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HISTORY OF THE TUMBUKA-HENGA PEOPLE

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HISTORY OF THE TUMBUKA-HENGA PEOPLE

By the late

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Translated and edited by the

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* NOTES BY THE AUTHOR'S BROTHER

- (1) Saulos Nyirenda was only a boy when the Henga left Muhuju for refuge.
- (2) When Kanyoli went to fight at Mwakatundu Saulos was still a boy for it was the same year they left Muhuju.
- (3) Kambondoma was killed at Mwaya the following year about March, therefore Saulos could not go with him for he was still a boy.
- (4) When the Europeans fought with the Henga at Kaporo Saulos was there.
- (5) Saulos was in one of those "malinga" stockades of Mlozi (the Arab leader).
- (6) When Mlozi was killed Saulos was teaching and he was with the Europeans when they went to fight with Mlozi.
- (7) Saulos did not go to Kondowe for boarding school but he only went in 1897 for acting teacher's school.
- (8) He joined the Telegraph Company in 1904.
- (9) He died in March 1925.
- (10) Saulos when he died was about 55 years old.
- (11) We belong to the family of *Mukwasi*. Our father was *Yasweka* the son of *Chiwela* the son of *Mujenje*.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

In the year 1909, while stationed at Karonga at the north end of Lake Nyasa, I received by mail from down country a bulky packet containing a manuscript. It was written in a fairly good but quite unknown hand ; no name was given nor was any letter enclosed.

I had only been four years in Africa and my knowledge of the language was of the slightest. It was sufficient, however, to show that this was an attempt at the writing of History, while the handwriting seemed to imply that the author was an African. But at that period no one imagined that either the impulse or the ability to write History existed among the Natives of Northern Nyasaland. After events were to prove, however, that one man at any rate, had been fired with a desire to set down, while far away from his home at work, all he knew of his fathers and of their doings as well as of events in the more recent past of which he himself had knowledge.

The result is a manuscript, the main interest of which is that it represents a genuine effort at the writing of local History, not suggested by any European or in any way assisted or rewarded. The author, too, is a man who, not many years before, had been involved in the events connected with the arrival of the White man and the opening up of his Native country. There have since been books issued through the collaboration of European and African in Nyasaland ; notably "*The Yaos*" by the late Rev. Yohane Abdallah of the Universities' Mission, and, quite recently, "*WaNyanja wa kale*" by the Rev. Laurence Chisui of the same Mission ; the latter untranslated, the former with translation and footnotes by Dr. Meredith Sanderson of the Nyasaland Administration. But the present work is from the hand of quite a different class of writer.

The author is one, Saulos Nyirenda, who died in 1925 at an age approximating to 55. He was, therefore, a man of about 40 when he sat down to write his story, and, at the time, he was a telegraphist in the service of the African Trans-Continental Telegraph Co., stationed at a point about 200 miles from his own home. Years after I had received the mysterious packet we met, and he told me that it was he who had done the work, "because" as he put it, "I was lonely for home and desired not to sit idle. Therefore I recalled all that I have heard of the old days for the sake of our children and for you Europeans."

The manuscript was written on a number of the very large blue Forms used by the Telegraph Company for its Monthly Returns. He

did not give me any reason for his having sent it to me and I am to this day ignorant as to what chance or coincidence brought it to my hands. That, however, is unimportant ; the main point is that we have here the earliest original story, chronologically arranged, regarding a large section of Nyasaland. It was written in the speech of the older generation by a solitary man in a squalid telegraphist's hut and owes its existence to no foreign impulse whatever.

The twenty years that have passed since the story was written have seen a marked change in the people's speech through travel, local admixture, and in certain instances, the action of recognised linguistic laws. So much is this the case, indeed, that the work of translation has been delayed again and again until I could find men or women of suitable age to help me with phrases that the present generation no longer uses. And not long after a serious beginning was attempted, Saulos Nyirenda died.

Shortly before his death, however, he had started to do for me a series of Notes on the old customs of his people, but these he did not complete. I do not think that anyone will dispute the right of Saulos Nyirenda to the eventual title of Father of History, so far as the Northern Province of Nyasaland is concerned. —T.C.Y.

A

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTIONS AND HISTORY BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF NGONI AND ARAB

PREFACE

Are there many proper chiefs on this side (i.e. of the Lake)? I mean in the country as it stood before the Ngoni came to it. Because the Ngoni have come and spoiled this land, that is why its chiefs are disappearing, though the Europeans ask who is the principal chief, seeing that this one and that one says, "I am a chief in my own right." Nonsense! look here! in these parts the Native chiefs of the whole land, here and at the lake-shore and in the outer areas, are three. At Karonga the chief is Chungu right along the Lake. Then come on and in the centre it is Chikuramayembe, Chief of the land whose boundary with Chungu is at Chiwondo and with the chief of the Chewa, Kanyenda, is the Dwa-ngwa River. It is Chikuramayembe¹ who is chief of this whole central area, a settled chief; Tonga country and Tumbuka country, Siska country and Phoka and Fulirwa recognise Chikuramayembe throughout. And for the Chewa it is Karonga and his son Kanyenda.²

Now with the coming of the Ngoni, look you! the chiefs were lost sight of. And seeing that in this and that area the chief was lost to sight when the Europeans make enquiries—since everyone loves authority, and the friendless as much as any—they are saying now that there is no big chief in their land. But Chikuramayembe knows all of them because he is the accepted overlord. Consider this; if you go across to the other side or to the Coast, if you come from Bandawe or from the Ngoni area or from Siska or Phoka or Henga, you will find the Coast people saying, "You have come from Nkamanga,"? and you, "Yes, I have come from Nkamanga." How do they know that all this part is Nkamanga? Because the paramount chief Chikuramayembe lives in Nkamanga, that is why they say that the whole land is Nkamanga, and furthermore, all the chiefs receive their chief's head-dress from Chikuramayembe of Nkamanga; for that reason all the districts receive the great name of Nkamanga.

But we praise the Europeans; look at to-day, the land is being put straight and the proper owners are being seen. Do you imagine that I would suggest that it is a proper thing that the people should be without a paramount chief? People say, "What sort of birth is yours without a proper chief in this country"? But it is nonsense; proper chiefs exist in the districts and Chikuramayembe knows them, he the over-lord above all in those districts. Anyone who rejects Chikuramayembe is an

¹For discussion as to origin of this name see Chap. 5 in my "Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Henga Peoples."

²Karonga, paramount chief of the southern area of Marave is not connected with the place name "Karonga" in Northern Nyasaland; that name being taken by a sub-chief at the north end of the Lake only a generation ago.

MARONJE.

Kasi charo chasilgha lino fumu zgenezinandi? Nkhunena pacharo chakwima waNgoni wandize mu charo chino. Chifukwa waNgoni walikwiza kananga charo chino, leka fumu zga charo chino zikuzgewa nanga waZungu wakupenja kuti kasi fumu yikuru nji?—apa uyo nayo wakuti, “ine nane ndiri fumu,” uyo nayo, “ndiri fumu pandeka.” Pauli; ahene, kuno fumu zgenecharo chose chino na chanyanja na muwaro, Fumu nzitatu. Pa Karonga, fumu yikuru ndi CHUNGU kuya mu nyanja yose ngwaChungu. Ndipo zaninga, pakati ndiyo CHIKU-RAMAYEMBE, fumu ya charo chose, mpaka na Chungu ndi Chiwondo, mpaka na fumu ya waChewa, Kanyenda, ndi Dwangwa. Nayo Chikuramayembe charo chose ichi chiri pakati apa, fumu wakukora ndiyo, charo cha uTonga, cha uTumbuka, cha uSiska, cha Phoka, cha Fulirwa, na fumu za mu Henga mose wakukora Chikuramayembe pera. Ndipo ku waChewa nako ndi KARONGA na mwana wake KANYENDA.

Ndipo skono, wati wiza waNgoni awo, wonani fumu zikazgewanga. Ndipo nanga mu charo chinji fumu yikuru yikuzgewa para waZungu wakufumba, chifukwa ufumu wakuutemwa wose na walanda wuwo, leka wakuti fumu yikuru palive pa charo chawo. Kwene Chikuramayembe wakuzimanya zgoze makora chifukwa ndiyo mwenecho wakukora. Ahene; nga uti uye pasilgha lila pakunji ku Mbwan, nga ufume ku Bandawe, pakunji ku uNgoni, pakunji ku uSiska, pakunji ku Phoka, pakunji ku Henga, tiusange wa ku Mbwan wali, “Mwafuma ku Nkhamanga?” nawe, “Inya, ndafuma ku Nkhamanga”; kasi iwo wakumanya wuli kuti kose kuno ndi Nkhamanga? Chifukwa Fumunkhuru Chikuramayembe wakukhala ku Nkhamanga ndimo wakutiri charo chose sono ndi Nkhamanga, na kwenenako fumu zose zikupokerera mphumphu kwa Chikuramayembe wa ku Nkhamanga, leka nawo, vyaro vyaowo vikupokerera zina likhuru la Nkhamanga.

Kwene tikurumba waZungu; wonani skono, charo chikulunga pera, wenecho wa charo chawo wakuwoneka skono. Ha manyi ndatenge uku ndiko kunozga charo nthaula, mwa wanthu mureke kuwa na fumunkhuru? wakuti mukababiwa wuliwuli muwe waka fumu mose mucharo icho? Pauli; Fumu zikhuru ziri mumo mu vyaro wakuzimanya ndi Chikuramayembe, fumu ya pachanya pa wose mu vyaro ivyo. Uyo wakukana Chikuramayembe ndi mutesi nkhanira uyo pa charo icho skono; wanjji wakuti wakumanya wuli mwakuti fumu ya pachanya

absolute liar he being over this land now ; others say, " How do you know that the over-lord is Chikuramayembe " ? If I did not know perfectly well how could I name all these old folk ? Let be ! I will narrate how we fled from the Ngoni and how they came into this present country of ours and how we went away to Kondeland and how we came to a disastrous end having come into the territory of the Chungu, if you say I am untruthful, my friends.

HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY ; OF NKAMANGA, TUMBUKA, HENGA AND TONGA AREAS.

Very long ago while the land stood undisturbed by the coming of the Ngoni who have unsettled it ; even while Chikuramayembe had still not arrived ; there existed the clan of Mwachanda simply : The Kamanga people, the Tumbuka, the Poka, the Hewe, the Senga, the Nyanjagha, the Nyika, the Lake Shore people, the Nyaruwanga who are the Tonga, the Nyirongo, the Chewa on this (i.e. the North) side of the Dwangwa ; all whom I have mentioned here were original occupiers though it may be that there are some whom I have omitted.¹

THE ARRIVAL OF CHIKURAMAYEMBE.

Chikuramayembe arrived as an Arab in appearance. He came from the Coast with a lot of goods ; he had the black, awe-inspiring cloth we call " mamphina," and that we call " maharare " which dogs bark at, the " pigeon egg bead," the " ngoro to," the " maburungi," the " makalanje," the " munena," the " mbera," and also the shell ornament " mphande." Those who came with him were Katumbi, Chiwulunta, Kajumba, Mwachanga, Mwalwene,² Jumbo, Mwamlowe, and Kabunduli, eight men who came with him ; they crossed the lake " on a plank."³

Chikuramayembe crossed with them at Mtawali and then proceeded to Nkamanga to look for ivory ; on reaching Nkamanga he found a country full of elephants. The Natives of the area were the Mwachanda clan ;⁴ they did not know that the elephant or ivory were things of value, they thought they were simply bones and consequently, though they killed the elephant, they merely used it as meat.

¹ The Nyanjagha, Nyaruwanga and Nyirongo are clans ; the other names are all locality names similar to our Highlander, Yorkshireman, or Shore-Dwellers.

² Mwalwene, head of the Harawa clan, perhaps should not be in this list.

³ This phrase probably indicates a " plank-built " dhow ; possibly the first of its kind and imitating the Zanzibar craft.

⁴ Mwachanda ; head of the Mkandawiri clan. One of the oldest clans now traceable.

pavyaro vyose ndi Chikuramayembe? Apa ndileke kumanya makora, wala wose nkuwazunula wuli? Ha muleke ndandaule mumo tikachimbiriranga waZowa, na mumu wakiziranga mu charo chitu muno, na mumu tikayiranga ku uNkhonde tawanyino, na mumu tilikuyakamalira uhene uhene, uko tikiza ku charo cha Chungu, para mukuti nkhuteta ine mwawanyani.

MAKANI GHA CHARO : KU NKAMANGA NA KU UTU-MBUKA NA KU HENGA NA KU UTONGA.

Kale chomene kusanga pa charo chakwima kundize wayene awa walikutimbanizga charo, waNgoni; nanga kukaŵanga wina Mwachanda pera, Chikuramayembe wandize; waKamanga, waTumbuka, waPoka, waHewe, waSenga, waNyanjagha, waNyika, waNyanja, waNyaruwanga ndiwo waTonga, waNyirongo, waChewa Dwangwa sirya lino : wose awa ndazunula pano ndiwo wachata, panji awa ndawareka kuzunula waliko.

KWIZA KWA CHIKURAMAYEMBE.

Chikuramayembe akizanga nga ndi Mwarubu. Akafuma ku Mbwani na chuma chinandi; akawa nazo saro zga mamphira zifipa zgakofya, zga maharare zga kubwenta nchewe, mazirankunda, ngoroto, maburungi, makalanje, munena, na mbera, na mphande. Awa akiza nawo ndi Katumbi, Chiwulunta, Kajumba, Mwahenga, Mwalwene, Jumbo, Mwamlowe, Kabunduli, wantu wasanu na watatu awa wakisa nawo; ndiwo wamulowoka pa kapondo.

Chikuramayembe akambuka nawo pa Mtawale ndiko kuyanga ka Nkamanga kupenja zovu minyanga; wayekati pa Nkamanga wasanga charo chirikuzura na zizovu. Wenecharo wina Mwachanda; zovu panji minyanga kuyimanya mwakuti nchuma chara, wakatenge viwangwa, nanga wakome wakaryangako nyama pera.

Now Chikuramayembe, when he arrived, said, "Bring those things here, those bones." They brought them to him and he said, "This is a thing of value." Then he opened his bales, tore of the cloth, laid it out and then bundled it in the baskets, took beads of one sort or another and placed them on the top, and took more cloth and made turbans of it on the heads of the headmen and said, "There you are! is this not your chief?"

And everywhere Chikuramayembe went with his people he put the cloth turban on the headmen's heads in order that the chiefs should be known. This was the fine-hearted way that Chikuramayembe came with to Nkamanga and spread over the whole country. Down to the Dwangwa and to the Senga country; right to the Songwe, he began by doing this while buying ivory. The people used to bring other gifts in homage, lion skins and leopard skins he used to send to the Coast and bring back cloth; in that way the Coast people and those on the east of the Lake called all on this side, Nkamanga, since the great chief Chikuramayembe had settled in Nkamanga and had his principal village there.

Now, therefore, when he saw that all the people recognised his authority to the extent of giving him honour as their own paramount chief, then he began to allocate districts for his followers who came from the Coast with him :—

Katumbi got all Hewe district and Senga country as far as Sitwe.¹

Kajumba got Senga country proper.

Chiwurunta got the Nyirongo and Tumbuka country; it was he who used to install the Tumbuka headmen including a certain one whom he found there, viz. :—

Mwachirwa of the Upper Reaches; he also used to be in authority over Tumbuka living higher up (i.e. higher up the river valleys which feed the main Nkamanga water system).

These were the senior chiefs over all Tumbuka country beyond the Rukuru.

Kabunduli was allocated the further side of the Lweya right down to the Dwangwa; reaching also up into the grasslands (The Vipya Mts.)

¹Since the delimitation of the Nyasaland—N. Rhodesian border this area was cut in two and the chieftainship has likewise been split in two, but still in the original Chawinga clan, at Hewe and at Sitwe. Kajumba is now entirely in N. Rhodesia.

Skono Chikuramayembe wati wiza wali, "Zaninge navyo kuno viwangwa ivyo." Ngaŵakwiza navyo kwa iyo wali, "Ichi nchuma." Skono para ngawakusutula murimba wakuparura saro wakuzinyorora wakuzifunda mu vitete, wakutora mazirankunda na ngoloto na bulungi na kalanji na munena wakuwikamo muchanya, wakutora saru zinyake wakuzingizga nazo ku mitu zifumu zgenecharo, para wali, "Eso ; ha ndilo themba ili mwasa (sic) ? " (? "mwesa.")

Skono mose umo wakendanga Chikuramayembe na ŵantu ŵake fumu zgose kuzizingizga na saru ku mitu mwakuti fumu zimanyikwenge. Ndiwo wuchizi wakiza nawo Chikuramayembe pa Nkamanga nanga wakabenekerera charo chose. Kufika ku Dwangwa na ku uSenga ; kufika ku Lisongwe, pakudanga wakachita nteura wakaguranga zovu. Zinji ŵakathuranga na vipapa vya nkaramo na vya ntorome, wakatumizganga ku Mbwani saru zikizanga ; leka ŵa ku Mbwani na ŵa ku Mwera ŵakuti ku sirya lino kose nkuNkamanga, umo fumu yikuru Chikurama-wakakhalang yembea pa Nkamanga ndipo pakaŵa pa muzi ukuru.

Ntaula skono wakati wawona kuti ŵantu ŵose ŵakumulambira mwakuti yaŵa fumu yaŵo yikuru ŵamuchindika, ndipo wakamba kugawira ŵantu ŵake vyaro, aŵa ŵakafuma naye ku Mbwani—

Katumbi ; chaHewe na ku uSenga ku Sitwe :

Kaŵumba ; cha ku uSenga :

Chicurunta ; cha uNyirongo na ŵaTumbuka ŵose ; ndiyo akakoranga fumu zga uTumbuka, na munyake uyo akamusanga :—

Mwachirwa wa chiri kunena ; nayo wakakhalanga fumu zga uTumbuka ku chiri nena ; ndiŵo ŵakaŵa ŵarara ŵa fumu zgose zga uTumbuka, Rukuru sirya lira.

Kabunduli ; wakamugawira Lweya sirya lira kufika ku Dwangwa : kwiza muchanya ku vipya.

Mwahenga got the whole of the Henga plain.

Mwaruene got the Mpachi country but not Poka territory ; that remained in the hands of its original owners.

Jumbo got Chiweta down at the Lake.

Mwamlowe also down at the Lake and up into the mountains.

And the territory of the Tonga, the Nyaluwanga, on this side of the Lweya, was Mwachirwa with the knives in his armpits ;¹. He also came from the Coast by himself with his own trade goods and it was he who broke off from Mkandawiri, " who stood on valuable goods to keep away from mud " ² whose boundaries marched with Chiwurunta and who originally came with that Mwasi who is yonder at Kasungu.

You ask, " Where did the name Chikuramayembe come from " ? People gave it to him since when some Poka came to him he said, " Chukuwamajembe " (i.e. in kiSwahili, " Carry hoes ") and the Poka made it, " Chikuramayembe " ; it became a widely accepted name. But he himself had a name of his own.³

THE ARRIVAL OF KAWUNGA.

Kawunga also came as an Arab in appearance,⁴ with a large quantity of trade goods, following Chikuramayembe for the purpose of trading in ivory. He crossed over at Virwa near Nkhata Bay and came into Mwachirwa's area and when Chikuramayembe heard, he divided off for him the country of Mt. Ntwezuru and all the Siska area. On the far side Manyerenyezi and on this side the little stream near the island at the Lake there (were the boundaries) ; and Kawunga himself settled at the top of Ntwezuru in the cold country.⁵

Then he used to call the people saying, " Lete wunga," which is to

¹ A Coastman's custom indicating original origin in the Swahili area.

² The Kandawiri used ivory instead of logs to raise their sleeping mats off the mud floor.

³ All enquiries have so far failed to discover what the name was.

⁴ That is, not an Arab, but dressed and looking like one.

⁵ Kawunga is the ancestor of the writer of these reminiscences.

HISTORY OF THE TUMBUKA-HENGA PEOPLE

Mwahenga ; cha Henga chose.

Mwarwene ; cha Mpachi.
(cha Phoka cha ; ncha mwene).

Jumbo ; cha Chiweta ku nyanja.

Mwamlowe ; nayo ku nyanja na ku Nyika.

Ndipo cha waTonga waNyaluwanga pakati Lweya sirya lino ndiyo *Mwachirwa wa vimayi vya mu nkwapu* ; naye akiza pa yeka kufuma ku Mbwani na chuma chake nayo, ndiwo wakapatukananga na *Mwakandawiri*, " mukanda pa chuma pasi pakaŵa mtika," uyo wakapakana na Chiwurunta ndipo pakafuma na Mwasi yura ali ku Kasungu

Imwe mukuti zina la Chikuramayembe likafuma nkhu ? wakamupa wantu chifukwa umo iyo akatenge para wiza waPhoka wakatenge, " Chukuwa malembe," skono waPhoka wali, " Chikuramayembe " ; lyawa zina lyakhonda. Kwani mwenecho akaŵa nalo zina lyake.

KWIZA KWA KAWUNGA.

