A HISTORY OF THE MALENDE AMONG THE TONGA OF SOUTHERN PROVINCE OF ZAMBIA: A CASE STUDY OF CHIEF HANJALIKA'S AREA, 1890 - 1986

BY

EMMERSON LUCKY MWIINGA CHILALA
MUNTU-OMWAMI MACHILA
B.A. (WITH EDUCATION)
WITH MERIT, UNZA.;
SEC. TR'S. DIP.,NKRUMAH

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
LUSAKA
1987

DECLARATION

I, EMMERSON, LUCKY, MWIINGA, CHILALA MUNTU-OMWAMI, MACHILA, hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own research work, and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

Signed: E. Mwiinga

Date: 27/10/87

APPROVAL

This dissertation of Emmerson, Lucky, Mwiinga Chilala, Muntu-Omwami Machila is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

Signature of Examiners	Date
Godfrey Mwanda	21st March, 1988
A.M. Kaiko	12th May, 1988
Fay Cadeden	17th November, 1988.
C.M. Lumbe	17th November 1988

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of the history of malende among the Tonga of Southern Province of Zambia, covering the period from 1890 to 1986. The study focuses on Chief Hanjalika's area in Mazabuka District. Malende are community shrines believed to be dwelling places of spirits called basangu which take care of the welfare of society. Malende intermediaries were basimalende (basangu mediums) and beendelezi (custodians of malende where there were no mediums).

The dissertation examines the impact on malende and malende priests and mediums of colonial policies such as the bureaucratization of rule, the separation of religious and political powers, the introduction of tax which stimulated labour migration, land alienation which led to the resettlement of people in 'Reserves', the spread of new agricultural technology, the introduction of European medicines, western education and Christianity.

The combination of such factors led to the loss of some of the rituals associated with malende, such as those for planting, harvesting, scaring birds and rodents, hunting, warfare and health for both people and livestock. It also diminished the importance of priests and mediums.

The coming of independence continued to undermine the malende until now their function has contracted to that of regulating rain and they are peripheral to most of present Tonga life. Malende are threatened with complete extinction as evidenced by the sporadic nature of ritual activities.

In the precolonial period malende rituals held together the cultural fabric of Tonga society through their regulation of various activities associated with agriculture, fishing, hunting and gathering, health and warfare. By the end of the nineteenth century the malende came to operate within a new environment and were put to test. The imposition of British rule and the spread of western ideas, attitudes and values, including Christianity significantly affected their control over local communities.

After independence schools, health services and the new agricultural technology became even more generally available, while many Tonga no longer depended upon agriculture for a livelihood. Where the new technology and political order provided proven alternatives, people saw no need to approach the basangu through malende with requests for assistance. Droughts, however, continue to occur and the new technology is powerless to prevent them and government is slow to provide assistance when crops fail. When rains fail people continue to seek the help of spiritual forces, either through the churches or through malende, or sometimes through both. Some malende continue to serve Tonga communities, but as a last resort, when rains fail and hunger threatens.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is a result of the co-operation, encouragem and support which I got from many organizations and people t whom I am greatly indebted, but regrettably most of whom hav not been mentioned here. Those are in no way less important. To all of them I say 'thank you very much'.

However, I would like to single out a few individuals and institutions for their great assistance in several ways. I am greatly indebted to my Supervisor, Dr. F. Gadsden for he tireless scholary guidance, tolerance and encouragement despi her busy schedule in the Department of History. I would also like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to Professor E. Colson (Although she is now elderly, her nickname among the Tonga is kamwale - which means young lady and is the name she was given in the 1940s) whose encouragement, and experience of many aspects of Tonga culture were most rewarding.

I am also greatly indebted to Father D.C. Nchete of Mazabuka for his advice on the malende rituals and general Tonga mythology. I thank most sincerely Professor M. Kaniki and Mr. D. Hamutete for encouraging my interest in the topic and cultural history in general. They encouraged me to forge ahead when I was near desperation. I also thank all members of the Department of History for encouraging remarks and co-operation.

I thank the members of staff of the Library at the University of Zambia, the National Archives of Zambia, the Jesuit Mission Archives and the Seventh Day Adventist Church Archives at Rusangu for their co-operation and assistance.

Special tribute goes to the people of Hanjalika for their overwhelming co-operation and support. Chief Hanjalika, John Matambo, was particulary helpful in identifying some of the major informants and made necessary arrangements for some of the trips and interviews. In spite of other commitments as a chief and Mazabuka District Administrative Secretary, he gave me time for discussions with him.

I thank the District Governor for Mazabuka, Mr. Phiri, and his staff for allowing me to use some of the files. I also thank Mr. B. Ng'andu, Monze District Political Secretary for his assistance.

I thank Mrs. V.M. Mphaisha for carefully typing my dissertation. She was tolerant and hard working.

I am grateful to the Machila family of Kabolongola, Magoye, who with their meagre resources sacrificed to finance part one of my study, 1985 - 1986. They were an inspiration.

