The Mwafulilwas, or even the Nyakyusa rulers, for example, had more freedom of activity than the Kyungus. Though proud of the Kyunguship, the princes wanted to expand the bounds within which a Kyungu could operate. The military aspect of it seems to have pre-occupied them.

Sometime in the 1850s, Gwasapasi was succeeded by Njola Mwafongo, also of the House of Ngana, and a son of the Mwafongo who had attempted to break away from the kingdom during the reign of Mwangonde. Njola Mwafongo is said to have been weak with women and was given the name Njola (collector) because of the numerous women that he gathered around him.[6] However, his installation did not receive the immediate approval of the Kerenges and so the situation did not wholly improve. The Kerenges objected to his appointment on the ground that it was wrong for the throne to go to the same house once again but, unfortunately for them, they had no precedent upon which to base their argument. It will be remembered that Kasyombe, the founder of the House of Ngana, was succeeded by his son, Mwenengubwe. Similarly, Mwangonde, Mwakasungula, and Mwambelo, all Kerenges, ruled Ungonde in three consecutive reigns. Moreover, like Mwambelo, Njola Mwafongo had been brought up in his mother's homeland in southern Ungonde.[7] His supporters, the makambala, were quick to use this as a factor in his favour. They argued that having lived in the south, the

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[6] Headman Mwafongo and group, 10.10.71.

[7] Ibid.; Headman Mwambelo, 25.9.71.

area most prone to Ngoni attacks, Njola Mwafongo had experienced some hardships and was qualified to lead the kingdom as well as any popular wartime Kyungu had done. Also as a nominal head of the House of Ngana, a position that he inherited from his father, Njola was the general commander of the Ngonde regiment that was based on the northern frontier. So on the whole, Njola Mwafongo had all the qualifications that the princes - including Njola before his elevation - had insisted a 'modern' Kyungu must possess. But in spite of this, the Kerenges were not very impressed by the makambala choice of Njola. They had expected one of their own number to be selected, but as they had no powers to reverse the decision, they reluctantly conceded. The Kerenges had to assent to the choice of the makambala partly because Njola was indeed a more eligible prince than his predecessor, Gwasapasi, and also because the Ngana princes were not prepared to back the idea of pressing the makambala to depose Njola Mwafongo, whom they greatly respected.[8] The princes were interested in the throne at Mbande and thus would not rebel. Also, as pointed out in the last chapter, it was impossible to establish a new kingdom because of the scarcity of land, and more importantly, because the instruments of power which included the royal drum (Mwenekelwa), the royal stick (~~Kamisa~~ Mulima) and the royal stool were all indivisible.

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[8]Headman Mwafongo and group, 10.10.71.

Frustrated by their apparent inability to influence decisions, the princes of the House of Kerenge withdrew their active participation in the affairs of the kingdom. Their protest took the shape of general disregard of the authority of the makambala, and they consulted Mbande only when special cases such as rituals concerning drought or epidemics that affected the entire kingdom obliged them to do so. The inevitable consequence of this action was to weaken the administrative network that had started to operate during the reign of Mwangonde. In the reforms that Mwangonde instituted, lines of communication between Mbande and the princedoms were clearly laid down. For instance, the princes were for the first time formally allowed direct access to the Kyungu and could now see him without going through the makambala; . tribute, mostly food, from the princedoms had to be paid annually into the Kyungu's treasury and princes took turns to send their people to work in the royal gardens, milasa, located at Mbande and elsewhere in the kingdom.[9] The Kyungu, his family, the makambala, and all the servants at Mbande depended on the tribute and the food from the royal gardens. The withdrawal of cooperation by the Kerenges was very much felt at Mbande, particularly by the minor servants who could not hope to share with those in the higher echelons the supplies that came from princes of Ngana.

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[9]Headman Mwangalaba, 25.8.71; Godfrey Wilson, The Constitution of the Ngonde, p.64.

To make things worse for the kingdom, the general apathy on the part of the Kerenges indirectly affected the members of the House of Ngana. Njola Mwafongo, like his father before him, had been regarded as the unofficial head of Ngana, but on his elevation to the Kyungu-ship, he could no longer continue in that position. As Kyungu he was expected to be impartial and to avoid involving himself in inter-house feuds. Thus, he left a vacuum that required to be filled. A young member of the house, Kilupula, son of prince Mwasakabanga, emerged as the leader of the group. While recognizing the Kyungu as his superior, Kilupula set about to place himself as the head of the House of Ngana.[10] He devoted most of his time and energy to consolidating his influence, and in the process of doing this he left the Kyungu and the makambala almost alone. Indeed, in spite of his toughness, and determination to soldier on, Njola Mwafongo became isolated and virtually powerless. His reign was throughout plagued by friction between Mbande and the princedoms, and by his efforts to win back, through persuasion, all the princes. However, an opportunity to rally his people behind him came some time towards the end of the 1870s, when Mbande forces clashed with a certain Swahili, Malamula, aided by two Nyakyusa princes. This incident serves to demonstrate the lack of unity in Ungonde at that time and shows the ineffectiveness of even a

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[10] The other name of Mwasakabang'a son was Mwakikunga, SHTNM, 4, p. 332; Headman Karambo and group, 18.8.71.

potentially able candidate like Njola Mwafongo.

The cause of the clash was a Swahili called Malamula, whose original home is not known, but who it would seem, was either an adventurer or a trader operating in the area between the east coast of Africa and the Sangu/Bungu region.[11] By accident, or perhaps in an attempt to find out more about the lands that lay outside his commercial zone, Malamula went to Unyakyusa where he made friends with several princes. One of the feeble princes, Mwaseba, requested Malamula to help him fight his stronger counterparts who were always harassing him. Malamula refused and then proceeded south but, on reaching the interior of Ungonde, he was met by a hostile group from the court of Kyungu Njola Mwafongo. They stole most of his baggage, thus making it impossible for him to go on with his journey.[12]

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[11] Elton met a number of Swahili in this area, but Malamula is not mentioned in his Travels and Researches among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa, pp. 335-360. However, it seems that Malamula was in fact the man who, two years prior to Frederick Moir's visit to Unyakyusa in 1881, had caused trouble to some Nyakyusa princes, and had burned houses north of Karonga. F. Moir to Miss E. Moir, 14 August, 1881, F.M., 27 August, 1881, cited in H.W.Macmillan, 'Notes on the Origins of the Arab War', in Pachai, p.266. Moir was not very sure about the date of this incident, and Macmillan thinks that Moir had meant to write two months earlier, and not 'two years earlier'. It would appear that Malamula's war occurred some time between 1875 and 1878 (certainly before the Henga and Kamanga rebellions against the Ngoni), but the feuds between the Nyakyusa allies of Malamula and their local rivals continued even after his departure from the area.

[12] Amon Mwakasungula, Ndaga Scotland, pp. 13-14; for Swahili and

It is not known why the Ngonde behaved in such a brutal manner to him, but it is very likely that in view of Malamula's refusal to assist prince Mwaseba and of the traditional friendship that existed between the Ngonde and Mwaseba, the latter had sent a message to the Kyungu warning him of Malamula's impeding visit to Ungonde. It is also very possible that Mwaseba even went to the extent of portraying Malamula as an agent of the other Nyakyusa princes who were enemies of the Ngonde, a feeling that was bound to generate great suspicion, panic and fear in Ungonde.

Malamula was forced to return to Unyakyusa, where he sought the aid of a strong prince, Mwakatundu Mwakipesile, and then immediately marched back to Ungonde with a large army, only to be met by a rather disorganized Ngonde force comprised mainly of contingents from the House of Ngana. The latter suffered heavy casualties and asked for reinforcements from other princedoms. The Kerenges were reluctant to join the war and after some procrastination, only two branches, the Mwanyongos and Mwakabangas, sent in some

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Arab activities in the area between Usangu/Ubungu and the East African Coast, see Alison Smith, 'The Southern Section of the Interior 1840-1884' in Roland Oliver and Gervase Mathew (eds.), History of East Africa, London, 1963, pp. 272-290; Aylward Shorter, 'Nyungu-ya-Mawe and the "Empire of the Ruga-rugas"', IX, 3 (1968), pp. 335-59, C. St. John, 'Kazembe and the Tanganyika-Nyasa Corridor, 1800-1890', pp. 214-228.

help.[13] The rest refused. In fact, some of them escaped to southern Ungonde because they were convinced that Ngonde forces were incapable of defeating the Nyakyusa. Without the tribute and other supplies from the princedoms and the food from the royal gardens, the soldiers could not be properlyfed. The result was that their morale and, indeed, that of the general public, sank to a lower ebb than ever before, and in a state of confusion Kyungu Njola Mwafongo was wounded by the Nyakyusa. As the Ngonde believed that a sick Kyungu meant an ailing nation, Njola Mwafongo was, according to custom, promptly smothered by the makambala. Most of his lieutenants perished in the war, the enemy forces got all the loot, mostly cattle and women, that they could lay their hands on and returned to their homes. Malamula went to the south-west and was never heard of again.[14]

Towards the close of the 1870s Mwaulambo, also of the House of Ngana, succeeded his cousin Njola Mwafongo as Kyungu. Mwaulambo who had spent most of his life in northern Ungonde was a timid man and a much weaker character than Gwasapasi, and it was obvious that he could not stand the pressures of office and the

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[13]Amon Mwakasungula, Ndaga Scotland, p.15.

[14]Ibid., pp. 15-16.

hostile attitude of some of the princes. In fact it is said that Mwaulambo felt so uncomfortable because of the unfriendly atmosphere that he left Mbande and went to live in Ulambo, the princedom that he had headed before becoming Kyungu.[15] Naturally, this action, which was another form of abdication, brought more strain on the Kyungu ship and other institutions at Mbande. The makambala were left on their own and although they continued to act as if all was well, edicts from Mbande could no longer be respected and executed for as long as it was felt that the Kyungu was not in effective control of the affairs of the state. In normal circumstances, the Kyungu should have been based at Mbande village, near the ritual hill that symbolized the continuity of Ngonde culture. From Mbande, the Kyungu would either tour the princedoms himself or command the makambala to deputize on his behalf, and at Mbande, would give audience to members of the royal family, and would also receive emissaries from foreign groups such as Fulilwa in the south, the Ndali in the north west, the Sukwa in the west and friendly chiefs in Unyakyusa.

To the foreigners from overseas, the Kyungu remained unknown at worst and obscure at best. In fact although the inhabitants of the north end of the lake are, in the writings of the first Europeans

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[15] Headman Mwafongo and group, 10.10.71; according to Sichali 'Mwaulambo did not have the ability to rule', SHTNM, I, p.391; SHTNM, 2, p.300

to pass through the area, referred to as the 'Chungus', there is no mention of the office, and person, of Kyungu in any of them. One such traveller was Dr. James Stewart of Lovedale mission in South Africa, who stopped at Kambwe lagoon in Ungonde in 1879, and who observed that 'the people were exceedingly friendly especially the old chief Karonga who brought us a present of a young bull and tusk of ivory'. Stewart was at Kambwe for a week, but in his dispatch to the Royal Geographical Society, he did not indicate whether, during his brief sojourn in northern Malawi, he had even heard of the existence of the Kyungu.[16] It is also significant that the diaries and reports of the British missionaries and traders who operated in the area in the 1880s and early 1890s contain very few references to the Kyungu. The local dignitaries best known to the British were princes Mwaka-sungula, Karonga, and Kilupula, and as we shall presently see, it was these three potentates who in 1885 signed a treaty with John Moir of the African Lakes Company 'ceding' large tracts of land; something that they could not have done had a powerful man been on the throne at Mbande for, according to Ngonde custom, only the Kyungu had powers to take such an action.[17] Indeed, as a

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[16] James Stewart, 'The Second Circumnavigation of Lake Nyassa', Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, V, May 1879, pp. 296-298.

[17] A copy of the deal is in C.O. 525/i35 Internal File, 33359. Also, J. Moir to Percy Anderson, 22.4.1886, F.O. 84/1784.

district officer was later to remark on these treaties, 'Native law and custom is very clear on this point .... that a sub-chief could not under any circumstances make an agreement to deliver, hand over, sell for a consideration, or any way depose of the land to another'.[18] These activities, and the prominence of some of the more powerful Ngonde princes is a further indication of the way the influence of the Kyungu had become eclipsed by their own. It also shows the princes' contempt and disregard for the then Kyungu and his court officials.

Meantime, north of the Songwe, the inherent rivalries between various Nyakyusa princes - most of whom were antagonistic to the Ngonde - were threatening to spread south to the politically unstable Ungonde. It will be recalled that Mwenitete, a Kerenge, was, some time in the early nineteenth century, expelled by Mwakyusa, one of the leading Nyakyusa princes and that a few years later, Mwambeta (later Kyungu Mwakasungula) fought a section of the Nyakyusa and killed a leading local general, Mwakasungula. Although that particular series of skirmishes came to an end, the relations between the Nyakyusa and the Ngonde were seldom cordial.

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[18] O'Brien to Native Reserve Commission (North Nyasa District), 1929, C.O. 525/135 Internal File, 33359.

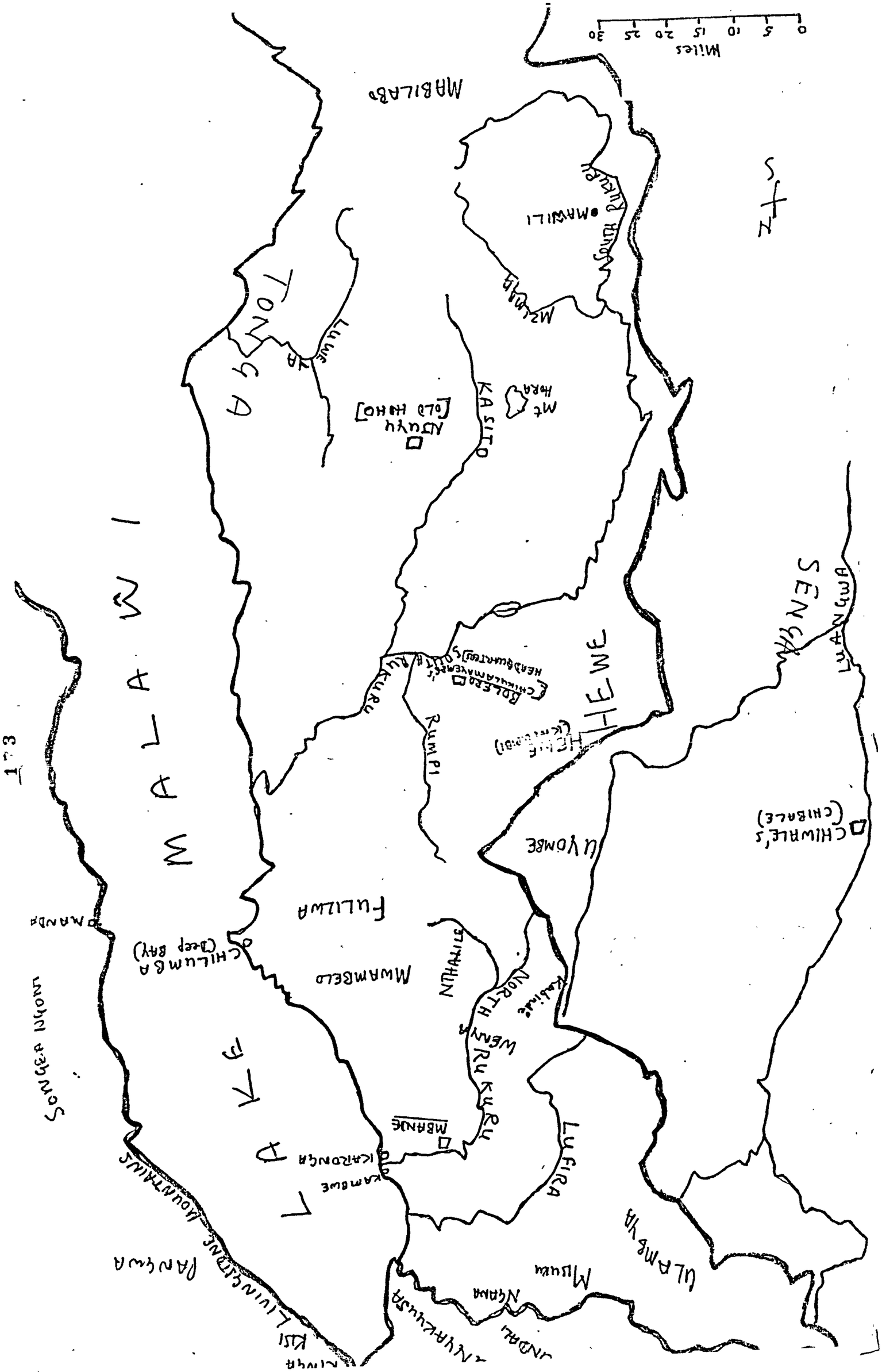
The war between Malamula and prince Mwakatundu on the one hand and the Ngonde on the other was a revival of the old hostilities.

The Nyakyusa were themselves under heavy pressure from three emerging states, the Songea Ngoni in the south-east, the Hehe in the north, and the Sangu in the south-east. One of the most persistent attacks on the Nyakyusa came from a branch of the Ngoni who, after separating from the parent group some time in the 1850s, settled in the regiнn south of the Livingstone mountains, an area that has now come to assume the Ngoni name, Songea. Like their brothers in the lands west of Lake Malawi, the Songea Ngoni depended initially on plunder for food. One of the areas most favoured for looting was the north west which was rich in cattle and agricultural produce, and was inhabited by three major ethnic groups, the Pangwa, Bena, and Nyakyusa. After subjugating the Pangwa, the Ngoni turned their attention to Ubena, then ruled by chief Mtengera.[19] But the interest of this chiefdom brought them in direct conflict with the Hehe, who under the powerful Muyigumba, and later, his son Mkwawa, were intent on bringing the Benainto their fold. The Hehe expelled the Ngoni, conquered the Bena, and then moved on to strike at the Sangu whose able leader, Merere Towelamahamba, had, as a result of his contact with

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[19] P.M.Redmond, 'A Political History of the Songea Ngoni from the mid-nineteenth century to the Rise of the Tanganyika African National Union', unpublished thesis University of London, 1972, pp. 69-74.

MAP V




Northern Malawi In The Nineteenth Century

the Ngoni, organized an efficient army with which he began to forge an empire of his own. The Sangu, as the Ngoni, were interested in Ubena, and the two powers had earlier supported Mtengera in his resistance to the Hehe encroachment. The Hehe were aware of Merere's ambition over Ubena, so they attacked and defeated the Sangu on their territory, and forced them to retreat west to Usafwa. But with the aid of the Inkosi Chipeta of the Bonani Ngoni of Songea, Merere recaptured Usangu, only to lose it again to the Hehe in 1877.[20] When Elton passed through the area in this year, he found the beleaguered Sangu almost helpless, and at the request of Merere, Elton relieved them temporarily.[21] The Sangu-Hehe animosity did not end until the 1890s.

Meantime, the Hehe decided to punish the Ngoni for supporting the Bena, and for presenting the biggest impediment to their expansion south-eastwards. The Ngoni, it would seem, were taken by surprise. They suffered serious losses which included the death of Inkosi Chipeta. But to retain their prestige amongst the subject peoples, the Ngoni quickly mobilized themselves, set on the Hehe and inflicted heavy defeat on them. The two peoples

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[20] Marcia Wright, 'Chief Merere and the Germans', Tanzania Notes and Records, 69 (1968), p.42; idem, German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941, London, 1971, pp. 34-38; Alison Redmayne, 'Mkwawa and the Hehe Wars', J.A.H., IX, 3 (1968), pp. 412-413.

[21] J.F.Elton, op.cit., 337-350.

fought other major battles in 1878 and 1881, and at the end of the last one, it was mutually agreed to postpnne fighting for a generation.[22] With the Hehe out of the way, the Ngoni now concentrated their efforts in countries like Unyakyusa Several raids were made on Unyakyusa but on a most decisive and surprising battle fought at Mwaya in 1886, the Nyakyusa, having for the first time formed a joint defensive front, badly defeated a combined Ngoni/Sangu command, killing, among others, Mwatangala, one of the greatest army generals in the northern Lake Malawi region.[23]

This general instability in the area north of the Songwe affected the Ngonde in a number of ways. First of all, the supply of iron ore, the largest amount of which came from Ukinga in the shape of hoes, was stopped. The Kinga, themselves victims of Songea Ngoni raids, were reluctant to risk long journeys to Ungonde for fear that they might encounter their foes. In any case, as a result of frequent clashes between the Nyakyusa and foreign forces, the demand for ore, with which to make spears and other weapons and tools for domestic usage, increased, with the consequence that the Kinga were no longer faced with the usual problem of having to dispose of the surplus commodity. The Ngonde also depended on the Ndali for spears, cloth, and salt, but here again,

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[22]Alison Redmayne, op.cit., p.414; P.M.Redmond, op.cit., p.106.

[23]Marcia Wright, German Missions in Tanganyika, p.39.

Merere's control of the central and northern Songwe areas greatly disturbed the trade pattern that had developed since Kyungu Mwangonde's time. As we have already noted, one of Merere's major concerns was to build a large fighting force to attack the Hehe, Nyakyusa, and other likely enemies and victims, and to sustain him in power. This big army required food to live on, as well as material for weaponry, and, very often, the Sangu used their might to obtain these supplies. The Ngonde ceased to get the war medicine from Ubena, because the Nyakyusa and other peoples at war needed it all, and so discouraged it from passing through to Ungonde. The Nyakyusa were afraid that if allowed to filter into Ungonde, the war medicine might boost the morale of the Ngonde and encourage them to raid the princedoms north of the Songwe.

So by around 1880, the Ngonde were in a most precarious position: as a result of persistent feuds between different states in the north, foreign trade was disrupted and certain vital commodities could no longer be obtained. The internal situation had not improved either. Kyungu Mwaulambo, afraid of his princes, was still living away from Mbande, and the majority of the princes seem to have continued to defy the makambala. Meanwhile, south of the Ngonde kingdom, some of the domestic and external policies of the Mbelwa Ngoni precipitated a crisis that led to a rebellion and a mass migration of the indigenous Tumbuka-speaking peoples

to Fulilwa, and ultimately into Ungonde. In order to appreciate the reasons for this rebellion, and its bearing on the Ngonde, it is necessary to go into a few details of the way the Ngoni lived with the people amongst whom they settled.

When, sometime between the late 1850s and early 1860s, the main branch of the Ngoni originally led by Zwangendaba re-crossed the Songwe after the romantic and exhausting adventures in the west of modern Tanzania, they settled in the Kasitu valley, the heartland of the Tumbuka proper, a people whose political organization was based on a clan system. The loose empire of the Chikulamayembe had not extended this far, and the task of subduing the people was easily accomplished. Indeed, one of the initial successes of the Ngoni was to subjugate a prominent clan that lived in the vicinity of their new headquarters and to make its head, Baza Dokowe, a subordinate ruler. The Ngoni, now led by Inkosi ya Makosi Zwangedaba's son, Mbelwa, next set about conquering the neighbouring peoples, but before embarking on this expansionist plan, Mbelwa reorganized his already experienced army into regiments so as to make the whole force more manoeuvrable. Mbelwa himself took command of the central battalion; his brother Mabilabo took charge of the division which established its headquarters in the south-east, and was assigned the duty of conquering the people along the lakeshore, the Tonga, from whom they were to

depend for food - chiefly cassava; finally, two other regiments were put under the command of his other brother and former rival to the throne, Mtwalo. Mtwalo was to concentrate on the north, mainly Chikulamayembe's territory - the Nkamanga and Henga valleys. The Ngoni succeeded in subduing the Tonga and in bringing them under their domain. In the north, they deposed the reigning Chikulamayembe and imposed their rule over the Henga and Kamanga. They also made several incursions on Mwase's Chewa but they were repulsed.[24]

One of the remarkable aspects of Ngoni rule was the way in which they assimilated the conquered peoples, particularly the younger generations. All Tonga, Henga, and Kamanga youth had to go through a rigorous training - which included discipline and physical education - in exactly the same way as the pure-blooded young Ngoni warriors, the majaha. All new recruits were assigned to different regiments in the Ngoni army. The result of this system was that by the 1870s some Tumbuka recruits had become such good warriors that they had even risen to the position of battalion commanders. Typical of these were Kanyoli Gondwe of the Chamumono branch of the Gondwe family, and Kambondoma of the Hango clan. Saulos Nyirenda, who knew the two generals very

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[24] Chibambo, 'Makani Gha WanGoni', pp.70-71; Young, Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples, pp. 117. Saulos Nyirenda, 'History of the Tumbuka-Henga People', p.32; W.A. Elmslie, Among the Wild Ngoni, London, 1901, p.28; for Ngoni mode of warfare, see Margaret Read, The Ngoni of Nyasaland, London, 1956, pp. 37-47.

well, has described Kanyoli Gondwe as 'an exceedingly warlike man beyond others living under the Ngoni and even beyond too. When fighting was fierce at the stockade he was the one that got inside and finished the people and it was he whom the Ngoni hailed in the praise name "the wild cat that smells of qondama medicine"'.[25]

But though the careers of Kambondoma and Kanyoli show the lengths to which the Ngoni went in absorbing the local peoples, there is little doubt that it had adverse effects on what may be termed 'pure-Ngoni culture'. Being a minority, the Ngoni were forced to marry into Tumbuka-speaking families,and the children by these marriages were bilingual, speaking both ciNgoni and ciTumbuka. As is generally accepted, language is at the core of any culture, the introduction of ciTumbuka speech and customs in Ngoni society had the effect of weakening the fabric of the Ngoni. Indeed to many senior Ngoni, it became clear that as long as the subject peoples, particularly the elderly and more conservative ones, remained numerically preponderant, Ngoni hegemony would soon come to an end. In about 1870, Mpherembe rejoined the main Ngoni party after years of unsuccessful raids on the Bemba, bringing with him all his followers and thus adding

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[25] Nyirenda, op.cit., p.34; qondama is a Ngoni word probably referring to a war medicine.

more strain on the few fertile valleys that the other Ngoni parties were occupying. It would seem that Mpherembe, frustrated by his adventures in Bemba country, was looking for a release for his pent up feelings. He suggested to the Ngoni council of elders that the best solution to the problems of dealing with the serfs was 'to get rid of the potatoes [old people] and to keep the cassava [the youth]'. Although this idea was accepted by the elders, it was not put into actinn because the indigenous people, through the young pages that usually accompanied the senior Ngoni to their council meetings, heard of it, and immediately reported it to the would-be victims.[26]

The Tonga warriors were the first to act. In 1876, they withdrew their services from the Ngoni and returned to their home-land along the lakeshore. The Kamanga and the Henga, encouraged by the success of the Tonga, and worried by the reprisals that the Ngoni were planning, staged their own rebellion in 1879, under the leadership of the veteran soldiers, Kanyoli and Kambon-doma. Adapting Ngoni methods of conducting warfare, the two soldiers formed two regiments, the Kwenda and Sikwaliwene, headed by Kanyoli and Kambondoma respectively. The Ngoni and the Henga/Kamanga fought several pitched battles, but when the rebels realised that chances of success were minimised by the assistance that the Ngoni

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[26]Young, Notes on the History, pp. 118-124.

received from the Chewa, Kambondoma and Kanyoli started to despatch their followers' families to the lakeshore in Mwafulilwa's area, on the southern border of Ungonde. A few weeks later, the Kwenda and Sikwaliwene regiments joined their families in Fulilwa.[27]

At about this time, Prince Mwaseba, the old Nyakyusa ally of the Kyungus, was being harassed by prince Mwakatundu, the man who two years earlier had invaded Ungonde and killed many people including Kyungu Njola Mwafongo. Mwaseba approached the Kyungu for aid, and the latter, obliged by the defensive agreement and looking for an opportunity to exact revenge on Mwakatundu, responded favourably but told Mwakyusa that in view of the inadequate resources in Ungonde, he was going to ask the Henga who had just settled south of the kingdom to assist them in crushing the Nyakyusa.[28] It would appear that the Kyungu had other reasons for wanting to talk to the Henga/Kamanga 'refugees'. First, if the latter remained inthe south, they might have posed a perpetual threat to the security of the kingdom. The majority

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[27] Ibid., pp. 125-126; Nyirenda, op.cit., pp. 52-54; Chibambo, 'Makani Gha WaNgoni', pp. 72-76.

[28] Saulos Nyirenda, op.cit., p.56; Munthali, 12.8.71; Chithamu Gondwe and group, 13.8.71; Kanyoli Gondwe, 14.8.71; Job Mwagomba, October, 1971.

of the 'refugees' were professional soldiers, and had throughout the period of Ngoni rule been involved in cattle raids in Chewa country. There was thus the possibility of Kanyoli and his colleagues deciding to plunder Ungonde, or to go to Unyakyusa and Ubena to raid for cattle in which case they still would have to pass through Ungnnde. Secondly, the soil in Ungonde was more fertile and produced a greater variety of food crops than that in Fulilwa. But perhaps the most important reason was that for the first time the Ngonde had an opportunity to associate with a powerful and well-trained fighting force that would help them to defend their territory.

In accordance with etiquette, Mwaseba's request for Ngonde assistance was accompanied by cattle, and the Kyungu in turn sent two to Kanyoli promising him more from booty. Kanyoli, unable to resist what seemed to him a good future, left with his Kwenda regiment for Unyakyusa, fought princes Mwakatundu and Mwamakula, defeated them, and, as promised, returned with herds of cattle. The Kyungu asked Kanyoli and his men to settle in northern Ungonde, so that they could act as a buffer against attacks from across the Songwe. When Kambondoma heard of the success of Kanyoli's expedition and of the booty brought from Unyakyusa, he started to hunt for means of staging a similar raid himself. He soon found the opportunity of doing so. Mwakatundu began once again

to irritate Mwaseba. The latter, fully aware of the presence of the Henga on the northern Ungonde border, returned to the Kyungu and asked that his enemies be quietened permanently. With all eagerness, Kambondoma offered his services. He was, however, warned by Kanyoli not to go to Unyakyusa during the rainy season because of the number of the flooded crocodile-infested rivers he and his army would have to cross. Kambondoma turned a deaf ear to this advice and went ahead with the scheme. But though an ambitious expedition, comprising both Henga and Ngondewarriors, it failed miserably. Most of the Henga, unable to swim, were eaten, or drowned; Kambondoma was killed by the Nyakyusa. In contrast, almost all the Ngonde fighters escaped it. They, and the few Henga survivors returned to Ungonde safely. The political leaders were not very perturbed by the results of Kambondoma's expedition because Kanyoli and his people were unaffected and were still living in the north.[29]

So by the beginning of the 1880s, the balance of power in northern Malawi was as follows: in the south, the Ngoni had stopped pursuing the Henga/Kamanga rebels, and were now consolidating their hold over the conquered areas; in the north, the

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[29]Nyirenda, op.cit., pp. 58-62; Zinde Gondwe and group, 15.8.71; Kanyoli Gondwe, 14.8.71.

three major Nyakyusa princes, Mwanjabala, Mwankenja, and Mwakyusa, were preoccupied with raids from the Sangu, Songea Ngoni, and the new arrivals, the Henga; the Ngonde were beginning to feel fairly secure from external powers. This was the situation when the first Swahili and Arab traders, and the Europeans, came to northern Malawi.

# Chapter VI

## THE COMING OF THE ARABS AND THE EUROPEANS

In about 1881, the first Arab traders settled in northern Malawi.[1] Although the Arabs had operated on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba along the East African Coast for many hundreds of years, it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that they became active in the region presently called East Central Africa. As the coast became devoid of elephants and as the demand for ivory in Europe, America, and India increased, the traders began to extend their activities into the hinterland in order to tap new sources. By the middle of the nineteenth century prosperous settlements had sprang up in places like Tabora, Ujiji, and south

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[1] As Hugh Macmillan has recently pointed out, the term Arab poses a problem of definition (H.W.Macmillan, 'Notes on the Origins of the Arab War', in Pachai, The Early History of Malawi, pp. 276-277). As used in Central Africa the term was best defined by Fotheringham: 'first the Muscat or white Arab, who is the true species, hailing originally from Arabia; second the Swahili or coast Arab, who is black, but is strictly Mohammedan in religion .... and third, any up country native who adopts the manners and customs of the Moslem'. Fotheringham, Adventures inNyas.saland, p.12. Fred Moir divided "the so-called' Arab into 'the true Arab, the Mswahili, and lastly any up-country native who may willingly, or unwillingly, have joined the Moslem caravan.....' F.L.M.Moir, "Englishmen and Arabs in East Africa", Murray Magazine, November, 1889, p.627. Although Macmillan is right in observing that 'it would be pedantic to insist' on a strict categorization of the Arabs and Swahili who operated in northern Malawi, an attempt will here be made to distinguish individual traders.

of Lake Tanganyika, manned by independent businessmen and by agents of Zanzibari entrepreneurs.[2] Using these settlements as springboards, some of themore ambitious and adventurous Swahili pushed further west and south west into the areas dominated by the Bemba and the Luapula peoples. In fact, as early as 1831, the Portuguese traveller, Gamitto, found two coastal traders at the court of the Lunda Kazembe.[3] But this earlier generation of Arabs trading in the interior confined themselves to purely commercial matters (principally the purchase of ivory) and tended to be at the mercy of the African chiefs and kings in whose lands they traded. This peaceful approach of the Arabs may be attributed to the fact that they worked as individuals or in very small groups, and though they had superior weapons such as muzzle loading guns, they were not capable of organizing raids on most of their powerful hosts. By the 1860s, however, the situation had changed. Partly due to commercial rivalry between various Arabs, and partly to the interest that some of the African potentates were beginning to

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[2]Alison Smith, 'The Southern Section of the Interior 1840-84', in Roland Oliver and Gervase Mathew (eds.), History of East Africa, I, London, 1963, pp. 263-287; Norman R. Bennett, 'The Arab Impact', in B.A.Ogot and J.A.Kieran (eds.), Zamani, Nairobi, 1968, pp. 219-229.

[3]A.C.P.Gamitto, King Kazembe (translated by Ian Cunnison), I, Lisbon, 1960, pp. 97, 119; Ian Cunnison, 'Kazembe and the Arabs" in Eric Stokes and Richard Brown, The Zambezian Past, Manchester, 1966, pp. 226-237.

develop in the ivory trade, the new generation of Arab traders, such as Tippu Tip, Mwenyi Kheri, and Kabunda, adopted more aggressive tactics towards the local peoples. They arrived well equipped with weapons, prepared to forge alliances with African rulers, and, where necessary, to use force to achieve this. We know, for example, from the writings of David Livingstone, that in 1867 Tippu Tip, who had become a very powerful force in the Lake Tanganyika region and the Lungu country, clashed with a Tabwa chief, Nsama, and that another leading Swahili, Hamis bin Saidi, played a major role in reconciling the two belligerents.[4] Most of the Arab traders had the backing of young unmarried professional warriors, the ruga-ruga, modelled on the Ngoni regimental system, and "especially trained to fight and terrorize their enemies".[5] The ruga-ruga, who as we shall see were to achieve great notoriety in northern Malawi, guarded leading traders wherever they went. It is said that by the last quarter of the nineteenth century many rulers in Unyamwezi and the surrounding region boasted large bands of ruga-ruga.

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[4] David Livingstone, Last Journals (edited by Horace Waller), I, Connecticut, 1970 (a reprint of the original of 1874), pp. 219-223.

[5] Aylward Shorter, Nyungu-Ya-Mawe, Historical Association of Tanzania Paper No. 7, Nairobi, 1969, p.11; idem, 'Nyungu-Ya-Mawe and the 'Empire of the Ruga-rugas'', J.A.H., IX (1968), pp. 240-241.

With the growth of the scramble for ivory in the Lakes Tanganyika, Bangweulu, and Mweru areas, some Swahili ventured to the more remote south-east, and set up their own settlements. One of these was Salim bin Abdallah, the founder of the Jumbe dynasty of Nkota-kota. Salim bin Abdallah is said to have originally come from Zanzibar and to have lived at Ujiji and Tabora before finally settling at Nkhota-kota, the western terminus of one of the main ferries on Lake Malawi and also an important station on a route that linked Kazembe and the East Coast of Africa. Salim ibn Abdallah established himself at the headquarters of Marenga, the ruler of Marimba, and a subordinate of the Chewa chief Kanyenda.[6] When Livingstone and Kirk stopped at Marenga's village in 1861, they noted that Jumbe and his numerous aides were staying with the local chief; but by the time of Livingstone's second visit three years later, it would appear that Jumbe had forcibly taken over power from Marenga. Livingstone observed that Jumbe had become the effective ruler of the district.[7]

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[6] George Shepperson, 'The Jumbe of Kota Kota and some Asepcts of the Historyof Islam in British Central Africa', in I.M.Lewis (ed.), Islam in Tropical Africa, London, 1966, p.196; Edwards to Johnston, 17.7.1894, enclosed in Johnston to Foreign Office, F.O.2/67, 1739.

[7] David and Charles Livingstone, Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries, London, 1865, pp. 511-516; J.P.R. Wallis (ed.), The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, I, London, 1956, pp. 199-201, 210; Harry H. Langworthy, "Central Malawi in the 19th Century" (unpublished paper), pp. 21-23.

The Jumbe, whose following increased swiftly as a result of the vast number of refugees running away from the Mbelwa Ngoni, amassed wealth by exacting heavy tolls on caravans using the ferry. Among the latter were a group of Arabs and Swahili who by the end of the 1870s had separated from those operating in Ubemba and had settled among the Senga in the Upper Luangwa valley, an area particularly rich in elephants.[8] For ivory, the Senga Arabs, like their counterparts elsewhere in Central Africa, depended largely on indigenous African hunters, most of whom were more familiar with local conditions. It was through such connections that the first Arab and Swahili traders came to know of the economic potential of northern Malawi, and it was partly because of this knowledge that they ultimately decided to extend their sphere of activities as far east as the Karonga Lakeshore area.

The person who seems to have introduced the Swahili to this area was a professional elephant hunter called Kalumwenzo Sichinga.

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[8] Langworthy has worked on the history of eastern Zambia, and he reckons that the Swahili were settled at Kambombo in the Luangwa valley by 1879. In fact he suggests that they may have come from the Bemba side at Chiwale's (Chibale's) before this date. Harry W.Langworthy, 'Swahili Influence in the Area between Lake Malawi and the Luangwa River', African Historical Studies, IV, 3 (1971), p.585. Langworthy's sources are: Senga informants, and John Moir's article, 'Mambera's to the Basenga Country', in Report on a Journey of Exploration, September to December, 1879, Occasional Paper, Free Church of Scotland, Livingstonia Mission, Edinburgh, 1880, pp. 7-8, N.L.S.

Kalumwenzo was born and lived in the Kaponda area of Unyiha, and, as a result of his skill as a hunter, had come into contact with the Swahili operating in the so-called ivory-mart, the country between Lake Rukwa and Unamwanga. After good commercial relations had developed between the two parties, the Swahili taught Kalumwenzo Sichinga and his aides the use of guns so that they could kill more elephants and hence sell more ivory. But the Kalumwenzos, fascinated by the new weapons, and attracted by the possibility of increasing wealth, stole the guns, ran away to the south east, and settled in the Upper Luangwa valley. They were soon pursued by the Swahili from whom they had deserted, but instead of harassing them for stealing the guns, an arrangement was made whereby the Kalumwenzos would continue to sell the ivory to them. This arrangement does not appear to have lasted long, for at about this time, probably in the mid 1870s, the Kalumwenzos met the Arabs who had just settled in Usenga. The Kalumwenzos, obviously impressed by the Senga Arabs, struck up a commercial alliance with them, and, it would appear, stopped dealing with the earlier group of Swahili .[9]

After some time, Kalumwenzo Sichinga moved his centre of operations from the source of the Luangwa to Kabinde on the foot of the mountain range that separates the Ungonde plains from the

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[9]SHTNM, 17,pp.474-5; Wazingwa Mgala, April, 1972.

lands in the west. From there they sent hunting parties to different sections of the Chitipa highlands and brought the ivory back to Kabinde, where they sold it to the Arabs in exchange for beads, cloth, and, interestingly, for slaves; this was one of the not so rare situations where the Swahili, instead of buying slaves, sold them to the local Africans in return for ivory. This suggests that at this time ivory was more lucrative at the coast than slaves. It also shows, as we shall see below, that ivory was becoming very scarce. The Kalumwenzos married most of the women slaves and used the men as porters. Generally, the relationship with the men slaves was like that of a father with his children. Food was given to them free, and the majority of the slaves were freed after working for three or four years.[10]

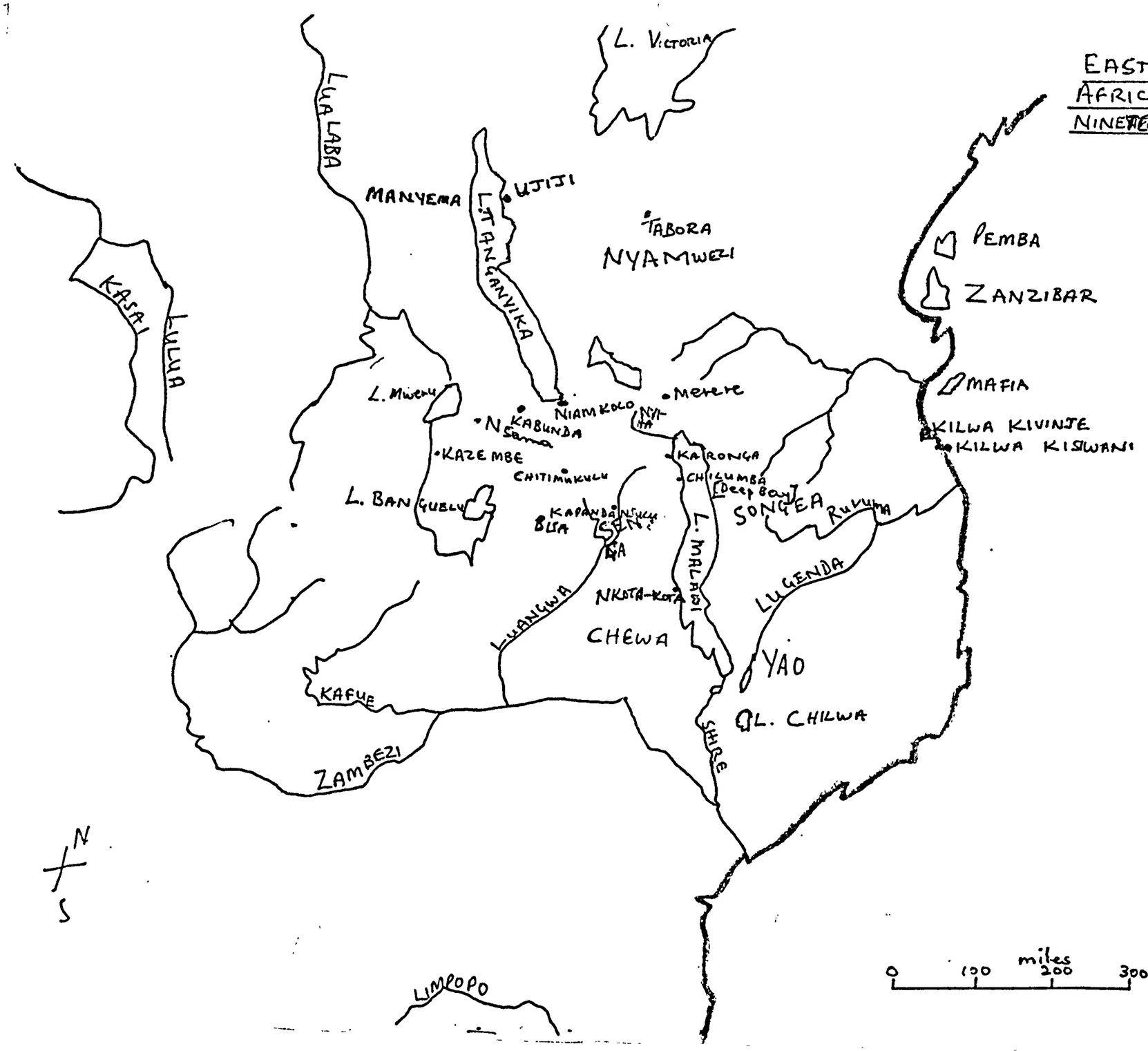
Meantime, though the Arabs were achieving commercial success by tapping the ivory from the Luangwa valley, eastern Ubisa, and now, the plains and highlands of Chitipa district, they were faced with the problem of transporting it to the East Coast without encountering hindrance from unfriendly African rulers and some of the more powerful traders stationed on the main routes. This factor was to lead them to explore the possibilities of establishing their own ferry on the north Malawi lakeshore. Meantime, the major impediments

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[10]Petros N'gambi Mwenemlembe, 23.4.72; SHTNM, 17, p.475.

MAY VI

# EAST CENTRAL AFRICA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



to the progress of the Senga Arabs were the northern Chewa, the Ngoni, and to a lesser extent, the Jumbes of Nkhota-Kota. The direct route between Usenga and Nkhota-Kota passed through the Chewa country which was under the firm control of Mwase Kasungu, an ambitious chief who was resolved to have a hand in the commercial exploits of the Arabs and Swahili in the Luangwa and those on the lake. Although Mwase owed his successes against the Ngoni to the guns given to him by the Swahili, his interest in trade had latterly increased, and he was not prepared to let the Swahili pass through his territory without charging them some duty. The Senga Arabs made the mistake of supporting a Luangwa valley chief, Kambwiri, in a feud with Mwase-wa-Minga, a relation of Mwase Kasungu. To aggravate the situation, Kambwiri, whose area lay on an important crossing on the Luangwa, began to raid the Chewa living on the periphery of his chiefdom. Mwase Kasungu blamed the Swahili for Kambwiri's behaviour and became determined to make things hard for them.[11] One way open to him was to influence the Ngoni to act in a hostile manner to the Arabs. After the earlier clashes between the Ngoni and the Chewa, the two sides had come to respect each other and had even made a defensive alliance,

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[11]Langworthy, "Swahili Influence...", pp. 580-581.

as a result of which the Chewa went to the assistance of the Ngoni during the Henga/Kamanga revolts of the late 1870s. We do not know whether Mwase made an attempt to influence Ngoni policy towards the Swahili, but we can be sure that, in view of Ngoni suspicion and dislike of the Swahili, such persuasion would have met with a good response. Several Ngoni bids to subdue the Senga had failed because of the latter's superior weapons, principally guns, given to them by the Swahili. Already, the Ngoni suspected the Swahili of abetting the Tumbuka-speaking peoples who were resisting and rebelling against their rule. The Ngoni were not at all interested in trade. The Jumbe made several approaches to them in an attempt to establish diplomatic and commercial links, but he failed. He even tried to induce them to develop interest in the ivory trade by promising to pay twice the usual amount for ivory from Ungoni. This also failed.[12]

In short, the Senga Arabs remained isolated. Mwase Kasungu was too shrewd for them and could not always be relied upon. The Ngoni were unfriendly and had no interest in trade, and the chances of getting permission to pass through their territory were minimal. The Jumbes, who were busy consolidating their power in the new state, charged other traders for using the Nkhota-Kota ferry to

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[12] Ibid., pp. 583-585.

cross the lake. The other solution left for the Senga Arabs was to send their ivory to the coast up the upper Luangwa, then into the Ufipa-Ubungu-Usangu area, and finally to Kilwa. But this route had its own obstacles. Throughout this area, there was a cut-throat competition going on between various Swahili groups over the control of particular trading zones. Not only that, but also African rulers like the Bemba Chitimukulu, had joined in the struggle for ivory, thus making the position almost intolerable for the weaker Swahilis. The competition was heightened by the fact that the supply of ivory was beginning to dwindle. Indeed, in 1879 the traveller Joseph Thomson remarked that elephants had almost disappeared from the region between Lake Tanganyika and the East Coast.[13]

It was about this time, 1879, that the Senga Arabs turned to their 'associate' Kalumwenzo Sichinga - who had maintained a constant supply of ivory from the Chitipa district - for help. Either Kalumwenzo or his son Seko had, during one of the hunting expeditions, descended to Ungonde where he had established friendly relations with the Kyungu and the makambala, gaining permission to hunt elephants in their country. Kalumwenzo's prestige among the Ngonde was enhanced when, due to his efforts, a prince captured by

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[13]Thomson, To the Central African Lakes and Back, II, pp. 285-286.