Kawunga akiza nga ndi Mwarabu nayo na chuma chake chinandi chomene, kulondezga Chikuramayembe mwakuti izemugule minyanga ya zovu. Wakambukira pa Nkhata ku virwa, wakafikira kwa Mwachirwa, skono wakati wapulika Chikuramayembe wakamudumulira charo cha Lupiri Ntwezuru na uSiska wose : kura mpaka Manyerenyezi kuno nako kamronga kufupi na chirwa chira pa nyanja ; na skono mwenecho akakhalanga pachanya pa Ntwezuru mu charo cha mphepo.

Na skono wakacheremanga wantu wake kuti, " Lete wunga," ndiko

say, "Come with flour"¹ and then they said, (i.e. gave him the name) "This is the flour man"; and the name emerged, "Kawunga"! He also loved the Sango species of fish refusing all others and they did their homage to him with nothing but sango, His praise-names were:—

"Thin in body like the whitebait; prickly finned like the Chituwi; red-eyed like the Mere; long-nosed as the Ngolo; it was Sango from out in the deep water that they placed before Nyirenda."

"Ngolo nosed" means long nosed, "Usipa-stomached" means a thin body like the white-bait, "eyes like the Mere" means red-eyed, (or, "red-skinned.")

And he married many wives and increased prodigiously begetting numbers of children both boys and girls; they spread about there at Ntwezuru all over the place, and they were all red-skinned like their father.

And people said, "My word! these awful people increase like the nyirenda. (Those little caterpillars that you see sprawling in myriads all about the place). And now when they themselves heard of it they said, "We are now Nyirenda"; and this is how the Nyirenda clan came about.

Then when their father died some of them hived off, coming and building down in the Henga plain at Mzokoto. But though they built thus they did not acknowledge Chikuramayembe as their over-lord; they had their own "crowned" chief and did not do homage to Chikuramayembe or give a daughter of the House to be his wife; that was forbidden as unfitting.² The Nyirenda had his own turban of chieftainship as Chikuramayembe had his and they had known each other intimately where they had come from towards the Coast.

But the elder sons it was who came to Henga to Mzokoto and built three villages; one that of their great leader Kawunga and two others of his younger brothers.³

¹Although this immigration into Northern Nyasaland actually arrived from the direction of the Coast, this phrase is one of several indications that these travellers were of the western stock. The phrase is similar to chiBemba for "Bring flour."

²This is one of the few points at which the writer probably exalts his own clan unduly. Kawunga had received his lands at the hand of Chikuramayembe, as the writer here himself admits.

³The villages of deceased headmen continue in being and in name.

kuti "Zani na wufu," na skono wantu wali, "Chakawunga"; Iyaŵa zina Kawunga. Ndipo akatemwanga somba za sango, somba zgose akalemanga, wakamuthuliranga sango pera. Vithantauro vyake wakatenge :—

"Cha katumbu cha usipa; chituwi chakusonyora; cha maso nga ndi mere; cha mpuno nga ndi ngolo; sango za pa ruji za kwawika Nyirenda."

"Wa mpuno nga ndi ngolo," ndiko kuti wa mpuno yitali; "wa katumbu ka usipa," ndiko kuti pamoyo pachokowaka nga mbusipa; "wa maso nga ndi mere," ndiko kuti wa maso ghakuchesama.

Ndipo akatora wanakazi wanandi chomene ndiposo akandana chomene; wakababa wana wanandi anarume na wanakazi; wakati waka mu Ntwezuru kwa. . . . ! Napo wakawanga waswesi pera wakakhodzanga mwene wiskeŵo.

Ndipo wantu wakati, "Acha! viwantu vikwandana nga ntunyirenda." (Tunyirenda wakunena twabongololo tuchoko-tuchoko tura tukuti pasi tapatapa nyirikiti). Skono wakupulike wene wali, "Tili wanyirenda skono"; ndimo umo skono wali ku uNyirenda.

Skono wati wafwa wiskeŵo ndimo wanyakhe kupatukananga, kwizanga charo cha ku Henga ku Muzokoto kuzenganga. Kweni nanga wazenge ntaura kuti fumu yikuru Chikuramayembe kuti akawakoranga ufumu cha; mphumpu yaŵo wekha kulamba; kulamba kwa Chikuramayembe cha; ndi muziro. Panji kupereka muwoli ku fumu yikuru cha. MbaNyirenda naŵo ntaura pa mphumpu yaŵo, wekha naŵo; wenecho wakamanyananga chomene uko wakafumanga ku Mbwani yaŵo.

Ndipo kweni, wana wakhe walara ndiŵo wakiza ku Henga ku Muzokoto wazenga vikaya vitatu; chikaya chinyakhe mwene mukuru waŵo Kawunga, vikaya viwiri wanung'una wakhe.

And there it was that one day a man from Chikuramayembe's came as a strolling musician. When dancing he played on the stringed Chiding'indi and the headman said, "The fellow can play!" and would have made him a present of some goods but he refused; "Perhaps he may take these . . .", but no! everything he refused.

Then the Nyirenda said, "What is it you are after?" and he simply went on playing. Then the chief called up one of his free-born wives and as she knelt, there and then he took his ornamental axe of ceremony, whack! and the wife lay dead. Then he said, "Rub in the blood on the ground, you people"; and when the man who had been dancing saw the people polishing the ground¹ with the blood of the slain woman, off he ran to Chikuramayembe and said, "If Chikuramayembe thinks that he rules the country he lies; the chief is that man at Mzokoto who kills and his people polish the ground with the blood."

At this, "What!" said Chikuramayembe, "Are they doing that? will they kill people here in my land"? and then, "Get ready for a fight; let the army get to it! you 'll realise who is chief of all this land."

When the expedition reached Kawunga's it broke into the main village and got hold of the cattle, arrows flying and and some casualties; then the younger brothers heard in their villages and came running and pouring with sweat having brought their bows to where the fighters were at grips with their head-ringlets tossing—of course, everyone used to wear the mandamba ringlets; people didn't cut their hair then—; then the fight waged fierce and looking round to Chikuramayembe's side there was Chiwurunta on the ground. Saying, "Let us have a look," since it was a leading chief lay dying, it became a flight, those of the Kawunga side who remained followed to have a go at Chikuramayembe's fleeing army wherever they could be brought to a stand, reaching the Ruzi stream with them and some, indeed, crossing with them to the other side of the Rukuru.

Then they said, "We've had enough, Chief; we're tired killing, let us go back." And so they returned and reached their villages. Those Nyirenda were exceedingly ferocious. If you wound one in the body in a non-vital spot he comes at the man who wounded him with the ceremonial axe and strikes him down. That is what they were like, you must wound them on the nose and then they die quickly.

¹"Kukuruwa pasi" is the verb used for the polishing of the hut floors which used to be done by some with animal blood.

Ndimu mura para, muntu wakafuma kwa Chikuramayembe wiza-mukuwomba. Para wanda kuvina wakalizganga chiding'indi, para themba liri, "Muntu wanozga viwi," litore chuma lipereke akukana; "atore ivi kwale," akukana ndipera; vyose wakana.

Para themba wali, "Kasi kupenjachi?" muntu uyo akulizga wuwo. Para ngalikuchema muwoli musanu wakhe; para musanu ngawakujikama pasi, para themba ngalikutora mbavi chimbichimbi, mu musanu wayu. ! Musanu ngawakufwa. Para themba liri, "Mwa wantu, kuruwanninge pasi ndopa"; akawonenge muntu yura wakavinanga uku wantu wakukuruwa ndopa zga muntu wakufwa pasi, ngawakuchimbira wakafika kwa Chikuramayembe wali, "Nanga waChikuramayembe wakuti ndi fumu, wakuteta; fumu ndiyi yiri pa Muzokoto yikukoma wantu wakuruwenge pasi ndopa."

Chikuramayembe, "Iki! ka nga ndimo wachitirengeso? wakome-nge wantu muno mu charo chane?" Skono ndiyo, "Kumbaninge ndondo!" Ndiyo, "Nkondo wiwe! namwe mumanyenge themba likuru lya charo chose."

Para ngayikufika nkondo pa Kawunga yanjira mu muzi wa mwene, ng'ombe zgayoleka, uku wakorana mivwi mu chukupu-chukupu yikulasana; wakapulikenge wanung'una wakhe mu vikaya viwiri waghayora mauta wiza mavuchi muno yakorana mandamba muyatuyatu—napo wakawanga na mandamba wose, kuti masisi wakametanga chara—yakorana ndizungulikenge kwa Chikuramayembe, fumu Chiwurunta wali pasi. Wakuti, "Tikawonenge"; mwakuti fumu yikuru Chiwurunta wafwa, kwa wa mbii. . ! yachimbira nkondo ya Chikuramayembe, wina Kawunga wasyerapa wakwendakakosora wima, kuya nawo mu Ruzi; wanjali wakambuka nawo Rukuru kwiza musirya.

Ndipera para, wali, Ndipera skono, Tata; kukoma vyalema, tiwereko"; ndipera ngawakuwerako kwiza ku kaya zga wo; chifukwa wantu awa waNyirenda wakawa wakali chomene. Para wamulasa na muvwi pa thupi lya waka wakwiza wogho na mbavi ya chimbichimbi uyo wamulasa mbavi yose, nkha. . ! Ndimu wakatirenge, muwalasenge pa mpuno ndipo wakufwa ruwiro.

So when they returned they came singing,
"That which was fierce has been tamed,"
Dancing and saying,
"Mwene ! Mwene !"¹

And so Chikuramayembe gave up any constant quarrelling with the Nyirenda.

Should you hear that there are many Nyirenda in the Kasungu area they are those who fled when the Ngoni settled at Choma ; they left Ntwezuru area where the clan had multiplied.

And the Nyirenda in the Dowa area, Chiwere captured at Ntwezuru. That is the Nyirenda clan.

THE STORY OF CHIKURAMAYEMBE, THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF.

When the first Chikuramayembe died, they installed his son, and as it happened he only had one son ; the daughters were numerous.

So when they installed this son he it was who reigned for a very long time and was honoured to the same extent as his father and he too died a very old man.²

Then they elevated a nephew of his named Kampungu and placed him in power, he also having a nephew called Chimundavwa. And this man was exceedingly fierce as was also his nephew and it is he who reduced the territory,³ going down to the Dwangwa to cut the baobab trees with axes so that the boundary would be known, with Kanyenda the Councillor of Karonga the paramount chief of the Maravi country, who came in the same company from the Coast at the crossing of the Lake and separated from his relative who went on to Maravi, and they together agreed on the boundary Dwangwa. Now⁴ it was he whom Kampungu remembered and made up his mind that Kanyenda must not overstep the boundary, therefore he cut the baobabs and left the axes in them ; not bringing them away, so that thus all would know this to be the boundary.

¹ "Mwene" implies "owner" or "boss," and the refrain here probably implies, *we* "are the people."

² This chief is "Gonspamuhanya," son of the first of the line who, nowadays, is called "Miwoka," i.e. "The one who crossed over."

³ "Kupofya" has this meaning of diminishing though it is not clear why it is used about Kampungu unless it means the reduction of the power of the subordinate headmen and the aggrandisement of the central authority at Nkamanga ; cf. similar use in regard to Chepere and the Wiza country a few lines later.

⁴ A most confused sentence. Kanyenda and Karonga evidently crossed Nyasa together and then separated.

HISTORY OF THE TUMBUKA-HENGA PEOPLE

Skono wakati wawerako wakizanga kwimba, wali :—

“ Changuwa chikali, cholowa.”

Wakupinga, wali,

“ Mwene ! Mwene ! ”

Ndimu Chikuramayembe akalekeranga kwambana nawo kawiri-kawiri waNyirenda.

Ndipo para mukupulika kuti waNyirenda wanandi wali ku Kasungu, ndi awa wakachimbiranga Zowa wara wazenga ku Choma ; wakafumanga mu Ntwezuru mu uNyirenda ndiwo wandana kura.

Ndipo waNyirenda wa ku Dowa akendakawakora Chiwere mu Ntwezuru.

Ndilo fuko lya waNyirenda ilo.

MAZGU GHA CHIKURAMAYEMBE : FUMUNKURU.

Ndipo wakati wafwa Chikuramayembe wakudanga, wakakoreraipo mwana wakhe, napo iye waka wa na mwana mwanarume yumoza pera, wanakazi ndiwo wanandi.

Skono wakora mwana uyo ndiyo akagonapo chomene pa ufumu, ndipo akawa na nchindi nga za wawiske nayo wakafwa muchekuru nkhanira.

Ndipo wakawikapo na kumukwezga ufumu wa Chikuramayembe muphwa wakhe Kamphungu, nayo akawa na muphwa wakhe Chimunda-vwa. Ndipo skono, munthu uyo akawa mukali chomene na muphwa wakhe wuwo, ndiyo uyo akapofya charo na kwendamo kuya katema wabuyu mu Dwangwa na mbavi, mwakuti mphaka yimanyikwenge na Kanyenda mumbiri wa Karonga fumunkuru ya ku Maravi uyu wakiziranga pamo pa kufuma ku Mbwanani pa kwambuka, wakapatukananga na munyakhe akuya ku Maravi ndipo wakamenyananga mphaka Dwangwa. Skono ndiyo akakumbukanga Kamphungu akatenge Kanyenda angajumpha mphaka leka akatemanga mbavi mu wabuyu na kuzireka mumo ; kutola chara, mwakuti wamanyenge kuti ndiyo ndi mphaka. Ndipo nyinarume

And his uncle had left a very large number of male children and Kampungu chased them out of Nkamanga and they were scattered throughout other areas because their cousin Kampungu could not stand them.

Kampungu was of the Nkonjera clan, an extremely fierce man and his nephew Chimundavwa too ; weapons were never out of their hands ; even though others might be in the majority it made no difference, they would all flee from these two alone.

THE WAR OF CHEPERE, THE MUBEMBA.¹

Chepere is a Bemba who came from the Wiza country on the other side of the Luangwa, who reduced the whole country of the Wiza and crossed the Luangwa getting as far as Katumbi and Muyombe. He came with his hordes, and women too with their pounding mortars and grinding stones with the idea of taking Chikuramayembe's country from him. And when Chikuramayembe heard that Chepere had laid flat the Katumbi country he sent messengers into all the districts to the chiefs saying, "Come at once ; Chepere has taken Katumbi and Muyombe countries." Then the chiefs, every one of them, came with his detachment and trumpets blowing, then he sent another messenger to Chungu, "My friend, go round that way and we will meet at Uyombe ; Chepere has taken the country ; hurry up." And then Chungu mobilised all his force in Konde country, and went off up the Nthalire path with horns blowing. Chikuramayembe had reached the place already. In Katumbi's they were at grips ; and I tell you ! Chepere had settled himself in ; and he was at it leaping and stabbing inside the stockades ; corpses there were and the young men were finishing ; the head-dress ringlets laid low, poor fellows ; this being so, the leader Kampungu's anger rose and he shouted out, "Heat the arrows in fire ; burn their houses in the stockades," and then assuredly they made furnaces and heated the arrows and when they were red-hot nearly softened like wax, they fitted them to the bow and, twang . . . right into the hut-roofs and up in a blaze went all the huts within the stockades and the people inside, "Alas, we are burned," and away as hard as they could run. The attackers, "Kill them and capture the women and boys !" and at all the stockades they did this, they being many, until they came into touch with Chungu and he also captured until he had to stop. They caught some of those Bemba² of Chepere's own clan and followed them up keeping with them

¹This fighting is usually ascribed to Kampungu's successor, Bamantha and, for various reasons, with greater probability.

²The "vi-" prefix to personal or tribal names always conveys dislike or contempt or, at any rate, ill-will.

akareka wana wanandi chomene wanarume, ndiwo Kamphungu akawa-chimbizga pa Nkhamanga wakaparanikira mu vyaro vinji chifukwa Kamphungu muvyara wawo wakaopatika.

Kamphungu akawa mwina Nkhonjera, akawa mukali chomene na muphwa wakhe wuwo Chimundavwa ; mivwi kuti yikawanga pasi chara ; nanga wanthu wawe viwi wanandi, mphawaka ; tiwachimbirenge wose kwa iwo wose wawiri pera.

NKONDO YA CHEPERE MUBEMBA.

Chepere ndi muBemba uyo akafuma ku uWiza, Lwangwa sirya lira, uyu akapofya charo chose cha uWiza, ndiyo akambuka Lwangwa kwiza kafika mwa Katumbi na Muyombe. Ndipo akiza na mauvi ghakhe ghanandi na wanakazi wuwo na maturi wuwo na marwara wuwo, akatenge nkha-poke charo cha Chikuramayembe. Ndipo para wakati wapulika Chikuramayembe mwakuti Chepere wathandažge charo kwa Katumbi, para ngawakutuma matenga mu vyaro vyose mu zifumu wali, " Mutenakwenda ! Chepere wapoka charo cha uYombe na kwa Katumbi." Para yose ya zifumu na mauvi ghaŵo zimbata zikulira yikwiza ku Themba, para ngawakutumaso tenga linyakhe kwiza kwa Chungu, ali, " Wamnyane upite uko pera, tikumanenge ku Uyombe ; Chepere wapoka charo ; endanga ruwiro." Ndipera para Chungu nayo ku Nkhonde ndawakukumba khondo yakhe yose, zimbata zikulira wakuruta wakwera nthowa ya Nthalire. Kura Chikuramayembe wafika kale. Mwa Katumbi yasumbirirana ; na Chepere nayo akazenga, 'Mwe ! nayo wati waka tarasu mu malinga mukati ; vitanda vikuŵa, wasaza wakumara ; mandamba pasi kwati dyampu, wana wa wantu ! wakuchita nthaura mwina Nkhonjera Kamphungu wakalipa waneska wali, " Mivwi muvutirenge pa moto yipyege ; mochere nyumba zgaŵo mu linga " ; para nadi ngawakupanga maluvumbo wakavukutira mivwi ; para yapa yati kwa, yiri pafupi na kununa nga ndi mphura, ngawakukoweka mu uta twe ! pa nyumba pachanya chwipi ! nyumba toro, zgose mulinga ; wantu mulinga, " Ekwe ! tapyo " ; ndiyo mbi. Wakuwaro wati, " Komani wantu ! yola mbumba na wasaza wuwo ! " skono tumalinga tose wakachitanga nthaura pera, napo malinga ghakawa ghanandi asuka wakumana na munyakhe Chungu, uko nayo Chungu waviyola waleka waka. Vinji wakasora viBemba vina Chepere, wachimbizgana navyo wayakaviperekezga mu uSenga, skono

right into Senga country and the flight sounded "chopi chopi" they showing the soles of their feet and saying, "What's that there? what's that there?" It is these (captives) of Chepere's clan that the Kamanga have intermarried with; Chungu also has many of them taken at the fight with Chepere.¹ Because though Chikuramayembe summoned Chungu they were of the same stock and knew each other in the land whence they came; and Chungu had all the Mwamba country; the Konde area belonged to Mbowe. When Chungu was burned out by the Kipute family of the Kukwe tribe he then went to the outer lands where his brother Mwenempako was; thence he descended into Kondeland and found it an excellent country and said, "I shall stay in this country, elder brother." The elder brother wasted his time with bees and that is (the reason of) the name "Owner of Beehives." Then he (Chungu) went to Chikuramayembe when he had seen the country, going by the inland route and discussed with Chikuramayembe. Coming (i.e. returning) he came by the lake route and then it was that he broke in upon Mpande, and Simbowe fled.² Thus he became Chungu of Kondeland and fixed a boundary with Chikuramayembe at Chiwondo, running up into the hills along a ridge in Poka country, going over and down the other side (i.e. of the Nyika Plateau) of the hills to the Ruwumbu, the river near Hewe, (giving) Muyombe and Ntalire country to Chungu. At the delimitation of the boundary at Chiwondo they killed a man and a cow and stuck in hoes, and having fixed boundaries in that way that is why he (i.e. Chikuramayembe) called upon him to resist their enemy Chepere.³

THE DEATH OF KAMPUNGU

All the males of his uncle's house went to Nkhama (sic; ? "Nkana") and spoke to the chiefs, grumbling and saying "Must we stay out in the bush, our relative having chased us"? and then the chiefs said "It is a fact; he is a bad lot; the children are in trouble" then they built a thorn fence for him, and for his nephew too, with a hut inside; deceiving him saying "The truth is that the country has risen, Chief; we are building

¹Hereditary titles imply a continuing personality. The Chungu and Chikuramayembe here spoken of are dead at least 80 years but the present tense relates all the past to the present chiefs.

²Mpande: the small hill behind Karonga in North Nyasa District where the original people under one Simbowe lived and worshipped. Now the centre of the Nkonde chiefship and worship.

