THE TRIBES OF NORTHERN RHODESIA

W. V. BRELSFORD

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PREFACE

IN 1934, the late J. Moffat Thomson, C.B.E., then Secretary for Native Affairs, wrote a *Memorandum on the Native Tribes and Tribal Areas of Northern Rhodesia*. The tribal map which accompanies the Memorandum was drawn by the late W. C. Fairweather, C.B.E., then Director of Surveys.

This Memorandum, printed by the Government Printer, has long been out of print and there has been no handy guide to the tribes of the Territory. On the other hand, there has been so much research and so many writings on the tribes during the past twenty years that a reprinting of Moffat Thomson's work would not have been sufficient to indicate the present knowledge of tribal origins and history.

This work then is completely new. I have quoted freely from Moffat Thomson because his paper was the first comprehensive description of where our tribes came from and their relationships with each other. It formed an invaluable basis for future research. But his paper was very short and I have had to enlarge considerably in order to make full use of later studies. I have not hesitated to contradict Moffat Thomson on occasion and, in order to make this work as authoritative as possible, I have quoted extensively from acknowledged experts.

At the same time, I have tried to keep the descriptions simple and straightforward and I have avoided, I hope, any ethnological theorising. The result is, no doubt, uneven. The amount of space given to a tribe does not necessarily indicate its relative importance. There may have been more written about it or, as in the case of many of the smaller tribes, it may be of more interest to write about them before they are absorbed by larger units. In any case most of the larger units, e.g. Bemba, Ngoni, Lozi, have a full-scale bibliography of their own.

Research, especially under the aegis of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, still goes on and knowledge of tribal origins and affinities is constantly being extended, so that this work is far from being exhaustive and does not pretend to be anything but a quick survey of tribal origins as known to-day.

Criticism has been made of the " rather miscellaneous scraps of ethnographic data that keep popping up here and there " in this book. It is true that the theme of this work is historical rather than sociological, but the " scraps ", e.g. on the Tonga or Mambwe, do tie up with the recent history and development of the tribe concerned. They do add interest, I believe, and emphasise differences in cultural history.

The illustrations are a very mixed bag. The physical characteristics, the coiffures, the dress and ornaments that distinguished one tribe from the other have almost disappeared and present day photographs would not have shown much tribal distinction. I have had to go back into the past and in order to avoid misunderstanding I have dated most of the photographs. The older pictures illustrate typical tribal figures—as they were, not as they are to-day.

The map has been brought up to date. This does not necessarily mean that Moffat Thomson's linguistic divisions were wrong but rather that there have been changes and new alignments since his day. The map shows the position to-day: it will also undoubtedly need redrawing in the future.

I am especially grateful to Dr. Clyde Mitchell, Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, now Professor of African Studies at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, for much help and for valuable suggestions. I am also grateful to Mr. John Sharman of the Joint Publications Bureau for reading and commenting on the manuscript and to many others for comments on sections of it, especially to C. M. N. White, Dr. W. Watson, Gervas Clay and F. M. Thomas. Other acknowledgments are made in the text.

I must also thank Mr. Percy Watson of the Federal Information Department for redrawing the tribal map and for drawing the other map showing migration routes within the Territory.

W. V. BRELSFORD.

MARCH, 1956.

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INTRODUCTION

The human history of Northern Rhodesia goes back into prehistoric times. Early man has left a profusion of Palaeolithic stone tools in Northern Rhodesia, as indeed he has in many African territories. But the high plateau of Central Africa appears to lie across a main human migration route from a focal point in north-central Africa to the south and has been traversed by man from the very earliest times. According to Dr. J. D. Clark, the importance of Northern Rhodesia in prehistory is that "there are a number of prehistorians and physical anthropologists who believe that one of the places, if not *the* place, in which the first true men developed was Central Africa". The impetus of culture change, as exemplified in the form of tools, was certainly from Africa northwards to Europe rather than vice versa, even earlier than the middle Pleistocene period. In those days Africa taught Europe.

The human history of Northern Rhodesia is, moreover, continuous because the Batwa, the swamp dwellers of Bangweulu, the Kafue and Lukanga, now so interbred as to be undistinguishable from the surrounding Bantu, may originally have been the remnants of the Late Stone Age population that fled into the swamps before the invading Bantu. Another link with the dim past is in the small Bushmen who once spread from the Nile above Khartoum to the Cape, an area that included Northern Rhodesia. They have a physique and an ecology similar to that of men of the Late Stone Age and most authorities believe that they must have evolved from man of that era. Although only a few migrant bands of Bushmen remain in the extreme south-west corner of Northern Rhodesia, they did spread over the whole Territory until fairly recent times.

All the tribes now in Northern Rhodesia (with the exception of the Bushmen) belong to the Bantu group. No one really knows when they first began to arrive but it is certain that the original home of the Bantu was the Great Lakes area of East Africa and that they originated from a mixture of negroes from lower Egypt and Hamites from the extreme north-eastern horn of Africa.

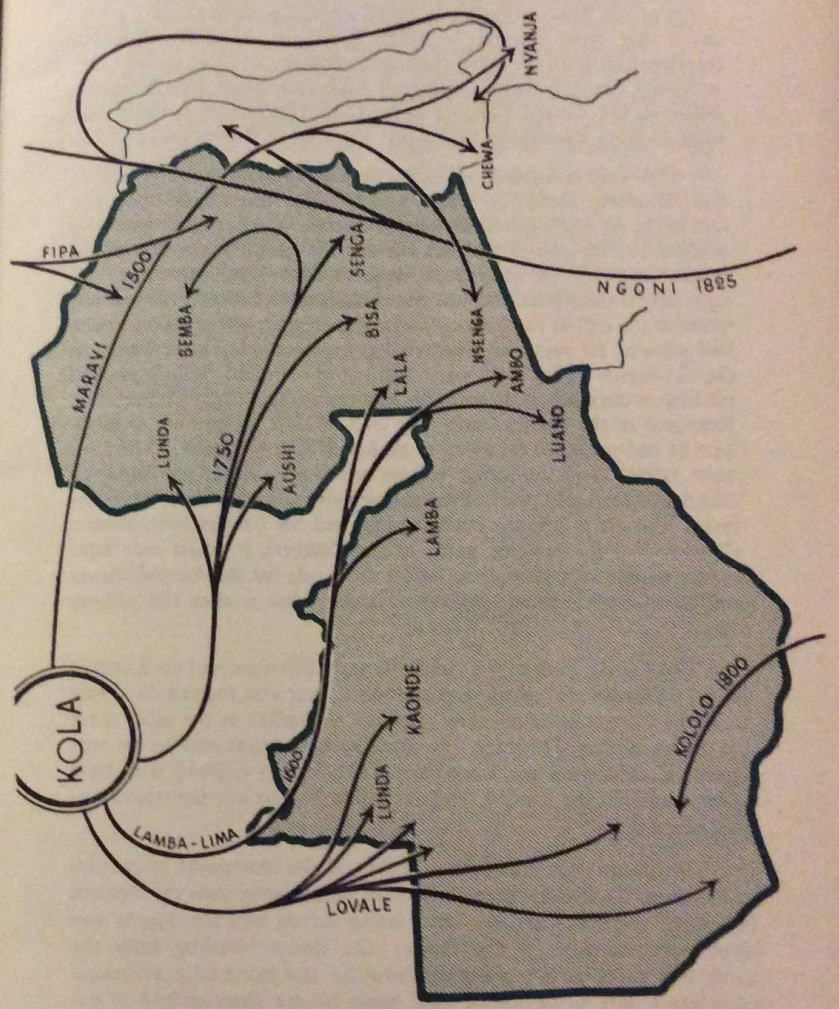
Some authorities put the beginning of the southward migration as early as 300 B.C. and no one knows what initiated it. It went on for about 1,800 years, slowly and no doubt spasmodically, but nevertheless quite surely and definitely southwards. It is thought that the weaker tribes came first because when the bigger, stronger tribal groups, such as the Bemba and Lunda, arrived, their tribal legends tell how

they fought and conquered other Bantu, such as the Mbwela and Lala who had arrived before them into what is now Northern Rhodesia.

Of these separate waves White says: "That the earliest waves of Bantu were ill-organised both from a political and military standpoint seems certain or they would not have been easily overrun and absorbed in most cases by the later invaders. To the earliest stages in these invasions it seems fashionable to-day to apply the term semi-Bantu which is used in a linguistic sense and is far from easy to define. To the later stages belong the people who founded the Lunda and Chokwe stocks, of northern origin with distinct physical characteristics, representing a more efficient Bantu culture, and themselves to some extent affected at least dynastically especially among the Lunda by the Luba empire in the Congo basin." White goes on to say that it is probable that the Mbwela and the Lukolwe belonged to these semi-Bantu peoples. He goes on: "It may be suggested that the Luchazi and their allied Ganguela tribes in Angola represent in fact an early Bantu people akin to them originally. Mendes Correia finds that on anthropometric grounds the Luchazi resemble the early southern Bantu and not the later Chokwe, Lwena or Lunda immigrants. In their culture their strong addiction to *mahamba* (originally old earth spirits), their nomadic habits, their bee-keeping and use of honey, many insects, especially all sorts of grasshoppers, snakes and many wild fruits as food, are all elements which are often said to typify the more primitive Bantu cultures. Possibly their polyandry falls into the same category. If this interpretation has any truth, the Alukolwe, who still remain unprogressive, are an interesting contrast to the Luchazi who under the cultural impact of their Lwena, Chokwe and Ovimbundu neighbours have become a much more progressive people."

Some of the most important of the existing tribes did not come directly into the Territory from the north. The Lunda, for example, are an offshoot of the great Luba-Lunda empire of the Congo and one authority (White) places 1600 as the date of the establishment of a Luba dynasty among a people then known as Bungo. The Luba element was small and it was soon absorbed but the resultant people—the Lunda—are said to have retained patriliny as well as linguist elements as relics of Luba culture. In the immediate subsequent periods "groups of Lunda broke away to found the Chokwe, Lwena, Luchazi people, and probably a little later the Ndembu and Lunda of Shinde and Musokantanda followed them. By 1750 all these tribes were occupying substantially the same country as they occupy to-day."

The Bemba too came from the Congo and were associated with the Lunda. The Ngoni are descendants of a migrating race that may have passed through the Congo, southwards, missing Northern Rhodesia, finally arriving in Natal just about the time of the first European settlement at the Cape. Their southward advance into the



Cape was thus stopped. (There were no Bantu in the Cape at the time of the arrival of the Europeans, only Hottentots and pockets of even more primitive people.) In Natal the Zulu, Swazi and Suthu tribes of the Bantu began their return migration northwards, a movement that went beyond Northern Rhodesia, in 1821. Constant intermarriage with the tribes they conquered or came into contact with gradually changed their culture and Zulu and Swazi groups became Ngoni in the Eastern Province and a Suto tribe known as the Kololo came in from Basutoland to conquer the Lozi of Barotseland in 1936.

This vast movement of Bantu over a big area of the continent, from southern Sudan to Natal, and in some cases back again was still going on when European administrations were set up in Northern Rhodesia at the end of the 19th century. A glance at the map of the routes taken by the migrations shows Northern Rhodesia stretched right across their path. It was becoming a sort of cockpit for roaming tribes at the end of the 19th century. The Ngoni, one group of whom had gone as far north as Tanganyika, were returning southwards via the Luangwa Valley and were fighting the Bemba who were still pushing southwards and eastwards into the valley. Chief Chitimukulu Kanyanta of the Bemba, who only died in 1943, often used to relate how he had raided as far south as Broken Hill in his youth. The Lozi were raiding and collecting tribute westwards as far as Mumbwa District in the early years of the century and although all these movements were slow it seems probable that had not Rhodes been given a Charter over the country north of the Zambezi, it could only have been a matter of a short time before the Lozi, the Bemba and Ngoni met in massive combat somewhere along what is now the railway strip.

The Lunda, both of the North-Western Province and the Luapula River, offshoots also of the Luba empire, were also moving in slowly from the Congo, although they were not so warlike as the other three big tribes of the Territory. A punitive expedition had to be sent against Kazembe on the Luapula in 1901, but as a group they have never displayed the warlike qualities of the Bemba nor the statesmanship of the Lozi.

This then is the continuous history of the movement of peoples in Northern Rhodesia: prehistoric man fading away into the swamps before the Bushmen and the latter being driven into the deserts and almost exterminated by the Bantu: the Bantu invading from the north with some units passing southwards: and these units returning northwards only to be forced back again by the sheer weight of the still continuing southward movement. What is so noticeable is that this southward movement of Africans is still going on. In the North-Western Province, the steady infiltration of tribes from Angola, such

as the Mbunda, Chokwe and others (known to the Lozi as Mawiko—people of the west), is causing agricultural problems as well as political ones. On the Copperbelt, over 28 per cent. of the labour is alien, mainly coming from Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Portuguese West Africa and including about 6,000 Nyakyusa, one tribe from Tanganyika. Mindolo Mine is run almost solely by Nyakyusa labour. Not all this alien labour returns home at the end of a term of service and many of our Northern Province Africans also remain and marry into the nearby Lamba, Lima and Swahili reserves and it is now very doubtful if there is a single pure tribal village left in any of those reserves. The general drift of population, south of the Sahara is southwards again—to the Copperbelt, to Southern Rhodesia and to the Witwatersrand. And on the Copperbelt already can be seen Nigerian traders, Sierra Leone leather-workers and East Coast Mohammedans. Northern Rhodesia is again on a migration route but this time of workers and traders not of marauding warriors or slavers.

CORRIGENDUM

The figures in the last line of the first paragraph on page 4 *should read* " 1836 " *and not* " 1936 "

CHAPTER 1

THE TRIBES OF BAROTSELAND

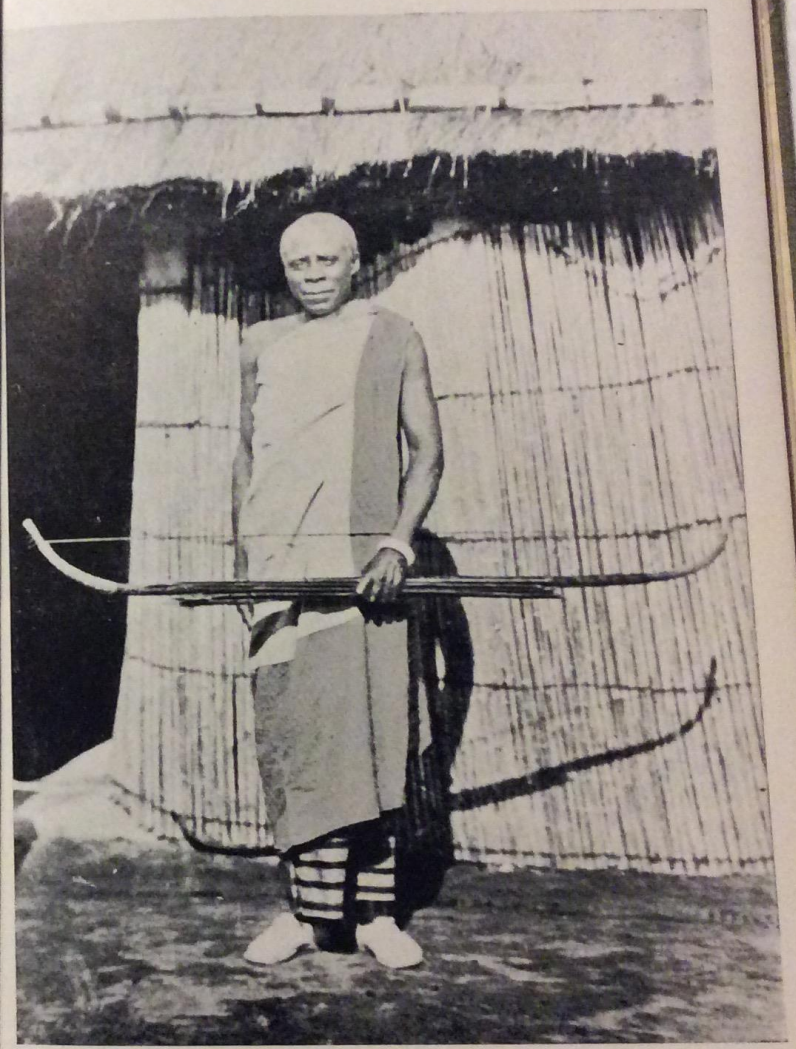
The people we now know as the Barotse, or more properly the Lozi, were originally a tribe known as Aluyi, and according to their own historians they came into the Barotse Plain from the Congo or from Angola about 300 years ago, in the 1600s. One version says that Lunda and Lovale people had reached the savannah country of the upper Zambezi before them and the Aluyi lived among the Lunda for some time, but gradually worked their way southwards until they reached the great Zambezi Plain. White doubts this story and says it is more likely that the Lunda and Lovale came after the Aluyi.

Here, according to legend, they conquered and drove south-westwards to the outer confines of the valley certain primitive people such as the Subiya, Mashi and Shanjo—all probably relics of the earliest inhabitants of Central Africa. From 1600 to 1836, with a few setbacks, the Aluyi extended their sway over the Zambezi Plains into the bush country westward and collected tribute even from tribes beyond the Kafue. Their language, Siluyi, was preserved among the Indunas and used by the ruling family of Barotseland*.

But at the end of the 18th century began the first of a series of migrations and invasions from the south into the Zambezi Valley. The first arrivals were the Bahurutse, a branch of the Bechuana people. They do not seem to have been so much invaders as colonists who came in small numbers—because they were quickly absorbed by the Lozi. Sir Harry Johnston thought that " their descendants may be the ' Njenji ' or ' Zinzi ' tribe, the people of which still speak a dialect of Sechuana and are settled rather high up on the Zambezi ".

There is a theory that the name Bahurutse is the origin of the word Barotse, that the Bahurutse retained this tribal name and such was their influence that their new home was called after them, a name which was eventually shortened to Barotse. But the more acceptable theory concerning the origin of the name Barotse is connected with the next invasion, described below, of the Kololo, also from the south:

* White expands on this statement and comments (in litt.): " Siluyi. Presumably this is the same as Luyana. Jacottet collected texts and grammatical material fifty years ago which shows that it was in general use then and not merely as a language of Indunas or the Royal Family. Such information as I have indicates that it is still in general use among people who are Luyana. The same applies to the remark about Siluyi dying out before Sikololo. (*See* next page). So far as I can judge Luyana, Kwanga, Mbowe, Liuwa, Makoma and many other small languages form an allied group pre-Makololo and are all still in use. My Luchaze kitchen boy speaks Kwanga and Makoma and understands Luyana."



BEMBA CHIEF NKULU OF CHINSALI WITH HEREDITARY BOW. ABOUT 1933

[Photo: Audrey I. Richards

PARAMOUNT CHIEF LEWANIKA OF THE LOZI, *c.* 1861-1916

[*Photo: Archives*

THE NALIKWANDA, THE LOZI PARAMOUNT CHIEF'S BARGE ON THE ZAMBEZI IN 1947

Photo: Public Relations Department, Southern Rhodesia]

"When the Kololo entered Barotseland from the south, they found, near Sesheke, a tribe of Subiya, who paid tribute to the Luyi, pronouncing the name Luizi, which the Kololo in turn corrupted into Lozi. Later the missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Mission, being already well learned in Sesutho, decided to utilise Kololo for their teaching. For some reason they elected to spell Barozi as Barotse from which Barotseland is derived."

The Kololo were a migrating horde of real invaders who came in from the south in 1823 and conquered the Lozi. These Kololo were another branch of the Suthu, who, under their Chief Sebitwane, had reached the Basutoland area as a result of the wars of the Zulu Chief Shaka. They were a part of the great return migration northwards from Natal that has already been mentioned.

The Kololo, in addition to conquering the Toka and Subiya, occupied most of Barotseland and although most of the Lozi withdrew northwards and maintained several independent chieftainships there, others remained on and became subjects to the Kololo. The language of the conquerors, Sikololo, became the lingua franca of the Barotse Plain and has remained so, even Siluyi dying out before it.

The Kololo kingdom did not last very long. Sebitwane died in 1851 and he was succeeded by Mamochisasi and he by Sekeletu. Under this last chief, the Kololo began to raid the Ila during the years 1854-55. Sekeletu died in 1863; Mamili succeeded but he was driven out by Mbolo. In 1864, a Lozi prince called Sipopa, who had been brought up amongst the conquerors, seized one of the northern chieftainships and from there drove out Mbolo and almost annihilated the Kololo who were, even although they had only been in the valley a short time, beginning to die out from fever as well as from intensive warfare.

The Kololo, from the southern cattle-complex culture, were a patrilineal warrior race. In addition to the language, these other cultural influences have left their mark on the Lozi. They had cattle before the invasion of the Kololo, but the complex was strengthened. It is probable that the Luyi were matrilineal as were most of the peoples from the north. Patriliny, on the other hand, was typical of the warrior invaders on the northward migration and the Royal line is now patrilineal with commoners' succession being bilateral, i.e. either through male or female.

Even before the Lozi had re-established themselves in the great plain, there were further invasions from the south. This time they were of Matabele and Sebitwane and the Kololo had established their capital at Sesheke in order to meet this threat from the south. One early raid is said to have taken place during the time the Kololo were in power and Lobala Matabele (the Matabele Plain) just south of

Senanga was the scene of a great Kololo victory. Opposite the plain is Beta Island, the largest island in the Zambezi. When the Matabele raiders were on the western bank, on the plain, the Kololo put several head of cattle, including a cow without her calf, on the island. The cow continually called the calf which eventually swam across the river. The Matabele were thus convinced that Beta was merely the other bank and the army crossed in canoes. During the night the Kololo took away the canoes leaving the Matabele army to starve. When it was duly weakened the Kololo crossed and slaughtered the whole horde.

Sipopa continued the expansion of Lozi influence by raiding the Tonga in 1866 and the Ila in 1871. In 1876 Sipopa was killed in a rebellion and Mwanawina became chief only to be overthrown in turn by Libosi Lewanika who was to become the most famous of the Paramount chiefs of Barotseland and the founder of the existing line. But even Lewanika could not avoid trouble and in 1884 he was deposed. But he returned to power in 1885 and in turn deposed the man who had taken his place.

In 1882 Lewanika sent more expeditions against the Ila and Tonga and in 1888 himself led a raid against the Ila. He also extended the system of sending representatives to minor tribes to ensure that tribute was paid. (*See* especially under Lovale and Lunda.)

When Lewanika became chief in 1878, he was determined to guard against further invasion from the south by exercising a more definite rule and he established royal " watchers of the fords " at Kazungula (Mwandi) and at Sesheke. To the former he sent a nephew and to the latter his son Litia. (Mwandi later moved also to Sesheke.) Even before the Kololo invasion there had been two small areas in Barotseland traditionally ruled by princesses and Lewanika extended the system of establishing small courts as widely as possible, all headed by members of the royal family and all acknowledging the superiority of the Paramount Chief.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE BAROTSE TRIBES

According to Gluckman's analysis, members of some twenty-five Bantu-speaking tribes composed the Barotse nation in its heyday. He says: " Members of some twenty-five Bantu-speaking tribes comprised the Barotse nation. The whole of the Lozi (generic name—Luyana) and assimilated groups dwelt within the boundaries of the kingdom; almost all the other tribes, save for the Nkoya, Totela and Subiya, had their main communities outside the kingdom. Within Barotseland, each tribal group tended to have one or more areas where it was the nuclear community of the district but members of most tribes lived in nearly every part of the country, and expecially in Loziland itself.

" The tribes may be grouped on the basis of common culture and language. I have not myself been able to do so, but give a general classification partly based on the accepted one; partly on some knowledge of common customs; partly on Barotse statements about their mutually understanding one another's language, while allowing for the Lozi classification.

" Nearly all Lozi lived in the flood plain area, and in the plain itself nearly all the inhabitants were Lozi. In the southern part of the plain, there were many Kwandi, a Luyana group so like the Lozi that they are spoken of as *Malozi tota* (Lozi proper). A few Lozi were settled at nearby Bush damboes, some had percolated down the Zambezi and there were groups of them established to rule distant areas. On the margins of the plain dwelt members of many other tribes. On the eastern margin of the plain near Mongu were large settlements of the descendants of Mbunda who immigrated from the west to the rule of King Mulambwa early in the 19th century."

These Mbunda were in two groups under Mwenekandala and Mwechiengele. Both groups were refugees and they were welcomed. Their culture, according to Gluckman, assimilated largely to the Lozi's and became distinct from that of other Mbunda so that they had sufficient identity to constitute a separate tribal group known as " Old Mbunda ". When the Lozi fled before the Kololo the Old Mbunda went with them.

Gluckman goes on: " At the north-eastern environs of the plains were groups of Nkoya, Mbowe and Lunda. Scattered among these main groups are now the homesteads of many Mbunda and Lovale, who have recently immigrated to British rule from Angola. They, with Luchazi and Chokwe immigrants, are collectively referred to as Wiko (Mawiko—' western people '). Occasional homesteads of Ila, Swahili, Totela and other tribes are found in this region. On the western margin of the plain were peoples of Luyana (chiefly) and other assimilated tribes; as I have not worked there I do not detail their centres of residence. As elsewhere, the population was mixed. West of them were Luba-speaking tribes. In the bush, east of the middle region of the plain, the chief tribe was Kwangwa, but there are now also many immigrant Wiko and Old Mbunda and some Lozi. South of them, Totela predominated, and north and east were Nkoya."

Gluckman gives a chart showing the extent of the full kingdom, but since the Balovale District has broken away and Lozi domination over the Mumbwa, Kasempa and Namwala area is no longer acknowledged, the following revised and shortened list shows the present tribal representation in Barotseland proper.

A.—*Luyana Group*

Lozi, Kwandi, Kwangwa, Mwenyi, Old Mbunda and Mbowe. According to Moffat Thomson the Mbowe were Luba-speaking people and the Mwenyi had a dialect of their own. Sir Harry Johnston speaks of Sikwangwa as a "living speech", whilst the much nobler Siluyi was dying out in favour of Sikololo. All except the Lozi originated in the Luba area but are Lozi-speaking now. Johnston also says that the Kwangwa, the largest tribe after the Lozi, are really Luyi people who inhabited the valley before the Bahurutse invasion. The Kwandi are a small tribe on the Lui River in the Senanga District. The Makoma, a small tribe in the Kalabo District are said by Moffat Thomson to be of Lunda and Luyi origin.

The Mbowe is a small tribe situated on the Zambezi above Mongu and also in the Kalabo District. There are also a few villages in the Sesheke District founded by families who went to hunt hippo and stayed on to settle there. They are reputed to be eaters of crocodile meat.

According to C. M. N. White, there are Mbowe to-day living at the Kabompo-Zambezi confluence. These particular people normally speak their own language, one of the many of the Kwangwa group.

B.—*Assimilated to Luyana*

Nyengo, Imilangu (Ndundulu), Mishulundu, Simaa, Yei, Shanjo and Mashi. According to Moffat Thomson, "the Nyengo belong to a tribe domiciled west of the Kwando River in Angola; they were raided by the Bahurutse and Makololo and are believed to be related to the Bampukushu people whose language they formerly spoke".

The latest figures give only 133 Yei in Mongu and Sesheke. According to a report written in 1940 by the Assistant Magistrate of the Caprivi Strip the origin of the Yei is obscure. But in the Eastern Caprivi they have allied themselves to the Mafwe and consider themselves subject to the chief of that tribe. The report also says that the Yei also go under the name of Makoba—"the ones who flee". There is a tribe Makoba to the north of lake Ngami.

The Ndundulu—"wild people" were so named by the Kololo who found them in their present area.

The Bampukushu were a scattered tribe that lived in the far south-west of Barotseland on the banks of the Kwando River. They have been absorbed now by the Mashi. Sir Harry Johnston says their language was Sinyengo allied to Siluyi, but there is no record of it since that made by Livingstone in 1853.

All this group is probably of Luba origin although the Lozi state tnat the Mashi have southern affinities. This may also apply to the Simaa, Yei and Shanjo.

The Mashi and Mafwe (or Fwe) were two tribes of semi-nomadic dwellers along the Mashi River. The international boundary, connected with the flood-line of the river, is very vague in this area and many of the people move backwards and forwards across the Angola border. The Mashi are classed by Moffat Thomson as Luba-speaking and as already indicated they may well be the Bampukushu under a different name. The District Note Book says they are "practically amphibious" and live in mat and grass shelters on ant-hills in the swamps of the Kwandi.

Lieut.-Col. P. C. Middleton when District Commissioner, Senanga, wrote the following concerning the Mafwe: "This tribe is included in the groups of people called the Mashanjo, Ba-Mulonga and Ba-Mashi and probably form the majority in the first two. All these people, as well as the Ba-Simaa, speak dialects of Sifwe. The writer has been unable to discover anything of their origins except for vague reference to a legendary personality who led them years ago from the south (?) along the Kwando River. Originally these people were nomadic hunters building no villages and cultivating no gardens. They have now settled down and herd cattle and produce a surplus of grain. They are famed for their hunting and their ability to consume vast quantities of meat and the writer can witness to thirty-five of them eating an entire roan antelope bull in one night. In the morning nothing but the hide, hooves and major bones were left."

According to the District Note Book, the Mulonga were a semi-nomadic tribe found over eighty miles west of Kalabo. They lived on game, wild fruits and fish. They had no cattle, cultivated no crops and only occasionally kept goats and fowls.

Mr. Morgan, also a District Commissioner, Senanga, goes on: "I understand that the Mafwe came originally from northern Bechuanaland and are still found in Bechuanaland, Caprivi Strip, and in the Sesheke and Senanga districts of Barotseland, in proximity to the Kwando (or Mashi or Chobe or Linyati) River. They have reached as far as the south-western part of this district."

C.—*Nkoya Group*

Nkoya, Mashasha, Lukolwe and Lushange. These are practically one tribe now in the Mankoya District and Sinkoya was, according to Clay, universally spoken even as late as 1940. Earlier, Moffat Thomson classified this group as Luba-speaking (*see* below).

D.—*Ila-Tonga Group*

Only the Subiya and Totela of this group are now in Barotse proper. The others (Ila, Tonga, Toka) are in adjoining non-Barotseland districts. The Subiya and Totela are closely related to the Tonga and according to Moffat Thomson spoke that language. Sir Harry

Johnston, however, says that there was a language, Subiya, spoken in southern Barotseland near the Zambezi, where it bends eastward, but that it was then dying out in favour of Sikololo. Tonga, as stated, seems to have ousted Sikololo in more recent times among the Northern Rhodesia Subiya. The tribe stretches into the Caprivi Strip and one branch of it, according to the Sesheke District Note Book, is descended from the Bampukushu.

The Totela, in addition to being skilled iron workers, were renowned as dagga smokers and they are said to have introduced honey as well as dagga to the Lozi. They used to be conspicuous by the custom of wearing a seepa cat skin as a loin cloth.

E.—Others

Although the Lozi lost Balovale in 1940, there are still settlements of Lovale, Lunda, Ndembu, Mbwela, Chokwe and Luchazi in Barotseland proper. There are also occasional Ndebele and Tswana in Barotse and there is a migratory group of Bushmen in the south-west corner.

SOME ETHNOLOGICAL DETAILS OF THE NKOYA GROUP

It is not possible to give historical or ethnological details of all the tribes and groups that make up Barotseland. Some of them as instanced below are little more than names now and others have never been studied in detail either sociologically or linguistically.

But as regards one group, the Nkoya, we have a good deal of information in Clay's *History of the Mankoya District* and it is worth while quoting extensively because the history of Mankoya tribes also covers much of the Lozi and other tribes under their suzerainty.

According to Clay—" There are Nkoya in the following districts: Balovale, Mankoya, Mongu-Lealui, Kalabo, Senanga, Sesheke and Livingstone. From the Kasempa District the tribe has withdrawn within the last hundred years into Mankoya but there are large numbers still living in the Balovale District. In Mwinilunga there are blocks of Mbwela in the south and these are probably closely allied to the Mankoya in origin.

" In the Mankoya District the tribe is at present almost entirely confined to the centre of the district, mainly on the Luena itself, and its tributaries, while there are also a few villages on the Luampa in its middle stretches to the west, and on some tributaries of the Lalafuta to the east. This block in the centre of the Mankoya is cut off to the north by Lukolwe, and immigrants from the Balovale-Mankoya; to the north-west by Lushange, Kwangwa and Kwangwa-Lima from the Mankoya under Mwenenyati and Mfungu in the Mongu-Lealui District; to the west and south-west by Mashasha and Kwangwa from the Mankoya in the Senanga District and those under Manyanga in the Sesheke District and the small block in the Livingstone District who may be Shikalu rather than actual Nkoya."

The Nkoya were the earliest inhabitants of this particular area and they are of Luba stock although they had a language, Sinkoya, of their own. There is some doubt as to the date when they were subjected by the Lozi. Mr. Jalla in his Lozi history puts the date at earlier than 1860. After the conquest many of the Nkoya were taken to the Barotse Plains together with the drums which are still extant to-day as the Nkoya band of the Paramount Chief of the Lozi.

According to legend many of the earlier chiefs of the Nkoya were women and succession was matrilineal until the conquest by the Lozi when the system changed to fit in with Lozi patriliny.

The Lushange, a small tribe on the western border of Mankoya, spoke a dialect akin to Sinkoya and is the most primitive of the tribes in the district. According to Clay even as late as 1929 they still lived in grass or leaf shelters. It may be that these people arrived even earlier than the Nkoya.

The Mashasha, the next biggest tribe after the Nkoya in this group, occupy the southern area of Mankoya and spread over the Kafue River into the area of the Kaonde Chief, Kabulwebulwe, where they have intermarried and become assimilated. It was in this area, the Hook of the Kafue, that Livingstone marked them in one of his maps. The Mashasha once were much more powerful and in the mid-19th century spread north-eastwards as far as Kasempa. They, too, had been conquered by the Lozi at some early date in the century but some time after 1864, when Sipopa became Lozi Paramount, they refused to pay tribute and killed two Lozi collectors. Sipopa sent a punitive impi which scattered the Mashasha and also the Lushange. Later the Kaonde also defeated the Mashasha and their area was reduced to its present size.

The Lukolwe tribe is, according to Clay, " at present to be found only in two places in the Mankoya District—along the Dongwe River and in Kalubi's area on the Luena. The Lukolwe in Kalubi's area went there in 1924, or about that date ". Mr. Jalla's history of the Barotse contains many mentions of the Lukolwe in the earlier chapters, from which we gather that they had their own chief and were formerly a considerable tribe.

Originally, Nkoya, Mashasha and Lukolwe were probably one tribe, and it is suggested that when the tribe broke up under the Lozi attacks the three present branches were formed.