Malamula during the Mwakatundu-Ngonde war, was released and returned to Ungonde.[14] He was thus in a strong position to influence, albeit in a minor way, certain decisions at Mbande. At the same time Kalumwenzo was respected by the Swahili for his diplomatic skill and for his independent mind. Although we are told that he sometimes dressed in Swahili fashion, it is emphasised that he showed no interest in Islam and retained his relations with them at a commercial level only.[15] He was aware of the astuteness of the Swahili as traders and was therefore not prepared to give them a chance of getting a foothold in the Chitipa highlands. Because of this, his good relations with the Kyungu and the makambala, and Kalumwenzo's own interest in ensuring that ivory was transported to the east coast, there is little doubt that it was he who introduced the Senga Arabs to the Ngonde.[16]

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[14] Mwakasungula, Ndaga Scotland, p.17; Mwayibale Munthali, 10.8.71.

[15] Wazingwa Mgala, April, 1972; Petros N'gambi Mwenemlembe, James Chilongo, 2.1.72.

[16] Due to lack of information on such matters as the careers of the Kalumwenzo Sichingas and their commercial associates, the Wazingwa Mgalas, scholars have failed to appreciate the full circumstances that led to the establishment of Swahili settlements at Karonga and Chilumba. See for example, Marcia Wright and Peter Lary, 'Swahili Settlements in Northern Zambia and Malawi', African Historical Studies, IV, 3(1971), p.563; W.H.Macmillan, "The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company: 1878-1908", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Universith of Edinburgh, 1970, p.254; idem, "Notes on the Origins of the Arab War", p.265.

The man chosen to head this group of Arab traders was Mlozi bin Kazbadema, a shrewd, tenacious, and tough half-caste who, it would appear, had been a junior partner of Kapandansalu and Salim bin Nasir of Usenga. Mlozi settled half a mile away from the Rukuru river at a highly strategic site, stragegic because it was near the bottom of the Rukuru valley, which offered the easiest route leading from the Ngonde plain to the highlands in the north-west. It was also strategic because it was near Mbande hill, the ritual centre of the Ngonde kingdom, and not far from the village where the Kyungu and his officials lived. Mlozi and party were welcome in Ungonde. For the Kyungu and his counsellors, the arrival of the Arabs meant greater security to the kingdom. With the settling of the Henga shield on the northern border, the threat from Unyakyusa had been parried, but there was always the possibility of another Mbelwa Ngoni invasion. Mlozi was, clearly, the answer to the problem. The Arabs had the guns and wealth, and the Ngonde imagined that any attack from the south could be equally successfully repelled with their help.[17] In this respect they were probably wrong because it is unlikely that the Arabs would have attacked the Ngoni.

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[17] Mwayibale Munthali, 10.8.71; When Dr. James Stewart stopped at Kambwe lagoon in 1878, Prince Karonga asked him for war medicine to help the Ngonde fight the Ngoni (or the Maviti as the first Europeans called them). James Stewart, 'The Second Circumnavigation of the Lake', p.298.

The Arabs were political opportunists and were quick to notice changes in the balance of power between different African states. In any case they had for some time been pre-occupied with the idea of establishing good relations with the Ngoni, certainly the most powerful people in northern Malawi at this time. Our knowledge of Arab-African relations elsewhere in East Central Africa suggests that Mlozi would not have easily been trapped into helping the Ngonde defend themselves against the Ngoni. The conciliatory attitudes of the Swahili towards dominant tribes like Chitimukulu's Bemba and Merere's Sangu, is a good example of this.

Ungonde had particular attractions for the Arabs. It was a fertile country and had plenty of food for caravans. Unlike the Ngoni, Chewa, Bembe, and Henga, the Ngonde were a docile people and avoided wars whenever they could. A caravan leaving the Senga country could hope to replenish its supplies at Karonga before proceeding to the East Coast. Secondly, the Senga Swahili were pioneers in the ivory trade in this area, and as yet had no competitors. Another advantage was that the route through Ungonde was much shorter than those passing either through Nkhota-Kota or Unyiha. There were two points from which the lake could be easily crossed. The first was through Chilumba south of Ungonde, one of the few points where the lake is narrow. It took only six hours to

cross the lake from Chilumba. The other way was to go north to Mwaya in Unyakyusa and from there go to Ukinga, and then join the Chilumba caravans at Manda. Although the Chilumba-Manda course was the better and more popular of the two, the Swahili were anxious to keep the Nyakyusa route open, so that if at any time it became impossible to use one, they could turn to the other. Arrangements were made with the Songea Ngoni not to molest the Arab caravans. Unlike their brothers on the west of Lake Malawi, the Songea Ngoni were interested in trade and were happy to profit from the Swahili use of the routes that passed through their sphere of influence. Another advantage of establishing a trading post in Ungonde was, as the Arabs were soon to discover, that the internal political structure of the Ngonde kingdom had been so shaken by internal squabbles and external pressure that it was a much easier place for the Arabs to settle than they would have found it otherwise.

The relations between the Swahili and the local people were in the early days cordial. The first evidence that Ngonde were happy with the arrival of the Swahili is that they were allowed to build near Mbande hill, one of the points through which enemy forces might enter Ungonde from the west. It is not easy to discern the reactions to the coming of the Swahili of powerful and influential princes like Karonga, Mwakasungula and Mwakabanga of the House of

Kerenge, and Mwasakabanga (Kilupula) of the House of Ngana. Their reaction is important because they had just lost Kyungu Njola Mwafongo, who, though not very popular with them, was nevertheless feared and respected for his services rendered during the first Ngoni invasion and for the gallantry shown during the Malamula/ Mwakatundu invasion. It is unlikely that in spite of their disinterest in what the makambala were doing, resulting from the appointment of the feeble Mwaulambo as Kyungu instead of their own choice, they would have ignored the arrival of new immigrants of such importance as the Swahili. The latter brought with them wealth in the shape of foreign goods, such as beads and cloth, which must have been the focus of attention of the makambala as well as the princes. There is further evidence that Mlozi and his party were indeed welcome and that a significant number of princes were initially impressed by them. Ngonde traditions tell us that Mlozi married into some of these princes' families. For example, he was 'given' wives by Kayuni and Mwambelo, both of the House of Ngana, the very house from which the slain Kyungu Njola Mwafongo had come.[18] It should also be pointed out at this stage that the route from Mbande to the Chilumba ferry passed through the country

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[18] Headman Mwalughali, 22.9.71.

falling under the jurisdiction of Kayuni and Mwambelo. And the fact that the two princes so readily gave wives to the Arabs and later allowed one of them, Kopa-Kopa, to build a post near Kayuni's headquarters, may be taken as another proof that the Ngonde saw the Swahili as a kind of insulation against possible raids from the Ngoni. Traditions also tell us of the parties - from the princedoms - that frequently visited Mlozi at Mpata, and of the lavish entertainments that Mlozi gave the chiefs. These are described by a Ngonde who knew Mlozi and his cohorts personally, and made several visits to Mpata as a page of prince Mwakasangila (of the House of Ngana):

> 'If my village headman decided to pay a visit to Mlozi, he would ask us to accompany him. Mlozi liked this very much and gave us very good treatment. Quite often a sheep was killed to entertain the visitors. With the mutton we ate ubwali (a thick porridge made of maize, millet or sorghum flour). Rice was a very precious food and highly valued. Only the chief and Mlozi ate it. We, the nyafyale's subjects, were referred to as washenzi, so we ate separately. The Balungwana ate rice.'19

The areas of conflict between the Arabs and the Ngonde were minimal. The Arabs did not trade with the Ngonde; Mpata was used as a sort of collecting centre for the goods from the west - Usenga and the Chitipa highlands. Mlozi had an elaborate

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[19] SHTNM, 8, p.391.

organization which managed all this. He, as the head, was based at Mpata and made all important decisions such as despatching caravans to the east coast, sending his subordinates to the west to look for ivory, meeting dignitaries like the Ngonde princes, the makambala, and hunters of the status of Kalumwenzo Sichinga; and finally ensuring that his subordinates worked harmoniously. Mlozi had two principal lieutenants, Kopa Kopa bin Bareka, and Msalemu bin Ali, both black Swahilis. Each had his own compound: Msalemu across the Rukuru river, just two miles away from Mlozi's, and Kopa-Kopa near the lakeshore, twelve miles south-west of Mbande. Kopa-Kopa was a very hard and astute bargainer, hence his name which is derived from the verb, kukopa, to be creditor. He was the man who went out to the west, bought the ivory from the hunters in the uplands, and organized caravans to take it to Mlozi at Mpata. Very often Mlozi did not have the merchandise with which to buy ivory and it was up to Kopa-Kopa to go out to negotiate with hunters to get the ivory on credit. According to the Swahili descendants of Mlozi's aides, whenever Mlozi saw Kopa-Kopa approaching the camp, he welcomed him with the words "Oh Kopa-Kopa, the one who says I will pay tomorrow, has coming /Oh Kopa-Kopa kulipa mungu amekuja/".[20]

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[20] SHTNM, 13, p. 444; SHTNM, 14, p. 452.

As we have already indicated, Mlozi's ivory came mostly from the Luangwa valley and from hunters in the highlands and plains of Chitipa district. His subordinates also bought it from the chiefs in the uplands, most of whom had quantities of ivory which they had collected to decorate their living quarters. The Swahili were careful to establish good working relationships with these chiefs. We know, for example, that Mweniwanda, an important village headman in Ulambya, whose territory lay on what was to become the main highway linking the lake Tanganyika area and Ungonde, made a blood brotherhood with the Arabs.[21] Such relations were of vital importance to the Arabs, not necessarily because these chiefs possessed some ivory, but because of the assurance that the Arab caravans would not be harassed by their subjects. As in Ungonde, so too in the uplands, the chiefs and their counsellors gained from such alliances by the inflow of exotic goods that we have referred to above. The Arabs bothered little about the chiefs who did not matter to them. Their attitude towards Mwaulambya is a case in point. Mwaulambya, under whose jurisdiction Mwenewanda fell, was seldom approached by the Swahili; the headquarters of the then Mwaulambya was far from the main Arab routes; moreover,

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[21] SHTNM, 5, p. 358.

as Kerr-Cross was to remark later, this particular Mwaulambya was a feeble character 'living on the glory of the past'.[22]

The Swahili employed their own porters, the majority of whom came from the uplands - Umambwe, Unamwanga, Ulungu, and sometimes from the coast and Yao country. Porters were paid in kind, usually cloth. Slaves were not, as was sometimes the case elsewhere in East Central Africa, used as porters. True, a few chiefs gave women to Swahili men, in order to receive more favours, and occasionally sold victims of local feuds to the Arabs in return for cloth and other valuable goods. But nowhere in the north end of Malawi can people recall any deliberate victimization, or raids for people by the Swahili in the period prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Many slaves were transported to the East African Coast through the ferry at Chilumba, but the majority of these slaves are said to have come from the region west of the Luangwa. In this part of Central Africa, the slave trade was rampant and both the Swahili and African rulers were deeply involved in it.[23]

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[22] D. Kerr-Cross, 'Geographical Notes on the Country Between Lakes Nyassa, Rukwa, and Tanganyika', The Scottish Geographical Magazine, IV, 1890, p.288.

[23] Lewis Gann, 'The End of the Slave Trade in British Central Africa: 1889-1912', Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, 16 (1954), p.34; Roberts, A History of the Bemba, pp. 196-198; in 1886 Alexander Carson, an

In contrast, though the political situation in Ungonde was not stable at the time the Arabs arrived, there was a strong community feeling in Ungonde and only a crazy ruler would have taken the course of capturing people and selling them to the Arabs. The same can be said of the chiefdoms of the uplands. It is not insignificant that slave caravans from the west always took the direct Usenga-Nthalire-Chilumba route. The Arabs did it 'discreetly', and, it would appear, did not want to upset or involve the Ngonde at this stage. The situation at Chilumba was a little different, in that they enlisted the services of old and influential families like the Mwandovis to assist them and give shelter to slaves while waiting to be transported to the other side of the lake. The Mwandovis who were experienced sailors, also took part in the actual ferrying of the slaves to the Manda side of Lake Malawi.[24]

Just as the Arabs were beginning to settle down, there arrived in Ungonde the first European traders and missionaries. Up to now, European travellers had taken little interest in this part of Africa,

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engineer of the London Missionary Society was horrified by the results of the Bemba raids on people along the Stevenson Road. Alexander Carson, 'Journey from Quilimane to Niamkolo', L.M.S., C.A., Journals, Box 3/35, p.79.

[24] SHTNM, 7, pp374-5; James Knight Dikamanja Ndovi, The History of the Mwandovi Family (private paper in possession of H.L.Vail).

but from the middle of the 1870s, there was a marked increase in the number of foreigners going to Central Africa on various causes. This sudden increase of interest in the interior of Africa was kindled largely by the death in 1873 of David Livingstone,[25] and partly by the opening earlier, in 1869, of the Suez Canal and the consequent economic opportunities that East Africa seemed to offer.[26] Livingstone had spent most of his adult life travelling in Africa, and performing medical and missionary work among the people with whom he lived. But it was Central Africa, particularly the present day Zambia and Malawi that appear to have captured Livingstone's interest. Although the Portuguese had as early as the 17th century crossed the Shire highlands of southern Malawi from west to east, and though another Portuguese travellers, Gamitto, had explored the route that connected these highlands and King Kazembe's territory in the Luapula valley, Livingstone and party were the first Europeans to sail on Lake Malawi from its southern tip at Mangoche (sometimes called Fort Johnston) to as far as Mankhambila in the north, and to record all their impressions and observations of the areas they visited. They were also the first European party to visit the areas between the central

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[25] Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa, London, 1951, pp. 34-35.

[26] K.J.McCracken, 'Livingstone and the Aftermath: the Origins and Development of Livingstonia Mission', in Bridglal Pachai (ed.), Livingstone: Man of Africa, London, 1973, pp. 220-221.

Lake Malawi section, the Luangwa, and beyond, thus covering the gap that had been left by Portuguese travellers.[27]

During his travels, Livingstone was struck by the debilitating effect of the slave trade on individual victims and African societies in general, and by the way it was perpetrated by the Arabs and their African agents, such as the Yao, and to some extent, by the Portuguese in Mozambique. To Livingstone, the answer to these problems lay in the introduction of legitimate trade and the Christian gospel.[28] He made several appeals to this effect and in response, the Universities Mission to Central Africa (U.M.C.A.) was created. At his recommendation the U.M.C.A. established itself at Magomero in the Shire Highlands.[29] But the mission headed by Bishop Mackenzie, had a very short life in south Malawi. Due to poor health and to the difficulties presented by the Yao who perpetually preyed upon the inhabitants of Magomero, the Mang'anja, the Mission was withdrawn in 1863, first to Mt. Morambala at the

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[27] J.P.R.Wallis (ed.), The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone, I, pp. 198-230.

[28] For a scholarly discussinn of the development of Livingstone's ideas and attitude towards African societies, see, George Shepperson, 'Livingstone and the Years of Preparation 1813-1857', in Pachai, Livingstone: Man of Africa, pp. 7-28.

[29] Oliver, The Missionary Factor, pp. 12-14.

confluence of the Zambezi and the Shire and then to Zanzibar. Ten years later, Livingstone died. Though his numerous publications and speeches had alerted people in the United Kingdom to what he regarded as the greatest of all evils, the slave trade, it was not until his death and well attended burial service in Westminster Abbey, that an even greater response was aroused in the minds of those who thought themselves capable of continuing his work in Africa.[30] The Free Church of Scotland, with some co-operation from the United Free Church of Scotland, and the Established Church of Scotland, was the first to take action. It founded the Livingstonia mission which, in the words of one of its originators, was to be 'industrial and educational, to teach the truths of the Gospel and the arts of civilized life to the natives of the country, and which shall be placed in a carefully selected and commanding spot in Central Africa where from its position and capabilities it might grow into a town, and afterwards into a city, and become a great centre of commerce, civilization, and Christianity...'.[31]

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[30] Ibid., pp. 35-38.

[31] Quoted in James Wells, Stewart of Lovedale, London, 1908, p.125. Stewart was for a brief period (the early 1860s) a member of Livingstone's party. For an interesting account of the relations between Livingstone and Stewart, see Sheila Brock, 'James Stewart and David Livingstone' in Pachai, Livingstone: Man of Africa, pp. 86-100.

The composition of the first party shows how the Foreign Mission Committee and its backers sought to achieve these ideals. Its leader was Edward D. Young of the Royal Navy who had seen service on the East African Coast and had once worked with Livingstone on the Zambezi. Other members of the party were a medical officer (Dr. Robert Laws), a carpenter, two engineers, a blacksmith, a seaman, and an agriculturist. The mission settled on a promontory at the southern tip of Lake Malawi. They called the place Cape Maclear. From here Stewart (who had now become the head of the Livingstonia Mission), Young, and party began to explore the shores of the lake. During the second circumnavigation of the lake in 1877, Dr. Stewart, accompanied by Captain Frederick Elton, the British Consul at Mozambique, stopped at several points in the north. Among the places they visited were Bandawe in Tonga-land, Unyakyusa, and Kambwe lagoon in the Kyungu's territory. As pointed out in the last chapter, neither Stewart nor Elton took a serious interest in Ungonde. It is doubtful whether they ventured into the interior of the kingdom. Stewart's only comment was that he found the people very friendly and that they lived in constant fear of the Ngoni.[32] The major concern of most travellers of the

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[32]Stewart, 'The Second Circumnavigation of the Lake', p.298.

time would appear to have been to find out more about the lands that lay beyond the Songwe. It is largely because of this that there are more detailed descriptions of the situation in the late 1870s of Unyakyusa and the region north of it, than there are of Ungonde and the plains and highlands.[33]

On returning to Cape Maclear from the north, Dr. Stewart handed over the leadership of the mission to Dr. Robert Laws and returned to Lovedale in South Africa.[34] But Cape Maclear was soon found to be unsuitable for the development of the type of mission centre that the founders had envisaged. There was no room for expansion; the soil war poor; the area was infested with tsetse-fly and malaria-carrying mosquitoes. Three missionaries died during the first five years of its operation. There was also the problem of the Yao chief, Mponda. Mponda, under whose jurisdiction part of the south end of the lake belonged, was a Muslim, a slaver and a friend of the Arabs, but also very well disposed to the missionaries. When the latter disapproved of his slaving activities,

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[33]For example, Thomson, To the Central African Lakes and Back, I, pp. 199-317; Elton, Travels and Researches Among the Lakes and Mountains of Eastern and Central Africa, pp. 316-364.

[34]Lovedale was a Presbyterian institution established in the Cape Province in the mid-nineteenth century, and Dr. James Stewart was for many years its principal. He took over the leadership of the Livingstonia Mission from Captain E.D.Young in October 1876, and in December 1877 he returned to his post at Lovedale.

Mponda turned bitter and made life unbearable for them. In 1881 Laws moved the mission to Bandawe, where a post had been in existence since 1878.[35] In 1882, an outstation was established at Ncherenje in Mwenewanda's village of Ulambya. The site was chosen by James Stewart C.E.[36] who was constructing a road connecting Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika.[37] The first missionaries to be sent there were the Rev. A.J.Bain, a medical officer, Dr. David Kerr-Cross, and an artisan, Mr. Hugh Mackintosh.[38] As this was the station that was to cater for the whole of the north end of Nyasa, an examination of its work is necessary.

From the start, the Mweniwanda station was beset by problems. There was the usual problem of health. The station was constructed near a stream, Ncherenje, and at the head of a marsh that was a

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[35] Lake Regions of Central Africa: Livingstonia Mission of Free Church of Scotland at Lake Nyassa: Eleven Years History and Appeal, 1886, p.9, N.L.S., Ms 7905.

[36] James Stewart, C.E. (Civil Engineer), was a cousin of Dr. James Stewart, the head of Lovedale. The letters C.E. are used to differentiate him from the doctor.

[37] This road, named after the financier, James Stevenson, was to be the main link between the North Nyasa region and the London Missionary stations on Lake Tanganyika. The L.M.S., supported mainly by Congregationalists, established itself around Lake Tanganyika in 1877, and by 1882 had opened four stations in the area. Oliver, The Missionary Factor, pp. 41-44.

[38] Lake Regions of Central Africa: Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland at Lake Nyassa: Eleven Years History and Appeal, 1886, p.13, N.L.S., Ms 7905.

breeding ground for mosquitoes. Within three years of their arrival, two members of the party died of malaria. Secondly, the inhabitants of the area were indifferent to the missionaries. The chiefdoms of the uplands never experienced the same kind of pressure from foreign forces as did the Ngonde. Merere invaded northern Ulambya for a short time, and the Bemba made some incursions into the western borders of Ulambya and Chifungwe, but these were by no means severe. In any case because of the exposed character of the country, the inhabitants of the uplands seem to have developed a skill of defending themselves against enemies from outside. Many villages were stockaded and whenever things became bad, most people escaped to the steep hills like Misuku where they hid in caves. So while in places such as Bandawe, the Tonga were receptive to the missionaries because they expected help against their former masters, the Ngoni, the people of the Chitipa highlands did not view the missionaries as possible defenders against aggressors. Though they were willing to sell food to the station and occasionally to assist in minor duties, the local people were not excited by the presence of the missionaries, and the latter often complained of the lack of enthusiasm on the part of residents of Mweniwanda and their neighbours.[39] This was exacerbated by the

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[39] Eight years after the outpost was established, Roberr Gossip reported on the difficulty of securing local workers. Gossip to Laws, 6.9.1890, N.L.S., Ms 7894. As for the area, Kerr Cross described it as 'the bleakest and most barren spot in the country side'. Kerr Cross to Laws, 17.8.1889, N.L.S., Ms 7892.

language question. Most of the early Livingstonia missionaries whether based at Bandawe, Njuyu (in Ungoni), and Mweniwanda, learned Nyanja (Chewa) which is spoken in the southern and central zones of Malawi, but not in the north. To solve the problem of communication, Africans, like Pemba and Aliki, trained at Bandawe and Cape Maclear, were posted to Mweniwanda to assist in mission work. But once these assistants went to Mweniwanda, they often found it comfortable and began to indulge in what the missionaries regarded as sin: drinking local brews (the most common offence), and associating too closely with the local population. Another difficulty was that there are in the uplands several ethnic groups, each with its own dialect. Even though ciLambya seems to have been chosen as the main language, it was not easy for the missionaries to communicate with people who spoke a dialect unrelated to it. Almost all the missionaries who worked at this station commented on the number of the local languages and the difficulty of learning them.[40]

There were also social aspects involved. The Mweniwanda missionaries were isolated from the rest of the European population in the Lake Nyasa region. Their colleagues at Njuyu were in easy contact with those atBandawe and, through the lake steamer, with

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[40] George Aitken and Robert Gossip commented: 'it is one thing to pick up a language which has been reduced to writing and quite another thing to make head ~~and~~ of tail of the jumble spoken here'. Gossip to Laws, 6.9.1890, N.L.S., Ms 7894.

those in the south. Letters and provisions from Blantyre took a longer time to get to Mweniwanda than they did to Bandawe. The situationwas made no easier by the personal differences between Dr. Kerr-Cross on the one hand and the Rev. Bain, Drs. Laws and Walter Elmslie on the other. Although Kerr-Cross was as dedicated to the missionary cause as his friends, he did not see why he should 'suffer' at Mweniwanda. He complained of the poor conditions, inadequate salary, and of attempts to make him feel that missionaries ought to sacrifice some of the baser needs of life.

The result of all this was uncertainty and frustration on the part of missionaries at Mweniwanda. Ncherenje was never developed and little contact was made with the local population. The missionaries were uncertain whether to stay or to find another site. For example, on 7th February, 1888, Kerr-Cross wrote to his superior Dr. Laws saying that after some consideration he had decided not to leave Mweniwanda. A few days later, he wrote another letter stating the contrary.[41] During the period 1888 to 1891 the Ncherenje missionaries moved to three different places: Ichingain northern Ulambya, Kalalamuka in Unyakyusa, and Ukukwe. They liked Unyakyusa because people were more forthcoming and also because there was more food, but as this area was

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[41]Letters from Kerr-Cross to Laws, N.L.S., Ms 7890, 7891.

outside of the main Tanganyika-Nyasa route, they could not abandon Ncherenje completely. It is not easy to tell what would have happened if the missionaries had settled among the Ngonde before going to the uplands. We can only speculate that in view of the docility and general friendliness to 'foreigners', which every European visitor commented upon, and of their desire to win friends from various quarters in an attempt to build their defences against invaders, the missionary enterprise might have been more successful. By going to the uplands first, and then failing miserably, the missionaries lost some of their drive so that when they finally settled in Ungonde, it took some time before they regained their full strength.

After establishing mis ion stations in north Nyasa, the next task of the organizers in Scotland was to fulfil Livingstone's and Stewart's ideas of Christianity and commerce in Africa. The two men and their disciples were strongly convinced that Christianity could not succeed in terminating the slave trade without the introduction of legitimate commerce. Indeed, the whole concept of an industrial station with all its emphasis on training of African artisans, and on Presbyterian preaching of the importance of hard work and individual salvation, was seen to be futile if no active trading concerns were initiated in the Lake Nyasa region. Unlike Livingstone, Stewart did not envisage a direct involvement of missionaries in commerce, rather he perceived the establishment of

a company that would embrace all the principles of Christianity, but that would be manned by people who would devote their time to commerce. The proposal for setting up a business concern did not require much persuasion to a committee which was almost wholly comprised of industrialists who, though genuinely philanthropic in their attitude to Livingstonia, saw in it an opportunity of harnessing the resources that seemed to be abundant in East Central Africa. The convenor of the sub-committee, Mr. James Stevenson, had already urged the development of a communications network connecting the Mozambique Coast, the Zambezi, the Shire highlands, and Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika. It was Stevenson who influenced the Foreign Mission Committee to build a station in the Chitipa Uplands on the road - which he was to finance and which was named after him - connecting the north end of Lake Nyasa and southern Lake Tanganyika where the London Missionary Society was beginning to operate.[42]

With a capital of £20,000 the Livingstonia Central African Trading Company Limited was formed in June, 1878. James Stewart was its first chairman, and the joint managership went to two Edinburgh-born brothers, John and Frederick Moir, both of whom had for a brief

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[42] K.J.McCracken, 'Livingstonia as an Industrial Mission, 1875-1900: A Study of Commerce and Christianity in Nyasaland', in Religion in Africa, Edinburgh University, 1964, pp. 78-89.

time worked on a road construction scheme in Tanganyika. The objectives of the company, as summarised by one of its employees, were:

> 'to facilitate communication between the mission stations on the lakes, to carry supplies of provisions to the missionaries, and to effect trading transactions with the natives and the Arabs .... The humanizing of natives of Nyassaland was the ultimate aim of the directorate...".[43]

On reaching the Zambezi late in 1878, the Moir brothers and their three sailors leftfor the Shire Highlands in their new small steamer, the Lady Nyassa, packed with barter goods such as calico and beads. For a few months, the Livingstonia Lakes Company officials were guests of the Established Church at Blantyre before moving to their own headquarters at Mandala - one mile from the mission. In accordance with the directives of the board of governors at home, the Livingstonia Company began to serve as a trading and transport service on the Shire and Lake Nyasa. Stations of various sizes and importance were established along this route. One of the most successful outposts was set up at Karonga in Ungonde to serve the Free Church mission at Mweniwanda and the London Missionary Society at Niamkolo, and to tap the ivory from northern Malawi and southern Tanzania.

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[43] Fotheringham, Adventures in Nyassaland, p.4.

One of the joint managers, John Moir, first visited the north end in 1879. Moir spent some time with the Nyakyusa princes, Mwakyusa and Mwanjamnala, both of whom were traditional enemies of the Ngonde. He is said to have 'bought' from Mwakyusa a few acres of ground on the lake shore at the north bank of the Mbashi river and on it he built a house for the Company. With the guidance of Mwakyusa, Moir hunted for elephants for a few days before returning to the Shire Highlands.[44] Due to lack of personnel, the Company was prevented from paying adequate attention to the north end of Nyasa. The problem was solved in 1883 when the Company appointed a Glasgow artisan, Low Monteith Fotheringham, as its agent at Karonga. In spite of his paternalism and tendency to be rough in his dealings with those Africans whom he did not like, Fotheringham was popular with the leading Kerenge princes, Mwakasungula, Karonga, Malema, and their subjects.[45] Fotheringham, or Mwandisi, as the Ngonde called him, developed the small trading post into a big station and, using this as a base, established commercial links with the Swahili traders in the area. He found

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[44] Macmillan, 'Notes on the Origins of the Arab War', p.264; Moir, After Livingstone, p.64.

[45] Harry Johnston described him as 'a man of very strong character and upright disposition, severe occasionally with the natives in maintaining the laws which he laid down for the maintenance of order...' H.H.Johnston, British Central Africa, London, 1897, p.72.

Mlozi and his associates living in Ungonde and transporting their ivory to the east coast mainly through the Chilumba ferry. For Mlozi, the company's interest in ivory trade offered him the opportunity of selling some of it on the door step without facing all the problems and hazards that went with long distance porterage. The company did not depend solely on the ivory sold to it by Mlozi. As a result of a visit made earlier by John Moir to southern Lake Tanganyika, an arrangement was made with a prominent Baluchi trader, Kabunda, whereby the latter would send ivory to the African Lakes Company's station at Karonga. This was beneficial to both parties. Kabunda was now able to sell his ivory in two quarters: the Zanzibari merchants and the A.L.C. As for the Company, the agreement meant that all the ivory was brought to Karonga at Kabunda's expense instead of at its own. Fotheringham made a good start at Karonga. In July 1883, James Stewart C.E. informed James Stevenson that 'the Arab visitors in the district are now well-disposed, and have been selling Munro supplies (fowls, etc.), and they have also been selling ivory to Monteith at the lake'.[46] And by early 1884 John Moir was able to report to his Directors of the success of the station at Karonga during 1883.[47]

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[46] James Stewart C.E. to James Stevenson, 2.7.1883, in Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, 15, 1883, p.689.

[47] Macmillan, 'The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company: 1878-1908', p.257.

The Tanganyika Swahili built their own station at Kasote's village (a tributary of Mwakasungula) just two miles south of the A.L.C. headquarters. The station was called Mirambo after Kabunda's resident agent in Ungonde.[48] It was Mirambo's duty to ensure that Kabunda's juniors such as Ramathan and bin Najim, their porters, and guards, the ruga ruga , had no problems of accommodation and food while in Ungonde and to make all the appointments with the Lakes Company's officials on behalf of his Lake Tanganyika colleagues. Though Kabunda was a hardened slave dealer and a terror to the inhabitants of south west Tanganyika and the Lakes Banguelu/Mweru area, his personal relations with the Company were cordial. He did not go as far east as the north end of Malawi, and neither did his subordinates, Ramathan and Salim bin Najim, take slaves to Ungonde. We know that the infamous ruga ruga bullied the people who lived along the Stevenson road and often forced them to surrender their food. It was also very likely that, due to their unruly character, the ruga ruga occasionally captured people and sold them to other Arabs. There is no hard evidence, however, to show that, notorious as they and their master were as slave dealers, the Lake Tanganyika Swahili brought slaves to Ungonde.

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[48] SHTNM, 13, pp.439-40; SHTNM, 16, p.470

There is no doubt that Kabunda sent his slaves and some of his ivory to Zanzibar through the traditional direct route. It seems certain that he decided to be sincere in his dealings with the African Lakes Company because he was aware of their strong opposition to the slave trade.[49] In general, the trading relations with the Swahili were friendly. Alexander Carson's description of the way business was conducted at Karonga provides not only interesting reading, but also shows how well the two groups of traders got on:

> 'Arabs arrive early in the day at the station with a string of men following who carry elephants' tusks, hippo teeth, rhinocerous horns, guns etc. The chief is sometimes a tall and lanky man with cadaverous features, sometimes a portly man with bright blank eyes and flowing beard. Some look shabby in their calico robes and fez, some dress in fine linen with embroidery and have silver jewelry. Their followers are dressed according to their rank, fez and robes or anything between that and a little piece of dirty cloth. They sit on the floor of the store, the chief in front, and followers behind according to rank, with ivory beside them. The agent of the A.L.C. sits in front, with the bales of calico, bags of salt, and cases of provisions around him. A tusk is presented for inspection, which is weighed, then an offer is made to the owner who looks demure and shakes his head, and states his figure. The agent raises the amount offered, gradually, and the Arab gradually lowers his until after a great deal of shaking of heads with downcast eyes and a few words the bargain is struck and the calico measured out, when another tusk is in like manner disposed of.

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[49] Johnston was very impressed by Kabunda. See Roland Oliver, Sir Harry Johnston and the Scramble for Africa, London, 1959, p.167.

> Sometimes beads, salt, soap, or vinegar are wanted as part payment when an equivalent in calico is returned by the owner. This goes on for days together and generally stops not so much for want of ivory as want of calico, for the Co. seems always behind in their supply of their stations as they are of the mission stations.'[50]

These cordial relations did not last for long. The two parties collided primarily over the Arabs' heavy-handed behaviour towards the Ngonde and the Company's sympathy for the victims. The first trouble occurred in July 1887, when a Ngonde returning from a party was offended by an Arab belonging to Kabunda's group. In fury the Ngonde wounded the Arab with the axe that he was carrying on his shoulder. The Arabs then raided Kasote's village looting goats and sheep. In turn, Kasote summoned his people, armed them with spears and shields, and marched on Mirambo's camp which at the time was under the charge of Salim ibn Najim. While discussions over the matter were going on between the seniors from both sides, an Arab who was guest of Salim ibn Najim and party, shot Kasote through the thigh. Before Kasote could be assisted by his subordinates, a ruga ruga finished him off with a bullet through his heart. Kasote's son was wounded and a subject killed. When Kasote's superior and cousin, Prince Mwakasungula, heard of the incident he approached Fotheringham of the A.L.C. to protest to

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[50]Carson, 'Journey from Quilimane to Niamkolo', pp. 40-41.

the Arabs on his behalf, to demand that Kasote's body be returned, and that thetwo culprits be handed over to the Ngonde for punishment. Salim ibn Najim gave lame excuses for the actions of his juniors, but refused to let the Ngonde deal with the Swahili who shot Kasote. He was prepared, however, to pay compensation for the loss of life. The Ngonde were resolved to revenge,and it took three days for Fotheringham to persuade them to accept the proposed compensation of 80 yards of cloth and four goats, rather than fight the Arabs who were equipped with more sophisticated weapons than they were.[51]

Two months later, on 4th October, another incident occurred, but this time involving the Swahili directly under Mlozi's control. Some Arabs went to the village of Mwenitete, a cousin of the late Kyungu Njola Mwafomgo to buy some sugar cane. The Arabs did not like the quality that was on offer and demanded another type. When Mwenitete refused their request, the Arabs made some rude comments about his big stomach. Mwenitete angered by what he regarded as disrespectful remarks, speared one of them through the thigh. The latter shot and killed the prince. During the following week, the dispute developed into a general turmoil in which the Arabs lost 30 people, mostly women. Filled with fury, the Arabs descended

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[51]Fotheringham, Adventures in Nyassaland, pp. 38-41.

on Ngonde villages in the vicinity, burned their houses and carried off their food. Many Ngonde fled to Prince Kilupula's area in the north, leaving Mlozi to declare himself Sultan of Ungonde. Fotheringham tried his usual role as conciliator but he failed.[52]

Though he continued to trade with the Arabs, Fotheringham was worried that having implicated himself in the dispute by openly sympathising with the Ngonde, he might be the next target of Arab attack. The aggressive behaviour of Mlozi and Ramathan to him confirmed his fears. Armed gangs of Swahili moved about freely; Mlozi's supporters insisted that he be address as Sultan; at one stage Mlozi demanded from the Company, 30 lbs. of gun powder, 2,000 percussion caps, 100 flints for guns, red cloth and other commodities. Fotheringham started to prepare for an eventual showdown with them. He fortified the station, and sent for help from the company's headquarters at Mandala, the Consul at Zomba, and the missions at Bandawe and Mweniwanda, and on 2 November, the steamer arrived with the goods that the company owed the Arabs. It also brought reinforcements of men but little ammunition. Among the Europeans on board were Consul O'Neill of Mozambique, Alfred Sharpe, Dr. Tommory of the L.M.S., and the Rev. Lawrence

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[52] Ibid., pp. 45-46.

Scott, the brother of C.P. Scott of the Manchester Guardian.[53] Three weeks after their arrival, they launched an assault on an Arab camp, but judging that chances of success were meagre, Consul O'Neil and party withdrew to Nsensi in southern Unyakyusa. Another charge was made on Mlozi's village. This time, the party was joined by Consul Hawes of Zomba and 4,000 Nyakyusa warriors, whose princes had for some time been 'begging' the company to allow them to join in the war. Though they started well, the Europeans did not follow up their success for two reasons. They ran short of ammunition, and secondly they were let down by their Nyakyusa assistants. Once the latter got to the Arab village, they ran berserk, looted property, and decided to go home. As Hawes put it, 'instead of rendering assistance to completely clear the village, portions of which were still held by the enemy they commenced at once to loot and to decamp for their homes..... it may be considered that the only practical help they rendered was that of inflicting a severe loss on Mlozi by carrying off enormous and valuable quantities of loot that could not otherwise have been taken away'.[54] The reduced party

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[53] Ibid., pp. 85-86.

[54] Hawes to Salisbury, 16.1.1888, F.O.84/1883.

of Europeans, and a few non-Nyakyusa were forced to follow the Nyakyusa and return to Nsesi. By the end of 1887, therefore, the African Lakes Company had joined the Ngonde as the main target of Arab attack.

In January and April 1888, John Moir made two unsuccessful attacks on the Arab stockades in Karonga. Most of the Europeans withdrew to Blantyre, but in the following month the Lakes Company organized another expedition to the north, aimed at 'striking a decisive blow at the so-called Arab chiefs, Mlozi, Kopa-Kopa, and Msalema'. This time the operations were planned and directed by an experienced soldier, Captain Frederick Lugard, on sick leave from the Norfolk Regiment. While at Mozambique, Lugard heard of the conflict between the African Lakes Company and the Arabs from Consul O'Neil, who had just returned from the Lake Nyasa region, and who was anxiously following the course of the war. When Lugard expressed interest in the war, O'Neil encouraged him to go to Lake Nyasa and help the Europeans to defeat the Arabs.[55] On his way up to Blantyre, Lugard met a hunter, Alfred Sharpe,[56] who furnished him with the latest information on the

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[55] O'Neil to Salisbury, 14.9.1888, F.O. 84/1883; F.D.Lugard, The Rise of Our East African Empire, I, London, 1893, p.118: M.F.Perham, Lugard, The Years of Adventure 1858-1898, London, 1956, pp. 71-3.

[56] Later to become Consuland Commissioner of British Central Africa.

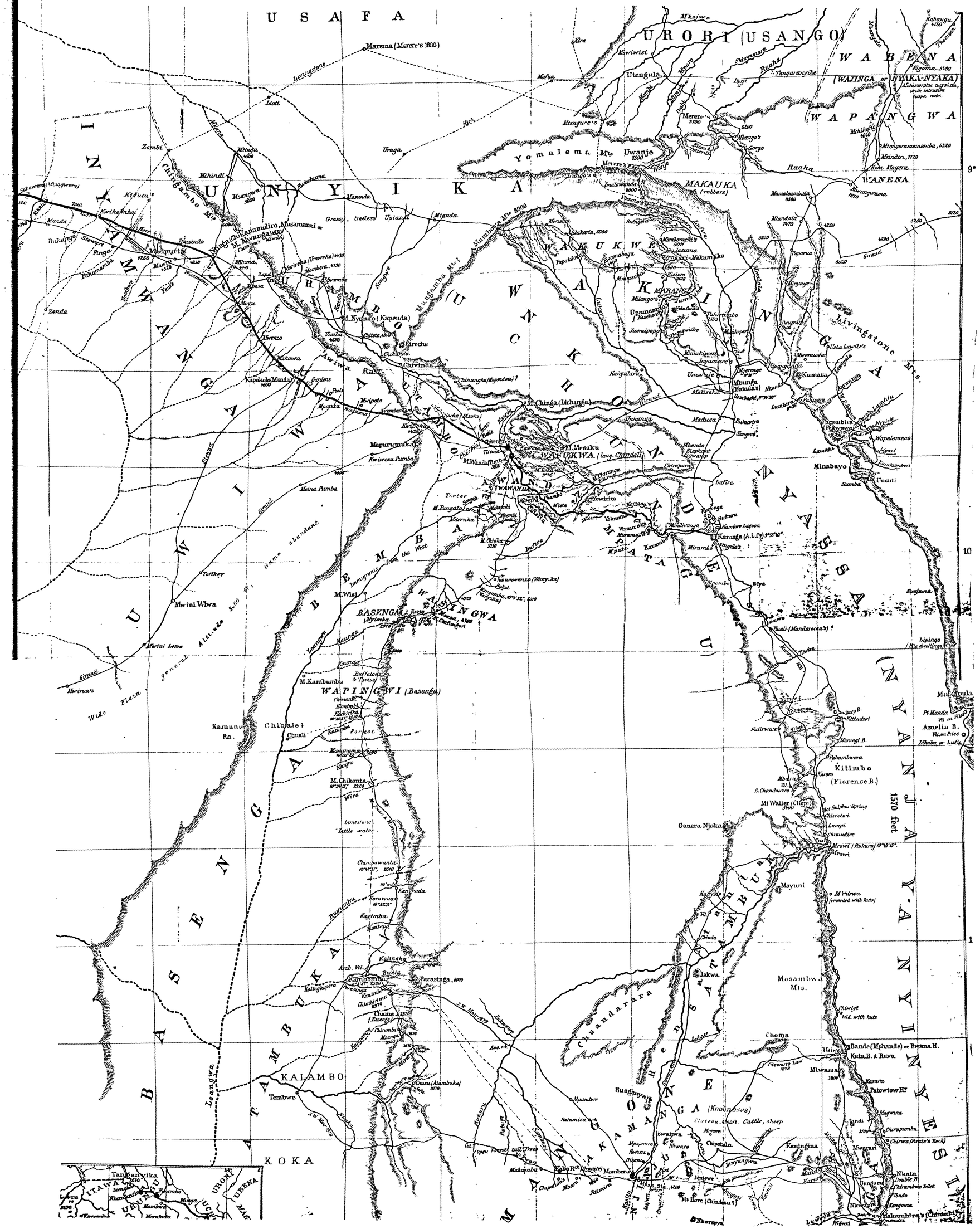
north end war. Like O'Neil, Sharpe believed that the position of the Europeans in the Lake Nyasa area would remain in jeopardy unless the Arabs were defeated once and for all. According to Lugard's account, Sharpe was prepared to 'join the expedition if under a leader he approved, but would under no circumstances ..... fight under existing arrangements'.[57] The leadership that Sharpe was looking for was Lugard himself. The latter was, not unnaturally, encouraged by Sharpe's view of how the war effort should be organized.[58] That there was a need for leadership was made clearer to Lugard when he reached Blantyre. The missionaries of the Church of Scotland received him well, but also urged him to lead the planned expedition to the north end of Lake Nyasa. In a letter to acting Consul Buchanan pleading with him to allow the expedition to go ahead, the missionaries wrote,

> 'the present condition of affairs seems to us, members of the British community here, to be most serious; and the presence of Captain Lugard, who had expressed himself willing to take command of the expedition at present formed by the Lakes Company, if called upon to do so, it seems to us that an opportunity presents itself of keeping the expedition on the same lines as those on which the missionaries at Blantyre a short time ago gave their countenance to the action formerly proposed; and lifting the whole expedition into the sympathy and moral support of the whole community, we therefore desire to express hereby our whole-hearted concurrence in the call which has been addressed to captain Lugard by the Lakes Company, and to record

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[57] Lugard, The Rise of Our East African Empire, p.43.

[58] Ibid.


USAFA
URORI (USANGO)
WABENA
(WAJINGA or NYAKA-NYAKA)
WAPANGWA
NYIKA
UNYIKA
MAKAUKA (robbers)
WANENA
Yomalema Mts
Uwanje
Marena (Merere's 1880)
Livingstone
Utengula
Merere's
Mlangos
Ruaha
Mtinga
Mchindi
Zambi
Uraga
Chivingambo Mts
Msangwa
Masinda
Grassy, treeless Uplands
Miunda
Mumbwa Mts 8000
Mtungamba Mts
Mwigurifu
Zenda
Mwenza
Kapokolo (Munda)
Gardens
Awiwa Ra
M. Nyundo (Kapenda)
Chivindi
Mapurumuka
M. Chinga (Lichunga)
M. Mesuku
WASUKWA (long. Chindali)
WAWANDA
Mwini Wiwa
Game abundant
Turkey
Mwirua's
Wide Plain
General Altitude
BEMBA
Immigrants from the West
M. Wisi
BASENGA
Nyimba
WAPINGWI (Basenga)
M. Kambumbu
Kamuno Ra.
Chibale?
Chuali
M. Chikonta
Wira
Lonestone
Little water
Chimpawanta
Karowua
Kayimba
Kalingky
Kambombo
Parasinga, 6000
Chama (Basenga)
KALAMBO
Tembwe
KOKA
WAKUKWE
MARANGU
Upamamba
Jumaipopo
Kimukwesi
Inyumare's
Mbunga (Makula's)
Kumara
Livingstone Mts.
Usha Lavile's
Kaiyahura
Umwanje
Malisaka
Mpanda Elephant
Mwanda
Unkanga
Maduisa
Mukuwira
Songwe
Lunkuti
Minabayo
Unsuti
Sumba
Iufira
Kamsamba
Kutaru
Kambwe Jagoon
Kirronga (A.L.C.)
Mpata
Karamba
Miramba
Mpemba
Wire
Syenjanga
Mulamula
Pt Manda
Amelia B.
Lithuba or Iufi
Lipinga (Pile dwellings)
Kitimbo (Florence B.)
Mt Waller (Clemp)
Hot Sulphur Spring
Kawewi
Lunpi
Chisandire
Gonera Njoka
Mrowi (Rukuru) 10°3'8"
Mayuni
M'chirwa (crowded with huts)
Mosambwa Mts.
Chiwiji Isld. with huts
Choma
Bande (Mpande) or Bwena H.
Kuta B. & Ruvu
Mtwanua's
Kasara
Patowtow Rf
Magwina
Chirupimbu
Chirwa (Pirate's Rock)
Miwaran
Ntata
Bande R.
Chirombwe Inlet
Bungiru
Nkondo
Kangoma
Makambira's
Chimese
Mwaya
Mwaya Pt
Mwaya Bay
Nkamba Bay
Nkamba
Mambwe
Mambwe Mts
Mt Hore (Chindasu?)
Nkampya
Kapeta
Mpanbwe
Ratunisa
Bungiru's
Kapeta
Chipatula
Kandingina
Mwaru
Mpopoma
Mwini
Ilisanu
Kabo R.
Mambwa
Mabamba
Fitimira
Kasitu
Chipundu
Mbari
Mpanda
Mwaya
Tenewe
Mabo Sta.
Mabo
Kasanga
Karuli
Chipundu

> our thanks to him for what is self-sacrifice for national duty.'[59]

Buchanan did not officially sanction the expedition, but as he felt that the Moirs had failed to defeat the Arabs, and that Mlozi's success would mean an end to British interests in the north, he expressed his personal support. He also felt that under the command of a professional soldier, the expedition would be kept 'within the limits of legal warfare, and prevent it assuming an aggressive and desultory character and finally ending in disaster and further loss of prestige to the English'.[60] Thus, by the time Lugard finally left for the north of Lake Nyasa, he had the support of the majority of the members of the British community in the Shire Highlands. Though, like many of his contemporaries working in Africa, he regarded Arabs as possible instruments of 'civilization', Lugard developed an almost pathological hatred for the north Nyasa Arabs and all the people suspected of slave trafficking. To him, 'it was a question of fighting or at once withdrawing from Karonga's'.[61] Compared with the earlier expeditions

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[59] European Community at Blantyre to Buchanan, 17.5.1888, enclosed in Buchanan to Hawes, 21.5.1888, F.O. 84/1883; also quoted in Lugard, The Rise of Our East African Empire, p.49; Perham, Lugard, pp. 106-107.

[60] Buchanan to Hawes, 21.5.1888, F.O. 84/1883.

[61] Lugard, The Rise of Our East African Empire, p.47.

Lugard's was well equipped in terms of arms and personnel. He had the support of twenty-five Europeans, about three hundred African levies, and also had enough rifles and ammunition.[62]

Early in June 1888, Lugard surveyed the three Arab stockades and started to send sorties to attack them. But the project failed, largely because the Arabs were now active on two fronts, Chilumba (Deep Bay) and Karonga, and it was not easy for Lugard and his men to spread their resources effectively. Though the Nyakyusa still professed friendship with the Europeans, they had lost some of the enthusiasm for this particular war. Furthermore, the morale of most Europeans involved in the war was low, mainly because of the loss of one of their members, Jones, and also because food was becoming scarce. Lugard was himself so badly wounded that he had to leave for Blantyre at the end of August, and the scheme was abandoned.[63] Lugard returned to England without accomplishing what he had set out to do, but in accordance with the promise made to the Europeans in north Nyasa, he embarked on a major campaign against the Arab slave-trade. He did this by addressing audiences in various parts of the United Kingdom, and by publishing his ideas in newspapers and magazines.[64]

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[62] Ibid., p.108.