³This whole section following on the defeat of Chepere, is of course, in interpolation by the author to link up the Nkamanga dynasty to that of the hereditary Chungu in Kondeland, and should have been a section by itself and in proper chronological order following upon the Arrival of Chikuramayembe.

vikuchimbira kuli chopi chopi ! vikulongora marwayo kusi, kuli, “ Uko vichi, uko vichi ? ” Ndiwo aŵa ŵanjirila naŵo skono ŵaKamanga ŵina Chepere ; Chungu nayo ali naŵo ŵanandi chomene aŵa ŵakakorekanga pa nkondo ya Chepere. Chifukwa nanga Chikurumayembe akamuchemanga Chungu ŵakawa ŵene-na-ŵene, ŵakamanyana pakudanga kuko ŵakafumanga ; na skono Chungu akaŵa na charo chose cha Mwamba ; cha Nkonde chikawa cha Mbowe. Chungu ŵakati ŵamocha ŵaKukwe ŵina Kipute, ndiko kuyanga kuwaro uko kuli Mwenempako mukuru wakhe ; kura nga khwikha kwiza mu Nkonde wasanga charo nchiweme, wali, “ Tindikhale mu charo ichi, mukuru wane ? ” Mukuru wakhe wasuwirira njuchi ; ndilo zina lya Mwenempako. Ndipo para ngawakuruta kwa Chikurumayembe apo wakati wawona charo, wakapita panena pera, kuyakayowoyeskana na Chikurumayembe. Kwiza, wayakizira nthowa ya ku nyanja, ndiko kunjiranga pa Mphande, Simbowe ngawakuchimbira. Ndawakuŵa Chungu wa Nkonde skono, ndiko kupakananga mpaka pa Chiwondo, kukwerera, kukwerera mu mapiri gha Phoka mu mutanantha pera, kuwenuka mapiri kuya kwa Ruwumbo, mulonga wa kufupi na Hewe, Muyombe na Nthalire kwa Chungu. Pakupakana pa Chiwondo ŵakakomerapo muntu na ng’ombe ŵakajintha mu na mayembe ŵakati ŵapakana nthaura ndimo wakachemeranga nanga pa kulwa na mulwani waŵo Chepere.

KAMPHUNGU : YIFWA YAKHE.

Ŵanangwa ŵose ŵana ŵa nyinarume ŵawera ku Nkhama ŵayowoya na zifumu zose mu kusing’inika mwakuti, “ Tikhalenge mu thondo, munyithu watichimbizga ? ” para fumu zga mu charo ziri, “ Inya nadi, muntu waŵa muhene uyo ; ŵana ŵasokwa,” ndiko kumuzengeranga chivwamba cha minga kuwaro nyumba : muphwa wakhe nayo chakhe, nyumba mukati ; ŵakawapusika, ŵali, “ Inya nadi, charo chawuka,

enclosures for you that you may live inside," and he said, "Right; certainly." They spoke as if it was for lions that they were building. Then they said, "What shall we do seeing that these fellows are exceedingly fierce"? and some others said, "Let us call in the Nyirendas to help us"; and then they summoned the Nyirenda clan and they came and then all set out, along with the members of the ruling family and with their bows, to where Kampungu and Chimundavwa were.¹ When they came outside the weapons looked like a field of big maize, and the Chief emerged from the hut, all present made the obeisance and their followers too. The Chief said, "Do you behave thus with peaceful intentions"? and they replied, "There is no peace." Then the Chief said, "Are there people at Chimundavwa's too"? and they replied, "They are there too. He had thought, "Possibly there may be no one there and he may come to help me"; but when he found that people were there too the heart of the Chief fell.² Then they said, "Burn the enclosure," and so doing they encircled the enclosure hardening hearts against him; and at Chimundavwa they followed the same procedure. And when they set fire to the enclosures he (i.e. Kampungu) saw that they (meant to) burn him within so he entered the hut, seized an (Arab camel-hair) blanket, dipped it in water and covered himself, took his bow and came out again to face it; some already had arrows aimed at him and hit him; the Nyirenda said, "Kampungu, that is your reward" (or perhaps, "That settles you") And at the nephew's place the same happened and they "slew the country and the country had rest."³ Then they sang the song, "That which was fierce has become gentle." Nephews do not now ascend the throne.⁴

BAMANTHA; WHOM MWAFULIRWA FORCED TO MAKE HOE-HANDLES.

Mwafulirwa is of the Malongo clan and came from the other side of the Lake in the hill country where his relatives are, he having broken off and left them there and coming to Fulirwa although the actual owners of the area are the Kandawiri and this chief came out of Nkamanga but the

¹The translation of the word "wanangwa" varies with its context; here it refers to the free-born sons expelled by Kampungu; in other circumstances it will mean "free-hearted," "generous"; again, in a general sense, applied to all showing proof of "good-breeding" and "family."

²"Lusoko lwawa"; possibly "gave up hope."

³Chief and Country being synonymous.

⁴An indication that with the coming of the foreign dynasty an early matrilineal community where the sister's son succeeds was being superseded by patrilineal succession. Kampungu's case was evidently a temporary reversion and too unsatisfactory to be repeated.

Themba ; timuzengerani vivwamba mukhale mukati ? ” iyo wali, “ Inya nadi ”; wakanenanga kharamu, ndimo wakazengeranga. Para wali, “ Skono titi uli apa viwantu vikari nthaura ? ” Para wANJI wali, “ Tika-cheme waNyirenda wizamkutovwira ”; ndimo mura para ngawakuchema waNyirenda, ngawakwiza, para ngawakuruta wose na wanangwa wuwo na mawuvi ghaŵo uku wali Kamphungu na Chimundavwa. Para ngawakufika pawaro vya mawuta kwati waka kangalakangala, Themba ngalikufuma mu nyumba, ngawakulamba pasi wanangwa na mawuvi ghaŵo ghose. Themba liri, “ Na muti kuli mtende ? ” wali, “ Mtende mphalive.” Themba liri, “ Kwa Chimundavwa nako wali kuko ? ” Naŵo, “ Wali kuko.” Skono iyo akatenge, “ Panji kulivye, wizamkundovwira ”; wasanga kuti nako wali kuko, Themba lusoko lwawa. Para wali, “ Ochani chivwamba ”; wakuchita nthaura wazingirizga chivwamba wamutupirira ; kwa Chimundavwa nako luso ndwenelulo. Para ngawakocha vivwamba ; para wati wawona kuti wamochera mukati ngawakunjira mu nyumba wali pa kuwe wakutora wakunjizga mu maji ngawakudika, ngawakutora wuta wakhe wakufumira pawaro mba ; wANJI wamudamika kale na mivwi, wali nayo njo ! wamulasa ; waNyirenda wali, “ Kamphungu Kampoto O.” Ku muphwa wakhe naku luso ndwenelulo ngawakukoma charo ; charo chagona. Ndipo skono wakimbanga wakatenge, “ Changuwa chikale cholowa.” Skono wiphwa kuti waku-kwera cha.

BAMANTHA UYO WAKAMUWAYISKANGA VYAKA MWA-FULILWA.

Mwafulilwa mbina Malongo wakafuma pa sirya pa mapiri pa mwera para wanyakhe wali papara, akapatukananga naŵo akawalekanga papo, ndipo iyo akizanga pa Fulilwa, kwene wenecho wa charo mbaKandawire ; ndipo fumu iyi yikafuma ku Nkamanga, kwene wene wina Mwachanda

real folk of the Mwachanda stock are the Nyungwe and Mwenekasimba groups, they are the actual people of the land. But Mwafulirwa having become chief, Chikuramayembe giving it to him since he made rain and the Mkandawiri had failed to make rain when the over-lord summoned both Mkandawiri and Mwafulirwa. When they went to the king they found that Mwafulirwa brought rain and Mkandawiri was defeated. So the king said, "Marongo; take the chiefship at Fulirwa," and then he took over the chiefship; Mkandawiri was made to shuffle over thorns on his buttocks because the rain had defeated him at his attempt to bring it. Then Bamantha of the ruling house, who had fled to Mwafulirwa at the time Kampungu put them to flight, and Mwafulirwa had set him to make hoe-handles, when Bamantha ascended the seat of power at Nkamanga he remembered the hoe-handles which Mwafulirwa made him shape. And he sent a messenger to Chungu in the Konde country saying, "Look here; you might teach that fellow of mine Mwafulirwa who made me shape hoe-handles, a lesson." And then when Chungu heard the message, the drums beat and the horns blew and the army set out for Fulirwa to fall upon them and cut off heads; and there was more capturing of some young ones for Chikuramayembe, and Chungu got some too since (Mwafulirwa said), "I beseech you, leave me alone; I am your man"; and at that they let him be and these are the members of his family who have given birth to the heads of Nkamanga and with Chungu too, for they are also there.

KABUNDULI THROWS AWAY THE CHIEFSHIP; KANYENDA INVADES THE COUNTRY.

Kabunduli is the man who became chief down to the boundary over against Kanyenda who was Karonga's Councillor, the over-lord of Maravi; and it happened that he invaded the country lying between the Dwangwa and the Lweya rivers and all the people began paying tribute to Kanyenda. And when Chikuramayembe heard, he sent people, saying, "Go and seek for another chief; take this tail with you, the name of which is Chikwitika," and he said, "If you reach there, try to catch fowls yourselves or food and if (the people) chase you off, don't take the headman of that village, but where they give you permission, the head of that village is the man; give him the tail,¹ let it lie at the head (of his bed) and in the morning get up early and ask him, "How have you slept?" and when he says, "I dreamed of war," tell him, "The king calls you, let us go; and bring Kabunduli with you too." And in truth, they started off and got there and just as the king had said, in all the villages of

¹A tail of some animal containing the chief's medicine.

mba Mwanyungwe na Mwenekasimba ndiwo wene charo. Ndawaŵe Mwafuililwa ufumu, Chikuramayembe akamupila mwakuti akasura vura chifukwa Mukandawire yikamutonda kusura, ndipo Themba likaŵache-ma Mukandawire na Mwafuililwa. Wakati waruta ku Themba wasanga kuti Mwafuililwa wasura vura yarakwa, Mukandawire yamutonda. Para Themba liri, "Marongo, kwera pa ufumu wa pa Fulilwa," skono ndipo kukweranga pa ufumu; Mukandawire wakora kuphwatira thako minga pa Themba chifukwa vura yikamutonda kusura. Ndipo skono wakati wakwezga mwanangwa Bamantha uyo akachimbirira kwa Mwafuililwa apa Kamphungu akawachimbizga, ndipo Mwafuililwa akamuwajiska vyaka. Ndipo skono wakati wakwera pa ufumu wa waThemba pa Nkhamanga wakakumbuka vyaka ivi wakamuwajiskanga Mwafuililwa. Ndimu akatumilanga tenga kwiza kwa Chungu ku Nkonde, wali, "Ewe, ndilangilako muntu wane uyu Mwafuililwa akandiujiska vyaka." Ndipo para Chungu wakati wapulika mazgu agha ng'oma zikalila na zimbata ngazikulila nkondo ngayikuruta ku Fulilwa kuyakaŵawira na kudumura mitu; ndiko kutoranga wana wanyakhe kwa Chikuramayembe, waji kwa Chungu mwakuti, "Ndaweya nda muntu wina skono ndirekani"; ndiko kumuleka, wana ndiwo aŵa walikubaba zifumu pa Nkhamanga na kwa Chungu wuwu, namo walimo.

KABUNDULI WATAYA UFUMU : KANYENDA WALOWA MU CHARO.

Kabunduli ndiyo akaŵa fumu ya ku mphaka kulawiskana na Kanyenda mbiri wa Karonga, Themba Iya Malawi; ndipo para, wati walowa mu charo kufuma ku Dwangwa kufika mu Lweya, wantu wose wakapereka-nga mithuro kwa iyo Kanyenda. Ndipo wakati wapulika Chikuramayembe ngawakutuma wantu wali, "Rutaninge mukapenje fumu yinyakhe yeghane muchira uwu, zina lakhe Chikwitika"; para wali, "Usange mwafika uko, muyezgenge kukora nkuku mwekha panji vyakurya, ndipo usange wakumuchimbizgani rekani kukorapo fumu pa mizi iyo, kwene para wamuzomerezgani, pa muzi uwo ndiyo fumu yeyeyiyo; yipani muchira uwo yigonere ku mutu, namacherochero mucherere mukafumbe kuti, "Mwagona uli?" ndipo para wakuti "Ndarota nkondo," mnenerani, "Themba likuchema; tirutenge": mukizenge na Kabunduli wuwu." Nadi para ngawakuruta wayakafika, ndipo nga ndi umo

the Kapunda¹ the people chased them off but when they came to the village of Mankaka one of the younger Kapunda line, he said, "Let them alone, let the men eat food but if they catch women then you will know that they are bad." Then they swept a house and spread mats with food in plenty in the hut and the men then said, "What do you see wrong with this fellow for chief?"² And so then they did as the king had told them and climbed again to the king in Nkamanga to have Mankaka anointed with the fat of the lion, and he took with him a sister to become a wife of the ruling house. Then the king said, "I give you the chiefship now; Kabunduli is under you; go and put to flight that Kanyenda out of my country that he may get back and recross the Dwangwa; and when the fight is on let not your people loose off their arrows quickly but let them begin by squatting down and presenting their buttocks (to the enemy)."³ When they have let off their arrows then do you loose off too." And he said "Right! Mwiwa" and when he arrived down in Tongaland he began to fight with Kanyenda as the king had told him. Kanyenda cleared out and he (Mankaka) came to Khunga and placed there his relative Damba on the boundary with Kanyenda and now he does not cross the Dwangwa. He it was (i.e. Mankaka) who on his return made his people carry great stones for the building of a village there where the White man built the house down at the Lake at the Kawiya stream and when he had left there he went on and built a village on the other side of the Lweya and higher up.

BWATI FORETELLS A TIME OF CONFUSION

When Bamantha died they installed members of the ruling house and they having died they installed Bwati whom it was that the Ngoni found (they who captured Mafechura Nyirenda), on their way to Chidhlo and to Malindika;⁴ now that was how the Ngoni knew that these people were very fierce from the way that Mafechura always broke through stockades. And when the Ngoni had gone on,⁵ Bwati the king prophesied and said:

¹ Kapunda; "The Conquerors." An immigrant family (clan Banda) of the same type as the Chikuramayembes but arriving later than the appointment of the district headman by the first Chik., Mlowoka.

² A very rough translation of the vernacular phrase.

³ The actual translation is toned down here, but can be gused.

⁴ That is, to the north near Tanganyika in the Fipa country. This passing northwards of the Ngoni is dateable at about 1845 and the return and deposition of Mkuwayira at about ten years later.

⁵ This Nyirenda tradition of the capturing by the Ngoni of one of their clan on the way north and his subsequent fame as stockade-breaker is the only available item at present referring to that period, but is all the more useful in allowing Bwati's reign to be dated approximately.

Themba likawānenera mizi yose ya wana wa waKapunda wakawachimbizga, kwene wakati wafika pa muzi wa Mankhaka, munung'una wa wina Kapunda wakati, "Warekani wantu walyenge vyakurya, kwene para wakukora wanakazi ndipo mtenge mbahene." Para ngawakupyera nyumba na mphasa watandika vyakurya kwati ngwerere mu nyumba, para wantu wara wali, "Ha wuwone, fumu iyi vichi?" Ndimu mura para ngawakuchita nga ndi umo Themba likawānenera, ndiko kukwera-nga ku Themba mu Nkhamanga kuya kamuphaka mafuta gha nkaramu Mankhaka, nayo ngawakutora mudumbo wakhe ngawakuwa muoli wa pa Nkhamanga. Para Themba liri, "Skono iwe ndakupa ufumu; Kabunduli ali pasi pa iwe; rutanga ukamuchimbizge Kanyenda yura mu charo chane awerere kusirya lira Dwangwa; ndipo mwambana kale, wantu wako wakapong'yenge ruwiro mivwi chara, kwene wakadangenge wati nanga matakoto tuno kwa iwo. Para iwo wadanga wapong'ya mivwi, skono ndipo nawe ukapong'yenge." Para nayo wali, "E, Mwiwa," ndipo para wakati wikha kufika ku uTonga ngayikwamba nkondo na Kanyenda, nga ndi umo Themba likamnenera. Kanyenda mbi, wayakafika ku Khunga ngawakuwikako Damba mbale wakhe ku mphaka na Kanyenda, na skono kuti akambukira mu sirya lira Dwangwa chara. Ndiyo mwene kuwererangako wendamuyegheza wantu mawe kwiza kazenga muzi para wali kuzenga mzungu nyumba ya ku nyanja pa Kawiya, ndipo wakati wafuma para ndiko kuyakazenganga muzi pa Lweya sirya lira panena.

BWATI WAKULOSKA MUYUNGIRO.

Ndipo wakati wawangapo Bamanta, wakakorera wanangwa, ndipo kwene wakati wafwa ngawakukolerapo Bwati, ndiyo akamusanga zoba wa ng'ombe uyo akakoranga Mafechura Nyirenda, wakaya nayo ku Chizgozgo ku Malindika; skono uko ndiko wazoba wamanyira kuti wantu awa mbakali chomene, chifukwa umu Mafechura akanjilanga malinga mazuwa ghose. Ndipo para wakati waruta zoba wa ng'ombe, Themba Bwati

†. CULLEN YOUNG—

“ When I am dead no other will last as I have done, there will be a great confusion that will last for a long time. But on a far-off day they will install a young child and he will establish the land.”

And in truth, when Bwati died they installed Mkuwayira and do you imagine that Mkuwayira had a good reign? Far from it! Those Ngoni came along and subjugated all the people under Ngoni rule, and Mkuwayira sought a remedy with the crown (i.e. cloth turban) upon his head, but the Ngoni rejected him and said “ Who owns this king ”? That is the confusion, on to the time of the Europeans, which Bwati referred to and now truly a young child ascends the seat of power whom they fled away with and brought to Kondeland.²

¹The resumption of the Chikuramayembe line in 1907 is here referred to though Chirongozi Gondwe was a full-grown man when he was placed on his father's throne. But at the flight to Kondeland referred to in later pages here, he was an infant on his mother's back and it is this that is referred to in Bwati's prophetic mention of a “ young child.”

B

FROM THE COMING OF THE NGONI (c. 1885)
TO THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT IN
NORTHERN NYASALAND AND THE EXPULSION
OF THE ARAB SLAVERS (1895.)

akaloska wakati, " Para ndafwa ine, kuti yunji tiwakharepo nthaura ine chara, tikuwe muyungiro ukuru chomene wakurutirira swii. Kwene zuwa linji nkhanira tiwakolerepo kana katema tikakhaliwe charo." Ndipo nadi para ngawakufwa Bwati ngawakolerapo Mukuwayira; na mukuti Mukuwayira nayo wakakharaposo makora? awa pole! Vyasoba nga vikwiza waka vikulovya wantu wose mu uNgoni, skono Mukuwayira wandakachekacheka waka na mphumpu ku mutu, waNgoni wamukana nga kuti, " Ndinjani waweta Themba ili? " Ndiwo muyungiro, kwizakafika ku waZungu, wu akanenanga Bwati, skono nadi ngawakukwerapo mwana muchoko dyo wakachimbiranga nayo kwiza nayo ku uNkonde.

HOW THE NGONI CAME.

I now wish to narrate as to the coming of these Ngoni since they came and spoiled our country.

These Ngoni came from a very far-away place which they call Zululand, that is where they came from these Ngoni. And when they came out with their father Zongandaba, they travelled along, they captured people whom they found in their path as they came, so that they might quickly increase.

And so it was that eventually they came to travel through the land of Nkamanga and it was they¹ whom the people called "cattle lifters," taking cattle in Nkamanga and it was they who captured Mafechura while still a child and he came to maturity at Chidhlokhlo where they went near Tanganyika. And there, when they reached Chidhlokhlo, they settled down. In Nkamanga the people forgot these pests² thinking that they had departed for good. And yonder, on the death of their father Zongandaba there remained only his children, Nthutu and Mbera and Mtwaro and Mperembe and a number of others, who on the death of their father started to hive off that they might occupy the whole of this territory. Nthutu went to Mpezeni,³ Mbera and Mtwaro came to Nkamanga country because they had seen in passing through that it was a country worth settling in.⁴ Furthermore they had experience of Mafechura the great breaker of stockades, finding this child of the Henga country always in the centre of things, and then the Ngoni said, "Let us go to the country where we captured this fellow"; thus it was that they came to settle.

As for Chiwere,⁵ he ran off from the section under Mbera and

¹ Singular used for the Ngoni horde instead of plural.

² This attempts to translate the use of the "vi-" prefix denoting dislike and—
or disgust.

³ That is, to the present Fort Jameson in Northern Rhodesia.

⁴ The writer omits the third of the three brothers who kept together and by so doing kept the main body of Ngoni under Mbera from splitting up; this third brother was Maurau.

⁵ Chiwere, a Senga runaway who carried the Ngoni name into the Dowa district of Nyasaland and gave to that and adjacent areas the present title of Central Ngoniland, though himself in no real sense an Ngoni. (Chiwerewere Ndhlovu, captured in the Luangwa Valley.)

UMO WAKIZIRANGA WANGONI.

Skono nkhekumba mwakuti ndandaule na mumu wakiziranga wa-Ngoni aŵa nanga walikwizakananga charo chitu.

Iŵo waNgoni aŵa walikufuma kutali chomene uko wakuti ku Zululand, uko ndiko walikufuma waNgoni aŵa. Ndipo wakati wafuma uko na wiskeŵo Zongandawa waŵo uyo, ndiko kwendanga muchanya pera umo wakwendakayola wanthu wimə mu zinthowa umo wakiziranga mwakuti wandane ruwilo.