" The Lukolwe then inhabited—apart from those in Mwinilunga District—the Dongwe area in the north of the Mankoya District, the area in the west of the Kasempa District between the Dongwe and the

Kabompo, and a very small area in the south of the Balovale District adjoining the other two areas to the north."

Again according to Clay, "the name Mbwela really means 'people of the east' in the same way the 'Mawiko' means 'people of the west'. Looking at a tribal map of Northern Rhodesia we find the expression Mbwela used for the people under Kangombe and Pompola in the south of the Mwinilunga District, who are probably properly Lukolwe."

The Shikalu is a tribe mentioned by Clay but not by Moffat Thomson or Gluckman. Clay says: "A small number of villages near the source of the Luampa belong to this tribe, as do some villages in the Livingstone District. According to their own accounts, they came from the Barotse Valley in the time of Paramount Chief Mulambwa of the Lozi (*circa* 1820) who settled them where they now are. They state that the district was empty when they arrived. Their language is very similar to that spoken by the Nkoya of the Mongu-Lealui District and differs considerably from that of the Nkoya in the Mankoya District.

"The Shikalu may be an important link in the early history of the indigenous tribes of Barotseland and more information about them is required."

The Kwangwa, Kwangwa-Lima, Lima, Totela and Mambowela are a group of tribes described by Clay, most of whom were forced to change their domicile several times during the 19th century. The Totela of Sesheke had been under Lozi suzerainty since the early years of the century and in 1836 when the Kololo invasion occurred and Sebitwane ruled from Sesheke they fled northwards until they reached Lukwakwa, an uninhabited area between the Luena and Dongwe rivers south of Kabompo. Many of the Kwangwa fled there too. So that when the Kololo were defeated in 1864 there was a general return of many tribes to the area they had forsaken twenty-eight years before. But Sipopa the new Paramount had to deal with a rival claimant before he could settle down, a claimant supported by the Kwangwa, so he fought and defeated them and many of the Kwangwa and Kwangwa-Lima fled back again to Lukwakwa. Sipopa made Sesheke his capital because of constant fears of a Matabele invasion. More than one invasion did occur causing the Totela to make another flight to Lukwakwa.

The Kwangwa are, as already stated, really Lozi. Clay says of them and the Kwangwa-Lima: "The Kwangwa live in nine areas in the Mongu-Lealui District, four areas in Senanga, with a number of villages in the area under discussion and in the area of Mwanambuyu and Mufaya.

"Originally the Kwangwa inhabited the bush country of the Mongu-Lealui and Senanga districts, while the Lozi inhabited the

plains. There is no tribal recollection of any movement from elsewhere, and it is generally accepted nowadays among the natives themselves that they have always lived where most of them are living to-day. There has been no chief of the Kwangwa since the time of one Mage, said to have been the contemporary of the Barotse Paramount Chief Ngombala, and who must therefore have lived at least 150 years ago. Since that time the Kwangwa have been under the Lozi and have looked to no other chiefs but theirs, though as has been already noted they have sometimes backed one claimant against another in internecine struggles. It seems that their blood has had less intermixture than that of the Lozi, among whom the blood of other tribes is ubiquitous.

"As a tribe the Kwangwa are bilingual, speaking Kwangwa and Lozi. Kwangwa is said to be very similar indeed to the old Siluyi or Siluyana spoken by the Lozi before the Kololo invasion. The fact that Kwangwa has survived while Siluyana has disappeared is a good proof that the Kololo, though extracting tribute from what remained of the Kwangwa, did not in fact penetrate to any extent into the bush country off the plains, and that is also borne out by native memory. When the Kololo invaded the country, the important Kwangwa fled with the Lozi to the Lukwakwa and returned to their old country after Sipopa became settled in his chieftainship. Many of the common people, however, continued to exist in the bush for a number of years near their old homes until they were discovered by the Kololo who made them pay tribute.

"The Kwangwa, Kwangwa-Lima and Lima all speak different dialects, which are said to have considerable differences. After much questioning of natives of these tribes, it seems probable that no proper explanation can now be given of their different origins without a great deal of research by someone who could compare linguistic differences.

"The problem of who the Kwangwa-Lima are cannot be answered. The solutions offered by natives may be mentioned, though they appear extremely unlikely. The first is that the Kwangwa-Lima are the children of Kwangwa fathers and Nkoya mothers. The second is that the term Kwangwa-Lima was not heard before the arrival of the white men. Personally I incline to the view that the distinction may have something to do with difference between those who went up to the Lukwakwa in the Kololo times and those who remained behind. It is known that when Lewanika was driven into exile in 1884 a usurper from the Lukwakwa was set up, who, although he was a Lozi by birth, was unable to speak any language save Lunda. Possibly in the forty years of exile linguistic differences of considerable importance may have grown up between those who went and those who stayed behind. More research is necessary on this point.

"The Kwangwa are sometimes called Kwangwa-Tota (Kwangwa proper) to distinguish them from the Kwangwa-Lima, and they also have different dialects among themselves, so much so that Kwangwa from the Lealui District laugh at the pronunciation and verbal efforts of Kwangwa in the Mankoya District.

"It has been suggested that the Lima may be a remnant who fled at some time from Shukulumbwe (Ila). The Totela are admitted to have originated from Sesheke, where the greater part of the tribe still remains. The Mbowela are closely connected with iron-working and also appear to have Sesheke origin. They get their name from their trade or trade guild."

SOME MINOR TRIBES OF BAROTSELAND

The preceding sections of this chapter will have indicated how obscure is the tribal history and ethnographic position of a number of the smaller tribes of Barotseland. A glance of the list of chiefs and the tribes in their areas will confirm this. Many of them have been fitted loosely into an ethnic pattern but others have not been. Notes on them are given below.

If all the small groups can be classed as tribes the total is higher than the twenty-five given by Gluckman.

Mananzwa.—These are offshoots of the Southern Rhodesian tribe said to number, in 1954, only 359 people in the Mongu District and 21 in the Sesheke District. Mr. M. Mitchell-Heggs, District Commissioner, Mongu, has this to say about them: "The Mananzwa living in this district retain a little of their own dialect, but in customs and general livelihood they are virtually completely Lozi-ised.

"Their ancestors are said to have come to Barotseland in the days of the Makololo Paramount Chief Sebitwane, and later others followed, under Chief Sipopa: this would put their immigration at over a century ago. They are said to be from near Wankie, where their ancestors lived: they are a tribe allied to the Makalanga and the Maswina."

Makangala and Makwangali.—The 1954 population list gives a figure of 634 Makangala, in the Kalabo (510), Mankoya (92) and Mongu (32) districts. Mr. A. F. B. Glennie, Resident Commissioner, comments: "There are two tribes around which some confusion exists. These are the Makangala and the Makwangali. Both came originally from Portuguese West Africa." There are no separate population figures for the Makwangali. The Kalabo District Note Book says that the bulk of the Makwangali tribe lives in Portuguese territory beyond the Kwandi. This was the tribe that gave refuge to Lewanika when he

was deposed in 1884. They had a very distinctive hair style, fibres being woven into the hair to give the appearance of long strands.

Tungwe.—A group in the Senanga District. They are magnificent swimmers and there are many legends concerning their ability to remain under water for long periods spearing fish or recovering goods from overturned canoes.

Mahombi.—A group in the Senanga District said to be descendants of Basuto refugees who had joined Sebitwane.

Mahumbe.—A small tribal group in the Mongu District also with affinities to the south.

Mambalangwe.—A group in Kalabo District said to be related to the Lovale except that they live in the bush land and not on the Zambezi. They are renowned as medicine makers and also for a dance—"*sengubu*"—that lasted several days and nights without a stop.

Maliuwa.—A small tribe in the Kalabo District who live on the border of the plain of the same name. Practically absorbed by the Lozi now. Mr. D. G. Brown, District Commissioner, Kalabo, states that these people were a mixture of Kwandi, Makoma, Nyengo and Lovale who have been isolated in the remote plain and almost untouched by outside influences until very recent years.

Mambumi.—Shown on the list of chiefs as a tribe in the Kalabo District and also referred to as a tribe in the Report of Commission on Relations between Paramount Chief of Barotse and chiefs of Balovale.

Lwandamo and *Namale.*—Both referred to as tribes in the list of chiefs but there is no recorded information about them Mr. D. G. Brown thinks that the name Lwandamo crept into the chiefs' list some time ago in error and the error has been perpetuated.

Yauma.—A population list for Barotseland gives 941 Yauma in Kalabo and sixty-six in Mongu. Nothing is known of these people. Mr. D. G. Brown states that the Yauma are an immigrant tribe from Angola and are allied to the Mbunda.

Mbumbi.—Mr. D. G. Brown states that, rather like the Liuwa, these people are a heterogenous collection that have taken the name of the area in which they live. The Mbumbi are mixed Totela, Kwandi, Simaa and Shanjo who have settled on the Mbumbi stream.

Ndebele.—A 1954 population list shows 592 Ndebele in the Mongu District; 207 in the Kalabo District and 129 in Sesheke. They are presumably descendants of the early raiders although some may have migrated of recent years from Southern Rhodesia.

THE BUSHMEN

Dr. Desmond Clark has supplied the following notes:

"The Bushmen in south-west Barotseland are a group of Hukwe (one of the Northern Bushman tribes), the main group of which lives to the south and west in the Caprivi Strip. They are known as MaKwengo by the Lozi, Shanjo, Subiya and other tribes amongst whom they live; this name is applied also, according to Schapera, by the Bechuana to some of the northern Bechuanaland Bushmen. The first record of them is probably by Coillard, the founder of the Paris Mission in Barotseland. But see also Stevenson-Hamilton's Journal in Oppenheimer Series.

"In Northern Rhodesia they now live in three main groups but previously must have been more numerous and more widely dispersed in the south-west corner of the Territory. One group near the junction of the Njoka River with the Zambezi, between Sioma and Katima Mulilo, has settled down to life in a permanent village, planting maize and owning some stock. The other groups own no stock and have only within the last few years taken to planting millet. They live by hunting and collecting vegetable foods, honey, etc.; and are primarily wood-land/forest dwellers. They build no permanent huts, but range over an area of country stretching from the Zambezi to several days' journey beyond the Mashi, in fact the area covered by the group is not likely to be much less than a thousand square miles. During the rains they are more or less continually on the move but during the dry season they fall back upon their permanent waterholes, the two main ones being Domba and Taba in the Shanjo country between the Zambezi and the Mashi. They live quite amicably among these people, who come to barter tobacco, iron, etc., in exchange for hides and other things. Most of their iron comes, however, from the Mafwe, a group of Mampukushu living on the Mashi River.

"In their physical features they are fairly typical Northern Bushmen. That is to say, they are taller than the true Southern Bushmen, and they have small heads, crowned with the typical 'pepper-corn' hair. The forehead is vertical while the face shows prominent cheek bones, a flat nose and slender jaw which does not protrude as does the negro face and jaw. The skin has a tendency to hang in loose folds on the body, especially on that of the older adults, and there is a definite tendency among the women to store up fat at the buttocks (steatopygy) though this is not nearly so pronounced as it is with the Southern Bushmen and Hottentots. Skin colour is predominantly reddish, but a few yellow and black skinned individuals are also found. There has been a little intermarriage with the surrounding Bantu, but not very much, and their physical appearance bears out their statements that they marry with the main Hukwe Group in the Caprivi Strip.

"When on the move, they build temporary camps and live in small, beehive huts formed of bent-over withies covered with grass or leaves or else in windbreaks formed by two mats. Near their permanent water-holes they have built some thatched shelters on the normal Barotse pattern and these are sometimes converted into huts by placing mats around the sides. Their weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows with bone and iron heads, but they also now use the spear. Game is also caught by means of snares and by constructing pit and fall traps of various kinds."

CHAPTER 2

MWATA YAMVWA* AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BEMBA-LUNDA-LOVALE GROUP

The Lunda, both of the Luapula and of the Mwinilunga district, and the Bemba, come from the great Luba-Lunda kingdom of the Congo which had Mwata Yamvwa as its chief. This was one of the greatest of the Central African chieftainships of the 17th and 18th centuries and comprised an empire which stretched across the Katanga area of the Congo east of the Kasai River. Both Lunda and Bemba acknowledge an almost legendary place of origin known as "Kola" which may refer to an area in Angola, even farther east than the Luba empire.

Many Northern Rhodesian tribes have a Congo origin and there appear to have been several waves of migration eastwards from the Luba area. Moffat Thomson tells the legend of how the great dispersal began. The great Chief, Mwata Yamvwa, ordered his people to build a tower which would reach to the sky so that they could bring him the sun and the moon. Great attempts were made to accomplish this task but eventually the tower collapsed causing great loss of life. Many families fled in terror from the wrath of the chief†

And that is why, according to legend, the migrations began, moving eastwards and southwards. It is impossible now to state which group came first into Northern Rhodesia. One authority says that the Luapula group came as one and that the Bemba broke away after crossing the Luapula. Some stories say that the Bemba found the Bisa, a people of similar origin, already on the plateau before them and chased them south and eastwards; other legends relate how the Bisa merely broke away from the Bemba as a result of a quarrel between women of the ruling family. It seems fairly definite that the Bemba found the Lungu, Mambwe, Iwa and others on the plateau when they arrived and the northern Lunda of the Luapula found Aushi, Chishinga and others. There is an interesting story that when the northern Lunda arrived they found pygmies living on Kilwa Island in Lake

* There are many variant spellings of this name—Mwati Yamfwa; Mwato Yamvo; Mwata Yamva, etc. But that used here is not only the spelling used by Carvalho, who visited the chief's capital in 1890, but is, according to White, the spelling used by the modern north-west Lunda. It is also used by Rhodes-Livingstone Institute writers.

† White says that this story is widespread in the Western Province not to explain the dispersal from the Congo but rather to explain the origin of the Kaposhi clan "Vaka Kaposhi, Kaposhi Kamununga, Vanungile Panda, Voyile Muvilu" in the clan formula.

Mweru, and that all but two were destroyed when the Lunda accidentally set fire to the island.

Reflecting on the various factors it seems probable that the Bemba came before the Lunda of the Luapula. The Bemba are a much more militant tribe than the Lunda. If they had followed the Lunda there would surely have been legends of battles between the two. As it is, the Lunda seem to have infiltrated fairly peacefully into the Luapula Valley in the wake of the Bemba migration. The mere fact that the Bemba penetrated so much farther eastwards and southwards also argues an earlier arrival.

The first recorded information about the northern Lunda is in *The Lands of Cazembe* which tells the story of Lacerda's expedition of 1798 and Coxhead deduces that this tribe had arrived on this side of the Luapula about sixty years before, that is about 1740. The same author says that the Bemba had preceded the Lunda by about two generations so we can place the arrival of the Bemba at least at the beginning of the 18th century.

Mwata Yamvwa, the first, is said to have had five or six sons. The eldest one succeeded to the title and the patrilineal line has been unbroken since then. Several of the sons, with father's help, carved out kingdoms for themselves. Kazembe Pa Nchinda, the third son, established his rule on the Luapula. Musokantanda, the fourth son, took an area of the Zambezi-Congo watershed and a descendant still lives in the Congo close to Solwezi. The people of Sailunga (*see* below) of the North-Western Province acknowledge him as their senior chief. The fifth son was Shinde, a descendant of whom is now the senior Lunda chief in the North-Western Province and who now ranks in status with Musokantanda of the Congo. The sixth son, Kanongesha, took an area to the south and west of Musokantanda and established himself in what is now the Mwinilunga District although some of his people live in Angola. All Kanongesha's people are now known as Ndembu. All the above are of Lunda descent although the people of Sailunga in the Mwinilunga District have also changed their name and are known as Akosa. Sailunga appears to have been a half-brother by a different wife from the six sons mentioned.

According to White the point at which the southern Lunda under Shinde, Kanongesha and Musokantanda separated from one another in their migration "varies in different versions, but one version among the Mwinilunga Lunda puts it as a large plain west of the Mwinilunga Boma. Musokantanda then went east to Musonoi to establish himself there, Kanongesha went west into Angola between the Lunga and the Zambezi and Shinde further south in Angola towards the Lufwiji. This motif of the brother parting to found separate groups is a recurrent one" (in native legends).

The Bemba also come from Mwata Yamvwa's empire but there does not seem to be any direct link that can now be traced with the great chief's family. This is strange because the Bemba are now not only the second largest tribe in Northern Rhodesia but are the most homogeneous of the Luba group with the most strongly centralised political system. Succession to chieftainship is matrilineal, whereas in the Lunda it is patrilineal. The name of the Paramount Chief of the Bemba, Chitimukulu, does not appear to have been adopted until after they had occupied their present area.

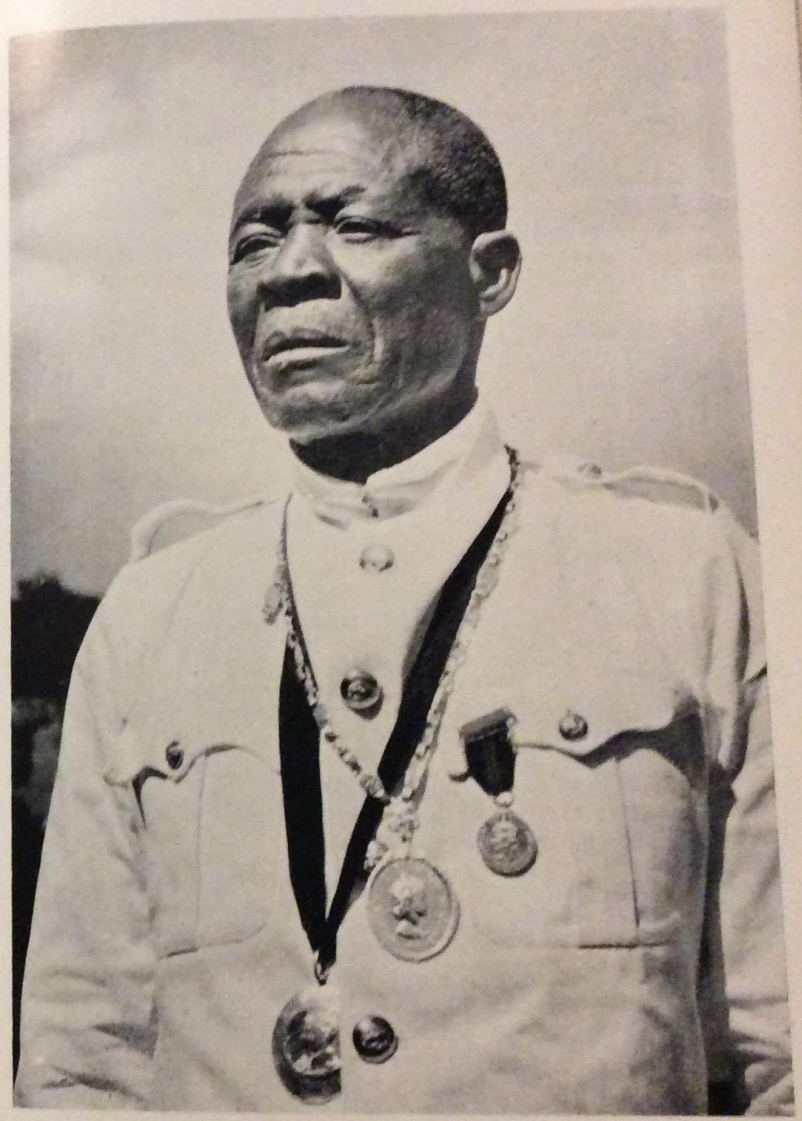
One story of their origin is that the Bemba were followers of the son of Mwata Yamvwa's sister who also set out to carve himself an empire. This may account for the matrilineal descent of the Bemba.

The first ancestor of the Bemba is known as Chiti Muluba (Chiti the Luban) and according to Audrey Richards, "Luban words, no longer understood by the Bemba commoner, are still used as part of the religious ritual at the Paramount Chief's court". What caused this particular migration of Bemba is not known, nor is it known how its leaders established themselves, but the group must have been consolidated by the time they crossed the Luapula for, again according to Audrey Richards, "the composition of the invading group still determines the title to chieftainship, rank, succession to various offices, and the order of precedence of a number of older clans".

The Lovale, according to one legend, are also descendants of a sister of Mwata Yamvwa and descent here too is matrilineal. The story is that Chisengo, the sister, and her husband and followers broke away from Mwata Yamvwa's court and went to live on the Lwena River in Angola: hence the term Lwena sometimes used for the tribe. Chisenga's son, Chinyama, became the first chief of the new independent group that are now known as the Lovale.

White gives another version in which one Lueji, sister of Chinyama, succeeded to the chieftainship of a Lunda group. During her rule a Luba hunter, Chibinda, came along and married Lueji. During Lueji's menstrual seclusion Chibinda, with Lueji's acquiescence, seized the royal emblems and drums, became ruler and thus established a Luba dynasty among the Lunda. "It is often said that the patrilineal succession of the Lunda chiefs is derived from this Luba element." In one northern Lunda version, Chinyama, who founded the Lwena or Lovale, was Lueji's brother.

White dates the establishment of Chibinda's dynasty at "about 1600 and in the immediately subsequent periods groups of Lunda broke away to found the Chokwe, Lwena, Luchazi and Songo people, and probably a little later the Ndembu and Lunda of Shinde and Musokantanda followed them. By 1750 all these tribes were occupying substantially the same country as they occupy to-day. Reference



PARAMOUNT CHIEF CHITIMUKULU OF THE BEMBA, 1956

[*Photo: Fedinform*

LUNDA CHIEFS SHINDE (ON LEFT) AND KAZEMBE, ABOUT 1951

[*Photo: Inform*]

must be made to the probability that the people already in these areas were Mbwela, viz. the legend that Chinyama fought the Mbwela on the upper Zambezi on his arrival, whilst Saluseke subdued an Mbwela people further west who are to-day of Luchazi stock. The Lunda being the weakest never obliterated the Mbwela in their country, hence the few remnants of the Lukolowe, whom they found already before them, surviving in the Kabompo Valley to-day."

Whereas the Bemba extended their empire by raiding and fighting and the Lozi by a combination of fighting, followed by the installation of Lozi chiefs over conquered areas and of tribute collectors over what one might call subdued areas, the Lunda, especially those of the Luapula, seem to have extended their sway on a sort of commonwealth system by embracing other people to their culture. As Slaski puts it: "The Lunda possessed a special status (in the Luapula Valley) and constituted a sort of nobility to which distinguished outsiders—non-Lunda chiefs and headmen—could be admitted by being invested with Lundahood (*ubulunda*)". The southern Lunda (of the North-Western Province), on the other hand, had fissiparous tendencies in their early history, as had many of the other north-western tribes having, as we have seen, a Lunda origin. The Northern Rhodesia section of the tribe very nearly became subordinate to the Lozi and only broke away in 1941.

Having described briefly the common ancestry of a very large section of the population, each group and its associated tribes must now be considered in detail.

CHAPTER 3

THE SOUTHERN LUNDA, LOVALE, LUCHAZI, CHOKWE AND ALLIED TRIBES

This group of tribes lives in the north-west corner of the Territory, i.e. in the Balovale, Kabompo and Mwinilunga districts.

The Lunda of this area are widely separated geographically from the Lunda of Kazembe although, as we have seen, they have a common origin. White points out that the Lunda of Kazembe are to-day largely acculturated to the Bemba whilst the southern Lunda of the North-Western Province are culturally and linguistically allied to the Lovale. An exception to this generalisation as regards the northern Lunda is that they are patrilineal whereas the Bemba and the southern Lunda are matrilineal.

The Lunda as a whole are now in three distinct groups. The group in the original home—the Congo: the northern Lunda in the Luapula Valley: and the southern Lunda of north-west Rhodesia and adjoining areas in Katanga and Angola. The Congo group is farther north geographically than the others but in Northern Rhodesia our two groups are distinguished as being north and south. Attempts have been made to distinguish the three groups by varying the spelling of the name Lunda but the simple geographical distinction is more realistic.

Moffat Thomson refers to the "Ndembu" Chief Kanongesha and gives an area to a tribe of that name. It is correct that Kanongesha's people are known as Ndembu. But it is a name, originally that of a river, used by the Belgian authorities and by the Lunda of Mwata Yamvwa to refer to the southern Lunda as a whole. So that the Northern Rhodesian term "southern Lunda" also includes the Ndembu.

The term also includes the Akosa of Sailunga in the Mwinilunga District. It is not known how this particular name arose.

In Barotseland all the groups are known as Mawiko—"the people of the west". The term Lwena is also often used generally in Northern Rhodesia to denote the same peoples but that name more strictly applies only to the portion of the group that still lives on the Lwena River and northwards in Angola. The following quotations from White give clearly the distinctions between all the various elements, except the Lunda who have been dealt with generally above and in the previous section.

White says of the Lovale*: "They have spread widely over the west of Northern Rhodesia being commonly met with in Barotseland and parts of Mwinilunga and Kasempa, usually following the river valleys on account of their fishing habits. Although falling into certain local groups they form a much more homogeneous tribe than any of the other north-western peoples."

Early writers commented on the frequency of female chiefs among the Lovale and St. Hill Gibbons described the system of government as "pure gynocracy". Although succession is tending to change to patriliny, in the traditional system heirs could be either brothers' sons or sisters' sons or sisters' daughters of a reigning male chief whereas under the Luchazi system, and under the Lunda and Chokwe systems too, heirs are sisters' sons.

The Luchazi form another element of this group. According to McCulloch, "they also have traditions of origin from the empire of the Mwata Yamvwa, but there is insufficient information to work out the full story in these traditions, which have several variations. Lunda of Shinde and many local Luchazi claim that the founder of the Luchazi was Mutunda, a contemporary of Shinde who broke away from the Lunda.

"The first group of Luchazi entered Northern Rhodesia in about 1900 and were given land in the Lunda tribal area by Shinde. In 1910 a party of Luchazi under Samuzimu entered Rhodesia from the north-west and settled between Chavuma and Makondu on the east side of the Zambezi. The main immigration in 1917 followed the Luchazi-Mbunda revolt in Angola, when groups of both tribes, fleeing from alleged Portuguese reprisals, came down the Lungwebungu River into the Mongu District, settled near Lukulu, but later moved into east Balovale, where they were given land by the Lozi Chief Sikufele. In the next twenty-five years there was large-scale immigration into Balovale and Barotseland and, after 1930, into south Mwinilunga. Since 1938, however, it has been steadily falling off. Luchazi in the Lunda area were disliked by the Lunda, who accused them of supporting the Lozi, and, after the 1941 partition, many of them, including their leader Samuzimu, moved into the Mankoya District under the Lozi."

White says: "Large numbers of them are now to be found in the Barotse Province, especially in Kalabo, Mongu and Mankoya districts, in Balovale and Kabompo districts, especially along the Mombeji, Kalwilu, Chikonkwelu and Manyinga rivers, and east of the Manyinga. The Luchazi in Northern Rhodesia belong mostly to a group calling

* The spelling of Lovale is sometimes queried. White says: "Strictly speaking Luvale is phonetically correct. But Balovale has become established as the name of the place on maps, so I have always kept the better known, but not quite accurate, spelling. Luchazi is phonetically correct."

themselves *vaka-ndonga*, the river people, whilst a smaller number call themselves *vaka-ntunda*, the bush people.

" The Luchazi are actually one section of a very large assemblage of allied peoples occurring over most of the interior of southern Angola. This assemblage is collectively often termed ' Ganguelas ' by the Portuguese." According to various writers this term also includes Lovale, Mbwela, Mbunda and others.

White goes on : " The Mbunda deserve a word of amplification. Mbunda infiltration into Barotseland commenced at an early date, certainly well before the Makololo invasion. The old Mbunda families there have been subjected to strong Kololo acculturation, and largely assimilated. But later groups of the Mbunda are very similar to the Luchazi. When the Kololo invasion occurred, large numbers of Mbunda with a few Lozi fled north to the Manyinga area. A trace of them remains in the people ruled by the dynasty of Sikufele, of the Royal Lozi line, but a branch with Mbunda blood. His subjects are predominantly Luchazi and Chokwe." (*See* note on Chieftainship.)

The origin of the Chokwe, the largest of the group, who now number 600,000 spread throughout Angola, the Congo and Northern Rhodesia (35,000), is linked with that of the Lovale, which has been described. As usual in such legends of origin there are several versions. Basically the story follows the marriage of Lueji with the Luban hunter Chifinda (*see* earlier section) and the simplest version is that at the time Chinyama, the brother of Lueji, founded the Lovale group some of his followers broke away, journeyed westwards and gave rise to the Chokwe. The new group was " organised politically on lines similar to the Lunda system and appears to have continued to pay tribute to the Mwata Yamvwa."

Chokwe expansion was rapid and, according to McCulloch, " appears to have commenced at an early date, but very little is known of their history between the 17th and the second half of the 19th centuries. They became famous as slave-dealers and made numerous raids on surrounding tribes for the purpose of obtaining slaves, using guns purchased from the Portuguese in exchange for rubber and ivory. They also gained a reputation as enthusiastic traders, and travellers in areas far distant from the centre of Chokwe culture report small groups trading in rubber, ivory and slaves."

They grew powerful enough by the mid-19th century to invade the Lunda kingdom of Mwata Yamvwa on several occasions, once killing the chief himself and capturing the queen mother. For over ten years from 1888 they were in control of the Lunda country of Mwata Yamvwa but after that period were defeated by the Lunda. This long period of occupation by the Chokwe cut off the southern Lunda from their overlord.

Chokwe immigration into Northern Rhodesia began in 1920. McCulloch says that: " Many of the earlier immigrants were refugees from Portuguese reprisals after the sacking by the Chokwe of Vila Luzo (later Moxico). Present immigration, however, is activated by economic advantages, and the immigrant often returns to visit friends in Angola."

White gives a little further information : " The Chokwe are the fourth element in the Mawiko. Their home is the drainage of the Kasai and its adjacent rivers in north-west Angola and the south-west Belgian Congo. Chokwe expansion into Northern Rhodesia has been comparatively recent, but they had already previously spread southwards in Angola into part of the country inhabited by the Luchazi and Lwena. Their main areas of settlement in Northern Rhodesia are the eastern half of the Balovale District and the Kabompo District, and there are considerable numbers of them in the Barotse Province. In this wide diffusion various groups of them have tended to become separated by name. Chokwe immigrants into Northern Rhodesia recognise three groups of their tribe—*Chokwe chaMwanakandala* on the middle Kasai about Saulimo, *chaMwachisenga* (=*Mona-Kisenge*) in the Belgian Congo from Chikapa northwards, and *chaMwakanyika*, the most numerous element in Northern Rhodesia originating on the southern Kasai from Ndala to Vila Luso.

" The Ovimbundu whose home is in the highland of Angola form yet another element in the mosaic of the peoples of the north-west. They are not usually included among the Mawiko and form an element in the Balovale people quite small in number but important historically. Groups of them have settled in many areas in the north-west of Northern Rhodesia. In Barotseland they are known as Mambari and were thus referred to by Livingstone. They visited Barotseland well over a century ago as traders and slavers, middlemen for the Portuguese.

" To close this description mention may be made briefly of one or two other elements in the north-west. The Minungo appear to be hybrid Chokwe-Lunda origin and occasional individuals of this group may be met.

" The Lukolwe and Mbwela are part of the Nkoya people (*see* relevant section). They were originally widespread over this area, but to-day are confined to parts of the Kabompo Valley. They have left their traces much further north in the names of rivers in Mwinilunga, in places where they no longer occur. The Mbwela may have been original inhabitants of much of this country, and westwards into Angola before the rise of the Lwena, Luchazi and Chokwe. The Lwena proverb *Mushilinjinji kambwela* indicates that they were once

a numerous people, literally ' as numerous as the drops of rain '. The Lwena can hardly have had contact with the Mbwela unless there were once Mbwela in the Lwena country in Angola. Again the Ganguela people in Angola are still called Mbwela although no longer culturally or linguistically belonging to them.

" Thus the north-west corner of Northern Rhodesia presents the picture of a country which is British from political and administrative aspects, but in tribal and cultural respects belongs to the west and north-west, to Angola and the Belgian Congo."

The influence of these immigrant tribes in the north-western area is considerable. White says: " They comprise 95 per cent. of the population of the Kabompo District. Their affinities with Angola and the Belgian Congo are all exhibited in material culture, religious beliefs, geographical associations, linguistic characteristics and oral traditions. The Luchazi, Lovale, Chokwe and Ovimbundu immigrants in effect are the Kabompo District. The immigrant communities have distinguished themselves as agriculturalists in recent years. They are energetic cultivators and many of them have learned from their Portuguese culture contacts the outlook of the European peasant that agriculture is the foundation of life and is also a source of profit when a cash crop is available. A number of them have gone further and acquired more special accomplishments such as the ability to graft citrus*. How far their desire to grow cash crops is due also to a particularly strong economic outlook, it is more difficult to say, but there is no doubt that this outlook is highly developed in many of them as witness their enthusiasm for trade and commerce in any form. Village stores and hawkers are numerous amongst these tribes and someone aptly referred to them as the Phoenicians of Northern Rhodesia. The far-ranging Lovale or Chokwe traders who reach the railway line and beyond are in fact carrying on the tradition of the trading caravans of the last three centuries.

" Because of this economic outlook, a moneyed economy is strongly established in this rural area; some of the 35 per cent. of the migrant taxable males never cultivate themselves, but buy food with their savings when they return from the urban areas. Specialisation is well developed and bricklayers, carpenters, tailors, shoe repairers, pot menders and growers of European vegetables all manage to make a living locally. Cattle are not kept as a form of investment although the area is largely free from tsetse but they are often bought in Barotseland, trekked back and butchered for money."

* The 1954 African Affairs Report says that there is a group of Ovimbundu in Chief Ikelenge's area in Mwinilunga who have introduced coffee culture. Nearly 1,600 trees are being grown under irrigation. Hullers have been bought and fermentation tanks built.

NOTE ON CHIEFTAINSHIP IN THE GROUP

Whereas the Lovale have a traditional system of chiefs, the Mbunda had no chiefs but only elders.

There is little information about the traditional form of chieftainship among the Luchazi. Portuguese writers say that they had no " high chiefs ", but describe vaguely a form of federation of " tribes " each with its own head. In Northern Rhodesia, Kalunga at Balovale is recognised as a chief under the Native Authority Ordinance, and comes of chiefly descent. He recognises Sikufele of Kabompo as his superior.

The Kabompo Boma and the Manyinga Native Authority were formed to deal with immigrants, mainly Luchazi. " The chief, Sikufele, is a Lozi with old Mbunda blood who rules over a handful of his own people and a huge immigrant population, in which Luchazi predominate. The general tendency of his rule has been to avoid any step which might undermine his own status; hence his encouragement of large villages among the Luchazi, since a high degree of centralisation ensures his control over them. Apart from this, he has permitted Luchazi settlers considerable local autonomy and has appointed Luchazi representatives to his council." (McCulloch.)