[63] Ibid., pp. 109-130; Perham, Lugard, The Years of Adventure, pp. 121-126; Moir, After Livingstone, pp. 146-148; Lugard to Buchanan, 10.9.1888, enclosed in Buchanan to Salisbury, 18.9.1888, C.A.41, F.O. 84/1883.

[64] For example, 'Englishmen and Arabs in East Africa', Murray Magazine,

After Lugard's abortive attempt to strike a decisive blow at the Arabs of Karonga, the centre of activity shifted to Chilumba where the Arabs were trying to keep the ferry free from European interference. They won many chiefs in Chilumba and south of it, with the result that it was now easier for them to operate without being quickly noticed by Fotheringham and other Europeans who were determined to disturb their peace at Chilumba. Among the important chiefs who responded well to the Arab advances were Mwamlowe and Mbwana, both of whom ruled the narrow strip of land which stretches south of Chilumba, and which is bounded by a steep mountain range on the one side and the lake on the other.[65] These chiefdoms were well sheltered from the neighbouring principalities, and were not easily accessible. Thus they provided a sanctuary for the slavers, and very often, Mbwana's headquarters were used as a base from which ivory and slaves were ferried across the lake. Indeed, Mbwana himself was in direct contact with the Arabs on the eastern shores of the lake. He is said to have possessed large stocks of powder of which the Karonga Arabs availed themselves whenever they ran short of supplies. Those north Nyasa

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July-December 1888, pp. 623-636; 'NYasaland and its Commercial Possibilities', in Report on the Fifty-Ninth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Section E, 1889, pp. 665-666; 'The Fight Against Slave Traders on Nyassa', Contemporary Review, Vol. 56, 1889.

[65] Fotheringham, Adventures in Nyassaland, pp. 247-248.

chiefs who did not co-operate with the Arabs became the objects of raids and plunder. One of these, Kapiyila, was on amicable terms with the African Lakes Company, and had always resisted Arab overtures of friendship. Because of this, he and his people were subjected to torture and looting. His villages were burned, and many of his subjects captured and enslaved. Meanwhile, the Europeans pursued the Arabs.[66] Richard Crawshay, who had originally gone to the Lake Nyasa region to hunt game, was sent by Fotheringham to the Company's post at Chilumba to try to prevent the Arabs from consolidating their position in the area. Crawshay attacked all the chiefs who sympathised with the Arabs. For example, Mbwana's canoes were 'impounded' and taken to Karonga, and Mwamlowe was threatened with similar action.[67] By the end of 1889, Fotheringham was able to remark, 'the Arabs are beginning to come to their senses, and they and their followers realise that this tension cannot be kept much longer'.[68]

In the uplands, as in Chilumba, the Arabs were causing confusion among the people. In September, 1888, Kapoka village, which borders with Mweniwanda's was attacked. Mweniwanda went to his neighbour's aid; five Arabs were killed or wounded, and all women were freed.

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[66] Ibid., pp. 251-252, 264.

[67] Ibid., pp. 266-267.

[68] Ibid., p.265.

Ten days later, Mwenemisuku's headquarters at Muona were attacked by the Arabs but they were repelled.[69] Troubles increased after the remaining members of Lugard's expeditinn withdrew to the Shire Highlands. Mlozi spread rumours that the Europeans had surrendered to him, and that because of this, all the people of the uplands should declare their loyalty to the Arabs. Mweniwanda and Mwenemisuku were approached, but both declined to give anything to Mlozi.[70] The intention of the Arabs was to build a stockade near the mission station at Mweniwanda. At about this time too, the Bemba, whose relations with the Arabs were often good, were raiding the outskirts of Ulambya, and occasionally breaking into the chiefdom.[71] The effect of all this was to make the Arabs and their associates unpopular with some of the rulers, such as Mweniwanda, who had hitherto been well disposed towards them. When Kerr-Cross paid a visit to the station, he found the attitude of the people of the uplands towards the Europeans pleasant.[72] The missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland and the officials of the Lakes Company feared that, if the power of the Arabs was allowed to increase,

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[69] Bain to Laws, 27.9.1888, N.L.S., Ms.7891.

[70] Bain to Laws, 4.1.1889, N.L.S., Ms 7892.

[71] Kerr-Cross to Laws, 5.9.1889, N.L.S., Ms 7892; Fotheringham, Adventures in Nyassaland, p.269.

[72] Fotheringham, op.cit., p.265.

they might be cut off from the London Missionary Society station at Niamukolo. In fact the missionaries at Niamukolo had already expressed the fear that due to Germany's stand against the Arabs in Tanganyika and the chaos resulting from it, dependence on Zanzibar would have to stop and that the Nyasa-Shire-Zambezi route would have to be used more frequently.[73]

In 1888, Harry Johnston replaced O'Neil as British Consul at Mozambique. Johnston, who was a widely read man, had spent two ahd a half years in the Niger Delta, and had developed interest in African affairs. After a brief attachment to the British embassy in Portugal, he left for East Africa, and one of the first things that he did on his arrival on the Mozambique coast, was to go up the Shire River and then to the north end of Lake Nyasa, where he immediately opened up negotiations with the Arabs whom he found friendly. As soon as the major obstacle to peace - the return of the Arabs' women who were in the company's camp - was cleared, an agreement was made to stop all atrocities.[74] Between 1889 and 1893, Johnston was mostly concerned with Yao activities in the south and the attempts by the Portuguese to assume political control over

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[73] Ibid., pp. 258-259.

[74] Johnston to Salisbury, 16.10.1889, F.O. 84/1969; Johnston, British Central Africa, pp. 94-96.

the Shire Highlands. During this period, the situation in the north was relatively calm. When Alfred Sharpe stopped at Karonga in December 1892, he found the Arabs friendly and was assured of their wish to co-exist peacefully with the British. They, however, complained of the behaviour of the new Lakes Company agent at Karonga whom they described as 'a man taken too too much drink... and when in that condition becomes very insulting to them and their followers'.[75] They also expressed their anxiety at Kerr-Cross' determination to build a school near their stockade at Mpata.[76]

The Germans presented other problems to the British. First, Johnston was not happy with the activities of Captain von Wismann in the area south of Lake Tanganyika where the Bemba were engaged in slave raiding. Johnston was worried that, 'Von Wismann's commencement of warlike proceedings against the Awemba may spread troubles to the Nyasa region'.[77] He made several protests to Von Wismann, and asked Lord Salisbury to take up the case with the German Government. As a result of this step Von Wismann had to leave East Central Africa. The British were also suspicious that

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[75]Sharpe to Johnston, 17.12.1892, enclosed in Johnston to Roseberry, 2.1.1893, F.O. 2/54.

[76]Ibid.

[77]Johnston to Roseberry, 31.8.1893, F.O. 2/54.

some German nationals were assisting the Arabs in transporting slaves across the lake, and they were unhappy with what they regarded as double standards, practised by local German officials. A British journalist, E.J.Glave, who was assigned by his journal, Century Magazine, witnessed how German steamers, including the SS Wismann, transported Arab caravans across the lake, and remarked on how good the relations between the two peoples were.[78]

The Arabs, encouraged by this, began to behave aggressively again. A few minor clashes took place between the British and the Arabs, and in December 1895, Johnston was forced to rush to Karonga to lead an expedition against the Arabs. The actual operation was commanded by Major C.A.Edwards who was assisted by British, Sikh, and Tonga soldiers. Mlozi's stockade was attacked, and on 6 December, Mlozi was captured by Sergeant Major Bandawe of the Tonga country. All the slaves, mostly women and children, were freed and returned to their homes. Mlozi was tried by Ngonde chiefs and elders, and on being found guilty of murder, he was executed. Some of his lieutenants were taken to Zomba where they served their prison sentences.[79]

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[78] E.J.Glave to Sharpe, 21.3.1894, enclosed in Sharpe to Rosebery, 21.3.1894.

[79] Johnston to Salisbury, 3.1.1896, C.A. No.1, F.O. 2/106; Johnston, British Central Africa.

# Chapter VII

## THE ARAB WAR RE-EXAMINED

A number of theories have so far been advanced to account for the series of clashes - between the Arabs on the one hand and the Europeans and the Ngonde on the other - that have come to be collectively known as the Arab War. The first explanation is that this was part of a concerted plan by the Arabs in East Central Africa - with the possible connivance of the sultan of Zanzibar - to assume, by force, political control over the various areas in which they operated, and that this move was largely a response to the appearance on the East African scene of the Germans who were beginning to exert pressure on the Arabs. According to Oliver, the missionaries and other Europeans working in the Lakes region of Africa had up to the mid 1880s suffered no overt hostility from the Arabs and that, though very much opposed to the slave trade, an activity by which many Arabs earned their living, the Europeans and the Swahili lived in relative harmony. Oliver goes on to say that the fact that the attitude of the Central African Arabs to the Europeans 'changed abruptly' during the period 1884-1888 and in view of the 'lack of direct connection between the Swahili of the Lake Nyassa and those of Tanganyika, the planning must have taken place at the coast'.[1]

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[1] Roland Oliver, 'Some Factors in the British Occupation of East Africa, 1884-1894', Uganda Journal, XV, 1951, pp. 50-57; idem, The Missionary Factor, pp. 96-114.

There is evidence from the situation in East Africa (present-day Tanganyika and Uganda) to support Oliver's theory. We know that by 1885 a German society was granted a charter for the hinterland of the northern Tanganyika coast and that a year later the Anglo/German treaty extended the region under the society's control further south. We also know that the Germans disregarded any claims by Zanzibar to sovereignty over the interior of Tanzania, and it is true that as a result of the anti-Arab feelings that had hitherto not been openly displayed by European powers, the Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyid Barghash, made an unprecedented effort to establish a firmer political hold over the east coast and the hinterland. Indeed, the German determination to put an end to Arab dominance in the interior and their preparedness to resort to violence to achieve this, did upset the Swahili merchants in the interior and on the coast. The small traders could not operate in face of strong opposition; the more established ones became worried about the possibility of their connections with the east coast being cut; and those at Zanzibar - whose wealth depended on the exploits in the interior - also felt the wind of change. At about this time, too, the very bitter reactions to the threat of European intervention were felt in Uganda where the Muslims, at the instigation of the Arabs (which, it was strongly suspected, had the blessing of Zanzibar), were beginning to impede the progress

of missionaries and even to persecute African Christian coverts.[2]

In the Lake Tanganyika area, as elsewherein East Africa, the missionaries were for the first time in many years beginning to sense Arab hostility. Here, flourishing Arab centres like Ujiji, described by Hore as a 'little Egypt', had grown into major commercial towns where prominent Arab traders such as Tippu Tip and Rumaliza lived in luxury. Relations between them and the London Missionary Society were extremely cordial. Hore went to the extent of regarding them as a civilizing agent. He remarked, 'there has always been something of a fellow-feeling between Arabs and Europeans meeting in these parts of Africa as "civilized" amongst the heathen'.[3] But towards the end of the 1880s the situation appears to have changed. Although Kabunda, whose supporters were causing trouble at the north end of Lake Nyasa, assured Hore of his continued friendship with the L.M.S.,

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[2]Marie de Kiewiet Hemphill, 'The British Sphere 1884-94' in Oliver and Mathew, History of East Africa, pp. 391-412; Oliver's explanation for the Arab-European conflict in East Africa has been supported by a study carried out recently on Muslim brotherhoods in East Africa during the 1880s and 1890s, and also during the early part of the twentieth century. See, B.G.Martin, 'Muslim Politics and Resistance to Colonial Rule: Shaykh Uways B. Muhammad Al-Barawi and the Qadiriya Brotherhood in East Africa', J.A.H., X, 3(1969), pp. 474-476.

[3]E.C.Hore, Tanganyika, London, 1892, p.69.

it is significant that in January 1889 the first European missionary belonging to Hore's association, was killed while on his way to the east coast. Hore attributed this to the desperate excitement caused by the coming of Europeans.[4] Thus, there can be little doubt that the arrival of the Germans in East Africa, their direct involvement in the same trade as the Arabs, and their subsequent challenge to the Arab establishment, caused panic both at Zanzibar and the interior, and that it led up to the Arab and Swahili rising.

A survey of the scene in the Lake Nyasa region during the same period suggests that the German intervention in Tanganyika did not have a direct bearing on the Arab/A.L.C. conflict and that Zanzibardoes not appear to have transmitted whatever anti-European programme she had to the Arabs on Lake Nyasa. First, as Oliver rightly observes, the communication between the Lake Tanganyika Arabs and their counterparts on Lake Nyasa was minimal and unimportant. It was not as regular and direct as that between, say, Ujiji, Tabora, and Ulungu. The only direct link of any significance between Mlozi's group and Kabunda on the southern tip of Lake Tanganyika, was his rash subordinate, Ramathan, and the ruga ruga, both of whom brought ivory to Ungonde and sold it to the African Lakes Company at Karonga. Although this group recognized Mlozi

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[4] Ibid., p.292.

as the general head of the Swahili in Ungonde, they did not fall under his jurisdiction and he had no powers over them. Their main agent in Karonga was Mirambo and, occasionally, Salim bin Najim. Mirambo's personal relations with the Europeans were good. Four years after the first troubles at Karonga, Robert Gossip of the Free Church at Ncherenje reported to Laws that Mirambo had stayed with him for six days on his way from Karonga and that 'he is a most intelligent man and is well posted up as to the moves of the English and German'. Gossip ended his letter with, 'this as you will remember is the man who during the war was friendly with the white man'.[5]

It is true that Mirambo's colleague Ramathan and the ruga ruga were often the cause of troubles at Karonga. But Ramathan seems to have deliberately caused irritation because of the Lakes Company's inability to pay the debts that it owed Kabunda's Arabs. Very often Fotheringham and Nicol did not have the merchandise to exchange for the ivory brought from Lake Tanganyika. The usual pattern was for the Swahili to hand over the ivory to the African Lakes Company and wait for the steamer to bring the goods from Mandala. Occasionally, the steamer delayed,

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[5]Gossip to Laws, 6.1.91, N.L.S., Ms 7895.

did not bring enough stock, or sometimes did not bring anything at all. Whenever this happened, Arabs became impatient and caused trouble to the company officials and their men. The Kasote incident can be attributed to this factor. When Fotheringham put pressure on the Arabs, Ramathan promised to return to Tanganyika as soon as the balance of goods were paid. As Fotheringham confessed,

> 'One great cause of trouble during the last two years at Karonga has been shortness of supplies, thus causing Arabs who have come a long distance to wait in the direct as long as three months before we could give them their goods. The Arabs always bring great number of people along with them: hence there have been continued quarrels between them and natives about food, the Arabs invariably helping themselves ..... Ramathan, one of the principal Arab leaders, a white Belooch, came with goods, and as he had seventy people with him and about fifty guns, the natives did not care for his presence'.[6]

Mlozi's directives came from his superiors Kapandansalu and Salim bin Nasir in Usenga. So far as we know, the Senga Arabs were not in conflict with the Europeans. Whenever the two Senga traders were in Karonga, the Arabs did not make any trouble. It was Salim bin Nasir who commanded Ramathan to leave Mirambo and go to Mpata where he could be under his charge. The Senga Arabs

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[6] Fotheringham, Adventures in Nyassaland, p.44. This point has also been made by Macmillan in his 'The Origins and Development of the African Lakes Company: 1878-1908', p.262, and in his 'Notes on the Origins of the Arab War', p.271.

were in closer contact with the Jumbe of Nkhota-Kota than any other group of Arabs. The Jumbe was greatly respected by them and was also related to Mlozi by marriage. Though he ferried slaves to the east coast, he was opposed to the conflict that was going on in the north end. He sent a letter, admittedly at the request of the British, to Mlozi pleading with him to desist from causing hardship to the Europeans and their supporters. Although the Jumbe's request seems to have taken on deaf ears, it is important to note that at a time when the Arabs were adopting violent policies towards the Europeans, the Jumbe, certainly the most important Swahili on Lake Nyasa, repudiated their actions.[7]

It is more difficult to determine the role of the Sultan of Zanzibar in the Mlozi-A.L.C. war. In spite of his claims, the Sultan had no effective control over most of the Arabs trading inthe interior of Africa. However, it was prestigious for the Swahili to profess connection with the Sultan because of the respect that the European powers held for him. The British Government took advantage of this and, at the advice of O'Neil, requested the Sultan to order Mlozi to halt his anti-British activities. The Sultan obliged by sending an emissary, Ali bin Suroor, 'a man

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[7]Hawes to Salisbury, 3.9.1888, F.O. 84/1908.

possessed of considerable local influence', to Lake Nyasa.[8] Bin Suroor was won over by Mlozi and after staying with the Karonga Swahili for some time, he returned to Zanzibar. This is the only direct communication, concerning the war, that is known to have taken place between Zanzibar and Ungonde. It is possible that messages encouraging the Arabs to rise against the Europeans were sent confidentially to Mlozi before O'Neil's request was made. It is also very likely that suchinstructions were passed by way of mouth. Because Mlozi's documents were destroyed on his capture and because of the reluctance of the Senga Arabs to join the war, it is difficult to substantiate any of these hypotheses.

The Europeans involved in the war, and some of the scholars who have since written on it, believe that Mlozi's actions were politically motivated.[9] That Mlozi flirted with the idea of establishing political power in Ungonde on the pattern of his hero, Jumbe, cannot be denied or doubted. Soon after burning the Ngonde villages near his camp, and driving the occupants away, Mlozi proclaimed himself 'Sultan of Ungonde'. He made several preposterous

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[8] Euan Smith to Salisbury, 19.8.1888, F.O.84/1908; for the Sultan's letter to the Lake Nyasa Arab traders, see Enclosure I in Euan Smith to Salisbury, 11.8.1888, F.O. /1908.

[9] For example, A.J.Hanna, The Beginnings of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1859-95, 1956, pp. 79-83.

demands such as: that all the people recognize and address him as Sultan; that his 'new subjects' work in his gardens, build his village, and send young women to his harem; and that if the princes wanted to return to their homes, they should pawn cows for their freedom.[10] If carried out, these 'orders' would have legitimized his authority, but unfortunately for him, they were not. Despite what some commentators have said, Mlozi did not alienate himself from all the Ngonde princes. Headman Kayuni, for example, remained a close friend of Mlozi until early in the 1890s. When Acting Consul Buchanan went to the north after the first two major clashes, he held the first ccnference with headman was the Arabs at Kayuni's, whose /described as 'favourably disposed to the English but is entirely under the influence of Mlozi'. Buchanan even gave Kayuni 'a present with view to securing his further aid in opening up negotiations with Mlozi'.[11] It was, of course, important for Mlozi to maintain good relations with the princes in southern Ungonde because they controlled the way to Chilumba. But it is also probable that it was a deliberate attempt to divide the southern princes from those in the north

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[10] Fotheringham, op.cit., pp. 52-56.

[11] Buchanan to Hawes, 12.4.1888, enclosed in Hawes to Foreign Office, confidential No. 17, Central Africa, F.O.84/1883.

in order to make the task of achieving political power easier.

It would seem that Mlozi was trying to emulate the Jumbes. But this was a gross political miscalculation on his part. The circumstances and period in which the Jumbes established political control in Nkhota-Kota were different from Mlozi's. Not only this but also the Jumbes were recognized by the British Consul, the traders, missionaries, and the powerful African chiefs west of the lake. Though ambitious, it is doubtful whether Mlozi was sure of the feasibility of the project, and of his ability to hold power for long. First of all, he did not have the backing of the Senga Arabs. When one of his superiors, Salim bin Nasir, went to Ungonde soon after the October 1887 troubles, Mlozi immediately renounced his claims to the 'Sultanate' and promised Fotheringham that he would control his aides and stop harming the Ngonde. The support of the Senga Arabs was vital to Mlozi because, with the exception of the Chitipa uplands, they controlled, in a commercial sense, the areas from which most of the ivory came.

One aspect of the war which is sometimes overlooked is the way the numerous tactical errors and general conduct on the part of some A.L.C. officials after the first clashes, prolonged the war, and boosted the morale of the Arabs by making them feel that they were a force to be reckoned with. John Moir, who had hitherto had good commercial dealings with all the Arabs, began to be

unnecessarily rough with them. In a confidential letter to Lord Salisbury, Consul Hawes begged him to ask the directors of the A.L.C. in Britainto check the activities of their managers in the Lake Nyassa region 'in order to prevent their overstepping the bounds of warfare, and extending the area of disturbance beyond its present limit'.[12] Hawes was prompted to demand this because of the irresponsible behaviour that Moir had showed while he, Hawes, and other Europeans reconnoitred parts of the northern shores of Lake Malawi during the period December, 1887 to mid-January, 1888. During a brief stop at a Deep Bay wooding station, situated near an unprotected Arab village, they heard a rumour to the effect that several canoes were about to set out for the eastern shores of the lake. Moir immediately proposed that they 'attack the village, loot the caravan and seize the canoes' but at the strong opposition of the consul, who regarded it as 'piracy and raid', the plan was reluctantly abandoned.[13] Moir exhibited the same behaviour a few weeks later when, upon hearing a similar story, this time saying that the caravan was led by Mlozi he agreed with the proposition that the ivory be looted, a course

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[12]Hawes to Salisbury, 28.1.1888, confidential, Central Africa, No. 5, F.O. 84/1883.

[13]Ibid.

which Hawes considered 'highly injudicious for a man in his position to suggest'. It was discovered later that the rumour was unfounded, and that it was the same caravan that they had heard of some weeks before. These incidents convinced Hawes that Moir was not capable of leading a successful expedition against the Arabs, and that if allowed to do so, he would only extend the troubles far beyond the actual areas involved. Hawes' aim was to minimise the conflict and to play the role of a conciliator and he resented any actions that appeared to prevent him from achieving this. Moir had already made a mistake earlier in 1887 when he led an unsuccessful expedition against the Yao chief, Matapwiri of Mulanje 'in order to rescue goods stolen by the Zanzibar boats crew who deserted her Majesty's consulate in Zomba'.

In spite of his promise not to provoke the Arabs, Moir, against the advice of Chauncy Maples of the U.M.C.A., Hawes, and his successor Buchanan, organized another expedition to the north end. Before striking at the Arabs, Fotheringham, two other European employees of the Company, and 100 Nyakyusa invaded Kanyoli's village. When the Henga saw the party approaching, they fled and the A.L.C. party looted Henga food, and set the village on fire. On 10 April, they attacked the smallest Arab stockade, Msalema, but could not sustain the assault. They ran short of ammunition, 30 African

spearsmen were wounded, and the leader of the party, Frederick Moir, was shot through the arm. The expedition failed.[14]

It is clear that, had the Europeans launched a well-planned and directed attack on the Swahili earlier, the Arabs might have been defeated, or, better still, a workable solution might have been arrived at by both sides. During the initial stages of the war, Mlozi's forces were not invincible; besides, he did not have the backing of his chiefs in Usenga. At that stage, the latter were against picking quarrels with the Lakes Company and were of the opinion that the good relations that had hitherto prevailed ought to continue. But as a result of the ill-directed expeditions, and the occasional adoption of local methods of fighting - such as the burning of villages - on the part of the A.L.C., the strength and support of the Swahili increased. Now the Senga Arabs joined forces with those in Ungonde.

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[14]Frederick L.M.Moir, 'Englishmen and Arabs in East Africa', pp. 632-634.

However, the major defect with the analyses of the so-called Arab war that have been presented above is that they tend to ignore - and definitely fail to account for - the reasons why the Henga turned against their hosts, the Ngonde, and joined forces with the Arabs; and why the Ngonde who had earlier seen the arrival of the Arabs as an added insurance against possible Ngoni invasion became, as time progressed, sworn enemies of their 'protectors'. These questions are central to the whole issue, for while the external pressures such as the German attempts to curb Arab activities in Tanganyika may have had an indirect bearing on the war, and though it can be proved that the general suspicion and subdued rivalry between the Arabs and the British played an important role in the troubles, local developments would appear to have been crucial and, therefore, must be examined.

In the last chapter we saw how by the time of the arrival of the Europeans, in the early 1880s, the Ngonde had insulated themselves against their traditional foes, the Nyakyusa and the Ngoni, by settling the Henga on the northern border of the kingdom, and by allowing Mlozi to build his quarters near Mbande. Largely due to their background, the Henga do not seem to have found adaptation to the new conditions easy. The majority of them had joined the Ngoni regiments while very young and had spent all their adult lives as professional soldiers. As members of the armed forces,

they had depended on food brought in by the subjects of the Ngoni, and on the results of the raids on unconquered peoples in outlying areas such as Usenga. Though originally agriculturists, most of them had lost this part of their traditional occupation with the consequence that when they went to Ungonde, they found it very difficult to revert to the old way of life. To make things worse, the land allocated to them by the Ngonde was not enough to accommodate a restless people, and despite the fact that it is a fertile area, it is bound in the north by the perpetually water-logged elephant marsh, and in the east by the long sandy shores of the lake. There was no room for expansion, as the Ngonde occupied most of the southern and western sections that were adjacent to the Henga village. This in addition to the fact that they did not like bananas, the staple food of the Ngonde, made it almost impossible for them to assimilate with the natives. Paradoxical as it may sound, though the Ngonde welcomed the Henga presence, they were suspicious of them because they were warriors and had a different style of life.

Once they had settled in their new land, the Henga did not stop their military activities. They made innumerable minor raids on the Nyakyusa at a time when the latter were under very heavy pressure from the Sangu, the Hehe, and the Songea Ngoni. The Henga became an irritant to the Nyakyusa, whose dislike for the Ngonde was now being redirected towards them. The Nyakyusa could no longer

raid the Ngonde without being turned back by the experienced Henga regiments.[15] The Henga also performed mercenary duties for some of the smaller villages in the west. For example, they were asked by Kanjele, a tributary of Mwenemisuku of the Chitipa highlands, to help him fight local enemies, an action which did not endear the Henga to most Sukwa.[16] When Kanyoli's death was reported to a group of Sukwa by the Rev. Bain, they were overwhelmed with joy.[17]

As soon as the Arabs arrived at Mbande, the Henga, perhaps attracted by the wealth of the Arabs, established contact with them. We do not know how the Ngonde reacted to the Henga move. We are sure, though, that the Swahili became good friends of the Henga. They had two things in common: both were foreigners to Ungonde and were thus not emotionally tied to the country; the Senga Arabs were already on good terms with the Tumbuka-speaking peoples west of the South Rukuru river, and had even lent them guns to fight the Ngoni. The Henga were still interested in regaining their country and it is possible that they hoped to enlist

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[15] Mwayibale Munthali, 10.8.71; Nelson Kapila, 11.8.71; Zinde Gondwe and group, 14.8.71.

[16] Nyirenda, 'History of the Tumbuka-Henga People', p.66.

[17] Bain to Laws, 21.2.1887, Ms 7890, N.L.S.

the support of the Arabs against the Ngoni. But it is unlikely that the Henga would have ventured to do it at this time. The Ngoni were still in their prime, and to tamper with them would have provoked them to block the way between Usenga and Lake Nyasa. There was also the fear that an attack on the Mbelwa Ngoni might upset their brothers across the lake where they were in control of some of the routes to the East African coast. However, the Henga could still prove useful allies in local situations. They controlled, militarily, northern Ungonde, through which passed anither route to the coast. Although the Arabs seldom used this route, they wanted to leave it open and it seems probable that this was one of the reasons why they were prepared to join forces with the Songea Ngoni against the Nyakyusa who were very much in control of the region immediately north of Ungonde.[18] It was, therefore, good strategy for the Arabs to ensure that the Henga were happy. Naturally, the Henga took advantage of the Arabs' response to their moves. Frustrated by Ungonde and her people, they embarked on a policy of calculated disruption of the friendship between the Arabs and the Ngonde. As Mwakasungula Mwakabanga II put it:

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[18] Buchanan to Hawes, 12.4.1888, Central Africa, confidential, No. 17, F.O. 84/1883.

> 'The Henga started double-dealing after the Kyungi had saved them from the Ngoni and after the Arabs arrived. The Henga became friends of the Arabs. Whenever the Kyungu sent a bull to the Arabs as a sign of good will, the Henga cut the animal and rubbed charcoal into its wounds. This infuriated the Arabs, and they interpreted it as an insult and always asked, "How can he send us a cow that is covered with wounds". The Henga aim was that we should fight the Arabs. In any event, one day the man who took the bull to the Arabs was shot dead.'[19]

The story of the bull maynot be true but the message is clear: that the Henga deliberately sowed seeds of animosity between the Arabs and the Ngonde. The Henga succeeded in doing this. Before he died, Kanyoli made 'blood relationship' with Mlozi, an oath which bound the two leaders together for life.

The A.L.C. played a major part in drawing the Arabs and the Henga closer. It will be recalled that Moir first visited Unyakyusa towards the end of the 1870s and that as a result of this visit, the A.L.C. and the three powerful Nyakyusa princes, Mwakyusa, Mwankenja and Mwanjawala became friends. Moir was impressed by the Nyakyusa, and of them he wrote, 'they are said to be treacherous but I have found them pleasant to deal with. The men are warriors and many of them consider carrying beneath them'.[20] Although there is no evidence of the Company's involvement in local politics at this stage, we know that because of

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[19] SHTNM, 3, pp. 320-1.

[20] Carrying here refers to porterage, Frederick L. Maitland Moir, 'Eastern Route to Central Africa', Scottish Geographical Magazine, I, April, 1885, p.107; idem, After Livintstone, p.90.

the trouble they were receiving from the Henga and other people north and south east, the Nyakyusa were keen to win the Europeans as allies. As for the Company, Unyakyusa had much to offer. It was inhabited by independent-minded people with plenty of food and, more important, it was infested with elephants 'which at that time were a plague of the country'. In fact Unyakyusa became a sort of preserve of the A.L.C. Moir and other Europeans were given freedom to shoot elephants and they employed their own hunters chosen from the locality.[21] The Swahili, who since their arrival in Ungonde wanted to control the route to the east coast through Unyakyusa, were not happy with the 'monopoly' that the A.L.C. were establishing over the region.

When the A.L.C. set up a station in Karonga, its agent, Fotheringham, quickly established very amicable relations with the local Ngonde princes, Malema, Mwakasungula, and Karonga. Their friendship with the Company was sealed in 1885 when they 'ceded and transferred' certain tracts of land to the African Lakes Company.[22] The latter became the focal point of both the Nyakyusa and the Ngonde and the chances of their fighting again were greatly

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[21]John and Jacob Mwandenga, 26.10.71.

[22]C.O. 525/135, internal file 33359; C.O. 529/141.

diminished by this. Communication between Ungonde and Unyakyusa increased, and for the first time the powerful Nyakyusa princes began to refer to their counterparts in Ungonde as 'brothers'. The irony of it all is that, though due to the entry of the A.L.C. into the northern Malawi political arena the Ngonde and the Nyakyusa were brought together, the delicate balance of power created in the period prior to the coming of the Europeans, was now upset. The results were disastrous. After defeating the Sangu/Ngoni force at the famous Battle of Mwaya in 1886, the Nyakyusa turned their attention to their new enemies, the Henga. The Battle of Mwaya had united, albeit temporarily, the various Nyakyusa princes, andr they could attempt to mount a campaign against the Henga. But they did not do it because, under Kanyoli's leadership, the Henga were still very strong. Secondly, it was more difficult, and out of character, for the Nyakyusa to organize a combined offensive force. Raids were organized not necessarily to conquer and subdue the enemy, but primarily to injure him and loot his property. Cattle were their favourite object of loot. So while Kanyoli was alive and the Henga still united, the Nyakyusa had little hope of success.

The Henga were very bitter with the Ngonde for changing their attitude towards the Nyakyusa. They felt let down. This

together with other discontents that they had been nursing for some time, drew them even even closer to the Arabs, who were pleased to welcome them as allies. There is evidence to show that, with the arrival of Europeans, the Ngonde began to lose interest in the Henga. Prince Mwafongo, son of the late Kyungu Njola Mwafongo, took a leading role in the campaign against the Henga. With or without the knowledge of the Kyungu, the makambala, and other Ngonde princes, Mwafongo organized a plot to massacre the Henga by inviting them to Mbande on the pretext that the Ngoni had invaded south Ungonde. The plot failed because Chiparamoto, the Swahili hired to start shooting the Henga, tipped off Kanyoli about the intentions of the Ngonde. Chiparamoto told Kanyoli that he could not kill the Henga 'because we are both strangers here'.[23] Although this incident occurred before Kany oli's death, the Henga restrained themselves and did not show their reactions to the plan to murder them. The effect of this on the Arabs was to make them feel insecure. Though business with the A.L.C. continued undisturbed, there was a feeling on the part of the Swahili that they might be killed or ousted.

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[23]Nyirenda, 'History of the Tumbuka-Henga', p.64.

The date of the death of Kanyoli and the start of the first skirmish is significant. Kanyoli died early in 1887 and was succeeded by his son as head of the Henga/Kamanga in Ungonde.[24] Unfortunately for the Henga, the new Kanyoli was not as experienced as his father and did not command the respect that was due to him. The elder Kanyoli had been a unifying agent of the Henga, and often restrained them from making useless raids. Now the situation was different. Two major Henga factions emerged. The first, led by Chasɑvya, was moderate and not interested in wars. The second, comprising the majority of the Henga, was headed by the new Kanyoli. They had no love for the Ngonde and the Nyakyusa, and advocated acti n against them. It is not surprising that the first series of skirmishes between the Arabs and the Ngonde took place during the period between July and December 1887, four months after Kanyoli's death. Although the Henga were not physically involved in the fight, they supported the war. It is not insignificant that the Arabs belonging to Mlozi's group developed an almost pathological hatred for Mwafongo and his people. Prince Mwenitete, the victim of the October 1887 clash, was a brother of Mwafongo and their villages were adjacent

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[24] Kanyoli died fighting the Nyakyusa, ibid., p.66; Mwayibale Munthali, 10.8.71.

to one another. Both villages were looted and burnt down by the Arabs possibly accompanied by some Henga. The Europeans too did not like Kanyoli's Henga. Their village was raided, looted and burnt down in November 1887 and April 1888 by an A.L.C./Nyakyusa force.[25] The Nyakyusa were, not unnaturally, happy to take revenge against their foes.

Thus the upsetting of the delicate balance of power that had existed in northern Malawi in the period immediately before the arrival of the Arabs and the Europeans, played a very significant part in the conflict between the Arabs and the Henga on the one hand, and the Europeans and the Ngonde/Nyakyusa on the other. The Ngonde kingdom was so shattered by the events of the 1880s and the 1890s that for most of this period there was a breakdown in the indigenous political system. Life began to come back to normal after the capture of Mlozi at the end of 1894, and after the accession of Mwakabanga I to the Ngonde throne at about the same time. This marked the end of one era, and the beginning of a new one.

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[25] J.K.Tomory to Hawes, 14.1.1888 enclosed in Hawes to Salisbury, 16.1.1888, F.O. 84/1883; Tomory's contribution at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, in A. Silva White, 'The East Central African Question', Scottish Geographical Magazine, IV, June, 1888; confidential letter by an employee of the African Lakes Company enclosed in Buchanan to Hawes, 8.5.1888, Central Africa, 23, F.O. 84/1883.

# A P P E N D I X A

## Chronology of the Ngonde

Although in The Constitution of Ngonde, Godfrey Wilson produced a list of Kyungus (see table below), he did not reconstruct a detailed chronology of the Ngonde. Even his list of Kyungus is incomplete. It starts with Magemo who, according to him, was the seventh Kyungu, and leaves out all the earlier rulers of the kingdom. This omission, coupled with lack of adequate information on the Ngonde succession system, makes it impossible to work out a viable chronology of the area from his book. However, another attempt to reconstruct a chronology was made by Monica Wilson in 1958 when she suggested 1550-1650 as the possible period of the arrival from Ukinga in the Rungwe Valley by the Lwembes, the founding ancestors of the Nyakyusa ruling dynastics. The conclusion drawn from this was that the Kyungus, who had left Ukinga before Lwembe's lineage, reached the Karonga plain about this time. Monica Wilson based her calculations mainly on Nyakyusa genealogies,

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1. Monica Wilson, The Peoples of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Corridor. p.13, p.p.46-7.

which were in turn based on ubusoka, the coming out ceremony which according to her, took place every thirty to thirty-five years. According to Monica Wilson, during this ceremony, older rulers gave way to their sons, divided their lands between them, and retired from active life.[2] This view of Ubusoka has been challenged by Charsley, who is of the opinion that its main purpose was twofold: to establish the new status of young princes; and to bring together the followers of the young princes.[3] Nevertheless, the method of calculating generation lengths on the basis of age sets has been applied elsewhere in Africa, and has proved useful and fairly accurate.[4] But, as Monica Wilson realises, although once practiced in Ungonde, ubusoka did not assume much importance and is not recalled in traditions as an institution that affected the lives of the ruling lineages to any marked degree. Very few people remember the institution and those who do are not able to provide details of the ritual.

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2. Monica Wilson, Communal Rituals of the Nyakyusa, p.p.49-57. For Nyakyusa genealogies based on ubusoka see tables opposite p.p.3 and 12. As for a more detailed study of ubusoka see her Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages London,1951

3. S. Charsley, The Prince of Nyakyusa, p.75-93.

4. G. Muriuki, A History of the Kikuyu to 1904, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1970.

Before trying to work out a chronology of the Ngonde it is essential to understand their succession system. Like their neighbours, the Ngonde are a patrilineal people and practice positional succession, that is, a ruler inherits property, wives, title, and all the roles played by his predecessor. The difficulty of identifying individual Kyungus does not arise because, although every ruler inherits the title, Kyungu, he retains his first name. The precaution to take here, however, is to avoid confusing the children of a deceased Kyungu with those of his immediate successor by the inherited wife. This leads us to the problem of lineal succession on the one hand, collateral and fraternal succession on the other. In Ungonde, succession did not follow the law of premogeniture. A Kyungu was not always succeeded by his first son. Normally inheritance passed through full and collateral brothers before descending to the next generation. This system had the tendency of making reign length uneven, because some kinsmen acceeded to the throne at an advanced age. This feature was encouraged by the increase in the numbers of the members of the royal family eligible for the throne. For example, when Mwakabanga I became the Kyungu in 1894, succeeding his cousin Mwaulambo, he was already an old man. He had

been by-passed twice, and it is said that on his invitation to Mbande, he complained bitterly to the makambala for having delayed his accession to the throne. He ruled for ten years only.[5]

The problem of reconstructing Ngonde chronology based on regnal lengths is further complicated by the accession to Mbande of Kasyombe, and the consequent development of two ruling houses, Ngerenge and Ngana. Kasyombe, who became Kyungu on the death of his maternal uncle Magemo, was himself succeeded by Mwenengubwe, his son by one of Magemo's wives. Mwenengubwe was in turn succeeded by his cousin Mwangonde, the son of Magemo, and from then on the throne of Mbande was occupied by members of both houses. It was not an alternating system, and no consistent pattern of succession seems to have emerged. For example, Kyungu Mwangonde was succeeded by his son Mwakasungula, who was succeeded by his brother Mwambelo. After this period three consecutive Kyungus, all of them brothers, and it would appear, belonging to the same generation as their two predecessors, came from the house of Ngana. The difficulty here is to try to work out who of the full and collateral brothers belonged to which generation and for how long he was in power. If not properly handled, some Kyungu lists can easily lead one to conclude that a particular Kyungu

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5. SHTNM, 9, p.403; SHTNM, 2, 300.

had a long reign when in actual fact, there were two rulers in a single generation.[6]

Polygamy, which was, and still is, widely practiced in Ungonde, presents an even bigger problem. The larger the family a man had, the more too he was regarded in society, for such a family meant power and wealth. The head of a large family was assured of people to help him to cultivate his garden, fish in the lake and rivers, and, when need arose, fight his enemies. It was not uncommon for elderly people who had lost their vitality, but not their influence, to marry young girls. Very often such people arranged with their relations, usually uterine brothers, to sleep with the junior wives, but it was always understood that the offspring belonged to the old man. Thus in actuality the children born of the younger wives constituted another generation. Moreover, as a parent was never sure of the continuity of his line until the birth of a grandson, the Ngonde tended to marry early. Soon after puberty, boys, particularly those of the royal family, were pressed by their relations to look for prospective wives, and many times

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6. This aspect of the problem of reconstructing chronologies of pre-literate societies has been discussed in greater detail by D. Henige in his 'Oral Tradition and Chronology' J.A.H.; XII,3(1971) p.p. 376-78

marriages were arranged on behalf of the children even before they became of age. Since a dynastic generation is the difference in age between a ruler and the descendant (in the next generation) who succeeds him, it is tempting to try to fix a figure, based on the Kyungu lists and the genealogies of the various branches of the two ruling houses, which would represent an average length of a generation in Ungonde. I hesitate to do this because there was no rule in Ungonde governing the transfer of power from parents to sons. It would appear that in general heirs did not succeed their fathers until the latter became old. As for the Kyungus, their lives often depended on the confidence that the makambala had in them. If, for instance, the makambala felt that a Kyungu was not observing the constraints imposed on him by custom and tradition as happened with Mwenengubwe, or, if it deemed upon the makambala that a Kyungu was too ill to continue ruling as happened with Njola Mwafongo, his life was quickly ended. Thus, there is no firm base upon which to establish a reliable average length of a dynastic generation in Ungonde.

Having failed to estimate generation lengths, I decided to try the method used by David Cohen in reconstructing the chronology of Busoga. This method

involves establishing connections between rulers of different states, between a king and a commoner, or, between two commoners.[7] Using the numerous clan and royal genealogies collected during my field work, I attempted to correlate some Ngonde commoners and notables with particular Kyungus. Many Kyungus married into certain clans, and conversely, some clan heads married into the royal family. Such alliances were remembered by my informants. But because of the tendency of some Ngonde to telescope their traditions and to attribute certain developments and changes in the kingdom to the wrong Kyungus, most of the ties that I was to establish proved unhelpful. I then investigated whether any connection existed between the Kyungus and some of the rulers of the smaller polities to the west of Ungonde. These were not very useful either. There was a link between Syola, one of the first Kyungus, and one of the early Mwaulambyas, Mulelembwa. Similarly, there was a connection between an early Mwenemisuku and the Kyungu who first settled in the Karonga plain. Obviously, this type of link does not take one far. The only conclusion one can draw from it is that when the

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7. D.W. Cohen, 'A Survey of Interlacustrine Chronology' J.A.H. XI, 2 (1970), p.p.177-199

Kyungus passed through Ulambya and Misuku, the Mwaulambyes and Mwenemisukus had established or were establishing themselves in these areas.

Cohen used the Ganda dynasty as a core for reconstructing a general chronology of Busoga.[8] This sort of aid is missing in the genealogies of northern Malawi. However, I turned south to the chiefdoms of Fulilwa and the Chikulamayembe's NKamanga, and was able to tie in Kyungu Mwekasungula, Bamantha Chikulamayembe, and two Mwafulilwas, Wanthowa and Chautheka. Mwakasungula and Bamantha were also linked with the 'invasion' of Hewe by the Bemba, and with the coming of the Ngonde from the south. This seemed to be the only breakthrough, for we know that after crossing the Zambezi in 1835,[9]

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8. Ibid.
9. This date is based on a well-documented solar eclipse which occured during the crossing of the Zambezi by the Ngoni. See:- J.D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath, London 1966 pp.66-7; D.G. Lancaster, 'Tentative Chronology of the Ngoni, Genealogy of their Chiefs, and Notes', J.R.A. I., LXVII (1937)p. 85; W.H.Y. Rangely, 'The Angoni', Society of Malawi Journal, 19,2 (1966),p. 72.

the Ngoni entered Nsenga country and proceeded to Mawili on the berders of the present day Kasungu and Mzimba districts of Malawi.[10] While at Mawili a son, Mhlalo, was born to one of Zwangendaba's wives, Umnene. Mhlalo's other name was Mbelwa which, according to a prominent Ngoni historian, was given to him because he was born after the return of a successful cattle raiding party from Mwambelo's village in Kyungu's territory.[11] Whether Mhlalo was named after Prince Mwambelo or not, the fact is that the Ngonde were attacked by the Ngoni during their brief sojourn at Mawili, and that the Kyungu of the time, Mwakasungula, and his immediate successor, Mwambelo, died in defence of Ungonde.[12]

Young, Lancaster, and Rangely have suggested 1840

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10. Omer-Cooper, ibid

11. Y.M. Chibambo, My Ngoni of Nyasaland, London 1924 p.23; Yesaya Chibambo, 'Makani Gha Wangoni', in Mdauko, Blantyre, 1965. p.62. Mawili is in the South Rukuru River.

12. SHTNM, 1,p.291

as the date of the birth of Mbelwa.[13] Although we must be careful not to rely on the work and judgement of these three writers, it seems reasonable to suppose that, if the Ngoni crossed the Zambezi in 1835, it must have taken them about five years to travel from the Zambezi valley to Mawili. Perhaps it is safer to suggest that the Ngoni were at Mawili in or about 1840. Since it is known that Mwakasungula became Kyungu just before the Ngoni invaded Ungonde, we may conclude that he acceded to Mbande around 1840. As both he and Mwambelo ruled for a very short period, we may also conclude that Gwasapasi - who succeeded Mwambelo - was crowned in the earlier part of the 1840's, say, between 1841 and 1843. Gwasapasi's reign was stormy because of the fierce opposition to him by most of the Ngonde princes, and it appears he was ritually killed by the reluctant makambala a few years after his accession. He was smothered probably within ten years of his accession. His cousin Njola Mwafongo succeeded him and ruled until around 1878, when he was wounded while fighting the Nyakyusa prince Mwakatundu, and his friend Malamula. Mwaulambo became Kyungu, but in 1894 he abdicated and was replaced

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13. T.C. Young, Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples p.112; Lancaster, op cit; Rangely, op.cit.

by Mwakabanga I.

Although it is possible to work out a fairly reliable chronology of Ungonde for most of the 19th century it is not easy to do the same for the pre-Mwakasungula period. Let us try to work backwards starting with the period immediately before Mwakasungula's reign. The latter's father and predecessor, Mwangonde, seems to have ruled for a long time. I am, of course, aware that traditions tend to lengthen the reigns of rulers, like Mwangonde, who are associated with major reforms in their kingdoms. However, there is evidence to show that Kyungu Mwangonde's reign was indeed a long one. First, Mwakasungula who was one of Mwangonde's older sons did not die a very young man. After the clash between the Nganas and Kerenges, he lived and fought in Unyakyusa, he took part in the Bemba wzr, and had even deputised for his father in the 'Bamantha Affair'. Secondly, all Mwangonde's children were born after he was recalled from Utambo, which means that if by the time of his death his senior sons Mwakesungula and Mwambelo were already mature and experienced men, Mwangonde must have died an old man. Thirdly, the makambala liked Mwangonde and were keen to have him at Mbande for as long as it was possible. So, assuming

that Mwakasungula ascended the throne soon after his father's death (i.e. around 1840), we can estimate that the latter became Kyungu sometime in the last quarter of the 18th century. Mwangonde's predecessor, Mwenengubwe, who was born after the accession of Kasyombe and who therefore must belong to the same generation as Mwangonde himself, ruled for a short time. This puts him in the 1760s. Mwenengubwe's father, Kasyombe, who had succeeded Magemo must, therefore, have gone to Mbande sometime in the first half of the 18th century. This means that Magemo, who seems to have been Kyungu IV, probably ruled at the turn of the 17th century and the early 18th century.

The further back we go before Mwangonde's period, the more unreliable our estimations become, so perhaps we should try to use the reports of the archaeological investigations carried out in Ungonde. According to Robinson, the ware that was uncovered from Mbande hill, and radio carbon dated to $1680 \pm 80$ has distinct features. Although it has some affinities with the Mwamasapa ware, which is associated with the pre-Kyungu clans, some of which, like the Mwenekisindiles and Mwenifumbos, originally came from the north-eastern shores of Lake Malawi, there is a definite new variant. This variant

is linked with the arrival of the Kyungus.[14] Thus we can date the latter's arrival in the Karonga plain to sometime between the late 16th century and the end of the 17th century. In view of the fact that six Kyungus preceeded Mwangonde, this estimation seems reasonable. If the estimation is correct, it means that Mwakalosi, the father of Magemo, and his predecessors, Kiposa and Syola, ruled Ungonde in the 17th century. We are told that Syola fought and defeated the Simbowes. Kiposa, who it is said, was Syola's son, receives little attention in traditions, perhaps because he succeeded the man to whom major changes such as the expulsion of the Simbowes and the establishment of the Kyungu dynasty in Ungonde are attributed.