Ndimu mula para, skono ndiko kwendakapita mu charo cha Nkhamanga ndiyo wakatenge zowa wa ng'ombe uyo wakayolanga zing'ombe mu Nkhamanga, ndiyo wakakoranga na waMafechura wachali wana wachoko wakayakakulila kuko ku chizgozgo (Chidhlo) uko wakaya kumozana mu Tang'anyika. Ndimu mula para, vyati vyaya kura ku chizgozgo, vyayakuzenga. Skono ku Nkhamanga nako waluwa vira vintu, lero virikurutira nkhanira. Ndipo para, wati wafwa wiskeŵo Zongandawa uyo, ndiko kukhara wana wake pera, Nthutu, na Mbera, na Mtwaro, na Mperembe, na wanyakheso wanandi; para skono watiwafwa wiskeŵo uyo ndiko kupatukananga skono mwakuti vikumane charo chose chinu. Nthutu ndiko kuyanga ku Mpezeni, Mbera na Mtwaro ndiko kwiziranga charo cha Nkhamanga chifukwa wakendakachiwona kale mwakuti charo ichi chomene chiri kwenera kuzenga ise. Nakwenenako wakawonaso Mafechura maphwanyiro gha malinga, para yawambana pa linga wakasangana skonokono chiri mukati chana cha Muhenga; para waNgoni wali, "Cha; ise tiye pa charo ichi tilikukora muntu uyu"; ndimu wakazengeranga.

Ndawaŵe Chiwere, ndiyo wakachimbiranga mu mpingo wa Mbera

Mtwaro and settled among our friends the Chewa, wanting to be a chief on his own according to the foolishness of the country.

Thus it was then when the Ngoni settled in our country that they began fighting and the Henga people¹ made what defence they could with their bows, some stockades were broken up and people killed and others carried off captive. Then it was that the people learned to build defences with the constant coming of fighting and the killing of people, they previously having been used to build where they pleased in the open. And some of the stockades were too strong for them (i.e. the Ngoni) so in them they just issued their commands. And thus when the Henga came under the Ngoni power a choice was made of the young people so that they might settle among the Ngoni influences in huts of their own. And those were they who settled down in their own villages by themselves and when they had fashioned the Ngoni shields, and others with bows, it was they who ravaged and broke up the Lake areas, the Poka country and the Senga lands.

Thus when all had come into Ngoni domination the fighting in the near-by areas ceased and only went on in distant territories ; this was the time when the regiments Maziya, Mamyu, Machaya, Masua and Mahosi came to their full strength. These picked up Ngoni methods thoroughly and wherever they came it was as if they were genuine Ngoni.

And now Mbera and Mtwaro looked around and said, " We have developed splendidly." All due to the capturing of cattle for themselves in quantity through the war parties (that went to) Mwamba country and to Musikawanthu and to Kanyama and to Mwamakura and to Mwanke-nja and to the Ndali country of Mukabidi and to the Chewa areas.² (It was in the Chewa country that they specially captured men and women and even to-day we have with us the mothers who bore us because our raiding fathers found that these women were very strong and it was such as they that were admired specially by our fathers). And so now that they had become very numerous, Ngoniland was smelly. There was Muharure too who went about on his own³ with his war parties though that is not to say that he broke off wholly from his relatives ; they were all together, but in war-raiding he moved by himself.

¹ A division of the country between Nkamanga proper and the hills overlooking Lake Nyasa ; ruled by the sub-chief Mwahenga under the Chikuramayembe as previously narrated.

² The names here given cover the whole country from what is now the Tukuyu Division of Tanganyika Territory in the north to the present Central Province of Nyasaland in the south.

³ Muharure belonged to a side branch of the ruling Jere family of the Ngoni ; not in the direct line like Mbera, Mtwaro, Maurau and Mperembe.

na. Mtwaro ndiko kuzenganga mu charo cha wanyithu waChewa ; nayo wakakhumbanga ufumu pa yekha umu charo chapusa.

Ndimu mula para, wati wazenga waNgoni mu charo chithu nga wakwambako zinkhondo, waHenga wayezge chikupuchikupu mawuta agho malinga ghanyakhe vyandakuswa, wanthu vyandakukoma, wanjji vikuyola. Apera skono ndipo wakamanyira kuzenga malinga wanthu pera chifukwa kwiza nkondo yakukoma wanthu kawirikawiri umu wene kale wakazenganga bweka mizi muwalo. Kwene malinga ghanyakhe ghakawatondanga, skono ndigho wakalovya waka agho. Ndimu mula para, wati walowa mu wuNgoni, ndiko kusolanga wachokowachoko mwakuti wakhalenge mu wuNgoni, mu nyumba zgaŵo. Ndipo aŵa wakalowanga walaŵala ndiŵo wakazenganga mizi yaŵo pa wekha naŵo, aŵo ndiŵo wakati wawanda visango (vihlangu) wanjji mawuta ghawo, ndiŵo wakapankhulanga naŵo vyaro vya mu nyanja na vyaPhoka na vya mauSenga.

Ndimu mula para, wati walowa wose wanthu, skono nkondo ya-mufupi yareka, yakhala yakutali ndipera, para skono ghati ghakula Maziya, na Mamyu, na Machaya, na Masua, na Mahosi. Ndiŵo wakamanya chomene chiNgoni aŵo uku wakwiza nga mbaNgoni pera.

Skono para Mbera akati maso, Mtwaro akati maso, wali, " Cha ; takhulira nkhanira." Skono wakuchita ntaula, waŵayolera zing'ombe zinandi chomene, kuyimbi zakuMwamba, ku Musikawanthu, ku Kanyama, kwa Mwamakura, kwa Mwamkenja, ku wuNthali Mukabidi, ku mauChewa. (Ndiko wakayolanga viwi wanthu kuwuChewa ; na skono wuwu tiri naŵo na skono mbamama walikutibaba ise chifukwa wadada wakatolanga wakasanga mbanakazi wankhongono chomene, wene aŵo ndiŵo wakatemweka chomene ku wadada withu). Ndipo skono wati waŵa wanandi chomene, wuNgoni wanunkha ; Muharure nayo wakendanga pa yekha na mawanja (mawandhla) ghake, na skono kuti wakapatukira nkhanira chara ; wakawo pamoza, kwene pa kwenda pa nkondo ndipo nayo wakendanga pa yekha.

Mbera, however, was the one who had the idea of moving away if it had not been for the rebellion of the Henga, because he saw that the war strength was huge. As for instance with Mperembe who came on later, following his relatives and when he arrived at once said, "Give me a territory that I may eat." (And so the Henga made a saying "you frighten people with the head-ring of Mperembe, saying 'Give me territory that I may eat.'")

But there was one man called Kanyoli of the Chamumono family in the Gondwe clan¹ whom Mtwaro associated with himself when taking the war-medicines (i.e. charms for success). And this man was exceedingly warlike beyond others living under the Ngoni and even beyond the Ngoni too. When the fighting was fierce at the stockade he was the one that got inside and finished the people and it was he whom the Ngoni hailed in the "praise name," "The wild cat smells of the qondama medicine."

And in Muharure's section also there was an outstanding man, Kambondoma (he had been a slave of the Hango family),² a fellow who could kill five men himself and where men stood up against him, even good fighters, it was all no use and before very long they would be in flight.

His praise names were,

"Big chief Kajawa ; the Lizard ; his spear stirs up and cuts the very intestines without his meeting death."³

And there was also another called Mwendera Wadokota belonging to the house of the Chikuramayembes who, too, was a fighter. These were the young fellows⁴ who were with the Ngoni and brought up in the homes and ways of the Ngoni but there was a large number of good fighters, these I have counted here being, as it were, the war-captains when they broke away from the Ngoni.

So then when they had lived for many years among the Ngoni it happened that the Tonga rebelled and broke away from the Ngoni, the

¹ The name Gondwe was taken by the family of the Chikuramayembe after the dynasty had been for some time established in Nkamanga.

² That is, the house of Mwahenga in the Henga Valley ; "slave" might be equally well translated here as "dependent."

³ This is an almost untranslatable sentence ; the latter part really a curse but as employed here in bombast a terrible sort of praise.

⁴ "Majaha" is the chiNgoni equivalent for chiTumbuka "wapungwe" ; that is, "young men."

Kwene na Mbera ndiyo wakatenge wapaturanenge ngaŵalekenge kuzganga ruwilo ŵaHenga, chifukwa wakawona mawanja unandi. Kwe-ne ndawaŵe Mperembe ndiyo wakiza pamanyuma, wakarondezgha ŵa-nyakhe munyuma, wakati wafika ndipo apa wakatenge, "Ndipani mala-ga, ndilghe." (Ndipo sono ŵaHenga ŵakatenge wayaghayizga chizgozgo cha Mperembe, "Ndipani malaga, ndilghe.")

Ndipo kwene pakaŵa munthu yumoza, zina lakhe Kanyoli uyu Mtwalo wakagezerangapo minkwala, wa fuku la Chamumono, mwina Gondwe. Ndipo uyo wakaŵa mukali chomene wakuruska ŵanyakhe ŵanji mu wuNgoni pakunji na ŵaNgoni ŵanji. Para nkondo yawa-mbana palinga, uyo ngawakunjira mukati, ŵanthu mukati ŵamara, ndipo uyo ŵaNgoni ŵakamuthokozganga, ŵakatenge :—

"Bichi thondama kanamanga."

Ndipo kwa Muharure nako kukaŵa Kambondoma (ndipo iyo waŵa kapolo wa ŵaHango), ndipo iyo nayo ndiyo wakaŵa mukali chomene nkhanira ŵasanu pakukoma ŵanthu, ndipo para ŵanthu ŵakuyakimapo naŵo mbakali chomene kwene chara, skonoskono ŵaŵachimbira ŵime kwakunjani. Ndiyo vithokozo vyakhe ŵakatenge :—

"Jumbe Kajawa tondole Bugundubugundu wavimeta vyamuthu-mbo wamzira kuyiwona "

chifukwa iyo wakafumamo waka mu wuNgoni wambula kudumula mu-thu ; wakaŵa mukali chomene, nakuweka wuwo wakamanya chomene.

Ndipo wakaŵaposo munyakhe, zina lakhe Mwendera Wadokota, wa fuku la Chikuramayembe, naye wakaŵa mukali chomene. Ndigho majaha agha ghakakulila mu wuNgoni mu nyumba za ŵaNgoni, kwene ŵakaŵa ŵanandi chomene ŵakali, aŵa ndawerenga ndi aŵa ŵakaŵa nga ndi ŵakapiteni ŵankhondo skono ŵakati ŵarekana na ŵaNgoni.

Ndipo para, ŵakati ŵagona virimika vinandi mu wuNgoni, ndipera para ŵaTonga nga ŵakuzganga ŵalekana naŵo ŵaNgoni, napo ŵakaze-

older people having been living there at the Lake now their children followed them there, coming out from among the Ngoni and saying, "If it is a matter of war, let it come; we no longer wish to be your people; we refuse."¹ At this uprising of Mankambira the Henga people were still a part of the Ngoni (Kingdom) and their villages far separate from the Ngoni proper, some at Mzokoto, some at Muhuju, some at Ng'onga and some at Nkamanga, but the young men their children were among the Ngoni.

So then the Ngoni said, "Since Mankambira has rebelled, let the war party go out"; and then it got ready to go out, Henga and Ngoni, though as a matter of fact some Henga had rebelled along with the Tonga; in their stockade there was Vwati who killed the Ngoni Ndindani, and Mundalanga and others also included among those who had risen along with the Tonga. So then when the war party got to Chintechi they got to close quarters and Ndindani was laid low; turning elsewhere there was another Ngoni down and the Ngoni said, "Hallo! this is painful," and cleared out.² Then those in the stockade made a sortie and kept in touch relentlessly some (of the Ngoni) getting caught in traps, some falling into hidden pits; utter rout of the Ngoni along with the Henga; then the Tonga came back and they (the Ngoni) did not play that game again.

NOW WE ARRIVE AT THE REBELLION OF THE HENGA.

The Ngoni now met in council and said, "See how our people are turning against us; what will we do?" the Ngoni asked themselves. Then they said, "We will root out the potatoes and let the cassava remain." But they implied the old people, they were the potatoes, and the younger generation were the cassava³. So then they sent out the summons, "All come in here to the kraal of the chief Mtvalo." Then

¹This first break away from the Ngoni took place about 1874 on the death of Mayayi Chiputula Nhlane, a headman in whose villages the bulk of the Tonga serfs were settled.

²The battle at Chintechi can be dated roughly at 1875; the Ngoni party was thoroughly thrashed but before vengeance in force could fall on the Tonga Dr. Laws' party on the "Ilala" from their base at the south end of the Lake introduced a diversion and in 1879 he made Bandawe, a few miles from Chintechi his headquarters and, though unwittingly, saved the Tonga from re-enslavement.

³Potatoes having widespreading ramifications represent the old men with ties deep in their native surroundings; cassava with its single main root representing young people not yet deeply attached and capable of being assimilated into the conquering race.

nga kwenekuko ku nyanja wâlalawâlala, na skono wana wawo wakawaro-ndezganga kuko kufuma mu wuNgoni ; ndipo para, wali, " Usange ndi nkondo, yizenge waka, lero ise kuti tikukumbaso mwakuti tiwe wanthu wînu chara ; takana." Wawa Mankambira wazganga kwene waHenga wachari mumo mu wuNgoni, ndipo mizi yawo yikawa kutali na waNgoni, wânji ku Muzokoto, wânji ku Muhuju, wânji ku Ng'onga, wânji ku Nkhamanga, wânji ku Jandalala, kwene majaha, wana wawo ndiwo waka-wa mu wuNgoni.

Ndipo para, waNgoni wali, " He ! apa Mankambira wazganga, yifume nkondo " ; para yipaka kufuma, waHenga wose waNgoni wose, ndipo kwene waHenga wanyakhe wakazgangira kumozza na waTonga ; mu linga mukawa Vwati, uyo wakakoma Ndindani, muNgoni, na Mundalanga na wanyakheso mwenemumo weneawo wakazganganira kumozza na waTonga. Ndipo para, yati yafika pa Chintechi yawambana mu kutu, skono Ndindani wali pasi, wakuti ting'anamukenge munyakhe wali pasi muNgoni, waNgoni wali, " Hehe ; wakuwinya," ngayikusuka waka. Wamulinga mukati, ngawakufuma wayeghana nawo mukosokoso, wânji wakuwira mu vipingo, wânji wakuwira mu mbuna ; waNgoni mbii . . . , pamoza na waHenga ; para waTonga wakuwera, skono kuwasowerera chara.

SKONO TIKUWENGE KU KUZGANGA KWA WAHENGA.

Ndipo para, waNgoni wamba kawupo kawo wali, " Wonani, skono wanthu awa wakuting'anamukira, skono titi wuli ? " wakafumbana waNgoni. Para wali, " Cha, tisuse mutotomera, kukhale njumbura." Kwene wakanenanga wâlalawâlala, ndiwo mutotomera, wachokowachoko ndiyo njumbura. Ndipo para, ngawakumemeza, wali, " Mose mwize kuno mu chiwaya cha nkosi Mtwalo." Para waHenga wakwiza ndipo

when the Henga were coming there was an Ngoni of a kind heart called Sondwani who said, "You Chimaraŵanthu, you Muyunganiko, you Chisovya; those Ngoni are full of guile, be very, very careful there where you are going. In saying, "We will root out the potatoes," they mean they that will kill off the old people so that only young people may remain; that is how they did with my family's old people so now you be careful." And the Henga¹ said, "Is that so! let the matter go on, friend; we have heard."

Then they arrived in Ngoniland proper at the chief's place and the old men told their children who were among the Ngoni, "Be very careful; oh ye who are our children; we are about to die but we die happy² since you are proper Ngoni now. But alas! children whom we at least begat! we shall see one another again." And then the Ngoni commenced to pick out their own children that they might be by themselves seeing that previously they had lived and moved indiscriminately with the Henga young people, but now they separated. And the Henga said, "Surely it is clear that Sondwani was telling the truth."

Then they found the Ngoni saying, "You Henga of the Mamyu regiment, put down your shields and catch the cow for (making) the charms (or, war-medicine); put your shields all together. The plan being that their young men would kill them without trouble since that war regiment was a very strong one (being the one that) Kambondoma belonged to and other famous and redoubtable³ men (who were) more outstanding than the young Ngoni.

And when they made to put down their shields, saying, "Let us try to catch the cow," they found that it was very fierce and gave it up. Then the Ngoni said, "Catch it," and the Henga said, "When (do you think that is likely to happen)?" and added, "We'll get our clubs"; but the Ngoni said, "No; catch it with the bare hands." The Henga said, "Nothing doing! we give it up, let others come to it now." They (i.e. the Ngoni) thinking that (the Henga) would be fools in this and that their own young men would kill them without trouble, now found that those Henga fellows were wide awake.

Then they said, "Come on, the Machisa regiment," which was their own children and they advance on the cow. Then it was found that they come with knobkerries to strike the cow, they hold it and throw

¹The names given above were the old men of the writer's own family, and Chisovya a near neighbour.

²Literally, "with pillows beneath our heads"; a graceful phrase.

³An attempt to realise the meaning of the "vi-" prefix where, as here, it is used in reference to one's own friends and in glorification.

pakawa muNgoni yumoza wa lusungu, zina lakhe Sondwani, wali, "Imwe waChimaraŵanthu, wa Muyunganiko, wa Chisovya; waNgoni aŵa mbachenjezi, uko mukuya muchenjere chomene. Uwu ŵakuti, "Tisuse mutotomera," ŵakuti tikome ŵalalaŵalala, ŵakhale ŵana pera, ndimo ŵakachitira na ŵadada kale, skono imwe mukachenjere." Para waHenga wali, "Kwali; leka waka wa munyithu, tapulika."

Para ngaŵakwiza mu wuNgoni ku nkosi, naŵo ŵalalaŵalala ŵaŵa-nenera ŵana ŵaŵo aŵo ŵali mu wuNgoni, ŵali, "Chenjerani, mwa ŵana! tititifwenge ndipo takafwa na vikunku ku mitu apa namwe wuNgoni mwawumanya makola lero. Oweya, mwa ŵana, tababa pera; tiwoneraniso." Ndipo para waNgoni ŵakapa kusora ŵana ŵaŵo pera pa ŵekha, umu kale ŵakenderanga pamoza na ŵana waHenga, skono ŵapatuka. Para waHenga ŵali, "Inya nadi Sondwani waneneskanga nadi."

Ndipo para, ŵasanga waNgoni, ŵali, "Liwanja (liwandhla) la Mamyu, ŵana wa waHenga, wikani pasi visangu (vihlangu), mukore ng'ombe ya munkwala, visangu muwike pamoza." Skono ŵakukonkha mwakuti ŵana ŵaŵo ŵaŵakome makora chifukwa liwanja ilo likaŵa la nkhangono chomene, ndilo liwanja ili wakendangako Kanyoli na vinyakhe viŵanthu vikali chomene, vyakuluskaso ŵana waNgoni.

Ndipo para visangu ŵakapa kuwika pasi, wati, "Tiyezge kuyikora ng'ombe"; ŵasanga ng'ombe njikali chomene, ngaŵakuleka. Para waNgoni ŵali, "yikorani," waHenga ŵali, "pawuli"! Ndipo ŵali, "titole nthongaso," waNgoni, "Chara, muyikole na mawoko pera." WaHenga ŵali, "pawuli; taleka ise ŵizeko ŵanji skono." Umo iŵo ŵakatenge ŵapusire mwenemumo, na skono ŵana ŵithu ŵakome makola, ŵasanga navo viHenga vyachenjera. Para ŵali, "Zaninge Machisa," ndiwo ŵana ŵaŵo skono, aŵo ŵakwiza ku ng'ombe. Para ŵasanga ŵana ŵaŵo ŵakwiza na nthonga ŵakuyitimba ng'ombe, ngaŵakuyikola,

it down and cut off a leg and set it free alive. And then when they have cut up that meat they cooked it in broken pots on the fire and drank the medicine which they mixed with the meat and the Ngoni said, "You people who belong to us, get your medicine and drink quickly. Saying that they should drink the idea was that they (the Ngoni) would fall upon them (those drinking) and kill; and so when the medicine was ready yonder for the order, "Let us drink¹" they found their neighbours (i.e. the Henga) saying "Get on with it; look the Ngoni fellows' medicine is ready and they are drinking now"! And so the Henga, when they said "Let us drink," they found that the young Ngoni ran for their shields and came against the Mamyu (the Henga regiment). The Mamyu also took theirs and stood firm against them saying, "Come on! We'll thrash you and your grandmothers of the wooden spears"². Then the Ngoni when they stand ready, were taken with dismay because of fear that if they should go near they would be killed since those Henga fellows had their shields and furthermore were big lusty men. At that point some of the Henga ran off to their distant homes with the news, "People are finishing each other at the chief's kraal." Yet were their friends not standing up without anything happening, the Ngoni being afraid? And so Kanyoli danced before them in the kraal, singing,

"Are you Ngoni such cowards after all
You who thought that was how you were to kill us?
Come on! Let us stab each other."

Thereupon the Ngoni were properly afraid and some (i.e. of the Henga) began to make off to their father's homes, some stayed on there in the Ngoni area saying, "No! let us see if they will kill us."

Then it happened when Chimarawantu was loading up his muzzle-gun it went off. . bang! and the sound travelled to the Ngoni who said, "Chimarawantu has rebelled; at his village at Mzokoto he has aimed his gun." And so all the Henga said, "Now we'll see each other; for those Ngoni are fairly roused"; and they said, "You who are our children there among the Ngoni; come here and leave those fellows by themselves there." Then their children came down (the valley) to their old people and later there came those of Muharure's Zinjowo regiment, where Kambondoma was, and then they said, "What remains (to be

¹The word "konha" is applied to sucking and is used here because the "medicine" was sucked from finger tips dipped in the brew.