The Kaonde Native Authority in the Kasempa District has also admitted a Chokwe on to its council.

THE BREAKAWAY OF THE LUNDA AND LOVALE FROM BAROTSELAND

In 1939, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed to look into the claim of the Lovale and the Lunda of the north-western area to become independent of the Lozi. The claim was won and in 1941 the Balovale District was excised from Barotseland.

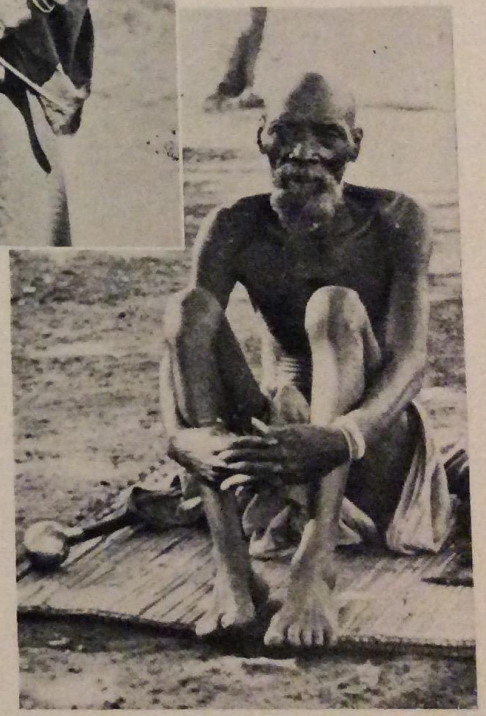
The Lovale and Lunda, each from the same Central African hegemony, were originally quite independent of the Lozi. According to evidence taken by the Commission, the Lovale, during the middle years of the 19th century, conducted a series of wars or slave-raids against the Lunda who, because of the lack of firearms, seemed powerless to resist, and who retired into the forests until the Lovale went away. In 1891 the Lunda appealed to the Lozi for protection and the following year the Paramount Chief Lewanika fought against and defeated certain Lovale chiefs living north of the present Balovale District. During the years 1892 until the death of Paramount Lewanika in 1916, the Lovale and Lunda, the one being partially defeated and the other being under an obligation, were what the Commission called " client tribes of the Barotse but not tribes subject to them ". Tribute was only paid intermittently, not as submission but merely to placate a powerful neighbour and the paramount was never able to exact the

usual twelve days' free labour from the two tribes. Lovale country became part of the Barotse Reserve by the Concession of 1909 and again according to the Commission active interference by Barotse indunas, resident and visiting, in the affairs of the three tribes—Lunda, Lovale and Luchazi—became more and more frequent and during the period 1919 to 1932 interference even in successions, law and litigation, settlement of immigrants and many other affairs was exercised by the Lealui Kuta with the support of the territorial Government. But the establishment of a full Barotse Court in 1932 in Lovale area caused the Lovale and Lunda, hereditary enemies, to draw together in resistance against this new institution.

The Lunda and Lovale had never become assimilated with the Lozi, the Lovale had never been fully conquered, the Lunda were weak but were not subjects and neither tribe had ever acknowledged anything but a partial tribute to the Lozi. So in 1941 they were given their freedom from a growing Lozi attempt at suzerainty.

KAONDE CHIEF MULIMANZOVU, WHO DIED IN 1922

[*Photo: F. H. Melland*



CHIEF MBURUMA OF FEIRA, 1935

[*Photo: T. G. C. Vaughan-Jones*]

MAKISHI DANCERS, MBUNDA AND LOVALE TRIBES

[*Photo: Rhodes-Livingstone Museum*]

CHAPTER 4

THE BEMBA, BISA AND NORTHERN LUNDA

The Bemba

The origin of this group has been described in Chapter 2. The Bemba, numbering about 145,000, are the second largest tribe in Northern Rhodesia. The Tonga, the only tribe to outnumber the Bemba, are very mixed, whereas the Bemba are a homogenous tribe. The Bemba have not grown, as did the Ngoni, by the wholesale assimilation of conquered peoples nor have they absorbed subject tribes as did the Lozi. Once settled on the Kalungu River after much wandering they raided, held sway and demanded tribute rather than overran other tribes. The only trace of non-Bemba blood in the large royal clan of the crocodile totem—*Bena Ng'andu*—came about when a sister of a royal chief was captured and carried off in an Ngoni raid in the 1880s. She was sold or left among the Fungwe of the Isoka District and her son by a Fungwe man is the present (1956) Chief Mwamba. Although he had progressed through the hierarchy of royal chiefs until he reached the second senior post, he was not allowed, in 1946, to inherit the paramountcy because of this foreign blood. People of surrounding tribes, mainly Bemba-speaking themselves and in many cases with a Bemba culture, are still proud to call themselves Bemba whenever the opportunity arises outside their own tribal area.

As related earlier, the Bemba are of immediate Luba origin although some traditions have it that "Kola", the legendary home, is in Angola and that the Bemba merely passed through the Luba empire in their slow migration eastwards. In addition to the two illustrations of Luba influence, also mentioned earlier in Chapter 2, that the first Chitimukulu was Chiti Muluba and that Luba words are still used in rituals, there is also the example of the names of totemic animals. They are in Chiluba, not Chibemba. People of the leopard clan are "*Bena Ngo*" not "*Bena Mbwili*" (*imbwili* being the Chibemba for leopard): the people of the royal totem, the crocodile, are "*Bena Ng'andu*" not "*Bena Ng'wena*" (*ing'wena* being the normal name for crocodile).

The Bemba probably crossed the Luapula into Northern Rhodesia sometime about the beginning of the 18th century. When Lacerda arrived on the Luapula in 1798 both the northern Lunda and the Bemba were established and separate.

There are several versions of the origin of Chiti (who later became Chitimukulu), one making him the son of the legendary founder of the Lunda who fell from the skies to marry Mukulu, a mortal chief. In this version, Mwata Yamvwa and Kazembe are cousins of royal but mortal blood. The only fact generally accepted is that the Bemba are of the same stock as the Lunda, were related to Mwata Yamvwa and that Chiti and his followers broke away and migrated eastwards into Northern Rhodesia. One version says that they were followed by Kazembe, another close relative, in the same direction: another story is that Chiti and Kazembe broke away together—Kazembe staying on the Luapula River, whilst Chiti went on.

The Luapula was crossed at Kashengeneke where Chiti threw his spear into a tree to mark the ford. There is a tradition that the tree is still there having grown enormously and absorbed the spear.

The migration went on past the north end of Lake Bangweulu and it was here that the large *Bena Ng'oma* (of the drum totem) clan broke away from the Bemba and went southwards to the lake and round its western shores. (This clan eventually became the Chishinga, Mukulu, Ng'umbo and Unga tribes.)

It is said that the Chambeshi River was crossed at the Safwa Rapids. Shortly afterwards occurred the incident that led to the separation of the Bisa. The story is that Chanda, the mother of the Bisa family, offered some *samfwi* mushrooms to Chiti's sister. The next day the sister asked for more but Chanda, although she had some, refused. Chiti was angry at the lack of respect that the refusal showed. He stuck the branch of a fig tree (*mutaba*) into the ground saying: "You Bisa will stay here; you are no longer of our totem but of the *Bena Ng'ona*" (*samfwi* mushroom). It is said that the branch grew into the big fig tree at the source of the Luchindashi Stream in the Chinsali District.

The migration continued southwards into the country of the Lala, a Luba-Lunda people who had migrated before the Bemba. One story has it that the Lala did not resist but asked for a Luban chief. Chiti left one who took the name of Chiwale.

Chiti then turned eastwards, crossed the Luangwa into Senga country. The chief at the time was one, Mwase, who made friends with Chiti. The latter fell in love with Mwase's wife and was caught in *flagrante delicto*. There was a fight in which Mwase struck a poisoned arrow into Chiti's arm and fled with his wife. Chiti died. He was given the name of Mukulu, his father, and all his successors on attaining the paramountcy have been known as Chitimukulu.

The eldest brother, Nkole, succeeded and having mummified his brother's body, carried it with him. The migration, after this set-back, turned north-eastwards out of the valley.

They settled for a while on the Kaunga River and from here Nkole conducted a punitive expedition against Mwase who was killed. Mwase's tattooed chest and stomach skin is now one of the Bemba royal relics.

The migration moved on further north-west until it came to the thick patch of forest (*umushitu*) on the Katonga Stream (Chinsali District). This was thought to be a suitable resting place for the mummified body of Chiti and it is said the Bemba first raided northwards in order to obtain a suitable cowhide for a shroud. The forest patch, Mwalule, has been the burial ground of Bemba royal chiefs ever since.

Nkole died shortly after Chiti. It was the third Chitimukulu who moved on, again westwards, recrossing the Chambeshi, until the Kalungu River (Kasama District) was reached. A halt was made here and when a dead crocodile was found on the bank it was thought to be a good omen for the building of a village. The village of the Paramount has been on the bank of this river ever since.

Although the wanderings of the chiefly family were over, the tribe raided and made forays in all directions.

It is said that the Bemba found pockets of people, Sukuma and Fipa, in their immediate area. These must have been far-flung migrants who had drifted southwards from what is now Tanganyika. These were conquered, although not absorbed for many generations and until recently certain villages in the Chinsali District were always referred to as Sukuma villages.

The Bisa who had consolidated themselves during the wanderings of the Chitimukulu were now pushed back by the Bemba southwestwards into the swamps of Bangweulu and eastwards into the mountains fringing the Luangwa Valley. As Richards says: "The Bemba also drove wedges into the territory of the Lungu, Tabwa and Mambwe to the north. Hence numbers of scattered tribelets came to acknowledge the rule of the Chitimukulu and paid him tribute, and groups of his chosen followers were settled in the outlying districts to exact these dues. His power seems to have been still further consolidated by the arrival of Arab traders in the middle of the 19th century, since they brought him guns, of which he kept complete possession, in return for ivory and slaves. In fact before the coming of the white man at the end of the century, it seems that the Chitimukulu held sway over the whole of the district between the four great lakes, Tanganyika, Nyasa, Bangweulu and Mweru, and south into the present Lala and Lamba country. With the establishment of the British South Africa Company at Kasama in 1899, the military conquests of the Bemba suddenly ceased."

Force had to be used by Company officials and there were a series of skirmishes before the Bemba and their Arab allies were finally subdued.

The Ngoni raided into Bemba country but were not able to drive out the Bemba, although, as related, they did capture one of the Bemba royal women.

The main feature of Bemba rule is a strongly centralised chieftainship involving a common allegiance to the Paramount. Consequently the area ruled by the Bemba has not changed since the advent of European administration. Wherever there was a Bemba chief there was effective rule. The political system is highly complex, there is a definite hierarchy of chiefs with promotion along a definite series of lines, one of them leading to the Paramountcy. A newly appointed chief knows in which direction lies his line of advancement to bigger chieftainships and equally clearly in what direction he cannot go.

Bemba language and Bemba culture have spread over vast areas. The language is used and understood over the whole of the Northern Province and adjacent areas in the Congo, over much of the Central Province and is the lingua franca of the Copperbelt.

The Bisa

The Bemba version of how the Bisa broke away from them has already been given. The Bisa have one or more different versions all admitting close relationship with Bemba but emphasising that they were different sections of the same migration before they crossed the Luapula into Northern Rhodesia.

Fox-Pitt and Thomas in their history of the Bisa (in typescript) tell the story that sometime after the dispersion from Luba country Chiti (the first Bemba chief) met his own sister during his wandering and, not knowing who she was, took her to wife. They had a son, Nkandu, who became the first Bisa chief and he later took the name of Kopa. It is said that, during the extensive raids on the Bisa after their return from the Luangwa Valley, the Bemba never attacked the village of Kopa because of this close relationship.

Coxhead says that the Bisa came at an earlier date than the Bemba. It may be that after the split the Bisa settled down whilst the Bemba continued their wanderings into the Luangwa Valley and then raided the Bisa after their return from the valley. This would only mean that the Bisa were settled before the Bemba, not that they migrated from "Kola" earlier.

There is no record of any other Bisa chief until after their arrival at Chinama (Kopa's present area). From there the other Bisa chiefs "scattered".

When they first arrived onto the plateau of the Northern Province, the Bisa state the country was empty except on the southern edge on the Lukulu where they found the Lala of Chitambo. The Bisa say they took this area by fighting; the Lala say that they allowed the Bisa to take refuge there during Ngoni raids and the Bisa stayed on.

Later in their history, according to Lane-Poole, sometime between 1885 and 1888, Kambwili, a Bisa chief, descended from the Muchinga escarpment and drove out the Chewa from an area of the Luangwa Valley known as Chiwande—an area that stretches across the river into the eastern valley. The Chewa had occupied this area since early in the century but Kambwili had obtained guns from the sale of ivory in Quillimane, and he defeated the Chewa. Lane-Poole says that Kambwili first came to Chiwande, and fancied it, on his way to sell the ivory but Coxhead says that he came because he had been driven from the plateau by the Bemba.

Kambwili built up a large population and even in recent years (1930s) his village contained over 200 huts.

The Bemba drove a wedge into Bisa country, pushing the Bisa east to the Muchingas and west to the Bangweulu Swamp and even whilst the Bemba pressure was on, the Ngoni raids began. The Ngoni, according to Fox-Pitt and Thomas, established a stockade on the Mwaleshi River as their headquarters. From here they made three great raids into Bisa country. One reached Lake Chaya and Kopa was forced to flee into the Luangwa Valley to take refuge with Kambwili.

After the Ngoni had left, the country was very empty and Bemba chiefs such as Chikwanda found it easy to occupy Bisa area although a Bisa chief, Nkuka, lived in Chikwanda's area until about 1920 when he was told that his former land now definitely belonged to the Bemba. The Bisa murdered a Chief Chikwanda in a desperate attempt to hold the area but that only drew a punitive expedition by the Bemba against Chiefs Kamwendo and Nabwalya who were harbouring the killers.

The Bisa chief, Kabanda, who still occupies a pocket of country on the Chambeshi, surrounded by Bemba, managed to cling to his area by means of asking for Bemba protection, obtaining some of their guns and so holding off the Ngoni.

There are legends too of Bisa heroes who stayed and fought both Bemba and Ngoni. But in addition to facing these two enemies there were others. The Bayeke (*see* Chapter 21) or, to give them another of their many local names, the Bayongo raided right through Bisa country from the Congo until they met and were defeated by the Ngoni. It is not clear whether the Bayeke raids were before or after the Ngoni but the Bisa seem to have been harried in turn by all three raiding tribes, Bemba, Ngoni and Bayeke, for about three generations.

More peaceful expeditions were those of the Mbunda hunters from the Congo and similar hunting expeditions from the Chikunda of the Zambezi. At least one important Chikunda stayed and intermarried.

The Bisa are "Bemba-speaking". In customs they mainly follow the Bemba although on the fringes of the area they are influenced by adjoining tribes such as the Lala and Kunda. They have not the strongly centralised chiefly system of the Bemba, each Bisa family retaining its own line of succession. Kopa is recognised as the senior chief.

The once powerful chieftainship of Kambwili disappeared in the 1940s when one Kambwili was hanged for murder and another imprisoned for theft. The present holder of the name is a cook on the Copperbelt. The area was incorporated into that of the Chewa chief, Mwase Lundazi, although the people, being of Bisa descent, regularly make representations to be allowed to return to a Bisa chieftainship.

Northern Lunda

The origin of the northern Lunda and their relationship with the southern group has been described in Chapters 2 and 3.

Slaski, following Cunnison, briefly relates the history of the occupation of the Luapula Valley. First there were the pygmies, associated especially with Kilwa Island on Lake Mweru. Then the country was gradually populated by small clans who wandered in from Luba country possibly in search of game or of new land. These groups were given the name of Bena Bwile (said to be "people who eat on their own", i.e. owe no allegiance and pay no tribute) by the next arrivals. These were followers of Nkuba who had broken away from the Bemba and came from Bemba country which lay to the east. Nkuba "established a highly organised kingdom" extending along the lower reaches of the Luapula on both banks and around the shores of Lake Mweru. His people intermarried with the Bena Bwile and their descendants became the Bashila (literally "fishermen") of the Lunda.

About 1740 the Lunda made their appearance under Kanzembo, a "captain" of Mwata Yamvwa's who, it is said, having traded with the Portuguese in Angola, wanted to make contact with the Portuguese on the Zambezi. He defeated Nkuba and returned to Mwata Yamvwa but on a second expedition he was drowned in the Lualaba. His son succeeded him and became the first Kazembe. He left Nkuba in charge of an area to the west of the Luapula now in the Congo.

"The conquering Lunda were probably never numerically preponderant, but they established themselves as a governing class and still retain to some extent their former prestige and political

ascendancy." That applies in Northern Rhodesia. The ruling group in the Congo is that of the Shila of Nkuba who are matrilineal, as a result of their Bemba descent, whereas the northern Lunda are patrilineal.

The Lunda remained in control until the raids of the Yeke (Nyamwezi with Swahili leaders in this instance) when the reigning Kazembe had to take refuge with the Bemba Chief Mwamba. By the end of the 19th century he had returned but in 1901, as mentioned earlier, the Kazembe was forced to flee into the Congo, this time by a punitive expedition from the administration.

As can be expected from the history of the Luapula Valley, the Kazembe rules over a very mixed people. Slaski lists eighteen tribal elements in addition to the Lunda. "The extent of the tribal mixture is shown by the fact that the headmen of thirty-four villages in Kambwali's chiefdom belong to eleven different tribes." Kambwali is a Lunda chief. The list includes most of the tribes of the northern and Central Provinces as well as Lomotwa*, Yeke, Nyamwezi and Swahili elements.

The language of the Lunda is a Bemba dialect, which is also in use in the adjoining Congo.

* The Lomotwa are a Congo tribe living west of Lake Mweru and separated from the lake by Shila country. According to Verhulpen they were a tribute tribe to the Lunda and intermarried very much with them. They were governed by Lunda chiefs at the time of the Yeke invasions, were conquered by the Yeke and resumed their identity when the Yeke empire dissolved. (*See* Chapter 21.)

CHAPTER 5

THE BANGWEULU-UPPER LUAPULA GROUP

The above is a convenient title to describe the six tribes—of common Luba origin—who inhabit the islands and swamps of Lake Bangweulu and the area roughly enclosed by the western lakeshore and the loop in the Luapula River.

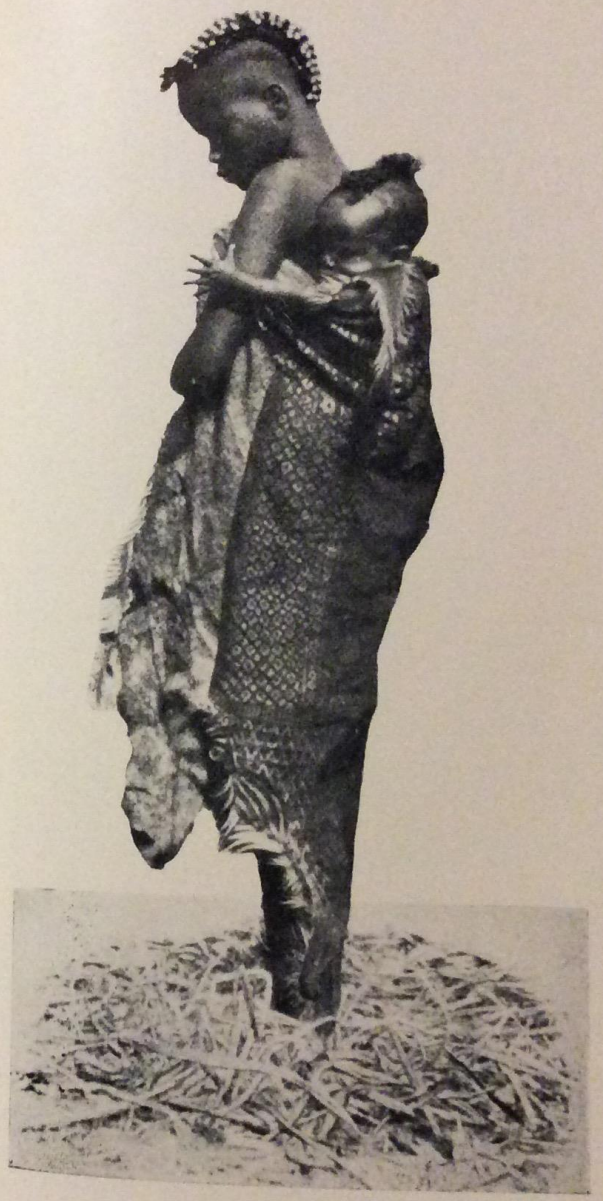
The group can be divided into two sections, one comprising the Aushi and Kabende and the other the Chishinga, Mukulu, Unga and Ng'umbo. The latter group of four tribes acknowledge a common legendary ancestress in the person of Kaundamwelwa of the *Ng'oma* (drum) totem.

Both sections are of Luba origin but the migration from the west took place at different times and in different directions.

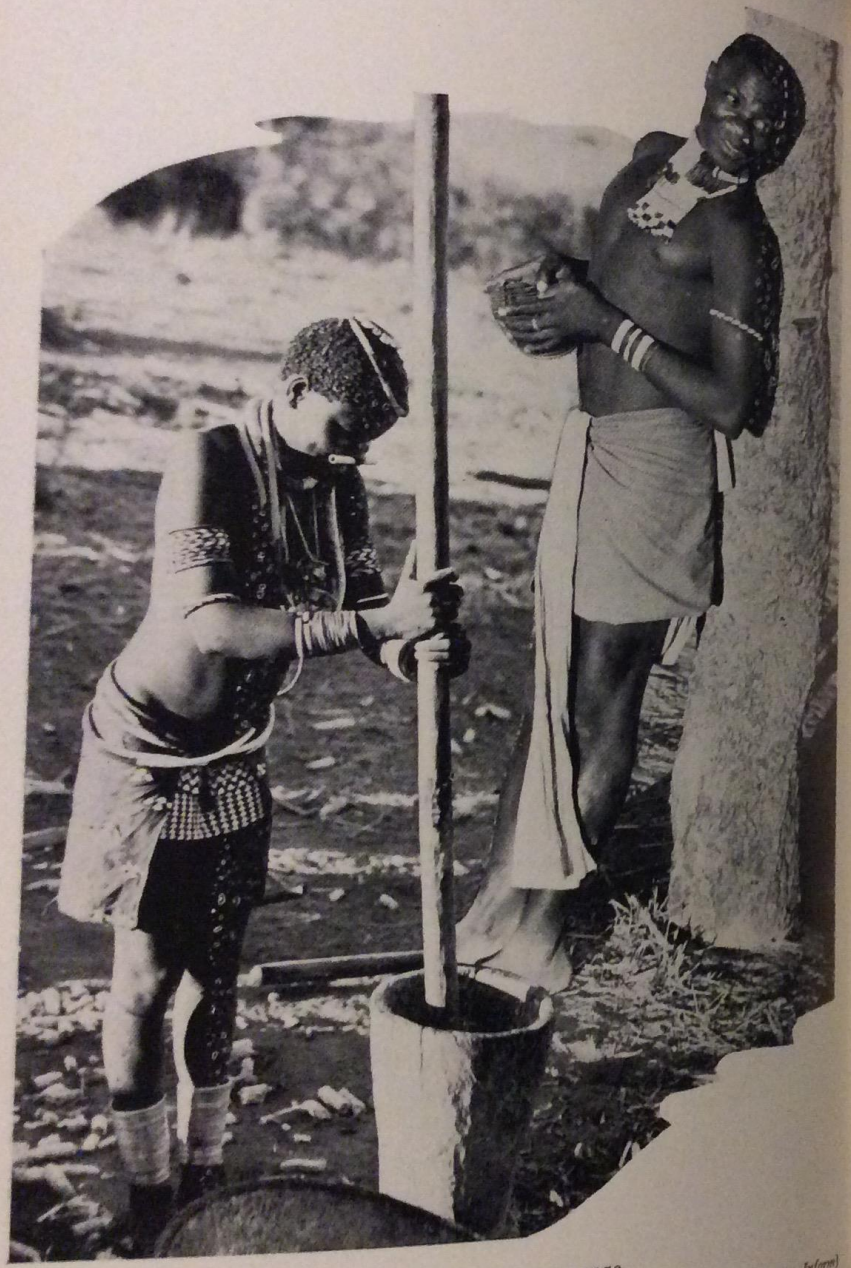
Unga, Mukulu, Chishinga and Ng'umbo

According to legend the Unga, Mukulu (northern section), Chishinga and Ng'umbo were part of the Bemba migration. There is a place, Chulungoma, in the Luwingu District where the migration had halted for a time, built a fortress and from whence the Mukulu, Chishinga and Ng'umbo broke away retracing their steps northwards and westwards. It was from the same fortress that one, Bambala, went into the swamps of Bangweulu to hunt and there made friends with the Batwa. He returned and took his sister and relatives back into the swamps to live and so became the founder of the Unga tribe. Although the Batwa, impressed with Bambala's wealth, food and prowess, asked him, according to legend, to become their chief, the Unga spent most of their early history in fighting and quarrelling with the Batwa.

The close association of the four tribes persisted for many generations as is instanced in the history of the Unga. Two other chiefs followed Bambala, one his brother, the other his nephew (this latter Kabinda Mukulu being the first to move to the Lunga sandbank). Following a great deal of witchcraft and trouble, the tribe sent for a descendant of Bambala's sister to take over the chieftainship of the Unga. This sister is acknowledged as the founder of the Chishinga so that the line of senior chief Kalimankonde of the Unga comes from the same ancestress as that of the Chishinga. To further confuse the relationship this ancestress is also referred to as a Mukulu chieftainess.



BATWA WOMAN WEARING BRAIDED LECHWE SKIN. FROM ERIC VON ROSEN'S BOOK "TRASKFOLKET", 1916



ZAMBEZI VALLEY TONGA IN 1950 [*Photo: Inform*]

The true relationship between the four tribes is very obscure. Each of them is virtually independent of the others and attempts to form joint treasuries on the grounds of common origin have resulted in failure. All that can be said is that on the basis of closeness of succession to the original ancestress, the Ng'umbo are the senior tribe followed by the Mukulu, the Chishinga with the Unga as the most junior.

Aushi and Kabende

The Aushi and their offshoot the Kabende crossed the Luapula, according to Whiteley's digest, about the same time as the Lunda, in the mid-18th century, but much further south. The migration appears to have been an independent one with no connection either with the Lunda or the Bemba movements. Verhulpen, on the other hand, includes the Aushi with the Lala, Lamba and others in a migration earlier than that of the Lunda. This is perhaps more correct because there are Bemba traditions of an earlier Luba migration.

It was prior to crossing the Luapula that Muwe, the first ancestor of the Aushi, found Makumba—" the tribal god "—beneath a large tree and carried it with him. No European has seen it but it is possible that Makumba is a large black meteorite of cylindrical shape that is dressed in tribal fashion and that is venerated by the Aushi. By means of magical manifestations it protected the Aushi against complete destruction by the Lunda, the Yeke and the Arab slavers. Makumba has a " brother " and a " sister " both smaller than himself and both were found at the same time as Makumba. The " sister " remains with Makumba in the charge of priests at Chief Milambo's village.

The " brother " of Makumba forms a connecting link with the Kabende. Muwe was succeeded by his son Chabala. This was an unusual succession as matriliny was the normal form, although powerful chiefs often made their sons rulers of outlying areas where they would not prove a dynastic threat. Chabala found difficulty in controlling the Kabende, a branch of the same tribe that had moved on south-eastwards to the Luapula and to the swamp edges of Lake Bangweulu. So he sent a nephew, Mulewa, to subjugate them and as a sign of authority he sent the " brother " of Makumba with him. This " brother " is now in the care of Chief Kalasa Mukuso, a descendant of Mulewa.

This subjugation of the Kabende results in the totem of most of the Kabende ruling house being " *Ngulube* " (wild pig), the same as that of the chiefs of the Aushi.

Although Milambo is recognised as the senior Aushi chief in Northern Rhodesia, according to Verhulpen he is junior to Chiniama, the chief of Aushi in the Congo where the tribe occupy an area on the

west side of the Luapula. The tribe has never developed a centralised government and each chief has his own localised line.

Although Makumba saved the Aushi from annihilation by the Yeke, they were terrorised and ravaged by the Yeke and according to Verhulpen they put up no resistance. It is said that certain Aushi chiefs were given new names by the Yeke as a sign of their domination. Loale became Mirambo and Mwelwa (of the Congo) became Mwenda.

The Arab slavers (Bangwana or Swahili from the East Coast) came after the Yeke into Aushi country firstly to trade but later they fought with Mirambo. The story of their fights is told in the chapter on the Swahili.

CHAPTER 6

THE LALA-LAMBA GROUP

Whereas in the past it was usual to put a large number of tribes into this group—on the grounds of common origin and common language—it is more customary nowadays to separate the two tribes and attach to each its offshoots of close kinsmen.

The Lala group includes the Lala, Swaka, Ambo and Luano; the Lamba group, Lima and Seba. The Swaka, a buffer tribe between the Lala and Lamba, is perhaps as much the one as the other. Moffat Thomson also puts the Soli and Kaonde in this group. But the Kaonde have more affinities with the Luba and the position of the Soli remains somewhat dubious. He says concerning the whole group: "They are all closely connected. In speech there are certain slight dialectic changes owing to contact with their neighbours on the east and west but they can all readily converse together.

"The history was obtained of most of these people in 1900 from old men who repeated the legends they had been told by their forefathers. They said three brothers came from the west from a land which they called 'Kwa Makumba' probably in the Luba country. The eldest was Kashinka* (the conqueror), the second Luchere (the dawn) and the third Shingo (the wild dog). The two elder brothers divided the land they conquered between them; one taking the east and the other the west. The eldest brother was to receive all the ivory that fell facing east and Luchere the ivory found facing the west. Shingo the youngest brother was so angry at this arrangement that he rebelled, called all the lions of the country, which were numerous at that time, to assist him, and took the whole territory. The three brothers were apparently Lala, the dominant race of this territory. The tribes are all of matrilineal descent, and the marriage custom is matrilocal. The chiefs of the Lala, Lamba, Swaka and Seba are alleged to be the descendants of five famous sisters: (1) Mushiri; (2) Ngosa Mupeta; (3) Nampongela alias Musonda, who appears to have been of the least significance; (4) Mwewa Mumba; and (5) Nkana. The first four women all belonged to the *Mwina Nyendwa* clan but the clan of Nkana was the *Mwina Mishishi*.

"The descendants of Mushiri are declared to be Mushinka† and Chiwale the Lala chiefs in Serenje District. Mushinka is probably

* More likely to have been called Kashindika.
† Now spelt Muchinka.

the paramount chief of this tribe but Chiwale has on more than one occasion been called the principal chief of the race. Ngosa Mupeta is the ancestor of Mboroma, the Lala chief in Mkushi District. From Mwewa Mumba are descended the chiefs of the Swaka branch of the tribe; the Swaka Paramount Chief, Mukonchi, in Mkushi District, represents her family at the present time. The offspring of Nampongela, alias Musonda, are Lala chiefs in Congo territory. The descendants of Nkana are now the chiefs of the Lamba tribe in Ndola District; The Paramount Chief, Mushiri, belongs to this lineage. The most famous chief of the Lala was apparently a man, Bwashi, who died about 1890; he is given the credit of saving the Lala, Lamba, Swaka, Seba and Kaonde from extermination during the raids in the country by the Ngoni and Chikunda from the east, the Mbunda from Angola and the Arabs and Banyeke from the north.

" The Ulima are an offshoot of the Lala tribe with whom they have a common dialect. Ndubeni is the principal chief of the tribe. The Seba are also a branch of the Lamba people and are subject to them, the totem of the chiefs is *Mwina Wesa* (kaffircorn); the majority of the people reside now in Congo territory having been driven from their homes around the source of the Kafue River by a plague of jigger fleas brought from the west coast by caravans of slave-traders."

Moffat Thomson says that the totem of the Lima chiefs is *Nswi* (fish). This is not correct. It is *Nyendwa* (female genitals).

Lala, Swaka, Ambo and Luano

These people still have traditional stories of the migration from beyond the Luapula and of the crossing of the river known as *Uluapula Ntondo*. It is possible that they were offshoots or connected with the Aushi and it is said that they first came in through the Mwinilunga District, moved south-east through the Copperbelt and then north-east across the Luapula to the edges of the Bangweulu Swamp before turning south into their present area. Many of the clans got their names following some incident on the journey. The movement was still on when European occupation halted it. But it was still noticeable as late as 1940 when Munday noted that the majority of the then inhabitants of the northern part of the Luano-Lala Reserve had been born, some at a considerable distance, to the north-east of the area.

The totem of the ruling families of this group (except the Luano) is *Nyendwa* (female genitals). It is also that of the Bena-Bukanda of the same group in the adjoining area of the Belgian Congo and in the 1930s a ruling chief and his people moved from the Congo without hindrance into Northern Rhodesia. The name arose during the migration when a Chief Malama in the Irumi Hills drank out of a pot into which a woman had urinated.

The Lala

According to tradition there were no inhabitants when the Lala occupied their present area. The various chiefs went off with their followers but during the period after about 1850 the *Nyendwa* clan gradually conquered the others. There was no paramount even among the *Nyendwa* but some ruling chiefs are regarded as holding senior positions.

An internecine war about 1860 drove one chief, Bwashi, and others into what is now the Mkushi District where they are now known as western Lala, a slight distinction from the eastern Lala of Serenje.

The Bemba have traditions of pushing back the Lala and of leaving a Bemba as Chief Chiwale. But the Lala claim to have successfully repulsed Chikunda, Ngoni, Aushi and even the Bemba. The area was, however, plundered by marauding bands of well-armed " Bangwana " until in 1898 a Belgian force drove these " Coastmen " or Swahili slavers from the Luapula into what is now the Ndola District where their descendants still live. (*See* under Swahili.)

The Ngoni raided into Lala country but apparently did not reach the Lamba area.

The Swaka

The origin of the Swaka is quite simple. Two generations before the Bwashi mentioned above (i.e. about the end of the 18th century) a man called Maswaka lived on the Mulungushi River. He visited the area of a Chief Kaseba in the Itumba Hills, married the chief's daughter and took her back with him. Some time later Kaseba went to visit his daughter, found the country to his liking and he forced himself on to the people as their chief and called the country Maswaka after his son-in-law.

On Kaseba's death the Swaka people stopped sending tribute and Bwashi, after some years, went to see what had happened. He " found that the *Nyendwa* clan had died out and the country had reverted to the rule of the *Tembo* clan, the present royal clan in the neighbourhood of Broken Hill ".