This accords with Monica Wilson's calculations for the Lwembe lineage of Unyakyusa, which she says arrived in the Rungwe valley from the east in the period between 1550 and 1650. It will be recalled that this lineage reached Unyakyusa at about the same time as the Kyungus

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14. K.R. Robinson, 'The Iron Age in Malawi: A brief account of recent work' in B. Pachai, The Early History of Malawi pp 59-60; also see the table accompanying Robinson's article.

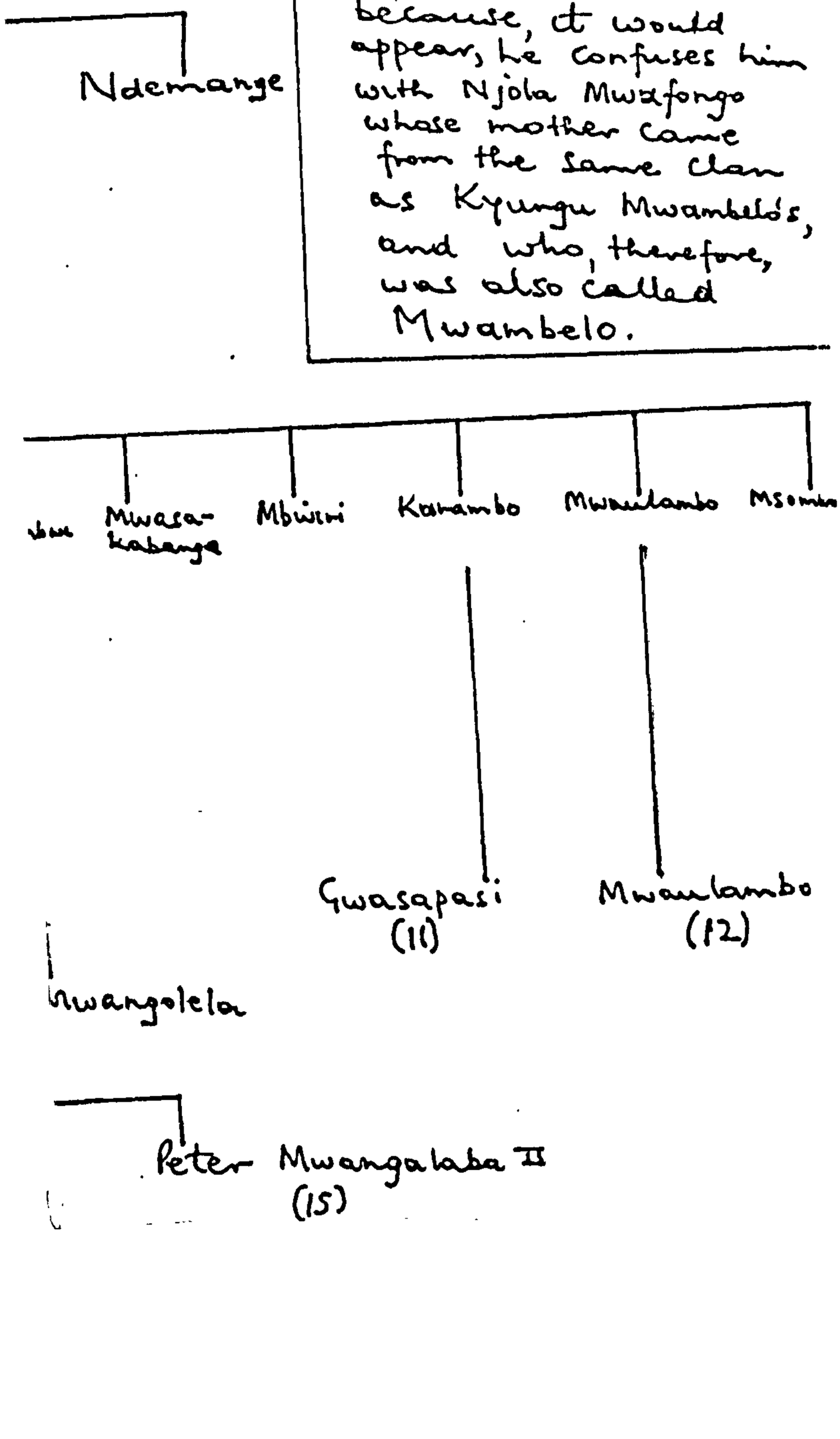
left the area for Ungonde (see Chapter III). Although earlier it was suggested that Monica Wilson's methods of calculating Nyakyusa chronology are not applicable to Ungonde, the correspondence in the results cannot be a mere coincidence. On this basis, it seems reasonable to conclude that a dynastic generation in Ungonde was of particular kind, and that it probably averaged between thirty-three and thirty-five years. The eight generations (see Reconstructed Genealogy) amount to about three hundred years going back to the seventeenth century.

## GENEALOGY OF NGONDE RULERS BASED ON HEADMAN GIDION Mwangalaba's List of Kyungus.

**Errors in Headman Mwangalaba's list of Kyungus:**

(1) Mwenitete never became Kyungu. He renounced it and went to live in Unyakyusa.

(2) He excludes Mwambelo because, it would appear, he confuses him with Njola Mwafongo whose mother came from the same clan as Kyungu Mwambelo's, and who, therefore, was also called Mwambelo.



# Genealogy of Ngonde Rulers Based on Headman Gidion Mwangalaba's List of Kyungus.

Syola (1)

Kiposa (2)

Mwakalosi (3)

Mwenitete (4) — Mwalyambwile; Mwakyandile; Mwaitubi; Mwamakula

Magemo (5) — Kasyombe (6) — Mwangonde (8) — Mbemba; Mwankeja; Mwansele; Mwambelo; Mwakasungula (9) — Mwakatundu; Mwanyebo; Katolola; Mwanyongo; Mwakabanga (13); Malema — Fwangalilbilo Mwangalaba I (14); Peter Mwangalaba II (15); Mwangalela

Ndemange

Mwafongo — Karonga; Njola; Mwafongo (10)

Mwenengubu (7); Mwasakabanga; Mbwiri; Karambo — Gwasapasi (11); Mwanilambo — Mwanilambo (12); Msomba; Mwangonde (8); Mwanganda

## Errors in Headman Mwangalaba's list of Kyungus:

(1) Mwenitete never became Kyungu. He renounced it and went to live in Unyakyusa.

(2) He excludes Mwambelo because, it would appear, he confuses him with Njola Mwafongo whose mother came from the same clan as Kyungu Mwambelo's, and who, therefore, was also called Mwambelo.

## GENEALOGY OF NGONDE RULERS BASED ON Gilbert Mwampote Sichali's list of Kyungus

### Errors in the list

(1) Mwangonde succeeded Mwenengubwe and not Kasyombe. In his testimony, Sichali mentions that Mwenengubwe was Kyungu but he does place him in a particular period.

(2) He excludes Njola Mwafongo who succeeded Gwasapasi. This may be attributed to the fact that Njola Mwafongo is sometimes called Mwambelo, because his mother belonged to the same clan as Kyungu Mwambelo's mother

Mwenemb

(3)

M

Gwasc (9th)

Mwenenyamba

Kamenda

Mwankafa

Mbemb

Mwakabera (11)

Mwakitima

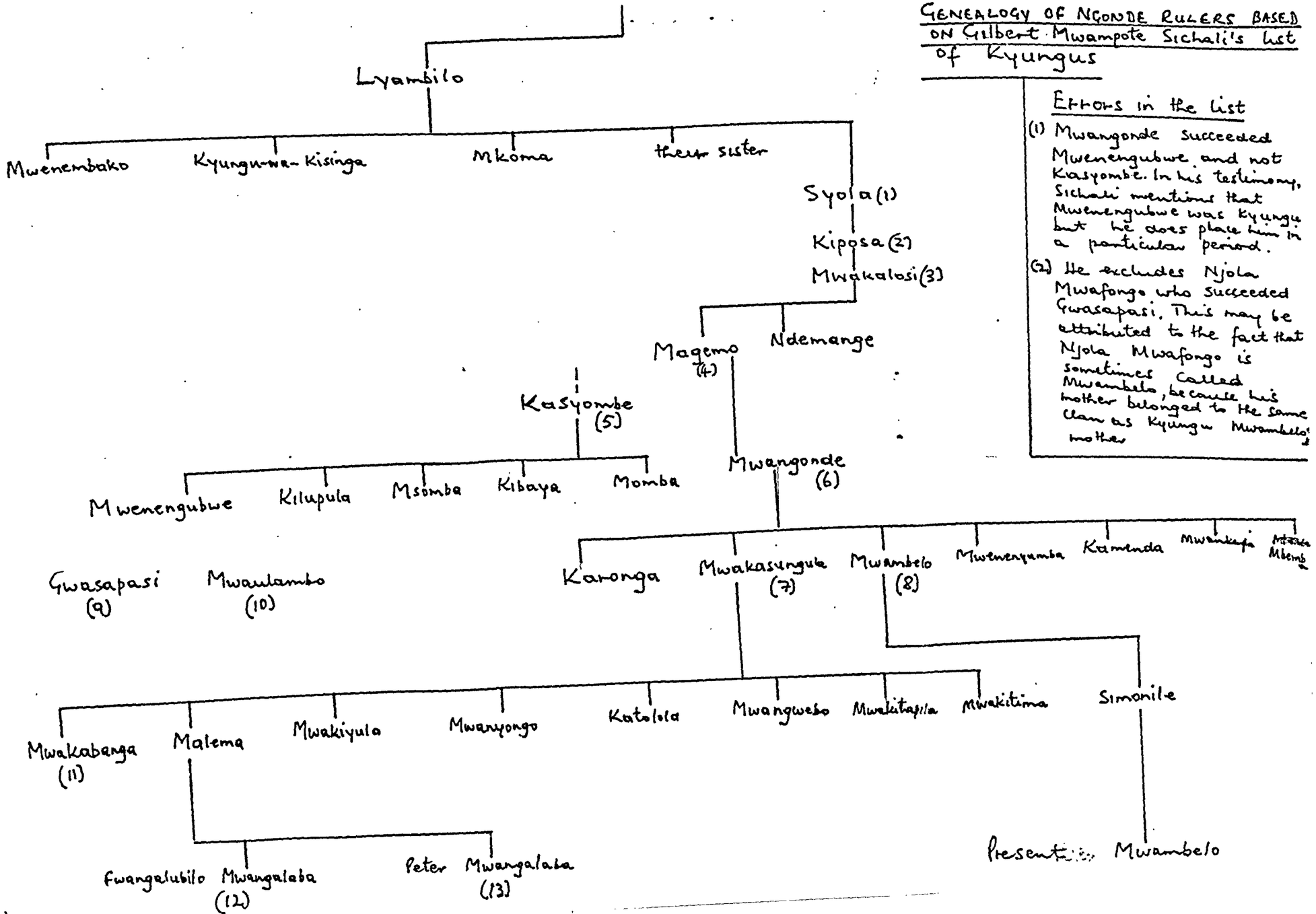
Simonile

Mwambelo

Present

SICHALI GENEALOGY

## GENEALOGY OF NGONDE RULERS BASED ON Gilbert Mwampote Sichali's list of Kyungus




### Errors in the list

(1) Mwangonde succeeded Mwenengubwe and not Kasyombe. In his testimony, Sichali mentions that Mwenengubwe was Kyungu but he does place him in a particular period.

(2) He excludes Njola Mwafongo who succeeded Gwasapasi. This may be attributed to the fact that Njola Mwafongo is sometimes called Mwambelo, because his mother belonged to the same clan as Kyungu Mwambelo's mother.

## NGONDE SUCCESSION TABLE

| Mwangalaba | Sichali | Mwakasungula | Wilson (G) | Williams (from the NNDN) | NNDN (author unknown) | Reconstructed |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Syola | Syola | Syola | | | | Syola |
| Kiposa | Kiposa | Mwakalosi | | | | Kiposa |
| Mwakalosi | Mwakalosi | Magemo | | | | Mwakalosi |
| Magemo | Magemo | Kasyombe | Magemo | | | Magemo |
| Kasyombe | Kasyombe | Mwenengubwe | Kasyombe | | | Kasyombe |
| Mwenengubwe | Mwangonde | Mwangonde | Mwenengubwe | | | Mwenengubwe |
| Gwasapasi | Mwakasungula | Mwambelo | Mwangonde | Mwangonde | Wawiwa | Mwangonde |
| Mwangonde | Mwambelo | | Mwakasungula | Mwakasungula | Mwakasungula | Mwakasungula |
| Mwakasungula | Gwasapasi | | Mwambelo | Mwambelo | Mwambelo | Mwambelo |
| Mwambelo | Mwaulambo | | Gwasapasi | Mwenengubwe | Gwasapasi | Gwasapasi |
| Mwafongo | Mwakabanga I | | Mwafongo | Gwasapasi | Mwafongo | Mwafongo |
| Mwaulambo | Mwangalaba I | | Mwaulambo | Mwafongo | Mwaulambo | Mwaulambo |
| Mwakabanga I | Peter | | Mwakabanga I | Mwaulambo | Mwakabanga I | Mwakabanga I |
| Mwangalaba I | | | Mwangalaba I | Mwakabanga I | Mwangalaba I | Mwangalaba I |
| Peter | | | Peter | | | Peter |

(N.B. NNDN = North Nyasa District Notebook)

# APPENDIX B

## SELECTED HISTORICAL TEXTS

# TEXT I

Name: Gilbert Mwampote Sichali  Age: approx. 83  Sex: M

Area: Kyungu  District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 23/9/71

General Topic: History of Sichali clan and general history of Ungonde

(Could you tell me the history of the Sichali clan from the earliest times?)

The Sichalis came from Igugu, in the Misuku Hills, but they point to Ukinga as their original home. Sichali, the son of Mbunduwulu, was a Kinga man who married a Nasichali from Chiula. By this woman, he had a son, Wayanga. Mbunduwulu's father was Mbunduwulu Malakalinga from Ukinga. He had twelve children altogether. Mwenemisuku was also of his blood.

Wayanga had troubles with his friends because of women. Women preferred him to his friends, and because of this, his life was in danger. So Wayanga together with his dog left Misuku, want to Chisasu, and finally he reached Kabungu in Chibondo. While there, the wives Mwenechiuta and Mwamande saw him sitting near an animal that he and his dog had just killed. These women had gone there to collect some salt (ukusenga umunyu). The women reported him to their husbands,

and Mwenechiuta and Mwamande went to interview Sichali. He told them that he was Mwenemisuku's son. He also gave them the meat of the animal that he had killed.

Mwenechiuta and Mwamande went to Mwenelupembe to tell him about the arrival of Sichali. Mwenelupembe had already heard from Mwenemisuku about his missing son. Mwenelupembe sent a message to Mwenemisuku to report that his son had been found. Mwenemisuku was happy to hear the good news and sent the following message to Mwenelupembe: "Mwenelupembe, please direct that one of your elder villagers (ilifumu) should live near my son. You know that he is a stranger, and that there is always the possibility that he might be killed by hostile people. He is the son of Mwenimisuku."

Mwenelupembe followed these instructions. He asked Mkhasi Silunda to leave his village and build near Sichali. But before doing this, he took Sichali to Kyungu, the ntemi. The Kyungu was told of the circumstances that led to Sichali's fleeing from Misuku and of how he had been found at Kabungu in Chibondo. The Kyungu told Sichali that he would not allow him to return to Misuku and that he would be informing his father, Mwenemisuku, about it. He then told Mwenelupembe to order Mwenechiuta and Mwamande to accept Sichali's authority (ukulambile). He also gave Sichali a new name, Kisyombe, together with his own daughter to marry. This girl had been living in

the Chibondo area. By her, Kisyombe had Kabaga, Mwalukwabo (Mwalukwelo?). The land that is presently occupied by the Sichalis is that that was originally Mwalukwebo's. He got it for us. His name was Nkono. By his second wife, Kisyombe had Mwenemtaba, and by his third wife, he had another son, Mela. Mwamtaba changed his name to Mwenifumbo. He was a nephew of the Mwenifumbos. The Kyungu ordered him to change his name because he had protested at the treatment of the man who was his uncle, Mwenifumbo, by Kyungu. Mwenifumbo refused to work in the mlaza (Royal Garden), and the Kyungu, annoyed by this, ordered Mwenifumbo to die. When Mwenemtaba went to the Kyungu to protest, he was forced to change his name, Kisyombe, to Mwenemtaba. This was the Kyungu Kasyombe. The Mwenifumbos were his maternal grandfathers also.

Kabanga, the elder of the Kisyombes, remained at Chibondo. His children were Syolonda, Mzungu, Mwenekengamala and Mwenibungu.

(Did he have one wife?)

These children were not of one mother. The man who moved from Chibondo to this area was called Mkomo. His original name was Mwalukwebo. The residents of this area had killed his dog, and when he complained to the Kyungu, the latter gave him permission to disperse (ukupalaganya) all of them and change his name from Mwalukwebo to Nkomo,

because the people had killed his dog with other dogs. His children were: Mwenekabule, Songwe, Mwenemasangano and Mwenekabundi. Kyungu Mwambelo is of the same blood as Mwenekabundi. Mwambelo settled in the homeland of his maternal relatives. He was not ordered by his father to settle there; it was his own choice.

Before Kyungu Mwakasungula died, he instructed his makambala that on his death he should be succeeded by his brave young brother, Mwambelo. But Mwambelo refused to go to Mbande because of the Ngoni raids. He said that he was on the southern boundary of Ngonde country and would not risk a defeat by the Ngoni. So Mlale became the headquarters of Ungonde. Mwambelo inherited the wives of his brother. They were Nafukwe, Nambuha, Namwambila and Utambi (Mwanyongo). Nafukwe was the mother of Kafwekate Mwamalopa, the brave one. Nambuha was the mother of Kyungu Peter. When Nafukwe returned to her brother Mwangonde (who is also Mwenikibombwe) (she returned there because she was a difficult woman), Mwanyongo said, "My father's wife has returned; I will marry her." By this woman, Mwanyongo had Kafwekete Mwamalopo, Mwakaputuka and the brother of the wife of Mwalundete.

Nambuha returned also. Her children were Mwakyiyo, Kofikiku (the mother of Kakangula), Kyungu Peter and his brother, Syambwelela.

(But could you go back to the history of Sichali, picking up where we left off?

If I do this it will confuse you because the name Sichali is a common name. It is common because of that man Sichali. When I was in the Government, the old Mwenimisuku always told me that only Sichali deserved this name because it was his uncle's[1]. He added that we are Ng'ambis. Sichali is a general name; even the people in Chibando are called Sichali.

(What about the name Kisyombe?)

There is an established head of the Kisyombes. For example, the members of the house of Syalonda are: Mwambyasyo, Mwanjala and Muyerepa. These, together with Mzungu, are of the senior wife. The present Kisyombes are of the House of Jangala, the junior house. There are three big names: Nkomo and Kabanga (sic). The Syalondas are the children of Nkomo. Kisyombe is a general name.

(Can you then tell us the history of the descendants of Nkomo?)

There are four houses of Nkomo: Mwenekaluba, Songwe, Mwenekabundi, and Mwenemasangano.

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1. See the biographical notes of informants. Sichali worked as an interpreter for the District Officer at Karonga.

The first son of Mwalukwebo Nkomo I was Songwe. He became Nkomo II. Songwe was succeeded by his younger brother, Mwenda. Mwenda was succeeded by Kaluluti, the son of Mwenemasangano. Mwenemasangano was succeeded by Kambambala. Kambambala was succeeded by Mwambange. After Mwambange, Mwaigama became the Nkomo. After Mwaigama someone acted until Adam took over. He is the present holder of the title of Nkomo. There have been nine Nkomos altogether. Kaluluti was a son of the Songwe. He was the grandson of Nkomo. Kambambala was a brother of Kaluluti and son of the Songwe Mwambande...(part following confused).

(Where did the Sichalis pray?)

Our masyeto (graveyards) are at Chibondo. We gathered there to pray. There is a very soft spot at Chibondo where we all met to pray. We believed that God was there. The place is so soft that any heavy object sinks.

(Where are Mwenechiuta and Mwenechiuta and Mwamande?)

The Mwenechiutes are finished. They are no longer in Karonga.

The Mwamandes live in Chibondo.

(Did Sichali find them at Chibondo?)

Yes they were living near there.

(Do you know the origin of these families?)

Mwamande was definitely a Mwera. He came from across the Lake. I am not sure about Mwenchiuta. It appears that

they have always lived here.

(Which families did the Kyungu find here when he first came to Karonga?)

When the Kyungus arrived, they found Mwenekisindile, Mwenekaluma and Mbobe. According to the history that I learned at Kasoba,[2] the Kyungu and his four children left Rungwe to look for good land in Zambia.

(What was the name of this Kyungu?)

The Kyungu of Rungwe was called Lyambiro, the son of Ngulube. This is what the Rev. Mwakasungula told me. You have probably heard that the Kyungu was in Iraq for a very long time. From Iraq, he went to Uganda, and from there he went to Mahenga. He finally settled in the Ukinga Mountains. While at Rungwe, his wife gave birth to twin sons, Lyambiro and Lwembe. When the two boys grew, they began to fight. Lwembe was stronger than Lyambiro, so the latter left Rungwe. Lwembe is the founder of the Nyakusa society.

All the children of Lyambiro were born at Rungwe. Kameme was the eldest son. Next to him was Mukoma (the ruler of Nyamwanga). But it was the younger brother who inherited the title of his father.

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2. Kasoba is the family home of the Ngonde historian, the late Rev. Amon Mwakasungula. The latter and Gilbert Mwampote Sichale were friends, and it would appear, often swapped notes on Ngonde history. Mwakasungula's father was Kyungu Mwakabanga I.

(What was his name?)

I do not know.

(Why did they leave Rungwe?)

They were in search of land. They were explorers. They went as far as Ft. Rosebery, where one of the members of the party, Kyungu Wakisinga, was left. (When I was in Ft. Rosebery some years ago, I was told by people of the village of Kyungu Wakisinga that this Kyungu was the brother of the Kyungu of the Ngonde.)[3]

When the party reached Unamwenga, Mukoma decided to remain there. His brother, Kafwimbi, did the same thing. When they got to Uliwa Usukuma, they left their pregnant sister in the custody of Mwachizimu with the instruction that if his sister gave birth to a boy, the baby should be given the name of Nyondo (because it was part of his gizzard (nyondo) and that if the baby were a girl, it should be named Ngabo.

(Why the name of Ngabo?)

I do not know.

In Undali they found Ngosi and asked him to join their party. Ngosi is a Kabage. In Ufipa they found Simboma, often called Mboma Kayobera Mabumbaga, a Fipa. When they reached Isaki, they were surprised to Kameme. They had left him behind, but having failed to acquire good land,

he decided to rejoin the party. By this time Mkoma and Kafwimbi had settled down. The Kyungu directed Kameme to Mwenipota, in present day Chitipa.

From Isaki he was accompanied by many Nyakyusa and Mwamba.

(What was the name of this Kyungu?)

Syola. At Mbandæ he found Musyani, the father of Mwenelwanda, Nthakomwa, Mwambira and Kyabinga. They are Kilongos and are the descendants of Kasanga. These people chased the Kyungu away. As the Kyungu approached the foot of Mbande Hill, he found a woman working in her garden. He told her that he was going to enter the heap of grass that she had gathered and begged her not to reveal this secret to anyone. While inside this mound of grass, by exercising magical powers, created many guinea fowls and elephants. These attracted the attention of the Simbowes at Mbande. Through these animals, Simbowe was expelled. The drum Mwenekelwa was sounded. This drum is now lost. Some people say that it has hidden itself in the bushes of Karonga.

(How did they get this drum?)

I do not know. However, I do know that it was under the care of Mwenekenja of Bwiba. He is the descendant of Mwangonde.

(Who else was found here by the Kyungu?)

Mwenekisindile and Mwenekaluma. It is said the Kyungu went as far as Nkhamanga before settling here at Mbande.

(What about the Mwenifumbos?)

I am not sure. I have doubts about them.

(Out of all the people that were here, how is it that Kyungu became ntemi?)

He was an ntemi by birth.

(How did the families that he found here know that he was an ntemi?)

They did not know that he was an ntemi. But his powers were recognised soon after he had arrived here.

(Was there an ntemi in Karonga prior to his coming?)

No.

(But how did these early families live?)

Everything was organised on family basis. There was little intercourse between the families.

(let us go back to the story of the Kyungu.)

Kyungu Syola had a son called Mwakalosi. He was also known as Mwenitete.

(What about Kiposa?)

Kiposa was the son of Syola. Mwakalosi (or Mwenitete) was the son of Kiposa. Syola was the one who took over Mbande Hill. His son was called Makalosi. Makalosi had children, a son called Mwenetete and a daughter called Ndamange. The latter had been betrothed by Katenga who, together with

Kyumba, was a senior makambala and compatriots of Kyungu.

At one time the makambala went to Ngana, where they found Mwakasekela, who entertained them and gave them a lot of fish. When they returned home to Mbande, they spoke very highly of Mwakasekele. They made another trip to Ngana, and this time there went along with them Nakamba Ndemange. She did not return to Mbande with the makambala. Instead she remained behind and married Mwakasekele. The two had a son, Kasyombe. On the death of Kyungu Maghemo, Kasyombe became the Kyungu at Mbande.

(Who was Magemo?)

Magemo almost ruined the house of Ngerenge (ikikolo kyaba Kerenge). Mwenitete had renounced the throne because he feared that his son might be killed by the makambala. In those days, the male children of the Kyungu were killed.

(Why were they killed?)

From Magemo's time there were no male children. There was a Mtambo woman who was related to Mulwa. This woman had been the wife of the late Kyungu Magemo, and she was expecting a baby. Mulwa, fearing that the baby might be killed by his fellow makambala hid the Kyungu's widow in Utambo.

When Magemo died, there was no rightful heir to succeed him, so Kasyombe of Ngana, who was Magemo's nephew, was called from Ngana and installed as Kyungu at

Mbande. Kasyombe's children were as follows: Mwengubwe, Kitupula, Msomba, Kibaye, Mbwili, and Momba. He had these children by the wives that he inherited at Mbande. No makambala dared to touch them. He prevented them. The makambala were not happy with Kasyombe, and on his death they recalled the boy who had been hidden in Utambo. His home was (sic) soon after Kyungu Mwangonde's accession. Mwafongo, now living at Ngana, went to Mbande to collect his brothers. Mwangonda did not allow them to go because he thought that they were the children of the wives of his father. Mwaulambo and Mbwili supported Mwangonde.

Mwangonde was the man who increased the numbers of the house of Ngerenge. His first son, who was called Mwamele or Karonga, died in the war in Ngerenge.

(What war was this?)

They were fighting the people of Ngerenge.

(Why?)

Members of the House of Ngana were fighting their cousins.

(Did they want to go back to Mbande?)

I do not know. Mwangonde's children were: Karonga, Mwakasungula, Mwambelo. Mwalutapera and Mwenyumba. Of these, the most senior are: Karonga, Mwakasungula and Mwambelo. In all, there are: Mwakasungula, Kamende, Mbemba, Karonga, Mwankenja of Bwiba, Mwankenja of Mbande, and Mwenenyumba. They had different mothers.

(Who became Kyungu on the death of Mwangonde?)
The Kyungus were chosen from all the houses. There was no special house. It depended on the first choice of the makambala. They made enquiries from the nyafyale because they were the 'fathers of the children'. They knew the future Kyungus more than anyone else. They had to be consulted. A good Kyungu had to be kind and responsible.

On the death of Kyungu Mwangonde, he was succeeded by Mwakasungula. Mwakasungula had the following children: Mwangonde, Mwakabanga, Malema, Mwakiyula (Mwangolera), Mwanyongo, Katolola, Mwangwego, Mwakitapila and Mwakituma. Mwakasungula's original name was Mwampeta. In Mwamba there was a great warrior who challenged and defeated everyone. Mwakasungula went there, fought him and killed him. He sat on Mwakasungula's dead body, asked Malange for cannabis (makambo), and when all the people clapped their hands, he changed his name from Mwampeta to Mwakasungula.
(Did Mwampeta go to Mwamba on his own?)
He was invited by the people of Mwamba. They had heard of the brave Mwakasungula. As I said earlier, Kyungu Mwakasungula had left the instructions that on his death he should be succeeded by Mwambelo. All the wives of Mwakasungula that Mwambelo had inherited returned to their homes except for one. Only the mother of Mwakitapila (the son of Mwakasungula) remained. By her, Mwambelo

had Simonile Mwampondela Wepaye, the father of the present Mwambelo.

(Did he not go to Mbande?)

No, he remained at Mlale. He was killed by the treacherous Ngoni at Lupenya. Kyungu Mwakabanga made Lupanya one of his sacred places. He often came here to pray.

(Why did he refuse to go to Mbande?)

He did not want the Mwafulilwas to surrender to the Ngoni. The Mwafulilwas were often accused by him of surrendering to the Ngoni. But some treacherous people informed the Ngoni of where he was staying. They killed him.

(Who succeeded Mwambelo?)

He was succeeded by someone from the house of Ngana. I think that he was succeeded by Gwaza Pasi. His was a short reign. He surrendered to the Ngoni and the <u>makambala</u> killed him.

(So the Nganas came back to Mbande?)

Many did, Mwaulambo and Mwafongo were Kyungus. Mwaulambo failed and returned to Ngana.

(How did he fail?)

He did not have the ability to rule. Mwaulambo was succeeded by Gwaza Pasi. Mwenenjubwe also became Kyungu. Mwakabanga became Kyungu sometime between 1893 and 1895, after the destruction of Mlozi.

(Was there a war between the Henga and the Ngonde before

the coming of Klozi?)

No.

(Was there no struggle between the Henga and the Ngonde and Chibonda?)

No. It is an exaggeration. The Henga say that the boundary was at Chibondo. I have read Cullen Young's book, but I ask these questions: Is it possible for an ntemi to rule another ntemi? How is it that Mwambelo gave land to Sichali in Mlale? If that country belonged to the Henga, did the two groups fight? I spoke to the late Rev. Mwakasungula about it. Even Cullen Young began to doubt it. There was no fighting between us.[4]

What about the war of Bamantha?

Bamantha was a Kamanga who went to see Mwafulilwa in Fulilwa. He found the latter making a hoe-handle. It was a way of getting part of Mwafulilwa's territory. The Mwafulilwa reported to the Kyungu, and the latter declared war on the Kamanga, but Bamantha paid compensation. After this, the Kyungu ordered them never again to fight. There has never been another war.

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4. He is the only informant who has read Young's notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples of the Northern Province of Nyasaland. This is understandable because: (a) he was a friend of Mwakasungula who contributed an article in the book. (b) he comes from Southern Uganda where the border issue is.

(Is it true that the Kyungu was confined to his house at Mbande?)

Yes, that is true.

(Why was this so?)

He was the God. He spoke with the dead spirits, with God.

(Did he not take part in prayers?)

The Kyungu could not fall sick. If he did, the makambala would kill him.

(Why couldn't he become sick?)

They believed that he was ordained a second God. They believed that he was omnipotent.

(How was he aware of what was happening in his country?)

The makambala told him.

(Did the Kyungu receive tribute from his subjects?)

Yes, he did.

(What did they give him?)

Millet and other foods.

(What was the principal food of the Ngonde?)

Maize, millet and sorghum (mapemba).

(What tools did they use for cultivating?)

Hoes.

(How did they get these hoes?)

They traded food to the Kinga in return for the hoes.

(Did they have spears? If so, where did they obtain them?)

Yes, they had spears. They made them here in the furnaces

that they had.

(Were there specialists who carried out this work?)

Yes.

(Do you know their names or their descendants?)

I do not know. Most of the spears came from the Mwamba,

(What did you trade to get the spears?)

As in the case of the Ndaıi, we gave them almost finished hoes and bark cloth (amabi).

(Did people kill elephants?)

I am not certain about that.

(But what happened to elephant tusks?)

In the past they were sold to the Arabs.

(Where were these Arabs?)

Mlozi settled at Mpata. He came from Senga country.

(Did some of the tusks go to the ntemi?)

Everything had to go to the ntemi. Even a dead lion.

(What did he do with them?)

He sat on them. He turned them into chairs.

(What about the marriage system?)

In the past we used hoes for bride-wealth

(And what about cattle?)

They counted too. To have cattle meant to possess great wealth.

(Where did these cattle come from?)

(No answer).

(What happened to those who had no cattle?)
The Nyika of the uplands and the Kinga made hoes. They came here and traded them for food.
(Why did Mandala and the Arabs fight?)
After he had been somewhere, he stole something from his friends in Zanzibar. Then he collected some ruga-ruga, went to Ubemba, and then into the Luangwa region. He was engaged in the slave trade. He sent his employees with captured slaves to Chilumba. From there they crossed the Lake and then went on to Zanzibar. At that time he was based on the Luangwa.
(What did the Arabs give their dealers?)
Anything...cloth, beads and so forth.

As soon as he settled at Mpata, he began to cause troubles. The Henga, who had just run away from the Ngoni's wrath, were settled at Kaporo, as well as elsewhere. The place was called 'Kaporo' because the Henga were regarded as slaves because they had run away from the Ngoni. Previously, it had been known as Mateya.

The Henga turned against the Ngonde, a very patient people, and went to Mlozi. They became the enemies of the Ngonde. Mlozi was not very happy with the Europeans. He was convinced that they were blocking his progress. These Europeans were John and Fred Moir and their agent, L. Montheith Fotheringham. Fred Moir was shot by the Arabs.

Fotheringham spoke very highly of the Ngonda. He said that they were as calm as the Lake. The Henga were treacherous.

When the Europeans saw that Mlozi was becoming stronger Sir Harry Johnston came. Mlozi wanted to continue raiding for slaves. Kyungu Mwakabanga went to Bwiba to pray for an ending of the war. He said the following: 'Mlozi is fighting the Europeans who have made this area respectable.' Immediately after this prayer, Mlozi was captured and beheaded.

(What did the A.L.C. buy from you, the Africans?)

They arrived here in 1884 together with the missionaries of Ibandia. They were buying elephants tusks.

(From where?)

From everywhere.

(What did they give in return for the ivory? Who carried the tusks?)

They gave cloth. And the ivory was carried by local people.

(Did slavery exist in the pre-Arab people?)

I have not heard of any. Perhaps in cases of adultery or other serious crimes.

# TEXT 2

Name: Walter Kenan Mwambanya Mwafongo  Age: about 65  Sex. M
Fisulwike Kansekile Fongo  about 63  Sex. F

Area: Kyungu  District Karonga

Date of Interview: 9/10/71

General Topics: History of the Ngonde, emphasis on House of Ngana.

(Please tell me the history of the Ngonde from the earliest times.)

Our original home was in Uganda. From there we migrated to Ukinga. The Kyungus were with us. As we descended to these valleys, the Kyungus parted from us and went to Bungwe. We proceeded to Mbako. From Mbako we went to Ngana, and finally we reached this place. The Kyungus had already arrived by that time. They found Simbowe at Mbande Hill. Simbowe had come from Ufipa and had settled on the hill. He had become a munyafyale also.

While we were in Ngana, some makambala from Mbanda came to visit the famous fisherman, Mwakasekele. These makambala were accompanied by Ndemange, the daughter of Kyungu and the wife of Katenga. The purpose of their visit was to 'eat some fish.' In Ungonde there were fish, but the people didn't know how to catch them. When they went back to Mbande they were given plenty of fish to eat

and to take home. Ndemange was left behind and married Mwakasekele. By her he had Kasyombe. When the Kyungu heard of the birth of this baby, the Kyungu declared that the child, Kasyombe, should be his successor. The Kyungu had no one to succeed him because all of his male children had been killed by the makambala. The reason that they gave for this action was that it was unknown for the Kyungus to have male children. Indeed, when the Kyungu died, Kasyombe was brought to Mbande and installed as the Kyungu.

At Mbande he inherited the six wives of the Kyungu. Nemwenengubwe gave birth to Mwenengubwe; and Nabulambo gave birth to 1.) Mwabulambo, 2.) Musomba, 3.) Karambo, 4.) Mwasakabanga, and 5.) Mbwili. His first son, Mwafongo, was born in Ngana. In Ungonde, one gets one's name from his mother. For example, Sakabanga was the mother of Mwasakabanga. But Kalambo's original name was Chiluba. His mother was Mwachiluba. In a certain village there was a certain brave man called Kalambo. This man was killed by the Chilubas, and his village and name were taken over. They will not tell you this, but that is the truth. Msomba was also called Mwakamisa. Msomba was his mother's name.

From there we divided. Mwafongo had two children, Njola (or Mwambelo) and Mwandembo. These two had different

mothers.

On the death of Kasyombe, Mwangonde became the Kyungu. Mwangonde had been brought up in Utambo, the home of his mother and Mulwa. According to the story, when Kyungu Mwaghemo died, he left his wife Nankhonde pregnant. Nankhonde had hitherto been giving birth to baby girls only. This time, however, she was almost certain that it would be a boy because something strange was happening. She felt a lot of pain in her womb. So her brother, Mulwa, made sure that Mwangonde grew up and became a mature person. Then he asked her to return to Mbanda. Kasyombe had just been wounded by a leopard, and Mulwa knew that he was about to die. Kasombe's own children were alive. No one dared kill them because the Kyungu threatened death to any makambala who attempted to carry on the old practice. This is the reason that the House of Ngana has many members.

Kasyombe, who was being nursed in Bulambo, was told of Mwangonde's arrival. He was very happy to hear the news and directed that Mwangonde be brought before him. He gave him his blessing. A short time later he died. The next candidate was Mwafongo, but he was disqualified because of his aggressive attitude towards neighbouring peoples. It was feared that if he were chosen Kyungu, he might involve the Ngonde in unnecessary wars with the Henga and others. Mwangonde was made the Kyungu. He

also imherited Kasyombe's wives. From Mwangonde's time onwards the throne was taken alternately by members of the House of Ngana and those of the House of Ngerenge.

Mwaulambo succeeded Mwangonde. But he did not feel very comfortable because the Kalambos were drinking milk from his cows at night. This frightened Mwaulambo, and on the advice of his mother, he abdicated and went to dwell in Ngerenge. This was the time that the Europeans arrived. Their steamer got stuck in the sand at Mandala. Word was sent to the Kyungu to come and say prayers, but Mwaulambo was not there. He had removed the throne. So Mwakabanga got it (?) instead. Mwakabanga complained at having been bypassed until old age. Within a short time he was given the mphumphu (crown) and hurried off to the Lake. This man was the father of Amon Mwakasungula, the father of the present Kyungu, Kapote. Mwaulambo was still alive, however, and Mwakabanga's Kyungushipdid not carry weight. This was a major problem that the Makambala had to solve.

You see, according to Ngonde custom, a Kyungu could not be respected and feared if he had not eaten certain things from his predecessor and if he had not drunk the remains of the water that was used for cleaning the body of the deceased Kyungu. So the makambala decided that Mwaulambo should die. Indeed, Mwaulambo did die. This

was how Mwakabanga became Kyungu worthy of honour. From this time of Mwakabanga down to the present, no member of the House of Ngana has ever been Kyungu.

Let me go back to the line of Kyungus from Kasyombe. From the House of Ngana we have Kasyombe, Mwenengubwe, Gwazapasi, Mwambelo (Njola, my father's grandfather), Mwaulambo (Mwakamogo, but he abdicated), and Mwaulambo (Mwaungulu, who also abdicated). He was the sixth. Had the Europeans found Mwaulambo, I have no doubt that the rotating or alternating system would have been continued. The complete king list from the time of Kasyombe is as follows: Kasyombe was succeeded by Mwangonde; Mwangonde was succeeded by Mwenengubwe, the son of Kasyombe. Mwenengubwe was succeeded by Gwazapasi, also of Ngana. On the death of Gwazapasi, he was succeeded by Mwakalosi, who is buried in Mnyangala. He was of the House of Ngerenge. Mwakalosi was succeeded by Mwambelo (Njola) of Ngana. This was at the time that Tuta (Mlozi) was raiding our villages. (Who are the Kyungu's <u>makambala</u>?)

There are two groups of <u>makambala</u>: those who came with Kyungu and those who we call the "Ngana", that is the ones who were found here in this country. In the first group are: 1.) Katenga; 2.) Kasyombe; 3; Mhama; 4.) Mnusi (He is dead now. His family has been obliterated by the Kyungu Peter. Some of us know this. He did not allow it to grow because

he was not related to them.) 5;) Mwenelupembe, who was found in Ubena; 6.) Mwenetumba, who was found in Undali, after they had left Ubena; 7.) .....(unclear) whose son took the Kyungu's dog and went hunting with it while the Kyungu was resting at....l.....(unclear). There the dog, Ngoza, was killed. The Kyungu complained, and to appease him, the people gave him a man, Ngosi. Strictly speaking, Ngosi is not a mukambala but a son of the Kyungu. 8.) From there they went to Sumbuwanga and then on to Utambo, where they found Mulwa . Mulwa is a Mtambo and not a Kinga.

The second group was comprised of the following. In the upper Rukuru area they found Mwenendeka. These are the people found here. Not far from Mbande, to the north of the place, they found Musyani. The Musyanis are the children of Kabungi. Peter came from this house. The same applies to Kyungu Fwangalubilo. As they descend to Chisindile, they found Mwenekisindile. On the other side they found Mwalughali, who had just arrived from across the Lake, from Mwera, and also Kisyombe, who had just arrived from Misuku. He is a Sichali and a Musukwa. These are the people that they got here, but, mind you, Simbowe was also here. All the people that I have just mentioned surrounded him. When the Kyungu reached this place, he asked Musyani, "Who is that person over there, and to what tribe does he belong?" Musyani answered, "He is the namwene (owner). He has built

a fort there. But we do not know from whence he came."

The Kyungu knew that the Mambwe liked to eat meat of wild game, and so through some magic he created many guinea fowl. This trick worked, for as soon as the Simbowe saw them, they rushed towards them. The Kyungu ordered the drum, Mwenekelwa, to be beaten, and Mbande was taken over. The drum had been brought all the way from Uganda. It was made of iron. No one knows where it now is, however. We are sure, nonetheless, that it was not broken or torn into pieces. It has disappeared. This occurred during the reign of Kyungu Mwankenja. No one knows where it has gone. It is possible that it has returned to Uganda by itself.

(What were the duties of the makambala?)

They were the leaders. They are the ones who dealt with the people.

Those found here are called the Ngonde.

(Earlier you spoke of elephants. What happened to ivory?)

Ivory was brought to the mwalafyale. The ivory was a first-rate type of decoration (ukumogela). The malafyale used to pride themselves on keeping ivory in their homes. Only after the Arabs came here did we start to sell ivory. Then the people from the Malambo came here. They were good because they knew how to cut the ivory into pieces (ukucheka). They gave us cloth, especially red cloth. They came down here by way of Chitipa. They dealt mainly with the mwalafyale

Here I am referring to ntemi Kyungu.

(What about the Abalungwana Arabs ?)

They brought cotton made of their own cotton. This was a special cloth.

(What did you give them in return for this?)

Some gave them children just to be certain that they had cloth. We lost many people that way.

(I notice that members of the Houses of Ngana and Ngerenge are spread all over Ungonde, from Miale in the south to Mwakaboko in the north. Why?)

The number of Nyakasungulas began to increase during Mwangonde's reign. Mwangonde's first son was Karonga. But Karonga is no longer eligible because he ran away at the time that the period of his Kyungu ship was due. It is said that just before his installation he received a death threat from his friends. So his mother arranged his flight to Mwamba. This is the reason that his younger brother became the Kyungu instead. Karonga is a senior man, although not as senior as Mwenitete.

The idea of the royal family was to increase their number and spread their influence. They have been very successful.

(Why did some of you Ngana people (Mwafongos and Karambos) remain after Mwaulambo had left for Ngerenge?)

We had built ourselves homes and were fully settled. There

was no point in leaving. We have our own burial grounds. It is in these burial places that Kyungu Njola Mwafongo (my father's grandfather) lies. Njola's father never became Kyungu because he had too aggresive attitudes towards our neighbours. This is the reason that Mulwa recalled his nephew from Utambo.

Let us go back a little. As soon as he became Kyungu, Mwangonda put Mwenengubwe at Mwesya, Karambo at Mpata, Mwaulambo at Mwambwembe (where mapenenga are danced today), and the lands just beyond that were given to Msomba. Mwafonga was in Ngana then, and when he was told that the Kyungu had dispersed his brothers and assigned them cattle to keep he became angry. He felt that it was an insult for the Kyungu to turn his own brothers into cattle-keepers. So quietly and without informing the Kyungu he approached his younger brothers, Mwaulambo, Mwenengubwe, Karambo, Msomba, Mwasakabanga and Mbwili (the youngest). Some refused to go because they were happy with the lands which had been assigned to them. But Karambo, Mwasakabanga and Mbwili accepted their brother's word and went to live with him at Ngana.

When Kyungu Mwangonde heard of what Mwafongo had done, he left Mbande and with the help of medicine began following Mwafongo. The royal staff was a strange thing. It had the power of making someone sterile, and it was thus feared by

everyone. It became lost during the reign of Kyungu Mwambelo. Mwangonde took this stick with him. He found Mwafongo and his brothers at Mwenemulemba, and with his stick, rendered Mwafongo sterile. But Mwafongo refused to fight, saying, "You are the Kyungu and therefore my father, although I am older than you. I cannot fight you because of the respect that I bear for you." He then proceeded to Ngana, leaving his brothers with the Kyungu Mwangonda.

When Mwangonde got to Mbande and Mwafongo to Mibanga, the latter met Msia (the present-day councillor to the Mwafongos) who had been sent from Zunda, in Undali, and was going to pay a visit to his friend, Karonga, in Ngerenge. Msia asked Mwafongo why he was weeping. Mwafongo told him that he was weeping because the Kyungu had gone back with his brothers and had also rendered him sterile. Indeed, Mwafongo's wives never became pregnant after this incident. He had only three children. By his first wife he had a girl and a boy, Mwambelo (Njola) and by his second wife he had Mwandambo. Zunda advised him not to worry because he knew many doctors in Undali who could be of great use. So they went to Undali to see the doctor, Fongo. A local woman was taken and put at a junction in Chisi. Meanwhile, Ngerenge was occupied by members of the House of Ngana. This land belonged to them, that is, to the Ngerenge people. A quarrel broke out between his local wife and the mother of

Njola (Mwambelo).

A major war ensued between we of Ngana and those of Ngerenge. It did not end until the people of Ngerenge were defeated. This is how we came to occupy Ngerenge. This is also why Mwambeta rushed to Mwamba to raid for cattle. In Mwamba he killed Mwakasungula Mwasyola Mwakikangata. The latter had been a great problem to his friends in Mwamba. Meanwhile, Mwangonde was very worried about the long absence of his son, Mwambeta. All of his other children had been killed by Mwafongo. So he created a drought. All the maize died. The makambala went to Mwafongo and begged him to allow them to bring back Mwambeta (Mwakasungula) and thereby appease Kyungu Mwangonde. Mwafongo told them that he was no longer opposed to the idea for the brothers for whom he had been fighting were now free and had gained plenty of land. The makambala went to Mwamba and collected Mwambeta (called Mwakasungula now). As they reached Itete and the Songwe, rains started pouring. and by the time that they reached Mbande it was raining heavily.

(What relationship existed between the autocthones on the one hand and the Kyungus and their families on the other?) The relations were very good. There are reasons for my saying this. The village in Mlale now called Mwambelo originally belonged to Kyungu Mwambelo's mother. The same

applies also to Mwanyesya (also Mwambelo of the Mwafongo family) and Mwakabanga at Kandembwela. Their mother had been married to Kyungus. Mwawembe village belonged to the Ngosis and not to the Karambos. The Ngosis have given it to Mwabwembe.

(Do you know where the Kyungus are buried?)

Gwasa Pasi is buried on the foothills of Mbande. As soon as you cross the river, you get to Kamarenje. Mwakasungula is buried there. Mwenengubwe is buried at Ibutu. The whole of this area is called Mbande.

(What about at the top of Mbande Hill?)

No, not on the top. The Kyungus were buried below, wherever they chose. The first Kyungu was buried at Bwiba. There is a small iron rod which strikes your legs when you go near the grave. No one has seen this rod; it only acts. Mwangonde is buried at Bwiba. Mwakabanga lies at Chitete.

(Did people live on Mbande Hill?)

No, they did not. They built houses below it. The same applies to the makambala. When we speak of Mbande, we are speaking of the area below the hill. The top was feserved for prayers and rituals. Even today we must get permission of the ntemi to go there. The Kyungu was installed only at night. As soon as the new Kyungu ate and drank the ifingila he was brought to his house below the hill. He and the makambala had to be in the house for at least one

week. After that, he had to appear before the public. People rejoiced and danced for him. A lot of cattle were killed to celebrate the installation of the new Kyungu. It is not true that he lived in seclusion. He did that only when he was tired.