²A terrific bit of impudence; "mikondo ya phundulu" are the roughest type of spear; simply a spear head fixed on a wooden shaft without either ornamentation or any metal weight or binding at the butt. The very last sort of weapon that an Ngoni would be seen with.

ngaŵayiwiska pasi, ngaŵakuyihemba karundi kamoza, ngaŵakutaya yamoyo Ndipo para, ŵati ŵahemba nyama yira, ngaŵakupika ŵase-nga pa moto, ŵakumwerapo munkwala uwu wasazga na nyama ya ng'-ombe, ŵaNgoni wali, "Imwe, mwawani ŵanthu munkwala winu upye ruwilo, monkhe ruwilo." Para ŵakuti ŵakonkhenge uwo nga mwaŵira naŵo kukoma; ndipo para, munkwala waŵo ngawakupya mula wakuti, "Tonkhenge," ŵasanga ŵanyaŵo naŵo wali, "Pemberani ruwilo; aheni, ŵana ŵa ŵaNgoni waŵo wapy'a, ŵakonkha skono." Skono mula, ŵaHenga ŵakuti, "Skono tonkhenge," ŵasanga ŵana ŵa ŵaNgoni ŵakuchimbirira pa visangu vyawo, ŵakwiza ku Mamyu. Mamyu nagho ngaghakutola vyawo, ngayikwimikana waka para ŵaHenga ŵali, "Zaninge, timulupulani na ŵanyinamwekulu ŵa mikondo ya phundulu." Para ŵaNgoni, ngaŵa-kwimirira, soni zgaŵakola chifukwa ŵakopanga mwakuti, "Para ise tikuruta pafupi vyamkutikoma: viri na visangu vyaŵo nakwenenako vibarabadira viwi." Ndipo para ŵanyakhe ŵakuchimbira ŵaHenga aŵa kukwaŵo kukaŵa kutali uko ŵakuya, wali, "ŵanthu ŵamarana mu chiwaya cha nkhosi." Kasi ŵanyawo ŵimikana waka, ŵaNgoni ŵopa? Ndipera para Kanyoli waŵagiya mumo mu chiwaya, wali,

"Kasi mwa ŵaNgoni muli ŵachenjezi doli,
Imwe mwatenge ndimo mutikomere;
Zaninge pera; tihembani na majosi"?

Ndipera para ŵaNgoni ŵakapa kopa waka, pera ŵanyakhe ŵakapa kuruta ku ŵiskeŵo, ŵanyakhe ŵakapa kukhara mwenemumo mu wu-Ngoni, ŵali "Ng'o, tiwone para tiŵatikome."

Ndipo para Chimaraŵanthu ngawakusopera chibamu chakhe wa-ghite "thu . . . huu . . .", chibumuzi chayakafika na ku wuNgoni wuwo, wali, "Chimaraŵanthu wazganga; chibamu ŵakulizizga ku Muzokoto, ku muzi wakhe." Ndipera para ŵaHenga ŵose ŵali, "Inya nadi; lero tiwonane vyazowa ivi vyaluska viwi." Wali, "Mwa ŵana, imwe muli uko ku wuNgoni, zaninge virekani vyekha uko." Para ŵana waŵo ŵa-kwikha kwiza ku ŵaŵiskeŵo, panyuma ngazikwiza zinjowo za kwa Mu-harure uko kukaŵa Kambondoma, ndipera para ŵali, "Skono kwakhala-

done) now? now that our children have all come it is the building of defences that remains." "You're right," they said.

When they had done this the old men and the headmen gathered together in conference putting this question to themselves, "Do you think that we should install our chief, Chikuramayembe? There were those who said, "No; we will leave the matter of Chikuramayembe over and have a chiefship in the Ngoni manner, when we have fought the Ngoni and they have cleared out, then we should place Chikuramayembe in power. At present let us choose Kanyoli who thoroughly understands Ngoni fighting, furthermore Mtwaro used him when washing with the war-charms and the army knows him well." And the Henga said "Yes; you have spoken right." These are the chiefs who assented:—Chimarawantu, Muyunganiko, Zimwanda, Chisovya, Chiwulazeru, Kayipereke, Zimakazi, Banana, Karimujiso, Zuka, Chawaka, Chiwerewere. But on the other hand the Nkamanga people said, "No; we say that we should install Chirukamayembe," and they (i.e. the other section) said, "Right¹; if you want to install Chikuramayembe anew, stay with it, friends." And they said, "Yes, we will enthrone" and then they took Mujuma as their Chikuramayembe and put the turban of rule upon his head.

So then the Henga people lower down (the valley) said, "How are things, friends? have you finished the stockades there?" and the Nkamanga people said, "Yes." Kanyoli said, "I shall have a look now at those Ngoni fellows yonder and so he said, "Uyezwa na?"² and Kambondoma at Muhuju said, "Come on and let us go and see the Ngoni." So the army went out and slept one night on the road and when it was dawning it attacked at Chiphokoto, killing Ngoni until it stayed its hand and getting away with the cattle. When they thought to get back and tell their friends it was reported that Ngoni were arriving from one direction and another. They said, "Let us wait for them, you fellows." Then they waited and so when they arrived and burst upon them they got their teeth into each other³ and behold an Ngoni is down and they say, "Ehe! this is painful," and away the Ngoni ran. So Kanyoli came back home and danced to his heart's content. And the old men gave him a bull to eat with his army.

¹The only possible translation for "pawuli" here, as its derisive and contemptuous use is inapplicable in the circumstances.

²The opening words of the Ngoni announcement of important news from chief to people; copied by the Henga rebels.

³Literally, "chewing each other"; hand to hand fighting.

cheso ? apa wana witu ndiwo wiza wose, sono kwakhala kuzenga malinga pera, ndigho ghakhala." Wali, " Inya ; imwe."

Kwene wakati wachita, walala wose, zifumu zose, zikawunjikana kawupo, wakafumbananga mwakuti, " Kasi mukuti tikole fumu yithu Chikuramayembe ? " wanyakhe wali, " Cha ; skono Chikuramayembe tidange taleka nanga tichite ufumu wa chiNgoni nanga, para takomana nawo waNgoni awa wachimbira, ndipo talawika Chikuramayembe. Skono fumu tikore Kanyoli uyu wakumanya makola nkondo ya wu-Ngoni, nakwenenako Mtwalo wagezerangapo munkwala, na nkondo nayo wakuyimanya chomene." Para wa ku Henga kusika wali, " Inya, nadi mwaneneska." Zifumu izi zikazomerezganga ; waChimarawanthu, waMuyunganiko, waZimwanda, waChisovya, waChiwulazeru, waKayipereke, waZimakazi, waBanana, waKarimujiso, waZuka, waChawaka, waChiwerewere. Ndipo kwene wa ku Nkhamanga wose wakakana wali, " Pawuli ? ise tikuti tikole Chikuramayembe," ndipo wali, " Inya, para mwakhumba kukola Chikuramayembe waskono, khalani mwawanyithu." Ndipera wali, " Inya, ise tikolenge " ; para ngawakukola Mujuma wali Chikuramayembe yawo, mphumphu nyenye ku mutu.

Ndipera para, wa ku Henga kusika wali, " Wuli mwa wanyithu, kasi malinga mwamara uko ? " wa ku Nkhamanga wali, " Inya." Kanyoli wali, " Ine skono nikuti nkaviwone papa viNgoni." Ndipera para wali, " Uyezwa na ? " Kambondoma uko ku Muhuju, " Tiye tikawawone waNgoni." Ndipera para ngayikufuma ngawakugona zuwa limoza pa nthowa ; kukuti kuchenge ngayikuwirana pa Chiphokoto, nkukoma wa-Ngoni kuleka waka, na ng'ombe wuwo yole. Wakuti wakupulikenge wanya wo ngawaphala waNgoni wafikanakufika, waHenga wali, " Imwe, tiwalinde." Para ngawakuwalinda ndipera para wakwiza kati buli ; ngayikusumbililana, skonoskono muNgoni wali pasi, wakukati, " Hehe, vikuwinya," waNgoni wawakuchimbira waka mbii. Ndipera para, Kanyoli, ngakuwera kukaya, wagiya waleka waka. Ndipera para walala ngawakumupa nkuzi, wakulya na nkondo yake.

Then when they had rested a few months Kananyau Biti Thondama Kanamanga¹ sallied forth again, and the second leader Kambondoma, and they fought at Ndezo's village. Kanyoli looked up and found Ndezo ; Ndezo looked round and found Kanyoli and so Ndezo said " I will stab ! " but Kanyoli came at him and Ndezo fell, tried to rise and Kanyoli stabbed him, waving his shield to and fro he stretched his arm and took the gun ; " I have stabbed " and Chawaka came up saying, " I am with you, clansman."² So they burned the village of Ndezo and the Ngoni trembled, saying, " Oh dear ; we are going to die in these times since the Henga are managing to slay us like this ! "

And so the army returns yonder carrying the headrings which they had cut off from those killed that they might come and show them to the old men who had stayed behind at the villages. And thus doing, they came with singing, thus :—

Do you see Mbera, owner of cattle kraals ?

Do you see Mbera, owner of cattle kraals ?

Oh ! Hurrah !

Hurrah ! the man at the centre is trembling³

Hurrah !

(repeating the song at this point).

And then having got home they rested a long time without going out again and furthermore they had hoeing to do first. But at Nkamanga no war party went out into the Ngoni country ; only Kanyoli and Kambondoma, leaders of the stockaded villages lower down.

Then in the cold season when the maize was sprouting one here one there,⁴ Mbera and Mtwalo said, " Uyezwa na ! ityo njalo "⁵ and mobilised Mwasi of Kasungu the Chewa with guns and said, " Let us go and kill the Henga," and also said, " Mwasi had better agree, he must not refuse." Had Mwasi refused then the Ngoni would have cleared out long ago for they were much afraid ; do you not understand that by calling in Mwasi they themselves had (realised that) their own strength was insufficient in that year ?

¹The "Praise Names" of Kanyoli.

²An Ngoni phrase.

³"Mpakati" may mean either "the one at the centre of things" or it may refer to the clan "Pakati" nearly related to Mbera.

⁴That is, towards the end of February.

⁵Another attempt at the Ngoni herald's call :—

"Uyezwa na ! ityo njalo Nkosi !" "Hear ! thus saith the King !"

Para ngawakugonapo mwezi yichoko waka ngawakufumaso Kana-nyau Biti Thondama Kanamanga, na kaputeni wachiwiri Kambondoma, ngawakuwirana pa muzi (wa) Ndezo. Kanyoli wakukati maso, wasanga ndi Ndezo ; Ndezo wakukati maso wasanga ndi Kanyoli ; ndipera Ndezo wali, "Ndizogwaza mina," Kanyoli wachite thu . . , chagona cha Ndezo, chikapakuwuka cha Ndezo chagwaza kwa Kanyoli wakapakupenekhula na chibamu chikapa wewepu, wati amaskaza nga wakwiza Chawaka, wati, "Ngilinawe, munakwetu." Ngawakocha muzi wa Ndezo, ndipera wa-Ngoni watenthemu, wali, "Haha ; titifwenge ise lero pakuti waHenga manyathakutikoma thaula."

Ndipera para, ndayikuwera yimbi, wachita thaula vizgozgo wayegha ivi wakadumulanga ku aŵa wakomanga wizamulongora ku walala wa mizi aŵa wakukhala pa mizi. Skono wakuchita thaula, wakwiza pakwimba, kuli :—

"Uyamuwona Mwambera wa ziwaya,
O, uyamuwona Mwambera wa ziwaya hinina,
Onje hinina,
Hinina mpakati waziyaziya,
Hinina."

(Kwene rusumu uru muwerezengengepo penepapo).

Ndipera para, yati yawera iyo, wakagonapo chomene wambura kurutaso, nakwenenako wakalimanga nanga. Kwene ku Nkhamanga kuti wakafumako nkondo yakuya ku waNgoni chara ; Kanyoli na Kambondoma, wakuputeni wa malinga ghakusika.

Ndimu mula, kukuti kuwenge na chifuku, ngoma zgati waka yimoza-yimoza phu-phu-phu. Ndipera para Mwambera na Mtwalo wati, "Uyezwa na ?" Chenjalo " (ityo njalo), ngawakukumba Mwasi wa ku Kasungu, muChewa uyo wakaŵa na vibamu, wali, "Tendenge, tikakome waHenga," wati, "naye Mwasi wazomere waleke kukana." Ndawakanenge Mwasi ipo waNgoni ngawalikuchimbira papo kale, chifukwa wakatenthemu chomene ; imwe hamunyirenge (? ha mumanyirenge) pakuyakakumba Mwasi, wekha nkongono zikaperera myaka iyo.

And so they mobilised Mwasi in that way and came with him against Mwendera Wadokota (there was no food in the stockade)¹ and got their teeth into each other at the stockade, and although Mwasi let off his guns they fought on till the sun went ; and on the following day they fought till the sun went ; and next day they started early and fought till the sun went and so doing many Ngoni died seeing that within the stockade also the guns were many belonging to Mwendera and those Chewa fellows died in plenty, and we also, of course ; it is no use attempting to deny it or make random assertions.

Then the Ngoni said, " It's no use ; they're too much for us ; let us get back." Then the Ngoni began tying up their loads that they might go home when a woman slipped out of the stockade and said, " Where are you going, my fathers ? Is there life left in the stockade ? has hunger not killed ? " The Ngoni fellows said, " Ho-ho ! is that so ? " Then they went at it with fury, Mujuma being already killed whom they held to be the Chikuramayembe and Mwendera now remaining alone fighting with them. Then when they came on thus again hunger overcame Mwendera in the stockade and he said, " I surrender, my fathers." The Ngoni said, " Come out of the stockade ; come here and all your family." And then Mwendera came out of the stockade and they took him. . crack ! on the forehead and killed Mwendera in cold blood, those cattle stealers ! That is the death of Mwendera.

When it was heard in Henga lower down that they had killed Mwendera in cold blood they were in low spirits , then the cattle stealers went home to their villages.

Then there passed a short time and Mperembe's son Waso also came out with a very large war party going to slaughter people at Mwazise near Nkamanga. And so, Kanyoli got a rumour of them and said, " That's where we'll go and see each other ; just there." And he sent out the summons, " Uyezwa na ? down there my comrade Kambondoma ; come on and we'll lie in wait for our friends "² and Kambondoma said, " Let us go there ! we'll meet them lest these Ngoni come to think that they can make a habit of this kind of thing."

Then a great army went out since Kwenda went by itself and Sikwaliwene went by itself (Kwenda being Kanyoli's regiment and Sikwaliwene,

¹The year was 1879 ; determined by a visit by Mr. John Moir to Mwendera at the very time that news of the Ngoni approach had come in. The month must have been April or May as the new crops had not been harvested and the annual hunger period was on.

²Ironical use of the word " friends " for their late oppressors.

Ndipera para, wati wakumba ntaula waNgoni ngawakwiza nayo pa Mwendera Wadokota, (skono wachita vyakulgha, mulive mu linga), ngayikusumbirana pa linga wateko, nanga Mwasi fu, na vibamu yasumbana dazi ngo, namachero yachezgana yasumbana dazi ngo, namachero ngayikucherezgana yasumbana dazi ngo, wakuchita nthaula waNgoni wakufwa chomene, namaŋga namo mu linga vibamu yikaŋa vinandi vya Mwendera, navyo viChewa vyafwa vyareka, nase inyaso mukuzomera viwi bweka pakukana mwarekerangachi ?

Para waNgoni, "a-a-a-; watitonda; tiwerenge." Mula skono waNgoni wakuti tikakakenge mphingo zgawo wawerenge, waka mwanakazi sotopo mu linga, wali, "Mukuyankhu, watata? Mbamoyo mula mu linga? njara nthayakoma cha?" ViNgoni viri, "Kwali." Para ngavikugowerera nkhanira papo skono wakuchita nthaula Mujuma vyakoma papo kale, uyo wakatenge ndiyo Chikuramayembe; skono wakhala Mwendera pera ndiyo wakalimbana nayo. Para wati wagowera nthaula, Mwendera njara yakoma mu linga, Mwendera wali, "Skono ndathera, watata." ViNgoni viri, "Fuma mu linga; zanga kuno na mbumba wuwo." Ndipera para, Mwendera ngawakufuma mu linga wengekati pa, pamaso puli, ngavikukoma waka vyaZowa Mwendera. Ndiko kwafwa kwa Mwendera.

Para yikapulika ku Henga kusika mwakuti Mwendera vyakoma waka, lusoko woghoyo : para vyaZowa ngavikuruta kukaya yaŋo.

Ghapitapo mazuwa ghanandi pachoko waka para mwana wa Mpere-mbe, zina lahke Waso, nayo ngawakufuma nkondo yakhe nayo yinandi chomene, wakayanga kukoma wanthu kwa Mwazise kumozza na ku Nkhamanga. Ndipera para, waKanyoli ngawakupulika naŋo na kantini kose, wali, "Papaapa tikawonane papa." Para ngawalikumemeza, wali, "Uyezwa na? Kusika uko wa munyane, Kambondoma, tiye tikhalire wanyithu." Kambondoma wali, "Tiye papo, tikakumane naŋo wanga-luluka waNgoni aŋa."

Para ngayikufuma yimbi nayo yinandi chomene pakuti Kwenda nako pakwekha Sikwaliwene nayo pa yekha, (Kwenda, ndiyo Kanyoli ;

Kambondoma's); the first to go into the fighting being Kanyoli, Kambondoma holding himself under orders in the rear being the second-in-command.

And so they found them at Mwazisi, they had even built rough huts, and when they had lain up close to each other they sent scouts¹ and they spied on them and found them unsuspecting² and came back saying, "They are here and their war party is very numerous; it's questionable if we'll do much."

Kanyoli said, "Not at all; it is just mere numbers," and so in the early morning light a roar went up from the Majerehenga³ and a gun was loosed off in Kanyoli's enclosure and the Ngoni asked, "Who's that"? and some said, "It's the Majerehenga." Then, thus doing, fighting began with the stabbing spears and Ngoni died till they stopped. Meanwhile, Kanyoli having begun, Kambondoma remained quiet with his force, (once) the Zinjowo of Muharure, over there where was Waso in all his glory even to the crow's feather headdress. Then suddenly he burst in, the son of Mperembe, saying, "I will stab, says Mperembe," and then he got Zimakazi and had him down, then he got Mubata and him down, and then another and had him down, he accounted for three Henga. Then the Kwenda regiment said, "This is painful," and ran and yet there was Kambondoma holding himself back (of course the eyes of the Kwenda regiment were there since the start otherwise they would not have run). And so Kambondoma and his company got going and the Ngoni Waso looked round and saw Kambondoma, Kambondoma looked round and saw Waso and found that he was on him. Waso said, "I will stab says Mperembe," and Kambondoma said, "I will stab says Madakacha."⁴ Then Waso let fly a throwing spear and Kambondoma jumped, the spear going below him and he took a throwing spear and said, "I'll finish Waso," who jumped and the spear passed under him; and he took another spear and said, "I'll get my spear in Kambondoma," who jumped and the spear passed underneath and Kambondoma took another spear and said, "I'll hit Waso" who jumped and the spear went below, and Waso took another spear to stab at Kambondoma and it came right through his shield and took him on the little finger, a mere nothing.

¹The Ngoni word for scouts.

²Literally, "foolish."

³By this time the Henga rebels, in addition to taking names of their own (as above) for their two regiments, had also taken to themselves as a whole the name "Majerehenga," combining the royal clan name of the Ngoni, "Jere," with their own.

⁴Both combatants invoke or announce not their own personal names but the names of their respective fathers; a rather Homeric touch.

Sikwaliwene, ndiyo Kambondoma); pakudanga kulwa nkondo wakadanga Kanyoli, Kambondoma wakatheranga pamanyuma chifukwa wakawa wachiwiri.

Ndipera para, ngayikuwasanga pa Mwazisi yazenga vikonji nawe; para ngayikugonerana pafupi waka yatuma ziskoli (zihholi) zgayakaskola zgasanga wapusu, ngazikuyakawera zili, "Wali pano ndipo nkondo njinandi chomene; manyi, para tachita kanthu."