Bwashi conquered the Swaka country for the *Nyendwa* clan and his nephew who succeeded him took the name of Mboloma. He was weak, and a lesser member of the clan took over Swaka country and drove him out of the Luano Valley. The Swaka area was never regained by the Bwashi family although Mboloma's nephew returned to the Luano Valley to become the senior chief of the western Lala. Swaka country is still held by that family of the *Nyendwa* clan that drove out Mboloma.

The Yeke in their raids from the Congo about 1885 reached Swaka country and the Chikunda and Ngoni also raided them.

The Swaka are sometimes included in the Lamba group but, as related, they are more closely connected with the Lala. When the South Swaka Reserve was created in 1929, many people from the Broken Hill District, a Lenje area, were moved into it. The pressure southwards by the Lala, mentioned by Munday, seems to have pushed the Swaka a considerable distance out of their former area. It was Lala, not Lamba, influence here.

Ambo

The Ambo or, as they are sometimes called, the Kambonsenga are an offshoot of the Lala. They spread westwards from the Lukasashi River to the Luangwa and one group is east of the Luangwa in the Petauke District. The eastern group is officially recognised as Ambo (the Nsenga plural) in the list of chiefs, but the main group in the Mkushi District are classed officially as Lala. This latter group is the one referred to sometimes as Kambonsenga. There are, however, not two sub-tribes but one only and that has the same ruling clan, *Nyendwa*, as have the Lala.

The Ambo drove out the Nsenga, although a sub-tribe or relics of the Nsenga called the Chiponda still live in the vicinity of the Lukasashi-Lunsemfwa confluence, both in and adjoining Soli country. The valley country of the Ambo is still referred to as "*ku Nsenga*" as distinct from "*ku Ilala*". The Ambo speak with a different accent from the plateau Lala, and Nsenga and Soli usages can be detected in the dialect.

The leader of the first Ambo clan (*mpande*—shell) to arrive in the Luangwa Valley was Mambwe Chisaka who was a son of the renowned Aushi Chief, Makumba Chawala. But the valley soon came under the influence of the *Nyendwa* clan. Kunda Mpanda, another son of the Aushi chief, was a *Nyendwa* and it was he who drove out the Nsenga and took control of the valley. The family of Bwashi (Mboloma) made Ambo country their home. As related earlier, Mboloma is chief of the western Lala and for historical reasons has always been regarded as the senior Lala chief. "He is probably the only *Nyendwa* chief who after death becomes a lion."

Other Ambo chiefs are Mboshya in the Mkushi District and Luwembe, Mwape and Nyalugwe in the Petauke District. Of recent years Luwembe, having been raised to the status of senior chief over the other two Petauke Ambo chiefs and some Nsenga chiefs, claims to be "Paramount" of the Ambo and stresses the separation of the Ambo from the Lala. Chief Muchinda of the Eastern Lala and Chief Mboloma contest this "paramountcy".

Luano

The Luano, who live in the lower Lunsemfwa Valley, are an offshoot of the Lala. They have two chiefs Chembe and Liteta (the latter now relegated to the position of headman) and they differ from the Lala in that neither of them is of the *Nyendwa* totem. Chembe is of the *Mumba* (clay) clan and Liteta of the *Lunga* (gourd) clan.

The "Luano Valley" as a geographical term is used also for the Lukasashi Valley. That explains why Munday includes the Luano area as being under the dominance of the *Nyendwa* clan because Mboloma lives in the Luano Valley.

Apart from that one distinction the Luano are but slightly different either in language or culture from the Lala of the plateau.

Lamba, Lima and Seba

The Swaka are sometimes included in this group but their history as related earlier seems to be more closely entwined with the Lala than the Lamba.

The Lamba

The Lamba, like the Lala, spread over into the Belgian Congo. The greater part of Lamba country lies in Northern Rhodesia although Nselenje, the more important of the two Congo chiefs, used to be the most influential of all the Lamba chiefs. Mushili is acknowledged to be the senior Lamba chief in Northern Rhodesia.

According to tradition the Lala and the Lamba were once one unit. Munday relates the legend of how one Nkonde married two wives, one of the *Nyendwa* clan and the other of the *Mishishi* (hair) clan. Descendants of the latter wife became the *Awena-Mishishi*, the ruling clan of the Lamba. This is rather different from Moffat Thomson's version.

Tradition also has it that one Chipimpi was once chief over the whole Lala-Lamba group. His son Kawunda became founder of the Lamba ruling clan by killing a slave "a man with hair on his head". Kawunda then slew Chipimpi, his father, but the head refused to be disposed of and after many magical manifestations it was put in a shrine. Chipimpi's head is said still to be in its shrine at the headwaters of the Kafulafuta River in the Congo and is still greatly revered by the Lamba.

Lamba and Lima area was raided by the Chikunda and Doke says that there were (1914-21) still a few scattered Chikunda families in the area. There are no records of the Ngoni or Lozi ever reaching this far. The raids of the Arab slavers under Chiwala caused considerable confusion. They are described under the Swahili section. The Swahili Reserve close to Ndola is now almost completely under Lamba influence there being left very few true Swahili descendants of the original invaders who have not intermarried with the local people. There are few relics of language and culture although the ruling family clings to its Mohammedan regalia.

Shibuchinga, for long classed as a Lamba chief, was said by Doke to be a Kaonde and head of a sub-tribe—the "Awenambonshi". Before that period an earlier Shibuchinga had been a Lunda. His area is a mixed one of Lamba, Seba and Kaonde.

Lamba area as a whole, because of its proximity to the Copperbelt, is the most mixed area in the Territory. A village census taken in 1948 at Ndola showed that there was not an entirely pure Lamba village in the district and Lamba chiefs thought nothing of having alien councillors. One of the best of these was a pure Bemba attached to Mushili's Authority.

There was an isolated pocket of Lamba in the Kasempa District shown in Moffat Thomson's map. They are under Chiefs Kalasa and Chinsengwe and are separated from Lamba area proper by a block of Lima. But the Kaonde intermixture has become so strong that Government has placed the area under Chief Kasempa and the people are now referred to as Kaonde. This appears to be an example of total absorption.

Lima

The Lima are an offshoot of the Lala and the ruling families are of the *Nyendwa* totem. As Doke says, the Lamba and Lima are "practically one in language, life and customs, but are under separate headship". They now share the Lamba-Lima Reserve and social and political relationships have always been closer than is the case with other related tribes, e g. than with the Swaka.

The Lima were raided by the Chikunda and Doke says that in Lesa's area there was (1914-21) a half-caste Portuguese-Chikunda headman who had come to buy slaves but who had lost them when European administration was set up.

Lesa, the Lima chief, successfully fought the Yeke leader Chimfupa who came in from the Congo about 1885. The two came to an agreement to share all ivory equally that was taken in Lamba-Lima country.

The story goes that the Lima finally got rid of the Yeke by calling the Chikunda to help them. Chimfupa was killed.

The first chief, Machiya, was a Yeke and said to be nephew to Chimfupa. He remained on when the rest of the Yeke were driven off, married a Lima woman, presumably of the *Nyendwa* totem, and occupied an area close to Mpongwe.

The Seba

The Seba are an offshoot of the Lamba and numbered, in 1934, only 3,000 to 4,000 in spite of the comparatively large area shown on Moffat Thomson's map. They also spread over into the Congo under Chief Kaponda who is recognised as the senior Seba chief.

Doke refers to them as being a buffer tribe between the Lamba and the Luba of the Congo. He says: "Few in number and lacking in influence and importance, they scarcely constitute a separate tribe." The Seba themselves claim that their name is that of a clan of the *Benamushishi* (Lamba) rather than of a tribe.

The Northern Rhodesia section is Lamba-speaking and for all practical purposes is part of the Lamba tribe. Government has always classed the three Northern Rhodesian chiefs, Musaka, Chikola and Kalilele, as Lamba.

According to Mr. J. F. Passmore, District Commissioner, Solwezi, the Seba may have been in occupation of their area before the arrival of the Lamba of Mushili who migrated through Seba country to the present Lamba area.

The relationship with Mwata Yamvwa is still close. Mr. Passmore says that in 1953 Musaka went to visit Mwata Yamvwa who wrote the following year asking Musaka to join him in a trip to Belgium.

CHAPTER 7

THE LUBA AND THE KAONDE

The Luba

Many of the tribes of Northern Rhodesia came from the Luba-Lunda empire of the Congo. The Lunda have retained their identity in Northern Rhodesia: the Luba have in the Congo but not in this Territory. In spite of a long and widespread influence over vast areas there is no Luba chief, acknowledged as such, and no section of the people has retained sufficient political and social cohesion to be classed as a tribe by the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

The first migration of Luba stock must have been that of the Maravi, that "great people" who are now known as the Chewa (*see* under Chewa). According to Lane-Poole this must have been prior to 1500.

The next main one comprised the northern Lunda, Bemba and Lovale-speaking peoples. That they had been preceded by an earlier move seems to be borne out by the stories and legends of people being found in front of this migration. Whether these were relics of the earlier Maravi migration or were pre-Bantu is not known. The Bemba, for example, came into Lala country and found the inhabitants to be of Luba origin.

There also seems to have been a still later movement southwards from the Congo into the north-western areas of Northern Rhodesia. This was not so much a mass migration as raiding by parties or small movements into unoccupied areas. According to Smith and Dale, the Luba of the pocket on the Kafue first arrived in Mbwela country under six chiefs escaping from trouble in southern Lunda country. They were driven south by the Mbwela into Ila country and it was only after protracted fighting with the Ila that they managed to retain a piece of country.

Moffat Thomson (1934) distinguished two small Luba areas, comprising only 1,039 people together, one in the north-eastern corner of the Mwinilunga District, on the Congo border, and the other on the Kafue in the north-western corner of the Namwala District. It is doubtful if they would be recognised now as inter-marriage with adjoining peoples is inevitable with such small units.

But, writing in 1910, in the Chinenga District Note Book Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls said that the group on the Kafue was still unmixed. He said: "The people are wild and timid, living in small villages, tilling little ground and living for some months in the year on wild fruits.

They recognise no chief." He contrasts the decorum of an Ila village with the wild disorder of a Luba one. He said the people possessed few worldly goods and in many villages not even a chicken could be found. Nicholls attributed this degeneration to the fact that this group were refugees who had been driven southwards (*see* below).

Other Luban elements, of the latest movement, have been absorbed by Kaonde. In fact the Kaonde were as much Luban as any tribe could be. They were referred to as Luba in the past and even when they became known as Kaonde their chiefs retained the Luba connection. Chief Mumba, for example, now a Kaonde chief is, according to the Mumbwa District Note Book, descended from a Luban who, with his followers, came to Mumbwa from Kaonde country about 1880. He acquired cattle from the Ila and his followers intermarried with both Ila and Kaonde.

Shortly afterwards two other Luban chiefs, Kaindu and Kashinka, moved southwards also from Kaonde country into the unoccupied area north of Chief Mumba. Kashinka is no longer recognised as a chief. Both were classed in earlier lists of chiefs as Kaonde-Ila, not Luban, chiefs. Kaindu still is so classified.

Kapijimpanga, now a Kaonde chief, was originally a Luba chief and was closely associated with Kaindu and Kashinka. Kapijimpanga and Kaindu were two of the six chiefs who were driven southwards into the Luba pocket on the Kafue. There, Kapijimpanga married the daughter of Chief Mwene-Kahari of the adjoining Mashasha tribe. Later he and Mwene-Kahari quarrelled and fought and Kapijimpanga was driven out westwards (other Lubans going south) and he took up an area north of Chief Mumba (together possibly with Kaindu and Kashinka). Once established, Kapijimpanga returned on a raid and drove the Mashasha southwards to the headwaters of the Lwena River and, says the story, placed a relation as chief over the Mashasha. Honour satisfied, Kapijimpanga returned to the area north of Mumba. There he left Kaindu and Kashinka and he went still further north beyond the Kafue to live in the area he now occupies in the Solwezi District.

In all these forays the three chiefs were known as Lubans. But now although chiefly descent can be traced in many tribes the Lubans have lost their identity.

The Kaonde

The Kaonde come from the Luba group but according to history there were three distinct migrations into their present area. Each seceded at different times and from different sections of the parent Luba stock but finding themselves eventually in the same geographical area they coalesced, taking the new, common name of Kaonde.

According to Whiteley, following Melland : " The three main groups of Kaonde are, firstly, a group who came, immediately, from across the Kafue River in the south-east under Mushima and Kasongo, settling in the north of the present country and overflowing into the Congo, where some still remain; a second group, passing through the first and coming from the north to settle around the source of the rivers Luma and Mafwe in the north-west of the area; finally, a third group coming from the south-west from the Kabompo River to settle in the extreme west. The last group may, however, simply have been retracing their steps when they returned up the Kabompo, possibly having been repulsed by one of the Sikololo groups in the area. There are a number of minor differences between the sections but the striking thing about them is not the presence of differences but the absence of connecting links, apart from a common dialect. There was no paramount chief and all the groups were subservient to the Lunda chief, Musokantanda, paying him tribute. In the course of time the Kaonde expanded considerably to the south and the former Mbwera country is now Kaonde."

Musokantanda, as related earlier, was one of the sons of Mwata Yamvwa who carved out a kingdom for himself, a kingdom that included what is now Kaonde country. The three groups had apparently broken away earlier than Musokantanda and there were a few skirmishes, especially with Mushima, before the Kaonde acknowledged Musokantanda as their common overlord.

There are Kaonde groups in the Congo and some authorities show the Kaonde area extending to an average depth of forty-five miles over the border into the Congo.

CHAPTER 8

THE ILA-TONGA GROUP (THE BANTU BOTATWE)

The term " Tonga " now has a very wide meaning linguistically. Colson, following Doke, puts Tonga, We, Totela, Ila and Lenje in one division with a Zambezi group comprising Subiya, Luyi and Leya allied to the main division. Moffat Thomson in addition brings in the Toka who, he says, " if not members of the Tonga tribe, are so closely allied that they can be regarded as such ". He also says of the Lundwe of Namwala that they are half-Tonga, half-Ila, that the Sala are an off-shoot of the Ila and that the Lumbu who now occupy western Ila country were probably of Luyi origin having been driven from the Zambezi Plains probably by the Makololo. Moffat Thomson also classes a group of immigrant Goba in the Zambezi Valley around the Kafue confluence also as Tonga-speaking as well as the Soli of the Lusaka District, whereas Doke classes the Goba language as a dialect of Shona.

The Ila-Tonga group then appears to comprise about twelve tribes all speaking closely allied dialects.

Torrend in his grammar referred to these people as the " Bantu Botatwe " and he said their speech was thought to be one of the most archaic of Bantu languages. It comprises a number of homogeneous dialects easily recognised by the fact that all of them use the typical expression " *bantu botatwe* " for " three people ".

Although most of these tribes are presumably of Luba origin none of them, except the Ila, have any traditions that indicate their origin prior to settling in their present home. Colson says this " lack of history is correlated with the amorphous character of the society " (*see* below).

Moffat Thomson says : " The Ila declare that they came originally from the north-east side of Lake Tanganyika and it may be that they are descended from an eastern branch of the Bantu race but if their language is accepted as an indication of their origin they must have been in close contact for a very long time with the groups of Bantu who reached Northern Rhodesia by way of the Luba country in the Belgian Congo. The language of this group of tribes is more allied to the people of the north than to the tribes of the south or west but as they were raided by the Ngoni, Chikunda, Tebele, Makololo, Lozi and Lunda-Luba, it is possible that these invasions have left traces upon the people and their language."

The close relationship between certain sections is shown by the fact that chiefs may often have mixed followers. Chief Momba of Kalomo has Nkoya and Toka (Tonga) people, Chief Sekute of the same district has Leya and Subiya and Chief Chikanta, also of Kalomo, has Tonga and Ila people in his area. The first chief Chibuluma, an important chief of an Ila-Luba group in the Mumbwa District in the 1930s, was an offspring of an Ila mother and Kaonde father.

Tonga

The largest tribe in the group is the Tonga. There are no sharp distinctions either in culture or language separating them from others of the group. Colson says: " In a sense it is probably false to regard the Tonga as a definite group or real unit which is set off by definite criteria from other peoples. Physically they are not distinctive. They lack tribal marks peculiar to themselves. The custom of knocking out the six upper front teeth is shared with Ila and other neighbours. In the days before the Europeans came, the Tonga formed a stateless society with no political system which could weld them together into a common body. Apparently they have always lacked, as they do to-day, any system of trading associations, of tribal-wide age-grade sets or regiments, or other devices to form them into a common society.

" To-day the Tonga exist within one political unit, the Plateau Tonga Native Authority, but this is of recent origin and due to circumstances beyond their control. Government has placed them within the bounds of a single administrative district and has organised them into chieftaincies. Monze is recognised, with many reservations, as senior chief. However, the Mazabuka District also administers people who are not considered Tonga and the chieftaincies represent Government policy and convenience, and not cultural, linguistic or political distinctions among the Tonga themselves."

Colson also says (in a Rhodes-Livingstone Museum Occasional Paper) that the Tonga should probably not be called a tribe: they lack even the " consciousness of unity ". She says: " Never, in historic times, have they had any large-scale political organisation which established boundaries dividing them from other peoples. Instead, they lived in little village communities, which were at frequent odds with each other. Small districts, rarely of more than five or six villages in extent, seem to have strained their powers of organisation to the limit. The matrilineal clans were dispersed throughout the country, and did not form the nuclei of political or local organisation. The name ' Tonga ' therefore seems to apply at most to a people who shared on the whole a common culture and a common language. They were spread from the southern bank of the Kafue to the Zambezi and to the Wankie District in Southern Rhodesia. Within this area there are numerous variations in language and culture, and from time

to time various groups have been given or have called themselves by distinctive names."

Colson continues with a brief history of the Tonga. " Early in the 19th century, the Tonga seem to have been a peaceful agricultural people living in small hamlets scattered across the plateau. They had herds of the small Ila cattle and large fields of maize, millet, kaffir-corn, and ground-nuts. About 1820 they suffered under a raid from the north led by a man known as Pingola. The raiders killed the cattle and scattered the people before they disappeared again into the obscurity from which they came. To-day the Tonga have no tradition of this raid. It has been swallowed up in the general misery of the latter years of the 19th century. It was soon followed by the invasion of the Makololo about 1832. For a time the Makololo attempted to settle in the Kalomo region, but they were forced on by the pressure of the Matabele. The Tonga were left with their country, the common raiding ground of both Makololo and Matabele. When the Makololo fell, their place was taken by the Lozi who continued to send their raiding parties against the Tonga. By the middle of the 19th century they had lost most of their cattle. Livingstone observed only a few goats and chickens. He also noted the scattered nature of their tiny hamlets and the ruinous condition of their huts.

" The raids continued almost to the end of the 19th century, ending indeed only with the pacification of the Matabele*. By that time the Tonga seem to have been reduced to small groups hiding out in the hills. In the north-western districts they may always have retained the nuclei of their herds, but over most of the country cattle were rare. Old men on the edge of the escarpment swear that in their youth it was a rare man who owned even one beast, and he was considered wealthy. Bride wealth in that period was paid in hoes or in goats or sheep or beads. Many of the people had been taken slaves by the Matabele or the Lozi; others had been killed outright. After the 1860s, Portuguese and half-caste slave-traders began to penetrate up the Zambezi and into the plateau, in search of slaves and ivory.

" In the years since the raids ended and European administration brought peace, the Tonga have prospered. There had probably been a rapid increase in population. To-day the Mazabuka District, in which most of the Tonga live, is estimated to have a population of between 80,000 and 120,000 Africans. In 1947 the district supported over 200,000 head of cattle owned by Africans, as well as numerous goats and pigs. Part of the land has been alienated for European development, but the Tonga have shared in the opportunities offered

* There is a community of Ndebele in the Mazabuka District, first introduced by Seventh Day Adventist missionaries in 1905. In 1953, the community numbered thirty-one families. They occupy farms in the Mujiga native area. *See* " Unusual Aspects of Native Land Tenure in the Mazabuka District", by H. Vaux. *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, No. II, Vol. II.

by the presence of the railway and the possession of fertile soil to develop into maize farmers. Even those who still remain nearly at a subsistence level sell enough maize in a normal year to pay their taxes and meet their other cash requirements. Some have not been content with this and have turned to farming on a larger scale, which nets them incomes of several hundred pounds a year. The sale of pigs, poultry and eggs are profitable sidelines, and there is some sale even of the prized cattle. In recent years a few men have invested in lorries. The plough is everywhere."

Since there was little or no political organisation to develop, Government had to create one. It made the village the administrative unit and ordered all people to live in villages. Later the Government enlarged the unit, created 116 small chieftainships each with definite boundaries. In 1918 a reorganisation reduced the number of chiefs considerably and one chief, Monze, was recognised as the senior.

Colson goes on : " In choosing the original chiefs the Administration picked prominent men from each area. Some of them had ritual status as officiants at a local rain shrine; others dominated their neighbours through their personal qualities. None of them had the type of prerogatives generally associated with chiefly status. To-day they are referred to by the Tonga as ' Government chiefs '. "

Later political development followed the normal pattern.

Toka

The Batoka are really Tonga and it is said that the name " Toka " is only the Lozi or Sikololo pronunciation of Tonga. It is true that the Toka country is the south-western area of the group, nearest Lozi influence. In fact, half the total number of Toka given in population figures live in Barotseland—in the Sesheke, Senanga, Mongu and Kalabo districts. The term is also becoming a geographical one to describe the Toka plateau, escarpment and siding. In the 1943 list of chiefs, Government acknowledged seven Toka chiefs in the Kalomo and Livingstone districts. Now only Chief Musokotwane is classed as " Toka (Tonga) " and Chief Momba as " Nkoya and Toka (Tonga) ".

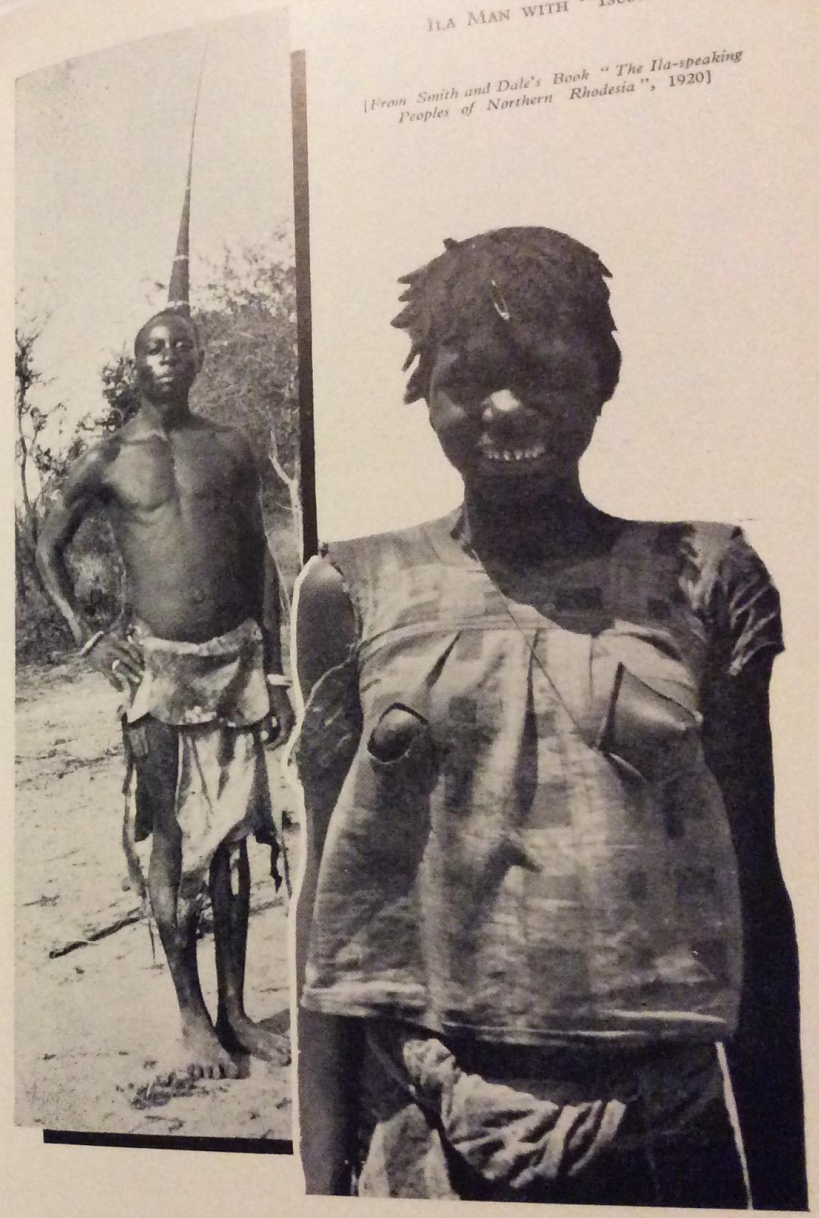
It would appear that the name is gradually being merged as a tribal name into that of Tonga. There is no evidence, either historical or ethnological, to show that there is a separate Toka tribe.

The Ila

Little is known of the origin and early history of the Ila. They claim to have been on the Kafue when the other tribes arrived. They certainly had physical characteristics (head-dress), technical appurtenances (throwing-spears) and customs (*lubambo*) that are not typical of neighbouring Bantu tribes. Smith and Dale support the idea of their eastern Bantu origin and give linguistic examples proving later influence

ILA MAN WITH " ISUSU "

[*From Smith and Dale's Book " The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia ", 1920*]

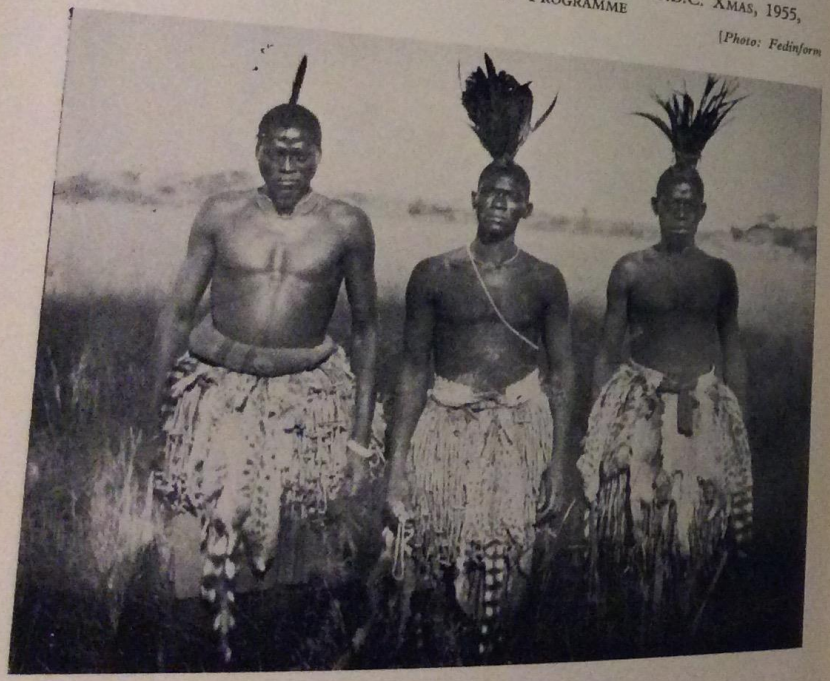


LOVALE GIRL, 1956

[*Photo: Fedinform*

TONGA PEASANT FARMER RECORDING A MESSAGE FOR THE B.B.C. XMAS, 1955, WORLD ROUND-UP PROGRAMME

[Photo: Fedinform



TOTELA PADDLERS, ABOUT 1930 [Photo: H. A. Ockenden

by western or Luban elements. They also give the origin of the name Ila as from an old Bantu verb root meaning—" to be taboo, set apart "—an explanation which " answers very well to the arrogant spirit of the people ". Moffat Thomson gives another derivation from the verb "*Kuvila*" which means to take cattle from the high ground to the flats, but he admits this is pure conjecture.

The Ila proper are a comparatively small group, living within a radius of about twenty to twenty-five miles around Namwala. But according to Smith and Dale the Ila-speaking peoples covered the whole of the Namwala District, most of the Mumbwa District and spread out into the Tonga areas. The term " Mashukulumbwe ", derived from the words describing what used to be the characteristic coiffure of the people, includes all the Ila-speaking peoples. (This coiffure is never seen nowadays.)

The *isusu*, a cone-like creation of hair, was built up from the head supported in the middle as it narrowed down by a finely pared horn and ending in a very fine point nearly four feet above the head. One of its objects was to enable hunting parties or warriors to see each other in the long grass of the Kafue Plains. An *isusu* could not be found in 1928 when the Prince of Wales wanted to see one. The *impumbe*, the short conical base (four to six inches high) of the *isusu*, continued in fashion until the 1930s.

The other physical characteristic of the Ila—the knocking out of the four upper incisor teeth and sometimes the two canines as well—was also followed by the associated tribes and by some Tonga.

Lubambo was mentioned above. There is no need for a detailed description of the custom here. It is a species of polyandry or a public acceptance of a system of paramours by which any wife or husband, with the connivance of the other, takes a series of lovers. It is peculiar to Ila culture and has had much to do with the devastating spread of venereal disease among the tribe.

The group includes several other tribes, the Sala, Lundwe and Lumbu. Smith and Dale give others who are not mentioned in Moffat Thomson's later publication nor are they acknowledged by Government as being tribes. They have presumably been absorbed. These were the Bambo to the west of the Ila proper, the Babizhi to the south and the Bambala to the north.

The Ila have a great and deserved reputation as fighting men, but their comparative paucity in number and the possession of great herds of cattle made them a constant prey to the bigger tribes of Barotseland. The Makololo under Sebitwane raided them several times, as had the Barotse before him. Sekeletu followed the fashion and so did the Barotse chiefs who followed the Makololo dynasty. Lewanika led two raids in 1882 and 1888, the latter one being the

last of the raids. The Lozi, armed with guns, shields and kerries, still had to bring a big army against the Ila armed only with throwing spears. Huge herds of cattle were driven off and many Ila killed.

The Matabele during their attacks on Sebitwane found time to send two raids against the Ila. The second Matabele raid appears to have been the most terrible of all and the memory of the " immense herds of cattle captured, the numbers of their people carried off and the famine that ensued upon the destruction of their crops " lasted a long time.

The internecine fights between chiefs or headmen of the tribe have usually concerned disputed possession of watering places.

The Ila have thus had to fight to preserve their great wealth in cattle and in later years their reputation as good soldiers has been borne through two world wars.

The Ila are primarily cattle people and a typical village is a circular area with the huts on the circumference and the centre used as a cattle pen.

The Ila were organised into chieftaincies but each was independent of the other and no one chief was, or is, recognised as the senior. There was no fixed succession to chieftainships except that every effort was made to choose someone from the same clan as the deceased chief. Otherwise the best man out of brother, sons or nephews was chosen by the headmen and elders.

The Story of the Statue. (*See* illustration facing page 63.)

It was an old custom of the Ila on the death of an important chief to slaughter up to 300 head of cattle. Both the Administration and the Veterinary Department had long been perturbed about this custom and an attempt has been made to persuade the chiefs to authorise the slaughter of only about thirty cattle and to put the value of the rest into some memorial such as a school or orphanage. Chief Mukobela agreed to this but thought he would like to see the school before he died and said he would build it if Government would arrange for a statue—" Like that of David Livingstone at the Falls " to be erected at the school. Government arranged for a well-known South African sculptor to make a bronze statue from photographs. Mukobela put up £1,000 for the statue and the school. The statue cost about £400 and it now stands at the school at Namwala. The plaster cast is in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.

PEOPLES ALLIED TO THE ILA

Mbala

The Bambala were not distinguished as a tribe by Moffat Thomson nor are they in official lists to-day. But Smith and Dale in their book

and R. S. Hudson in the Mumbwa District Note Book (1931) do so distinguish them. They are under Chief Mono.

They are Ila-speaking but had in the past a few variations of Ila culture and characteristics, e.g. the hair styles for both men and women were different.

Bambala means " people of the north " and they have the tradition of coming from the north about the same time as the Ila but before the arrival of the Kaonde who came after mid-19th century. They are closely allied to their eastern neighbours, the Sala, and are also intermixed with Tema (of the Lenje group) as well as with Luba.

They suffered greatly in the latter part of the 19th century for they were raided not only by the Makololo, Matabele and Lozi but also by the Chikunda from south of the Zambezi. Later the Mbwela attacked them and the Lenje raided them as recently as about 1910. In these latter raids Mono had to take refuge with Chief Mumba of the Kaonde.

Mbwela

The Mbwela under Chief Kabulwebulwe are part of a migration from the main body of Mbwela in the Zambezi Valley. They are mixed not only with Ila but also with Mashasha, their western neighbours and the first Kabulwebulwe may have been more Mashasha than Mbwela. After settling in their present area they were raided by Luba who settled next to them and there is now little distinction between the two peoples.

Another clan of Mbwela migrating about the same time settled on the Lunga River further north and are now enclosed by Kaonde. The Luba also fought them but after years of fighting the Luba were driven southwards into Ila country.

Kabulwebulwe paid tribute to the Lozi until 1930. On his visit to Lialui in that year he was told that in future he must " look to " Mumbwa.

Bizhi

The Babizhi—people of the south—are probably an offshoot of the Ila. They are distinguished as separate from the Ila proper by Smith and Dale.

Mbo

The Bambo to the west of the Ila proper are also probably an offshoot.

Lundwe

The Balundwe to the south-east are an offshoot of the Tonga, rather than the Ila, but are now greatly intermixed with Ila.

Lumbu

Balumbu is a name given to strangers by the Ila. There are two groups in the west on the Mankoya border, one north and the other south of the Kafue. They are probably immigrant Luyi driven out of the Zambezi Valley by the Makololo or Bahurutse. They have for long been indistinguishable both in language and culture from the Ila.

Sala

The Basala are Ila-speaking and, with some variations, have an Ila type of culture, e.g. the special coiffure and knocking out of teeth used to be typical. They are, however, of different origin. The Ila were established in their present home when the Sala arrived. They have no tradition concerning their remote past and came to their present home from an area to the north-east of Lusaka, led by a chieftainess who was said to have belonged to the We tribe. After her death there was civil war between rival claimants for the post. Her son, Chongo, won by enlisting the aid of Chikunda with whose help he also raided the Lenje.

There were six Tonga villages on the Nangoma Stream when the Sala arrived and they were absorbed without fighting. They still retain their Tonga names.