There was no garden near the hill. At first Katenga was the most senior makambala and it was his duty to install the Kyungus. He was demoted after his wife's marriage to Mwakamekele of Ngana. He was then replaced by Mulwa. Kyumba was also demoted after being found to be involved in adultery with Kyungu Mwakasungula's wife. Kyumba escaped to Tanzania. The recently deposed Kyungu Mwamfongo began to revive their positions. Katanga became the senior makambala again, and Kyumba his deputy. Today , Mulwa is the senior makambala.

(Did the Ngonde have communal prayers?)

Yes, we had them, particularly in the time of droughts. In such cases we met at Kimbwe. The Kyungu went also. After all, he was in charge of the prayers. From Kimbwe, they went to Filagule and finally to Mwenekisindile, because it was believed that air from the Lake passed through them (ukusikufumila imbepo). All fires had to be quenched and houses cleaned and new fires had to be made from the central fire at Mwenekisindile. Again Kyungu was in charge of the prayers, but he also gave a chance to others, such as

Mwakasungula, Mwafongo and Karonga to say their own prayers. But we have now separated. Now Karonga and Mwakasungula pray at Kisewe, and Mwafongo and Karambo pray at....)unclear),,,

(Did you have a snake that was revered?)

Yes , we had it (mwaulilwe), but it has now disappeared. We also called it Mwenekisu (owner of the land) because it never bit animals or human beings. It was a python. If it passed over the foundation of a new cattle shed, the cattle would produce a lot of milk.

(What kind of bridewealth did the Ngonde use?)

Cattle.

(What about in the times before cattle?)

(We the Ngonda have always had cattle. We brought them with us.)

(Did the Arabs come here?)

Yes, they did. In fact, they settled just across the river. Mlozi was also a mulungwana. Had the Europeans not come in time, he would have taken over this land. Mlozi had his head chopped off and he died not far from here, near Mbande school. An anthill has developed where his body lay. He had even built a fortress at Mbande without the Kyungu's permission. He was very aggressive. My own grandfather was once victimised by them because of his sugar cane. My grandfather went to see his garden, which was near the Arab's village. The Arabs seized him and were about to kill

him, when Kyungu Mwakabanga intervened. Mwakabanga was at that time living at Chilambalele. He left this place for Malo after a leopard had killed his child.

(Did the Arabs trade with the Africans?)

Yes, the Arabs depended upon the Ngonde for food. Most of our people died because of this food. For example, Lyambilo was killed and all the people in Karambo's village left to fight the Arabs. But what the Arabs did was to bury them alive.

(Why did the Arabs and Europeans fight?)

They fought because the Arabs were bad people. Thanks are due to Mandala.

(Can you say something about the Kilupulaship?)

For a very long time the Kilupulship was not in existence. Instead, the Kilupulas were headmen for a very long time.

(Did people give things to the Kyungus?)

Yes, particularly whenever there was a new crop. He then had to be given some food. That practice stopped, however, after the arrival of the Europeans. However, we continued to work in the royal garden, the mlasa. Kyungu Peter was very particular about this. Kyungu Zyambwelela had a small garden and people seldom worked in it.

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# TEXT 3.

Name: R. Kapote Mwakasungula Mwakabange II

Area: Kyungu Age: approx. 56

Date of Interview: 18/8/71 Sex: M

General Topic: History of the Ngonde DISTRICT: Karonga

(Could you tell me the history of the Ngonde from the earliest times?)

Yes, I know that our ancestors came from Kyali. Kyali is a river in the Congo. From there, they entered Rwanda, and then they came to Lake Tanganyika. Some went to Abercorn, where one Kyungu, Kya-wa-Kisinga, was left. The main party led by Ngulube, proceeded to Fwaba, then to Mbeya, Usango, and finally to Ukinga. It is here that our history starts.

Ngulube had one child, Lyambilo. Lyambilo had two sons, Lwembe and Kyungu. When they grew up, they began to fight. The younger son, Kyungu, escaped to Rungwe, where he died of old age. He was buried there and his grave is still feared and respected by people.

Kyungu's children were four. Their names were: Kameme, Kafwimbi, Nkoma, and Kyungu. The latter had taken his father's name. One day, they all decided to leave Rungwe to look for a new home. Mkoma remained in Ubisa, Kafwimbi (the Mwiba) in the Luangwa Valley, but Kameme and Kyungu

continued their journey eastwards. Early one morning, Kameme felt very hungry.He left for the bush to look for some honey, but he did not return. Kyungu and his sister, Nakamba, went on ahead. Nakamba was pregnant, and she failed to climb up the Misuku Hills, particularly, the Mughese peak. So she was left with a man called Mwachizimu. Mwachizimu was instructed that should the baby who was to be born be a girl, she should be given the name Kiluba, and if it was a boy, it should be then named Nyondo. Mwachizimu was also authorised to take the woman as his wife.

When the Kyungu got to Misuku he received a message saying that the baby had been a boy and that he had been named Nyondo as had been instructed. This Nyondo grew into a big man. He became the chief of Ulambya. By Nakamba, Mwachizimu had a son, Mwamswelo. The Mwamswelos now live across the Songwe and are rulers of that area.

In Misuku, Kyungu found a rainmaker called Msukwa. When the latter saw the powers of the Kyungu, he surrendered to him. Msukwa was made a likambala and was subsequently given the name of Mwenemisuku. From Misuku, Kyungu Kyabala went to the Songwe valley. He died at Isaki and was succeeded by his only son, Syola.

Kyungu Syola was a very brave man. He was the one who snatched Mbande Hill away from Simbowe and Simukulwa. But before getting to Mbande, he paid a visit to the owners of

the land in some places. His first visit was to Mwenikisindile. Kyungu Syola had heard much about this man. He sent an advance party to Kisindile to find out if he, Mwenikisindile, would allow the Kyungu to enter his territory. And truly, when Mwenikisindile met the Kyungu, he surrendered his authority to him. Kyungu then proceeded southwards to Kaluma, where he found Mwenekaluma and Mwenifumbo. They also accepted Kyungu's powers. Syola was now a very happy man, for this was the country he had always wanted.

Syola had left his people at Mwenikisindile and on his return there, he was told of someone living at Mbanda Hill. He decided to leave his people again but to take with him to Mbande his two well-trained dogs. He was going to find out more about the inhabitants of that place. At the foot of the hill he found a woman working in her garden and cutting some grass. This woman was the wife of Simbowe. When Syola asked about the people living on the hill, the woman told him that they were Simbowe and Simuklwa. He then asked her if she was capable of saving him, as he was being tempted to go up to the top of the hill. His fear was that they would chase him, and if they did, he was planning to run back to the grass that the woman had piled up and hide in it. He begged her not to

reveal him to them, even if tortured. "Only after threatening you with the umwafi poison ordeal should you tell them. Umwafi might kill you," the Kyungu said.

The Kyungu gathered up his courage and went up to the top of the hill. The first to see him was Simukulwa, and he told Simbowe. They chased the Kyungu, meaning to kill him, but he ran very fast and entered the mound of grass that Simbowe's wife had built up. It was difficult to find him because he had charms (imikota) which blinded Simbowe and Simukulwa. As the two men were talking with the woman about the missing man, Kyungu Syola began to make use of his magical charms. He created many elephants so as to distract Simbowe and Simukulwa. Syola performed other wonders: he created many guinea fowl. This confused the two men even more. The elephants and the guinea fowl went into the bush. Simbowe and Simukulwa followed them and they became lost in the bush. They never returned.

The Kyungu then ascended to the top of the hill and, viewing the whole valley from there, said, "Yes, now I have found the real Mbande." He then returned to Mwenikisindile to collect his people and the ndingala, Mwenekelwa (the iron drum associated with the Kyungu). As soon as he returned to Mbande, Mwenekelwa was sounded.

This is the story of how we, the Ngonde, came to settle here.

## The Kyungu at Mbande

It was while at Mbande that he began to allocate different parts of his territory to his people. Mwwnekisindile was made a likambala, as were Mwenekaluma, Mwenefumbo and Mwenekasimba. Here it must be pointed out that the Nyakyusa are our brothers. They are the descendants of Lyambilo, the father of Mwakusa. This is the connection between the Ngonde and the Nyakyusa. We are brothers. No one can say that he is alone, because for those in Mbeya, Tukuyu is their Ungonde. They always say, "we are going to Ngonda," even when they are speaking of Tukuyu. The people of Tukuyu refer to Itete as "MuNgonde." Those of Itete refer to this side of the Songwe River as "MuNgonde." The people of the Songwe area speak of Ngerenge as MuNgonde, while those in the Ngerenge area speak of Mpata as MuNgonde.

Let us go to the south, beginning with Usisya. To the people of Usisya, Mlowe is their Ungonde. The people of Mlowe refer to Kitimba as their Ungonde; the people of Kitimba refer to Kilumba as their Ungonde. When the people of Kilumba go to Mlala, they always say, "We are going to Ungonde." The centre is Karonga, particularly Mbande Hill.

In Mwamba we left some makambala. In Mwaya there is

Mwamyaya, and that is the reason that area is called Mwaya. In Kisaki we left Mwenekisaku. Mwenepande is also a makambala. There are many others. All of them were called the sons of Kyungu.

In the hills of Unyiha there is a man called Nzunda. This Nzunda was Kyungu's likambala, but he is now a ntemi in that part of Tanzania.

From Mbande the Kyungu went to visit Phoka country. There he found Mwaphoka Maiska. He proceeded to Nkonjera Hill, where Luhanga and Mwachanda were living. Chikulamayembe and the Mhangos had not yet arrived. The Kyungu was not happy with what he had seen in the Henga Valley, so he returned to Mbande. On his way back he called on Mwaphoka again. Mwaphoka gave some people to carry his elephant tusks. These people were not slaves. They are now settled at Kabwiri, near the Boma. The Kyungu never fought with the people whom he encountered. We have not been told of any clashes with our neighbours. There was no need of Kyungu's waging war against his neighbours because his great powers were acknowledged by everyone.

After some time, Chikulamayembe arrived in the Henga Valley. "Chikulamayembe" is a corruption of the Swahili phrase, chikuwa mayembe, which means "take the hoes". The purpose of his journey was to buy ivory. He was a very nice man, and soon after his arrival, he married into the Luhanga

family. This was the beginning of the family of the Chikulamayembes as we know it today. It is not known as to what ethnic group they belonged. However, we are sure that they were "balowoka."

The Kyungu had not visited the uplands, so he then left for Uyombe. Mweneyombe was appointed as a likambala, as were also Mwenewenya and Nthalire. Both Nthalire and Mwenewenya are Kayiras. Mwenewenya was MwaFulilwa's compatriot, and it was the Kyungu who directed him to Wenya. After this tour, the whole area of Nthalire, Wenya and Uyombe fell under the Kyungu's jurisdiction.

Now let us turn to the relationship between the Fulilwa and us. After Chikulamayembe Gondwe had married into the family of the MwaFulilwa, he paid them a special visit. Mwafulilwa made the error of asking his brother-in-law, Chikulamayembe, to work on a hoe handle. Chikulamayembe was angered by the request, and he declared war on Fulilwa. The latter was a weak person and asked the Kyungu for help. The Kyungu sent his sons, Karonga and Mwakasungula, to fight against Chikulamayembe. They expelled the Tumbukas. Chombe was one of the places where a major battle was fought.

(Was this the War of Bamantha?)

Yes, it was.

(To which ethnic group did Bamantha belong?)

Bemantha was a Gondwe. He belonged to the family of the Chikulamayembe. After the defeat of the Gondwes, the Kyungu assigned the whole of Chenanga to his son, Karonga, and Thabilo to his son, Mwangalaba.

(Was there any intercourse between the Henga and the Ngonde before the arrival of Chikulamayembe?)

The only meeting of these people before that time was on the visit of the Kyungu to the Luhangas. The Ngonde went south before the Hengas began to come north

(What did the Kyungu do with the elephant tusks of which you spoke of?)

They were kept in his house. Our history does not tell of any trade in ivory before the coming of the Arabs.

(When did these Arabs start coming to Ngonde country?)

Sometime ago...around 1886.

(Who was the Kyungu at the time when the Arabs started trading with the Ngonde?)

Kyungu Mwakabanga was the ntemi when the Arabs came to Ungonde.

(When did the Ngonde begin using Kisi pots?)

When Kyungu went to see his wife's family, the Mapunda, across the Lake, he walked on the water. It is said that when he hit the water with his stick and then walked to the other side of the Lake. I do not believe this part of the story. It appears that he used a canoe. It was after his marriage that the Kisi began to emigrate to Ungonde.

(Did Chikulamayembe come to Ungonde to see the Kyungu and did they discuss the question of trade?)

No, he did not come here. Where would he have passed? This place was closed. Ungonde was feared by many people. The Kyungu was not a sober (mololo) ruler. He was not like the other chiefs. He was a King. He was the only ntemi in this region, from Fulilwa to Mbeya. The only other ntemis were the Kabaka of Buganda and Kidaha in Usukma.

(Where did the Arabs settle?)

They established settlements in many places. There was one at Mpata and another at Phape-Matema. We, the Ngonde, did not fight with the Arabs, but after the arrival of Mandala, the war started. Mandala wanted the Arabs to be their subordinates. The Arabs resisted. They wanted Mandala to be under them because they had been the first to arrive. You should know that after the Henga ran away from the Ngoni, the Kyungu welcomed them and directed them to settle at Lwasyo and Kaporo. I do not want to repeat the comments on the name "Kaporo."

(Why the name "Kaporo?")

It is like any other name. The whole area is called Ngalamu, after the stream called Ngalamu.

(What about Arab-Henga relations?)

The Henga started their double-dealing after the Kyungu had saved them from the Ngoni and after the Arabs had arrived.

The Henga became friends of the Arabs. Whenever the Kyungu sent a bull to the Arabs as a sign of goodwill, the Henga cut the animal and rubbed charcoal into its wounds. This infuriated the Arabs, and they interpreted it as an insult and always asked, "How can he send us a cow that is covered with wounds?" The Hengas' aim was that we should fight against the Arabs. In any event, one day the man who brought the bull to the Arabs was shot dead by them.

(Do you remember the name of this man?)

I do not remember his name, but I know that he was Karambo's son.

Let us go back a little. Could you please tell me more about the Kyungu Mwangonde?

Mwangonde was the son of Maghemo. As you heard, all the past ntemis were strangled by the makambala as soon as they fell sick. It was believed that the Kyungus never fell ill.

(Why did the makambala kill them?)

As far as the makambala were concerned, the Kyungu was a god, and they could not imagine a god's falling sick. As soon as a Kyungu became ill, he was finished off by the makambala. All but one of the male children of the Kyungu were killed.

(What did the makambala fear?)

They were afraid that the male children (princes) might discover the secret and illicit relations that they had with

the Kyungu's wives.

Mulwa had a sister, Mankhonde. She was married to Kyungu Maghemo. Mulwa was very worried of what would happen to his sister in the event that she gave birth to a male child. So he took her to Uiwa in Utambo. The child, Mwangonde, was brought up there.

After the death of Maghemo, there was no one to take over, so the woman was brought from Utambo and the boy became Kyungu.
(Do you know the name of the Kyungu's sister?)
Her name was Nkhalye Syalilinga. She had been Katenga's wife.

In Ngana there had arrived a man by the name of Mwamukwisi. When the makambala from Mbande went there to look for fish, they had been well received by Mwamukwisi. They had gone to look for fish at the home of Kyungu's son, Mwaisondole, who was also the brother of Mwenitete. Mwamukwisi gave them a lot of fish, and on their return they spoke very well of Mwamukwisi to the Kyungu. They begged him to send them to Ngana again. They saw Katenga and told him of the fish that they had brought from Ngana and managed to persuade him to allow his wife to go with them to Ngana. Nkhalye Syalilinga was left in Ngana, and when they were asked about her, they said that she had decided to remain behind in order to have enough time to dry the fish. They were telling lies, and Syalilinga never returned. She had married

Mwamukwisi and had given birth to a son, Kasyombe.

Syalilinga was Mwamukwisi's second wife. By his first wife, he had had a son, Mwafongo. It is said that the name, Mwafongo, comes from the word vongo. Vongo had been the doctor of Mwamukwisi's first wife. Since KyaNgonde has not the sound /v/, we call him Fongo. Syalilinga was the daughter of Mwenitete.

Kasyombe inherited Kyungu Maghemo's wives. Their names were: 1.) Mwenengubwe; 2.) Nambwili; 3.) Nakalambo; 4.) Nabulambo; 5.) Nasakabanga; 6.) Namusomba; 7.) Nambinga; 8.) Nakibaya; 9.) Namombo. By all of these woman Kasyombe had children, all of whom were known by their mother's names. This is the reason we always say that those of Ngana and we of Ngerenge are one. Mwamukwisi was a Ndali from Undali.

The makambala were not happy with the idea of having someone from Ngana on the throne. So they asked their colleague, Mulwa, to go to Utambo to collect Mwangonde. Mwamphanda was brought back and he succeeded Kasyombe on the latter's death. This is where our ntemi-ship starts.

Mwangonde did not go to Mbande. His headquarters were at Bwiba.

(Why Bwiba?)

Mwangonde had been brought up in Uiwa. Bwiba is a corruption of Uiwa.

(Do you know the names of earlier Kyungus?)

Maghemo and others.

(Do you know the names of Mwangonde's children?)

Yes. They are: 1.) Karonga; 2.) Mwansee; 3.) Mwakasungula (Mwampeta); 4.) Mwambelo. There are others, but I have forgotten their names. Karonga and Mwakasungula had one mother. After Karonga and Mwansee had died in a war in Ngerenge, the name Mwambungu was abandoned and replaced by a new one, Karonga. So Mwambungu became Karonga. It was this Mwambungu who turned down the throne. He feared that all of his children might be killed by the makambala. Mwakasungula became the Kyungu instead. After the war in Ngerenge, Mwakasungula had run off to Mwamba, where he met a man, Mwaseba. Mwaseba asked Mwakasungula to help him fight one Mwakasungula. The latter was a big, tall man and a very brave warrior. His other name was Kulema, and he had originally come from Mbeya. Mwakasungula was killed and his men defeated by Mwampeta. The Nyakyusa were very impressed by Mwampeta's mode of carrying on warfare, so they gave him a new name, Mwakasungula. This is the reason why we Mwakasungulas are very proud of this name.

People in Ungonde heard of the great wonders that Mwakasungula had performed in Mwamba. His father asked his son to return home. Among the people who accompanied Mwampeta (now Mwakasungula) on his return were Mwatende

and Mwalilimo.

It was this same Mwakasungula (Mwampeta) who fought Kyepele. Mweneuyombe requested Kyungu's help for he was being attacked by the Bemba under Kyepele.

(Why did the Bemba attack the Yombe?)

The Bemba wanted elephants. Uyombe had many elephants. Up to that time all the ivory had been coming to the Kyungu. Their aim was to divert the ivory to a new direction. So Mwakasungula and Mwafongo went and fought a heavy battle. On their return they found that their wives had given birth to sons, and in memory of that great battle, the two babies were given the name Kyepele. The following were the children of Mwakasungula: 1.) Mwakabanga (by his senior wife); 2.) Mwangonde; 3.) Mwanyongo; 4.) Matema; 5.) Mwakiyule; 6.) Mwakatunda; 7.) Mwangwebo; 8.) Mwakitapila. (Mwakiyule = the Mwangobetas).

(Where did you, the Ngonde, pray and on what occasions?)

Every Kyungu led in the prayers. He had the powers to go to his ancestors' graves.

(Where were these royal graves?)

They were at Mbanda. Many <u>ntemis</u> are buried there. There are other places of burial, but Mbande is the centre. One Kyungu was buried in Ngana. Some prayed at Kyungu

Mwandemange's grave, which is located between Mwafongo and Kasoba. Whenever we were threatened by outside invaders, the Kyungu was asked to lead us in prayers. In those days we did not have Jesus Christ, so they prayed to the gods through their ancestors. This is why Ungonde was feared country.

The ntemis never acted as judges. I believe that the present position of the ntemi is not different from the position held by the ancestors. The makambala and nyafyale did everything for them.

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# TEXT 4

Name: Ntemi Mwanjasi Kilupula  Age: about 63  Sex: M

Area: Kilupula  District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 18/9/71

General Topic: History of the Ngana branch of the Ngonda ruling family.

(Ntemi Kilupula, could you tell us the history of the Ngonde from the earlies times?)

The Kyungu came to Ungonde from Ukinga. This is why we refer to this area as the land of the Ngonde. But for those who live in Mwamba, Itete is their Ngonde. The people of Itete refer to Ngerenge as Ungonde. We of Ngerenge refer to Karonga as Mungonde.

(Not willing to discuss history of the Ngonde, particularly that of the House of Ngerenge.)

(What about the history of the people of Ngana the House of Ngana ?)

The original home of the members of the house of Ngana is somewhere in Uganda. Mwakikungu left Uganda and stopped in Ufipa. From there he went to Ibwe Ingubiti on the Upper Kibila River, where there is also the well that contains the iswi sya bunyega. As he was a hunter, he did not stay long in this area. He soon moved to Undali,

where he got married to Kasekele, By this woman, he had a son, Mwakasekele, and with his family he moved to Ngana. There he found a fisherman whose name I cannot remember. He also found another fisherman, Mwaisondole, there.

It was at this place that the Kyungu's makambala from Ngonde found him and asked that they be given some fish. But they failed, because he gave them a very bad reception. Instead, they were welcomed by Mwakasekele. He gave them food, including dried fish, and when they returned, they reported everything to the Kyungu. After some time, they told the Kyungu that they were planning to make another visit to the Ngana area. Just before leaving, they informed him that this time his daughter, who was also Kantega's wife, would be accompanying them. In Ngana they went to Mwakasekele and gave him the nakamba. As a sign of gratitude, he gave them some more dried fish. On their return home, they did not tell Kyungu the truth. He was told that his daughter had been left with her grandfather, Mwaisondole.

When the makambala made their third trip to Ngana, they found the nakamba with a baby boy. They decided this time to tell the truth of the matter to the Kyungu. (the demotion of Katega).

Not long after this, the Kyungu died. But there was no one to succeed him. So the makambala decided to go to

Ngana to get the nakamba's son. They told the boy that his uncle, the Kyungu, had asked for him. As soon as they reached Mbande, he was crowned and the indingala was beaten.

(Was there any relationship between the Kungu and Mwaisondole?)

Yes, there was a blood relationship between them. Mwaisondole was of Mwenitete's family, and Mwenitete was of Kyungu's son. Mwakasekele's son, Kasyombe, married Mwafongo's daughter.

(To which group was Mwafongo related?)

He was of Ngana.

(Do you know the name of this girl - (the daughter of Mwafongo)? )

Yes, she was Namulabula.

(You have said that the makambala were more powerful than the Kyungu himself. Could you explain this statement?)

The reason is that all the male children of the Kyungu were killed at birth by the makabala.

(Why did they do that?)

They feared that once the numbers of the royal family increased, their own powers would be curtailed.

(Before I forget, what does the name Kasyombe mean?)

Originally, this name belonged to the Kyungu, and he is the one who gave it to his nephew.

(Could you tell me why Kasyombe was enthroned as Kyungu on the death of his uncle?)

They had Kasyombe succeed his uncle because there was no one else available at the time. All the sons of the Kyungu had been killed except for Mwangonde, who escaped that fate because his mother had run away with him to her home, Utambo. This woman belonged to Mulwa's family, and it was Mulwa who arranged the flight.

(Did Mulwa maintain contacts with Utambo even after he had settled at Mbande?)

Oh, yes! Very much so!

(Could you now continue with the story, beginning with Kasyombe?)

Kyungu Kasyombe had several children. These were: Mwenengubwe, Karambo, Mwaulambo, Mwasakabanga, Mbwili, and Musomba. He immediately ordered a halt to the practice of killing all the male children of the royal family.

After a time, he called Mulwa and told him that he, the Kyungu, was aware that at the time of his accession Mwangonde had been expecting a baby, and that the child, Mwangonde, must have by then grown up. Mulwa was asked to go to Utambo to fetch the boy. Mwangonde was brought to the Lakeshore, and when Kyungu Kasyombe died, he became Kyungu.

(What is the connection between the name Mwangonde with you, the Ngonde?)

This is why the people are called the Ngonde. It is after

him.

(What happened to you of Ngana after Mwangonde's accession?)

Mwangonde left all the children of Kasyombe to settle at Mbanda, but when his own children grew up, they began making trouble about them. They forced Kasyombe's first-born son, Mwafongo, to go back to his place of birth Ngana, but Karambo, Mwenengubwe and Mwili remained at Mbande. Mwabulambo and Mwasakabanga and Musomba joined Mwafongo. This was not peace but war. In Ngana Mwafongo mobilised with his brothers and mounted an attack against their cousins at Mbanda.

(What were they fighting for?)

They were fighting for land, particularly the area that we now call Ngerenge. They killed Mwansele and Kalonga, both of whom were Mwangonde's sons.

(Did Mwangonde have other children besides these two that you've mentioned?)

Yes, he did. They were as follows: Kalonga, Mwakasungula and Mwansele. After this war some members of the House of Ngana moved southwards. Mwabulambo, Mwasakabanga and Musomba settled in Ngerenge, and Mwafongo went further south, to Ungonde itself.

When Kyungu Mwangonde died, he was succeeded by Mwenengubwe, the son of Kasyombe. On the death of Mwenengubwe, Mwafongo became the Kyungu, and on the death

of the latter, Karambo became the Kyungu. Karambo was replaced by Mwaulambo. Mwafongo wanted to shift the capital to Ngerenge, but the makambala refused, saying that there was no Mbande in Ngerenge. There was only that of Ngonde. As a protest over this rejection, he gave up the Kyungushipand returned to Ulambo. The throne went to the children of Mwangonde.

(There is a lot of talk about this man. What was particular about him?)

Kasyombe did a lot for the future Kyungus. He started the .....(unclear) ....Mwasakabanga was succeeded by his first son, Mwakikunga. He had other children: Benga, sometimes called Mwakakboko, the second born, and finally Mwangwela. As I have just said, Mwasakabanga was succeeded by Mwakikunge, and when the latter died, he was succeeded by Mwanjasi.

(The two houses of Mwakikunga and Mwanjasi are very confusing. Could you clarify them?)

Mwakikunga is the son of Mwasakabanga. We, the Ngonde, get our names from the maternal side.

Now back to the House of Ngana line: Mwasakabanga was the founder of the Ngerenge chiefdom. His mother's name was Nasakabanga. On his death he was succeeded by his first son, Mwakikunga, the Kilupula. He too got his name from his mother.

(What does the name Kilupula mean?)

It doesn't mean anything.

(Who of these Kilupulas is most remembered, either for his popularity or his unpopularity?)

Mwasakabanga. He was liked by his people because he was calm and considerate.

(Who was Kilupula during the period of Arab activities in Karonga?)

Mwasakabanga.

(Were you affected by the Bemba war? Who was Kilupula then?)

We were not affected by it.

(What about during the Ngoni wars?)

Mwasakabanga was the Kilupula. As I said earlier, Mwakikunga became the second Kilupula. His children are: Mwanjasi, Mwentende, Mwambanda and Mwakasangila. He gave each of them an area to rule and granted them the permission to look for their own councillors.

(Who are the traditional advisers of the Kilupula?)

The original <u>makambala</u> are Mwasije, Mwangosi, Mwambumbe, Kitengile, Mwasyoge and Mwanthembela.

(What duties did they have to perform?)

Their main duty was to assist the Kilupula in the running of the state. During times of war, they organised the people. This was the responsibility of Kitengile. As soon as he detected external threats, he informed the Kilupula. Mwasinge was in charge of rituals performed at the royal

grave.

(Where is the royal graveyard?)

It is across the stream in Mwangosi's area. It is known as Mwasakabanga's grave-yard, and all the Kilupulas are buried there,

(At what times did you go there to pray?)

We went there to pray whenever drought or an epidemic occurred. The most detailed prayers were said first before going to war.

(Do you know the actual words that were said at the royal graves?)

In their prayers, they mentioned all their ancestors (abasyuka). The actual words are: "You, our ancestors, speak on our behalf to Luwembe, Ngulube, Mwatonoka, to Kayubili." After saying these words, a cow was slaughtered on top of the grave, making sure that the blood spilled all over the place.

(Why did you kill the cow? And why was it that the blood had to spill everywhere?)

The idea was that the ancestors should join them in eating the beef. This is why the blood was spilt at the royal graves. They wanted them to be happy also.

(You said that you also brought chickens. What were they for?)

Yes, the chickens had to be white in colour. We also took

beer to the same place.

(Why was it a white chicken, and who drank the beer?)

A white chicken is conspicuous, and we wanted it to be seen at the graveyard. The beer was left on top of the grave, and one of the counsellors went back on the following morning to collect the beer pot.

(Did you have a hill or mountain where other prayers were said?)

No we did not. We prayed at the royal graves only.

(Who said the prayers?)

The Kilupula remained silent throughout the ceremony. The counsellor that I mentioned earlier performed the ceremony.

(If most of the ritual and secular functions were the responsibilities of the counsellor what did the Kilupula do?)

He was a general overseer.

(Did you have a standing military force?)

No, we did not. Everybody was a soldier and was called to fight in times of war.

(Where did you get your spears?)

Oh, we had blacksmiths here.

(And what about the iron for making the spears?)

Most of it came from Ukinga. In Ukinga there was a type of soil that was used for iron-smelting. Hoes were also made there.

(How did these Kinga come here?)

They walked along the Lakeshore and then crossed the Songwe.

(Did they cross the Lake?)

No, they did not do so.

(What about the use of canoes?)

The Ngonde went to Ukinga in canoes, but the Kingas only walked.

(When did the Ngonde begin to use Kisi pots?)

These pots have been coming here for a very long time. The soil was the chief food of the Kisi. By this, I mean that they earned their living by making pots. The Kisi came here by canoes. The Kisi were great canoe-users

(What did you give in return for these pots?)

We gave them maize, millet and beans.

(What about rice?)

Rice came here after the Europeans came here.

(What was the main dress of the Ngonde?)

We had a type of indigenous cotton. But the majority of the people wore <u>imipupa</u>. The women wore around their waists special bark cloth <u>inkwisi</u> which they got from the Ndola tree. Some of the men wore banana leaves (<u>isanja</u>) and <u>imipupa</u>. But there were some people who knew how to weave our local cotton. Still others knitted together pieces of very thin and soft pieces of wood, <u>inkuti</u>.

(Did everyone have the skill to do these things?)

No, there were very few who had these skills, and there was an internal trade in these commodities.

(Were these skilled people employees of the chief?)

No, they were independent.

(What about local tobacco?)

I do not know how and from where tobacco came here.

(Did you have elephants locally?

Yes, there were plenty of elephants. We had special elephant hunters also, but I do not know their names.

(What happened to the ivory after the killing of the elephants?)

They did nothing with it, But when the Arabs arrived, the Ngonde began to sell ivory to them.

(What about the pre-Arab period?)

The tusks were kept in our houses. We did nothing with them.

(Where did the Arabs come from?)

They came from Uganda.

(In which part of Karonga did they settle?)

They had no fixed place. They were always travelling around. Only Mlozi settled at Kyungu's.

(Which was their favourite place?)

Tanganyika.....(not interested in talking about Arab trade)

(At this point let us digress and look at your relations with your neighbours to the west.)

Yes! You mean the Sukwa. Those people were specialists in

barkcloth. They got special trees from Undali and planted them in their country. They then brought this barkcloth here and exchanged it for almost finished hoes (ifisuka). They then went home and made spears from those almost finished hoes. Then they would bring back the spears and exchange them for some more almost-finished hoes. There was a lot of inter-relations between the groups.

(Could you tell me more about relations with the Ngoni?)

The Ngoni came through from the North. They passed through our country before the arrival of the Arabs. They caught some people, but it was at Chibondo that the great battle took place.

(Do you remember any details of the battle? What chiefs were killed? What were the casualties?)

I do not know much about this aspect of Ngonde history. The people near the Boma would know more.

(What about Mlozi?)

Oh, Mlozi was a great problem to us.

(In what way was he a problem?)

He was getting our property, including food, by force.

(I gather that one of your village headmen died while trying to protect his people?)

No, that was another Mwenitete. He was the Mwenitete of Bwiba.

(What did the Arabs give you in return for the goods that

they brought?)

They gave us only cloth.

(How did the Arabs carry the ivory?)

They had slaves to carry it.

(Who came first, the Arabs or the Europeans?)

The Arabs were the first to come.

(What Europeans came here?)

The missionaries. They had a station in the village of my headman, Mwambande. They built a church there. They left Ngerenge for Karonga because we were not interested in what they were trying to do. They also wanted to be near Mandala's station.

(Did Mandala not have another outpost in your chiefdom?)

Yes, they had one small station here. It was near Kaporo.

(Let us discuss the Henga. Can you describe their coming to Ungonde?)

First, there was a war between two Nyakyusa brothers, Mwamakula and Mwaseba. The latter came to ask aid from the Kyungu. The Kyungu did not go himself, though. He said, "Ah, we have with us the Hengas and Kambondoma. Go to them." So Kambondoma and his followers (including many Ngonde people) went to fight for Mwaseba in Unyakyusa. But they found things difficult there and retreated. On their return, they asked for land on which to settle. The Kyungu felt sorry for these people who had fled from the wrath of the Ngoni

and allocated them some land. But when Kanyoli and Gwelegweta begged for land also, Kyungu said to them, "There's no land for you here; you should go to Kilupula. He will tell you where to settle." Kilupula directed them to that area which is now called Kaporo.

(Why is that village called Kaporo?)

Whenever Mlozi (who is also called Tuta) brought war, Kilupula and his people used to escape to Kaporo, then called Kanyegesi. To get there, we had to cross a stream which Tuta always failed to cross. This saved us from Tuta. In their daily talk, people began to refer to the village as <u>the</u> place where we were often in <u>trouble</u> or <u>kaporo</u>.

Perhaps I should give you a list of all the sons of Mwasakabanga. They are as follows: 1.) Mwasakabanga

2.) Mwenitende

3.) Mwangwela

4.) Mwambande

5.) The present Kilupula, son of Mwanjasi.

(Can you give me the list of Kilupulas in the proper order?)

Mwasakabanga had the following sons: 1.) Mwakikunga; 2.) Mwakaboko; 3.) Mwangwela. On the death of Mwasakabanga, Mwakikunga became the Kilupula.

Mwakikunga had the following children: 1.) Mwentende; 2. Mwakasangila; 3.) Mwanjasi; and 4.) Mwakanyamale. On the death of Mwakikunga, the new Kilupula was Mwanjasi.

Mwanjasi had the following children: 1.) Mwaitubi; 2.) Mwambande; 3.) Mwanjasi; 4.) Mwakisulu; 5.) Mwembe.

Mwembe became the Mwanjasi, not Ki;upula. Mwembe had the following children: Simoni; Mwafungo and Mwangupili. (Could you please repeat this?)

Kwasakabanga was the original Kilupula. He had three children. His eldest son was Mwakikumga; the second was Mwakaboko, and the third was Mwangwela. On the death of Mwasakabanga, his eldest son, Mwakikunga, became Kilupula. It was this Mwakikunga who increased the number of the Mwasakabangas. His sons were Mwentende, Mwakasangila, Kalongolela, Mwakanyamale and Mwanjasi. On the death of Mwakikunga, his son Mwanjasi became the Kilupula. On the death of Wmanjasi, his brother Mwentende became the Kilupula. On the death of Mwentende, his other brother, Mwangwela, became the Kilupula. On the death of Mwangwela the Kilupulaship descended to the children. Mwambande, the son of Mwanjasi's brother, became the Kilupula. On the death of Mwambande, Mwenepande, the son of Mwanjasi, became Kilupula.

This is the line of the Kilupulas from the beginning. The present Kilupula belongs to the House of Mwenepande. (Please tell us more about your system of succession.)

According to Ngonde rules of succession, brothers must take over before sons are affected. But when it comes to us of the royalty, a son may succeed even if his other fathers (uncles) are still alive and strong. In such cases, all the elderly people have to obey him and call him their 'father'. At this stage, he drops the name that he has had hitherto (which might be from his mother'side) and takes his father's name. If people are particularly satisfied with the family, other relations can be considered.

(Why is it that you personally have two names?)

The name Mwakikunga cannot die, for it was Mwakikunga who is father of us all. When Mwakikunga became the Kilupula, the members of the family said, "Oh, Mwakikunga has become the Kilupula. We must have another man to act as Mwakikunga and take care of the family. The Kilupula is a very busy man." So Mwakanyamale was made Mwakikunga. Also, if Mwangwela becomes Kilupula, someone else is asked to take the name Mwangwela and perform the Mwangwela's duties. I was myself village headman Mwanjasi, but when I became Kilupula, I handed over the title of Mwanjasi to my brother.

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NOTES:

a) Kyungu Mwangonde also married a Mapunda, one of the wives of Kasyombe. By her he had Mpeta and other children.

b) They went to Ngana to collect Kasyombe after failing to convince Mwenitete of the Ngerenge line.

c) No woman went to Masyeto.[1] Only the elders went there and they clapped hands as prayers were said.

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1. Masyeto means graveyards, and, in this case, the informant is referring to the burial grounds of the Kilupulas.

# TEXT 5

Name: Kenani Munthu Ng'ambi Mweniwanda Age: approx. 100 Sex: M

Area: Mwaulambya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 15/9/71

General Topic: History of the Meniwandas and of Ulambya

(Could you tell me the history of the Meniwandas (or Ng'ambis) ?)

The original home of the Ng'ambis is in the Lake Rukwa region. At one time civil war broke out there and the Ng'ambis were forced to leave. The man who led the group was called Sita. Sita had two sons, Mwenemphangala and Ng'ambi Mweniwanda. Mwenemphangala settled in Zambia, in the present-day Mphangala. Ng'ambi remained in present-day Iwanda and became the village headman.

(Whom did you find here?)

There were no people here, but they found Sikamba at Isongole.

(What was the civil war fought about?)

It was a war between the people of Iwanda themselves. The Fipa and the people of Zoba also joined in. Sita was advised by his kinsmen to leave Wanda country and look for another home in which to settle should fortune turn against him and there be a need to escape.

(What was Sita's position in Iwanda?)

He was a chief. One day he heard the sound of the royal drum and naturally went to see what was happening. When he reached it, he was told that another person had been made chief of Iwanda. He was advised to leave the country in order to make room for the new chief. He was very angry and left, coming to Iyela, now called Chitipa.

The Kyungu found Sita at Iyela. They had just captured Ngosi in Ndali.

(Why was Ngosi captured?)

The people of Undali had killed the Kyungu's dog, and in compensation they gave him Ngosi.

(Who killed it?)

Ngosi. The Kyungu married our daughter, Namwenibungu Namweniwanda. Actually this girl was given to Ngosi, the most recent addition to their party.

(Where were the Nyondos Mwaulambyas then?)

We did find them here. When we were at Nkhangwa, they were at Ibona.

(Where were the Sikweses at this time?)

They were at Ibona.

(What about the Nyondos?)

They came immediately after the Kyungu had passed by. The Kyungus had left their sister with Sikwese at Ibona. Then Nyambo and his brother Cheyo came. They married the girl

left in the custody of the Sikwese. By this woman, the newcomers (Cheyo and Nyamba) had a son, Mwamswelo.

(Did Mwamswelo become a chief?)

No. By that woman, Mwaulambya had another son, and he was given the name of 'Nyondo'.

(Let us go back a little. Why was there a civil war in Iwanda?)

They were fighting for power, kingship. There were many ambitious people who wanted to become chiefs.

(On their way here, through whose territory did your ancestors pass?)

They passed through Unyika and then Ichinga in the Songwe Valley. Everyone, including the Kyungus, passed through this village.

(Who was the chief in Unyika at that time?)

They passed through Zoba's and Nzunda's territories. From Iyela, Ng'ambi (Mweniwanda) came here and his brother Mphangala proceeded further south. Iyela is east of Kameme.

(Where was Kameme at that time?)

Kameme is the brother of Kyungu, Mkoma and Kafwimbi. He is their elder brother and yet his territory is very small. Mkoma commands a very big area. He borders with Waitwika

(Is Waitwika related to the Kyungus?)

She is their sister.

(What of the relationship between Kyungu and Nyondo?)

Nyondo was a son of Nakamba. This was why they called him Nyondo. This was the reason that the Kyungu claimed that the Nyondos were their subordinates. The argument of the Mwaulambya was that it was the normal practice of people to marry into other families and that theirs was no special case. 'Don't you marry peoples' daughters?' they asked the Kyungu.

(Let us go back to Iyela.)

While we were at Iyela we laid claims to the area that is now called Mweniwanda. We did it by depositing some salt in some of the valleys of the new Iwanda. The Bungu woman who carried this salt was buried in this village.

(Who was this woman?)

Her name was Mbinga

(Where did this salt come from?)

From Lake Rukwa.

When we settled here, Mwenemisuku was living at Wukanga. The Kalenge stream was the boundary. Meanwhile, the Mtambos were beginning to **oocupy** the area south of Iwanda.

(Who was this Mwenimutambo that you are speaking of? Were they related to the Mwenechitipas?)

The Mtambos of whom I am speaking are of Katyetye. Yes, they are related to the MweneChitipas. The Mtambos come from Ubisa. On their arrival they asked Ng'ambi (Mweniwanda) to give them some land. Ng'ambi refused. The Kyungu...(trails

off).

(What was the name of the Kyungu who led the party?)

His name was Magemo. His father had died in Rungwe. You see, the Nyakyusa are related to the Ngonde.

(What was this Kyungu looking for?)

He was looking for land. His home had become overpopulated. They were after unyafyale (chieftainship).

(How did they become nyafyale?)

At Mbande, they found Simbowe.

(What was the Simbowe doing there?)

He was the owner of the land around Mbande. He was the mwafyale there. While he was away chasing elephants from mapemba (sorghum), the Kyungu went to Mbanda and sounded the drum, Mwalakelwa. The Kyungus proclaimed the land theirs, and that was the end of Simbowe.

(Let us go back to the new Iwanda.)

Sita had two sons, Mulowo and Mubungu.

(Of these two who founded the Iwanda?)

Mubungu was the founder of the new Iwanda. His son was called Mwenilondo. He lived on a hill nearby. But the Kyungu was not happy to hear of the existence of a chief with equal powers to him. So Mwenilondo was invited to Mbande and he was killed there. Mwenilondo was succeeded by his son, Mwenikuti.

(How did Mwenikuti react to the murder of his father by the

Kyungu?)

Menikuti fought the Senga. when the Ngoni under their leader Zwangendaba passed through here, Mwanikuti was the chief. He tried to fight the Ngoni but they outnumbered the local people.

Mwenikuti had two sons, Nkhamanga and Nkhalamu. The latter's grave is not far from here. Nkhamanga was buried at Melu, near the court.

Mwenikutu was succeeded by his grandson, Kasali. This annoyed his fathers. They did not know that they had been by-passed. They complained to the mafumu (the village elders and advisors to the chief) about this, but they were unsuccessful. Instead the mafumu advised Kasali to get rid of his uncles first. He thus killed his own father, Kapinga. (Did this happen before the arrival of the Ngoni?)
After the Ngoni had passed through.

Nkhalamu escaped to Wenya. Nkhamanga went to Senga, to Chiwale's village. Others went to Mwamba. The rest (Kasali's uncles) were killed. Whenever his uncles went to pay respects to him, they were seized and murdered.
(Why was Nkalamu given this name (lion)?)
It had no special meaning. It was like other names.
(For how long were the Ngoni in this area?)
For a very short time. Then they returned and declared war on us.

They had tools of iron.

(Where did they get this iron?)

They made it locally.

(Who made them?)

The Tambo.

(Where were their furnaces?)

They made spears and hoes. They even sold them.

(What about those who did not have the skill?)

They had furnaces.

(Do these furnaces still exist?)

A few years ago I saw one. It was in Utambo. There was one near Namasasa. I once worked there.

(How did you do it?)

First we cut wood into pieces. Then we arranged them in order and burned them. The heat generated from the burning wood baked the earth until it became red-hot. After two days the earth turned into iron. It was like an oven. Before the earth was heated it was moulded into various shapes. It was not always possible to turn the earth into iron, as it depended upon the heat generated from the wood.

(You have talked of trade. What item was principally exchanged?)

Food.

(Did the Ngonde also come here to buy salt?)

Yes, in the distant past.
(What about cloth?)

(Who was then chief?)

We have not yet got to this period. Kasali did not live long because he was killing his acquaintances with poison that came from Senga country. Nkalamu returned from hiding and became chief. Muwele, who had sought refuge in Usenga, also returned. He is the man who killed Kasanu (Kasali). Nkhalamu was succeeded by Chikwefu, and Chikwefuu was succeeded by Mwintasabo. On the death of Mwintasabo, Kalindawalo became the Mwenewanda. Kalindalalo was succeeded by Kabifya. Kabifya was succeeded by Kalindawalo II, the son of Kalindawalo I.

(Was there any rule regarding patterns of succession?)

Chieftainship had to pass through the brothers before dropping to the younger generation, i.e. their children. But this was not always observed.

(Let us go back, starting with Nkalamu).

Nkalamu was succeeded by his son, Chibungu. Chikwefu succeeded his father, Chibungu. On the death of Chikwefu, his brother Mwentsabo became the Mweniwanda. Mwintasabo was succeeded by his nephew, Kalindawalo (Chikwefu's son). Kalindawalo was succeeded by his brother, Kabifya. He was Mwintasabo's grandson. He is my nephew.

(Were there any hunters in this area?)

Yes.

(What tools did they use?)

They wore cloth that was made from cotton that was grown locally. This cotton was also brought in from Senga country. (Did the weavers sell their surplus cloth to those who had not the skill of weaving cloth?)

To whom?

(For example, to people in Mphangala and other areas around Iwanda?)Mphangala is nearer to Usenga than to Iwanda. People in Mphangala got their cloth from Usenga. The Senga were very good weavers.

(Did the Senga come here?)

Yes, they did. They brought cloth with them.

(What did you trade to them?)

Iwanda was famous for its salt.

(Where did you get this from?)

In the local valleys. We prepared the salt locally and the Senga came to buy it. Do not forget that we brought salt from Lake Rukwas when we first came here.

(Did you sell the salt?)

Yes, it was because of this that we had many cattle. People came from as far away as Mwamba to buy salt.

(Did you, the Ng'ambia, find cattle in this area when you arrived?)

There were almost no cattle. We gave people salt, and they gave us cattle.

(From where else did your customers come?)

From Usenga (the Luangwa Valley) and from Ungonde. But the Ngonde got most of their salt from the Henga.

(What about the people of Nthalire?)

Yes, they came here also.

(What did the people of Nthalire trade with you?)

The Ng'ambi did not demand anything from the people of Wemya or Nthalire because of the fraternity that existed between us.

(What about the Senga?)

They gave us cloth in return for salt. The Senga taught some of the people the art of weaving.

(Did elephants live in this area?)

Plenty of them!

(And what about hunters?)

Yes, there were the Simwabas, the Kabetas and the Kalumbis.

(What did the people do with the elephant tusks?)

One tusk went to the chief; the other went to the hunter.

(Which chief?)

Any chief. In Iwanda, the tusks went to Mweniwanda.

What did the hunters do with the remaining tusks?)

They took them to the Araba. These Arabs came here.

(From where did these Arabs come?)

They came here via Mpata. Mlozi was at Karonga.

(What about in the period before Mlozi?)

...(no answer)

(Did some come from Senga country?)

There were more elephants in Senge country. A few came here to hunt elephants, but not to buy tusks.

(But did you say that the Lungwana came here to buy tusks?)

Yes, they bought tusks from the hunters.

(What was given in return for the tusks?)

The Lungwana gave them cloth.

(Did the hunters sell the surplus cloth?)

No. they made cloth (sic).

(What tools did the hunters use?)

They used spears that were made locally.

(How did the people get tobacco?)

I don't know.

(Did the Bemba and the Nyika come here to buy salt?)

Unyiha lies half way between Lake Rukwa and Iwanda (new Iwanda). The people from there preferred to go to Lake Rukwa as it was near their home.

(Did the Bisa come here?)

They were great traders. They used to follow the trails of the elephants. Mtambo, the Bisa, asked Mweniwanda to give him some land, but Mweniwanda refused. Mtambo approached Mwenemphangala, and when his request was again turned down, he declared war on Mwenemphangala The Mambwe who by now had settled at Chitipa heard of the war...

(Who were the first to settle, the Mambwe or the Tambo?)

The Tambo were the first.

(How is it that Tambo speak ChiMambe?)

Today they are outnumbered by the Mambwe.

(How did the Mambwe come here?)

They followed Simfukwe. They came from Lwanda, near Ibungu, and from Ufipa.

(Let us again speak of the Bisa. Where did they go with their tusks?)

I do not know what the Tambo (sic) did with their tusks.