Kanyoli wali, "Ng'o; mbunandi wa waka uwu." Ndipera para, ngakukucha ngwe, ngayikuduma ya majerehenga wachi thu chibama cha mu linga wa Kanyoli, para waNgoni ngawakufumba wali, "Ngamani na?" wanyaŵo wali, "Ngamajerehenga." Para yikuchita nthaula kulwegha yasumbirira na majosi, wafwa waNgoni waleka. Skono wachita thaula wadanga Kanyoli, Kambondoma wali chete nanga na mawanja ghake njowo ya kwa Muharure, uko kuli Waso wakugowa nanga njukula. Wati wakukati thu mwana wa ku Mperembe, Waso, wati, "Sondizogwaza ndityo Mperembe." Para ngachikutola waZimakazi chaweka pasi, ngachikutola waMubata chaweka pasi, ngachikutola munyakhe chaweka pasi, chatapo waHenga watatu. Ndipera ya ku Kwendeni yiri, "Vyawingha," skono ngayikuchimbira, ndipera para ngawakuthera Kambondoma, (wakuchita thaula maso gha Kwendeni ghali kuku mumu ghawambira chichimbira chara). Ndipera para Kambondoma na mawanja ghake ngawakuwamba, muNgoni Waso wakuyakati maso, wasanga ndi Kambondoma, Kambondoma wakukati maso, wasanga ndi Waso wafika; Waso wati, "Sondizogwaza mina ndityo Mperembe," nayo Kambondoma wali, "Ndizogwaza mina ndityo Madakacha." Ndipera para Waso ngawakuwepura luti, wati, "Ndiskome kwa Kambondoma," Kambondoma waduka luti pasi nonono, Kambondoma walutola luti, wati, "Ndibule cha Waso," chaduka luti lwati pasi nonono, chikapa kulutola lunyakhe cha Waso chati, "Ndiskome kwa Kambondoma," cha Kambondoma chaduka luti pasi nonono, chikapakulutola cha Kambondoma chati, "Ndiskome kwa Waso," wapakuduka nalu luti pasi nonono, cha Waso chikapakulutola chaskoma kwa Kambondoma lukwiza mu chisango phowo, lwamuti ku kamunwe the, kachoko waka. Ekwe; ndimo wachiti-

I tell you ! that he should do a thing like that ! and Kambondoma took a spear that buried itself in the abdomen and Waso collapsed on the ground saying, " That's certainly one for me." Then from every side men rushed in shouting and whistling and Ngwenyama dashed up and thrust his spear. Then another and another rushed in and stabbed, and they finished off Waso.

So then the Ngoni said, " This is painful now," and their regiment fled, the Henga saying, " Now kill people " ; then they were at the big pool, splashing through it, and they (the Henga) said, " Jump on them and tread them down ! finish the lot " ! and only a very few fled from there. Then they (the Henga) buried their three slain and took quantities of the shields of the dead Ngoni ; one man taking three, another two, another four.

Thus was the death of Ngoni at Mwazisi ; to-day if you enquire as to the death-roll at Mwazisi the war-party of the Majerehenga, you will find them saying, " Don't talk about it, please."

And so when they fell back (i.e. the Henga) they found their comrades who had run off waiting for them by the path. Then Kambondoma said, " We your friends have finished all those Ngoni," and Kanyoli said, " Thanks ; you have done well."

Then as they were getting back home it happened that they found a war-party in the path, another Ngoni party coming, and challenging, " Who do you belong to ? " and the Henga said, " To Emciseni " ;¹ and the Henga also asked, " Who do you belong to ? " and the Ngoni said, " To Emciseni ; " and the Henga said, " Aha ! now let us sit down and send three that they may go (i.e. to investigate)." Then they sent three, Chiswamutenji and Chani and one other and when they went to the Ngoni they also sent three, a son of Mperembe and another also, they on their side three. When they met in between they asked each other how things had gone with them in the raiding and those people thought that they really were their comrades, not knowing that they were the Majerehenga fellows. Then up went the knobkerrie of Chiswamutenji and down, crack ! with full force, and the spear in with a plunge, and the other two fled ; that was another son of Mperembe they had killed. So then the party returned and when it got into the vicinity of home it began to sing :—

¹ Emciseni, written by the author in the nearest local form that he can think of to reproduce the Zulu "c" click, was the name of Mperembe's chief village. The Henga, expecting other parties from Mperembe to be about, give themselves out to be Ngoni belonging to Mperembe also.

raso, cha Kambondoma chikapakulutola luti, chati lose waka swenu mu chiwuno, waka Waso kokololo pasi, chati, "Kakulu nguwami loyo." Para yatiwaka uku uku fipu kwati chochocho malukhweru, ndipera ngakulotoka Ngwenyama wati amaskaza yunji nayo. Ngawakulotokaso munyakhe wati amaskaza, ngawakulotokaso munyakhe, ngawakumarizga Waso.

Ndipera para, waNgoni wali, "Vyawingha skono," ngayikusuka ya waNgoni, waHenga wati, "Komani wanthu skono"; wawati waka pa chiziwa lipilipilipi"; wati, "Phwatani wanthu namwe, wose petu," wachimbirapo wachoko waka ndipera. Para ngawakusunga wanyaŵo aŵa wakafwa watatu, visangu vya waNgoni wakatora vinandi chomene vya aŵa wakafwanga; munthu yumoza vitatu, yunji viwiri, yunji vinayi.

Ndimu wakafwira waNgoni pa Mwazisi; lero ngati ufumbe kuti, "Mukafwa wuli pa Mwazisi na nkondo ya Majerehenga?" tiusange wali, "Leka waka."

Ndipera para ngayikuwera yasanga wanyaŵo aŵa wachimbira wakulindira pa ntowa. Para Kambondoma wali, "Taŵanyinu tamara wose waNgoni ŵara," Kanyoli wali, "Yewo; mwachita makola."

Ndipera para, ngayikuwera skono, yendekati pa ntowa ŵasanga yimbi, yinyakhe yikwiza ya waNgoni, wali, "Mungamani na?" para waHenga wali, "Ngumuthiseni"; nawo waHenga wali, "Mungamani?" waNgoni wali, "Ngumuthiseni."

WaHenga wali, "Eyaya, skono tikhale pasi, titume watatu walute." Para ngawatuma watatu, Chiswamutenji na Chani na yunjeso, para ngawakuruta kura ku waNgoni nako watuma mwana wa Mperembe na yunjeso, nawo watatu. Para ngawakukumana pakati, ndipera para wakufumbana za nkondo mumu wenderanga iŵo wakatenge nadi mbanyaŵo, kumanya kuti vimajerehenga cha. Para ngachikumuwusizgamu nthonga cha Chiswamutenji yose ka, mukondo wose gu; wanyakhe ŵawiri mbi kuya ku wanyaŵo; mwana wa Mperembe munyakhe wakomaso. Ndipera para ngayikuwera nkondo yizakati ku muzi kufupi yambako kwimba, kuli:—

“ Hayilhazelhaze, hayilhazelhaze,
Lizgeni laŵafo hayilhaze sina,
Nguwani wazichuka, I nguwani wazichuka lizgani la ŵafo ?
Hayilhazi sina Mbera, O, Mbera wazichuka lizgeni la ŵafo,
Hayilhazi sina, Kanyoli wazichuka, O Kanyoli wazichuka lizgeni
la ŵafo,
Hayilhazi sina.”¹

And so it arrived at the village and they recounted to the old men how the fighting had gone ; then the old men were very much pleased and said, “ It was we who begat you, children ! you have accomplished something.”²

HOW THE HENGA FLED TO LAKE NYASA.

And so time passed and the crops were harvested and at the height of the hot season we³ said, “ There’s something there ! those cattle lifters have called up their man Mwasi, that Chewa.” And the army approached Kanyoli’s stockade⁴ and they said, “ The raiders have arrived outside there ” and then he said, “ Let us have a look ” and he found the place black with them and the light glinting on the guns, and said, “ They’ve mobilised Mwasi, have they ? ” and the others said, “ Yes ; that’s so.” Kanyoli said, “ Oh ye old men, this army is more than we can face here ; let us go to the country of the Nkonde, that is where we should go.”

Then the old fellows said, all of them, “ You speak the truth, child ! ” and he sent off a man saying, “ You our friends there at Muhuju, this army to-day is beyond us ; let us make off and go to Kondeland.”⁵ Then when they too said, “ Yes, you speak truth,” so they said, “ Let the women and children leave the stockade.” And the families

¹This song as written is entirely meaningless ; being an attempt to reproduce an Ngoni war-song, after a lapse of years, by a man who was only a youth at the time when the original song was sung. It puts Kanyoli on the same plane as Mbera in victory and pride.

²Here as in many other places, no attempt has been made to render the exclamatory “ Cha ! ” because of its difficulty. It is actually the everyday negative “ No ” ; but used in such circumstances as the above means something like, “ It is almost impossible to believe ” or “ You don’t say so ” !

³The appearance from this point onwards of the 1st person plural marks the period when the writer, then about ten years old, began to be personally interested in the events he describes. The year was, almost certainly, 1880.

⁴The stockade was just north of the Ng’onga Stream in the Henga valley at the point where to-day the large Euphorbia Candelabra grows at the side of the Government Road.

⁵The Muhuju stockade was under Kambondoma and the Henga clan.

HISTORY OF THE TUMBUKA-HENGA PEOPLE

“ Hayilhazelhaze, hayilhazelhaze,
Lizgeni la ŵafo hayilhaze sina,
Nguwani wazichuka, I nguwani wazichuka lizgani la ŵafo ?
Hayilhazi sina Mbera, O, Mbera wazichuka lizgeni la ŵafo,
Hayilhazi sina, Kanyoli wazichuka, O Kanyoli wazichuka lizgeni
la ŵafo,
Hayilhazi sina.”

Ndipera yafika mu muzi ŵawandulira ŵalalaŵalala mumu yakendera nkondo ; para ŵalalaŵalala ŵasekera chomene, ŵali, “ Cha ! ŵana tilikubaba imwe, ŵachita kanthu.”

UMO WAKACHIMBIRA WAHENGWA KUNYANJA.

Ndipera para, tagona tagona vyakulgha ŵalonga mu nthamba, na chihanya chikuru tati, “ kanthu ako ; vyazowa vyakumbaso Mwasi ŵawo muChewa uyo.” Ngayikwiza pa linga la Kanyoli wali, “ Vyazowa vyafika kuwaro,” para wali, “ Tiwoneko,” wasanga vyati waka bi, vibamu vyati waka tuu, wali, “ Ŵakumbaso Mwasi ? ” Ŵanji ŵali, “ Inyaso.” Kanyoli wali, “ Imwe mwa ŵalala, nkondo iyi kuti tilwere muno cha ; tilutenge ku Nkhonde, ndiko tiye.”

Para ŵalala ŵose ŵali, “ Inya nadi waneseska wa mwana,” nga wakutuma munthu wali, “ Imwe mwa ŵanyithu, uko ku Muhuju, nkondo iyi yatisowa lero ; tidawule, tiye ku Nkhonde.” Para naŵo ŵali, “ Inya mwaneneska,” ndipera para wali, “ Mbumba yifumenge.” Para mbu-

went out, the hills being close by, and they went up into the hills heading for Muhuju. And doing so, the war drum beat, saying, "They have broken in and come carrying heads."¹ Then the Ngoni said, "Kanyoli is inside there ; go for him carefully to begin with ; he is very dangerous," yet had he not run off ? And so having evacuated everything, the cattle and the goats, the women and children, they got off and reached Muhuju and said, "Now things are better ;" and Kanyoli said, "Burn the houses and the grain stores and the food." Then as the burning carried everything before it,² the Ngoni saw what was happening, "People are clearing off," and there was a rush on the stockade while those getting away cried, "Come up the hills here ; we'll put you through it, you and your fighting grandmothers." When they got to their friends at Muhuju they joined forces and remained on the lower slopes while the women and children climbed up to the forest at the top. And so the Ngoni arrived at Muhuju to find the stockade thick with smoke and when they looked about they found the forces of the Majerehenga crowding black on the foothills.

"Let us go there," said the Ngoni ; in front were their Kasungu people with the guns popping, and the Henga said, "Come here with that flint gun." When it came, "bang !" it was off on its errand and it got two of the Kasungu men and laid them flat and (the force) fell back. Then said the Henga, "No following them now ; let us be off and get up the hill," and so they climbed up to the forest, the Ngoni going off to the Siska country and slaying people there.

Then the whole force of the Henga climbed down to Chiweta and when at Chiweta it stayed for some considerable time.

Then they said, "Come on to Vuwa," and they went to Vuwa ; some stayed in Chiweta, some with Mwamlowe, others in Chitimba, others at the Hara plain ; Kanyoli was at Wukanga ; Chisovya and Chiwulazeru and Chawaka and Muyunganiko were the ones who were at Vuwa, near the Lake. But many headmen in addition to these stayed behind in the districts I have detailed.³

¹No attempt made to reproduce the drum-throb as in the original ; an old descriptive sentence dating from a time when the verb "kuleta" was in use for "to bring" or "to carry." It is not used today.

²This "thibu" is the root from which came the name "tibu-tibu" which early travellers converted into Tipoo-tib.

³This distribution of the Henga refugees carries them up the point nearest to the southern limit of the Konde territory under the Chungu. The description of this lake shore strip in 1875 is "sparsely inhabited by a miserable people," but the arrival of the Henga changed all that and brought about the settlement that exists today at all these points. "Wukanga" is the area now in cotton along the Nyungwe Stream.

mba ngayikufuma na pa mapiri ghakaŵa pafupi waka, mbumba ngayikufuma yakwera malupiri yikuya ku Muhuju. Ŵakuchita thaula ng'oma yikulira ya wukali, kuli, "Waleta nju nju, walowa nju nju, waleta mŵtu." Para vyazowa vili, "Wali mumu, Kanyoli; mwambe nayo makola, ndi mukali viwi," kasi munyaŵo wakuchimbira? ndipera para vyati vyafuma vinthu vyose, zing'ombe na zimbuza na ŵanakazi na ŵana wuwo, ŵaluta ŵafika ku Muhuju, ŵali, "Skono ndipo," Kanyoli wali, "Ochani nyumba na zinthamba za vyakulgha." Para ngawakocha thibu, ŵaNgoni ŵakuyakati, "Ŵanthu ŵakuluta," ngayikudumira mu linga ŵanyaŵo ŵakufuma ŵali, "Zaninge kuno ku mapiri," timunyekezani na ŵanyinakuru ŵa mahomwa." Para ngaŵakayakafika ku ŵanyaŵo ku Muhuju ngayikutolerezgana waka yakhala mu lupiri musi, mbumba yakwera ku nguyi kuchanya. Ndipera para, ngaŵakwiza ŵaNgoni pa Muhuju ŵasanga mu linga josi lghati waka ga; ŵati tikati maso, ŵasanga yati waka bii mu lupiri musi ya majerehenga.

ŴaNgoni ŵali, "Soyekona"; ngaŵakudanga ŵanthu ŵaŵo ŵa ku Kasungu na vibamu kwati thu-thu-thu, ŵaHenga ŵali, "Chibamu cha muli icho, zani nacho." Ngachikwiza ŵachiti thu uyakhonjokowani chatora ŵa ku Kasungu ŵawiri chawika pasi, yasuka. Para ŵaHenga wali, "Skono kuŵarondezga cha, tirutenge tikwerenge," ngaŵakukwera ku nguyi kuchanya, zowa ngaŵakuyaya ku Usiska ndipo ŵakayakakoma ŵanthu apa.

Ndipera para, ya ŵaHenga yose ngayikwikira ku Chiweta, ndipo para pa Chiweta yagonagona.

Para ŵali, "Tirutenge ku Vuwa," ngayikuruta ku Vuwa; ŵanji ŵakhala mu Chiweta, ŵanji pa Mulowe, ŵanji mu Chitimba, ŵanji mu Hara; Kanyoli wakaŵa ku Wukanga; kuti ŵaChisovya na ŵaChiwulazero na Chawaka na ŵaMuyunganiko ndiŵo ŵakaŵa mu Vuwa, ku nyanja kufupi. Kwene zifumu zinyakhe zinandi zikakhala kunyuma mu vyalo ivi ndawerenga apa.

THE END OF THE HENGA IN KONDELAND.

Now, however, I wish to lay before you, my friends, the full story about the person who finished us Henga. For we Henga were not finished off by the Ngoni. The one who was the end of us is Mwasewa, one of the Mwamba people from the Mwamba country.¹ That man quarrelled and fought with his own clan and then his clan called in against him the Arab Malamula. Then that Arab burned Mwasewa out and he fled from his land which is that where Mwakalinga is now and the uYonde country ; that is the country of Mwasewa.

So then Mwasewa said, " I have been burned out," and came into Kondeland and repeated the action, burning Malamula out. And then when Mwasewa heard that Kanyoli was at Vuwa he came bringing two bulls and arrived at Kanyoli's.

He said, " My father ; come and help me, your servant," and Kanyoli said " What's the matter ? "

Mwasewa said, " My people have chased me out of my land in Mwamba."

Kanyoli said, " Is that so ; wait till I ask the old men ; when they agree I will go with you."

And so Kanyoli gave the question to the seniors and they consented, saying, " Since a person has wished us, it is good ; go with him." Then Kanyoli took one of the bulls and said, " Deliver that to Kambondoma ;" and it went and he accepted it, Kanyoli saying, " Now let us go with our fighting force " ; but Kambondoma refused and the whole of his Sikwaliwene regiment refused.

Then the Kwenda regiment alone made to start, and the Moya regiment (because Moya was along with Kwenda, even in the earlier time) and the army set out and arriving in the Konde territory it took along with it all the Konde in the Ngerenge neighbourhood. When it arrived at Mwakatundu's the fight began before even it began to dawn. The fighting grew fierce and one looking around saw a Mwamba on the ground and turning this way, there was another down ; and saying " This is painful," they ran for it. Then they captured the cattle undisturbed. (Since they looted the cattle and took them off tied with tree roots you will note that these are the cattle that became plentiful in Kondeland ; were there cattle in the old days in Kondeland ? Since when !). And so the

¹Around the north end of Lake Nyasa in the section now under the Tanganyika Mandate.

UMO WAKAMARIRA WAHENGHA KU UNKONDE.

Kwene skono nkukhumba kumudandaulilani chilawo, mwa wanya-ne, na munthu uyo wali kumara ta waHenga. Kwene ta waHenga kuti tirikumara na wazowa cha. Uyo walikutimara ise ndi Mwasewa, mu-Mwamba wakafuma ku uMwamba. Yura wakambana na wanyakhe, wakakomananga nayo ; para wanyakhe wamukumbira Malamula Mwalabu. Para Mwalabu yura ngawakamuwocha Mwasewa, wachimbira mu charo chakhe, ndi chira muli Mwakalinga lero na cha uYonde ndicho charo cha Mwasewa.

Ndipera para, Mwasewa wali, " Nda munthu, ndapya," ngawakwiza ku uNkhonde wakuchita mu uNkhonde namo, mwapya Malamula wocha. Ndipera, para Mwasewa wati wapulika mwakuti Kanyoli wali ku Vuwa, ngawakwiza wayegha ng'ombe zganarume ziwiri, wizakafika kwa Kanyoli.

Para wali, " watata 'we, kandovwile, nda munthu wako," Kanyoli wali, " Vichi ? "

Mwasewa wali, " Wanyane walikundichimbizga mu charo chane ku Mwamba."

Kanyoli wali, " Kwali ; reka nanga ndifumbe walala wose ; para wazomera, ndipo tirute nawe."

Ndipera para, Kanyoli wapakufumba walala wose, walala ngawakuzomera, wali, " Apa munthu watikhumba, chiweme ruta nayo." Para Kanyoli ngawakutola ng'ombe yinyakhe, wali, " Kaperekani kwa Kambondoma ; " para ngayikuruta ng'ombe wayakapoka, Kanyoli wali, " Skono tilutenge nkondo yitu " ; para Kambondoma wakana, Sikwaliwene yose yakana.

Para yikapakuruta ya Kwenda pera na Moya (chifukwa Moya ukawa pamoza na Kwenda, na kale wuwo), ndipera para ngayikufuma nkondo yiyeketi mu uNkhonde ngayikwendakatora waNkhonde wose mu Ngerenge mula yaruta nawo pera . Para ngayikufika mwa Mwakatundu kukuti kuchege ngwe, yawirana kale. Para ngayikuwambana guwuwu, ndizungulukenge muMwamba wali pasi, wakuti ting'anamukire muno, munyakhe wali pasi ; wakuyakati " vyawingha," ngawakusuka mbii. Para ngawakuyola waka ng'ombe (apo wakayola ng'ombe na musisi wa pasi, apera ndizo ng'ombe zikazala mu uNkhonde ; kasi kale zikawamo ng'ombe zinandi mu uNkhonde ? Pauli). Ndipera para, ngayikuwera para

army came back intact and rejoicing because of the successful return. Many songs are sung at the return from war.

NOW I WISH TO NARRATE TO YOU THE BATTLE OF KAMBONDOMA.

When Kambondoma heard that his comrade Kanyoli had looted cattle he said to himself, "Kanyoli has looted cattle at that place; I must get off too at all costs." Then the whole Sikwaliwene regiment's heart arose and Kambondoma came to Kanyoli, saying, "I am going also, give me your regiment;"¹ and Kanyoli said, "Not at this time, there is much water; the dry season is the time." Because in the dry season there is no water.² Then Kambondoma repeated his intention and Kanyoli refused saying, "Go to the old men, then; I have nothing to say." And Kambondoma went to the old men to make his request for a fighting party and then the old men said, "Is that so? you want a fighting party?" and he said, "Yes"; then the old men said, "Since there is a lot of water at this time how will the army travel?" and he said, "That's nothing! let us go;" and the old men said, "Take the fighters then, we agree."

And so Kambondoma sent out the call, "Let the army grind rations, and then they got the food ready³ and it being he there was not a solitary man remained since they saw the cattle that Kanyoli had looted the first time; Kanyau Bichi Qondama Kanamanga, his Praise-names.