The Ngoni overran Sala country about mid-19th century, killing Chongo and taking large herds of cattle. It is said that the Ngoni made Longo, the niece of Chongo, the chieftainess of the Sala. She created an army of Amazons, carried a spear herself and was also something of a seer and prophet. Although her prowess made her all-powerful among the Sala she was not able to stand up against the Makololo when they raided the tribe and she and her family were captured. She and her son were released after she had given some evidences of her magical abilities and she returned to reorganise the tribe. It is said that the Makololo were so impressed by her magical powers that they, and the Lozi after them, never demanded tribute. When she was on the point of death her eldest son, Shakumbila, and others who had been taken as slaves were returned by Lewanika with an escort of Lozi. The escort stayed, settled and married among the Sala. Shakumbila became the first chief of that name and died in 1918.

The Sala then have an early element of We in them; have absorbed Tonga and Lozi; the Chikunda soldiers no doubt left some progeny; and they have intermarried with Lenje and, especially, with Ila who gave them their present language and culture. They might almost be described as an " artificial " tribe.

CHAPTER 9

THE GWEMBE VALLEY PEOPLES

The area of the Zambezi Valley stretching roughly from below the gorges of the Victoria Falls downstream to beyond the Kafue confluence is known as the Gwembe Valley. Gwembe is the Ndebele name for the Zambezi. Its peoples are Tonga, or Valley Tonga as they are called, We, Goba, and Leya. The District Note Book also distinguishes several minor groups known as Namainga, Mambi and Mwemba.

All speak Chitonga or dialects of it. Even the Goba who used to speak a dialect of Korekore, which in turn is a dialect of Shona, now mainly speak Tonga. (The map shows them still allied to Korekore.)

There are Kalanga (Southern Rhodesian) elements among the We and at the head of the Kariba Gorge there is a very mixed area comprising Tonga, We, Kalanga, Chikunda and Goba elements all under the one chief.

Valley Tonga

The Tonga of the valley are the same people as those of the plateau except that, living isolated by the escarpment in the hot, dry valley, they have remained comparatively backward and primitive. They retain much of the traditional bead-decorated clothing and even young men wear a reed or porcupine quill through the septum of the nose—taking it out when they leave the valley to work.

There is much movement and intermarriage between them and the plateau Tonga especially during the fairly frequent times of famine in the valley when people move up to the prosperous plateau and many of them stay there. The Valley Tonga often assert that they are the real Tonga and that the plateau has been colonised by emigrants from the valley. This could be so as the early travellers over the Toka Plateau certainly marched long distances through unoccupied country. The hills of the escarpment may have formed a refuge and a barrier against the raids of the Makololo, Lozi and Ndebele.

As on the plateau, the village does not comprise a collection of unilineally related people but is made up of close and distant relations, friends and even strangers or people from other tribes all acknowledging the headman accepted by the Government. Also as on the plateau chiefly influence, unless the chief happens to be a rain-maker, is nebulous. The " rain-shine community ", known as the *Chisi*, comprising an area of four or five villages, was the most important com-

munity organised for communal activities. It still operates but is not so important as it was.

We

Bawe means " people of the east " and they are a group who regard themselves as slightly distinct from the Tonga residing in the middle valley upstream from the head of the Kariba Gorge. They refer to the Tonga of the plateau as " Balumbila "—the strangers.

The Bawe used to speak a dialect of Tonga but it is hardly distinguishable now from Tonga. Although they are mainly of Tonga origin there are a few groups of Kalanga among them. These came across from Southern Rhodesia during the Matabele raids and still retain some Kalanga customs and intermarry with their kinsmen across the river.

The Bawe are a branch of the Tonga and any slight differences in culture from the Tonga proper have probably developed as a result of isolation of one branch from the other. The term " people of the east " would then mean that they lived in the east of the Tonga area, as they do; not that they came independently from the east.

They spread over the river into Southern Rhodesia.

Mainga

The hills around the old Boma of Ibwe Munyama and the area downstream of the Kariba Gorge on both sides of the river, referred to in the District Note Book as Mainga country, has always been a place of refuge for malcontents or people driven away from home by raids. The Boma itself was once besieged, on 1907, by riotous natives.

The people known as Mainga under Chief Sigongo are mainly Tonga but include Chikunda, Goba and Kalanga.

The 1943 Government list of chiefs referred to Sigongo as being chief of the " Namainga " tribe. Nowadays his people are referred to by Government as Tonga living in the Mainga area. The District Note Book says these people in the past spoke Goba rather than Tonga.

Mwemba

The District Note Book refers to a people known as Bamwemba in the western valley in the area of the deserted Kanchindu Mission. These people are merely the Valley Tonga under Chief Mwemba. He is an important chief and the people were referred to under his name. They are not in any way distinguishable from the rest of the Valley Tonga.

Mambi

This is another term used in the District Note Book for a separate people. The name probably referred to an area of We country.

There is no real evidence suggesting they should, in fact, be called a separate people.

Goba

The District Note Book and the Government list of chiefs refer to these people as Goba, although the name is frequently spelt Gowa.

According to Moffat Thomson—" the Gowa claim to be an offshoot of the Makorekore, a branch of the Shona tribe of Southern Rhodesia ".

There was a Goba language (a dialect of Shona) but the people on the Northern Rhodesian side now tend to speak more Tonga.

The tribe is now very mixed with Soli; in fact, one of the early chiefs, Chiana, was a Soli. They are also said to be mixed with and allied to the Nyai; a tribe living south of Zumbo in Portuguese territory.

Leya

The Leya people are the smallest group and occupy the most westerly portion of the valley below the gorges of the falls. They spread up on to the plateau, outside the valley, as far as Zimba and also above the falls beyond Katambora where they meet the Subiya.

Moffat Thomson merely says they are a section of the Tonga. They are under chiefs Mukuni and Sekute and their language is sometimes referred to as " Mukuni-Tonga " (a term which means nothing but Tonga of Chief Mukuni). The teaching in schools in the area is now in Silozi and it is obvious that this is having its effect on the dialect spoken.

The tribe has a definite link with the early Luyi of Barotseland. The first chief, Sekute Kongo, a chieftainship now ruling over Leya and Subiya, was himself half Subiya, half Luyi. He is said to have been driven out of the Zambezi Valley by the Makololo into Southern Rhodesia. He returned only after the Lozi had regained power. He returned to an area lower down the river from where he had lived before and had to fight the Leya under Mukuni. It is said that Mukuni's royal drums are those captured from Sekute at this time. After some fighting the families of the two chiefs intermarried. Both are now classed as Leya.

Mukuni is probably of Tonga origin although his people are very closely allied to the Subiya.

There is Lozi influence not only in language but in customs, especially in succession where a chieftainship is usually inherited by a brother, or by a sister's son before an own son.

CHAPTER 10

THE LENJE AND SOLI

These two tribes form a sort of buffer zone between the big groups of Ila-Tonga and Lala-Lamba. The Lenje are more closely allied to the former group and the Soli to the latter. The Lenje are classed among the " Bantu Botatwe " group (*see* Chapter 8). They are the last of the group to be described.

Although the two tribes differ slightly in their origin there has been much intermarriage between them and linking them together in one chapter is a logical way of emphasising their modern cultural and linguistic affinities. Population counts emphasise not only the close relationship but also a good deal of tribal intermixture. For instance, in Chief Nkomeshya's area (Soli) there are 4,850 Soli and 1,120 Lenje. The Soli especially are very mixed. The latest 1954 annual report figures show countable numbers of twelve other tribes including Ndebele and Nyai from Southern Rhodesia living in Soli country (*see* list under Soli).

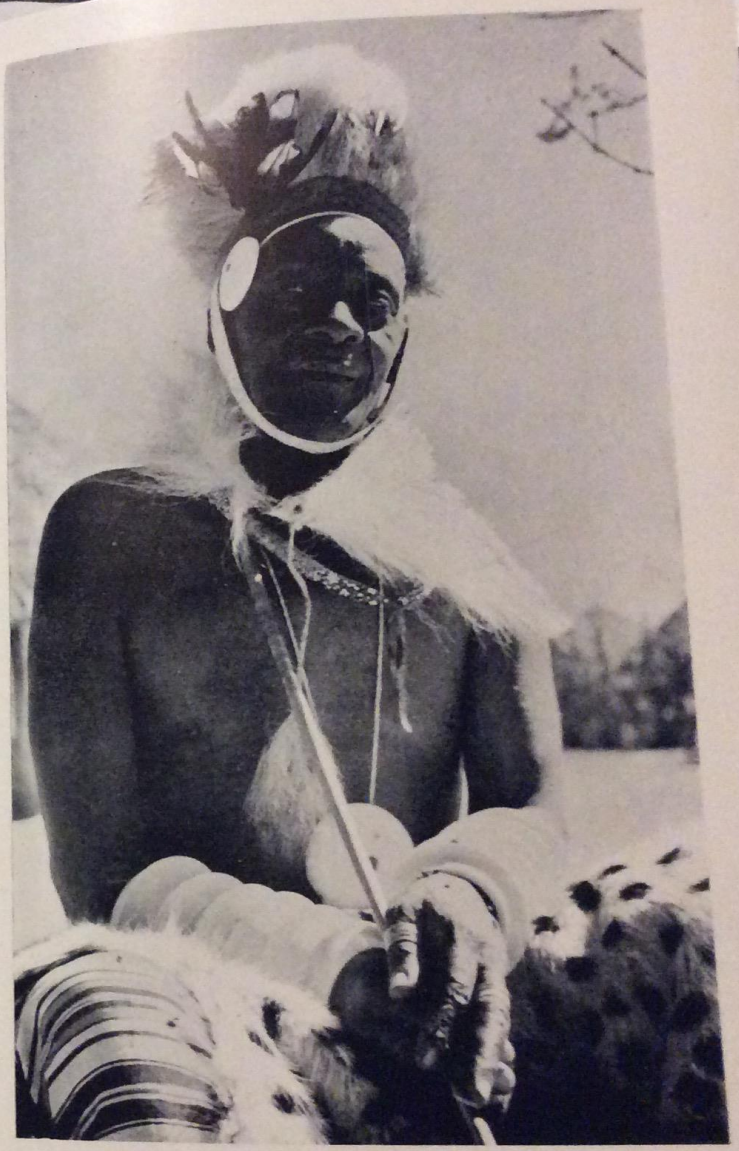
The Lenje

The Lenje, sometimes known as *Bene Mukuni* (the people of the traditional Chief Mukuni), are more closely allied to the Ila-Tonga group than they are to their neighbours in the north and east. The language, Chilenje, is far more akin to Ila and Tonga than it is to Lala or Lamba.

The country to the south and east of the Lukanga Swamp is known as Itema and Smith and Dale distinguished a people, Batema, who were also *Bene Mukuni* but who were separated from the Lenje by minor differences. For example, the Lenje knocked out three front teeth whilst the Batema filed the two front incisors into an inverted V. There is no distinction nowadays: Itema is part of Lenje country.

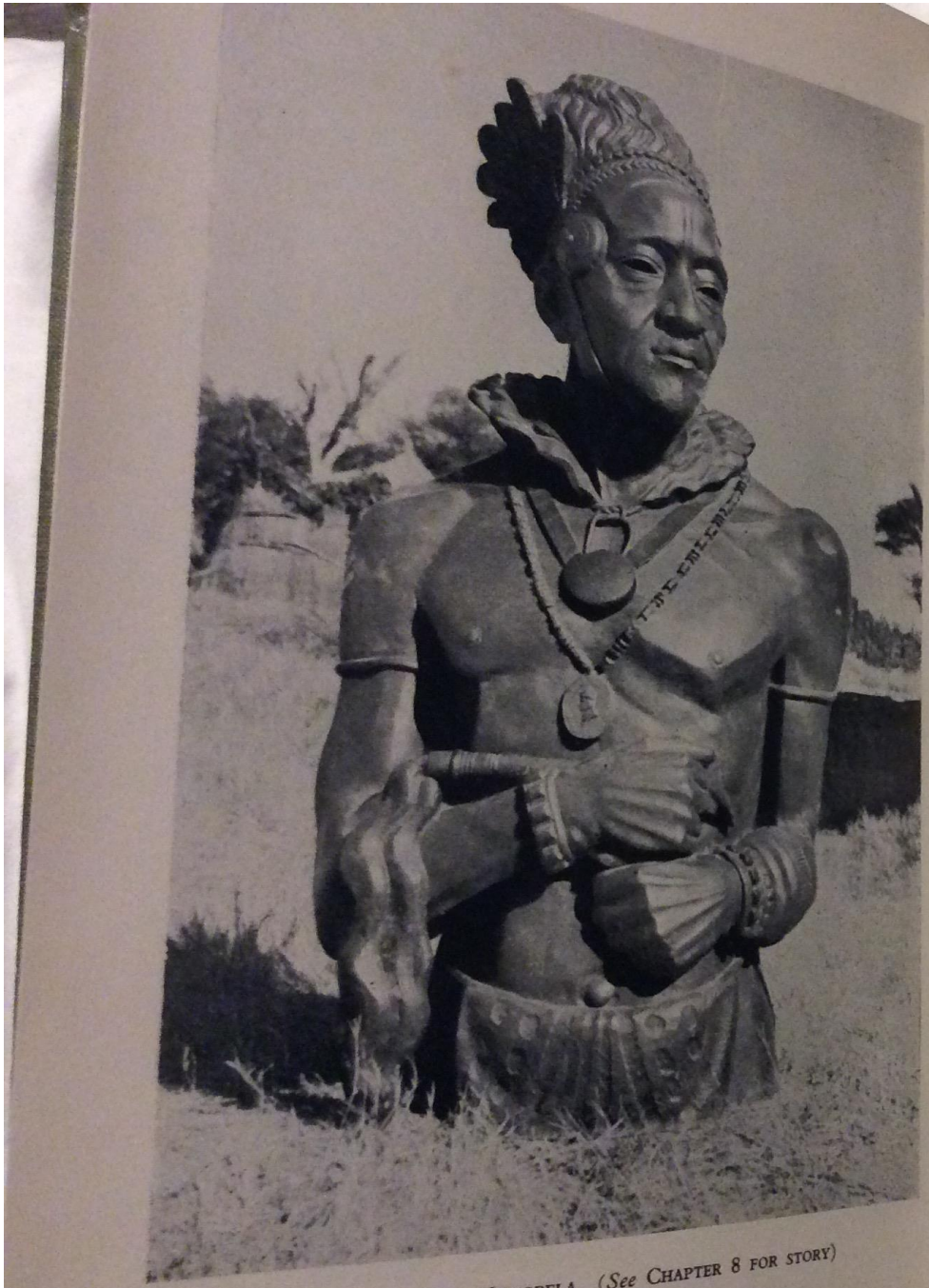
The Lenje themselves have mixed considerably with Kaonde, Ila, Lamba and Chikunda and in the area shown as Lenje in Moffat Thomson's map are the Batwa of the Lukanga Swamp, possibly relics of the Senga under Chief Ngabwe (*see* footnote to Senga) in west Lukanga and some Mbwela under Chief Lilanda.

The Lenje seemed to have escaped the great raids of the 19th century. The Makololo got close to the Lukanga Swamp once but there do not appear to be any records of them or the Ndebele or Ngoni or Lozi ever penetrating into the heart of Lenje country. The



THE ILA CHIEF MUKOBELA

[*Photo: Inform*]



STATUE OF CHIEF MUKOBELA (*See* CHAPTER 8 FOR STORY)

Lenje themselves only appear to have raided southwards into Soli country.

Possibly because of their being left in a backwater away from the "alarums and excursions" of the 19th century, they appear as a somewhat colourless people. In a broadcast talk from Lusaka, Moffat Thomson once said of them: "The Balenje are not of very good physique and their mentality is not of a very high order, but they are docile people. Few of them have acquired any great amount of education; there have not been many opportunities for them to receive instruction and they were always more backward in arts and crafts than their neighbours in the north. Their implements were primitive, their bark cloths, mats, baskets, pots and woodwork were always inferior to those of the Lala and Lamba tribes."

The Soli

The Soli are a branch of the Luba migration that came in from the west, a branch that includes the Kaonde, Lala, Lamba and other tribes that came into the Territory along the route south of the Luapula and Bangweulu.

They are now divided into four groups: Soli wa Manyika (Chief Nkomeshya), Soli wa Malundu (Chief Shikoswe), Soli wa Shamifwe (Chief Undaunda) and Soli wa Futwe (Chief Mpanshya). The people of Shikoswe inhabit the hills east of Chipongwe and are often known as the Shamba. Shikoswe is a sub-chief under Nkomeshya, senior chief of the Soli.

This Shamba "tribe" arose in a peculiar fashion. The Soli country and adjoining areas had been overrun by Ngoni, Lenje and others just before European occupation and the hills east of Chipongwe had become the refuge of Soli, Lenje, Lamba, Tonga, Ila and others who recognised no chief and no tribal affinity. The Government found in Headman Shikoswe a man who seemed to have some control over this heterogeneous collection of people and therefore appointed him to look after the area. When the Soli Reserves were made, Chief Undaunda of Soli wa Shamifwe objected to Shikoswe being left as a chief in control of a Soli area. He was told that Government had appointed Shikoswe but that if ever the area were needed for European settlement, Shikoswe and his people would have to move into a Soli Reserve. In the list of chiefs he now appears as a full chief but under Nkomeshya. The origin of the name Shamba is not known for certain. It may be a proper name as there was one Shamba, a female slave, who married a chief and became grandmother to the present Nkomeshya.

Nothing much is known of the history of the Soli prior to their arrival in Northern Rhodesia. They were twice scattered from their

present area by Ngoni, once taking refuge in the Rufunsa area and again in the Zambezi Valley. The Undaunda who reigned from 1870 to 1915 was captured by the Ngoni before he became a chief and was taken to Mpezeni's village as a slave. He escaped.

As a chief he joined with Mburuma of the Nsenga and Chikunda to raid the Chikunda on the south bank of the Zambezi and in the raid a Portuguese trader was killed. The Portuguese with their chief, Kanyemba, pursued the raiders back into Soli country and scattered the people again. Later, Undaunda fought with his former ally, Mburuma, who returned to the Zambezi. This was about 1889 (?) when a Soli chieftainess, Mukandamamba, was killed. She was said to be the only chieftainess acknowledged as such by all branches of the Soli.

According to Mr. Neethling (a Lusaka farmer who has studied the Soli) there were several raids made on the Soli by Mburuma and his mixed Nsenga and Chikunda. They tried hard to drive the Soli out of their fertile valleys. Neethling says: " One particular battle was fought on the present Leopard's Hill Ranch where Mburuma tried to camouflage his whole horde in the skins of zebra and other game. But he lost the battle and retired into his Zambezi mountainous stronghold for a period of further preparation. At a place called Mapompo, east of Lilayi Siding, he built a round stone wall surrounding it with a ditch. Here Mumpere (or Undaunda) laid siege for a whole year and eventually drove out Mburuma, who managed to escape with two of his wives only. The rest of his army was butchered or taken into slavery. He managed to get back to his country on the Zambezi banks, about where the Chongwe flows into the Zambezi."

The language of the area is Soli with the exception that people in Nkomeshya's country east of the Chalimbana River speak Lenje. This chief's area contains the large proportion of Lenje quoted earlier.

The Soli area to-day contains a big mixture of tribes. Figures collected by the District Commissioner, Lusaka, in 1954, in the six Soli chieftainships showed people of the following fourteen tribes and their numbers: Soli 15,612; Goba 3,258; Lenje 1,870; Chiponda 1,489; Nsenga 1,357; Ndebele 242; Swaka 241; Lamba 199; Lala (Luano) 181; Chikunda 78; Nyai 65; Sala 61; Tonga 44; Ngoni 19.

CHAPTER 11

THE TRIBES OF THE NORTH AND NORTH-EAST

In the extreme north and north-east of the Territory, in the Abercorn, Isoka and Mporokoso districts, are a collection of no fewer than thirteen tribes, all except one, the Tambo, having a history connecting them with Tanganyika and Nyasaland rather than with the Congo. It would perhaps be more correct to say that this connection is through the mass of the people rather than through the ruling families. Dr. W. Watson of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute says (*in litt.*): " My own observation is that the Mambwe, Lungu, Inamwanga and Tabwa are made up of two groups; the indigenous commoners and incoming rulers. There may have been many migrations into the area in the far-distant past, but tribal histories are quite definite that the chiefly groups came in from the west, from the Congo, and found commoners already in occupation of present territory. I see no reason to doubt that this explains some peculiarities of social organisation among the above peoples."

Some of these tribes are so small, only numbering a few hundred souls, that the term tribe is perhaps a misnomer. According to Moffat Thomson, the Wenya, for example, only occupy sixty-five square miles and the Nyika ninety-two square miles and he goes on to say that the south-eastern Isoka tribes " are small sections of various tribes who came from Nyasaland and Tanganyika prior to and during the Arab wars ". Watson has a different view of Mambwe and Lungu history. He says (*in litt.*): " Mambwe and Lungu historical accounts describe the arrival of a ruling group in an area already occupied (*vide* above). They found people already living in the area, but without chiefs as we understand the term in the area now. The concept of large tribes ' breaking up ' is not correct in this area, I think. Before the influx of the Luban peoples here, there were already Bantu living there, who had probably come from the east and north, but without chiefs and ruled by their clan heads. The Luban influx brought chieftaincy and ' tribes ' (i.e. political chieftaincy) and they brought the little local groups under their political control. Some of these groups may have resisted this amalgamation and the process was affected by other factors, e.g. Ngoni, Bemba and Arab raids. Some groups may never have been incorporated, whether because they already lived in difficult country or moved there to avoid the incomers."

Twelve out of the thirteen tribes have affinities and some cases definite alliances with the tribes of southern Tanganyika or north

Nyasaland. In this respect they differ from the rest of the people of the Northern Province most of whom belong to the Luba-Lunda group and who came in from west of the Luapula. The commoners of this north-eastern area belong ethnologically to the group of eastern Bantu who came down from the same great lakes area but who, presumably, never got south of their present area. They may have been part of a late migration from the original home of the Bantu or they may have been a more stable, satisfied one. The main body of migrants into the Congo and southwards perhaps did not strike such favourable country. Forests and tsetse fly may have urged them on whilst the lucky ones who came down the east side of Lake Tanganyika may have found the terrain more hospitable and conducive to settlement. It is an interesting speculation.

The present situation, linguistically and culturally, is very confused. The tribes are now attached to three different language groups. The Tambo, of Luba origin, have been absorbed in an eastern Bantu group and the Tabwa, of eastern origin, have become part of the Bemba (Luba) speaking group. The following list shows the position:

Bemba-speaking	...	The Tabwa.
Mambwe-speaking	...	The Lungu, Mambwe, Inamwanga, Iwa and Tambo.
Tumbuka-speaking	...	The Wandya, Nyika,* Lambya, Wenya, Fungwe, Yombe and Kamanga.

The divisions under which these tribes are described here are, therefore, quite arbitrary and independent of present linguistic divisions. The Lungu and Tabwa differ linguistically and in origin, the former stemming from the north and the latter from the west, but attempts have been made in recent years to form them into one authority and treasury. The Tambo are best discussed with the tribes of the Tumbuka cluster because of their geographical association in the Isoka District. The Tumbuka language is spoken by the other seven small tribes of the Isoka District although the Tumbuka in Northern Rhodesia are separated geographically from the seven tribes. But the seven tribes are said to belong to the " Tumbuka cluster ". The Tumbuka will be dealt with in a later chapter, but they constitute a fourteenth unit in this confused area.

Generally speaking, succession among most of the tribes of this group is patrilineal. The exceptions are the Tabwa among whom succession is matrilineal and the Lungu among whom the commoners are patrilineal and chiefs matrilineal. Both chiefs and commoners

* J. Sharman, of the Publications Bureau, is of the opinion that the Nyika speak a language more akin to Nyakyusa than Tumbuka. In view of this the area has been given a separate colour in the map.

among the Mambwe and Inamwanga are patrilineal with Chieftainess Waitwika of the Inamwanga obviously proving an exception.

The Lungu and Tabwa

According to legend, a tribe known as the Azao (sometimes referred to as Sao) came down the lake in canoes from the western side of Lake Tanganyika about the end of the 17th century into an area around the south end of the lake. They found people already living in villages there. The leaders of the migration, which had initially been caused it is said by land hunger, were of the Azimba clan and their chieftainess, who was known as Mwenya Mukulu, also became chieftainess of the people they had found occupying this area. She became the founder of the ruling families of the Lungu. Watson goes on:

" She created chieftaincies over the district where they landed, by appointing her relatives as chiefs. Her eldest brother settled at Isoko, a few miles inland from Kituta Bay, near Mpulungu, and he became the senior chief. Isoko is still the capital of the Lungu Paramount Chief, whose title is Tafuna. Other brothers and sisters took over areas along the coast in what is now Tanganyika Territory as well as southwards on the plateau within the present Northern Rhodesia. One of the Azimba women became the chief of the Tabwa, at their request, and from her the senior Tabwa chief, Nsama, is descended. Because this woman was junior to the senior Lungu chief, the Lungu still claim that the Tabwa are part of their polity.

" The division of territory between Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia cut through Lungu country, and to-day a number of Lungu are administered by the Tanganyika Government.

" The Lungu of the lakeshore (including those in Tanganyika Territory) are primarily fishermen, but they also grow rice and cassava. The Lungu of the plateau practise a form of *citeme* cultivation. These exchange their surplus millet for fish from the Lungu of the shore.

" Lungu, Mambwe and Inamwanga all speak the same language, and they are culturally akin. Many of their clan names are common to all three peoples, but the Lungu have many more clan names than the others. They are also a more numerous people.

" The senior Lungu chief, Tafuna, is considered paramount over the others. The rites of succession to this title are complex and colourful, and culminate in a ceremony on Nkumbula Island opposite Mpulungu Harbour. The prospective chief has to swim from the mainland to the island, and is accompanied on his way by a fleet of canoes. As Lake Tanganyika is infested with crocodiles, this is an adventurous journey. After he has been presented at the shrine on Nkumbula Island, he returns by canoe to the mainland and is hailed as chief.

" To-day the Lungu live in small villages, having abandoned the stockaded village since the advent of British rule. They are good fishermen, but not such good millet cultivators as the Mambwe.

" Headmen, unlike the chiefs, need not necessarily trace descent from the Azimba clan, nor is the post of headman hereditary.

" The Lungu of the lakeshore show many traces of their long contact with the Arabs and Swahili. Arab dress, or a variation of it, is quite common, and their boats are built in the manner of Arab dhows, but on a smaller scale. However, they still use dug-out canoes as well as boats."

Although the legend says that the rulers of the Lungu and Tabwa came from the north-west, i.e. the Congo, and Tabwa area stretches into that territory, it seems definite that the commoners of both tribes had affiliations with the Fipa of south-west Tanganyika (who also had foreign rulers) and possibly some distant connection with the Nyamwezi further north in Tanganyika. Culturally and linguistically the Lungu maintain the connection with other tribes of the same group, i.e. Mambwe and Inamwanga, but the Tabwa are now thoroughly part of the Bemba cultural and linguistic group. Descent, for example, among the Tabwa is matrilineal, and in view of their western origin may always have been even before the Azao became their chiefs. But royal succession among the Lungu is matrilineal, though patrilineal among the commoners.

The Lungu were constantly raided by the Bemba and, according to Gouldsbury and Sheane, if European administration had not been established at the end of the 19th century the Bemba would have absorbed all Lungu country. Watson says:

" The Lungu fought many battles with the Bemba and seem to have held their own until the arrival of the Arabs. The Arab trade route to the Congo and to Kazembe's country passed through Lungu territory, and at one time they were almost wiped out by the combination of Arab and Bemba raids and their own internal dissensions. There are no stories of conflict between Lungu and Mambwe."

The Mambwe and Tabwa were also raided by the Bemba but the Tabwa suffered more from the inroads of Swahili traders and there are still two Swahili enclaves in Tabwa country. The first entry of Swahili into Tabwa country was by a force led by Tipu Tib himself. It was the usual trading expedition and it only began to fight when Nsama, the Tabwa chief, tried to obtain the Swahili's goods by guile (*see* under Swahili). (*See* also Chapter 12 for further discussion on the Tabwa.)

The Inamwanga and Iwa

The Inamwanga are offshoots of the same stock as the Nyakyusa and Kinga of southern Tanganyika and the Ngonde in Nyasaland. All are immigrants from the east and north-east.

The Iwa are an offshoot of the Inamwanga and the two groups are identical in language and customs.

Although the Inamwanga belong to the group of eastern Bantu, the most famous of their traditional ancestors was one Musyani, said to have been a Bisa. Before he arrived the Inamwanga were a nomadic people living in rough conditions in the bush. Musyani was an ironworker and a good agriculturist and he and the few followers who came with him soon gained an ascendancy over the primitive Inamwanga. Musyani became the first chief of the tribe and he is still held in reverence to-day, being credited now with supernatural powers.

Musyani had three children, Muchinga, Muwemba and a daughter Waitwika. When Musyani died the elders elected the younger son, Muwemba, to succeed. It is said that Muchinga was away hunting at the time. When he returned he was so angry he collected some followers and migrated southwards. The story goes that he stole his late father's drums and took them with him. Muchinga and his followers thus became known as Iwa " the thieves " from the verb *ku-iwa* to steal.

The senior chief of the Inamwanga is Mukoma who lives over the border in Tanganyika. Since the demarcation of the boundary, his sister, Waitwika, has been recognised as the senior chief in Northern Rhodesia. Mukoma is a descendant of Musyani and he always appoints one of his sisters to be Waitwika. She holds the post for her lifetime even though her brother dies. If there is no sister a daughter to Waitwika's brother is eligible. A woman has always ruled the area although Mukoma used to appoint his own sons or friends to be headmen of important villages.

According to Coxhead the Waitwika always sent to Mukoma a nominal tribute of " a few little fishes " caught in the Chosi River. In the days of " *mulasa* " (tribute labour) Mukoma could also require Waitwika's men to work for him.

The Iwa, under their chief, now known as Kafwimbi, whilst recognising a common ancestry with Mukoma, have paid him no tribute and acknowledged no other obligation since the breakaway.

Succession is the same for chiefs and commoners in both tribes, i.e. to brothers and then sons. But the rule need not be rigidly followed as the elders make the final choice. A son is not eligible to succeed to a chieftainship unless he has been " born in the purple ", i.e. during the chieftainship of his father.

Again according to Coxhead, the control by the chief over the village headman has never been as rigid as it has, for example, among the neighbouring Bemba. Among the Iwa and Inamwanga the headman could, for instance, move his village site without any reference to the chief. Nor could it be said the chiefs were the "owners" of the land, its game and stock. "They could only claim twin calves that were born" but had to acquire cattle by purchase.

Since the two tribes are among the few cattle-owning people in the Northern Province the following notes by Coxhead are of interest:

"Each head of a family owned his respective cattle and property. The territorial chief exercised no rights over such property, except as might arise in a judicial case, when the cattle would be impounded in the chief's kraal, pending his award.

"Cattle are, as a rule, inherited, and held in trust for the family by the heir during his lifetime. Stock acquired by a man's own labour are his own to deal with; even a woman can own cattle as her private property. Stock and property is owned by headmen in precisely the same fashion as by individuals."

The languages spoken are Chiinamwanga and Chiiwa.

Living to the south of Inamwanga country the Iwa were much more subject to raids by the Ngoni and Bemba but they managed to retain their existence by the intermarriage of Kafwimbe's daughter with a Chitimukulu, the Paramount Chief of the Bemba.

The Mambwe

The Mambwe are regarded as a branch of the Lungu and, according to Coxhead, the two can hardly be distinguished.

They arrived in their present home early in the 19th century from the east coast of Lake Tanganyika. The Lungu arrived at the same time and the presumption is that the two branches were formed about the time of their arrival. Both tribes have the legend of the rulers coming from the west but the Mambwe one is slightly different (*see* below) in that the first ruler was a man and among the Mambwe tribe royal and common succession is patrilineal.

The Mambwe suffered severely from the depredations of the Bemba "and, indeed, were only saved from extermination by the advent, in the first place of the London Missionary Society, and later of the Administration".

When the Ngoni attacked them it is said that some of the Mambwe, under one Maswepa possibly in self-defence, joined with the Ngoni to attack the Bemba and the other Mambwe under Sokolo. The Bemba drove off the Ngoni and then attacked Muswepa. It was in

this attack that the Bemba first learned that Mambwe with their rich flocks and herds were easy prey and they extended their raids. Those Mambwe that did not flee paid tribute to the Bemba.

Kela, then a Mambwe chief, eventually made a treaty with Chitimukulu and gave him two daughters of Mambwe chiefs. Chitimukulu married one and another Bemba chief, Makasa, married the other.

Watson (in MSS.) gives a few general notes on the Mambwe:

"The Mambwe to-day number 25,000, of whom about 4,000 live in Tanganyika Territory under a junior chief. They have about sixty clans, of which one is the royal or ruling clan. They trace descent in the patrilineal line. When the Europeans arrived the Mambwe had fourteen traditional chiefs, of whom eleven were of the royal clan (including the senior chief, Nsokolo) and three from commoner clans. To-day, they are ruled by three chiefs recognised by the Administration, all of whom are of the royal clan (*Sichula*, or frog clan).

"Mambwe legends state that the first chief of the royal clan was a man called Changala, who came to Mambwe country from the west, from Kola (Angola), and that he was a Mulua (Lunda?). Changala found people already established in the area, and agreed to become their chief. Before he came the people did not know 'chiefs' (i.e. they did not recognise political authority and did not pay tribute) but lived under their clan heads. Changala married the daughter of one of the principal of these, called Chindo, and settled in the area. From this and subsequent marriages all present members of the royal clan claim descent.

"The Mambwe are distinguished from the other tribes of this region in that they keep cattle and practise a superior system of agriculture based on the use of grass as a kind of manure. In this they resemble the Ufipa to the east and north of them in Tanganyika Territory. They are relatively superior cultivators, and as a result were constantly raided by the Bemba in the past. The Bemba took away their crops, cattle, sheep and goats, but apparently did not attempt to occupy Mambwe country. When the Bemba were asked where their gardens were, they pointed to Mambwe country.

"In addition to their distinctive method of mound cultivation on the relatively treeless plains, the Mambwe in the forests to the south of the river Saisi practise *citemene* cultivation, differing from the Bemba in that they also mound the soil of the clearings. In both areas finger millet is the chief crop.

"To-day the Mambwe live in small villages of from twenty to sixty huts, and each village has its own area of cultivation. In the past, they lived in large stockaded villages, surrounded by a wide ditch, which enclosed upwards of 200 huts. These they could defend

with some hope of success against the Bemba raiders. Half of the present headmen are of the royal clan, and many of the others are tied to their royal chief through kinship and marriage.

" Mambwe country abounds in iron ore, and formerly they worked this with some skill, smelting and forging the ore into hoes, axes, spears, arrow-heads, etc. They also exchanged ingots of iron with Arab traders in return for cloth, beads and copper wire. This skill is no longer practised. Ivory and slaves were also traded.