(I understand that there was a lot of beeswax here. What did the people do with it?)

The Lungwana bought it. The Europeans also wanted it. Lamps were made from the wax. They also bought rubber from us.

(Where did you get the rubber?)

From the Misuku forests.

(Did the Kinga come here to buy wax?)

Yes, they came here to buy food, wax and rubber. The Germans were interested in wax and rubber.

(What did they bring here?)

Those people brought pots. Those people depended upom pots for a living, as they had no gardens.

(Did the Phoka also reach here?)

Yes, they did. They were known as the Mondwa.

(By which route did they come?)

By way of Nthalire.

(What did you trade with them?)

Salt did us a lot of good. You see, the Nyondos (Lambyas) used to boast of their cattle. They had one cow called Nathangala. The Nyondos of Chinunkha, Ifumbo, etc., depended on this one cow. They praised themselves as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ne mpata ng'ombe | I am the keeper of cattle |
| Ne nkhuba ni | I am the man who keeps cattle |
| ng'ombe pa chula | on the anthill. |

(What did they do with this cow?)

They called this cow Nanthangala because they depended on her as protection from witchcraft.

(How?)

(No answer)

(How did the Nyondos (Mwaulambyas) become your chief?)

Mwenikuti was married to Nyamba's sister, Namwenigombwe. She was the mother of Nkhalamu. When Nyamba became the Mwaulambya, war broke out between the Ngonde and the Lambya...

(Tape lost here - break)

(Have you heard of the Bemba war? What did the Bemba want?)

Yes, I have heard of it. Mubemba wanted the whole of this land to be his.

(Did he capture people?)

Yes.

(Was he alone?)

Sometimes he was alone. In some cases he was accompanied by the Lungwana. The interesting thing about him was that he decapitated the captives and cut off their arms, noses and ears.

(On what occasions, then, did you gather at the headquarters of Mwaulambya?)

The Nyondos (Mwaulambya) were our fathers-in-law. The Mwaulambya of Bwisi married one of our daughters. So you can see that there developed a strong relationship between the Nyondos and the Mweniwandas.

(Why did the Nyondos go to Mwenibwisi?)

Mwachifumpa succeeded Nyamba as Mwaulambya. This did not please Zingalupili because he thought that they had by-passed him, choosing his younger brother instead. When Mwachifumpa died, Zingalupili was suspected of poisoning him. Zingalupili denied the charge. Zingalupili had two sons, Kafola and Chinzale (the Bwana Pombes). He ran off to Bwisi.

They were adventurers. This is how they occupied Bwisi. The Sichones were the owners of the land there. Then they married into the Mphangala family, and when Mphangala died, they became the chiefs. The rightful heir, a Mweniwanda, did not challenge because he feared that he might be killed.

(What are your praise names?)

We are of Iwanda.

(Are you not Ng'ambis?)

The Menechifungwes and the Mwenemisukus are Ng'ambia. Not us!

(But why are you called Ng'ambis?)

They married a Namusukwa, the mother of Mpwenje Mwenibungu. This is how they got the name of 'Ng'ambi.' We are Wandyas, We are also Mwenibungus.

(Who came first, the Arabs or the missionaries?)

The Lungwana.

(What did they want here?)

They were traders.

(What did they trade?)

They wanted elephant tusks. They brought cloth, beads and mphande shells.

(What did you give them besides elephant tusks?)

Anything they wanted...but mostly elephant tusks.

(Did they buy slaves?)

Chibaya Songa was captured by the Lungwana.

(Did they have a village or station in Ulambya?)

Not in Ulambya. Their village was in Karonga.

(Where did they stay during their visits?)

They stayed with local people. Chikwefu struck blood relationship bakatemana ulusale with the Arabs. He traded with them. But Katanga was their favourite country because it was infested with elephants.

(Where is the Katanga?)

In Mwele's area. From Katanga, the Arabs went to Karonga via Iwanda.

(Did any come from the Lake Rukwa area?)

No.

(Who arrived here first, the Mandala people or the missionaries?)

The missionaries.

(Was the Stevenson Road built after the missionaries had come?)

Yes. It was built along the Kapoka-Chitipa road. Mr. Stevenson paid for it to be built.

(What were the wages of the labourers?)

Cloth and money.

(Who chose Ncherenje to be a mission station?)

Chikwefu Mweniwanda directed them to Ncherenje.

(Whom did he direct?)

Mr. Bain and Mr. Kerr-Cross.

(Who was the first European to come here?)

Mr. Bain and Dr. Kerr-Cross wefe the first. Mr Moir was the head of Mandala.

(Did Moir trade with you, the local people?)

He brought bales of cloth and salt, but he was not very free to trade, because of Mlozi. He did not go into a village

in the same way as Mlozi did. Usually they came here via Ngerenge and Misuku.

The first missionary settlement was in the heart of Mweniwanda country... very near his home. They then moved to Ncherenje stream.

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# TEXT 6

Name: Jim Kapange Age: approx. 88 Sex: M

Area: Misuka District: Chitipa

Date of Interviews: 13/11/71

General Topic: History of Kapange family

(Mr. Kapange, could you tell me the history of the Kapanges from the earlies times?)

Our real surname is not Kapange, but Simbowe. So my name should be Jim Kapange Simbowe. I immigrated to this place from Tanzania in 1906, but my history goes back much further than this date.

Simbowe had settled at Mbande, a few miles from the Lake. Kyungu came and built himself a home not far from us. His aim was to take our place, but he did not dare to come near us because we, the owners of the land, were not easy people with whom to deal. We did not fear anyone and we were prepared to fight at any time. The Kyungus were hunters, and it was very frustrating to them when once an animal crossed the river, it was always seized and eaten by the Simbowes. The Simbowes had given the Kyungus the impression that the river was always full and that special skills were required to cross it. Whenever the Simbowe

went to the other side of this river, they crossed it in such a way as to show that it was in flood. They did this by crawling. The interesting thing is that the Kyungus always believed them.

This secret was revealed to the Kyungus by one of Simbowe's wives, Namwalang'ombe. From that time on, the Kyungus began to plot the death of Simbowe. They brewed beer and invited him to come to the Kyungu's place for a drink. In the house in which this drinking party was to take place, a deep hole was dug and it was covered over by a mat. As soon as Simbowe arrived, he was ushered into the room and was asked to sit down on the mat. He fell into the hole and was helpless. Very hot water was poured into the hole, and Simbowe died. Before leaving for Kyungu's home, Simbowe had told his son that he was suspicious of the Kyungu's intentions. He also said that as soon as he heard and felt a shaking of the earth, he would know that his father was dead.

The Kyungu rushed to Simbowe's village and took it over. Most of Simbowe's children dispersed because they feared that the Kyungu would kill them all off. His first son escaped to Ngana. From Ngana he went to Isaki, across the Songwe. With him were his wife and two children. From Isaki, they emigrated to Masukulu, and after finding it difficult to live there, they moved on to Tukuyu. From

Tukuyu, he went to Kalinga's country, but he again failed to like that place, so he moved to Mulwafu's village. The trees, amakuti, that he planted are still there. While in Mulwafu's area one of his sons died. He was accidentally killed by him (Simbowe). The local villagers had complained that he had been threatening some people in the bush. This did not please Simbowe, and he reprimanded his son immediately. He wounded his son while trying to swing a sickle at him. He did not intend to kill his son, but he died anyway. The stone on which he sat as he died is still there, and I saw it not long ago.

This caused a major quarrel in the family. Simbowe's wife insisted upon a separation, but after some time she was dissuaded from taking this action. Simbowe was given the name Mwambange, for he began to eat pigeon peas (mbange). This was the beginning of our name, Kapange.

In Mulwafu's village there was a waterfall that made a very disturbing noise. The owners of the garden near this waterfall did not like this noise. They announced that anyone who broke the stone from which the water fell would be given a chieftainship as a reward. Simbowe assured them that he would do it. One day lightning broke the stone and the waterfall ceased to exist. Simbowe claimed that he had been responsible for the lightning, but the villagers were sceptical of his claims. Simbowe (or Kapange) began

to frighten them. He won and became village headman, but not very long afterwards he began to quarrel with his brother, Muyobe. Muyobe decided to emigrate. His first stop was Musomba. As he crossed the Songwe River, he changed his name to Kamisa. Kapange (Simbowe) remained in Undali, and he is the great father of all the Kapanges today.

In November, 1906 my brother and I left Undali and came here. We had to leave Undali for two reasons. First, there was more peace here than at home. Secondly, men at Undali had troubles with animals such as monkeys that ate the crops.

(Where did Simbowe come from originally?)

I am not sure of their original home. It appears that they came from Uiwa. What I know for certain is that they had settled at Mbande and had been there for a very long time. whenever the Simbowes were buried, <u>imbande</u> and <u>indukutu</u> (from the indukutu animal) were put around their heads.

(How do they bury the Kapanges?)

Our heads point to Mbande.

(What were the Simbowes doing at Mbande before the arrival of the Kyungus?)

He was a <u>Mwalafyale</u> at Mbande. I do not know how many people were under him. Simbowe was a rainmaker, and many people, including MweneMisuku, used to go to him to get some rain. As soon as the Kyungu killed him, he destroyed

the indukutu and declared Mbande to be his territory.

(But I understand that Kyungu created some guinea fowl and elephants to distract Simbowe's attention.)

This story is not true. The fact is that the Kyungus killed Simbowe. The Kyungus had no fixed place. They were hunters. They settled after killing Simbowe.

(Were there other people in the region at that time?)

I do not know. Simbowe was a malafyale, and after his death the Kyungu moved to Mbande. He also took Simbowe's mbandæ. Mbande came from sea animals. Every Kyungu has a mbande. It is the sign of authority.

(Can you say something about the river in Ngana called the Kyungu?)

The Kyungu made a short rest there, and so they decided to call it the Kyungu River. From there, he went to Chisasa and then to the present-day Mwafongo Village. This is the place at which he lived before moving to Mbanda. Please do not believe the story that the Kyungus occupied Mbande when Simbowe was away hunting.

(Was the Kyungu alone?)

He had many people, including Kameme. But the latter remained in Ulambia because of his love of honey.

(Is it true that the Nyondos (Mwa-Ulambyas) belong to the Kyungu's family?)

No, it is not true. Kameme is a brother to the Kyungus, but

Nyondo is not. In the colonial period, Kyungu was the boss of all the chiefs, but in the past both MweneMisuku and Nyondo were independent. Kameme was not. As Kyungu's brother, he couldn't have been independent.

(How did the Kyungu convince the Europeans that the whole region belonged to him?)

Karonga was the first place to be settled by the Europeans. This is how the Kyungu got his chance. It is interesting that MwaFulilwa refuted Kyungu's allegations. Chikulamayembe was also independent. The Kyungus had depended on Simbowe for rain, just as had Mwenemisuku.. They were equals.

(Why is Simbowe not Kyungu's mukambala today?)

That is a difficult issue.

(Were there elephants in this part of the country?)

Yes, they were many here.

(What happened to the tusks?)

They were brought to MweneMisuku.

(What did he do with them?)

Nothing. They stayed in his house as a form of decoration.

(I am told that the Kyungu had many tusks. Do you know what he did with them?)

I don't know.

(Where was Mlozi settled?)

Mlozi had a village in Karonga.

(Who gave him the land on which to build?)

Mlozi was a very powerful man. The Kyungu could not oppose anything he said.

(Why did he choose to settle in Karonga and not elsewhere?)

Mlozi wanted to rule; he wanted land.

(But why did he not succeed with his plans?)

Just before success, the Europeans arrived. They killed him. Mlozi had been killing some of the Kyungu's people before the arrival of the Europeans.

(How much were the people of Misuku affected by such Arab activities?)

I do not know.

(What were the chief foods of the people living in the Misuku Hills?)

Millets, potatoes and bananas (isweshi and matoki). Harare were recently introduced. It was Mwene Mwakalomba who brought them from Nthola, Karonga. The same thing applies to European-type yams.

(What did the people use for cultivating?)

Although the Sukwa made their own hoes, most of the hoes that were used came from Undali. Some came from Umbala. The Iwas gave the Sukwas hoes in return for food. The Iwas brought them here.

(What about Kinga hoes?)

I am not sure whether Kinga hoes were brought here directly from Ukinga. However, I know for certain that the Kingas

came with these hoes to Undali. The Ndalis gave them amabi (bark cloth) in return for the hoes. The Suka went to Mwachembe to get it. These pieces of amabi were very popular, even among the Ngonde. They were obtained from Tanganika. The Ngonde gave us ifisuka (finished hoes) in exchange for our amabi.

(What are your praise names?)

We are Simbowes of Uiwa. Usually we say, "Isa Simbowe
waku Mbande
wapa Uiwa"

(I can see that Simbowes are scattered all over. Do you meet?)

The Simbowes of Karonga do not know us, but we get on very well with the Kemisa family in Ulambya. When my father was alive, he often asked them to change their names to Kapange. The trees planted by the first Kapange and the first Kamisa near the river have not been cut.

(Which was the original home of the Simbowe?)

I do not know where they came from. They built a home at Mbande and had lived there for a very long time before the arrival of the Kyungus. As rainmakers, the Simbowes had been very popular. MweneMisuku was one of his friends.

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## Text 7

Name: James Knight Dikamanja Ndovi Age: About 65

Joseph Mwayibenga Ndovi About 65

Thomas Ng'onibekumwela Ndovi About 70

Area: Fulilliwa District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 14/8/71

Topic: History of the Ndovis and Chilumba.

(How did the Ndovi family come to the Chilumba area?)
Our first ancestor in this area came from Libwelamphenthe, and when he came here he found a small group of people under Vulakwaca Mtawali. This man was not the autocthone of this area but came from Liwuli in Ubena, across the Lake in Tanzania. When he came into this area Mtawali was staying on an island. Our predecessors came from Bandawe and found him here. He was on an island in Chilumba.

(What occupation did Mtawali have?)
They were fishermen but they ate all the fish as they had no way of selling it to other people.

(Were there no people in the hinterland of this area?)
The people of Chief Mwafulilwa were already here. Then there was the family of Mponela.

(Where did the Mponela family come from?)

As with most of the people in this area the Mponela people came from Mwela... that is, across the lake. In those days these people lived here in very small groups, each of which managed its own affairs. Only occasionally did they support each other.

(How did it happen that Chief Mwafulilwa's family came to be chiefs in this area?)

That family came from Mwela, and they were Palowoka. They came to be chiefs because of their generous actions and wisdom which they brought from the lands that they had previously occupied. When the Mwafulilwa family came into this area, they found the clan of Mwilapombe Mkandawire. Mwilanombe was the leader in this area. The leader of the Mwafulilwa clan was Malongo, and he married the daughter of Mwilanombe. The result was a son who had the medicine for making rain. At one time there was a drought and the son of Malongo was able to make rain and gained thereby immense prestige. Then there was a drought in Nkhamanga and Chikulamayembe sent for Mwilanombe and the son of Malongo. They went there and Mwilanombe's nephew made rain. When Chikula-mayembe saw this he said: "This young man has saved my people from starvation. I will now make him a chief

over the whole area from Chombe all the way up to Chiwondo... all along the lake." So that is how Mwafulilwa became chief in the area; the land had originally belonged to Mwilanombe Mkandawire. The whole area as far north as Chiwondo near Ngara was given to Mwafulilwa. At that time Mwafulilwa was a chief but under Chikulamayembe.

(What kind of tribute did Mwafulilwa get from his people in this area?)

In those days people used to go and cultivate gardens for Mwafulilwa. Then those who picked up the feathers of certain beautiful birds were obliged to give those feathers to the chief. Those feathers were known as nthiba-tiba. They also gave him food and shells from the Lake.

(Do you know what these feathers were used for?)

They were used most often by dancers.

(What were the shells used for in those days?)

They were used for glazing pots, and dancers strung them together and wore them around their necks and ankles when they were dancing. The people in the interior were also in need of shells which they used to glaze pots.

(Was there a special family with which the Ndovis contracted marriage?)

Our first ancestor married the daughter of Mtawali. Then later on he married in the family of Mwafulilwa.

(Was there any brideprice demanded in those days? If so, in what form?)

A few people used goats, but most bridewealth was given in the form of hoes.

(Where were these hoes acquired?)

Most of our hoes came from the mountains. The Phoka made hoes at Thoci, and these were called 'Phoka hoes'. Some people here used to cross the Lake to buy hoes from the people in the mountains of Mwela. These were called 'Mwela hoes'.

(Who were the sib-chiefs of Mwafulilwa?)

There were Mwilanombe, Mwandovi, Mponela and Mwakhwaba. These men had to be present at the installation of a new chief.

(What kinds of rituals did your ancestors perform at the installation of a new chief?)

They used to hold a large feast at which all the elders of the land used to be present. Beer was prepared in large quantities and the initiate was anointed with oil and made to sit on the skin of either a lion or a leopard, while a dark turban cloth was wrapped round

his head. The rest of the people rejoiced and dance the chikweta dance. Cows were slaughtered.

(Who came to install the chief?)

It was Mwilanombe, because he was the second greatest man in the area.

(At the time of the Ngoni wars, were there any Henga clans who came here for refuge?)

The Henga did not come into this particular area, but some of them settled at Fulilwa, while the rest continued on to go and settle at Kaporo in the land of the Kyungu. We had the Ngoni invasions ourselves. At first, the Ngoni came with the aim of capturing Mwafulilwa and his people. They came and stopped at Bundi. Mwafulilwa ran away and took refuge with us here; our grandfather hid him on Chitande Island. Our grandfather was the one who went to Bundi to surrender to the Ngoni. He carried with him some cloth and beads which had been brought here by the Arabs who had come to trade here. Mwandovi took these gifts to the Ngoni and surrendered on behalf of Mwafulilwa. The Ngoni were amazed by the bravery of Mwandovi and they said: "Mwandovi, you are a very brave man; go and tell your chief that henceforth he may rest in peace for the Ngoni have no quarrel with him." So Mwandoni brought

the message to Thamba Mwafulilwa, who was at that time of the opinion that he should escape back to Mwela to avoid the Ngoni. Mwandovi brought Mwafulilwa assurance and he told him all that the Ngoni had told him.

Mwandovi told the Themba to adopt the name 'Chijele' in recognition that henceforth the Ngoni would harass his lands and people no longer. So Mwafulilwa returned to his village and began to rebuild it.

(Did the Arab traders trade in this village?)

The truth is that the Arabs had no other port-of-call other than here at Chilumba. This is where they all crossed the Lake. Most of them depended upon and trusted the people of this village to help them cross the Lake.

(Did the Arabs come here before the Ngoni were heard of?)

The Arabs started trading long before the Ngoni came. They crossed the Lake and landed in this village. From here, after having rested, some of them proceeded to Malambo, where they went to buy ivory from the Bisa and Senga peoples. This village was as a headquarters in that those from Malambo would return here and spend a few days before crossing. Sometimes the Lake was rough, and so they had to wait here. With all their slaves and ivory here Mwandovi used to send a few of

his men to help these traders cross the Lake with their cargoes. From here, they crossed to Manda and from Manda they went to Songea and then Lindi. There was no one else in this area who could provide these services but Mwandovi.

(What did Mwandovi get in return for his services?)

Mwandovi used to be paid in cloth - large quantities of cloth in bundles (mataka) and all varieties of beads. Those who served the Arabs individually were also paid in cloth, beads and trinkets. It was very worthwhile.

(Are any of the Arabs' names remembered?)

Yes, we remember Kush, who came from Lindi. He had junior followers and a lot of Balungwana. These Balungwana were Swahili and not Arabs. Very few real Arabs (Balubu) came, but the Swahili came in large numbers. They would come in two boats and, after doing business, we would provide them with three to five extra canoes manned by our men here. It was a big job.

(About how many people did their boats carry?)

It depended upon the size. Most of them carried between 15 and 20 people. The smaller ones took about 10. Of these six would be rowers and the rest would be traders, together with their goods.

(Before the Arabs came here were there people among your ancestors who crossed to the other side of the Lake?)

Yes, before the Arabs we had our own canoes, and our own people went to buy food in Mwala. They also went to hunt for hippopotamuses (ndomondo) on the other side of the Lake. (NOTE: /ndomondo/ is the Yao word for hippo. It is likely that this word is used generally on the East side of the Lake.- HLV). Sometimes they killed the hippopotamuses and sold the meat for food there in Mwela, bringing back only food to this place. Just before the Europeans came, there were some hunters who went so far as Nkhota Kota to kill the hippopotamus, sell the meat for food, and then bring the food here. It was one way of getting food here, for we ourselves did not grow much. We have harpoons which were used for killing sea animals. Some of them are very old. They were used long before any one of us were born. In those days the people here had three occupations; and all these were linked. They worked the bellows where they forged metal into harpoons and hooks; they hunted deep in the Lake; and they conveyed passengers across the Lake.

(From whom did the people buy food across the Lake?)

We referred to the people there as the Mwela and this included the Kinga, the Pangwa and the Kisi. These people spoke related languages, all called 'CiMwala'.

(Why did your ancestors go to buy food from Mwela across the Lake and not from the Phoka living in the hinterland of this area?)

The Phoka had a reputation for thieving in the past, and our ancestors did not like them. The Phoka did not care much about trading; they relied upon pilfering a great deal.

(Besides food, what other things did your ancestors get from Mwela?)

They also brough Pangwa hoes which they used to pay as bridewealth here.

(With what did they purchase these hoes?)

With hippo meat and cloth that they got from the Arabs.

(Was there any difference between Pangwa and Phoka hoes?)

Phoka hoes were heavier and stronger, while the Phangwa hoes were usually lighter.

(How many hoes were demanded as average bride-price?)

The number kept on increasing. Eight hoes used to be enough, but when we were young as many as 20 hoes were being used.

(What did the man who received the hoes do with them?)

He kept them as wealth and if he had a young son then he kept the hoes until his son would need them for securing a bride. Even when money came in, there were some men who refused to accept money as a form of bride-wealth, preferring hoes as the more durable form of wealth.

(What other forms of wealth were used in the payment of crimes before the white men came?)

Hoes were very important. Then goats were also used. When the Arabs came somepeople had cloth, and they used to pay it to compensate for their crimes, or to appease those that they had grieved.

(Where did the people in this area get their pots?)

At first the women made their own pots in this area. The only rare ingredient for pot-making was red ochre, which had to be obtained from the Henga Valley. Then later people began to think that Kisi pots were more fashionable, and so they began to buy them with food such as rice and yams.

(And how did the red ochre come here?)

Some people from Henga used to come here bringing it with them.

(And what did they exchange it for?)

For chicken and rice.

(Did Mlozi come to trade at Mwandovi's?)

Mwandovi was a trader (NOTE: I think that this should be 'Mlozi'). He used to go about from place to place looking for slaves, ivory and rhinoceros horn (pembere). Mlozi built his village at Mpata here in Karonga. He did not stay long before the Europeans arrived on the scene, and war flared up between them and Mlozi.

(Were there any African chiefs or people who became friends of Mlozi?)

Those were the Henga there at Kaporo, not people here.

(Did Mlozi or other Arab traders sell guns to Africans?)

Yes, there were many Africans who bought guns with slaves or ivory. The guns that the Arabs sold were not good guns at all. We called them galatwe because they had to be loaded through the muzzle and sometimes failed to fire.

(Did Mlozi and the British fight any battles near Chitende Island?)

They fought at Karonga and not here.

(Did the Arabs also trade southwards from this place towards Usiska?)

Yes, the Arabs traded all over, as far south as Bandawe, but we are not certain that they did any trading at Mbwana.

(When the missionaries at Livingstonia came, which one of the Mwandovis did they find?)

They found Liyunji, our grandfather. At first the British African Lakes Company steamer came, and when it sailed here our grandfather was on the island. He thought that it was a large piece of flotsam (matoghe). Then they were surprised to hear sounds coming from the steamer. The Europeans came closer and beckoned our ancestors to come nearer. Our ancestors then helped them to cut firewood for the steamer, and then the white men departed.

(Who were the first Europeans at Karonga?)

Kerr Cross; Mandisi, and Swann.

(What was the cause of the war between the British and the Arabs?)

The fact lay in that Mlozi and his friends were sending people across the Lake to be sold as slaves.

(How were thepeople of Chilumba affected by that war?)

We were affected in that the British thought that we had been accomplices of the Arabs whom we used to welcome when they came to buy slaves. The British also blamed us.

# TEXT 8

Name: Mwaibeyu Mwalwimba  Age: Approx. 95

Area: Kilupula  Sex: Male

Date of Interview: 14/10/71  District: Karonga

Topic: History of Mwalwimbas; Account of Arab/Swahili activities.

(Please tell me the history of the Mwalwimbas.)

Our great-grandfather came from Ulambya and settled at Mpata, in the Rukuru Valley. His children were: Ntengu, Kayisi, Ndapula, Kumoga, and a daughter. The daughter was the wife of the Lambya. When the people heard of the arrival of Mwalwimba and his children, they told the Kyungu. Their main interest lay with Mwalwimba's attractive daughter. The Kyunga sent his messenger to collect the girl, but Mwalwimba had authorized his son, Ndapula, to take the girl back to her husband in Ulambya. Kyungu's messengers followed. They killed the boy and took the girl to the Kyungu. Mwalwimba could not do anything other than accept the girl's marriage to the Kyungu.

By Mwalwimba's daughter, Kyungu had a son, Mbalanganya. Mbalanganya's descendants are the rulers of Karuma.

(What was the name of this Kyungu?)

When Kyungu Mpeta was told of a very powerful and brave

man in Mwamba, he mobilised his people and went to Tanzania, to the area not very far from Selya. This man's name was Mwakasungula. When Mpeta killed this man, he took his name and was called Mwakasungula.

(How did they fight?)

They fought with spears.

(Where did they get these spears?)

They made them in this area. There were no guns at that time. Guns were brought by Mlozi.

(Did you have hoes?)

There were many hoes. They were made locally.

(What about Kinga hoes?)

The Kinga brought their hoes here and sold them. Most of our hoes came from Ukinga. There were no hoes in this area. Local people learned the skill at a very late stage.

(What did you give the Kinga in return for the hoes?)

Some were given the old finished hoes. Others were given cattle. After the arrival of Mwandisi the Kinga wanted cloth. Others gave them barkcloth. The Kinga did not know how to make it. They dressed in leaves. Three hoes were given in return for one piece of bark-cloth. The Kinga did not know how to dress until they came here and learned from us.

(What did you trade with the Sukwa?)

They were the people who brought us the bark-cloth.

The Sukwa and the Ndali brought this here. We gave them finished hoes in return for this.

(What was used as bridewealth?)

Hoes were used as bridewealth. They had cattle, but it was very scarce. One cow could be used by all the members of a big family.

(What about poor people?)

Cattle came here a very long time ago. There was no one who could not afford at least one cow. The very poor used hoes... but mostly goats.

(Were there many elephants in this region?)

Yes, there were many elephants, but the Europeans have finished them.

(Did the Ngonde kill elephants in the days before the Europeans?)

Yes, they did.

(What did they do with the tusks?)

They threw them away; but before the Europeans' arrival the tusks were sold to the Arabs. They used the ivory in making knife handles.

(What about the period before the coming of the Arabs?)

They ate the meat of the elephants and threw away the ivory.

(Did you give the tusks to ntemi Kyungu?)

He was given some meat.

(Where did the Arabs go with the tusks that they obtained in this area?)

They took the Nkhota-Kota route. From there they went to Mbwani, in Dar es-Salaam. They used boats to cross the lake. They did not take the route used by the Europeans. They bought ivory and slaves and went to Nkhota-Kota and Blantyre. When the Europeans came, people were surprised to discover that there was another route to Dar es-Salaam. The Arabs had a much longer route: Nkhota-Kota, Lupembe and Karonga.

(Did the Marambo Arabs come here?)

They dominated the area.

(Which route did they take?)

They passed through the forests and mountains. It used to take them three months to get to Dar es-Salaam.

(Who carried the ivory for them?)

They carried it themselves. Slaves were also used as porters.

(What did the Arabs give the Africans in return for the ivory?)

Cloth and beads. The latter were especially prized. The

Kyungu sold slaves to the Arabs. He used to order the chiefs to give him people to sell to the Arabs. The chiefs could not argue because the Kyungu was supreme. The Kyungu gained a lot. He was given cloth and beads. The Kyungu's home was the main station of the Arabs. As soon as they arrived, he asked them what they wanted. If they wanted slaves, he ordered the chiefs to send people to him. Red cloth was especially popular. That was slavery. Today we are free.

(What did the Kyungu do with the cloth and beads that were given to him?)

He kept them.

(Didn't he sell them?)

No!

(Is it true that the Kyungu could not leave Mbande Hill?)

You must be sure of which Kyungu you are speaking. Do not forget that the Kyungus are foreigners. They were hunters and travelling around with guns. They came from Uganda. This territory belonged to Simbowe. They found him at Mbande and burnt him with their guns. Kyungu is a foreigner and a destroyer... one who imposed himself upon us. Like Mlozi, he came looking for elephants.

I am speaking of Kyungu Kyabala. He lived at Mbande. Where else could he go after acquiring all of this land?

He died soon after this. His successor also died. The latter was succeeded by Mwangonde. They remained at Mbande.

(How would they be able to tell that all was alright in their territories?)

This was not their territory and they did not know much about it. They left everything to the makambala. He was a foreigner. Simbowe was the namwene, owner of the land and he knew about it. He was the mwalafyale, but he was expelled by the Kyungus. They are Gandas. The Kyungu who died recently was my friend,[1] and during our friendly chats, I used to tell him that he was a foreigner. He always laughed and said, "Yes, it is true. We are from Uganda. We are Arabs." He was an intruder and an invader... thanks to guns.

(How did the local people become his subjects?)

He defeated them with his guns. He killed them and they surrendered.

(Where did he get his makambala?)

He came with them from his home.

(Who was the senior likambala?)

Katenga was the senior one; then came Kyumba, followed by Mulwe and Ngosi.

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1. He is referring to Kyungu Peter Mwangalaba.

(Can you tell me why the Kyungu's male children were killed at birth?)

They feared that the boys would overpower them. The girls were left and called nakambas. The makambala wanted to make them their wives. The Kyungu did not live with his wives. He met them only occasionally. Whenever a wife of the Kyungu gave birth to a beautiful baby, they felt jealousy and killed it. They were great liars. For example, they claimed that the drum, Mwenekelwa, could not be sounded without first spilling the blood of a human being upon it. The truth is that there was a trick involved with the purpose of doing away with people that they did not like... especially the baby boys.

(Were they powerful people?)

Yes, they were powerful. Whenever a Kyungu coughed, they killed him. The Kyungus were not free people. Among those who did not experience this was Mpeta. He fought in the war against the Nyakyusa. His son, Mwangonde, was hidden by one of the makambala, Katenga. He feared that his associates might kill him. He grew up in his mother's house. Had he been left at Mbande he might have been killed. He is the man who became Kyungu Mwangonde.

All the Kyungus were killed. The makambala believed that no Kyungu could fall ill. They finished him off. They said, "The chief is not supposed to fall sick."
(What did they fear?)
They killed without purpose. The wives and children never knew what happened to the Kyungu. The were not allowed to visit him. The makambala killed the Kyungus and buried them secretly. They were very powerful people.
(How did the people know of the Kyungu's death?)
It took from three weeks to a month for the people to be told of the death. The makambala decided upon a successor, and after selecting one the death of the previous Kyungu was announced. Word was sent to the nyafyale to come and mourn, saying, "KuMbande kuyongile - Mbande is lost."

When all the nyafyale had gathered at Mbande, they were called to the house where Ngosi, dressed as a Kyungu was sitting. The Kyungu-to-be was never warned of what was going to happen to him. So he passed near Ngosi and was grabbed by him and given the Kyungu's robes. The Makambala cried once more "KuMbande kwayonga - Mbande is lost." The public was then informed of the death of the Kyungu and the installation of a new one.

(During whose reign did the powers of the makambala begin to wane?)

It was during the time of Kyungu Mwakabanga. It was after the world was grown (bo ikisu kikulile).

Mwakabanga's son, Mark, was Livingstonia educated and was free to see the Kyungu any time he wanted or when his father might fall ill. The makambala could not prevent him from seeing his father. Mwakabanga left Mbande very often also. He paid many visits to the Europeans and although the makambala protested they failed.

(Did the Kyungu live at the top of the hill or at the bottom?)

They lived on the top as well as on the bottom. Mwakabanga lived there and that was the time that the powers of the makambala began to decline. Mwakabanga died and he was not buried secretly. He died a natural death.

(Were the Kyungus buried alone?)

We are lucky today. In the past live humans were made to go with the Kyungu. The makambala decided upon who was to accompany the Kyungu. The makambala dug the grave, levelled off the inside and put two people in. These two lay facing upwards, with their feet meeting. The Kyungu was laid on top of them. All three were

covered with a cloth. If it was decided that your son was to go with the Kyungu, you could not refuse. The Kyungus were freed after the arrival of the Europeans.

(Did Mwangonde do anything to the makambala?)

Mwangonde was a grown up man and the makambala could not do anything to him.

(Where did the Arabs build their houses?)

Mlozi's village was at Mpata.

(And what about the others?)

Mselema's village was in Mwafongo's village. Mselema's village was the first; then Kopa-Kopa and the last was Mlozi. He was their elder brother. His boma was the biggest; it was very big. Mselema was junior.

(Were they black?)

Yes.

(Even Mlozi?)

Not Mlozi. He was white. He was an Arab.

(Did he mix with the people?)

They were Balungwana, not Arabs. Kopa-Kopa was black and had a very deep voice. They spoke Swahili.

(Can you describe their village?)

They constructed forts. Their forts were very big and there was a lot of space inside them. Their methods of

construction were very different from today's. They heaped up a lot of earth, and on the roof they planted sorghum, maize, millet. They did this because they feared that their enemies might burn them.

Mselema's boma was very big. It was impossible to walk around it completely without becoming tired. Kopa-Kopa's was also large, but Mlozi's was the biggest.

People with cattle had their houses inside the forts. Some also kept goats. There were many houses in them. They also had wells in them so that water was no problem.

(Were you allowed to enter the forts?)

Oh, yes. We were free to go there.

(Did they force you to become their slaves?)

They did not do that. Slaves were bought. The nyafyale (village head) used to go to Mlozi's fort with their loved ones.

(Which ntemi?)

Any nyafyale. For example, if my village headman decided to pay a visit to Mlozi, he would ask us to accompany him. Mlozi liked this very much and gave us very good treatment. Quite often a sheep was killed to entertain the visitors. With the mutton we ate ubwali (a thick porridge made of maize, millet or sorghum flour). Rice was very precious food and highly valued. Only the chief

and Mlozi ate it. We, the nyafyale's subjects, were referred to as wasyenzi, so we ate separately. The Balungwana ate rice.

(Did the Balungwana come to your village to see you?)

They went everywhere... even as far as Usango and Lubemba, where they bought most of their slaves. These slaves were tied to yokes.

(Did they buy slaves in this r egion?)

Where they could find people. It was easy to deal with Chiefs Merere and Chitimukulu because these two had too much poeer over their subjects. They could demand children from any family. No nyafyale could do that in this area. Mwakasungila dare not command me to give him my children. The answer would be, "Sell your own children first."

(What were the Arabs and the Balungwana doing here?)

They made this area their home. They were settlers.

(Who gave them land on which to build?)

Kyungu gave them the land on which they built. But the truth is that they did not have Kyungu's permission to settle at Mbande because they also knew that the territory belonged to Simbowe. The Kyungus were Balungwana. They came here because of elephants. They found the owners of the land here. Simbowe was at Mbande. Thanks

to guns, Simbowe was destroyed.

(Did Mwandisi find the Arabs here?)

They were touring the area. The Arabs failed because they came to kill us and to capture us. The Europeans, Mwandisi, brought peace.

(Why did Mwandisi and Mlozi fight?)

Mwandisi came here neither to buy nor capture slaves. He came here with peace. He found the Arabs capturing and killing the Ngonde. Mlozi killed many Ngonde. They escaped to Tanzania. This area was deserted. The Europeans escaped with the Kyungu Mwakabanga. The whole of this area was left without people. Those living at Lupembe went to Mlare. This pleased the Arabs. They began to pride themselves on their expulsion of the Europeans. Fortunately, the Nyakyusa welcomed the Europeans and the Nognde refugees.

(Did Mlozi and Mwandisi get on well in trading?)

Mlozi came here to kill and buy people. Mwandisi came here peacefully. When Mwandisi found out what Mlozi was doing, he was very unhappy.

(Had the Nega arrived by this time?)

The Gudyuka (Henga) had already settled at Kaporo. We thought that they were our friends and that they would be peaceful. The Kyungu welcomed them. He tried to settle

them at Lwasyo, but they were reluctant, as they feared that the Ngoni might follow them. The Kyungy sympathised with them. So he settled them - Kanyoli and his people - at Kaporo. But they turned against us and befriended the Arabs and began killing us. Among those that died were Mwakuyoba and Kisembe. We began to wonder why we had allowed them to live among us. The Europeans were also disturbed by the Henga behaviour. Mwandisi decided that they should be expelled from Ungonde. He called the Nyakyusa to help him kill the Henga. Very many of them died before they escaped to Mlozi's village. Mlozi welcomed them. The Kyungu told the Nyakyusa, "Now that you have helped us rid ourselves of the Henga, you may visit me, the 'European'." Mlozi came to kill us, but Mwandisi saved us.

(Did you know Yule?)

We heard of him. In those days I lived in Tanganyika. However, I often accompanied my chief, Mwakalenga, to Mwandisi's here.

(What did the Africans feel when the Europeans established a government over them and controlled their affairs?)

We were happy to hear this. After all, the Europeans had saved us from Mlozi. Remember that the Government was established much later. Mwandisi and Mandala had been in this area for some time before the Europeans

established their government. Iome of us were already big people when the boma was established. It came after the burning, destroying and killing of Mlozi. Kopa-Kopa escaped to the bush. Mlozi was trying to play with the Government. He did not know the difference between Mwandisi and the Boma.

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# TEXT 9

Name: Mwenendeka Age: approx. 58 Sex: M

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 27/10/71

General Topic: History of Mwenendeka family; court history.

(Could you tell us the history of the Mwenendeka family?)

I am not sure of the original home of my ancestors. However, I do know that from his home he stopped at Ngalati, and that from there, he went to Chiteka. Chiteka is on the slopes of the Misuku Hills. From there he descended to Mpata, the present village of Swewe Karambo. There was no other person living at Mpata at that time. We were alone.

(What was his name?)

His name was Mwakikota.

(Did he have any children?)

He had three children. Their names were: Samata, Mwenachinemba, Watondwa and Mwangosi (sic). My own father, Kasunga, belongs to the second generation.

(Which families settled here after yours?)

The Kyungu found us, Mwenendeka, Musyani and Simbowe. The first man was Mwenendeka, and he was followed by Musyani. The whole Mpata area belonged to Musyani. There was no Mwalafyale at that time.[1] He had not yet arrived. We were

1. Mwalafyale means king, chief, or prince.

only two: Musyani on one side and me on the other. Simbowe was at Mbande.

(Why did your great-grandfather leave his land and come to Karonga?)

He wanted good land on which to settle.

(Was he not a hunter?)

He was not a hunter. Had he been one, I should have been told so. Simbowe was definitely a hunter. Musyani was a smith. When Kyungu Syola, also a hunter, arrived with his party, he found Musyani and Mwenendeka here. He said to them, "I have just arrived. I am a Mwalafyale in my country. This is now mine, but since I have found you, Mwenendeka and Musyani, here, I will make you my mafumu (senior elders)." A friendly man had arrived. Musyani and Mwenendeka became his messengers (abandumi).

(Did they ,not fight this new man?)

There was war between Kyungu and Simbowe. My great-grandfather and Musyani readily accepted Kyungu's authority, and they were appointed makambala. By some magical powers, the Kyungu created guinea fowl, and Simbowe, who was a hunter, followed them. But Simbowe was betrayed by elephants. He followed them, thus giving Kyungu the chance to take over. As soon as this happened, the Kyungu asked Mwenendeka to give him a boy, Mwenekinemba, who could become the royal drummer.

(What drum was used for this?)

It was called the Mwenekelwa.

(Where did they get it?)

They brought it with them from Uganda

(Did your great-grandfather remain at Mpata after the Kyungu had become your ntemi?)

He died and was buried there. His sons left and dispersed to various places. That village was taken over by the Karambos of Ngana. Kyungu Syola was of Ngana also.

(Where at Mbande did the Kyungus live?)

The Kyungus have never lived at Mbande. Their headquarters were at Ipela.

(But what makes Mbande so important then?)

Simbowe was expelled from Mbande after fighting the Kyungus. It was then decided that Mbande should become holy (ikemo). It was the holy place and the ndingala was sounded at Mbande. On the death of the Kyungu the drum was sounded on top of the hill. It acted as a telegraph message to all of the Kyungu's subjects. Even the people in the uplands could hear the sound of the drum. People in Mkoma could tell from the sound of the drum that something had gone wrong at Mbande. They all then descended to Ungonda to find out what was wrong.

(Was it a ritual centre?)

The drum couldn't be beaten without saying first a few prayers.

(Do you know the burial sites of the Kyungus?)

I am not sure of where Kyungu Syola's grave is, but Kyungu Mpeta is buried not very far from here. This place is called Ikonje.

(Did he live at Ikonje?)

He had no house there. The makambala could decide to bury a Kyungu anywhere. Mwenengulube was also buried near here. Mwakasungula is at Njiba. There are two graves near the road, near the imizumba-zumba trees. Another Kyungu is at Kamarenje.

(What were the duties of the makambala?)

Their main duty was to help the Kyungu to rule properly. For example, we are the people who recommended the promotion of mafumu(elders) to the rank of unyafyale (village headmanship). In time of succession, we made sure that the rightful heir became munyafyale.

(Is it true that a Kyungu could not leave his home?)

In the old days it was the custom that the Kyungu should not leave his house.

(How did they rule?)

They could not rule properly. It was very difficult for them to know what was happening outside. It was for this reason that it was decided to allow them to leave their house.

(During which reign did this occur?)

I am not sure of whether it was during the reign of Syola and Mpeta (sic). But they continued to instruct (kwalika) the new Kyungus secretly in their houses.

(In whose house?)

In the house of the senior wife of the Kyungu.

(May we now speak of the death of the Kyungu?)

According to what I was told, the Kyungu's death was announced to the public some time after he had been buried. The Kyungu were buried in their houses. After the burial, the heir was called to Mbande. It was very common for members of the royal family to renounce the throne. That is why there are members of the House of Ngana and members of the House of Ngerenge. Our forefathers used to kill the Kyungus and they preferred Kyungus from the female line.

When the heir arrived, he was called into the house. As he approached, Ngosi, who lay on the deceased Kyungu's bed, grabbed him and declared him to be the new Kyungu. The ndingala Mwenekelwa was sounded to announce the death of the Kyungu. These things are no longer practised because the sons of Nyafyale are afraid of them. Now wedo everything openly.

(Earlier you said that the Kyungu lived in seclusion. How did he know that in the villages things were going well?)

The makambala did it for him.

(You have said that the male children of the Kyungus were

killed by the makambala. How is it that members of the royal family are found everywhere today?)

We are not very sure of what happened. God entered the hearts of the people. Mulwa was the man who thought of these things. You see, Kyungu was married into the Mtambo family. Mulwa was also a MuTamba, and he hid his nephew in Utambo. He was afraid that his fellow makambala might kill the baby. He knew that they would say, "Oh, a baby is born. Is it a boy? It will be a land-owner. Let it go to Iponga."

(Didn't the Ntemis know that their wives had given birth?)

Yes, they knew it.

(Were they not aware of what was happening to their male children?)

They were not aware. They were in darkness. This was one of the reasons why it was decided that the Kyungu should be confined to their houses.

When the makambala discovered that Mulwa had hidden the baby, they came and accused him of committing an irregularity. Mulwa died because of this. Meanwhile, Mwaulambo became the Kyungu. When Mwaulambo heard that Mwangonda was a mature man and living in Utambo, he recalled him. Mwangonde became the Kyungu.

(Were the powers of the makambala diminished after this episode?)

Not at all. Because Mulwa had saved the family of the

Kyungus from finishing, he was made senior mukambala.

(What does the name Mwenendeka mean?)

Mwenendeka once lived near a stream called Chiteka. As he descended the Lakeshore, he gave himself the following praises:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ne Mwenendeka | I am Mwenendeka |
| Ne Musongwe | I am of Songwe |
| Ne Mutega Chambali | I am Mutaga Chambali |
| Imfumile ku Chiteka | I have come from Chiteka |

(Were there any elephants in this area?)

There were many elephants.

(What did people do with the tusks?)

They went to the Kyungu.

(What did he do with them?)

They made amakhoza (ivory bracelets).

(What about in the times before the boma (Colonial Administration)?)

The Kyungu left everything...including the lion skins.

(Did he not sell them?

I was not told that he sold them. However, I know that he sold a few of the makhoza. These he sold to the people.

(Where was the Kyungu's royal garden (mulaza)?)

There was one near here, another at Mukungwe and the third was across the river.

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Postscript:

1.) No Kyungu is buried in Mbande. The only grave there is Mulwa's.

2.) Mbande was advantageous strategically. It was easy to see an advancing enemy from there.

3.) Kyungu received mithulo from all over, e.g. Lambya, etc.

4.) Before Kyungu's arrival, the families living in Karonga did not mix. They were equals.

5.) Mwenetumba was the royal drummer.

6.) Kyungu Mwakabanga beat Mulwa with a stick, accusing him of having delayed his accession to the throne. He was angry that he had been by-passed and that the Kyungu-ship had come to him only when he was old. In spite of all his complaints, he was very happy to be'appointed' Kyungu. The "world" (ikisu) was very angry with the action of Mwakabanga. It was not expected of a Kyungu. A Kyungu could not beat a mukambala. He was obliged to give a cow in compensation to Mulwa.

7.) Three people had to be buried with a Kyungu. Usually, these were slaves. Two had to hold the corpse.

# TEXT 10

Name: Mwenitumba (& Kundala Mwenitumba) Age: 66; 56

Sex: Male

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 9/10/71

General Topic: History of the Mwenitumba clan; Court History

(Please tell me the history of the Mwenitumba from the earliest times.)

Our ancestor came here from Itumba.[1] Before reaching Mbande, he made a stop at Kitengele Mwakinema, and it was while he was there that the Kyungu asked for him. The Kyungu knew of this man's drum, the Mwenekelwa. When it was brought to Mbande, it failed to produce any sound. So at the direction of the Kyungu, Mwenetumba was moved to Mbande. Mwenetumba had no difficulties with the drum. He beat it and it produced a beautiful sound. As a reward, the kyungu made Mwenetumba one of his bakambala. As with the other makambala, he had to settle at Mbande.

(Where, in particular, did Mwenitumba build his house?)

He built it here. We have never moved from this place.

---

1. Ituba is Unyiha, on the northern bank of the Songwe river.

(And what about the Kyungu?)

He was here too. No Kyungu has ever lived on the hill. This point must be emphasized. Mpeta's grave is at Mkungwi. The same with Kasyombe. Gwazapasi is not far from Kasyombe. Mwakasungula's is nearer here.

(What was the name of the Kyungu who appointed Mwenitumba mukambala?)

I cannot remember.

(Where was Kyungu Mwangonde's headquarters?)

His headquarters was at Bwiba, and that is where his grave is. Other Kyungus and their burial places are:

| Kyungu | Burial Place |
|---|---|
| Mpeta | Ikonje |
| Kasyombe | Ikumbilo |
| Gwasapasa | Kalanga |
| Mwakasungula | Ipota |
| Fwangalubilo | Mwenechungu (Mulwa) |

No Kyungu was buried on Mbande, and it was never their headquarters. The Kyungus built below the hill, and even then, they were not very near (mumbafu) it.

(What does the word Mbande mean?)

It means that the place belongs to the Kyungu. This was the place where the Kyungus were installed. Mwenipanda's houses were at Silu, Kyungu Kalosi's at Munyangala, Mwandemange's at Kasanga, near Henga.

Simbowe was the only man to live at the hill on the hill. When the Kyungu reached there, to get hold of that place the Kyungu burned (amochire) Simbowe. We are sure that no Kyungu lived there after Simbowe left. We say this because there is no royal grave at Mbande.

(Who was the first Kyungu?)

I do not know, but I can give you a list of the Kyungus. Thus:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mpeta at | Ikonje |
| Kasyombe at | Ikumbilo |
| Mwakasungula at | Ipota |
| Mwenengubwe at | Ibutu |
| Mwenelupangala at | Lupangala |
| Kolosi at | Munyangala |
| Mwandemange at | Kasanga |
| 2 Mwenelupangalas at | Ngonde |
| Mwangonde at | Bwiba |
| Mpeta at | Mkungwi |

This village (Mwenechungu or Ipela) has always been the home of the makambala. Mulwa lives in this village also. Katenga's people and Mboma's were here before they left to settle elsewhere. The same applies to Kyumba, Ngosi, and Mwenitanga, but they are now dead.