And so the army set out clearing out Vuwa and the Fulirwa people the natives of the soil and the women also, saying, "Let us go and eat beans," because they knew Kambondoma to be an exceedingly fierce leader and experienced in warfare, and real fighter and slayer; Jumbe Kajawa Tondoli Bugundubugundu wavimeta vya mu ntumbo wamuzira kuyiwona, his Praise-names.

So on arrival at Mlare they said, "Let us go; if you refuse we will stab you," and at Lupembe and at the Nkonde villages and at Ngerenge, it was, "Come on; if you refuse we will stab you," then the whole of Kondeland made to go with Kambondoma. That was a tremendously big force; Kanyoli's was small.

¹"Yimbi" is the Hengaised form of Zulu "Impi."

²Referring to the marshes at the north end of Nyasa, so impassable as to hold up even the campaign of 1914-1915 during the wet months.

³"Yisire mpako"; in imitation of the Ngoni war-herald's method of announcing an impending expedition or raid.

yose yasekera chomene chifukwa yimbi yawera makola. Malusumu ghanandi ghakwimba pa kuwera nkhondo.

SKONO NKUKHUMBA KUDANDAULILA IMWE NA' NKHONDO YA KAMBONDOMA.

Ndipera Kambondoma, wati wapulika mwakuti munyakhe Kanyoli wayola ng'ombe wati waka mutima mwa, wali, "Kanyoli wayola ng'ombe papa apa; pauli, nanenkuluta." Para Sikwaliwene yose mutima wamwalira, para Kambondoma ngawakwiza kwa Kanyoli, wali, "Nane nkuruta, undipe yimbi"; Kanyoli wali, "Skono chara, kuli maji ghanandi; na chihanya ndipo." Chifukwa chakuti mu chihanya maji kuwavya. Para Kambondoma wazomeraso, wakana, Kanyoli wali, "Rutangaso ku walala, ine ndekha nirivye mazgu." Para Kambondoma ngawakuluta ku walala kuyakaromba yimbi, ndipera para walala wali, "Kwali, iwe ukukhumba yimbi?" wali, "Inya"; para walala wali, "Apa skono kuli maji ghanandi tiwende uli na yimbi?" iye wali, "ng'o! tilutenge," walala wali, "Lutanga nayoso yimbi, ise tazomera."

Ndipera para, Kambondoma ngawakumemeza wali, "Yisire mpako," para nga kusira mpako, ha iyo ndiyo pakawavyaso munthu wakukhara chifukwa wakawona ng'ombe izo wakayola pakudanga na Kanyoli Biti Thondama Kanamanga (vihayu vyakhe ivi skono).

Ndipera ngayikufuma yimbi iyo mu Vuwa mose pye-pye-pye na waFulurwa wuwo wenecho wa charo, na wanakazi wuwo wali, "Tikargheko nchungu," chifukwa nayo Kambondoma wakamumanyanga kuti nayo ndi kaputeni mukali chomene, wakamanya nkhondo chomene, akalwanga chomene na kugwaza wuwo, Jumbe Kajawa Tondoli Bugudubugudu wavimeta vyamuthumbu wamuzira kuyiwona (ivi ndivyo vihayu vya Kambondoma).

Ndipera yiyekati mu Mlare wali, "Tihambé; para mwakana tindigwazenge papano"; yiyekati mu Lupembe wali, "Tihambe; para mwakana tindigwazenge papano"; yiyekati mu uNkhonde wali, "Tihambe, para mwakana tindigwazenge papano"; yiyekati mu Ngerenge wali, "Tihambe; para mwakana tindigwazenge papano"; para yose ya waNkhonde yapakuluta nayo Kambondoma. Kwene nkhondo iyo yikawa yinandi chomene nkhanira, ya Kanyoli yikawa yichoko.

And when they reached Mwakatundu where Kanyoli looted the cattle they found it deserted for every one had fled when Kanyoli came.¹ So Kambondoma said, "Let us go on to Mwamakura; that is where they have fled to," and then the expedition crossed to the other side of the Kiwira River and also crossed the Mbasi, on the other side of which is Mwamakura's place at Mwaya, only to find that Mwamakura also was in flight from his villages and that the people had crowded together down in the Lake at the place where the Germans to-day have their Government Station.²

So then (the Henga) said, "What shall we do seeing all the people are crowding in the Lake?" and others said, "Look here; we'll stay here and set fire to this house of Mwamakura's and when they come here they will get us." Then they said, "Right; you have said a sound thing;" so then they put fire to the house and since it was of fully grown bamboos that the house had been built it made a noise as of the firing of guns, and the Mwamba when they saw the smoke from their chief's house they swarmed like bees shouting, "Who goes there?" And then out burst Mwangomo the Mwamba fighter, and battle was joined on the front of the Kwenda regiment (because Kwenda was the one that used to begin the fighting, Sikwaliwene remaining for the time seated; when Kwenda came off then Sikwaliwene used to begin).

And so they went at each other and soon a Henga was down and a Mwamba down, a Henga down and a Mwamba down and Mwangomo in his rage began to seize men with his bare hands and when a Henga said "I'll stab," that great fellow would catch him by his hands and pass him over to others behind him that they might kill. Then the Mamyu section looked round and said, "We'll have to submit, you people; the young ones are finishing." Then out rushed Chiwerewere, Kuzeja Chintuchawaka, and leaping through the air, stabbed Mwangomo and Mwangomo cried "Guwuguwu!" Then Bingo rushed forward and stabbed Mwangomo and Mwangomo cried "Guwuguwu!" Then Chokolavingoma rushed forward and stabbed and brought him down and the Mwamba force cleared off, crossing to the other side of the Mbaka river yonder, and now when (the Henga) said "Let us go after them!" they found another force coming up, with "Ho there! where are you going?"

¹This puts the two raids close to each other in point of time; Kanyoli's probably at the end of the dry season in 1880 and Kambondoma's about three or four months later in the rains of 1881.

²This, of course, was written long before the War and refers to the German Customs Station at Mwaya, the port for the Administrative centre of Neu Langenburg; now Tukuyu.

Ndipera para, ngayikuyakafika mwa Mwakatundu umu wakayola ng'ombe Kanyoli wasanga yi-i, wanthu wose walikuchimbira kale pene-papo wakizira Kanyoli. Para Kambondoma wali, "Tihambe kwa Mwamakura, ndiko wachimbirira," para ngayikwambuka Chiwira musilgha, ngayikwambukaso Mbasi musilgha umu ndimo mu Mwaya wa Mwamakura, para wasanga Mwamakura nayo wakachimbira mu mizi wayakazulana ku nyanja nganga kula kuli boma lero la waJeremani.

Ndipera para, wali, "Skono titi wuli apa wanthu wose wayakazulana ku nyanja?" wanyakhe wali, "Cha; tikhale penepano, toche nyumba ya Mwamakura iyi, para iwo wiza kuno waze katitola." Para wali, "Inya, mwaneneska." Para ngawakocha nyumba, napo vimisyombe vyakura vikuru ivi wakuzengera nyumba, para ngachikulira nga nchibamu, para waMwamba wati wakawone josi la nyumba ya fumu yaŵo, waguza njuchi, wali, "Uwe ase?" ngakukuya kasotopoka Mwangomo uyo muMwamba wakaŵa mukali chomene, para ngawakwiza ngayikusumbirirana la masu gha Kwendeni (chifukwa Kwenda ndiko kukadanga nga kulwa, Sikwaliwene wakakhalanga nanga pasi; para yasuka ya Kwenda skono ndipo yiwambanga ya Sikwaliwene).

Ndipera para ngayikuwambana guwuwu, skonoskono muHenga wali pasi, na muMwamba wali pasi, muHenga wali pasi, muMwamba wali pasi, chaMwangomo chakalipa chandakukola waka; skono para muHenga wakuti "nditi muskaza" icho ngachikukola waka chikupa wanyakhe wakomenge waka kumanyuma. Para Mamyu ghakuyakati maso ghali, "Wana wakumala, emwe titherenge waka." Para ngachikulotoka cha Chiwerewere, cha Kuzeja Chintuchawaka, ngachikuwuruka chamugwaza maskaza Mwangomo, Mwangomo wati, guwaguwa. Ngachikulotoka cha Bingo chamugwaza maskaza Mwangomo wati guwaguwa. Para ngachikulotoka cha Chokolavingoma nge ngamaskati chamugwaza maskaza chamuthera pasi yasuka ya Mwamba yambukira musilgha mwa Mbaka mula, skono wakuti "tiwalozghenge," wasanga yinyakhe yafika kwati, "u-u-u-; ase mukutwaku wanya?" (ndiko kuti, "mukuyankhu?")

Then the fight went on, a Henga down, a Mwamba down, a Henga down, a Mwamba down, a Henga down, and the Henga said, "My word! this is a painful business," and drew off to the rear, the Kwenda regiment. Then when it had given up, (i.e. the "Kwenda" regiment) came the Sikwaliwene, Muharure's Njowo regiment, with their (war cry) "Njowo njowo njowo!" and out rushed Kambondoma with a spear thrust here, a spear thrust there, a spear thrust here, and stabbed and stabbed, completely doing for five and the Mwamba party moved off before him and then stood, saying, "Where do you people think you are going?" They fell to again and a Mwamba is down, then a Henga, then a Mwamba, then a Henga, and the Henga force moved away and Kambondoma said,¹ "Where are you retreating to?" and stabbed and stabbed and stabbed and stabbed till the Mwamba fell back.

Then cattle came in sight and some desired to catch them and the Mwamba faced round, saying, "Where do you think you are going?" and the battle was joined; a Mwamba fell and a Henga and a Mwamba and a Henga, and they said, "This is painful," the Henga, and cleared out. Is it not water where they go? right in splashing, and, further, the water there is among grass stick-up out of it; where it was thought, "there is not much water," the water was deep. And so came the end of the people.

Now Kambondoma remained alone, he fighting with the enemy by himself and the Mwamba were not quick to kill him thinking to capture him alive and give him the chief's daughter in marriage because he was a great fighter. Thus it was that the end came to them. And furthermore, he thought, "If I go back home they will kill me because I have finished the people's children and all my headmen are dead; there is nothing for it but that I too die." And thus died Kambondoma, but nevertheless he might have returned home for there was no one to kill him, he being such an outstanding fighter. Kambondoma the Chief, Jojowawa Kaja-wa, Tondoli Bugundubugundu wa vimeto vya mu ntumbo wanzira kuyiwona; second in command of the Henga; he is dead in Mwamba country; his grave is in Mwaya for the Mwamba buried him there.

Thus it was, Oh my friend, that when the army was finished in that way, those who escaped came one by one to Vuwa. Some the Nkonde killed on the way, others the water, but it was the end of the fighting regiments, for though some escaped they could be counted. And

¹Throughout the whole of this narrative the "chi" and "cha" prefixes take the place of the usual personal prefixes "mu" and "wa," for reasons of praise and glorification; these representing size and importance as well as being the prefixes for inanimate objects.

Para ngayikusumbirirana, muHenga wali pasi, muMwamba wali pasi, muHenga wali pasi, muMwamba wali pasi, muHenga wali pasi, waHenga wakuyakati, "Ayowe vyawingha" ngayikusuka ya Kwendeni kumanyuma. Para ngayikuthera Sikwaliwene njowo ya ku Muharure, kwati, "Njowo-njowo-njowo," Chalotoka cha Kambondoma chati maskaza, chati maskaza, chati maskaza, chati maskaza, chati maskaza, chati-lepo nkhanira wasanu yasuka ya waMwamba yiyengekati pambere, viMwamba ngavikwima viri, "Ase wanya mukutwaku?" Ngayikusumbirirana wali pasi muMwamba, wali pasi muHenga, wali pasi muMwamba, wali pasi muHenga, ngayikusuka ya waHenga cha Kambondoma chiri, "Musuka muyapi na?" chati amaskaza, chati amaskaza, chati amaskaza, chati amaskaza, yasuka ya waMwamba yasuka.

Para ng'ombe zawoneka, wanyakhe wakukhumba na kuzitola, ndipera ngavikuyakang'anamuka viMwamba vati, "Ase mukutwaku wanya?" yasumbirirana, wali pasi muMwamba, wali pasi muHenga, wali pasi muMwamba, wali pasi muHenga, wakuyakati, "Vyawingha," ngayikusuka ya waHenga. Kasi uko wakuya nkumaji, waye waka mu maji lipi-lipi, napo maji gha kula ghali na mautheka pachanya nkutenge pali-vye maji ghanandi, maji nghanandi. Ndipera para kwa wa kumara kwa wanthu.

Skono wakhala Kambondoma pera, ndiyo wakakomananga na wo yekha, kuti wakamukoma ruwilo chara, waMwamba wakatenge wamukole waka wamupe mwana wa fumu, watole chifukwa waka wa mukali viwi. Ndimu wakawamariranga umo. Nakwenenako wakatenge, "Ine para ndawera kukaya wayamukundikoma chifukwa ndamara wana wa wene na zifumu zgose zgane zgafwa, nane ndifwe ndipera." Ndimu wakafwira nga Kambondoma, kuti kwene ngawakawera chifukwa pakawavya muntu wakumukoma chifukwa waka wa mukali chomene wakuruska. Kambondoma Jumbe Jojowawa Kajawa Tondoli Bugudubugudu wa vimeto vyamuthumbo wamzira kuyiwona; Kaputeni wachiwiri wa waHenga: walikufwira ku Mwamba; mategha ghake ghali mu Mwaya, ndimu walikumusunga waMwamba.

Ndimu umu skono wamunyane, para yati yamara thaula yimbi, a wa wapakokwapo wakizanga yumoyumo ku Vuwa. Wanjani wendangakakoma waNkhonde; wanjani ghakakoma maji mu nthowa kwene kwaliwa yamalira nkhanira mawazga (? mawandhla) ghose nanga wapakokwepo wa-

therefore the wailing was in every home and family in Vuwa and in Kondeland also, the whole countryside.

And so, we lay at home until it was the hot season and Kanyoli said,¹ "Let us go and settle in Kondeland" and then the old men said, "That is a sound idea; yes let us go." And they rested with the women, sleeping at Mlale, sleeping at Lupembe, and starting from Lupembe they slept at Chilindi where they found a hippopotamus; starting from there they rested at Mwakasungura and there had a great dance. When they left there they reached Mwafongo where had settled Mserema² with lines of temporary shelters. We found the Arabs there, the name of the head Arab being Chiparamoto.³

Then Mwafongo⁴ changed his mind⁵ and said, "Chiparamoto; kill that Kanyoli for me; I do not want Ngoni in my country." Chiparamoto said, "Is that so? we'll see about it." Then Mwafongo took ivory and gave it to Chiparamoto and Chiparamoto accepted saying, "You first of all try my plan; say 'the Ngoni are yonder'; and when they run off we will kill them." Mwafongo said, "Right."

And so Mwafongo gave the thing a start saying, "The Ngoni have come to Mpata," and Kanyoli said, "Hear the news! come on and let us have a look at the Ngoni"; and then they put on their most fierce head-dresses and ran to Mpata to find not a sign of an Ngoni. Then the party returned saying, "What Ngoni?" and the Nkonde said, "There aren't any," and Kanyoli said, "It doesn't matter." And Chiparamoto came by night to Kanyoli and said, "Kanyoli, the Nkonde say they will kill you; they want me and I have refused because we are both strangers here." Then Kanyoli said, "Is that so; it does not matter; leave them alone; what are they to worry about?"

¹ It seems incredible that the Henga should seek to settle among the Nkonde to whom Kambondoma's expedition had brought such loss but it has to be remembered that the whole of the Konde area was originally in the hands of the Chikuramayembe, and the Henga were his people. Further, since the arrival of the Ngoni, everything was in a state of unsettlement and the strong hand took what it liked. The date of this move is either 1881 or 1882.

² One of the three Arab leaders who a few years later were to involve the whole country in the North End War.

³ All the Arabs took, or were given, names in the local vernaculars; as, for instance, Tibu-tibu (Tippoo -tib), Rumaliza, and this man; all the names implying devastation of some sort or another.

⁴ All the names mentioned in this story except those of Arabs, are those of chiefs whose names and districts remain to-day as when these events took place; some being still alive and others now represented, under the hereditary title, by their heirs.

⁵ Really "stopped again"; i.e. gave up his original friendliness.

kaŵa ŵakupenda. Ndipera skono vitengero vyaŵa vyambura kulizgana mu Vuwa na mu uNkhonde wuwo, charo chose.

Ndipera para, tagonatagona kukuti kuŵenge na chihanya para Kanyoli wali, "Tilutenge tikazenge ku uNkhonde," para ŵalala ŵose wali, "Inya, waneneska, tilutenge," para ngayikupumula pamoza na ŵanakazi wuwo yagona pa Mlale, yagona pa Lupembe, yawuka pa Lupembe yagona pa Chilindi para ŵasora chigwere; yawuka para ngayikugona mwa Mwakasungu (? Mwakasungura) para yagiya-yagiya. Yati yawuka para, ngayikufika pa Mwafongo para wakazenga Mserema para; para yiti waka misasa nde . . nde. Kweni ŵaRungwana tikaŵasanga papara, zina la muRungwana Chiparamoto.

Para Mwafongo ŵarekangaso, wali, "Iwe Chiparamoto, undikomere Kanyoli uyo; kuti nkukhumba ŵaNgoni muno mu charo chane chara." Chiparamoto wali, "Kwali; titiwone makola." Para Mwafongo watola zovu wamupa Chiparamoto. Ngawakupoka, Chiparamoto wali, "Iwe, uniyezege nanga; uti "Zowa para," vyachimbira ndipo tivikome?" Mwafongo wali, "Eya."

Ndipera para, ngawakwamba Mwafongo wali, "Zowa ku Mpata wafika," para Kanyoli wali, "Uyezwa na; hayidwowe timuwone muNgoni," para ngayikuvwara uheneuhene zinjukura, ngayikuchimbirira kuko ku Mpata ŵasanga Zowa yi . . i kulivye. Para ngayikuwera yimbi, ŵali, "Zowa nju?" ŵaNkhonde ŵali, "Nayumo"; Kanyoli wali, "Palive kanthu." Para Chiparamoto ngawakwiza na usiku kwa Kanyoli, wali, "Kanyoli, ŵaNkhonde aŵa wakuti tikome iwe, ŵakukhumba ine ndipo ine ndakana chifukwa ise tiri ŵalendo pera. Kanyoli wali, "Kwali; palive kanthu; ŵaleka! mbachi?"

But all the fights in which the Henga killed people in Nkondeland it was the Konde who enlisted them ; at the Nkana fight it was Mwafongo who mobilised and of course people died at Nkana, and so when we went to Kapolo to settle, the war party went out and killed Mwayiwiska and looted a lot of cattle, the raid being Mwasewa's, the Mwamba man, Mwayiwiska himself being a Mwamba. And in the matter of the raids that trod down the people in the Luangwa Valley towards the source, that also was Mwasewa's mobilising because of his own territory, and in the matter of the Misuku raiding it was Kanjere who raised that force, suddenly appearing down from the Misuku Hills with, "Go and kill some people for me, Kanyoli." That was the Misuku fighting, not a raid of the Henga on their own.

In this way we spent three years at Kaporo and in the fourth year Kanyoli died at Mwaya⁵ (the European being at Karonga there, the African Lakes man). For it fell out in the fourth year at the end of the rains Mwasewa said, "Come with me and keep me company in killing in the Mwamba country;" and Kanyoli said, "Certainly ; let us go." Then said Chisovya⁶ "Look here, Kanyoli ; there is water there just now" and he went on to say, "They want friendship and to live in friendly pleasantness now." The reason being that Chisovya had sent Yasweka to go to Mwakatundu and be friendly, and now they were anxious for friendly relations with Chisovya and the friendly state of things was exceedingly pleasant. Yasweka went three times on friendly visit to Mwakatundu taking cloth from Chisovya. That was how Chisovya opposed saying, "What is the use of war ?" when Kanyoli said, "I am going out with a war-party." Then Kanyoli went off with a war-party (because the people as a whole obeyed Kanyoli) and on the way met a steady rain all the night through, soaking the shields and making them flabby ; then crossing Songwe in the dark they met on the other side some women belonging to Mwasewa's people who had been visiting friends. Then they laid hold of them, saying, "Where have you come from ?" and they said, "We have come from our home and came (here) yesterday ; we are from Mwasewa's." "Is that so," and then they let them loose and said, "Away you go." And so then the party reached Mwakatundu's in the early morning and the fighting began. Then a Henga fell, and a Mwamba, then a Henga, a Mwamba, a Henga, and the Henga said, "This is a bad business," and cleared out. Then it was that

⁵Probably 1885.

⁶Chisovya was constantly inclined to peace and was one of three leading Henga to send in to the Agent of the African Lakes Corporation a gift of sheep, though the bulk of his people desired to wipe out the white men, on their arrival in 1882.

Kweni nkondo zose izo waHenga wakomanga wantu, ku Nkhonde wakumbanga waNkhonde, weka cha; ya ku Nkana wakakumba ndi Mwafongo ndiyo wakakumba nanga yakafwa wantu ku Nkana ndipera para tati taluta pa Kapolo kuyakazenga, ngayikupuma nkondo iyi yikakomanga Mwayiwiska yikayola na ng'ombe wuwo zinandi chomene, nayo yika wa ya Mwasewa muMwamba, apera Mwayiwiska naye wakawa muMwamba. Ndipo ndaziwe nkondo iyo yikaphwatanga wantu ku Lwangwa kuna, nayo nja Mwasewa wakakumbanga chifukwa cha charo chake, ndipo nga yiwe ya muMisuku ndiyo wakumbanga Kanjere, nayo wayasonthomoka ku Misuku wali, "Kanyoli kandikomere wantu." Ndipo nkondo ya ku Misuku, ya ta waHenga teka cha.