" The Mambwe are linked to the Lungu, Inamwanga, and Ufipa through the clan system, for these other tribes have many of the same clan names as the Mambwe, and men of the same clan name claim kinship. However, they are politically independent of these other peoples."

CHAPTER 12

THE SHILA AND BWILE AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE TABWA

The Lungu and Tabwa have been dealt with in the last chapter and the Swahili will be discussed later, but a short note on the confused history and tribal associations of this area will be useful.

As related in the section on the northern Lunda, the Bwile were early inhabitants of Luba origin of the lower Luapula Valley. The conquering Lunda came later, intermarried with the Bwile and their descendants became Shila, i.e. fishermen for the Lunda.

Moffat Thomson says that the Bwile " probably came from the Manyema country in the Congo ". The vast bulk of the tribe is in the Congo to the north of Lake Mweru.

Verhulpen classes the Bwile as " Balubaïsés ", i.e. not originally true Luba but incorporated or absorbed as vassals of the Luba empire. He puts their arrival into the Katanga Province as being perhaps before the 15th century which would make them very early migrants.

Both the Bwile and Shila are now culturally and linguistically allied to the Bemba. There is still a Bemba colony in Shila country at the southern end of Lake Mweru, between Mweru and the Mofwe Lagoon. This area was, according to Slaski (based on Cunnison), " granted to Mwanamukupa* in return for the assistance given by the Mwaba, a Bemba chief, in opposing the invading Bayeke and re-establishing the fugitive Kazembe ". There are no published details from which to follow up this hint of an intriguing episode and it may be that the incident is connected with that in Bwile history (*see* below) when Mwamba was the chief concerned.

Slaski includes another tribe of this area, the Tabwa, in the same cultural group. Linguistically and culturally, it is true, the Tabwa are more allied to the Bemba, but as described earlier whilst the commoners of both Tabwa and Lungu are of western origin their rulers came from the north.

Although of Luba origin and non-Bemba-speaking, both Shila and Bwile are now much more mixed than are the Bemba proper. On Kilwa Island the descendants of Swahili slaves and Nyamwezi (Yeke) copper traders live alongside the aboriginal Shila and the Kilwa Island

* R. L. Moffat comments: " Mwanamukupa should read Mwabamukupa. He had nothing to do with the Shila but was sent by Chitimukulu to help the Lunda of Kazembe. He settled just north of the Mbereshi River in Kanyembo's area—(a Lunda chief). He was withdrawn by Chitimukulu after pressure from the Provincial Administration about 1928 (?) ".

chief, Nshimba, although classed as Shila is of Swahili descent. This particular area east of Lake Mweru, probably after Ndola, contains the most mixed tribes in the Territory. Slaski lists Shila, Lunda, Chishinga, Tabwa, Lungu, Bemba, Aushi, Kabende and Mukulu, Bwile, Mambwe, Bisa, Ng'umbo, Lala, Lamba, Lomotwa (a Congo tribe of Luba-Lunda origin—*see* footnote at end of Chapter 4), Yeke and Swahili.

Moffat Thomson adds Henga to the list of people living in Bwile area and says that the Bwile of the Chiengi area, whatever claims they might have for being a homogeneous tribe in the Congo, are " merely a heterogeneous collection of strangers " in Northern Rhodesia.

Abdulla, the Swahili, brought at least one Fipa elephant hunter with him from Tanganyika. One Sefu, a Fipa, is said to have left many children especially among the Tabwa.

Both tribes (and the Tabwa too) spread over the border into the Congo, or perhaps it is truer to say that they stretch from the Congo into Northern Rhodesia for whereas the Shila, for example, now control the west side of the Luapula and Lake Mweru they were a subject people to the Lunda on the Northern Rhodesian side before the middle of the 18th century.

There have been troubles between the tribes in the past. According to a version of history as given in the Chiengi District Note Book the whole of the country around Lake Mweru once belonged to the Shila, the main body of Bwile then being further north, in the Congo. At one time an internecine war among the Bwile had driven Mpweto, a Bwile chief, to take refuge with the Shila at the north end of the lake. Legend has it that Mpweto had a beautiful sister who was seen bathing in the lake by men of Nchelenge, a son of the Shila chief who was on an elephant hunt. They told Nchelenge about her. He took the refugee princess in marriage but she died shortly afterwards. In recompense Nchelenge brought in Mpweto and his Bwile and gave them the area they now occupy in Northern Rhodesia. The first Puta, the Northern Rhodesian chief of the Bwile, was a nephew of Mpweto which chieftainship still remains in the Congo.

The Lunda visited Bwile territory during the reign of the first Mputa and demanded, and obtained, tribute. The second time they came in under Kazembe Kereka and the Bwile refused to pay. There was a battle in which the Bwile led by Mpweto had only bows, arrows and spears and were thus easily defeated by the guns of the Lunda. The Bwile agreed to pay tribute and were given back their territory by the Lunda.

The Tabwa, sometimes led by Swahili under Semiwe and at other times led by Nyamwezi, also from Tanganyika, raided Bwile

country several times, sacking Puta's village each time, but they made no attempt to take over the area permanently.

The Nyamwezi, of what is now Tanganyika, were called in on one occasion to help in an internecine war among the Bwile when Mpweto and Puta joined together against more northern chiefs. These latter called in the Nyamwezi to aid them and as a result of a victorious battle Puta had to take refuge with the Bemba chief, Mwamba, and Mpweto had to live in the forest for a time. The Nyamwezi retired northwards and the successful Bwile chief, Chikwa, recalled the defeated Mpweto and Puta. Later, Chikwa was himself defeated and chased away in one of the mixed Nyamwezi and Tabwa raids mentioned earlier.

These Nyamwezi or Yeke (*see* Chapter 21) appear to have come into the area with the Swahili slavers who, after a few fights, became closer collaborators with the Tabwa than they were with the Shila or Bwile. One Nyamwezi, Masala, is said to have married a nephew of Chief Nsama Kabwimbi of the Tabwa and others married commoners.

CHAPTER 13

THE EIGHT SMALL TRIBES OF ISOKA

The remaining eight small tribes of the extreme north-east are all packed into a small area along the Nyasaland border. All of them, except the Tambo, are connected historically with Tanganyika tribes.

Moffat Thomson classified the Tambo as Mambwe-speaking and the rest as Tumbuka-Nyanja-speaking. Ethnological data on the area of these small tribes is very scanty and the tribes themselves are often referred to as " mixed "—a very appropriate description.

The confusion concerning this area is hardly likely to be resolved now. Coxhead, writing in 1914, says that the Tambo, Wandya, Fungwe and " Asmanga " (Kamanga ?) are descended from a common stock but have become distinct tribes following upon geographical separation in a mountainous country. More recent researches put the Wandya, Lambya, Nyika (and sometimes Wenya) in a closely allied group, the Fungwe, Kamanga and Yombe (and again sometimes the Wenya) in the Tumbuka " cluster " whilst the Tambo are said to be descended from the Bisa. Tew indicates that on existing information it is perhaps unprofitable to speculate on their original ethnic grouping and impossible to discover their present cultural affinities. The descriptions given below are therefore scanty.

Tambo

According to their history the tribe was formerly a group that broke away from the Bisa when pressure of the population in the area concerned grew too great. They moved north-eastwards, led by one Katyetye, an ancestor of the present chief, into what was then an unoccupied area. They lived for several generations before changing their name from Bisa to Tambo which, according to one story, was a family name and, in another version, the name that had earlier been given by some unknown people to the area they now occupy.

They now have cultural and linguistic affinities with the Iwa although they still preserve Bisa totem names and for many successions they used to consult one, Mwenimalali, a Bisa of Chinsali, before appointing a new chief. In spite of their Bisa origin the Tambo are now patrilineal like the rest of the group. Bisa influence generally has disappeared.

In the early years of the century they only numbered about 500 and were almost nomadic. They now number over 5,000 and are the largest of the eight tribes.

Yombe

This is the next largest of the tribes, numbering about 4,300. According to the Isoka District Note Book this tribe is an offshoot of the Ngonde (sometimes spelt Nkonde or Nkhonde), a tribe of the north-eastern shores of Lake Nyasa, a tribe with affinities to and the same ancestry as the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika Territory. This information concerning the early years of the century also states that a dialect of Ngonde was then spoken and that the Yombe looked to Chungu (now spelt Kyungu), chief of the Ngonde, for the nomination of a new Yombe chief. In the Isoka District Note Book is a statement that in 1903 a new chief was actually sent from the Kamanga area in Nyasaland but he was unacceptable as he was from the wrong branch of the family. Yombe country certainly adjoins Kamanga country and the same source says that the Kamanga chief was a Yombe and both acknowledged Kyungu's right to make chiefly appointments in the past.

Moffat Thomson says the Yombe are an offshoot of the Henga of Nyasaland and that " the name is probably a family one rather than a tribal one as family names have more significance in this region than tribal ones ". Cullen Gouldsbury writing in 1910 says they are a branch of the Kamanga (*q.v.*) and were then nomadic. Tew also classes them in the Tumbuka group.

The original association of the Yombe with the Ngonde is quite definite according to early history and their present linguistic and cultural association with the Tumbuka group is a fairly recent development.

Fungwe

This is the third largest of the eight tribes and, like the Yombe, had an early history of association with the Ngonde but is now classed as belonging to the Tumbuka group. Again, in the early years of European administration the right to designate chiefs rested with Kyungu, chief of the Ngonde. This right gradually faded and in recent years the right has passed to tribal headmen and elders although, as with the Yombe, Tambo, Wandya and others of the eight tribes, succession normally passes to brothers and then sons of previous chiefs. One version of history says that the Fungwe used to pay tribute to Kyungu, not as a right conferred by relationship, but merely because he is a powerful neighbour.

The Isoka District Note Book says that the Fungwe were formed by a group breaking away from the " Ngambi " tribe of the eastern Lake Nyasa region and that the old people of the tribe (*circa* 1910) referred to themselves as " Wasinyambi ". This may have been a clan name as no tribe, as such, is recorded nowadays.

Cullen Gouldsbury allies this tribe with the adjoining Lambya.

Lambya

The Lambya in Northern Rhodesia number only about 2,500 but in Tanganyika Territory they are a fairly large tribe of over 12,000. They also have affinities with the Nyakyusa and in the tribal map produced for East Africa Command during the 1939–45 war they are shown as part of the Nyakyusa. There is another group of Lambya just over the Nyasaland border close to Fort Hill so all three groups in the three territories are widely separated from each other geographically. According to early history, Kyungu of the Ngonde used to collect tribute from the Lambya, also as an overlord, since there was no relationship.

One, Nyondo of the Lambya area of Fort Hill in Nyasaland, is acknowledged as " Father of the Clan " and descent follows a patrilineal pattern similar to that of the rest of the group. The next eldest brother succeeds and then sons.

Wandya

In the early 1940s this tribe only numbered 100 taxable males. These people have a slightly different history in that they broke off after a quarrel from a tribe known as Bungu living on the south-eastern shores of Lake Rukwa in Tanganyika Territory. There does not appear to be any direct link with the Ngonde. The Wandya moved south, finding in their present area a group of people akin to the Kamanga. These people the Wandya subdued and absorbed a few of them but the bulk of the Kamanga went south to join the Yombe.

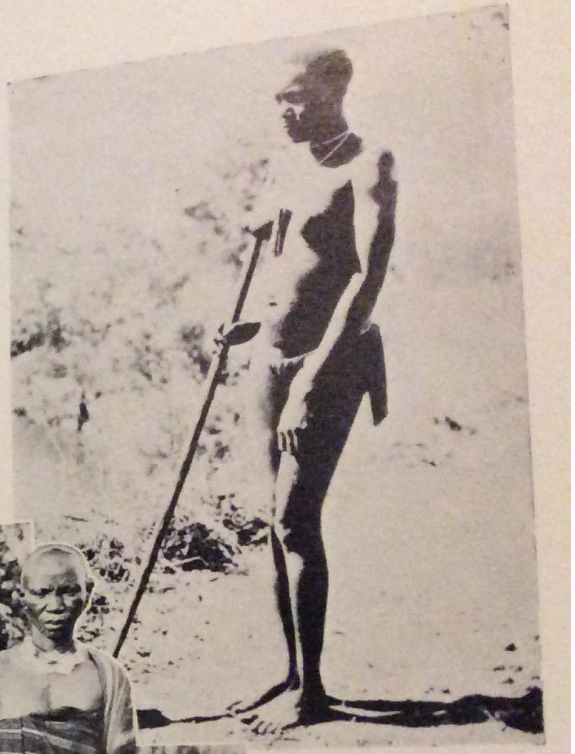
The Wandya were raided by the Bemba but because of their skill as cattle herds they were spared the usual slaughter.

Nyika

In Northern Rhodesia this tribe numbers over 2,000 but they have become geographically separated from the main body of the tribe which, in Tanganyika Territory, numbers over 25,000. As with the Wandya there is no immediate link with the Ngonde.

According to the Isoka District Note Book, the Nyika in Northern Rhodesia occupy an area that once belonged to the Fungwe. This group of Nyika had broken away from the main body after a dissension and was migrating southward. As they reached Fungwe area that tribe asked the Nyika for aid in defending themselves against the Ngoni. The Nyika gave the help and, in return, were given an area in which to settle by the Fungwe.

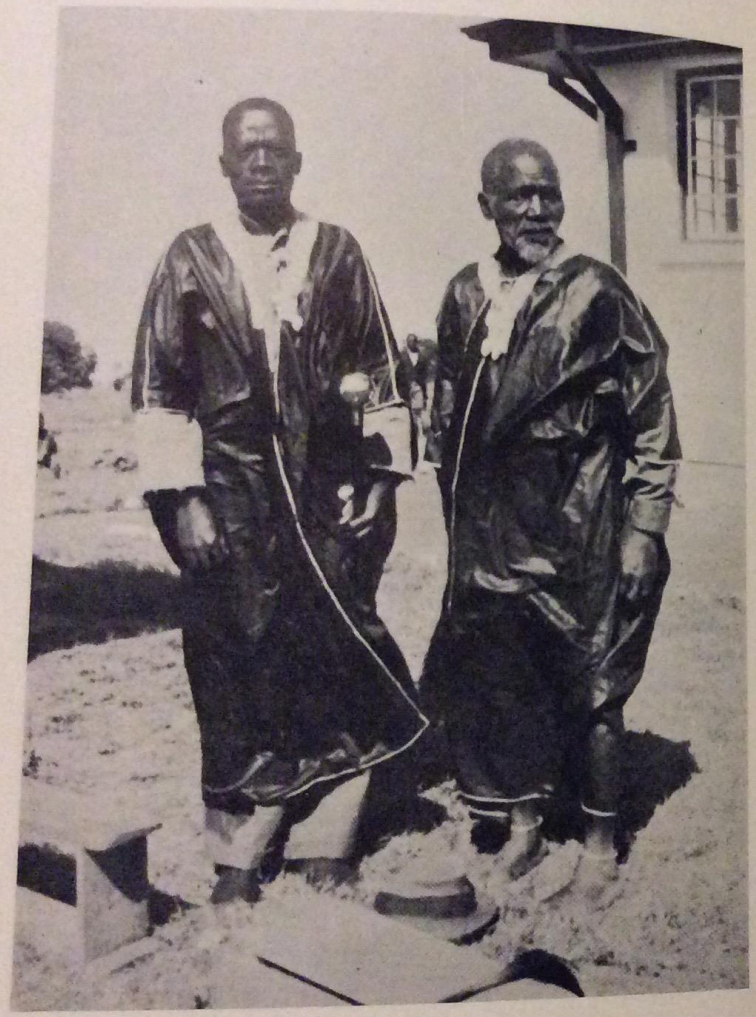
There is much confusion regarding the affinities of the Nyika. According to Abraham the Nyika should be included in the Tumbuka



NORTHERN SENGA GIRL WITH LONG HANDLED HOE, ISOKA DISTRICT, ABOUT 1920

[*Photo: E. Knowles Jordan*]

CHIEFTAINESS WAITWIKA OF THE INAMWANGA, ISOKA DISTRICT, ABOUT 1920



Soli Chiefs in Robes of Office, 1938

[*Photo: Gilbert Phillips*

group. The Mbeya (Tanganyika) District Note Book records that the Lambya are related to the Nyakyusa (as we have related) and the Nyika have affinities with the Lambya. The two sections of Nyika and Lambya adjoin each other in Northern Rhodesia. The Isoka District Note Book says that the Nyika language was allied to Ngonde. Sharman (*see* footnote to Chapter 11) says their language is akin to Nyakyusa.

Kamanga

These people belong to the Tumbuka " cluster " and they spill over into Northern Rhodesia from their main area in Nyasaland.

The Isoka District Note Book (*circa* 1900) gives a very confused story about the Northern Rhodesia section. The tribe is connected with the Henga of Nyasaland which is another of the Tumbuka-Kamanga " cluster ". The headman or chief of the Northern Rhodesian section was in the past a Yombe, and Kyungu of the Ngonde, a different group, appointed him.

They are the smallest tribe in the group numbering just over 500. The history of the Kamanga really belongs to Nyasaland, not to Northern Rhodesia. According to Cullen Young, the whole of north Nyasa, south of Ngonde country and north of Tumbuka area, was once ruled from a place, Nkamanga, which lies midway between Lake Nyasa and the Northern Rhodesia border. The Ngoni raids split the Kamanga and forced one section right down to the lake shore. The various sections of what was once Kamanga are now widely separated.

The Kamanga in Northern Rhodesia were subdued, as described by the Wandya but according to the Isoka District Note Book some descendants of the Kamanga remained in Wandya country where they became respected priests officiating at certain ceremonies connected with the placation of local spirits.

Wenya

The bulk of this tribe is in Nyasaland and less than a thousand spread over the border into Northern Rhodesia. They belong to the Tumbuka " cluster " and according to the Isoka District Note Book they became vassals of Kyungu of the Ngonde in return for protection against the Ngoni. Like the Wandya they are renowned for their pastoral skill and were spared slaughter during Bemba raids.

CHAPTER 14

THE TUMBUKA

The Tumbuka are part of a congeries of people that comprise Tumbuka, Kamanga, Henga, Tonga and other smaller units in the north-west Nyasa region as well as several of the small tribes of Isoka.

Moffat Thomson says of them : " The Tumbuka are said to be eastern Bantu of Nyanja origin and were at one time a tribe of considerable importance, occupying the whole of the Luangwa Valley and the land as far east as the Bua River near Kota Kota on Lake Nyasa. Dr. Lacerda found the Tumbuka in the Luangwa Valley in 1798 when they were a powerful tribe but soon after his visit they were raided and dispersed by the Bisa and then finally broken up in the tribal wars of the 19th century. The main portion of the tribe is now in Nyasaland."

It is not quite clear what Moffat Thomson means by " Nyanja " in this respect. He may be referring to the lakeside domicile of the vast bulk of the tribe in Nyasaland.

Tumbuka area in Northern Rhodesia is now only a small section of the Lundazi District although their language spreads over a larger area. The northern Senga, for example, not only took wives from among the Tumbuka when they arrived in the Luangwa Valley, but adopted the Tumbuka dialect.

Tew gives a brief history of the tribe. She says: " The history of the Tumbuka peoples falls into three parts. The first period is before 1780, when a vast area between Lake Nyasa and the Luangwa River on the east and west, and the Bua and Songwe rivers on the south and north, was sparsely populated by small independent groups of Tumbuka, with no central organised political form. The second starts between 1780 and 1800, when a party of ivory traders crossed the lake and established a dynasty in Kamanga, which introduced new customs into a large part of the Tumbuka area." Mlowoka, the leader, gradually organised the scattered chiefs into a federation. He and his followers were said to have come " as Arabs " and to have been Africans closely connected with the east coast and its trade although they did not bring any Islamic influence. According to Cullen Young they were probably of central African origin in the first instance. " The third period is from about 1855, when the Ngoni fell upon Nkamanga and disrupted the kingdom. Some elements were subjugated; some revolted and fled, claiming on their return under British peace a political significance which they had not formerly possessed."

The Mlowoka dynasty repulsed a Bemba invasion with the aid of Kyungu but they were unable to repel the Ngoni and their customs gradually began to disappear, young Tumbuka taking to Ngoni weapons, head-ring and marriage customs. It was not until the defeat of the Ngoni by the British in 1896 that " the Ngoni system and prestige began to collapse. Tumbuka headmen began to break away and form their own villages. The Tumbuka language had never been lost, and now Tumbuka customs were revived. The shrine huts to Tumbuka ancestors were rebuilt, and the suppressed dances were performed again. Those Tumbuka who had fled north gradually drifted back, and the Henga returned to their valley. The Tumbuka are now cited as an example of resuscitated tribal consciousness." *

*An interesting example of this comes from over the border in Nyasaland. The Tumbuka chief, Katumbi Mulindafwa, started, in 1952, an annual ceremony with the object of building up a tribal tradition. A ritual ceremony was evolved to revere a stone, the Mulindafwa Stone, which represents the stone on which Katumbi sat when he first came to the area. Once a year the symbolic stone is shown to the people. A dais is built around which the crowds dance. The chief ascends the dais with his councillors below. Prayers are said and the stone wrapped in a tablecloth is passed along the line of councillors up to the chief. He unveils it and holds it up to the crowd who greet its appearance with one great awesome shout.

CHAPTER 15

THE SENGA, NSENGA AND KUNDA

There is much confusion both in Moffat Thomson and in Government lists of chiefs and tribes between the Senga and Nsenga.

Historically and linguistically the people who live in the upper Luangwa Valley in the Lundazi District are so distinct from the others that they should be referred to as Senga or as northern Senga. They are as emphatic in omitting the initial nasal as the southern groups are in using it.

The groups on the lower Luangwa in the Petauke, Lusaka and Feira districts must be carefully distinguished. They are Nsenga.

Senga

Tribal traditions are to the effect that the Senga were originally part of the Bisa tribe. With the Bisa they lived for a time south of Bangweulu from where they were later dislodged by the Bemba. The Senga were amongst those Bisa driven eastwards into the Muchinga Mountains. When the Bemba appeared again in the mountains of refuge the Senga went eastwards again into the Luangwa Valley. They crossed the river to their present abode, according to Lane-Poole, about 1780-1800.

It is said that the vanguard of this movement consisted of men only and that they took wives from among the adjacent Poka, Lowoka and Tumbuka. This explains why their language is now Tumbuka. It was from the Lowoka (a clan of the Kamanga) that they adopted their system of inheritance which is from brother to brother then to sons. The Poka, except for a group in the Nyika Plateau, had been driven into the valley by the Ngoni raids in the Nyasaland hills.

The Bisa connection lasted a long time and disputes as to succession of chiefs were referred to the Bisa chief, Chibesakunda, in the Chinsali District. This is interesting in view of the fact that the Bisa are matrilineal.

The Senga were raided by the Ngoni and by the Bemba. The episode of the Senga chief, Mwase, and the Bemba paramount has been related.*

* The " General List of Chiefs " names a Chief Ngabwe of the west Lukanga area of the Broken Hill District as being a chief of Senga. It may be that these are descendants of Chief Undi's people left behind in Lenje country during the trek of the 18th century. *See* under Nsenga for the story.

Moffat Thomson did not distinguish them as a separate group. According to Mr. Blunden, District Commissioner (Rural), Broken Hill, the people of Ngabwe are now assimilated to the Lima and very rarely refer to themselves as anything else.

The Nsenga

The Nsenga are an offshoot of the Chewa. This means that like the northern Senga they were originally of Luba stock. Whereas the northern Senga, as Bisa, were part of the Bemba migration, the Nsenga or Chewa were part of the people known to early explorers as Maravi or Manyanja. Their migration from the west took them past, and across, Lake Nyasa and they occupied the vast area enclosed by Lake Nyasa on the north, the Zambezi on the south, and the Luangwa on the west. Their main chiefs were Karonga, Undi, Mkanda and Mwase.

According to Lane-Poole there is no satisfactory interpretation of the name Nsenga. In Chinyanja the word means " sand " but Nsenga country is not sandy and the local word for sand is *msechi*. The best interpretation is that it is derived from the name of an indigenous species of cotton which was cultivated for barter. This is the explanation given by the Nsenga themselves.

The story of the origin of the Nsenga is that towards the end of the 18th century Undi, the Chewa chief who lived in the Kapoche Valley in what is now Portuguese territory, decided to make an expedition to the north-west. He went on until he reached the country of Chief Mukuni (of the Lenje). He was advised not to go on as he would meet with Bemba raiders. So he stayed in Mukuni's country for some time, perhaps a generation, and then returned.

During the return journey a number of people stayed behind in the area, then practically uninhabited, in what is now the Petauke District. Undi left a headman, Kalindawalo, to look after them. Undi eventually lost control of the people he had left behind and they became known as Nsenga.

During their journeys they intermarried considerably with the Lenje and also with the Lala and their language, Chinsenga, originally of the Chewa-Nyanja dialect, now shows much Lenje and Lala influence. The Nsenga also have family names and totems not found among the Chewa. For example, it seems certain that the large family of the *Tembo* totem returned from Mukuni's country with the Nsenga.

The area now classed as Nsenga was not occupied by any settled people except that, according to Lane-Poole, nomad bands of Bakatanga or Bapule were absorbed or expelled by the Nsenga. These " mysterious people " variously said to come from the Kafue, the upper Zambezi or south of the Zambezi, were probably offshoots of the Makololo, says Lane-Poole, some of whom had reached the Lukasashi River (*see* under Ambo).

Lane-Poole also interprets Bakatanga as meaning merely " those who were first " from the common Bantu root—*tanga*—" to begin "

and not meaning the name of a tribe or implying a connection with the Katanga Province of the Congo.

The Nsenga had to repulse raids by the Lenje: the Ngoni raided but remained to spend six peaceful years with them round about 1835. They returned with fire and slaughter in 1870. There were friendly relations with the Ambo and Kunda and the influence of the latter on language and customs is very marked.

The Nsenga paid tribute to the Ngoni until the downfall of Mpezeni in 1898. They paid as villages, not as a tribe. The District Note Book of Petauke reports that even in 1902 there were no "recognised chiefs", only scattered villages. Kalindawalo was acknowledged as the senior chief and Nyanji, head of the Tembo family who had made the journey back from Lenje country, was also acknowledged as a territorial chief.

These are the only two chieftainships dating from the migration. Of later chieftainships Ndake's ancestors came in from Portuguese territory after being connected by marriage to Undi and Mwanjawantu's ancestors were given land as a present by Undi to atone for having cremated one of the family in a fit of anger.

The Nsenga in the triangle roughly formed by the Zambezi and Luangwa, in the Feira District, under Mburuma came from the same tribe higher up the Luangwa. Mburuma and his followers fled southward across the Luangwa during a Chikunda raid on the middle Luangwa. He established himself as a chief and his people are now very mixed with Soli, Lenje and Chikunda.

Kunda

The Kunda, like the northern Senga, Nsenga and Ambo, are of Luba stock. It is probable that the Kunda, like the northern Senga, were once part of the Bisa tribe since their language at one time closely resembled Bisa.

It is not known whether they were known as Kunda when they were part of the Bisa tribe. Lane-Poole suggests it is a place name in which case it may have been adopted after their breakaway and when they settled in the Luangwa Valley.

They appear to have reached the valley about the same time as the Ambo (1845) and after the Nsenga who returned from Mukuni's country prior to 1835. The breakaway from the Bisa was led by one Mambwe, the son of a Bisa chief, who claimed to be a chief himself. The father followed the son into the Muchinga Escarpment but was defeated in the fight and put to flight. The Kunda then went on to settle in the Luangwa Valley.

The Ambo were arriving at the same time and the two tribes became friendly. The Nsenga were already in the valley and the Kunda also became friendly and intermarried among them.

The Kunda, after they were settled, had several minor skirmishes with their erstwhile kinsmen, the Bisa, and they were raided by the Ngoni.

CHAPTER 16

THE CHEWA

The Chewa, numbering about 100,000 in Northern Rhodesia, are one of the larger tribes of the Territory.

They are one of that agglomeration of tribes living north of the Zambezi on either side of Lake Nyasa that were termed Maravi by the early travellers. In addition to the Chewa (of both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) the group includes the Nsenga of Northern Rhodesia and the Nyanja of Nyasaland.

The Maravi were of Luba stock and Lane-Poole says of their migration : " Of this great people it is the tradition that at an epoch antecedent to the earliest Portuguese settlements on the Zambezi, they emigrated from the Luba country in the basin of the Congo, by a route which led them past Lake Nyasa, and, under their several chiefs, of whom Karonga, Undi, Mkanda and Mwase, were the most prominent, occupied that vast region, enclosed, in very general terms, by the Zambezi on the south, Lake Nyasa on the north and the Luangwa River on the west.

" To an ancestor of the Nsenga chief, Kaluani, one Mwanza Ngoteka by name, is given the credit of having invented the rafts (*chi-tawa-tawa*), by which they were transported across Lake Nyasa. It is not surprising, however, that tradition concerning this migration has become obscured by lapse of time, since it almost certainly occurred before the year A.D. 1500."

In 1667 Manuel Barretta recorded Karonga as the senior chief of the Maravi. Pereira in 1895 and Lacerda in 1798 recorded Undi as the " Imperador " of the Maravi and legend has it that Undi had succeeded Karonga. The name Chewa also appears in Lacerda. Mkanda and Mwase are referred to as petty Chewa " kings " subject to Undi. So that the separation from Maravi stock took place sometime before the end of the 18th century. Perhaps separation is the wrong term for Cullen Young says : " It is the Chewa themselves who are ' the great mother tribe ' " of which the Nyanja and others are the separated tribes.

The two Chewa chiefs were apparently already in occupation of the area they now occupy when Undi went on his long visit to Chief Mukuni's area (described under the Nsenga) and on his return he went back to the area Kapoche, in Portuguese East Africa, where he had lived before.

It was Mwase Kasungu who inspired and organised the Chewa colonisation of the Luangwa Valley during the second half of the 18th century long before the immigration of the Kunda, Ambo and Bisa and possibly before Undi went to Mukuni.

Mwase naturally put his own family in charge of the area and Mwase Lundazi, a descendant, is acknowledged as the senior chief of the northern section of Chewa. Mwase also once occupied the Chiwande area on the Luangwa but the Bisa eventually drove out the Chewa. (It is under Mwase again now although the people are Bisa. *See* under Bisa.)

In the latter half of the 19th century there was some bitter fighting between the Chewa and the Ngoni. The French traveller, Foa, who in 1895 was at Undi's village, said that it was raided by Ngoni several times a month. Mwase Kasungu, in spite of beating Mombera's Ngoni with the help of Arab slavers and guns, was eventually forced to make alliances with Mombera (Mwambera) in Nyasaland and Mpezeni in Fort Jameson, paying tribute to both. The name Chipeta, sometimes applied to the Chewa, is, according to Marwick, " a nickname that was given to those of the Chewa who, at the time of the Ngoni invasions, hid in the *Chipeta* or long-grass country of central Nyasaland ".

The incursions of the Ngoni split Mwase Lundazi's area from that of Undi although after the defeat of the Ngoni in their rebellion in 1898 the Chewa have exerted a lot of pressure on this Ngoni enclave and now, as Barnes says: " Ngoniland is almost completely surrounded by Chewa chiefdoms. The old no-man's-land which isolated the Ngoni from their neighbours in pre-conquest times has long ago disappeared. On the fringes of Ngoni country there is a great deal of contact between Ngoni villages and their Chewa neighbours and the links of kinship stretch across tribal boundaries without interruption. Within Ngoniland itself, under the control of county chiefs, are some villages which still speak the Chewa language rather than the Nsenga dialect used by most Ngoni. Most of these Chewa-speaking villages have come into Ngoniland after 1898." He goes on : " The great majority of these are Chewa in origin. Some of them claim that they have returned to ancestral sites, others state that they came as a result of land alienation or of some quarrel with their former chief. Others have been formed by non-Ngoni immigrants who have worked for many years in the township or on the farms and built up their own followings."

Although the Ngoni conquered the Chewa by force of arms in the past, the Ngoni have in turn been conquered by Chewa customs. For instance, very few Ngoni now " *lobola* " their wives by handing over cattle to the woman's parents. They have adopted the Chewa

custom whereby the man marries at his bride's village and works in the garden of his mother-in-law. The children belong to the wife's family, not to the father's as in old Ngoni custom.

Undi's own area was split in two by the Northern Rhodesia–Portuguese East Africa boundary decisions in 1891. Undi was left in Portuguese territory. The Chewa were aggrieved and many crossed into Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. Undi, after spending some years in prison, followed in 1935 to die in British territory. His successor was accepted in 1937 as the Paramount Chewa chief by the other Northern Rhodesian Chewa chiefs. The two big Nyasaland chiefs, Mwase Kasungu and Mkanda, are, of course, separate, but they were consulted. In 1947 Mwase Lundazi was accorded some degree of independence as regards administration but Undi is still recognised as Paramount.

The greater bulk of the Chewa tribe is in Nyasaland where there are over half a million of them.

The Chewa language is one of the dialects of the Nyanja group.

CHAPTER 17

THE NGONI

Early History

According to Barnes—" There are about a dozen distinct Ngoni kingdoms in different parts of Africa at the present time." There are three main groups in Nyasaland, two in Northern Rhodesia, two in Tanganyika, one in Southern Rhodesia and there are undoubtedly Ngoni settlements in Portuguese East Africa.

The Ngoni are a branch of the Nguni peoples some of whom had reached Natal by the 17th century in the southbound Bantu migration.

By 1810 three main groups had emerged. Chief of one of these groups was Shaka who by 1820 had begun to dominate the others. There were several migrations of refugees from Shaka's battles. One, not the first, was led by Mzilikazi, originally an independent leader who became one of Shaka's generals and who then fled from him. Another was led by Zwangendaba, an independent minor chief of a section that had been defeated by Shaka. These latter people called themselves Ngoni, " a name derived from Nguni, a term of salutation common to many agnatic clans in Natal ". About 1820, Zwangendaba took his followers, perhaps only a thousand men, women and children, in a north-easterly direction to the region of Delagoa Bay. There he found other refugee chiefs from Shaka, but after quarrelling with them Zwangendaba moved northwards on the long trek that was to reach nearly to lake Victoria Nyanza. Barnes describes it briefly. " From Delagoa Bay, Zwangendaba went up the Limpopo Valley into Mashonaland. He fought with Kalanga and other Shona peoples and there was renewed fighting with other refugee groups under Soshangane and Nxaba. In 1835 Zwangendaba's group crossed over to the north side of the River Zambezi near Zumbo and settled in Nsenga country for four years. They moved on again along the eastern rim of the Luangwa basin and eventually arrived in about 1842 in Ufipa, on the east side of Lake Tanganyika. Here, in about 1845, Zwangendaba died."