The latter used to live at Mwesya.

(Do you remember all the Mwenitumba family who have served as heads of the family?)

The first Mwenitumba (who settled first at Kitengele) had three children. By his first wife he had Mwakakolanya, and by his second wife he had Mwakasyunguti and Tumanege. After the death of Mwenitumba, Mwakakolanya became the head of the family, and on the death of Mwakakolanya, he was succeeded by Mwakasyunguti. The latter was succeeded by a younger brother, Tumanege. Tumanege was succeeded by his son, Kalikene. Kalikene had four children: Mota and George by his senior wife, Mundigile and Kyamayabo by his second wife, Mboma by his third wife, and Mwangambaku by his fourth wife. Because of the early death of Mota, George became the head of the Mwenitumba family on the death of his father, Kalikene. George had four children, Peter, Fydon and Faddle. But their turn has not yet come. On the death of George he was succeeded by Mundigile, and Mundigile was succeeded by his brother Kyamayobo Moses. He is the present holder of the title.

(Who were the other <u>makambala</u>?)

The other <u>makambala</u> were Mboma, Katenga, Kyûmba, Ngosi

and Mulwa.

(Do you know the duties assigned to each in the past?)

What we know is that it has always been the duty of Mwenitumba to beat the drum. At every serious function the Mwenitumba was there with the drum. The Kyungus knew that nobody else could do it. At first the drum refused to give sound until Mwenitumba was brought to Mbande. He told them that the best medicine was to kill a slave and use his blood to dry it (the drum). The Kyungu took his advice seriously. A slave was killed not long after that, and Mwenitumba was able to produce on his drum wonders. No Kyungu can be installed in the absence of the drum.

(During what other occasions did you beat the drum?)

Whenever a very important man died, the Mwenekelwa was beaten. By important man I refer to the makambala. There were different beats for different occasions. As soon as Kyungu died, Mwenekelwa was beaten and the people knew that at the headquarters the big boss had died (ku chinamwene afwa uBwana).

In the past Kyungu's residence was respected. No one was allowed to go there. Only the makambala went to see him. The makambala made all the appointments.

The Kyungu could not be seen anyhow. The makambala were the intermediaries. They took messages to the Kyungus and brought back the replies.
(This must have been a great nuisance to the makambala. Why didn't they have the people talk directly to the Kyungu?)
The makambala enjoyed that. They did not want to give the opportunity to other people to become as important and influential as they were. They were very powerful in the past.
(I understand that the makambala used to kill the male children of the Kyungus. Can you please tell me why?)
Yes, they killed all the male children of the Kyungus, but not the daughters. I do not know why they did this. According to the story, the Kyungu had married into the Mtambo family of Utambo. This woman gave birth to a baby boy. She informed her brother, Mulwa, immediately. Mulwa gave the baby a bark-cloth (ilyabi) so that people should not recognise it. He also advised her to leave for Utambo in the evening, for as soon as the makambala heard of the birth of the boy they would kill it. The same evening she left with her older brother for Utambo. Mulwa escorted them some way from Mbande.

When the makambala heard the news of the birth they approached the Kyungu. The latter told them that he had not seen the woman for some time, but suggested that they check on the Mulwas. Mulwa's answer was that he had not seen her and that it was the Kyungu's business to look after his wives and not his. The umwafi (poison ordeal) was prepared and given to Mulwa but he vomited. His colleagues were still suspicious. He took the mwafi a second time and again vomited. His colleagues then gave up.

After the Kyungu had died, Kasyombe of Ngana was called to Mbande and installed as the new Kyungu. He inherited a number of wives of his predecessor. By then he had Mwenengubwe and Mbwili. As usual, the makambala went ahead with their plans to kill these children. Kasyombe was shocked and reacted very strongly. They were forced to abandon their plans.

Mulwa was very happy with Kyungu Kasyombe's action. He revealed that he had hidden Mwangonde in Utambo and that the boy had already attained manhood. Kasyombe directed Mulwa to bring Mwangonde back. Mwangonde is the father of all the Kyungus that you see today. His headquarters was at Bwiba. He had several children, including Mwakasungula, Katenga, Mwambelo, Mwankenja

and Mbemba.

(Who succeeded Mwangonde?)

I do not know that.

(Why did the people of Ngana and Ngerenge fight?)

I don't know.

(How did the Kyungu begin to rule the people that he found here?)

I don't know.

(How is it that you have Mwambelo in Mlale and other members of the family elsewhere?)

I don't know. Those were uninhabited.

(Is it true that the Kyungu never died a natural death?)

Yes, in the distant past Kyungus were killed by the makembalas. They did this whenever the Kyungu became too old to be active. They used to kill and bury the Kyungus secretly. The Kyungus were buried in their houses. Before installing a new Kyungu one of them acted as the Kyungu. Meanwhile, strict silence was maintained about the death. Word was sent to the Kyungu-to-be. On arrival he was directed to the house where the 'acting Kyungu' was sitting. As he entered, the drum, Mwakelwa, was beaten. This also acted as a way of announcing to the people that the old Kyungu had died and a new one appointed. There was no mourning

by the public. They dare not come to Mbande. The place was very fierce.

(What about burial rituals?)

As the Kyungu was about to die, some hairs were cut from his body and nails from his fingers and toes. These were put in the royal stick, kamisa. Before burying him, a live sheep was obtained and put into the grave.

(Why was a sheep buried with him?)

He could not go alone. He was too great a man to be buried alone. They also feared that without the sheep disaster might fall upon the land and the people.

(What about the new Kyungu? Was he given a sheep also?)

He was given ifingira, a different medicine. After the installation, the makambala gave him advice on how to be a good Kyungu. In those days the office of Kyungu was not very popular among members of the royal family. They said that it was a dangerous name because it killed. Thanks to Kasyombe for stopping these things. Since his time, no one has been killed by the makambala.

(Why are the Karongas not chosen as the Kyungus?)

Karonga is a msoka. He is senior and has very big responsibility. He is now the father of them all and

is their adviser.

(What was the chief food of the Ngonde?)

Maize, millet, potatoes, finger-millet (amapemba), bananas (indyali and not harare. Harare came from Harare (Rhodesia)).

(What did they use for cultivating crops?)

They used hoes from Ukinga. The Kinga brought them here and we gave them amabi (bark-cloth) in return.

(What about Phoka hoes?)

No, Phoka hoes didn't come here. We depended upon the Kinga for hoes.

(What about spears?)

Spears were made here. We had our own blacksmiths.

(Did you not have Sukwa spears as well?)

No.

(Did you have hunters?)

The only hunters we know of was Simbowe. He was an elephant hunter. To 'burn' him, the Kyungu created some elephants magically. When Simbowe saw the elephants he followed them. The Kyungu seized on this chance. Mwenekelwa was immediately beaten by Mwenitumba and Kyungu proclaimed Mbande his territory.

(What did Simbowe do with the elephants and their tusks?)

I don't know.

(What about in the later periods?)

Kyungu Peter's hunter, Mwandofi, used to kill elephants and the tusks were brought to specialists who cut them into pieces. But in the distant past all the tusks were brought to the Kyungu.

(What did the Kyungus do with them?)

Nothing. They were kept in their houses.

(Where did the Arabs (abalungwana) settle?)

The abalungwana did not settle here. But Tuta did. He built his houses near Mwesya, at Mwenitet. Kopa-Kopa's houses were on the other side of the Mwandwangwa.

(For what did they come here?)

They came for land. They did not even seek permission of the Kyungu. They had guns and no one could attempt to stop them from settling here.

(Did they have trading relations with the Africans?)

Yes, they traded with the Africans. For example, they liked sugar cane and they used to buy it from the Africans. Quite often they raided for food. They took our food by force, and then they ran to their forts and sat there enjoying themselves.

(How did the Kyungus know of what was happening in the country, since the Kyungus did not leave Mbande?)

The makambala and his children told him. They were free

to see him.

(Why is this place called Mwenechungu?)

We call it Mwenechungu because the whole of the Mbande area belongs to the Kyungu. We pay tax to the Kyungu. We know of the places where the Kyungus lived through their graves. No-one is buried on Mbande except Mulwa, the uncle of Mwangonde.

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# TEXT 11

Name:V.H. Aaron Mwenelupembe Age: approx. 67 Sex: M

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 22/9/71

General Topic: History of the Mwenelupembe family.

(Please tell me the history of the Mwenelupembes from the earliest times.)

We the Mwenelupembes came from Ubena, in Tanzania. The man who led us was called Chisamba Simwaka. From Ubena, Chisamba went to Usango, in Merere's country. His next stop was Mwamlima's village in Ufipa. From there he moved on to Isoka. From Isoka, he went to Mwenikifungwe and then to Thete-nyumba, on the Nyika, in Phoka country. Chisamba Simwaka was at Thete-nyumba for a very long time. He even married into one of the families there, the Mbales. Soon after getting married to Nambale, he left Thete-nyumba for Mphanda Hill, where he finally settled. This became his headquarters. By Nambale Chisamba had two children Mwenemphumpha and Nkhwale.

Wherever Nkhwale went, he took with him an elephant tusk. This tusk always warned him of impending dangers. Indeed, when Kyepyela invaded their home, they sought refuge in Mwenejomba's fort. Mwenejomba was also resident in Mphanda.

On the death of Chisamba, Nkhwale became the head of the family and assumed a new title, Mwenelupembe, which means "owner of the tusk"." Meanwhile, his elder brother had returned to Nyimbo in Zambia, not far from Kameme's place. After the war Mwenelupembe left Mphanda, descended to the Bwaya Valley and built another village at Choba, the area now controlled by Mwenengubwe. Choba became the second headquarters of the Mwenelupembes. When Choba became flooded with water, Mwenelupembe came down and settled at the present site of Lupembe School. This became the third headquarters. Nkwale died here, and we are able to point to his grave because of the very big tree that was planted on it.

Nkhwale had three children: Katongo, Bambawa and Lusankha. On the death of Nkhwale, Bambawa became Mwenelupembe. Katongo had already died. Bambawa was succeeded by Chendausiku. Chendausiku's successor was Lupembe. Lupemba was succeeded by Kalambang'ombe, the son of Lusankha. On the death of Lusankha, my father (sic) Kamnkhoti became the Mwenelupembe . Kamnkhoti was succeeded by his brother, Mela. I succeeded Mela, and I am the eighth Mwenelupembe.

(Why was one of your ancestors called Chendausiku?)

There was someone in Sungwa called Chendausiku. This man was killed by my great-grandfather. He took his victim's name.

(Whom did your ancestors find living in this area?)
A number of people found us here, but our first guest was Mwalughali. This man came from Mwera, across the Lake. He had a large family, so Mwenelupembe took him to the Kyungu. Kyungu told Mwenelupembe to give him some land if he had any to spare. Mwenelupembe gave Mwalughali the northern portion of his territory. The boundary is still at Chinunu stream. The next man to arrive was Kasembe. Kasembe had no family, and Mwenelupembe did not see the need of taking him to Kyungu. He was given some gardens near Mwalughali's village. Later on, another man from Mwera, Songwe Mwalwanda came. Mwenelupembe introduced him to the Kyungu, and some land was allocated for him at once.
(Did you have to report to the Kyungu any new arrivals?)
Yes, I had to inform him of new immigrants. Usually the Kyungu would say, "If you think you have some land to spare him, go ahead."
(Did you report to the Kyungu directly?)
Yes, we were free to talk to the Kyungus...even to Magemo himself. Magemo is the Kyungu who found us, the Mwenelupembes, here. There had been no Kyungus before the coming of this man.
(How did you know that the Kyungus had arrived?)
We knew of the Kyungu's arrival at Mbande soon after he had destroyed Simbowe. This destruction of Simbowe made us

accept Kyungu's authority (pakuti amphankule usimbowe twamulambililaga ukuti yo mwalafyale.

(Did you go to see him?)

Oh, all of us used to pay him visits and bring him tribute (imithulo).

(Did you consult Kyungu in times of crisis, e.g., droughts?)

Whenever there was little or no rain, we did not ever consult the Kyungus. We did everything on our own. Mwenelupembe and all his people - - the Mwalughalis, Songwes and others --- gathered at Nkhwale's grave to pray to God for more rain.

(Did you have a special hill where other prayers were said?)

Yes we had a hill called Kafupi.

(Why did you choose to pray on this hill?)

We thought that God liked it that way.

(Did you have a snake that was revered by everybody?)

Our grandfathers said their prayers at Mwancheba, but I am not old enough to remember what was there. We are told that a snake, Mwancheba, lived there, but it was invisible. During the time of Chikungu, a lot of chickens were thrown at Mwancheba, and it was believed that this snake ate them.

(Who conducted the prayers?)

(At Lupembe, Kabengere conducted all the prayers. A white chicken had to be brought at the Chikungu prayers, but at the royal grave (amsyeto) they had to provide both beer and

chickens.)

(Whom else did the Kyungu find in Karonga?)

The Kyungu also found Mwenekisindile and Mwenekaluma.

(Who was the chief of these people?)

There was no ntemi at that time. Every family was independent. Every family had its ancestor's graves where prayers were said.

(Let us go back a little. Earlier you said that the Kyungu never left his house. How did the banyafyale communicate with him?)

The Kyungu lived in seclusion. All complaints had to be channeled through his makambala. Katenga was the most senior makambala, but Ngosi was the Kyungu's right-hand man and was the one who acted as Kyungu before the installation of a new Kyungu. The Kyungu never contacted the banyafyale directly. He did everything through his makambala.

(How did you know of a Kyungu's death?)

The death of a Kyungu was never announced immediately. It took time before the makambala informed the nyafyale of the passing of the Kyungu. After deciding on the next Kyungu, the makambala invited him to Mbande. He was not told of the reason why he was being called to Mbande. It was Ngosi who crowned the Kyungus.

(How did you get the lupembe (elephant tusk) that you mentioned

before?)

We got it because we were hunters.

(What did you do with the remaining tusks?)

We sold them to the Swahili in Tanzania. But we stopped hunting them when we came here and built a home.

(How did you get iron that was used for spears and so forth?)

We had furnaces here and blacksmiths. Hoes were also made locally.

(Did Kinga hoes reach here?)

Yes, we had Kinga hoes.

(What did you give them in return for the hoes?)

We gave them cattle and food.

(What about Kisi pots?)

We had our own pots.

(And what about Phoka hoes?)

The Phoka brought their hoes here and we gave them what they demanded.

(How did you get tobacco?)

People planted it locally just as they do today.

(What was used as bridewealth in the past?)

In the distant past there was no bridewealth. A prospective husband had to work at his fiancee's home for a short while. The most usual thing was for him to build a fence around the home of his father-in-law.

(What about the use of hoes as bridewealth?)

They began to use hoes --- Kinga hoes --- for bridewealth at a relatively later date.

(And what about cattle?)

There were not many cattle in this area. We did not have cattle for a lohg time. One cow could be used as bridewealth for an entire family. After giving birth to a calf, a cow was expected to be returned to the family that had given it.

(Do you know where the cattle came from?)

I don't know that.

I forgot to tell you the story of Kisyombe. The area that is controlled by Kisyombe today used to belong to Mwenechiuta and Mwamande. Kisyombe was a Sukwa hunter. With his many dogs he left Misuku and descended to the Lakeshore. One day two women were busy gathering salt and approached him, but they didn't say anything to him. They reported to Mwamande and Mwenechiuta. Kisyombe had just killed some animals and was resting when Mwamande and Mwenechiuta came up, but they could not communicate with Kisyombe because of the difference in language. Mwamande told Mwenechiuta that the best thing to do was to kill the stranger, but Mwenechiuta refused to do anything to the man before informing his elder brother, Mwenelupembe. Mwenelupembe asked them to bring Kisyombe to him, but once again there was a language difficulty. Mwenelupembe took Kisyombe to Mbande and explained everything to the Kyungu. "Have

Mwenechiuta and Mwamade married the women that I gave them? They have not! So let her (sic) be given to Kisyombe, and since they were about to kill him, let him have an escort." These were the Kyungu's instructions. Mwamunkhasi was asked to leave Lupembe and settle near Kisyombe's new home.

Mwamande and Mwenechiuta were my subordinates. Their original home was in Mwera.

(Could you say something about Chibondo?)

Chibondo was a ritual centre for the Kisyombe. All their rituals and prayers were conducted there by their own councillor, Munkhasi.

(Did the Henga and the Ngonde ever go to war?)

We, the owners of the country, did not fight, but after the coming of the nyafyale there were many wars. For example, Mwafongo fought Kayuni. He came here twice. Malema brought another war here. He is the man who killed Kayuni. Wayolama, the son of Kayuni, declared war on the Henga of Vuba. Many people died in this war. The Henga were led by a very good warrior named Mwangwila. Most of the Ngonde were trapped at Ngara and drowned in the Lake. But Kayuni, my father Mwenelupembe, and two other people killed Mwangwila.

(Was this the war of Bamantha?)

No, this wasn't the war of Bamantha. Bamantha Chikulamayembe went on a visit to MwaFulilwa . During this visit, Bamantha was asked by MwaFulilwa to help him make a hoe handle.

MwaFulilwa had insulted Bamantha by making this request, and so Bamantha made war upon MwaFulilwa. The latter sought aid from the Kyungu. After the war had ended, the Kyungu asked for a reward. He was given a number of children.

(Do you know the name of this Kyungu?)

No, I don't know the name.

(Did (domestic) slavery exist in this area?)

Yes, we had slaves here. For example, most of the people captured in the war of Kyepele became Kyungu's slaves. Some of them got married; others became the children of their masters.

(Where was this war fought?)

The war of Kypele was fought at Mphanda. The Kyungu himself was there.

(How is it that the members of the Kyungu's family are nyafyales even in some of the remotest parts of the Lakeshore?)

That is a very good question. I will start with Kayuni. Kayuni was the son of Mwenengubwe. In Chizale, there was Masosa Mtoba, who married Nakabundi, the daughter of Katongo Mwenelupembe. By Nakabundi, Masoso Mtoba had a daughter. This girl got married to Mwenengubwe. They had a son by the name of Mwanyilo. Mwanyilo was hated by Mwambe, also a resident of Ngubwe.

One day Mwenengubwe was on a short visit to Lupembe. There he found people involved in the local fight. Some of

the Menelupembes mistook Mwenegubwa for one of the local people and hit him. He returned to his home without registering a protest.

After some while, Mwenengubwe became the Kyungu and, as was the custom, all the nyafyale had to go to him to declare their allegiance. When all the banyafyale were gathered, the Kyungu directed one of his makambale to ask Mwenelupembe to sit in the sun. He told the makambala that Mwenelupembe was being punished because he had beaten him. The makambala did not agree with the way in which the Kyungu was punishing Mwenelupembe. They urged him to have the case settled through better procedures. Mwenelupembe was fined three girls, but one had to return to Mwenelupembe because she turned out to be a leper. The other two became Mwenengubwe's wives. They and the younger Mwenelupembes were of Nakabundi's blood.

After a long time had passed, three of Mwenelupembe's sons, Mwaisonga, Mwagonjole and Mwakiyoya, went to Mpate, where they stayed with their sisters, the mother of Mwawembe and the sister of Mukwabila. She was married to Karambos. The purpose of the visit was to propose marriage to Mbangula, the daughter of Mwenembako. When Mwengubwa heard of the arrival of the three boys, he called them to his house. Mwenengubwe said to them, "When you go back to Lupembe, please do not forget your friend Mwanyilo. Mwambe hates him very much. I would like him to live with his grandparents.

The truth was that Lupembe was the home of Mwanyilo's mother and not the home of Mwanyilo. The three boys promised Mwenengubwe that they would not forget Mwanyilo. But when they got back to their sister's home, they decided not to keep their promise. They slipped away and spent the night at Mwakiyule Mwangolele.

When they told the story to their father, they were praised for disobeying Mwenengubwe. He told them that if they had brought Mwanyilo to Lupembe, he would have expelled them from the family. Mwenelupembe had not forgiven the Kyungu for fining him three daughters. He also feared that wild animals might eat Mwanyilo and that more fines might consequently be demanded of him.

Mwenengubwe ordered three people,... (break in text)... and Mwandoloma to escort his son to Lupembe. At first Mwenelupembe refused to accept Mwanyilo, but after some persuasion he told them to go and leave the boy with him. He stayed with the boy for a very brief time. He then instructed Kabengere to take the boy to Mwakasumba. Mwakasumba was living in Malimba, on the Lakeshore. He was Manyilo's grandfather, of the Lughali family. Mwakasumba welcomed him. After some time, their village was destroyed by the Lake and they had to leave for a new home in Makwale.

Both Mwinyilo and his son, Wayegama, never became <u>banyafyale</u>. Another son, Kayuni, was the first <u>nyafyale</u>.

Even then, he should thank the Europeans, the African Lake Company gave us some cattle. This is how Kayuni became a munyafyale. But the truth is that Mwanyilo was forced on us by Mwenengubwe. In those days the Kyungus were very powerful. It was impossible to act against their wishes.
(Could you tell me about the lupembe of the original ancestor?)
The elephant tusk always warned them of dangers. It would tell them of any impending dangers in their dreams.
(Why is it that you are known as Mwenelupembe and your own daughter as Nakabundi?)
Yes, all the women are known as Nakabundi and the men as Mwenelupembe because as our ancestors descended the river, they said to themselves, "Twende tukabunde inyanja" (Let us go and cover the Lake with soil).
(Why is your first settlement called Mphanda?)
It is just like any other name.
(What name did you give to God?)
God's names were Ndolombwike and Ngulube. No one could begin eating the new crop before a special ceremony was held at the home of Mwenelupembe. The new food had to be prepared and eaten by everyone there. Anyone who disobeyed this was eaten by a leopard.
(Where did this leopard come from?)
I don't know.

(What was the chief food of the Ngonde?)

Finger-millet and later potatoes. They also planted ubutungwi (used to prepare beer).

(What about bananas?)

We had plenty of bananas here. Harare came here fairly recently. They were brought by Gordon Munthali. The types of bananas we had were: indifu, indoki, inhongomola, indifu-mwera, indyali, sasala, luba, and mebila pa basungu.

(What of relations between you and Mwenifumbo in the pre-Kyungu period?)

Fwila Lwasyo marked the boundary of Mwanelupembe and Mwenifumbo.

(How is it that most of the area of which you are speaking belongs to Ngosi?)

Ngosi was one of the Kyungu's companions. He was given this area by Kyungu Magemo. Mulwa was given Chilombe, Mwenisungo was given Isungo. He got all the land from us, and we could not refuse him. As Kyungu, the whole of the territory belonged to him.

(Did you say that the Kyungus lived in seclusion?)

The early Kyungus did, but not Mwakabanga. He used to come to Lupembe often.

(Why was it that the male children of the Kyungu used to be killed?)

It is true that the male children of the Kyungu were killed

by the makambala. They said that it was unknown that the Kyungus should bring up male children.
(What happened at the death of a Kyungu if there was no one to succeed?)
Magemo was the only Kyungu remaining. When he died, there was no one to succeed him. But one thing happened. Mulwa's sister was pregnant while married to Kyungu Magemo. Mulwa hid her. The other makambala accused Mulwa of an irregularity, and he was forced to drink mwafi three times. Mulwa knew that the situation had become very bad and had taken his sister off to her home in Utambo. When the baby was born, Magemo was informed about it. Magemo had already decreed that upon his death he should be succeeded by his nephew, Mwakasekele, the son of Mwamukwisi.

Mwamukwisi was the son of a Ndali fisherman living in Ngana. When the makambala went to see a member of the royal family in Ngana, they were well-received by Mwamukwisi. On their return to Mbande, they spoke very highly of him to be Kyungu. They went to Ngana again, this time taking Makambala (sic), the wife of Katenga and the daughter of the Kyungu. The makambala gave her to Mwamukwisi. By her, Mwamukwisi had a son, Mwakasekele. Mwakasekele was Magemo's successor. He inherited all the wives of his uncle, but he also brought w ith him to Mbande his first wife, the mother of Mwafongo.

By Kyungu Magemo's wives, Mwakasekela had: Mwenengubwe,

Mwaulambo and Karambo. It was Mwafongo who threatened death to all the makambala if they continued to kill the Kyungu's male children. That is how the numbers of the House of Ngana increased.

After some time, Mwangonde came to Ngerenge and there had a son, Mwambeta (or Karonga). He is the man who revived the House of Ngonde.

(What did you of the pre-Kyungu period call yourselves?)

We had no common name. We only had individual family names.

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# TEXT 12

Name: Rowland Ngosi Age: about 60 Sex: Male

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: December 1971

General Topic: History of the Ngosis and the Court of Mbande

(Could you tell me the history of your family from the earliest times?)

In the distant past the people presently called the Ngonde had no collective name. Kyungu Ngulube had a number of councillors called makambala. It is said that the original home of the Kyungu was Iraq. From Iraq, they went to the Sudan, then on to Uganda, and finally to Tanganika. In Tanganika they found life impossible because of the activities of the Swahili.

They moved to Usango, where they found no land for cultivation. They left Usango and went to Kabali and from there they went to the Ukinga mountains. No one seems to know Kyungu Ngulube's original name. However, we are sure that he was given the name 'Ngulube' by the people of Ukinga because he commanded the respect of all the Kinga people. To them he was God, hence the name 'Ngulube'.

They found Ukinga to be an infertile place. They wanted a place where they could farm and graze cattle, sheep, goats

and many other animals. So they began to explore for land. First, they went to Tukuyu. From Tukuyu they went on to Rungwe, and then to Musomba. Then the Kyungu said to Musomba, "We have been travelling for a very long time. You are fortunate that we have spent some time in your home. Could you give us your son?" The father of Musomba was Ngosi II. He was the son of Ngosi I.

After this, they proceeded to Ulambya and Kameme. I am not sure of the history of Nyondo and Kameme, but it appears that the name of Nyondo is from their maternal uncles. As I have said, I have forgotten that part of the story. From the beginning of the journey Kyungu was accompanied by Ngosi and Katenga. Mulwa was found in Utambo. (Where did he find Ngosi?)

He left Ngosi in Undali, but proceeded with Ngosi the father. They found Mulwa in Utambo. He became the third <u>makambala</u>. The next to be added to the list of makambala was Mwenitumba. Before deciding to settle at Mbande, the party decided to journey as far south as Fulilwa.

When Musyani and Mwenendeka were living near Utambo, they heard of the Kyungu. They descended to the plains. They were then running away from him. The Kyumbas are Mwambas. They came to Ungonde after Kyungu had settled in Mbande.

The Kyungu settled at Mbande by deceitful means. As

he and his party approached Mbande Hill, they found a woman working in her garden. The Kyungu ordered all his followers to remain behind while he advanced to talk to the woman. Meanwhile, Simbowe was watching that which was happening. As Simbowe descended the hill in pursuit of guinea fowl, he saw Kyungu, but when he asked his wives if they also had seen a strange man in his village, they replied that they had not. Simbowe, who was a hunter, saw a herd of elephants entering the bush. He followed them. The Kyungu took advantage of this. He occupied Mbande immediately and sounded the drum, Mwenekela.

(How did he get the drum?)

Some say that it was Simbowe's. Others believe that Kyungu had brought it with him.

When the people heard the sound of the drum they followed it. The Kyungu asked them to give him the names of the residents of that area. Among the names that were given to him were: Musyani, Mwenendeka, the hunter (Simbowe), Mboma, and later the Kyungus. After some time the number of the Kyungus' <u>makambala</u> became fixed. They were: Ngosi, Mulwa, Katenga, Mboma, Kyumba and Mwenitumba. These became the <u>abaNgonde</u> ( 'those of Ngonde'). Kyungu's <u>makambala</u>, Ngosi and Mulwa, were the senior <u>makambala</u>.

Ngulube's son was called Syola. Syola was the father of Magemo. Magemo was the father of Mwangonda. Mwangonda

was the man who increased the population of Ungonde. Their names were Mwamwembe, Kanyige, Mpeta (who after fighting Kasumpila of Nyakyusa was given the name of Mwakasungula), Mbemba, Mwambelo, Susata, Mwankyenja, Mweniyumba, Kamyana and Mwansele. They were ten altogether. Mwamembe was the the oldest son, but he himself had no children. His brother Kanyige had a son, Karonga. Karonga had always been regarded as the most senior of the descendants of Mwangonde.

When Kyungu Magemo died, his wife was in Utambo. Mulwa had hidden her there because he feared that the makambala might kill her son.

(Why would the makambala kill princes?)

They feared that the numbers of contenders to the throne might increase and thus present a problem to the makambala. Mulwa asked the Kyungu if he could hide his pregnant wife. When she gave birth to a son, Mwangonde, she did not return. The boy and his mother remained there, and when the Kyungu Magemo died, the makambala installed Mwaulambo of the House of Ngana on the throne of the Kyungus. Mulwa knew that they had made an error by crowning Mwaulambo, so he revealed his secret to his friends. He asked them to speak to Ngosi, for on the death of Kyungu Magemo, Ngosi had been Acting Kyungu.

(What were Ngosi's special duties at Mbande?)

He was second in command. The Kyungu made all announcements through Ngosi. He passed all the Kyungu's instructions on to Mulwa. Mulwa called the people to Mbande and made the announcements. On the death of any Kyungu Ngosi wore the attire of the Kyungu and, like the Kyungu, was confined to the house.

(Why?)

If the Kyungu left his house, no crops would grow and rain would not fall. To the people he was a God.

Mwangonde was called to Mbanda and taken into the house where Ngosi, acting as Kyungu, would grab him and make him the Kyungu. The ndingala[1] was sounded and everyone in the villages knew that ku Mbande kutebite ('It is quiet at Mbande'). Everyone knew then that the Kyungu had died and that another one had been installed.

(But wouldn't people know about it if they passed the graveyard?)

The death of a Kyungu was never announced. Only the makambala and one or two of the Kyungu's widows buried the Kyungu's body. There was no mourning until a new Kyungu had been named and crowned. People were not allowed to go to the graveyard. It was a place that was feared. Only one man was allowed to go there, and I have forgotten his name.

When Mwangonde came, Mwaulambo was forced to abdicate.

1. Ndingala is a drum and a dance. The informant is here referring to the royal drum, Mwenekelwia.

He had been warned about it. Every Kyungu was given a flywhisk, annointed with a lion's fat, given a royal stick, a spear and a lion's skin to sit on. He was given a lion's skin because he was the King. That was why the Kyungus were respected. He was also given a mixture of medicine called ifingira. This made him more respectable.

(Where at Mbande did they live?)

On top of the hill. We still crown Kyungus there. Their gardens were below the hill. They chose to live on top because they could see advancing enemies from there.

(And what about the makambala?

They had to live near the Kyungus, beside them.

(Were the Kyungus buried below the hill?)

They buried the Kyungus below the hill because there was not enough room at the top.

(How did the people know of the Kyungu?)

Through the makambala.

(How did he rule?)

Through the makambala.

(Were the children of the makambala killed?

No. They were not allowed to have many wives, though, because they spent most of their time out travelling. They were like messengers.

(And what about the nyafyale?)

There were no nyafyale near the Lake. There were very few

people here. The population was concentrated in the Bwiba-Mbande area. This place was full of sand.

(But there are nyafyale today).

All these people (e.g., Mwambelo) are the descendants of Mwangonda.

(Did your grandfather have a ritual centre?)

There were no churches in those days. All the prayers were said in masyeto (ancestral graveyards). In this area they gathered at the graves of past Kyungus.

(When did they pray?)

In times of epidemic and drought.

(Who led the prayers?)

Mulwa.

(What role did the Kyungus have?)

Not the Kyungu! He did not go there. He was instead given some of the food and drink that was sacrificed at the graveyard on the graves of the past Kungus.

(What was the chief food of the Ngonde?)

Millet, sorghum (amapembe), maize and potatoes.

(What tools did they use for cultivating?)

They used Kinga hoes. The Kinga knew how to make them.

(What about those people who could not afford Kinga hoes?)

They used sticks, particularly from the mphangala trees.

(How did the Ngonde obtain these hoes?)

The Kinga brought them here. They were given maize in

return for hoes. Some of the Ngonde went to Ukinga to buy hoes. Later, the Ndali learned the skill and they began selling hoes to the Ngonde.

(What route did they take?)

They had no specific route and it took them weeks to reach here.

(What about spears?)

They used arrows, not spears. The few that had spears made them out of almost-finished hoes (ifusuka).

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# TEXT 13

Name: Headman Sadara Age: approx. 68 Sex: M

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 19/12/71

General Topic: History of Sadara family and survey of Swahili activities in northern Malawi

(Please tell me the history of the Sadara family.)

My father was a Bisa. He came from Northern Rhodesia at the time of the war of Mlozi. He came to Ungonde because of this war. He lived in this area for a very long time. When the War of Mlozi came, people dispersed according to their ethnic origins, but my father remained here. Since he was already an important man, he was made head of Sadara Village.

(Where did they settle?)

They settled at Mpata. From Mpata they moved to Mchenga in Kasote's area. This was Mirambo.

(Why do they call the place Mirambo?)

The people in that village are referred to as the Mirambos because they were Mirambo's juniors. They came here with Mirambo.

(Where did Mirambo come from?)

He came from Ubisa. He was travelling and asked my father

to accompany him.

(Was Mirambo a trader?)

Yes, he was a trader. He dealt in ivory. He bought the ivory in Northern Rhodesia.

(Did he buy elephant tusks in Ungonde?)

Mpata was his station, and there all the elephant tusks were gathered, and from there they were sent to Mphwani.[1]

He did not buy tusks here. He had his fortress here.

(Did they cross the Lake?)

No they travelled overland.

(Where did the tusks come from?)

They came from Northern Rhodesia.

(And by what route were they transported?)

From Mpata they went to Kopa-Kopa, and then to Northern Rhodesia, to Ubisa. This is how they got my father. The traders wanted helpers there. These were traders who lived in Mlozi's fortress.

(Was Mirambo together with Mlozi?)

Yes, they were together, but when Mlozi's fortress was destroyed, Mirambo settled at Mchenga together with my father.

(Who carried the ivory from Ubisa to Karongo?)

My father and others like him carried the tusks from Ubisa to Mpata.

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1. Mphwani refers to the East Coast of Africa

(After Karonga, where did they go with the ivory?)
From Mpata they went to Phwani via Ngerenge and Mwaya.
(Did they not cross the Lake?)
Those based at Mpata did not cross the Lake. Some crossed at Chilumba. There were two groups. One group used the northern route while the other used the southern route by way of Chilumba.
(Did they have helpers who carried the ivory?)
They had many helpers. You probably have heard that some people from here remained at Phwani. These included local Ngonde, as well as Bemba and Bisa people.
(What did the Arabs give the carriers in return for their services?)
They gave them nothing. Some of them were slaves. Many of the carriers remained there.
(Who was senior, Mlozi or Mirambo?)
Mlozi was the senior of the two.
(Did they originally come from the same place?)
Yes, they came from the same place. My father was their employer.
(I understand that there were many elephants in Ngonde country. Did you buy tusks from the Ngonde?)
No. Only people who had guns ...
(Did Mlozi and Mirambo find some people here already in possession of guns?)

There were no guns before their arrival. No one owned guns prior to this period. The only people who had guns were people who lived in the fortress. They were the employees of Mlozi and Mirambo, and they had been brought to Karonga for that purpose of hunting elephants. Mlozi gave them guns.

(Didn't they buy ivory from the local chiefs?)

No, there was no chief who had ivory to sell. We bought ivory from the Malambo and from the uplands (mu mapili umo)[2]. This country belonged to the Ngonde and had no ivory in it.

(What was the route that was used to travel inland?)

Kopa-Kopa, Mibanga and then Usenga, in Zambia.

(Did Mlozi go out to buy ivory also?)

He did not. He was the boss. Do not forget that Mlozi was an Arab.

(Was there any other route used?)

There were three routes: the Mpata route; the direct route; and the Chilumba route.

(What were the sellers of ivory given in return?)

The traders brought bales of cloth, white beads and many other small things.

(Did Mlozi and Mirambo both live at Mpata?)

Yes they both lived there. Mirambo moved to Mchenga after

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2. Malambo is in the Luangwe Valley in Eastern Zambia, and the uplands here refer to the Chitipa District

Mlozi had been captured. Mirambo was not taken prisoner. He and many others moved to Mchenga on the shores of the Lake. That place was all bush at one time. When Mirambo left, my father was made headman.

(Was he made Village Headman in Kasote's area?)

It was called Mirambo's village. Kasote is a recent arrival. He settled in Mirambo's area. That was mission land and the Government thought that it was not proper that we, the Muslims, should build there. So we were moved to Government land.

(Did Mirambo die here?)

Mirambo died across the Songwe in Tanganyika.

(Did he choose to leave or was he forced out?)

He was being troubled. These troubles forced him to leave.

(What was your father's real job?)

He had a job carrying baggage. You know in those days there was slavery. Mirambo picked my father and brought him to his and Mlozi's fort. Mlozi was his boss and the main organiser.

(Who was Kopa-Kopa?)

Kopa-Kopa was a trader. He was buying ivory for Mlozi, Mirambo and my father.

(But you said that your father was a slave?)

Father was no longer a slave once he got here. In the fort he was considered the son of Mlozi and Mirambo. Kopa-Kopa

was an assistant of Mlozi and Mirambo, and when the fort was destroyed, Kopa-Kopa returned to his home. Kopa-Kopa was the man who made all the journeys to the Malambo and into the uplands. He used to go all over these areas looking for ivory. Mirambo, Mlozi and my father didn't travel. They stayed in the fortress awaiting Kopa-Kopa to bring the ivory. Kopa-Kopa means "the borrower". Whenever he negotiated for ivory, he would say, "Kopa-Kopa kulipa kulimamungu," and when my father and Mirambo saw him approaching with elephant tusks, they said, "Oh, Kopa-Kopa kulipa kunamungu smekuja." This is how he received the name "Kopa-Kopa."

(But what of the place called Kopa-Kopa?)

That was a rest house. It was Kopa-Kopa's resting place.

I have been there and met the late V.H. Kopa-Kopa.

(Was that village headman related to the original Kopa-Kopa?)

No, they were not related.

(What happened when he brought back the things that he had bought on credit?)

Mlozi and Mirambo gave him bales of cloth and beads to pay out in return.

(And to whom did they sell ivory?)

They sold it to other Arabs, in Phwani.

(What about those traders who used Chilumba?)

That was a different group of people. They had their own company and chose to use the Chilumba route. They crossed

the Lake in canoes

(Did not your group cross the Lake in canoes?)

The Mpata group did not cross the Lake. They used the overland route.

## Postscript

Mlozi was an independent man, a chief on his own right. Mirambo was his lieutenant. Kopa-Kopa did his business alone.

The Kyungus were not here then. Simbowe was the boss of this territory, and the Kyungu later defeated him. Rice, mijavi and vibagi were introduced into the area by the Arabs.

Some of the ivory carriers were not slaves. These men came from Usenga and Ubisa and returned to Karonga. Few proceeded to Tanganyika. In return for their services, they were given cloth.

The Ngonde were not elephant hunters, but some of the upland people were. The latter traded with Mirambo and his friends. Mlozi was the King. He did not travel, preferring to organise things from his headquarters at Mpata.

The hunters never asked permission from local chiefs before going on hunting expeditions. A number of Nyamwezi and Anyenyembe settled here also, but these have by now disappeared.

# TEXT 14

Name: Umali Fundi Milazi Phiri  Age: approx. 72  Sex: M

Area: Kilupula  District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 16/12/71

General Topic: History of the Fundi family and general consideration of Swahili activities in northern Malawi.

(Please tell me the history of your family.)

We are Milazis. We came from Zomba area... from Machinga in particular. My father was an elephant hunter, and he came here to look for elephants. He came to be attracted by this area and settled, so that I was born here.

(Did he marry a local woman?)

Yes.

(Was your father someone's employee?)

The elephant tusks were their's, but they sold them to the Arabs.

(How did they come here?)

They walked.

(Do you know the route that they travelled?)

They came by way of Pwani.

(Where is Pwani?)

Pwani is in Tanzania.

(Can you tell me the exact route?)

Yes. From Machinga they went to Zaramu, then to Ruanda Urundi, then to Ndola, then to the Malambo and finally to Chibondo. At Chibondo they found elephants drinking water. Since they were looking for elephants, they decided to stay there,

(Where were the Arabs that your ancestors sold ivory to?)

These Arabs came from Zanzibar.

(Where was their station locally?)

No answer...

(Where were the Arabs at that time?)

They were travelling around from place to place searching for ivory. They had their own people who bought ivory for them.

(You have also mentioned the Malambo. Who was there and why did they go there?)

There were many elephants in the Malambo. The chief of the Malambo is a Bisa. His name is Kopa Kumba wa Mwere.

(Where did the Arabs go with the ivory after buying it?)

The Arabs went everywhere, including to the Malambo.

(Did ivory taken in this area get shipped to the Malambo also?)

No. Ivory taken here all went to Mlozi's place, Mpata.

(Was elephant hunting the main business of your father?)

My father was not employed by anyone. He was an independent

trader.

(What was the main rate of exchange then?)

My father gave the Arabs ivory and he was paid in old Arabic money.

(Why did they travel to Ruanda?)

Because there were many elephants in that country.

(Were there other Yaos engaged in this business?)

There were many others, but I do not know their names now.

(Which was the route to Zanzibar?)

They passed through Malindi.

(Was there any route across the Lake?)

Those who had boats could cross it. It was a separate business.

(Where were such routes?)

They left from Chilumba.

(And where did these routes lead to on the other side of the Lake?)

Mwera.

(How did the people cross?)

Some used boats, whereas others used canoes.

(Who owned the boats and canoes?)

These belonged to the indigenous people if they were canoes, but the Arabs owned the boats.

(Was there any route across the Lake north of Chilumba?)

There was one that passed through Mwaya, but that was

overland. Other than that one, there was no other route.

(How was ivory carried to Mlozi's station?)

I don't know.

(Were there any elephants in the upland areas of Wenya and Nthalire?)

I do not know that. Elephants don't generally live in the hills. However there was a route that passed through those places.

(Where did this route lead to?)

It came from the Malabo, via Wenya, and then to Mpata.

(What about Chilumba?)

People going to Chilumba came through Mlozi's place at Mpata. That was Mlozi's main station.

(Did Mlozi go out on trips through the countryside to trade?)

He usually stayed at his fortress, buying and selling things there.

(Why did your father stop selling ivory?)

During that time of the Maji Maji wars the Europeans came and captured everyone. That was the end of it all

(What did your father do after this?)

He remained settled there at Mpata. In 1910 we moved to Ibabu, and in 1929 we moved to this place, Miyombo.

(Why are you called Fundi?)

We are called Phiris because that was my mother's name. We were given the name Fundi because we were skilled

elephant hunters. My father's name was Abdala.

(Was your father affected by the war against Mlozi?)

No. They told him that he was innocent because he was only a wandering trader.

(Didn't your ancestor have a house at Mpata?)

Yes, but the Europeans only wanted Mlozi.

(What else did the Arabs give in return for ivory?)

Beads and gunpowder. The gunpowder was for killing the animals.

(How did your father kill the elephants?)

He had guns which he had brought with him from his home in Umilazi. The Arabs did not give him his guns.

(Were other animals killed as well?)

Yes, hippos. They sold them.

(How did rice come here?)

Rice is the main food of us Swahili. They brought it with them from Tanzania.

(Was there any other route leading to Lindi?)

No, there was no other route. The route my father took was the one I mentioned earlier: Lindi-Zanzibar-Zaramu-Ruanda Urundi - across the Lake to the Belgian Congo, and then into Lamba country. My father's senior wife was from Zaramu. They were married there.

(Did your father travel alone?)

No, he had two or three friends who travelled with him.

(Were there elephant tusks in this area before the arrival of the Arabs?)

Yes, there were. They were sold to the chief.

(What did they do with them?)

He used them as beds. They began selling them after the arrival of the Arabs.

(Was Mlozi married?)

Yes, he had one wife.

(What was Kopa-Kopa?)

He was a Yao, Mchawa. Kopa-Kopa and Msalemu were Mlozi's companions.

(What was their actual business?)

They were traders. They bought war captives. The Arabs bought these people from them.

(Where did the Arabs go with these people?)

They went northwards via Mwaya, Some others passed through Chilumba and then on to Songea.

(Were Msalemu and Kopa-Kopa employed by Mlozi?)

I don't know. It appears that they functioned as one company.

(Where did the name Kopa-Kopa come from?)

He got things on credit from his business friends. He used to say, "Nyi Kopa-Kopa kulipa kume mungu."

## TEXT 15

Name: V.H. Benson Mwenitete Age: Approx. 40 Sex: Male

Hasani Andilile Mwenitete Approx. 70 Male

Area: Kilupula District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 14/10/71

General Topic: History of the Mwenitete

(Could you please tell me the history of the Mwenitete from the earliest times?)

Mwenitete was the son of the Kyungu, so our early history is very much the history of the Kyungus.

Kyungu came from Misiri. From Misiri he went to Uganda. He did not like Uganda so he moved to Rungwe in Tanzania. There were three Kyungus. The first one died at Rungwe, and his grave is there. The remaining two and their sister, left Rungwe and went to the uplands.[1] They were not happy in the uplands so they descended to the lakeshore and settled at Mbande. Kyungu Syola then beat (akomile) all the people who lived there. They surrendered and although some of them had been banyafyale (small chiefs), they became his councillors, (makambala).

(Who were these people?)

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1. Uplands here refers to the Chitipa District.

The Kyungu found Simbowe. He had settled there, but he was beaten to the ground (akomigwe pasi) and expelled by the Kyungu. Kaluma was also found there, but he became a makambala.

(Where at Mbande did the Kyungu first settle?)

On top of Mbande Hill.

Kyungu Syola was succeeded by Kyungu Mwakalosi (also known as Kasyombe). Kyungu Mwakalosi had two sons, Mwenitete and Magemo. We of Itete are descendants of Mwandemange Mwenitete. The Kyungus of Ngonde are descendants of Magemo. Magemo had a son, Mwangonde. Mwangonde was the father of Karonga and Mwakasungula. Mwenitete had the following children: Mwamakula, Mwaitubi, Mwakayandile and Mwalyambwile.

(I understand that there are two Mwenitetes.)

There is only one Mwenitete. The country up to Ndemba belonged to the Kyungu. His son, Mwenitete, came out (asokile) in the part that is now in Tanzania. The area between Songwe and Lufila was controlled by Mwenitete. He bordered with Mwapwele in Kisaku.

(What was the name of this Mwenitete?)

Mwandemange had four children: Mwamakula, Mwaitubi, Mwakyendile and Mwalyambwile. The first two died in

the war.

(What war was this?)

It was a long time ago. It was the war of the spears.

(Whom were they fighting?)

It was a war between tribes. They were fighting the Nyakyusa.

When Mwandemange died the title of Mwenitete was taken by his son, Mwakyandile. He inherited everything, including the name. Mwamakula had left a son by the name of Mwambagatwa. Mwakyandile had the following children: Mwakigonja, Mwamusaku, Mwakabigili. On his death Mwakyandile was succeeded by Mwambagata, the son of his brother, Mwamakula. After extending his territory to the Lufila, the Nyakyusa attacked him, but they were repulsed. They tried it twice, but both times they were repulsed by him.

The Nyakyusa were advised that if they were to mount a successful campaign against the Ngonde, they should go to Mwapwele, because only he had eaten the same medicine of the mad Mwambagatwa. Mwampwele was given a girl and asked to reveal the medicine that his friend, Mwambagatwa had eaten. Mwapwele gave them the following advice: "Go and break the wall of a house.

Take part of the broken wall and pierce. After this take a small spearlike spoon (used in fishing), but do not pierce the broken wall with it."

After they had done this Mwambagatwa was defeated and his territory was occupied by Mwakyusa. Mwenitete Mwambagatwa returned to his original home, Ungonde. (Which place?)

Here. From here he went to Karonga. In Karonga he fought in a feud and killed a man.

(Who was the Kyungu then?)

Mwakabanga was the Kyungu. Mwambagatwa returned to his place, but then he proceeded to Misuku to search for land on which to settle. He left Misuku because there was no food and no fish there. He then went to Isaki in present-day Ndenga. There he became a famous fisherman. When the Nyakyusa heard of his success they decided to attack him. Mwambagatwa, tired of wandering, resolved not to flee. He ordered his brothers and his wives to go to Ngerenge (the present site of Mwenitete Village) and bury his son there. He locked himself in his house. When Mwakyusa and his people came they could not tell whether or not he was in the house. As they were debating whether or not to burn the house down

he told them to go ahead, but to start with the top of the house (the top of the roofs were open). He died in the house.