Tikuchita nteura ku Kaporo, tagonapo myaka yitatu, wachinai ndiwo wakafwira Kanyoli ku Mwamba (wakuchita nteura Muzungu wali pa Karonga para, wina Mandala awo). Ndipera para mukuti muwenge mu mwaka wachinai na chifuku para Mwasewa wali, "kandilindani tikakomanenge ku Mwamba," para Kanyoli wali, "Inya, tilutenge," para waChisovya wali, "Wonani Kanyoli, skono kuli maji," nakwenenako wali, "Skono wubwezi wakuwukhumba tisowerenge nawo skono." Chifukwa chakuti waChisovya wakatumia waYasweka ndiyo wakaya kwa Mwakatundu kuyakasowera nayo na skono wakakhumbanga ubwezi na Chisovya, kwene ubwezi ukanuna chomene nkhanira. WaYasweka wakayako katatu kusowera nayo Mwakatundu kumupa nguwo izi zikafumanga ku Chisovya. Ndimu waChisovya wakakaniranga kuti "Nkhondo njachi," para Kanyoli wali, "Ine nkuluta na nkondo." Para Kanyoli ngawakuluta nayo nkondo (chifukwa wantu wose wakapulikiranga Kanyoli) watenge pa ntowa vura teu yapumutha usiku wose, vihangu dyampanthu, para ngawakwambuka muronga Songwe na usiku pera watenge musilgha wakukumana na wanakazi wa kwa Mwasewa wenderananga na wanya wo. Para ngawakuwakola, wali, "Mwafumanku?" wali, "Tafuma mu kaya tikiza mayiro, tikufuma kwa Mwasewa." Wali, "Kwali." Para ngawakuwareka wali, "Lutaninge." Ndipera para, ngayikufika mu kaya mwa Mwakatundu namacherochero, ngayikusumbirirana. Skonoskono muHenga wali pasi, muMwamba wali pasi, muHenga wali pasi, muMwamba wali pasi, muHenga wali pasi, waHenga wakuti "Vyawingha," ngayikusuka mbii. Skono ndipo wakafwiranga

Kanyoli died ; first and foremost leader ; Kananyau Bichi Qondama Kanamanga ! And so they went carrying off cattle by the way, Musilwa saying, " We will kill and eat death-meat;"¹ those who managed to run off on their own, came (home) one by one, many died ; and the death wail was heard in every family.²

Thereafter while we were at rest, as it were in the hot season, the Arabs came to hostilities with the Konde and killed Kasoti a Konde chief, and the Konde met together and said, " We will fight them " ; then the Europeans said, " You Konde ! stop ! don't fight with the Arabs." Then the Konde gave it up. The one who killed Kasoti was the Arab Milambo.³

We at this time were lying low at Kaporo and when we had stayed so for a short time we found that the Arabs had killed Mwenitete upstream from Mlozi. Then war broke out between the Nkonde and the Arabs (we lying low) and the Arabs were all entangled and mixed up with the Nkonde and the whole of the Nkonde area was trampled upon, only the Europeans were unmoved and the Nkonde made to run off to our place at Kaporo, others hiding in the thicker bush-country. And so it was that there came the Europeans—there were Mr. Monteith-Fotheringham, Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Nicoll (others there were whom I do not know ; they were six)—to Kaporo to take the Nkonde and go with them to Karonga. Then when they had gone with them to the fortified station the Europeans said, " Why are you killing the Nkonde, the owners of the land ? " and the Arabs said, " Is that so ; are you asking us ? " They came to the European's fortified place and the fight waged hot, the salvation of the Europeans being that they sent Mr. Nicoll that he might do homage to those Mwamba people, in that way they escaped ; since the fighting went on for a long time and many Arabs died, then the Mwamba came and the Arabs retreated to their stockades.

Then the Europeans said, " Let us now go to the Mwamba country with our Mwamba friends " (it was the Mwamba who were their allies at that time) and the Europeans went off to Mwamba passing Kaporo, where we were, on the way. When they got into Mwamba territory at Isese, then it was there that they built.

¹"Kuruma ndumo"; an Ngoni phrase referring to the cattle killed for a mourning.

²Lit., "without communal mourning"; each family being engaged in mourning its own dead and unable to take part in the mourning of other families.

³Understood to be the same Milambo whose name occurs so frequently in Livingstone's Last Journals as the principal disturber of the peace between Tanganyika and Nyasa.

Kanyoli apo, Kaputeni wachimoza, Kananyau Biti Thondama Kanamanga. Ndipera para ngayikwendakatorezga zing'ombe zga Mwasewa, Musilwa wali, "Tikakomenge, tikarumenge ndumo"; aŵa ŵakachimbiriranga paŵeka ŵakwiza yumoyumo, ŵanandi ŵakafŵa; chitengero chaŵa chambura kulizgana.

Ndipera para tikugona paŵenge na chihanya ŵaRungwana ngaŵa-kwambanana ŵaNkhonde, ŵakoma Kasoti fumu ya ŵaNkhonde, para ŵaNkhonde ŵawunjikana wali, "Tikakomane naŵo," para ŵaZungu wali, "Imwe mwa ŵaNkhonde rekani; kuti mungakomana naŵo ŵaRungwana chara." Para ŵaNkhonde ŵareka. Uyo wakakoma Kasoti ndi Milambo Mwalabo.

Ise skono tiri chete pa Kapolo, tikhalengepo pachoko waka tasanga ŵaRungwana ŵakoma Mwenitete, kunena kwa Mulozi. Para yayaŵa nkondo na ŵaNkhonde na ŵaRungwana (ise tiri chete), para ŵaRungwana ŵavundukana naŵo ŵaNkhonde, mu uNkhonde mose mula thibu, ŵakhala ŵaZungu pera para, ŵaNkhonde ŵara ŵakapa kuchimbirira ku kwitu ku Kapolo, ŵanji ŵajowa mu matundu. Ndipera para ŵaZungu ngaŵakwiza wakaŵapo Bwana Monteith na Bwana Sharpe na Bwana Mikolo—kwene ŵanyakhe nkuŵamanya makola chara, ŵakaŵa sanu na yumoza—pakwiza kaŵatola ŵaNkhonde pa Kapolo ŵakayanga naŵo kwa Karonga. Para ŵati ŵaluta naŵo pa Boma ŵaNkhonde, ŵaZungu wali, "Kasi mukuŵakomerachi ŵaNkhonde wenecharo?" ŵaRungwana wali, "Kwali; kutifumba." Ngaŵakwiza pa Boma la ŵaZungu yasumbirirana, mphonokwa ya ŵaZungu njakuti ŵatume Bwana Mikolo wakatiŵe ŵaMwamba kura, reka ŵakaphokwa; para yakomana mazuwa ghanandi chomene, ŵafwa chomene ŵaRungwana, para ngaŵakwiza ŵaMwamba ŵaRungwana ngaŵakuchimbira kuya mu malinga ghaŵo

Para ŵaZungu wali, "Sono tirutenge ku uMwamba pamoze na ŵanyitu ŵaMwamba" (apera ndiŵo ŵakaŵa ŵanyaŵo pa nyengo iyo), para ŵaZungu ngaŵakuruta ku uMwamba ŵakendakapita pa Kapolo apa tiri ise. Para ŵayakafika pa uMwamba pa Isese, para ndipo ŵakazenga.

And so then they stayed for a considerable time there with their Nkonde people also and the Europeans said, "When we go with war to Mlozi unless we remove these Henga from the path there, should we retreat from Mlozi will these not kill us? But let us first kill the Henga and then go on to Mlozi, because the Henga are on the route." That is the cause of our death, that about being on the route, although actually it was the Nkonde who showed us the Kaporo site that we might shut out the Mwamba, since they were constantly coming to kill them (the Nkonde) there in the Ngerenge area. When we settled at Kaporo, the Mwamba were much afraid and did not keep on coming.

So thus it was yonder when the Europeans came along with their Mwamba and Nkonde; being just upon dawn they were already upon us and we found the guns gathered round outside the stockade. When we thought of clearing out we found ourselves at grips, breast to breast, with the Mwamba and Nkonde, and we said, "Alas; now we die without a cause." Then the Mwamba said, "Capture the families!" and what conceivable chance had we. That is the fight that killed Chisovya and very many died. Then some ran off, saying, "Now we will go over to Mlozi," and that is how the Henga went to the Arabs. Then when we found some who had been captured coming back one by one, saying, "The European has sent us back; he it was who plucked us from the Mwamba saying, 'get away home,'" we said, "Is that so? are the Europeans then kind-hearted?"

As for those Mwamba fellows who went away with them, it is they who are not located to-day. Some certainly there are who followed their own line by themselves and came to the Mpata neighbourhood.

So then, when the rains were on and rain falling, the forces of the Europeans along with the Mwamba came to Mlozi's stockade. When the fighting came to close grips the Mwamba got into the stockade and the Arabs barricaded themselves in their houses and kept up a heavy gunfire; what could be done! great slaughter among the Mwamba and corpses all over the place. Then the Europeans retired,¹ (we were hanging about outside; we did not go into their stockades).² The

¹ The story, from the European side, is told by Monteith Fotheringham, Lugard, Johnstone and Moir who have all written on this period.

² This apparently applies to Henga levies with the European force of whom the writer seems to have been one; not to those Henga who joined the Arabs after the Kaporo fight. Many of these latter were captured at the final conquest of the stockades and, as their punishment, were sent with the Arab captured cattle to Zomba, a distance of some 500 miles.

Ndipera para wāgonawāgona mazuwa ghanandi pachokowaka na wāNkhonde wāwō wuwo kwenekuko, para wāZungu wali, "Ise para tikuya kwa Mulozi na nkondo wambura kuti tafumyapo wāHenga awa pa ntowa apa, para tikuchimbira kwa Mulozi ha wendemukoma ise. Kwene tidange takoma wāHenga awa ndipo tirutenge kwa Mulozi, chifu-kwa wāHenga wāli pa ntowa." Ndigho tikafwiranga ise, gha pa ntowa agho, lwegha pa Kapolo para wakatilongolapo mbaNkhonde mwakuti tiwajalire wāMwamba chifukwa wakizanga kawirikawiri kwizakawakoma mu Ngerenge mula. Tati tazenga ise pa Kapolo, wāMwamba wakopa-nga chomene kuti wakizangako chara.

Ndimu mula para wāZungu ngawakwiza pamoza na wāMwamba na wāNkhonde; kukuti kutenge ngwe... watiwira kale, tasanga vibamu vikukolongana gha kuwaro ku linga. Para tikuti tikawukiremo tasanga wāMwamba na wāNkhonde tapakatana kale, nase, "Hawa; tatafwa waka lero." Para wāMwamba wati, "Yolani mbumba," namwe na kantini kose. Ndiyo nkondo yikakomanga wāChisovya iyo, na wantu wanandi wakafwa. Para wānji ngawakuchimbirapo, wāli, "Sono tiyenge waka kwa Mulozi," ndimo wāHenga wakayiranga ku wāRungwana. Para tasanga wānji awa wakayolanga wakuwera yumoyumo, wāli, "Ise watiwezga muZungu, ndiyo watikwapulanga ku wāMwamba wali, "Weraninge." Nase, "Kwali; kasi wāZungu wāli na lusungu?"

Ndipo awa viMwamba vikapitanga nawo kutali ndiwo walikuzgewa na sono wambura kuwoneka. Wānji ndiwo wakapazanga weka wakafikanga ku Mpata.

Ndipo mula para, kwati kukuwa mula, vura yarokwapo, nkondo ngayikwiza ya wāZungu na wāMwamba wuwo pa linga la ku Mulozi. Para yamenyuranamenyurana, wāMwamba ngawakunjira mu linga, vi-Rungwana ngavikujijarila mu zinyumba, vyati lipikani vibamu; namwe, na kantini kose; wāMwamba nkufwa nkuleka, vitanda kwati kusukusu. Para wāZungu ngawakuchimbira (ise sono ndipo tikuyulayula muwaro; kuti tikanjira mu malinga wawo chara). Ndimu mula para, wāZungu

Europeans then went off to the Mwamba country and came back from there and settled again at Karonga at the Lake where they are to-day.

Then it was that they enlisted many fighting groups, both the Mwamba and the Tonga and the Henga and some of the Kamanga too. Thus it was that war took place, fighting going on for two years, and it was the Europeans who were constantly going out with war against the Arabs; the Europeans brought with them cannon also though they did not do much good and by this time we were already in the Arab stockades.¹

And so when the Governor came² the Europeans said, "Let us make terms and be friendly now," and the Arabs made as if to agree, saying, "Quite so; let us be friendly; that is a good idea of yours." Furthermore, we people were absolutely in rags and naked and when they so acted the Arab's cloth was also finished and some of them were wearing bark-cloth; where could they expect to get cloth? seeing that the Europeans had closed the (cross-lake) ferry places; from which you may know the cuteness that the Europeans have.

When they came to make terms, the Europeans went up and the Arabs came down, meeting on the path, and the Arabs killed a cow and the Europeans also brought a cow. So it was then, after resting a few days the Europeans said, "Come here, Arabs" and the Arabs started to go along with their Henga; when (the party) arrived at the European's Fort the Tonga and Henga who had come away from the Arabs began a dance all together; the Mwamba also and the Arabs from Mpata in their own group along with their subjugated people;³ (because the Henga and Tonga had been together long ago in Ngoniland, that is why I say "nawo wafo pera," did the Rugaruga and the Mambwe know how to "guba" and "giya"⁴; not a bit!) And so there the subjugated peoples capered about in their own group and the Henga and Tonga capered about with the "mugubu," saying,

"I ho ho; ha ho ho; the regiments of home!

I siwalekasonge; the regiments of home!"

(you repeat and repeat the song at this point).

¹The Henga had decided that the Arab was most likely to win after the fighting just described and joined forces with them then.

²The arrival of Mr. (later Sir Harry) Johnston with the emissary of the Sultan of Zanzibar in an effort to settle the matter without further fighting. The date was November, 1889.

³"Wafo"; an Ngoni word for the races incorporated by them; not "slaves."⁵⁰

⁴Two Ngoni words; dances.

wati waruta ku uMwamba, ngawakuyakawera kura wizakazengaso pa Karonga pa nyanja apa wali sono.

Para sono wakumba zinkondo zinandi chomene, nawo waMwamba, waTonga waHenga, waji waKamanga papa nawo. Ndimu ume para, yawa nkondo yakomana-yakomana virimika viwiri, sono waZungu ndiwo wakarutanga nayo nkondo ku waRungwana kawirikawiri; waZungu watorerapo na mizinga wuwo yapa kutondeka; sono ndipo nase tanjira kale mu malinga gha waRungwana.

Ndipera para, waZungu, walikwiza Bwana Mkubwa, wakuti, "Tisayane, tisowerenge lero"; para waRungwana wakapa kuzomera wali, "Aso, tisewerenge, mwanozga." Nakwenenako ta wantu takenda viwi nkule, wakuchita ntaula waRungwana nguwo zgamaraso waji wakavwarangapo mitawoso; ka wakatenge wazitorenku nguwo? rwande viZungu vyajalira madowoko, napo mumanyenge kuchenjera uko kuli na waZungu.

Para yikapa kusayana waZungu wakwera waRungwana wikha yakumana pa ntowa wakoma ng'ombe wagawana; ng'ombe nayo wakayegha waZungu. Ndipera para, wagonapo mazua ghachoko waka, waZungu wali, "Zaningi kuno, waRungwana"; para waRungwana wakapa kuruta na waHenga wuwo, para yati yafika pa Boma pa waZungu, waTonga na waHenga aya wafuma ku waRungwana yati mugiyi lwi pamoza; waMwamba nawo na waRungwana wa ku Mpata wati sendemule mba pamoza nawo wafo pera; (chifukwa waHenga na waTonga wakawa pamoza mu uNgoni kale, leka niti apo wali nawo wafo pera, ka nawo walugaluga na waMambwe walukumanya kuguba na kugiya?; apa chara). Ndipera para wafo nawo wakuburirana waka, sendemule wafo, nawo waHenga na waTonga nawo wakuburirana na mugubo, kuli:—

"I ho ho; ha ho ho; mawandhla gha kiti;
I siwalekasonge; mawandhla gha kiti."
(sono muwerezgenge pene papa lusumu ulu).

That is how it was in the rejoicing that fighting was over ; because it had altogether finished us Henga. If we people are forlorn in this way, our old people disappeared in that fighting, we your friends.

So then, rejoicing in that way, the Arabs went back and the Henga and there was now friendliness.

That is how that fighting befell us, my friend. And as for the present fighting¹ the Henga altogether refused, the Europeans saying, "Come here now ; come out of there." And so doing, some had already come out and had changed over with work for the European and were untroubled.²

So then there passed five years, this is the fighting I refer to, the year 1895, and it was that which brought things to an end and all the old men wiped out.³

So now we know well that the Europeans came with kind intent to this land of ours ; consider the matter ! the land has rest ; long ago could a person move about, returning from a raid would he reach home ? never ! impossible ; one could not live unless under protection, but nowadays the one who steals from a man is sure to be detected ; but before the Ngoni came while our chiefs were still (over) the land here, Chungu, Chikuramayembe, Kanyenda and his father Karonga, we do not hear that people fought together at random. There were the poison ordeals and small village quarrels ; in the morning they would be friendly in the very place where they had wounded each other, there was no carrying the matter on.

And so to-day peace has come with the Europeans in the land, let us pay tax we people, what of it ? our friends have put us into peace. And note this ; our chief Chikuramayembe has gone up into the chieftainship of the whole country ; reaching to the Dwangwa by Kanyenda on that side and on this side to Chiwondo, the boundary with the Chungu. Furthermore, it is he who will now sort out and arrange all the headmen whom he once installed in Tongaland and the whole country because the Europeans too desire a paramount chief and do not see him. This one says, "I am a chief, too" ; but where did you ever see a lot of real chiefs for the one country ?

Salute ! We thank you Europeans greatly ; you have settled us well, and we also have the words of God ; in the old days we wandered far astray. I have now finished.

¹ Referring to the capture of the stockades in 1895.

² The Henga refugees were the first, as they still are the most ready, to enter into employment in the North Nyasa District.

³ An exaggeration ; many remain who were already senior men at the time here described and are now well over 80 years of age.

Uku ndiko kukaŵa kusekera chifukwa nkondo yamara ; chifukwa ise ta ŵaHenga yikatimara chomene nkanira. Nanga ta ŵantu tikhale ulanda ntaula, ŵadada ŵose ŵalikumara nkondo yeneyiyo, ta ŵanyinu :

Ndipera para, yati yasekera ntaula, ngaŵakuwera ŵaRungwana na ŵaHenga, sono kwaŵa kusowera.

Ndiyo nkondo iyo umo yikaŵira, ŵamunyane. Ndipo ngaiwenge ndi nkondo ya sono iyi, ndiyo ŵaHenga ŵakakananga waka ŵaZungu ŵakatenge "Zaninge kuno lero, uko fumaninge" ; ŵakuchita ntaula ŵanji ndipo ŵafumako kale, ŵakung'anamuka na nchito ku waZungu, ŵalikudeka.

Para sono yati yarutapo miyaka yisanu, ha ndiyo iyo nkunena, myaka ya mu 1895, sono ndiyo yirikumarizizga nkanira iyo, ŵarara ŵose ngwe.

Ndipo sono tikumanya makora kuti ŵaZungu ŵakizira lusungu ku charo chitu chino ; ha, wonani, he ; charo chagona sono ; kasi kale muntu yeka wangenda, kufuma ku nkondo kwizakafika ? pauli. Uyo sono ntha walowa cha tiwamanyikwenge na uyu wamwiba ; apa yayi, kwene kale, para ŵandize ŵaNgoni, muno mu charo zichali fumu zitu, Chungu, Chikuramayembe, Kanyenda na wise Karonga, kuti tikupulika kuti ŵantu ŵakakomana bweka chara. Kwene myavi ndiyo, na tunkondo twa mu kaya pera, namachero ŵakusowera para ŵakarasana, kurutira cha.

Ndipo kwene lero mutendere wiza na ŵaZungu mu charo, lekani tisonkenge sonko ta ŵantu, palive kantu, ŵanyitu ŵat'wika mu mtendere. Ahene sono fumu yitu Chikuramayembe wakwera fumu ya charo chose ; kufika ku Dwangwa na Kanyenda mpaka kura Chiwondo mpaka na Chungu." Nakwenenako sono ndiye tiwarutupulenge fumu zgose izi wakakolanga kale mu uTonga na charo chose chifukwa ŵaZungu naŵo ŵakupenja fumu yikuru ndipo kuti ŵakuyiwona chara. Uyu nayo wakuti ine nane ndiri fumu ; imwe mukawonanku fumu zikuŵa zgenezinandi, charo chimoza pera ?

Yeŵo ; tawonga chomene mwa ŵaZungu ; mwatikhalika makora, na mazgu gha Chiuta wuwo tiri nawo sono, kale tikazgewa chomene.

Ndamara sono.