A few years after Zwangendaba left Natal he was followed by Mzilikazi, whose people became the Ndebele or Matabele of Southern Rhodesia.

The arrival of Zwangendaba's migrants into Northern Rhodesia has been vividly described by Lane-Poole. He makes a mistake of a day in his description. The date was actually the 20th November, 1835, not the 19th. However, Lane-Poole goes on—" about two

o'clock in the afternoon, Zwangendaba crossed the Zambezi at a point near Zumbo. The chronology is determined by the tradition that a total eclipse of the sun occurred in the midst of the crossing. Several incidents are connected in native tradition with the crossing of the Zambezi. The transportation of the army was preluded by a beer drink of more than usual magnitude and conviviality, since to-day, nearly a century later, it has not been obliterated from the memories of the descendants of those who partook of it. That in this crapulous state they should have been somewhat astounded by the unusual phenomenon of a total eclipse is perhaps hardly to be wondered at. The women are said each to have carried a pestle and mortar, from which it may be inferred that Zwangendaba was as capable in command of commissariat as he was a general of strategy. Tradition also relates that the cattle were knee-haltered and thus forded across the river, a form of locomotion against which they protested so vigorously that many perished in the flood. Mpezeni, the eldest son, was a lad carried on his mother's back at the time. Another wife of Zwangendaba, heavy with child, having been thrown into a panic at the unwonted spectacle of the sun's eclipse, was hastily confined on the banks of the Zambezi and prematurely delivered of the robust child who afterwards grew to manhood as Chief Mombera (Mwambera).

" Young quotes a tradition that the crossing was made on a sandy causeway in five feet of water, the men breaking the current by making a barrier of their bodies. The release of the barrier caused the flood to rush down, carrying with it the cattle which were drowned. The story, redolent of the Bible, that the waters were struck with a staff, and divided to let the people pass, has been often recorded of this crossing."

Lane-Poole then mentions another crossing lower down the river by Nquaba's (Nxaba) section. But Barnes disputes this pointing out that Nxaba's group was never part of Zwangendaba's and that Nxaba was eventually killed in Barotseland.

Lane-Poole then points out that—" The following of Zwangendaba at this crossing of his rubicon consisted of a heterogeneous and polygloy multitude of Ngoni, Kalanga, Suthu, Tonga, Swazi and others. The mixture and impurity of blood which is so evident in the decadent Ngoni of the present day must have received its first infusion before they came into contact with the subject races north of the Zambezi."

There are various accounts of dissident sections breaking away before the death of Zwangendaba, but Barnes only acknowledges one minor one. This was of a group of Swazi, who about the time of the Zambezi crossing turned back to join Mzilikazi. It was an offshoot from Mzilikazi, a group known as Maseko Ngoni who trekked independently north eastwards from Mashonaland and who now live

in the region round Mount Domwe on both sides of the border between southern Nyasaland and Portuguese East Africa.

Zwangendaba kept his group reasonably intact until his death. Winterbottom puts the date of death as 1845 and says: " Zwangendaba was not only a notable soldier in the days of Mzilikazi's military [illegible] no mean statesman (e.g. Moshesh, Khama, Lewanika). He added his miscellaneous following into a single tribe, which, though it broke up at his death, did so on party and not on tribal lines."

At his death, Zwangendaba's sons were young and the leadership of the state fell firstly into the hands of Ntabeni, a younger brother, and, at his death to Mgayi, a cousin, both of whom acted as regent in turn on behalf of the young sons.

There were four sons—Mpezeni, the eldest, then Mwambera, Mtwalo and Mperembe. There was a dispute in the succession. The regent, Ntabeni, chose Mpezeni after much quarrelling, but he died shortly afterwards and his followers were obliged to flee from the group. They went northwards and settled near Runcwe to the south of Victoria Nyanza. (Some writers state that this segment or another went to the west of Lake Tanganyika, but Barnes, after reviewing the evidence, disputes this.)

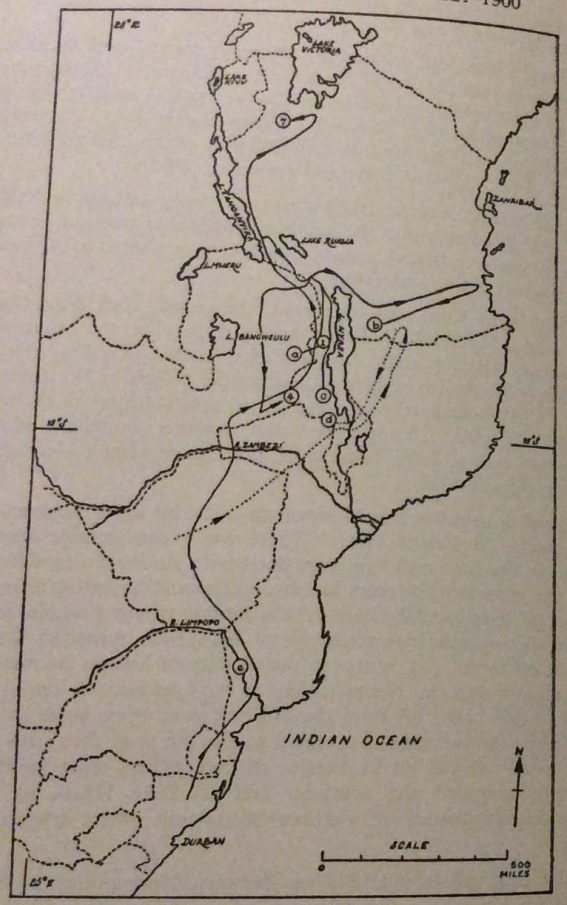
Mgayi did not live long as regent and after his death Mpezeni was made chief. As Barnes says: " There was a considerable shortage of food at the time and this, combined with dissension in the tribe about the succession, appears to have precipitated a further split. A follower of Zwangendaba called Zulu Gama, whose position in the segmentary organisation seems not to have been recorded, led his segment off to the east, where in the vicinity of Songea he met with that group of Maseko Ngoni which we have mentioned earlier, and who probably broke off from the Ndebele some time prior to 1835. For a while the two groups operated as one but soon they split apart. Some people stayed on in Songea district, others went south and eventually rounded the southern end of Lake Nyasa to arrive in the Dedza district of southern Nyasaland, where they remain to-day."

The next split about 1849 was between Mpezeni and Mperembe on the one hand, who moved westwards, and the other group under Mwambera and Mtwalo who went south-east.

Some Details

Winterbottom gives some further details of the wanderings of the Ngoni—" Skirting and raiding into the Bemba country, Mpezeni raided his way through the Bisa to reach Chilonga (Chelenga), at the top of the Muchinga escarpment on the old mail route from Serenje to Fort Jameson, about 1860. Here he defeated a people known as

MAP A. NGONI MIGRATIONS 1821–1900



Route of groups stemming from Zwangendaba.

Route of Maseko Ngoni of Southern Nyasaland.

Modern political boundaries (1950).

① Northern Nyasaland group, under Mwambera.
④ Fort Jameson group, under Mpezeni.
⑦ Runsewe group, under Mtambalika and Mtambalala.
⑨ Lundazi group, under Magodi.
ⓑ Songea group, under Zulu Gama
ⓒ Dowa group, under Ciwere ndhlovu.
ⓓ Southern Nyasaland group, originally under Mputa Maseko.
ⓔ Gazaland group, under Soshangane.

[*By courtesy J. A. Barnes' book "Politics in a Changing Society"*]
[*Photo: Fedinform*]

the Bapule, who fled to the east, and he raided the Alala for some five years.

"About 1835, Mwambera invaded the Henga country, captured their chief, the Chikulamayembe, and established himself in what is more or less his present locality, enslaving the surrounding Henga, Tonga and Tumbuka people and raiding the Senga and Bisa to the west and the Chewa to the south."

Mperembe, who had accompanied Mpezeni, broke from him whilst they were in Bisa country and after settling in Bemba country for a while as an independent group, he and his followers crossed the Luangwa and joined Mwambera. From Mwambera's group one, Chiwere Ndhlovu, broke off with a small following to settle between Kota Kota and Domira Bay.

"In 1865, Mpezeni crossed the Luangwa, chased the Chewa chief, Mbang'ombe, to the top of his hills and camped in his country, where his chief wife, Lupoko, bore him a son, Nsingu. Three years later, he moved again, to Mpinduka Hill, in what is now the southern Petauke district. Mpezeni moved once more, in response to a request from the Chewa chief, Mkanda, for help against the Bapule, to his present position in 1873." (The Bapule, according to Lane-Poole "are variously said to have been Ambwela, Alenje, Makololo and Maroze, and to have come from the Kafue, from Barotseland and from south of the Zambezi. They are almost certainly to be identified with the Makololo. After their final defeat by the Ngoni on the Luwelezi River in Nyasaland, not far from Fort Jameson, they became incorporated in the Ngoni people and are now given an honoured place under their principal headman, Chapita.")

Winterbottom goes on: "Shortly afterwards, the signs of a new order began to be seen. In 1875, the year of Livingstone's death, Dr. Laws and his party arrived on Lake Nyasa and took up their quarters at Cape Maclear. The same year, the Atonga revolted against their Angoni masters and fled to the lake. When the Angoni followed them they suffered a defeat at Chintechi and although raiding was indulged in by both sides no further serious attempt was made by the Angoni to reconquer the rebels. But the Ahenga then decided to follow the example of the Atonga. This was more than the Angoni could stand and in 1879 they attacked the section that had set up a new Chikulamayembe and defeated them with great slaughter. Then they turned their attention to a second section, who had set up a military chiefdom in imitation of their masters, calling themselves the Majere-Henga. The Majere-Henga, however, did not await the assault, but fled to the north. Encouraged by the absence of so many Angoni warriors, the Batumbuka, under their chief, Baza, also revolted and took up a position on the precipitous Hora Mountain. There was,

however, no water on the mountain. With a grim smile, Umbelwa stationed his youngest regiment round the hill to wait till thirst drove the ' rats of Hora ' to descend to their deaths. Baza and a few followers escaped by a precipitous route, but the majority were slain.

" The growing power of the Babemba, who were closely allied with the Arab slave-traders, encouraged them to poach on the Angoni raiding grounds in the Luangwa Valley. Aggrieved at being raided from two sides at once, the Biza chief, Chifundo, appealed to Umbelwa (Mwambera) for help and in 1877 the latter despatched an army under Ngonomo and Chidumayi to deal with the nuisance. The Babemba were commanded by Chandalela, brother of the Chitimukulu, and forces met near the present Mpika Boma. After a battle lasting three days, the Babemba were totally defeated. The victorious army returned to find Dr. Laws on his first visit to their chief, a visit pregnant with future change.

" The Europeans were now beginning to enter the country in some numbers."

Later History

The Ngoni rebelled in 1897-8 against the Government but were defeated after a forty-day campaign, by troops brought in from Nyasaland. Singu, the son of Mpezeni, who had incited the rebellion was caught and shot and Mpezeni was exiled for a year to Fort Manning.

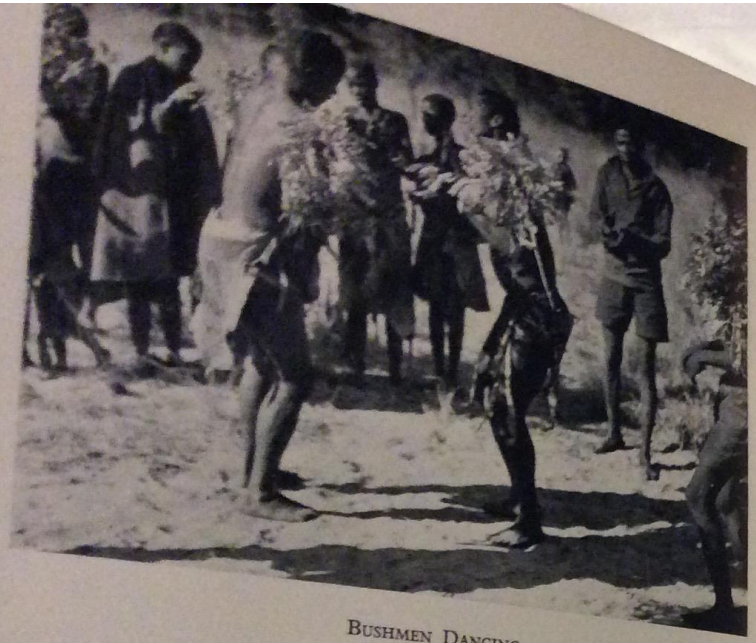
Prior to this defeat the Ngoni had been organised on military lines with new age-regiments of warriors being formed every few years. The defeat led to the gradual break up of this military system although the tribe in Northern Rhodesia is still centrally organised under Mpezeni and the last regiment was formed as late as 1920.

The defeat also had the effect of curbing the Ngoni habit of raiding other tribes. Only the Yao, or near neighbours, were never subjugated by the Ngoni. There was a sort of alliance between Mwambera and the senior Chewa chief, Mwase Kasungu, who is domiciled in Nyasaland and the British Administration restored or created other Chewa chieftainships.

The main body of Ngoni are now in Nyasaland under Mwambera where they number about 216,000. In Northern Rhodesia the Ngoni, now confined to the Fort Jameson District, number about 60,000. It is estimated that when they crossed the Zambezi in 1835 the Ngoni numbered little more than 1,000. This colossal increase is due to the custom of incorporating conquered tribes by marrying the women and turning the men into warriors.

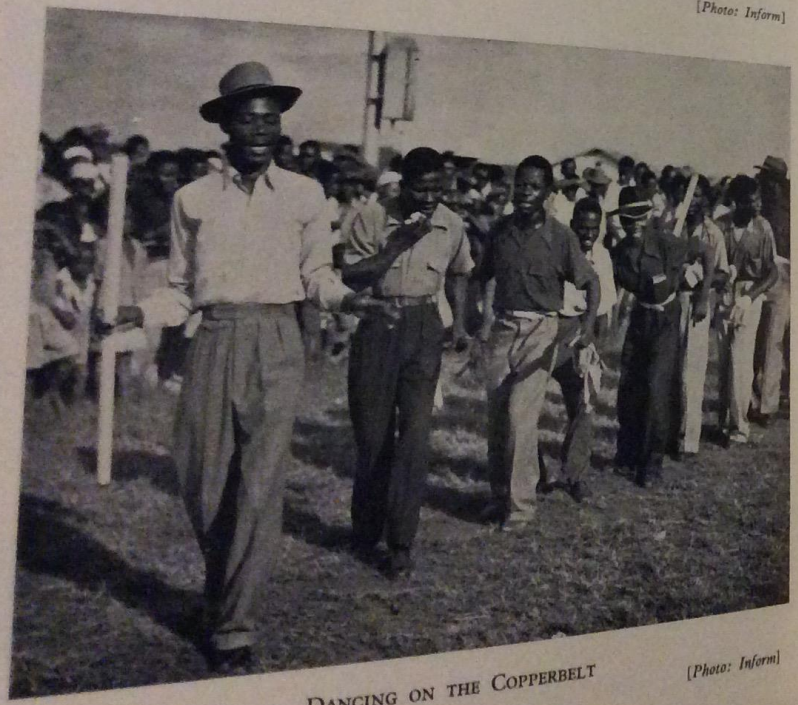
Barnes points out that the Ngoni practised " indirect rule ". They allowed local chiefs to govern their people according to their own laws and customs, but under the authority of the Ngoni. " They

NGONI WARRIOR. FROM SIR HARRY JOHNSTON'S BOOK " BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA " 1898



BUSHMEN DANCING

[Photo: Inform]



DANCING ON THE COPPERBELT [Photo: Inform]

also took selected children from the conquered peoples and reared them as Ngoni in Ngoni villages." He goes on : "The Ngoni did not seek to vanquish other tribes as states but rather to exhaust them by continual attrition. . . . The Ngoni did not trade with their neighbours, or send ambassadors to them, or enter into alliances with them: they merely killed or captured them." And the flow of captives kept the army going.

For many years subject people were proud to proclaim themselves as Ngoni but with the reduction of Ngoni prestige under modern conditions the number of such claims shows a reduction—especially in Nyasaland. Ngoni spread over the border from Fort Jameson into the Fort Manning area of Nyasaland and the Ngoni of that area acknowledge Mpezeni as their Paramount.

Linguistically Ngoni was a dialect of Zulu but it has disappeared and only occurs in songs, praises, etc., and widely dispersed Ngoni usually use the language of the area they now occupy. Moffat Thomson includes them in Northern Rhodesia in the Tumbuka-Nyanja-speaking group. Nyanja is certainly the official language of the area but Lane-Poole says that Chewa is spoken throughout Fort Jameson whilst other authorities say that although the Ngoni are now in what was Chewa country they learnt Nsenga from the wives they took in the second occupation of that country and that is now the common language of the people. Nowadays the Fort Jameson Ngoni definitely speak Nsenga.

CHAPTER 18

THE BATWA

There are three groups of Batwa in the Territory. The largest group inhabits the swamps of Lake Bangweulu; the next group live on the islands and banks of the middle Kafue; and the last group lives in the Lukanga Swamp.

There are two theories concerning the origin of these people. One is that they were a distinct people, relics of pre-Bantu occupation now mixed with the surrounding tribes: the other is that they are merely the outcasts of the surrounding tribes and that they have no pre-Bantu connections at all.

Neither theory need exclude the other. Jeffries, in an analysis of the word Batwa as it occurs all over Africa, poses the question—" The Batwa: Who are they? " and answers very definitely—" There were no such people, any more than there were such people as the Philistines ".

He argues that the word Batwa comes from an " Ur-Bantu root *tu* meaning " stranger, foreigner, alien " and hence " inferior ". Other authorities following the same theory state that the word has come to mean, in different parts of Africa, pygmies or smaller races or the inferior races the Bantu have displaced. Lane-Poole points out the interesting fact that even the Ngoni when they were in the Delagoa Bay area in 1822-23 were described as " Vatwah ", an inferior race, by Captain Owen of the Royal Navy.

So that whilst there is no doubt that the modern generations of Batwa are the " inferior " or outcast members of adjoining tribes, it could be that the original Batwa were pre-Bantu. There are legends that the Batwa were in the Bangweulu area before, at any rate, the great Luba migrations and Smith and Dale imply the same of the Kafue Batwa and the later Ila settlement.

Batwa of Bangweulu

This area is, naturally, on account of its size, the home of the largest section of Batwa in Northern Rhodesia. The Unga found people already in the Bangweulu Swamps and the Aushi found scattered settlements of people to the east of the Luapula whom they drove into the swamps.

In spite of a good deal of intermarriage, there are still acknowledged Batwa families in the swamps, on Ncheta Island for example, and there are definite Batwa areas. Mbo Yalubambe is a Batwa

island and Kansenga sand-spit has been occupied by Batwa under Chibuba since 1916 when the Administration made them settle there. Formerly they lived a typical Batwa life. They did not cultivate but lived on fish, lechwe meat and the roots of the water lily. Their homes were temporary grass shelters erected on the floating sudd.

All the Batwa group in the Bangweulu area claim a Luba descent and state they came from the area of Chief Matanda, nearby in the Congo, as they have the same totem (*Mumba*—clay). If this is correct they must have been very early straggling forerunners of the bigger migrations. They were either a long time ahead of these or else they may have mingled with a pre-Bantu people because the main migrations did not recognise them as fellow Lubans. They were either driven further into the wilderness or else treated, as the Unga treated them, as a primitive race to be subjugated and assimilated. There were indications of differences in culture and of differences in dialect when the Batwa were first studied even after generations of being in contact with the Luba migrants. Whether these were due to long severance from the Luban culture or were relics of an admixture with a pre-Bantu race we shall never know. Nowadays they are culturally, linguistically and ethnologically part of the surrounding tribes.

Batwa of the Kafue

Smith and Dale's map shows the Batwa as inhabiting a considerable stretch of the Kafue between the railway bridge and Namwala.

The District Note Book gives a population figure of over 6,000 for them in the 1920s. By 1949 the District Commissioner gave a figure of only 850, the rest being classed as members of adjoining tribes. Moffat Thomson only gave 1,480 Batwa for the whole Territory. He also presumably classed most of them as part of the surrounding tribes. The Namwala District Note Book also states that the Batwa had no chiefs, each little group having a headman. But for a period during the late 1930s and 1940s Government recognised Shikafwe as the Batwa chief of the Kafue area. He was the only chief officially recognised as chief of Batwa in the Territory. Now he and his people are classed as Ila under Chief Muwezewa.

Sebitwane, the Makololo chief, attacked the Batwa during his raids on the Ila. Smith and Dale say: " They attempted no resistance, but all who could fled into their native swamps." Sebitwane—" captured some of these unfortunates and compelled them to ferry his army across the river."

Smith and Dale describe the Batwa as living in " numerous native villages built of the rudest materials, viz. mealie stalks, reeds and grass ". They were—" the last and most reluctant to accept European administration in this part of the world. As absolutely at home among their native swamps as the Bushmen are in the desert, they excite

reluctant admiration of their prowess as watermen and fishermen, but repulsion by their uncouth and uncleanly methods of life."

The writers said: "There are many differences between Baila and Batwa. They seem to have a language of their own, but those living near the Baila speak Ila." It would be true to say to-day that these Batwa are now almost indistinguishable from the Ila in language and culture—except perhaps for their riverine mode of life.

Batwa of the Lukanga Swamp

The mode of life of the Batwa of the Lukanga Swamp did not differ from that of the Batwa of the Bangweulu Swamp. The people lived on platforms of reeds set in the sudd and they ate the root of the water lily.

According to Moubray even in the early years of the century, 1903-1908, the Batwa were intermarrying with the mainland people the traffic being mainly of men from the mainland marrying women of the swamp. Doke describes them as being "very few in numbers, degraded in the extreme, physically and intellectually backward".

He says: "As far as we know, the speech of these Twa people is a branch of Lenje." On the other hand, Macrae points out that the names of two of the three islands in the swamp—Chilwa and Chundu—are from the Ila language and the third—Nsumbu—is common to many Bantu dialects as a word for island.

Moffat Thomson says that—"the totem of the Batwa chiefs in the Lukanga Swamp is *Mwina Ngwena*". If correct it is like that of the Bemba royal chiefs, the Luba version of the word for crocodile. But the statement is doubtful. Macrae mentions a petty chief or headman called Ngwena and it is probable that Moffat Thomson confused the name with the totem. There are a number of clans and of the fourteen or so that still live the true Bantu life, ten are of the lion totem, two of the bees and two of the ant-heap totems.

There has been much tribal intermixture and Mr. H. T. Going, District Officer says (*in litt.*):

"The Last Batwa chief (or rather chieftainess) to be recognised as such is said to have been Muyanje, who died some years before the first Europeans arrived. There is still a village Muyanje in that area at the present time, the headman of which is said to be a direct descendant of what, for want of a better name, was the chieftainess's prime minister. He is reported to be in possession of the chattels used by Muyanje before she died and I understand these are housed in a separate building in Muyanje's present village and reverently looked after by him."

Macrae says there is now very little difference between the Batwa and the Lenje from a technological viewpoint. They knew how to

smelt iron and their pottery and basketry differed in no respect from those arts of the Lenje.

Macrae gives statements made by old men which imply that the Batwa themselves are confused as regards their origin. They said that the Batwa were in the swamps before the Lenje arrived but that even the first Batwa were a branch of the Lenje. Both Moffat Thomson and Macrae tell the Batwa story of how it was a Lenje chief (Shimalwa or Shimaluba) who joined the Batwa in the swamp and taught them how to cut channels through the papyrus and reeds to get at fishing grounds.

The Batwa used to knock out the front teeth in Ila style: their initiation ceremonies were akin to those of Lenje: and their tribal markings were Lenje.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Batwa of the Lukanga are, or have been since the arrival of that tribe, a branch of the Lenje.

CHAPTER 19

THE SWAHILI

Moffat Thomson's map shows three definite Swahili areas—on Lake Tanganyika, in the Mporokoso-Chiengi District and in the Ndola District. He actually mentions one other in his text. He says: "Swahili-speaking people who include Arabs, Yaos, Nyeke, Nyanja and other East African tribes have created settlements in Ndola, Petauke, Chiengi, Mporokoso and Abercorn districts. These people came originally to Northern Rhodesia in quest of slaves and ivory which they exchanged for trade goods, firearms and gunpowder; they settled permanently in the country when British administration was instituted rather than return to their former homes. They and their descendants have married locally and are now a well conducted class on good terms with their neighbours. The Swahili derived their name from the Arabic word 'Sahil' meaning 'the coast' and Swahili is the language in use along the shores of East Africa from Zanzibar to Aden."

They are often referred to as Bangwana in tribal histories.

The Petauke settlement now comprises only two villages in the foothills of the Luangwa Valley in the Petauke District. A tour report written in 1951 by Mr. A. St. J. Sugg, District Commissioner, states: "The people of these two villages say that they originally came up from Zanzibar and settled at their present site. They are Mohammedans and have Arab names. Some wear the fez. The oldest man I saw who was probably seventy to eighty said that he had been born at the village but he thought his parents had come from the coast. It is interesting that in these two villages coloured, well-woven reed mats—of the kind found in Nyasaland—are still made and brought in to the Boma for sale though they are made nowhere else in the district."

The two groups in the Northern Province have the same origin.

Swahili of Ndola

The closeness of the Copperbelt has led to the rapid intermixture of the Swahili in Chiwala's area not only with the surrounding Lamba but also with individuals of many other tribes. In the late 1940s it was still possible to find Swahili families who claimed not to have intermarried, but they were very few, and there were no pure villages.

Doke gives the following history of this group based on an article written by "Chirupula" J. E. Stephenson. It is worth giving at

some length as it gives some indication of the confusion and the fighting that were typical of large areas of Central Africa at the end of the 19th century.

"In 1895 began the contact of the Lambas with the Swahili slave-traders under Chiwala. Chiwala, as he was known to the Lambas, or Majariwa, as he was known on the east coast, was a Yao, born about 1840. He had been a slave, but had scraped together sufficient wealth to purchase his freedom. Eventually Chiwala, who had been the skipper of a dhow on the east coast, collected together a quantity of trade goods, and with several native traders set out westward. Chiwala became leader of the expedition, as he possessed most of the carriers and guns. It is estimated that the expedition was some 700 guns strong, and each man carried a load of trade goods besides his muzzle-loader. They had with them nine flags, embellished with Koranic texts and other charms.

"During the march westward the parties began to separate, going off to various chiefs to trade. After several months' travel Chiwala, at the head of about 350 guns, reached the Lamba country.

"It is alleged that, on a pretext of obtaining from neighbours a vast store of buried ivory for the traders, the Lambas induced Chiwala to hand over his goods, and then treacherously informed him that they intended to keep the goods and take the lives of the traders. The Lambas had meanwhile built stockades and assembled in great numbers. At this juncture the notorious Chipembere, another of the leaders of the traders, who had been similarly treated by the Lambas, arrived, and at once advised an attack. All the other leaders, similarly duped, came together, and the Lambas were attacked and fled. Chiwala declared that he would not return east until he had got back his goods. 'War' after 'war' was fought. . . .

"The eleventh 'war' was fought in resisting the Belgians, headed by two white officers known to the natives as Kasekele and Kaseya, who were surprised and fled, leaving 200 native soldiers and much booty behind. The twelfth 'war' was against Chinama . . . Mushili and others, who built themselves a big stockade on the Luapula River and asked Chipembere (who was now looked upon as Chiwala's fighting general) where he was going. For answer he and his men stormed the stockade, with great slaughter. The thirteenth 'war' was against Kalonga. Saidi bin Abdullah and Mulilo retired from this fight, but Chipembere had a repeating rifle and himself killed thirty people that day. Then the Lambas broke through their own stockade, fleeing the dreadful carnage, but the Mohammedans posted outside put to death 150 of the fugitives. There were other fights, but the preceding thirteen have been designated by the title of 'wars'.

"Chipembere acknowledged that at this time 'the Lambas were like the leaves of the forest' in number. The fighting spread over

several years, and many thousands were slain, and great numbers of youths and girls captured as slaves.

"Having subdued a chief, Chiwala's policy was to levy tribute in ivory, and great numbers of tusks passed through his hands every month. Sometimes in one morning as many as twenty tusks would be brought in. Then big parties would set out for Tete, carrying ivory, and return with guns, powder, cloth and goods. With such wealth, Chiwala's people lived in a most extravagant fashion, until the ivory began to get scarce, the hidden stocks were finished, and Chikunda hunters competed with them.

"But the Belgians were not resting beneath the defeat inflicted upon them, and the last war took place at Chiwala's stronghold on the Luapula River, when the Mohammedans were routed and fled from the Congo territory. It was in this fight that Captain Stairs was killed.

"After this Chiwala settled down to a more peaceful method of trading, though he could not give up dealing with slaves. The British South Africa Company had sent out Captain Codrington about this time, and Government officials came to administer the country. Eventually Chiwala was caught red-handed with people tied up in a slave chain, and along with Saidi bin Abdullah, his evil genius, was imprisoned for a period. Thereafter he lived a quiet life, gradually became blind, and died at his village near Ndola in March, 1913."

Chiwala still has chiefly relics of Zanzibar—a Muslim flag and a big sword. Many of his people profess the Muslim religion and observe Ramadan but the use of the Swahili language has almost disappeared.

Swahili of the Northern Province

Both the groups in the Northern Province have the same origin. Their present areas of occupation were carved out of Tabwa country in a series of Swahili expeditions.

The Swahili had a great influence on the history of the province for as Watson points out (*in litt.*):

"The Arabs and their Swahili agents and Nyamwezi soldiers were behind the power of the Bemba. The Bemba was the most strongly centralised tribe in the area and the Arabs supplied them with guns and apparently military advice, for the Mambwe say that an Arab helped to direct the Bemba against the Ngoni. The policy of indirect rule was apparently operated by the Arabs."

The first expedition which set out from Dar-es-Salaam in the mid-19th century was led by the great Tipu Tib himself. Amongst his leaders was Abdullah ibu Suliman, who was to remain as overlord

of the Swahili area. The second expedition was also led by Tipu Tib but there were later ones led by others.

The history of the expeditions and the fights and battles that took place is most confused. The Tabwa of Nsama took the brunt of the attacks by the Swahili but there were periods when they were at peace. The Bemba, at first, made alliances with the slavers but later the Bemba chiefs Mwamba, Mporokoso and Sunkutu attacked Abdullah's stockade. In this attack the Tabwa aided the slavers and by arriving on the evening of the third day of the assault were able to repulse the Bemba. Still later, Mporokoso and Abdullah joined in attacking Nsama.

The upshot of all these wars and confusions was that Abdullah retained an area around where the great Bemba attack had taken place and after the Tabwa had been beaten in three battles. Abdullah settled down in the late 1880s. He lived until 1916 when one of his leaders, Nsemiwe, took charge of the area in the Mporokoso-Chiengi district and Teleka, a later arrival, took over the area on Lake Tanganyika.

Tipu Tib had brought an army of Nyamwezi from Tanganyika with him and a number of these settled in the Swahili area. Teleka was married to a Nyamwezi woman and another woman of the same tribe married into Nsama's family.

It was the Nyamwezi under Swahili leaders who defeated Kazembe of the Lunda. One story is that they killed him. The version given by the Lunda (*see* under Northern Lunda), is that the Kazembe took refuge with the Bemba chief, Mwamba.

In 1899 the British South Africa Company had to send punitive expeditions against Mporokoso and against Kazembe and on each occasion it was said that the Swahili were the cause of the trouble.

The Swahili of these northern groups have now so intermarried with the Tabwa that there is little to distinguish them from Tabwa and Nsemiwe and Teleka are merely headmen although, of course, they and others are of Swahili descent.

Dennis Frost, District Commissioner, Mporokoso, adds a few notes (*in litt.*) on these groups:

"The second expedition to Mweru Wantipa was allowed by Zanzibar only after a row between Tipu Tib and the Sultan, to whom Tipu paid homage, and on the understanding that it was to be a 'trading' expedition only for ivory. Abdullah bin Suliman was Tipu's captain of the Ruga Ruga 'protective' force composed of about 300 rifles mostly Wanyamwezi (a lot of rifles). Originally Tipu was involved (against his will?) in the Tabwa succession wars and found himself in the role of king-maker; he left 'Bwana' Abdullah

to consolidate while he, Tipu, went up through the Bwile country to his main trading base on the Lualaba. Nsemiwe—a Wanyamwezi and not a true Arab—then became Abdullah's fighting captain.

" It was about this time (1872 ?) that Livingstone first met Nsama and the Swahili in the Tabwa area and he mentions them at some length in his Journals as being alternatively a source of hindrance and help to him.

" Teleka was not one of Tipu's band at all but came down separately with a very small following to settle on Cameron Bay with the blessing of the British Minister or Resident at Zanzibar from whom he carried a note which is now in the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.

" The present Swahili descendants still talk a surprisingly good form of Ki-Swahili and most of them still claim to be Mohammedans. They have a mosque, observe the usual festivals such as Ramadan, bury their dead traditionally, use prayer mats, etc., but of course even Livingstone remarks that their form of Mohammedanism was pretty bastardised and incorporated much pagan ritual. This must be so as there were only about three Korans in the community when I was last there in the early 1950s. A few children were still being taught Arabic and Koranic law by their zealous fathers however. They are still patrilineal and this is accepted in most cases by the Tabwa who are matrilineal. They assured me that their male offspring were brought up good Mohammedans, but this I know not to be the case. The women are, of course, all Tabwa or descendants of slaves. I found one old hag who claimed she was a Yao.

" As you say, the Tabwa-Bemba-Swahili wars are very involved and I cannot give correct details here without copious notes. There are, however, a number of remnants of stockaded camps in the area which show Swahili influence."

CHAPTER 20

THE CHIKUNDA

The Chikunda, who have appeared so often in the history of the eastern portion of the Territory as raiders and fighters, only occupy a small area around Feira at the confluence of the Zambezi and Luangwa. They spread over into Portuguese East Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

Moffat Thomson says: " The Chikunda of Feira and elsewhere are really Sena natives from around Tete in Portuguese East Africa who came to the Luangwa in the employment of a half-caste Portuguese slave-trader by name Matekanya. The word Chikunda is alleged to mean ' Mskari ' (native soldier) and the Chikunda are a mixed collection of various races but some of them are skilled metal-workers and they are said to be exceedingly intelligent." He also mentions that Chikunda villages could be found as far afield as Ndola.

It seems clear that in the early years there was much mixed Portuguese blood in the Chikunda. The chief, Mpuka, who was born in 1851 and died in 1914, was a half-caste Portuguese who was educated as a Portuguese. They were the followers or soldiers of the Portuguese. Another derivation of their name—given in the Feira District Note Book—is from the verb *ku-kunda*—to seize or enslave—hence the raiders on soldiers.