Mwambagatwa Mwenitete was succeeded by his brother, Kipembe. On the death of Kipembe, Mwailunda became Mwenitete.

(What was the relationship?)

They were brothers. Mwailunda was succeeded by Mwakapandila. Mwakapandila was succeeded by Mwakabungu. Mwakabungu was succeeded by Mwamusaku. All these people were brothers. At this point the leaders of the House of Ngana wanted to finish the name of Mwenitete (Protests from people listening).

Mwamusaku was succeeded by Mwaungulu. Mwaungulu's successor was Mwaipinga. These two were children of the first group. They were children of Mwambagatwa. On the death of Mwaipinga, Mwambokera became Mwenitete. When Mwambokera died he was succeeded by Mwakayira Mwenitete. On the death of Mwakayira, Mwalwanda became head of the Mwenitete. Mwalwanda was succeeded by the present Mwenitete.

(I understand that during the time of Mwangonde, you of the Itete ought to have become Kyungu. Could you

describe what happened then?)
Mwandemange Mwenitete, the son of Mwakalosi, renounced the throne and went (ayongile) to settle in present-day Tanzania.

Kyungu Syola had two sons and two daughters. The elder was (sic) Kalosi and the girl was Magemo. From these he had two sons, Mwakalosi and Mwamagemo. Mwakalosi became the Kyungu. On his death he was succeeded by his brother of the same house, Magemo. Mwakalosi had a son and a daughter. The girl was married to Mwamkwisi of Ngana. When a baby was born in Ngana it was ordered that it should be given his boyhood name, Kasyombe.

On the death of Magemo they wanted Mwandemange (the son of Magemo's brother) to succeed. Mwandemange ran away. So they took Magemo's nephew, Kasyombe, instead.

(Why did you of Itete escape?)
He was afraid that if he became Kyungu his sons would be killed by the Makambala.

(Why did the makambala do this?)
They feared that the children of the Kyungus might increase in number.

(The makambala?)

Yes.

(Who became Kyungu then?)

The newphew became the Kyungu. He inherited his uncle's wives, Kibaya, Bulambo, Makalambo, Mwenengubwe and Msomba. All the members of the House of Ngana descended from these houses. His own wife was called Mwafongo. This is why we refer to those of Ngana as our children. They came from our nephew.

(Why did Mwenitete return to the North?)

During a chikweta dance Mwambagatwa, who was a very brave man, cut the breast of a certain woman. People told the Kyungu of what had occurred saying: "Your brother is bad." The Kyungu asked him to leave because people were complaining of his behaviour. So he went to Tanzania.

(Earlier you said that Mwenitete renounced the throne, Did the makambala follow him to Tanzania?)

That was an earlier Mwenitete. His name was Mwambagatwa. Mwambagatwa was never asked to become Kyungu. In fact he belonged to a younger generation. Mwandemange was the father of Mwamakula.

(Are the Mwamakulas Mwenitetes?)

Yes, they are.

(Where did the makambala come from?)

Two of the makambalas, Katenga and Kyumba, were the Kyungu's compatriots. They came from Misiri. Ngosi was picked up on the way to this country. Kyungu had a dog. When the local people went hunting, this dog ran after them. As they hunted, they killed this dog. Kyungu demanded compensation for the dead dog. The people gave the Kyungu a boy. His name was Ngosi, after the dog. This Ngosi is the ancestor of Ngosi of Kilindi.

(What were the powers of the makambala?)

They were very powerful people. They used to kill us. If, for example, Mwenitete felt slightly sick, they would strangle him, saying: "The Kyungus are never sick." They did this secretly.

(Why did they do this?)

They believed that a Kyungu was not supposed to fall sick. They made him a God and argued that a God did not fall sick. They strangled them and buried them secretly. The death was not announced and they continued to pretend that the Kyungu was still alive. They demanded cattle from the nyafyale and they ate all the meat. Meanwhile, Ngosi took over the place of the Kyungu. He went on tours and pretended that he was the Kyungu. After enjoying this situation for years, they

then announced that the Kyungu was dead. This is also why they killed the children. They said: "After all, they are only bastards."

(Which area did you of Itete occupy?)

From Songwe to Lufiria.

(Did you consult Mbande at times of trouble?)

Mwenitete was always consulted by Mbande because he was the elder brother. Quite often he was called to Mbande.

(Are you in the same category as those of the house of Karonga?)

The Karonga refused the throne. They swore the earth never to become Kyungus.

(Why did they swear not to become ntemi?)

They feared death.

(Did you also pray at Mbande?)

Only Kyungu and his makambala prayed at Mbande.

(Who was the head of the makambala?)

Katenga was the head makambala.

(What does the name Mwenitete mean?)

That place in Songwe is known as Itete because the first Mwenitete lived there. When we were expelled by the Nyakyusa, we came and settled here.

(What did they use for cultivating and where did they get the tools?)

We used hoes that we obtained from Ukinga.

(Did the Kinga bring them here?)

The people went to Ukinga to buy them. At that time the world was one.

(What did they give the Kinga in return?)

Goats or sheep. It depends on what was available.

(Did you eat the meat of wild game?)

Yes, we killed animals for their meat with spears that our ancestors made.

(Where did the materials for this come from?)

There was a special soil that turned into iron when heated. Then it could be moulded into special shapes. The heating took three to four days. Spears and hoes could be made from this iron.

(Do you know of any specialists who did this?)

No.

(What about cloth?)

We had no cloth then. Our grandfathers used barkcloth (amabi).

(Where did this come from?)

Barkcloth came from Bundali. We gave them in return utusombela or utukumbulu (small, not quite finished hoes). Men bought the barkcloth and their wives dipped it in oil. When it was dry they wore it around their bodies. The cloth was held to the body by inyeta

(copper). Those who did not have copper wire used cattle skin. Children dressed in insanja (leaves).

(How did the Kisi come here?)

They had canoes.

(Did the Ngonde go there also?)

No. The Kisi brought the pots themselves.

(What did you give them?)

We gave them maize and beans. They came here whenever they became hungry (bo injala yibakolire).

(Were there elephants in this area?)

Yes, there were many; and some people here used to kill them.

(What did you do with the tusks?)

The tusks were brought to the mwalafyale. In our area, for example, they were brought to Mwenitete.

(What did the nyafyale do with them?)

What could they do with them? They were a decoration!

# TEXT 16

Name: Ali Machemba Age: Approx.78 Sex: Male

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 19/12/71

General Topic: Swahili activities in northern Malawi

(Please tell me the history of your family.)

My father's home was in Mwembe in Mataka's area. My mother was a Bisa.

(How did it happen that a man from Mataka should have married a Bisa woman?)

A long time ago there were Swahili slave traders.

My mother was originally a slave, but she was freed when my father decided to marry her.

(What caused him to travel to Ubisa?)

He was taken to Ubisa by the Arabs.

(Where did the Arabs meet your father?

They met at Che Mataka. From there they went to Dar es-Salaam, then to Tabɑ̀ra, and then finally to Ubisa.

(Was he an employee of the Arabs or not?)

The people were bought by the Arabs. He was a slave, but he was freed when the Arabs came to their destination. After that he became one of their porters.

(Where was the baggage that he was supposed to carry?)
It was in Mwembe. As I said, from Mwembe they went to Ubisa by way of Dar es-Salaam and Tabora. In Ubisa my father married a freed slave woman, and from there they came to Mpata.
(How was it that they came to Mpata?)
Again they were brought by the Arabs.
(From which part of Ubisa did they come?)
In Matipa.
(Not in Usenga?)
No, not in Usenga, but rather in Ulungu, across Bangwelo. That was also the home of Sadara.
(Why did the Arabs bring your parents and Sadar's parents here?)
They wanted to sell my mother and others to Bara Arabs.
(You said that your father accompanied the Arabs to Ubisa. What was the purpose of that trip?)
In Ubisa the Arabs, together with my father, bought slaves. From there they went to Usenga in Kambombo's territory. From Kambombo's they came to Mpata.
(Who was then at Mpata?)
Mlozi was at Mpata. They told Mlozi that they were going home to Bula Arabs to sell the slaves. When they arrived at Karonga they found a European named Mr. Kalindo.

They loaded the slaves in their boats (as there were no steamers in those days), and set off for Chilumba.
At Chilumba they met other Europeans.[1]
(Where did they load up their slaves?)
At Mbeya.
(Where did they go with the slaves?)
They went with them to Burarabs via Chilumba.
(Where did they go from Chilumba?)
They crossed the Lake at Mpata. From there they went to Songea and then to Mafia. They then went from Mafia to Burarabu.
(Did they not have a port on the site of the present boma?)
No. Here the lake was usually very rough. All their boats had to stay at Mwaya because there is good anchorage there.
(What was Mlozi doing at Mpata?)
Mlozi was the slave trader who settled at Mpata. He also came from the same place. When he became tired of Mpata he went to Mchangani.
(From Usenga what route did they take?)

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1. I have not come across a Mr. Kalindo in the written sources. This may be a nickname, or a corrupt form of the names of one of the Europeans engaged in anti-slave trade activities in the north Nyesa area.

They took the Ngarati route. From there they went to Usenga. From Usenga they came here via Luvira and Wazingwa in Wenya.[2]

(Did they have a large house at Mpata?)

No, they had a large fortress.

(Who was in charge of this fortress?)

Mlozi was the important person there.

(And what about your father?)

He was only an employee.

(What was your father given in payment?)

He was payed in cloth.

(And what did he do with the surplus cloth that he had?)

This provided him with the opportunity to buy his own slaves and sell them in Burarabu. When the Europeans arrived they stopped the buying of slaves. Europeans did not like this practice. At Chiluba Mr. Kalindo freed the slaves. My father was compelled to yield. Some of the freed people went off to their respective homes, while others decided to settle at Chilumba.

This happened a long time ago when there were no Europeans. It happened in the days of the Ngoni wars. In those days the population of Ngonde was very small.

(Whom were the Ngoni fighting then?)

They were fighting with the Ngonde.

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2. The Wazingwa Mgelas were commercial associates of the Kalumwenzo Sichinges. See Text 17.

(Did Mlozi make trips around the countryside in pursuit of his business?)

Yes, he went out to buy. He sent his agents off to sell.

(Where did they do the selling?)

In Burarabu.

(Did the Arabs buy elephant tusks?)

Yes, they did.

(In which areas did they buy them?)

They bought tusks in Lupembe and in Ubisa.

(Where did they go with these tusks?)

They brought them to Karonga.

(And what route did they travel?)

They took the route that I mentioned earlier, i.e. Usenga to Wenya/Nthalire and thence to Mpata.

(Did they stay at Mpata?)

From Mpata they loaded the tusks into boats. This was done at Mwaya.

(Who carried the ivory?)

They had slaves to carry it.

(Was there a route that passed through Chilumba?)

At Chilumba the steamer Wissman saw them. It made them return.

(To whom did the Wissman belong?)

It belonged to Mr. Kalindo.

(How did the Arabs obtain elephant tusks in Ungonde?)

There were very few people then in Ungonde. The Arabs found the first Chunga. He lived at Mbande.

(Did he give them permission to settle at Mpata?)

They bought the place from him.

(With what did they buy it?)

He sold it for baluti or onga[3] and cloth made from old cotton. Chungu said that he too was going to sell it.

(But why did the Arabs and Chungu begin to fight?)

The Arabs wanted land.

(Why did the Arabs fight the Europeans?)

The Henga went to the Europeans at Mandala and said that the Arabs wanted to fight. So Mandal left with his cannon and went off to the Arabs' place. Mlozi was captured, but he refused to go with them. He told them that he was prepared to die. So they went with him to Iponga (near the court of Chungu) and he was beheaded there.

(Were there elephant tusks in Ungonde?)

I've never heard of any.

(But how did the Arabs obtain them?)

They obtained them from Lupembe. They did not get them in Ungonde because there were no hunters there.

---

3. Gunpowder.

(What about in the uplands?)

No, not there either. Only in Lupembe.

(What did the Arabs give the Africans in return for the ivory?)

Cloth. Also some gunpowder. (Baluti)

(Did the hunters kill the elephants with guns?)

Yes. They were given muzzle-loading guns by the Arabs.

(Did your father have a gun?)

Yes, he did; so did Chamabamba who lived at Mchangani.

(Who was Mirambo?)

Mirambo's home was at the Lake (Mchenga).

(Was he with Mlozi?)

No, he was separate. He lived at Mchenga when Mlozi was at Mpata.

(What did Mirambo do here?)

He was a slave trader and an ivory buyer. He was mainly concerned with those two items and he travelled the same route from Usenga.

(What about Msalemu?)

(No answer)

(What about Kopa-Kopa?)

He, like my father, was a trader. He was an independent trader, not an employee of Mlozi. He was a Mzalamu who came from Dar es-Salaam.

(What business was he involved in?)

He purchased goods from the Bemba in Ubemba and sold them in Burarabu.

(Did he sell his goods to Mlozi?)

No.

(Was your father an independent trader likewise?)

He was an employee of Mirambo. He is the one who brought them here.

(Was their settlement at Mpata?)

Yes.

(From Mpata where did he go?)

To the Lake.

(What happened when Mlozi was captured?)

Mirambo came down to the Lake.

(Was Mirambo an Arab or a Swahili?)

Mlozi and Mirambo were both Arabs.

(What route did the porters take?)

They took the Mwaya route.

(Did they ever use the Boma port?)

No, they did not. Mirambo had three homes. The first was at Usenga, where he left a man by the name of Findamaseko. He was Mirambo's agent. His second home was here. His third home was at the Songwe on the other side of the river.

(Did he die in that village?)

He didn't die there. He died at Mangoa at al Fud Mazuri's

place.

(Was he captured by the Europeans?)

No, they left him because he was as black as we are.

(Who else was captured?)

No one. Only Mlozi suffered. After this Mirambo said: "Sasa mimi nakwenda kwetu Arabia." ("Now I shall go to my home in Arabia.") He went to Mwaya to take leave of his people. From there he took a ship (jahazi) and crossed the lake. When he reached Rafid Masudi's (sic) he became ill and died very near the Songwe.

(Is Chamabamba your compatriot?)

He is a Nyamwezi. Mlozi brought his father from Tabora.

( Were there elephants in Ulambya or the Misuky area?)

Not in those places. There were a few elephants there after the arrival of the Europeans.

(Did the traders ask for a chief's permission before entering the territory?)

Of course they asked for ivory wherever they went and traded cloth for it.

(How did they obtain food on their journeys?)

They purchased food from the local people. They ate nsima porridge made out of millet.

# TEXT 17

Name: Alinane Wajonjwa Kaponda Sichinga Age: 44 Sex: M

Area: Mwenewenya District: Chipita

Date of Interview: 4/9/71

General Topic: History of the Sichinga Clan

(Could you please tell me the history of the Sichinga clan?)
There are two versions of the early history of the Sichingas. The first one is that the Sichingas came from the Congo. When they reached the Luapula River, they carved out a raft and crossed it.That is how we received our other name, Kaponda. In Zambia there are some people called the Chishingas, but I do not know whether we were related. There are others known as Mumbas --- so called because they were potters --- who are said to be related to us, but again, I am not sure whether or not we belong to the same extended family.

From Bamba country the Sichingas went to Unyiha in the Ng'ongo area of the Kaponda country. Ng'ongo is a hill in Kaponda's land. To the West lived the Mwembes; to the north-east lived the Nzundas. Other people who lived with or near us were the Mwamulimas or Muleyas (Singongos), the Simbeyes (or Mugaras), the Simuyotas, the Munkhodias (or Mwamphachis). The name Sichinga comes from the verb kuchingilira, which means to act as a barrier. (Invaders

Could not attack the villagers before encountering the Sichingas.)

The Sichingas were very good hunters. They killed game with spears called ndilima and marandala. They used the former for killing elephants, and they used the latter for killing smaller game.

(What kind of spears were they?)

They were made of iron. This iron was smelted by the local people. Some of the recent people who smelted iron in the Mbuli Valley near Mulembe and Kabanje are: Sintembwa Sinyiza, Siwayenda Kawonga, Bulombe Kawonga, and Semi Silwamba. This smelting at Mbuli went on until about 1910 or 1912. The white people discouraged it. When the Arabs knew of the Sichingas' skill as elephant hunters, they approached them and established friendship. They also began to buy elephant tusks from the Sichingas.

(Did the Sichingas become employees of the Arabs, or did they remain independent?)

They were independent traders. After some time, the Arabs taught the Sichingas how to use guns. When the Sichingas became confident in the art of shooting, they stole the guns and ran off to Mwenzo, the Luangwa, Mwenechifungwe, Chibona, Mulembe and finally to Kabinde. At Mwenzo the Sichingas built a linga (fortress). They found the Simwanazas there They taught the Simwanazas how to grow millet. The name

Mwenzo was called after the Sichingas.

(Where is Chibona?)

Chibona is in Zambia, in Mwenichifungwe's area.

(What about Kabinde?)

Kabinde is in Malawi, in Mwenemulembe's area of Chief Mwenewenya. If we were to go there, you would see the remains of a settlement. It is a well-known place.

The Arabs followed the Sichingas to Kabinde, and it became a flourishing trading centre. The Arabs gave the Sichingas slaves, cloth, and salt in return for elephant tusks.

(To reach Kabinde, what route did the Arabs take?)

I am not very sure of that, but it would appear that they followed the same route that the Sichingas took. It is also said that they also came from Karonga <u>via</u> Mpata to Kabinde.

(What did the Sichingas do with the slaves that the Arabs traded to them?)

Throughout their history the Sichingas had many women. Most of these women became their wives. Other slaves were used as porters. They did not sell people to the Arabs. It was the other way round. My own grandfather, Penza Kalumwenzo III, had five wives, of whom four were slaves: two NyaNgwiras, one NaKawonga, and one NaMukonda.

When all the elephants around Kabinde were finished,

they moved to Chiteka in Kyungu's area. From Chiteka, they moved to Kopa-Kopa in Nthalire. Kopa-Kopa was strategic, because they could descend to Mpata, Ngara, Mpanda and Vua to hunt elephants. They sold all the ivory to the Arabs.
(Do you know the names of these early Sichingas?)
Yes.
(Could you start from the beginning?)
Kalumwenzo I was Wajonjwa Kalumwenzo Chilombabwali Sichinga. He was the man who left Unyiha for this country with the others. His wife was NaMuyombe, from Uyombe, of the Chihanga family.

Kalumwenzo II was Seko Sichinga. He was the son of Kalumwenzo I and NaMuyombe. He and his brothers and his son's brothers were based at Kopa-Kopa. The Arabs begged Kalumwenzo II to allow them to take his brother's son, Fundichombo, across the Lake to hunt. Fundichombo was a great hunter. He went and returned. The Arabs asked Kalumwenzo to release Fundichombo again. This time he died across the Lake. Seko was grieved at his brother's son's death, and he played Fundi's harp for three days and died. He died of sorrow. (Fundi was the man's original name. Chombo was added when he crossed the Lake in a vessel (<u>chombo</u>).
(Where did Seko die?)
He is the one who died of sorrow because of Fundi's death.

He died at Kopa-Kopa. This time Penza, the first-born son of Seko, was made Kalumwenzo III. He was called from where he was hunting at Chisi to come and assume the chair of office. At one time, too, Musikachuma was based at Mpata, where he traded with Arabs. There were many elephants at Mpata. Musikachuma became very rich because of ivory, hence his name, Musikachuma. He was called Balakasi Musikachuma.

At the death of Fundi and Kalumwenzi II Seko, all Sichingas were recalled from their bases to the headquarters at Mibanga, later known as Kopa-Kopa, to mourn the deaths of Seka and Fundi. Penza did not go back to Chisi because he was made Kalumwenzo III. Later on, Balakasi Musikachuma returned to Mpata and stayed with Kalumwenzo III Penza at Mibanga Kopa-Kopa. Later on, the Sichingas began to disperse. Some went to Karonga, some went to Nkhamanga, and still others went to Therere (Chikululu-ching'anya) in Nthalire. Kalumwenzo III went to Ching'anya with many Sichingas, including Balakasi Musikachuma.

(Were they all involved in hunting?)

At first they were, but not later. Those who went to Nkhamanga and Therere (Ching'anya) went because of the animals on the Nyika Plateau.

(What did the Sichingas do in Ngara?)

They went to Ngara to hunt elephants, and they sold the

tusks to the Arabs.

(Which families did the Sichingas find in Kabinde and Kopa-Kopa?)

I am not very sure, but I suspect that they found Mwenichifungwe. I say this because when the Ngoni attacked Mwenichifungwe, he surrendered and gave them cattle. The Sichingas were not happy at Mwenichifungwe's surrender, and they and the Mugara (Wazingwas) decided to fight the Ngoni at a hideout near Choma. The Ngoni suffered heavy losses and retreated.

To make it clear, the fortress (linga) at Chibona, near Mulembe in Zambia, belonged to the Mwenemulembes, the Sichingas and the Mugaras. They all stayed in one fortress. It is only at Kabinde later on that the Sichingas had their own fortress, and a branch of the Mugaras at Nthonga stayed in their own fort. The Mwenemulembes remained at Mulembe. These three groups should be the first people. Probably the Mwenemulembes came first followed by the Sichingas and then the Mugaras.

(Whom did they find at Kopa-Kopa?)

I do not know. However, the only fortress talked of or seen by people was that of the Sichingas.

(What about in Therere?)

In Nthalire they found the Kawongas (the Nthalire or Msangabale), the Chilongos of Mwenelubungu and the

Mwenekakunde branch. They got the fire from the Nthalire (Kawongas). The Sichingas settled in Therere in Ching'anya and at Chikululu. When the missionaries brought the school in 1902, the Sichingas were willing. Penza, who was the head of the Sichingas, wanted the school to move to Jodi Chimenyanga Sichinga at Chikululu, where there were many people. Jodi was the village headman at Chikululu. So Jodi and his uncle, Akimu Musunyuntha Sichinga, welcomed the school in 1903.

(What are your praise-names?)

When we praise ourselves, we say:

Ne Kaponda, ne Sichinga, ne Mpanya
Ne Munthali, Chapatwa, Musinjiri
wa harambo wakumpaka ne muleya
Kwa Kaponda ku Ng'onga ya njereka

This means that Kaponda, Sichinga and Mpanya are our surnames. Kaponda is also our area's name. Munthali and wakumpaka nu muleya are mentioned because we were on the borders of the Nyika and of Nthali (or Ndali). Chapatwa indicates that we sacrificed to defend our countryman. Musinjili wa harambo is mentioned because we used to make baskets from the sinjili ,plants, that were used when burnt to make salt. Ng'onga is a hill in Kaponda, and Njeleka is a peak on that hill.

(What about your family tree in the proper order?)

I know this. It is as follows:

Kalumwenzo I: He was Wajonjwa Chilombabwali Kalumwenzo Sichinga. He was married to MaYombe of Uyombe. They had three children. The first-born child was Nguyeghuye Munthondwe Sichinga. The Munthondwes still live in Uyombe and Chifungwe. He was given the name Nguyeghuye because he had no teeth and had difficulties in eating. The second-born child was Seko Sichinga. He is the one who inherited the title of Kalumwenzo from his father. His wife was NyaUfune, from Hewe Katumbi's area. She was related to Chipofya. We still communicate with each other.
The third was Chindamakuni Vundika Sichinga. His wives were NaMonje, NaKalumbi, NaNkhungunthe-namukonda and Sabangwa NaKawonga.

Kalumwenzo II Seko had the following children (1) Penza Kapalakasya Sichinga, who was my grandfather; (2) Sikumbili Lwasi Sichinga; (3) a girl, Kanemela Nachinga; and (4) Chililo Sichinga, who was captured by the Ngoni.

Kalumwenzo III was Penza Kapalakasya Sichinga. He was the father of my own father. Penza had two NyaNgwiras, who were slaves. By the first NyaNgwira he had three children Rueben Sichinga, Isaac Sichinga, and a girl, Yikwanga Nachinga. By the younger NyaNgwira he had Peter Dofu Sichinga, Thomas Sichinga, Miriam Nachinga, Fanny Nachinga and Elezia Nachinga. Furthermore, by his uncle's wife

(the wife of Vundika), Sabangwa NaKawonga, he had: Alifeyo Sichinga, Joseph Moyo Sichinga, Musako Sichinga, Ellen NaMuyombe Nachinga, Ete Kakote Machinga, and Gilbert Muyifwa Sichinga.

By NaMuyota, Penza had: Annie Fune Nachinga, Zakaliya Sichinga, Abishai Lazaro Sichinga, Darius Sichinga, and Newton Bonda Sichinga. By his uncle's wife (Vundika's wife), NaMukonda, who was a slave, he had: Matani Sichinga and Laban Sichinga.

Kalumwenzo IV (The Preacher) was Akimu Musunyuntha Baji Sichinga. He was married to NyaKayira of Wenya. They had two daughters: Miriam Nachinga and Ellevin Nachinga.

Kalumwenzo V was Joseph Moyo Sichinga, a church elder and my own father. He was married to Lucy NyaMughogho. He was born in 1903 and died in 1969. Lucy was born in 1906. They had the following sons and daughters:

1.) Alinane Wajonjwa Sichinga, born in 1927
2.) Fiddes Kayakafwire Nachinga, born in 1930
3.) Kenneth Ipangula Sichinga, born in 1933
4.) The late Smith Chafwa Sichinga, born in 1936
5.) Anna Nakapesa Nachinga, born in 1938
6.) Peace Kapalakasya Sichinga, born in 1940
7.) Lutamyo Milly Nachinga, born in 1943
8.) Rita fune Nachinga, born in 1952

Kalumwenzo VI is Darius Sichinga, whose wife is Jane

NyaMunkhondya. They had 9 children: 1.) Eleness Nachinga; 2.) Tryness Nachinga; 3.) Hubert Sichinga; 4.) Andrew Sichinga; 5.) Burton Sichinga; 6.) Dingiva Sichinga; 7.) Zgola Sichinga; 8.) Tamara Nachinga and 9.) Kisty Nachinga. By his second wife, NyaKawonga, he has had six children.

The main duty of the Kalumwenzo is to take care of the entire Sichinga family. Any family disputes are solved by him. He sees to it that relationships between the Sichingas are not broken. In the past the Kalumwenzo's word was law to all the Sichingas. He had the power to move his followers to any place at which elephants could be found. This is why the Sichingas moved from Kabinde to hunt elephants in the Luangwa Valley and even in part of Bemba country in Zambia. From Kabinde they went to MweniChifungwe, Uyombe and up to Chiri; then to Katumbi's in Hewe. From Kopa-Kopa they moved to Mpata, Mpanda, Vua, Ngara and then to Chiteka, Mutikafundi Ngarati and other places. Sometimes they went to hunt in December and returned in June. Now the powers of the Kalumwenzo have been reduced. He can be disputed if he does not talk sense. He is not given tribute as he was in the past.

The Arabs/Swahili failed to convert the Sichingas to Islam because of the power of the Kalumwenzo. However, it came as a miracle to all the Sichingas when the Church of Scotland missionaries from Scotland managed to convert

Kalumwenzi IV, a drunkard and a great lover of the chikweta dance, into a great Presbyterian preacher.

He stopped drinking and dancing the chikweta. He moved from corner to corner of this part of the country. He would leave in December and return in April. He was thus given another name, Musunyuntha, which means"moving now and then." Because of his movements, almost all the slave women who were alive during his early period came to know their homes.

Because of the missionaries and the help of Kalumwenzo IV, many Sichingas were converted to Christianity, The powers of Kalumwenzos as gods ended. Akimu Sichinga died on 12th March, 1956, at Kopa-Kopa.

* * * * * * * * * *

# APPENDIX C

## Biographical Notes of Informants[I]

Name: Gilbert Mwampote Sichali Age: about 83

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 20.9.1971.

General Topic: History of the Sichali (Kisyombe) clan and general history of Ungonde

Gilbert Mwampote Sichali was educated at Livingstonia and worked in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) before returning to Nyasaland (Malawi) in the 1930s to work as an interpreter at the District Commissioner's office, Karonga. Though not belonging to Ngonde ruling family, his clan is very closely associated with the Mwambelo line of the House of Kerenge. Mwampote, who has died since I interviewed him, was himself an adviser to the present Headman Mwambelo, and was also a friend of the late Rev. Amon Mwakasungula. He was regarded as one of the leading historians of Ungonde and northern Malawi.

Name: Headman Gidion Mwangalaba Age: about 74

Area: Kilupula District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 25.8.1971.

General Topic: History of Ungonde

Headman Mwangalaba is a son of the late Kyungu Fwangalubilo Mwangalaba I (Kyungu from 1904 to 1933), and is well versed in

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I. The purpose of this list is to give a rough idea of the background of the people upon whose information the bulk of this study is based.

# PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

Name: Walter Kenan Mwambanya Mwafongo Age: about 65

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 9.10.71

General Topic: History of the Ngonde, emphasis on the House of Ngana.

Walter Mwambanya Mwafongo is a member of the House of Ngana, and is a descendant of Mwafongo, the eldest son of Kasyombe the first Ngana Kyungu. He is one of the best informed people on the traditions of the House of Ngana and its relations with the House of Ngerenge, and has a wide knowledge of the history of Ungonde in the pre-European times.

Name: Alinane Wajonjwa Kaponda Sichinga Age: 44

Area: Mlembe, Mwenewenya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 4.9.71.

General Topic: History of the Sichinga Clan

Alinane Wajonjwa Sichinga is a teacher by profession and takes a keen interest in the traditions of his clan, the Kalumwenzo Sichingas, and in the history of southern Chitipa. His ancestors were famous elephant hunters, and had commercial relations with the Swahili and Arabs of Karonga and the Luangwa valley. Wajonjwa's own father was head of the clan until his death five years ago.

Name: Hasani Andilile Mwenitete Age: about 68

Area: Kilupula District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 14.10.71.

General Topic: History of the Mwenitetes

Hasani Andilile Mwenitete belongs to the Ngerenge branch of the Ngonde ruling family and is an expert on the traditions of the Mwenitete line.

Name: Headman Aaron Mwenelupembe Age: about 67

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 29.9.71.

General Topic: History of the Mwenelupembe clan

Headman Aaron Mwenelupembe is head of the Mwenelupembes, one of the pre-Kyungu clans, and his knowledge of the history of his own area and that of Ungonde in general is immense.

Name: Grant Mwenifumbo Age: about 45

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 21.8.71

General Topic: History of the Mwenifumbos.

Grant Mwenifumbo is a nephew of the late Reuben Mwenifumbo who was a very respectable Ngonde historian, and also.one of the first Ngonde to attend the Livingstonia Mission school at Bandawe. Grant Mwenifumbo is himself well informed on matters of Ngonde traditions, particularly those of the pre-Kyungu clans.

Name: Kenan Munthu Ng'ambi Mweniwanda Age: over 100

Area: Ulambya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 15.9.71.

General Topic: History of the Mweniwandas and of Ulambya

Kenan Munthu Ng'ambi Mweniwanda was a boy when the Free Church of Scotland established the Ncherenje (Mweniwanda) station in 1883, and he personally knew all the missionaries and colonial officials who worked in Karonga and Ulambya during the 1880s and 1890s, and during the first quarter of this century. He was one of the first pupils of the Livingstonia Mission school at Khondowe, and was

taught by, among others, Dr Laws and Charles Domingo. Mweniwanda, who died five months after I interviewed him, had a wealth of information on early missionaries and government officials. He was also a leading authority on the traditions of his clan and of the Mwaulambyas, and on the general history of Ulambya.

Name: Headman Mwalughali Age: about 72
Area: Kyungu District: Karonga
Date of Interview: 22.9.71.
General Topic: History of the Mwalughalis

Headman Mwalughali was a close confidant of the late Kyungu Peter Mwangalaba II, and has intimate knowledge of the customs and tradition of the court of the Kyungus. He is also very well informed on the history of his own clan, and on the activities of the Arabs in the area between Karonga and Chilumba (Deep Bay).

Name: Headman Mulwa A Age: about 36
Area: Kyungu District: Karonga
Date of Interview: 10.10.71.
General Topic: History of the Mulwa family, and of the Mbande Court.

Headman Mulwa is one of the counsellors (makambala) of the Kyungu, and, in accordance with the traditional role of his family, is in charge of the religious aspects of the life at the court of the Kyungus. He has a detailed knowledge of the traditions and customs of Mbande court.

Name: Mwenekisindile Age: 53

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 15.10.71.

General Topic: History of the Mwenelindiles

Mwenekisindile's clan is one of the oldest families in the Karonga plain, and is very closely associated with the ritual centre at Kisindile. Mwenekisindile has some invaluable information on Ungonde in the pre-Kyungu times, and on the establishment of the Kyungus in the plain.

Name: Jim Kapange Age: 88

Area: Misuku District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 13.11.71.

Topic: History of the Kapanges (also known as the Simbowes)

Jim Kapange was born in Undali, southern Tanzania, sometime during the German occupation of the area. His clan, the Simbowes, had lived in this region ever since they were expelled from Ungonde by the early Kyungus. He and his brother emigrated to Misuku in 1906, and immediately joined the mission school at Upighu. Kapange is one of the few descendants of the Simbowes who is very knowledgeable on the traditions of his clan, and who is prepared to talk about the relations between his ancestors and the first Kyungus.

Name: Headman Darson Mponela Age: about 40

Area: Mwafulilwa District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 24.10.71.

General Topic: History of the Mponelas, Mwafulilwas, and of Chilumba.

Headman Darson Mponela is an adviser to, and court historian of, the Mwafulilwas. His is very well informed on the traditions of his clan, and that of the Mwafulilwas. He is the local rain-caller, and is also very knowledgeable on the relations between Fulilwa and its neighbours.

Name: Mateyo Kafwilangachi Nyirenda Age: about 68

Area: Mwafulilwa District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 24.10.71

General Topic: Pre-colonial trade in the area between Chilumba and Phoka country.

Mateyo Kafwilangachi Nyirenda is knowledgeable on matters of trade and iron smelting in the Chilumba area and Phoka region because his grandparents were involved in the Chilumba-Phoka trade.

Name: Jamu Chilembo Age: about 70

Area: Mwafulilwa District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 14.8.71.

General Topic: History of the area between Chilumba and Katumbi in the 19th century.

Jamu Chilembo migrated to Chilumba from the uplands (Hewe-Katumbi area) during the early part of this century. He has some useful information on the Ngoni, trade, and religion.

Name: Kanyoli Gondwe III Age: about 77

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 14.8.71.

General Topic: History of the Kamanga, Rebellion of the Henga-Kamanga, and migration in Ungonde.

Kanyoli Gondwe is the grandson of Kanyoli, the great Kamanga leader, who, together with Kambondoma, revolted against the Ngoni and migrated to the Karonga Lakeshore. He is a respected historian and is well informed on matters of the Henga-Kamanga revolt of the 1870s, and on the Henga- Nyakyusa wars.

Name: Lameck Tennison Fumukulu Mbale Age: about 69

Area: Nthalile District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 7.11.71

General Topic: History of the Mbales, Phoka, and Chitipa district.

Lameck Mbale was educated at Livingstonia, where he also trained as a teacher, and then joined the colonial civil service as a census clerk. In the early 1960s he succeeded Paddy Nyasulu as head of the African Church. Mbale is very knowledgeable on Phoka traditions, the history of Nthalile, and the establishment of the colonial government in Malawi.

Name: Zinde Gondwe Age: about 67

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 15.8.71.

General Topic: Kamanga rebellion and migration into Ungonde

Zinde Gondwe is a member of the Gondwe (the Chikulamayembes) clan, and is well informed on matters concerning the arrival of the Ngoni,

the Henga-Kamanga revolt, and the settling of the Henga in Ungonde.

Name: Eneah Ferdinand 'Supala' Mulaga Age: about 66

Area: Mwaŋlambya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 18.11.71.

General Topic: History of the Mulagas, Ulambya, Chitipa, and the establishment of mission schools in northern Malawi.

Eneah Ferdinand 'Supala' Mulaga, is a retired headmaster and school supervisor. He was one of the first people to attend a course at Jeans College Domasi, near Zomba, which was established after the Phelps-Stokes Commission. He has invaluable information on early missionaries and colonial administrators, and he also takes a keen interest in the traditions of his clan.

Name: Ntemi Mwanjasi Kilupula Age: about 63

Area: Kilupula District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 18.9.71

General Topic: History of the Ngana branch of the Ngonde ruling family

Mwanjasi Kilupula is the chief of Kilupula area, and, by virtue of this position, also the head of the Ngana branch of the Ngonde ruling dynasty. He has held this position since the end of the Second World War, and is regarded as an authority on the history of the House of Ngana, and that of the area that falls under his jurisdiction.

Name: Brown Nthakomwa Age: about 75

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 21.9.71.

General Topic: History of the Musyani Family

Brown Nthakomwa belongs to the Musyani (also called Mwambila) clan, which was one of the families found in the Karonga plains by the Kyungus. Nthakomwa is personally in Ngonde history, particularly that of the pre-Kyungu period.

Name: Aram Mboma Age: about 69

Area: Kilupula District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 27.10.71.

General Topic: History of the Mbomas, the court of the Kyungus, and Ungonde.

Aram Mboma is a brother of one of the makambala (counsellors) of the Kyungus. He has intimate knowledge of the traditions and customs of the court of the Kyungus.

Name: Amon Msambala Mughogho Age: about 67

Area: Nthalile District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 7.11.71

General Topic: History of the Mughoghos

Amon Mughogho is well informed on the traditions of the Mughoghos, that of other balowokas (those who crossed the lake), local trade, and of Nthalile in general.

Name: James Knight Dikamanja Ndovi Age: about 65

Area: Chilumba (Fulilwa District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 14.8.71

General Topic: History of the Ndovis, Chilumba and Swahili activities in the area

James Dikamanja Ndovi belongs to one of the oldest families in Chilumba. He has valuable information on the Ngoni wars in the 19th century, and on Swahili activities in the area between Chilumba and the eastern shore of Lake Malawi.

Name: Samson Mwaulambya Age: about 68

Area: Ulambya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 29.12.71

General Topic: History of Ulambya

Samson Mwaulambya is the ruler of Ulambya, and has held this position since 1940. He is an expert on Lambya traditions and on the history of the relations between Ulambya and its neighbours.

Name: Patrick Nyasulu Age: about 65

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 13.8.71

General Topic: History of the Henga in Ungonde.

Patrick Nyasulu was educated at Livingstonia and worked at Livingstonia. He then worked as a medical assistant in Tanganyika and Malawi. He has interesting information on trade, the Chikulamayembes, and the migration of the Henga-Kamanga into Ungonde. He is the son of the late Reverend Paddy Nyasulu the founder of the African Chikulamayembe (now called the African Church), and knows much about the early separatist churches in Malawi.

Name: Malange Age: about 70

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 29.9.71.

General Topic: History of the Malanges.

Malange is a counsellor of the Mwakasungula branch of the Kerenge House of the Ngonde ruling family. His great grandfather was a lieutenant of Prince Mwambeta Mwakasungula and accompanied him in the wars against the Nyakyusa.

Name: Redson Mwenibwiba Nyondo Age: about 39

Area: Ulambya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 20.11.71

General Topic: History of Ulambya

Redson Nyondo belongs to the Lambya ruling family. He is a schoolmaster and is very interested in the history of Ulambya, particularly that the of Mwaulambyas.

Name: Boniface Msukwa Age: about 43

Area: Misuku District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 12.11.71.

General Topic: History of Misuku

Boniface Msukwa is the ruler of Misuku (Mwenemisuku). As a young man he was very close to an earlier Mwenemisuku and because of this, he has a very detailed knowledge of the traditions of the Msukwas and of the general history of Misuku.

Name: Headman Shamauna Kisyombe Age: about 68

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 22.9.71.

General Topic: Traditions of the Kisyombes and history of southern Ungonde

Headman Shamauna Kisyombe is head of the Kisyombe branch of the Sichali clan, and is well informed on matters of the clan's tradition and of indigenous religion (his area includes the Chibondo pool which is one of the religious centres in Ungonde).

Name: James Karambo Age: about 73

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 18.8.71.

General Topic: History of Ungonde

Headman James Karambo belongs to the Ngana branch of the Ngonde ruling family and is a descendant of Kyungu Gwasapasi. The Arab trader Mlozi built his headquarters in Karambo's village, and one of James Karambo's uncles, was killed by the ruga-rugas in the famous sugar cane incident. James Karambo has many interesting stories to tell about Mlozi and his cohorts, and about the Free Church of Scotland for whom he worked for over thirty years.

Name: James Chilongo Age: about 70

Area: Wenya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 2.1.72

General Topic: History of the Chilongos and southern Chitipa

James Chilongo is well informed on the traditions of the Chilongos and on matters of the history of southern Chitipa, particularly the activities of the Swahili traders in the 19th century.

Name: Lovewell Lameck Kaonga Age: about 40

Area: Nthalile District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 6.11.71.

General Topic: Traditions of the Kaongas and history of Nthalile

Lovewell Kaonga is the ruler of Nthalile (MweneNthalile). He is a former schoolmaster and has intimate knowledge of the traditions of the Kaongas and of the history of Nthalile.

Names: Gogo Nyamphaka and Gogo Nyasoko Ages: about 83, 80.

Area: Nthalile District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 7.11.71.

General Topic: Ngoni activities in northern Malawi

Both Gogo Nyamphaka and Gogo Nyasoko are widows of a former MweneNthalile. Their late husband was involved in the defence of Nthalile during the Ngoni invasion of the area in 1892. He was

taken captive and lived as a Ngoni until 1914 when he returned to Nthalile. The two ladies, themselves, are daughters of Ngoni captives, and, because of this, they have very detailed and interesting knowledge of Ngoni activities in northern Malawi in the 19th century.

Name: Petros Ng'ambi Mwenemlembe Age: about 55

Area: Wenya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 23.4.74

General Topic: Traditions of the Mwenemlembes and history of southern Chitipa.

Petros Mwenemlembe belongs to the Ng'ambi clan of southern Chitipa. The Ng'ambis are a long established clan in the area, and Petros Mwenemlembe has useful information on the history of southern Chitipa, particularly the migration of clans, trade, Ngoni and Arab activities

Name: Yoram Mali-Mali Mnkondia Age: about 56

Area: Ulambya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 20.4.72.

General Topic: Traditions of the Mkondias and history of Ulambya

Yoram Mnkondia is an expert on the traditions of Mnkondia clan and other old clans of Ulambya. He is also one of the best informed people on the general history of Ulambya.

Name: Jeremiah Mkonda Age: about 58

Area: Wenya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 11.9.71

General Topic: Traditions of the Mkondas

Jeremiah Mkonda is a school master who takes a keen interest in the traditions of his clan.

Name: Efron Chilima Age: about 74

Area: Ulambya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 20.11.71.

General Topic: History of Ulambya

Chilima's clan is one of the oldest families in Ulambya, and the Chilimas have always been counsellors of the Mwaulambyas. Efron Chilima is well informed on matters concerning the court of the Mwaulambyas, and on the history of the area in the period prior to the arrival of the Mwaulambyas.

Name: George Nyondo Mwenibuluma Age: about 50

Area: Wenya District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 23.4.72.

General Topic: Traditions of the Mwaulambyas

George Nyondo Mwenibuluma is a member of the Bwisi branch of the Mwaulambyas. His knowledge of the traditions of the Mwaulambyas particularly those of the Mwenibwisis is immense.

Name: Simwayi Age: about 60

Area: Misuku District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 12.11.71

General Topic: The Simwayi tradition and history of Misuku

Simwayi belongs to one of the oldest families in Misuku. Since the establishment of the Msukwa dynasty in the area sometime in the 16th century, the Simwayis have been counsellors to the rulers. The present counsellor Simwayi has a wide knowledge of the history of Misuku and of the traditions and court of the Mwenemisukus.

Name: Job Sibale Age: 52

Area: Kameme District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 21.12.71

Topic: History of the Sibales and Kameme

Job Sibale is a clergyman belonging to the Pentecostal Holiness Association. He is well informed on matters of the history of north western Chitipa and on the traditions of his clan.

Name: Salimu Silumbu Age: about 43

Area: Misuku District: Chitipa

Date of Interview: 14.11.71.

General Topic: The Silumbu tradition and the general history of the Misuku

Salimu Silumbus' clan is one of the oldest families in the Misuku hills. Salimu is very interested in the tradition of his clan, and in the history of Misuku before the 19th century.

Name: Fundi Milazi Phiri Age: 72

Area: Kilupula District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 16.12.71

Topic: Arab activities in north Nyasa.

Fundi Milazi Phiri's father was a Yao employee of the Swahili who operated in the area between Lake Tanganyika, Karonga and the East African coast. Fundi has detailed knowledge of the Arab and Swahili activities in north Nyasa during the 19th century.

Name: Headman Sadara Age: about 68

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 2.11.71

General Topic: Swahili and Arab activities in North Nyasa

Headman Sadara's father was a Lungu in service of Kabunda and Salim bin Najim. Sadara is well-informed on matters of trade, Ngonde/Swahili relations, and other Swahili and Arab activities in North Nyasa.

Name: Simon Pupwe Kapawike Mwalilino Age: about 96

Area: Kyungu District: Karonga

Date of Interview: 30.9.71

General Topic: History of the Mwalilinos

Kapawike Mwalilino is an expert on the traditions of his clan. His granddfather was a lieutenant of Mwambeta (later Kyungu Mwakasungula)

and accompanied the latter in the Nyakyusa campaigns. Kapawike Mwalilino is said (North Nyasa District Note Book) to have assisted in the building of the first District Resident's house at Karonga in 1896, to have been involved in the Mlozi war two years earlier. He has detailed knowledge of the history of Karonga during the 19th century, and of the establishment of colonial administration in the area.

# APPENDIX D

## List of Informants[1]

Bwinga
Chapinga
Chilongo, Ephraim
Chilongo, James
Gondwe, Chithamu
Gondwe, Kanyoli III
Gondwe, Zinde
Ghambi
Kabaghe
Kalinga, Dan
Kalinga, John
Kameme, Chief
Kamisa, Dadeyo
Kamisa, S. Wibifya
Kampunga
Kaonga, L. (Chief Nthalile)
Kapange
Karago, Y. Walabaya
Karambo
Kayuni
Kisyombe
Kita
Kyumba
Lwinga
Machemba
Mamboleo
Mbale, Denham
Mbale, L.T.F.
Mboma, Aram
Mgala, Wazingwa
Milazi, Fundi
Mkonda, Jeremiah
Mkwasi
Mnkondia
Mponela
Mphwanthe
Msanyi, Timoti
Msukwa, Chief Boniface
Msukwa, Maynard Nzilwa
Mulaga
Mulenga
Mulwa
Munde
Muyila, Philip
Mwachitete
Mwafongo, Headman

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1. This list of informants is not complete, but it is a sample of the people interviewed.

Mwafongo, W. Mwambanya
Mwaihombe
Mwakaboko
Mwakanandi
Mwakanema
Mwakasungula, Mwakabanga II
Mwalilino
Mwalwimba, Mkwekwela
Mwambelo
Mwandenga, Jacob
Mwandenga, John
Mwandwangwa (Mwafongo), D
Mwangalaba
Mwanjasi Kilupula
Mwanyongo, Headman
Mwaulambya, Samson
Mwenechendo
Mwenechiluba
Mwenekisindile
Mwenelupembe
Mwenendeka
Mwenibanda, Kenan
Mwenibugulila
Mwenibuluma, George
Mwenichinga
Mwenimlembe, Petros N.
Mwenitete, Benson
Mwenitete, Hasani
Mwenitumba
Ndovi, J. K. Dikamanja
Ndovi, Joseph Mwayibenga
Ndovi, T. Ng'onibekumwela
Ngosi
Nyirenda
Nyondo, A. B. Chikombwe
Nyondo, Redson
Nyondo, Timoti
Sadara
Sibale, Job
Sichali
Silunda
Silumbu, Salim
Simpokolwe
Simwayi
Simwinga
Sinyangwe
Yikwangwa

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National Library of Scotland: Correspondence and letter books regarding the Livingstonia Mission, 1876-1894.

University of Edinburgh Library: Private Papers of Dr. Robert Laws and other Scottsmen involved with Northern Nyasaland.

Professor George Shepperson's Collection: Miscellaneous papers, mainly correspondence between missionaries during the period 1883-1890; also mission newspapers such as The Livingstonia News.

The London Missionary Society Archives in Livingstone House, London: C.A. (Central Africa) boxes containing correspondence and material relating to the Lake Tanganyika Mission. These papers are now housed in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

National Archives of Malawi, Zomba: District Notes (North Nyasa district); monthly, quarterly, half-yearly, and annual reports from the district Officer at Karonga (during the period 1911-1932) to the Headquarters of the colonial administration in Zomba; The Sanderson Papers; and finally, the Livingstonia Mission boxes which contain mainly correspondence between the missionaries in the north, and various kirk committee minutes.

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