Lane-Poole says that they were never a resident tribe in the Luangwa Valley. " Wherever they occur, they are itinerant and isolated communities. Their frequency in the Luangwa Valley is due to the fact that their occupation was trading guns and slaves and the hunting of elephants, and elephants were more abundant in the Luangwa Valley than anywhere else. Chiefs usually welcomed them, for their profession brought wealth; they were permitted to shoot freely in the country upon a stipulation that the chief participated in the tusks or in the proceeds of the sale of the ivory.

" In this way it came about that Chikunda villages were to be found along the length and breadth of the Luangwa Valley and their surprising occurrence to-day where least expected is accounted for by a cessation to their hunting having been suddenly imposed by the *Pax Britanica*. Some of these communities were led by half-caste Portuguese, for instance, those at Chiutika and Mzaza, and all were equipped with flint-locks or percussion guns manufactured in London, Antwerp and Liege.

" The Ambo, like other tribes which came into contact with the Chikunda, were quick to appreciate the overwhelming advantage in

warfare to a force armed with these weapons. Whenever a local conflict arose, one party or the other would endeavour to gain the assistance of the Chikunda, who thus became, like the condottiere in medieval Italy, a mercenary force ready to hire itself to the party offering the highest reward for its services."

As regards Matakenya he says he was—" a Portuguese half-caste (who) caused considerable embarrassment to the Portuguese Government, and much devastation among the Ambo and Nsenga tribes. His operations in this part may be dated to 1875-1885."

The Chikunda in Northern Rhodesia are under two chiefs, Mpuka and Mburuma, the people of the latter being as much Nsenga, Lenje and Goba as Chikunda. Mburuma's people are so mixed that the District Note Book refers to them as being " Bena-Mburuma " and as being " clannish " rather than tribal. They stress their Nsenga (Lala) origin rather than Chikunda ancestry.

Mpuka's people, classed wholly as Chikunda, speak a dialect of Nyanja with a Portuguese leavening. According to Tew they speak a dialect of Sena. They are equally clannish and the family settlement rather than the village used to be typical.

Succession is through the male line whereas that of surrounding tribes in Northern Rhodesia is through the female.

In addition to the areas of Mpuka and Mburuma, there are Chikunda scattered among the Ambo and Nsenga.

CHAPTER 21

NOTE ON THE BAYEKE, NYAMWEZI AND MAMBARI

Just as in the history of the south-eastern areas so much is heard of Chikunda raiders, so in the north one hears of the Nyamwezi (Yeke) and in the west and far west also of the Nyamwezi (Yeke) and of the Mambari raiders.

The Nyamwezi and the Yeke are the same. According to Verhulpen the Nyamwezi came from the original home of the Bantu south of Lake Victoria and at the beginning of the 19th century a branch of them arrived in the Katanga area in the Congo and set up " the kingdom of Mushidi (Msiri) ". The Luba and Lunda, themselves empire builders, found themselves up against another empire builder. One version is that Msidi was a trader from the Nyamwezi tribe in western Tanganyika who had assisted the chief of the Sanga people in the Katanga Province to overcome some of his enemies. Msidi subsequently took over the chieftaincy of the Sanga people and with the aid of guns and gunpowder extended his domination over many of the neighbouring peoples including the Luba and the Lunda. He then imported more Nyamwezi to act as governors and generals and set up a large-scale trade in slaves and ivory based on the tribute exacted from his subjects.

Mushidi's empire stretched over Katanga, the upper Luapula, the area to the west and north of Lake Mweru and from the north of Mweru across to Lake Tanganyika. As Gann puts it—" Msidi was an adventurer who created an upstart empire. His dominion rested on gunpowder, the trade in ivory and copper and the export of slaves." Over all his area—" Msidi was able to maintain the monopoly of shooting elephant by the simple means of burning out any offending village."

The Bayeke exercised an oppressive and cruel rule. They raided far into Northern Rhodesia from the Congo and traded the slaves caught by their bands with both Portuguese and Arabs. Many of them intermarried into Northern Rhodesian tribes and some of the more prominent marriages have been mentioned.

Verhulpen points out that the rule of the Yeke in their Congo empire was very superficial and their subject peoples still retained the Lunda and Luba culture that had spread over the area before the arrival of the Yeke and that when the empire collapsed after 1891 the subject peoples were restored to their former groupings.

The collapse came with the death of Mushidi in 1891. He was shot by Captain Bodson of the Stairs' Expedition who was also killed in the same incident. This was the Belgian expedition led by a Britisher, Captain Stairs, who gained the Katanga for Belgium.

The Bayeke empire was still extending at Mushidi's death but the occupation of Katanga by the Belgians ended it. Now there are only three areas left in the Congo that are designated as Yeke. The smallest is on the west bank of the Luapula due west of Kawambwa.

The influence of the Yeke was more than that of just raiders. Their impact on the Luba-Lunda area of the Congo resulted in the movement of peoples. One of the Kaonde migrations, for example, into Northern Rhodesia may have been made to escape the Yeke. And tribes such as the Aushi and Shila were subjected by the Yeke.

The Nyamwezi, who appear frequently in the tribal histories of the Northern Province, are the same people but in this case they came from the main branch of the tribe living on the east side of Lake Tanganyika. They also were raiders and slave-traders who allied themselves to the Swahili. They are sometimes referred to also as Yeke or Yongo and they also intermarried with Northern Rhodesian tribes. Tanganyika is the main area of the tribe whereas the Congo empire, as described, was an artificial one.

The Mambari are quite different. They were Portuguese half-castes who came slave-raiding from both Portuguese East as well as from Angola. Gann says: "In Livingstone's day the 'Mambari' were already conducting their traffic along the Zambezi and in the early nineties, Alfred Sharpe found the southern Luangwa Valley largely depopulated by Portuguese half-castes who employed hunters who were called Chikunda. Their operations extended as far north as Kazembe's country. These southern invaders never attempted to set up permanent political authority along the Luangwa, though they did create temporary bases of operations. The Zambezi Valley was their home. It was here that their great estates, called *prozos*, were situated. Their living depended in the main on the ownership of these estates, rather than on the trade. Catching slaves was a convenient way of increasing the number of retainers on their fiefs. It was not vital to their livelihood, and the Luangwa Valley did not form an integral part of their dominions."

The main Mambari raids and expeditions were from the east, and they penetrated as far west as the mouth of the Kafue and to Aushi country west of Lake Bangweulu.

In Angola, the Portuguese half-castes allied themselves closely with the Mbunda and they themselves, although they did take part in raids in North-Western Rhodesia, were not so evident or so famous as their counterparts from Portuguese East. White points out (*see* Chapter 3) that the Ovimbundu are also known as Mambari.

CHAPTER 22

THE TRIBES IN THE TOWNS

By DR. CLYDE MITCHELL

It was in 1884 that the French missionary, Coillard, arrived in Barotseland to establish the Paris Evangelical Mission there. Other Europeans were slow to follow in his steps, especially in the economic sphere, for it was only in 1906 that lead mining began at Broken Hill, and in 1908 that copper was produced from Kansanshi Copper Mine, the claim of which had been pegged out some nine years earlier.

Before these mining developments, there had been little demand for labour in Northern Rhodesia. The building of the railway line had employed hundreds of Africans for a short time, but the only relatively permanent labour opportunities were presented by the many small-scale mining projects that were opening up at this time. The need for cash among the African population, however, was increasing, not only because of the variety of goods that the traders were now introducing, but because of tax. Taxation had been introduced in North-Eastern Rhodesia in 1901 and had been gradually extended to North-Western Rhodesia. The Administration had been prepared to accept payment in kind during the earliest stages of tax collection but soon were forced to demand payment in cash. This meant that most male adults had to leave their tribal areas to find work for at least one or two months of the year. The fact that in 1906 labour recruiters from Southern Rhodesia found the north a rich field, and that by 1911 recruiters for the Congo copper mines could also satisfy their needs in Northern Rhodesia, seems to show that there was not enough demand for wage labour locally.

The 1914-18 War and the economic upheaval it precipitated brought great changes into Northern Rhodesia. Firstly, many Africans were recruited for the Forces and many more were engaged as carriers for the campaign on Northern Rhodesia's northern boundary. In this way the new cash economy was introduced into areas of Northern Rhodesia where formerly it had not penetrated. Secondly, as industry re-established itself in Europe, there was an increased demand for raw materials. This led to new searches in areas hitherto untapped.[1]

It was under this stimulus that powerful financial interests came to support prospecting in Northern Rhodesia, and, in 1925, with the superior resources now at their command, the prospectors were able to discover the deep sulphide ores on what is now the Copperbelt. In 1927 the shafts of the first mines were sunk on these sites. This

marked the beginning of great industrial expansion in Northern Rhodesia, for in the wake of mining came other developments. In 1927 there were 10,946 Africans employed in mining in Northern Rhodesia. By 1929 the number had risen to 22,341.

Yet in 1929, large numbers of Northern Rhodesian Africans were still leaving the Territory for Tanganyika, the Congo and Southern Rhodesia. Many of these went to mining occupations there. On the other hand, large numbers of Africans were coming into Northern Rhodesia from Nyasaland, Mozambique and Angola. These, however, went mainly into agricultural occupations and practically none came to the mines.[2] While Northern Rhodesian Africans were leaving the Territory to take up mining occupations in other parts efforts of recruiters to persuade Africans from some districts to enter into contracts to work on the copper mines were reported to be " practically a failure ".[3] Bwana Mkubwa, with open cast mining, had no difficulty in obtaining labour, but the newly formed copper mines were very short of underground workers. In fact, in 1929, a large number of alien natives were imported from Southern Rhodesia for this purpose.[4] In 1928 it was estimated that 55.8 per cent. of Northern Rhodesia Africans in employment were employed within Northern Rhodesia. By 1930 this figure had become 66.8 per cent. In 1952 it had reached a figure of 76.8 per cent.[5] In other words, as the local conditions improved and as the tradition of working on local mines developed, so more and more Northern Rhodesian labour was deflected from outside employment into employment within Northern Rhodesia.

Previous to 1929, recruiting for the Northern Rhodesian mines had been in the hands of individual labour agents. In 1929 fourteen agents who were recruiting labour for the Congo mines had their licences endorsed to enable them to recruit for Kansanshi, Nchanga and Nkana mines. In April, 1930, it was decided to form one native labour association to recruit labour for the Northern Rhodesian mines. It appears that the activities of the Native Labour Association were directed particularly to the Eastern Province and Barotseland. But by 1931 the depression had begun to affect the newly formed mines and there appeared to be a voluntary influx of labour from Nyasaland, Portuguese West Africa and the Congo. Amongst these, Nyasaland natives were popular because many had had experience of underground work. The sources for labour on the mines was stated to be " the Awemba, Mweru Luapula, Barotse and Kasempa provinces ". In 1931 the proportion of labour on the mines was:

	Per cent.
Northern Rhodesia	70.3
Nyasaland	19.8
Portuguese East and West Africa, Congo and other sources ...	9.9

In 1931, recruiting of the Portuguese West African natives and Barotse was stopped because the physique of those from these areas was below standard and labour was available from elsewhere. By the end of 1931 there were enough unemployed Africans in industrial areas to make recruiting unnecessary. In 1931 also, recruiting for the mines in the Congo ceased and in July of that year Northern Rhodesian labour in the Congo was repatriated. This was the death knell for recruited labour for the mines in Northern Rhodesia. Since then the mines have been able to maintain their labour strength by free labour.

It is very difficult to obtain direct statistics to show the proportion of the different tribes in urban areas, but some information is avaliable from various published sources. On the Copperbelt the tribal composition in 1935 was as follows:[6]

	Per cent.
Bemba	26.5
Barotse and Western	15.4
Other Territories	13.0
Bisa	8.4
Chishinga	7.0
Nsenga and Chewa	6.5
Lala	5.8
Lamba	2.8
Lenje	2.1
Others	12.5
Total	100.0

In Lusaka, in a nutrition survey in 1947, the most numerous tribes were found to be the Bemba, Lenje, Chewa, Ngoni and Soli.[7]

Some indication of the proportions of different tribes in urban areas, in particular on the Copperbelt, may be gathered from the labour returns submitted by large employers to the Commissioner for Labour under regulation 67 of the Employment of Natives Ordinance. The monthly (later quarterly) return made up from the employers' returns by the Commissioner for Labour is available from August, 1940, onwards. The following table computed from these returns shows the area of origin of labour employed on the copper mines and by the contractors associated with them:

TABLE I

ORIGIN OF LABOUR EMPLOYED ON COPPER MINES AND RELATED INDUSTRIES: AUGUST, 1940-DECEMBER, 1954

Origin	*Aug.* 1940 %	*Dec.* 1944 %	*Dec.* 1949 %	*Dec.* 1954 %
Barotse Province	2.95	2.35	1.66	1.67
Central Province	10.22	9.74	9.10	6.39
Eastern Province	8.28	7.70	7.72	8.29
Northern Province	24.86	29.71	27.56	27.77
Southern Province	0.80	0.59	0.50	0.43
North-Western Province ...	14.49	9.91	9.75	9.69
Luapula Districts (*a*)	21.85	18.79	16.55	15.18
Peri-Copperbelt Areas (*b*) ...	5.71	2.46	3.67	2.49
Total Northern Rhodesia...	89.16	81.25	76.51	71.91
Nyasaland	4.93	6.80	6.48	9.44
Belgian Congo	1.83	2.09	1.92	2.10
Mozambique	0.30	0.42	0.66	1.03
Angola	2.41	5.67	5.23	3.64
Tanganyika	1.23	3.69	9.10	11.26
Elsewhere	0.14	0.07	0.10	0.62
Strength ...	*29,283*	*31,515*	*43,186*	*52,743*

(*a*) Fort Rosebery and Kawambwa.

(*b*) The urban Copperbelt districts and rural Ndola.

It is clear that the tribes from the Northern Province still predominate on the Copperbelt. If we include among them the people from the two Luapula districts no less than 43 per cent. of labour comes from the Bemba-speaking areas. The proportion from the Northern Province itself has remained relatively constant over the period 1940 to 1954 but the proportion from the Luapula districts has declined, very probably because of the development of a fishing industry on the Luapula which provides an alternative source of income. In general, the proportion of Northern Rhodesian labour on the copper mines has been declining since 1940, while the proportion from Nyasaland, the Belgian Congo, Mozambique and particularly Tanganyika has been increasing. Within Northern Rhodesia the proportion from Barotseland, never numerous on the Copperbelt, has declined and so has that from the Central Province and the Southern Province. The proportion from other areas has remained fairly constant. The origin of labour by separate districts is set out in Table II.

TABLE II

DISTRICT OF ORIGIN OF LABOUR EMPLOYED ON THE COPPER MINES AND RELATED INDUSTRIES: DECEMBER, 1954

District	*Per cent.*
Kalabo	0.29
Mankoya	0.45
Mongu	0.62
Senanga	0.23
Sesheke	0.08
Barotse Protectorate ...	— 1.67
Broken Hill	0.67
Lusaka	0.22
Mkushi	1.40
Mumbwa	0.40
Serenje	3.68
Feira	0.02
Central Province	— 6.39
Fort Jameson	3.10
Lundazi	2.34
Petauke	2.86
Eastern Province	— 8.29
Abercorn	2.19
Chinsali	2.30
Isoka	3.25
Kasama	4.55
Luwingu	7.35
Mpika	4.00
Mporokoso	4.12
Northern Province	— 27.77
Kalomo	0.08
Gwembe	0.03
Livingstone	0.05
Mazabuka	0.20
Namwala	0.07
Southern Province	— 0.43
Kasempa	2.86
Mwinilunga	1.36
Balovale	2.34
Kabompo	1.25
Solwezi	1.88
North-Western Province ...	— 9.69
Fort Rosebery	7.87
Kawambwa	7.31

District	*Per cent.*	
Luapula Districts	——	15.18
Chingola	0.23	
Kitwe	0.08	
Luanshya	0.03	
Ndola	2.15	
Peri-Copperbelt	——	2.49
Nyasaland		9.44
Belgian Congo		2.10
Mozambique		1.03
Angola		3.64
Tanganyika		11.26
Elsewhere...		0.62

Each of the main labour centres on the line of rail has a hinterland from which it draws its labour. The location and extent of the hinterland to-day is very largely determined by the existence or otherwise of an effective transportation system. Recently, especially since the 1939-45 War, bus services, many of them run by small one man businesses, have come to play an important part in moving labour to and from the line of rail.[8] The existence of efficient means of communication in fact serves partly to determine the composition of the labour on the individual copper mines.[9] While the Copperbelt draws most of its labour from the Northern Province, Tanganyika and the north-western districts, Broken Hill, on the other hand, tends to draw its labour from its immediate districts in the Central Province, from the Northern Province and the Eastern Province. The following table sets out the area of origin of labour on the Broken Hill Development Corporation Mine:

TABLE III

AREA OF ORIGIN OF LABOUR ON BROKEN HILL MINE: AUGUST, 1940-DECEMBER, 1954

Area of Origin	*Aug.* 1940 %	*Dec.* 1944 %	*Dec.* 1949 %	*Dec.* 1954 %
Barotse Protectorate	2.33	2.45	2.02	1.44
Central Province	54.76	53.95	56.40	46.90
Eastern Province	15.75	15.21	14.14	14.00
Northern Province	11.55	12.70	14.35	21.41
Southern Province	2.31	2.77	2.16	0.94
North-Western Province ...	4.71	3.49	2.35	2.15
Luapula Districts	2.47	2.02	2.09	2.78
Peri-Copperbelt	1.46	1.20	1.98	1.57
Nyasaland	2.18	2.08	2.20	2.85
Belgian Congo	0.09	0.13	0.29	0.44
Mozambique	0.27	0.45	0.14	1.14
Angola	1.91	3.44	1.59	1.34
Tanganyika	0.07	0.05	0.22	2.98
Elsewhere...	0.16	0.05	0.07	0.07
Strength	*4,458*	*3,755*	*2,773*	*2,985*

The districts supplying most labour to Broken Hill in December, 1954, were Serenje (18.76 per cent.), Mkushi (16.41 per cent.), Mpika (8.78 per cent.), Broken Hill (7.37 per cent.), Fort Jameson (7.07 per cent.), Petauke (5.96 per cent.). All the rest supplied less than 5 per cent. The significance of the Great North Road as a labour arterial is clearly shown here.

In Livingstone, as we may expect, the majority of African males come from the Barotseland Protectorate.[10] The most important districts are: Mongu (21.31 per cent.), Sesheke (9.95 per cent.), Kalomo (9.13 per cent.), Fort Jameson (7.49 per cent.), Senanga (5.04 per cent.). All the rest supply less than 5 per cent.

The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute has collected comparable information for Lusaka in a recent survey but it has not yet been tabulated.

Tribe and Occupation

Employers frequently have their own views on the aptitudes of men of different tribes for different kinds of work, but there is very little reliable information available to demonstrate either that certain tribes have particular aptitudes for certain work or that some tribes do in fact dominate in certain occupations.

Sometimes when there is an undue predominance of a tribe in an occupation the explanation may be sought in purely historical circumstances. For example, before the 1939-45 War, a large proportion of " white collar " posts were filled by Nyasalanders. This was not because of their special aptitude for this sort of work, but rather because before the war there were better educational facilities available in Nyasaland.

The Nyakyusa from Tanganyika seem to seek employment almost exclusively as underground labourers on the copper mines. This seems to be associated with the fact that the Nyakyusa are essentially " target workers ". They accept employment which will allow them to accumulate a specified sum of money as quickly as possible so that they may return to their rural homes.

But there seems to be no explanation of the fact that sanitary labourers, both on the Copperbelt and in other Northern Rhodesian towns, seem to be recruited mainly from the Lovale and Chokwe peoples. Other tribal preferences are sometimes mentioned, for example, the Ngoni are supposed to prefer police work, but before these supposed predilections can be established as fact, we need a good deal more reliable information.

Inter-tribal Marriages

Towns do not attract men and women from their rural homes in the same numbers. Unfortunately it is not easy to obtain accurate information on the women in urban areas because so much of the official statistics are concerned with the workers, i.e. the men. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute Social Surveys in the towns have included the women, however, and when the results of these surveys are available a good deal of information will be available. From the tabulated results of the surveys in Ndola, Luanshya and Livingstone it seems safe to say that in the urban areas of Northern Rhodesia about 60 per cent. of the adult males are married and have their wives with them, about 20 per cent. are single, i.e. have never been married, and about 15 per cent. are married but have left their wives in the rural areas, and the remaining 5 per cent. are made up of widowers and divorcees. Among the women about 95 per cent. are married, about 3 per cent. have never been married and the others are divorcees and widows.[11] Thus most of the adult men and women in the towns are married but most have brought their wives with them from their rural homes. It follows, therefore, that the proportion of women from any particular district must bear some general relationship to the number of men from that area. But this assumes that the proportion of married men from each district is the same. This is clearly not so.

For example, only a very small proportion of the Nyakyusa from Tanganyika bring their wives with them to the Copperbelt. Whereas the adult masculinity rate (number of adult men to every 100 adult women) for Ndola and Luanshya as a whole was 150, the rate for Africans from Tanganyika was 691. The adult masculinity rate for Africans from the north-western area was 253, from Angola 239, from Nyasaland 217, from the Northern Province 155, Luapula districts 182, Eastern Province 137, Ndola District 111, Central Province 107 and the Belgian Congo 102.[12] In Livingstone where the adult masculinity rate was 205 as a whole, the rate for those from the Southern Province was 123, from the Central Province 155, from the Eastern Province 172, from the North-Western Province 168, from Barotseland Protectorate 257, from the Northern Province 294 and from all other areas as a whole (Nyasaland, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, etc.) 289. The clear tendency reflected in these figures is for the masculinity rate to be highest among those who have come

the greatest distances to town. The implication of this is that when men come to town from distant places they do not bring their wives with them.

Although it is not necessarily so, the strong presumption is that when men from distant areas marry in town they marry women who are from different tribes. Inter-tribal marriages present some difficulties to the administrator and social worker. If the couple is going to live in town for the rest of their lives possibly no difficulty will arise, but when either partner decides to go back to his or her rural area a conflict arises over the area to which the couple will return and eventually over the custody of the children if they cannot reach an agreement on this. In Northern Rhodesia, most towns are in the areas of matrilineal peoples and, as we have seen, there are more women from these areas in town than from more distant areas. When an inter-tribal marriage is ended the tendency is for the children to remain with the mother.

Because of the problems associated with them people tend to exaggerate the importance of inter-tribal marriages. In fact, Africans in towns on the whole prefer to marry women from their own tribe or at least from a closely related tribe. In a study of Luanshya it was found that the proportion of marriages contracted in town between people of the same tribe was 51 per cent. This is considerably above the proportion that we may have expected if marriage partners were chosen from all tribes at random.

Tribalism in Towns

In fact, in marriage, as in other relationships, membership of a tribe is still significant to Africans in town.

In their tribal areas people are hardly aware of the existence of peoples with different languages, habits, customs and ways of life in general. It is when they come into the towns which have attracted labour from widely separated areas and widely different tribes that people become acutely aware of their own " differentness ". In these situations, therefore, internal tribal differences are forgotten and even people of the same ethnic group stand together in opposition to those with appreciably different ways of life. Belonging to a tribe, therefore, provides the initial means whereby Africans in town can express their need for social relationships and common support.

It would be a mistake to assume that an African divides his fellow-townsmen into those who belong to his tribe and those who do not. Slight cultural differences appear within the same tribe and the difference between adjoining tribes is often very small. The result is that an African finds that he has something in common with some tribes and very little in common with others. He will admit members of one tribe into fairly close relationships and exclude those of another. A recent experiment showed that the Bemba, for example, said that

they would admit members of the Aushi, Bisa, Lala and other northern matrilineal peoples into closer social relationships than the Lenje, Soli, Tonga and other central matrilineal peoples; and that they would admit the central matrilineal peoples into closer relationships than the Chokwe, Lovale and other western matrilineal peoples. From an examination of the responses of not only Bemba but also other tribes it seems that favourable attitudes are expressed to those tribes whose traditional homes are close to the respondents' and that the further away the tribe geographically the less likely it is to be admitted into close social relationships. Most hostility is expressed to those tribes whose traditional homes are furthest away.[13]

The unity of tribal groups is shown most clearly in the very occasional tribal fights that take place. Spearpoint recounts some typical examples of these. The fight starts with a minor incident, as, for example, a collision of cyclists, and quickly tribesmen rally to the aid of their compatriots.[14] Such fights have been reported between the Bemba and the people from Kasai; the Bemba and the Nyakyusa; and the Ngoni and the people from Angola. Other fights no doubt occur and are not reported but it appears that in Northern Rhodesia these fights are never as severe as those on the Witwatersrand where Africans are sometimes killed. This is probably related to the different policy of the authorities in the two countries. In Northern Rhodesia there are more married men in towns and tribes are not segregated: in South Africa there are more single men and different tribes are segregated in separate barracks.

The unity of fellow-tribesmen is also shown in the tribal composition of single quarters where these exist or in the composition of unauthorised settlements in towns like Lusaka. The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute found in its social surveys that where a room in single quarters is occupied by three or four men, these men are almost always members of the same tribe or at least members of the same ethnic group. In municipal married quarters, however, and in the mines where houses are filled as they fall vacant from a waiting list, clearly, when neighbours turn out to be fellow-tribesmen, this has happened fortuitously.

Tribalism also finds expression in other ways. Probably the most widespread and the longest standing is in tribal dancing. Tribesmen gather on Sundays and other holidays to join in traditional dances in areas in the African residential areas. It is abundantly clear that in these dances the unity of fellow-tribesmen against the diverse and different urban population is emphasised.

Another form in which tribalism appears is in the institutionalised joking relationships between certain groups of tribes. A striking example is the joking relationship between the Bemba and Ngoni. This relationship allows a certain amount of expressed hostility to

which, by custom, no offence must be taken. Associated with the hostility, however, is an element of co-operation, especially in funeral rites, in the sense that the Ngoni are supposed to be the undertakers to the dead of the Bemba and vice versa. It is significant that in so far as these joking relationships exist, the difference between tribes from the same region become blurred so that from the Bantu point of view the Chewa and Nsenga are Ngoni and from the Ngoni point of view the Tabwa and Lungu and other Northern Province tribes are Bemba. By this means large proportions of the urban population are fixed in relationship to each other.

Unlike in Southern Rhodesia, tribal associations acting as burial and benefit societies seem never to have flourished in Northern Rhodesia. Sporadic tribal associations have developed in the Copperbelt towns, the most successful of which seems to have been "The Sons of Barotseland". But, in general, they seldom last as long or are as active as those in Southern Rhodesia. A possible exception of this is Livingstone where twenty-seven tribal associations have been reported.[15] It is possible that in the other towns in Northern Rhodesia the functions performed by the tribal association were taken over by the joking relationship and the organisation of tribesmen under the system of tribal elders.

It was through this system of "tribal elders" that tribalism was incorporated into the managerial system on the mines and later into local government.[16] Africans from one tribe who formed an appreciable number of the residents in the location or compound elected one of their members as an elder to serve on an advisory council. These elders also constituted an informal court where domestic and other minor cases could be settled. These tribal representatives served a very useful purpose while the system of urban administration was developing. They have now been superseded by trade unions, the urban courts, urban housing boards and other official organisations in Government and industry, but they still function unofficially as a forum in which domestic cases are discussed.

The African urban courts make use of tribalism in the same way as the tribal elders system did. Each urban court is composed of say four members. The composition of the court is so arranged that representatives of the most numerous tribes in the town are on the bench. The particular representative is chosen by the rural chief.[17] The urban courts settle numerous cases arising out of petty theft, minor assaults and domestic cases, but unofficially they tend also to represent the chief who has sent them to town. Each member of the court, for example, is called by the name of the chief and it is clear that they are respected accordingly. The copper-mining companies encourage rural chiefs to visit their people in towns and many chiefs take advantage of this and make personal visits to their followers.

There is no doubt, in spite of the development of an urban middle class, that the urban Africans in general still respect their tribal chiefs. It is significant that urban respondents to an experiment in the measurement of prestige among African leaders still placed the chief highest in rank.[18]

The fact that membership to a tribe is a significant element in the relationships of town Africans to each other does not imply that town Africans necessarily still follow their tribal ways of life. Tribalism, like social class in Europe, provides a means whereby modes of behaviour between people can be fixed. It provides the mechanism whereby people who are brought higgledy-piggledy into a location or compound can find among their polyglot neighbours supporters in times of distress and helpers in times of need. The rural way of life is largely inappropriate in towns; accordingly they modify this to suit the local conditions. They adopt modes of behaviour appropriate to urban conditions and to this extent they are " detribalised ". It seems likely that with the increasing differentiation of labour in terms of skill and responsibility urban life will assume more and more the appearance of a class society in which tribal origin will play a smaller and smaller part in fixing social relationships among Africans in town. To what extent this has come about already is a question to be answered by future research, but it seems that the process is well under way.[19]

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TRIBAL POPULATION FIGURES

Full censuses are not taken every year and the figures shown are those of the end of 1953, the latest date of reasonably complete figures.

There are many tribes mentioned in the text for which no population figures are given. In such cases the tribe has been included with some larger unit. A few of the better known of these tribes, such as the Batwa, are mentioned in this list but many are not.

On the present figures the Tonga are the largest tribe in the Territory with 164,829 people. The Bemba, formerly the largest, are now second with 144,511. The Tonga are a much more heterogeneous group, but they have a more highly developed agriculture on which increases in population can be supported whereas the Bemba are subsistence cultivators with a large proportion of able-bodied men away at work and being absorbed into other tribal units along the railway line. The Bemba language is, of course, spread over a vast area and the population figure given is only that of people living under Bemba chiefs.

There are some interesting changes from figures given in lists of only two or three years earlier. Some startling decreases such as that of the Lukolwe from 9,350 down to 892 and the Simaa from 9,000 down to 5,440, are no doubt due to assimilation of numbers of people into larger groups or to a different method of counting, i.e. emphasis on the tribe in the earlier count.

Other decreases may be absolute and due to definite causes. The reduction in the number of Ila may be due to the ravages of venereal disease. The decrease in the number of Unga is due, no doubt, to a period of rising water in the Bangweulu Swamps which drove many people out into Bisa or Kabende mainlands.

Startling increases such as that of the Kwandi from 2,000 to 13,000 are obviously due to a reversal of the previously mentioned tendency, in this case to emphasise the difference from an adjoining group.

Name	*Population 31-12-53*
Ambo	11,657
Aushi	43,163
Batwa (included with surrounding tribes)	
Bemba	144,511
Bisa	50,804
Bwile	5,899
Chewa	127,824
Chikunda	4,383
Chiponda (included with Soli)	
Chishinga	28,735
Chokwe	11,355
Fungwe	2,849

Name	*Population 31-12-53*
Fwe	816
Goba	7,436
Ila	17,737
Imilangu (*see* under Ndundulu).	
Inamwanga	12,400
Iwa	12,249
Kabende	9,355
Kamanga	500
Kaonde	42,354
Kunda	19,447
Kwandi	13,841
Kwangwa	34,866
Kwangwalima	256
Lala	55,936
Lamba	35,175
Lambya	1,953
Lenje	42,723
Leya	6,256
Lima	15,210
Lima (Barotse)	872
Liuwa	1,130
Lovale	49,097
Lozi	54,605
Luano	4,808
Luchazi	21,442
Lukolwe	892
Lumbu	2,063
Lunda:	
Northern Lunda	82,050
Southern Lunda	40,131
Lundwe	4,544
Lungu	38,073
Lushange	7,000
Mahumbe	1,316
Makoma	6,557
Mambwe	21,388
Mashasha	5,876
Mashi	3,377
Mbowe	2,941
Mbunda	32,111
Mbwela	280
Mukulu	20,882
Mwenyi	4,804
Ndebele	1,300
Ndembu	33,216
Ndundulu (Imilangu)	7,649
Ngoni	66,589
Ngumbo	28,047
Nkoya	28,785
Nsenga	73,568
Nyengo	5,833
Nyika	2,630
Ovimbundu	630
Sala	4,034
Seba	6,000
Senga	25,811
Shamba (included with Soli).	
Shanjo	3,385
Shila	7,300
Simaa	5,440
Soli	19,208
Subiya	9,705
Swahili	6,475
Swaka	17,647
Tabwa	15,320
Tambo	5,340
Toka (Tonga)	16,257
Tonga (including Valley Tonga)	164,829
Totela	13,765
Tumbuka	25,300
Unga	9,204
Wandya	800
Wenya	900
Yombe	4,234

INDEX OF TRIBES MENTIONED


TRIBAL AND LINGUISTIC MAP
of Northern Rhodesia
REFERENCE
Tribal boundaries
Government stations
Important rivers
Kaseinpa
ANGOLA
BELGIAN CONGO
TANGANYIKA
NYASALAND
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE
ZAMBEZI R.
SWAHILI
BWILE
TABWA
LUNGU
MAMBWE
INAMWANGA
TAMBO
WANDYA
NYIKA
LAMBYA
WENYA
FUNGWE
YOMBE
KAMANGA
SHILA
BEMBA
CHISHINGA
LUNGU
MUKULU
LUNDA
BEMBA
NGUMBO
BISA
BISA
AUSHI
UNGA
KABENDE
TUMBUKA
NDEMBO
LUNDA
LUBA
SEBA
LAMBA
SWAHILI
BISA
CHEWA
MIXED LUCHAZE, CHOKWE, LOVALE
KAONDE
LIMA
SWAKA
LALA
KUNDA
NSENGA
MBOWE
LOVALE
LUNDA
MBWELA
LAMBA
AMBO
NSENGA
MBUNDA
MAKOMA
LU-
KOLWE
NKOYA
LENJE
MWENYI
NYENGO
MBUNDA
NDUNDULU
LU-
SHANGE
NKOYA
LUBA
LUANO
LENJE
NSENGA
CHIKUNDA
LOZI
KWANGWA
MASHASHA (NKOYA)
LUMBU
SALA
SOLI
ILA
GOBA
NKOYA
KWANDI
SIMAA
NKOYA
LUMBU
LUNDWE
MASHI
TOTELA
TONGA
TOKA
WE
SHANJO
LEYA
SUBIYA
LOZI
KEY TO LANGUAGE GROUPS
NYANJA, CHEWA GROUP
TONGA, ILA GROUP
LUNDA-LOVALE GROUP
BEMBA, LALA, LAMBA GROUP
LOZI (KOLOLO) GROUP
TUMBUKA "CLUSTER" GROUP
NGONI
MAMBWE, INAMWANGA GROUP
SWAHILI GROUP
SIMAA, TOTELA GROUP
KAONDE
OLD PRE-MAKOLOLO GROUP
GOBA (KORSKORE)