My thanks should also be extended to Mr and Mrs J.M. Mundunda of Woodlands, Lusaka, for their hospitality and courtesy during my stay at their home from October, 1985 to

December, 1986.

Finally, I am also greatly indebted to my family; my wife Mutinta, and my children Nambwelu, Habunga, Mazabuka, Nchimunya and Meleki, for their encouragement and patience during the long period of my absence when they needed me most.

In spite of the assistance I got from institutions and people.I am solely responsible for any weaknesses which may be detected from this dissertation.

C O N T E N T S

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TONGA	ENGLISH
Bajwanyina	- People with a joking relationship each other.
Baleya	- People belonging to the Coot clan.
Bami Babulonga	- Shrine medium referred to as "Chi the soil".
Bangelo	- Angels; spirits believed to be asso with Christian and Tonga shrines.
Bansanje	- People belonging to the Hare clan.
Bantu Bacisi	- People in the neighbourhood.
Basangu	- Spirits which took care of the wel of society.
Basimalende (Simalende - Singular)	- Shrine mediums.
Beendeleni	- Custodians of the shrines where th were mediums.
Beetwa	- People belonging to the Cr ...l.
Bukoko	- Beer.
Butonga	- Land of the Tonga people.
Beele	- Light porridge.
Bisi (Musi - Plural)	- The neighbourhood.
Ci-Tonga	- The language of the Tonga people.
Cibbalo	- Forced Labour.
Cibwantu	- Drink made from maize or corn or s
Cila	- Community organised large hunting tions.
Cmkete	- Cattle disease called Corridor.
Cnde	- Grove Grave shrine.
Cbasune Kunununda	- A Radio Zambia programme on Agricu Ci-Tonga.
Cmwale	- Young lady.
Ctongo (Tutongo - Plural)	- Land belonging to a particular lin
Cyamina	- Soaring birds and rodents.
Cza	- God.

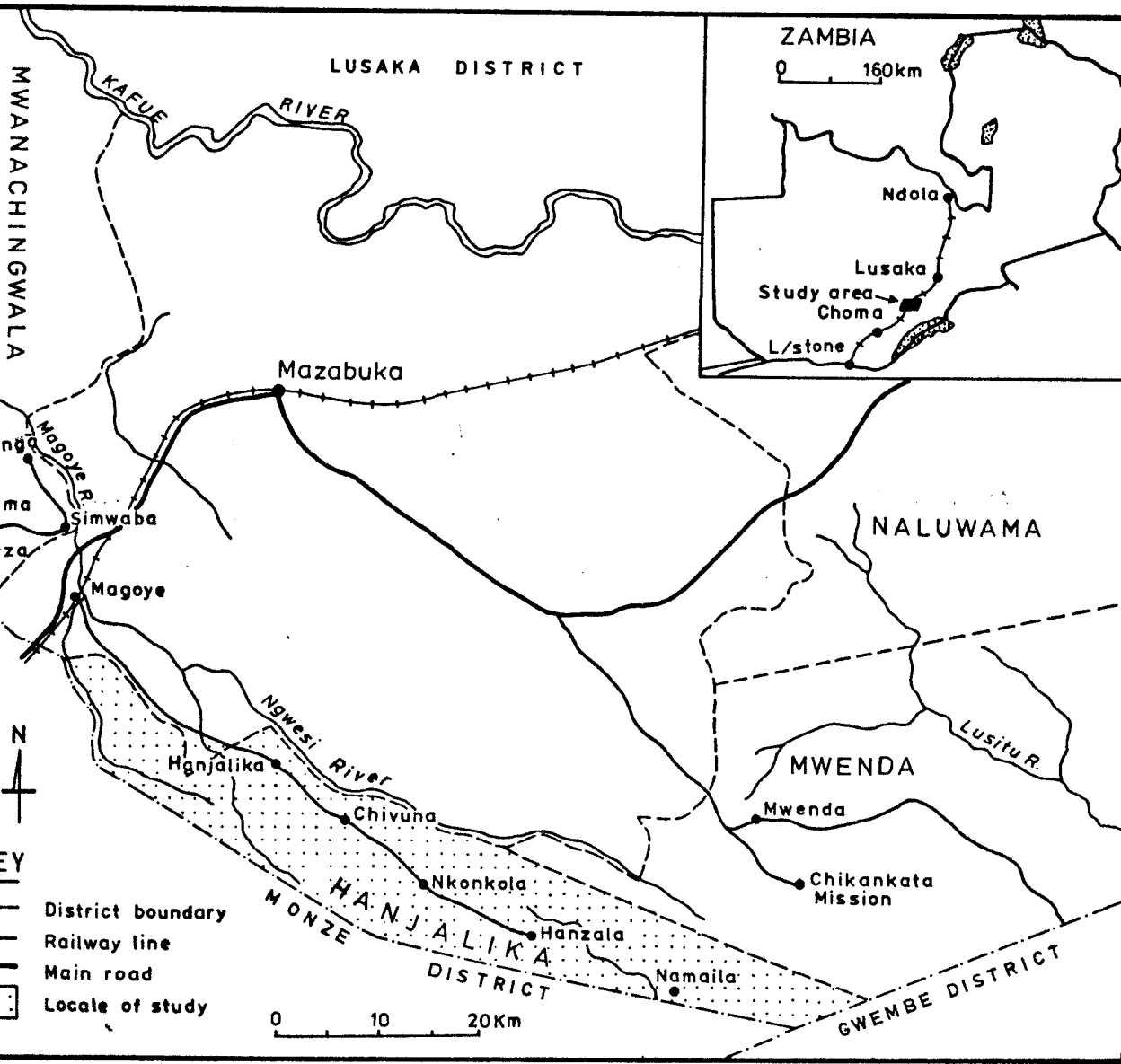
TONGA	ENGLISH
Lubumba	- The Creator.
Lufwulu	- Gourd used during shrine rituals
Lwiindi	- Festival.
Lwiindi Lwakulyata Makula	- Ritual for trampling stalks.
Lwiindi Lwakunwala	- Ritual to initiate planting seas
Lwiindi Lwakutobula	- Ritual for harvesting.
Lwiindi Lwanasuso	- Ritual for spears; A ritual beli make hunting successful.
Malende	- Community shrines believed to be places of spirits called Basangu
Mizimo (Muzimo - Singular)	- Family guardian spirits.
Mukowa (Mikowa - Plural)	- Clan.
Mukwashi	- A basic unit of Tonga society or comprising of matrilineal kin, t children and other dependants.
Ndima	- Work party.
Nkolola	- Girls' puberty ceremony.
Nsima	- Thick porridge.
Nkatongo (Basikatongo - Plural)	- A person in charge of the Lineage
Vaanda (Kaanda - Singular)	- Man made miniature hut shrines.
Waanyika	- A person in charge of lineage le to as the owner of the land.
Vilyango (Also called Kwanga)	- Trust and Household sh...

INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the historical development of malende among the Tonga of Southern Province of Zambia. It is primarily a case study of Chief Hanjalika's area.[1] The dissertation examines why and how the role of malende has changed over the period of time, 1890 to 1986. It was considered important to determine factors which influenced such change.

In the pre-colonial period malende and basimalende occupied a central position in Tonga society. However, at the end of the nineteenth century, malende came to operate in a new environment under colonial rule from 1898 to 1963, and were influenced by the introduction of a new political and economic order and the spread of western ideas, attitudes and values including Christianity. Those factors led to the loss of many of the functions of malende and associated rituals such as those for warfare, hunting, fishing, scaring birds, harvesting, and health for both people and livestock.

The coming of independence in 1964 did not reinstate the malende as key institutions within Tonga society. After independence as in the colonial period, the influence of malende continued to decline. This study examines the impact of centralized bureaucratic rule, land alienation, labour migration, integration into a market economy, technological innovation and Christian proselytizing over the past century.



1 Location map of the study area.

1890 was chosen as a convenient starting point of the study basically because it almost coincides with the end of the pre-colonial period.

Many scholars have written on traditional African Religious. They have shown the significance of religion in different African societies. Mbiti, for example, in his books African Religion and Philosophy (1969) and Introduction to African Religion (1975) discusses African religions in general.[2] Scholars such as Gelfand, Shona Religion: With Special reference to Makorekore (1962), Ranger and Kimambo (eds), The Historical Study of African Religion (1972), Schoffeleers (ed), Guardians of the Land: Essays on Central African Territorial Cults (1979) and Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa (1961) have written on how African religions have been affected by factors such as colonialism, spread of Western Culture and Christianity in Central and Southern Africa.[3]

Although malende were important Tonga institutions no scholary works have been specifically devoted to a study of their historical development. Much of the existing published information on malende is mainly in the anthropological works of Colson such as 'Rain Shrines of the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia' (1948) and The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia: Social and Religious Studies (1962).[4] Other anthropological works which deal with aspects of malende include those by Scudder such as The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga (1962),[5] and Van Binsbergen, Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Essay (1981).[6] Such works deal with the operation of malende at specific periods and places. They do not deal historically

with the changing functions of malende. While the work of Colson, Scudder and Van Binsbergen illuminate certain aspects of malende, this study examines the historical development of malende over the last one hundred years.

Other writers on the Tonga such as Vickery and Dixon-Fyle who discuss aspects of malende base most of their arguments on Colson's work, and usually their main focus is not on malende but on other issues such as politics, and agriculture.[7]

Other sources which refer to malende are in mission papers and traveller's accounts which give only a vague idea about the role of malende, basangu and basimalende.[8]

The main aims of this study are 1) to examine the role of malende in the latter period of the nineteenth century; 2) to asses the impact of colonialism and western values, 3) to examine what changes, if any, occurred since independence. It is hoped that this study will offer a useful contribution to the national effort to record Zambia's cultural heritage.

Sources and Methodology

Between September and November, 1986, I consulted published and unpublished sources dealing with Tonga culture in general and malende in particular in the University of Zambia library, National Archives of Zambia, Jesuit Archives, and Zambia Broadcasting Services; Tonga Section at the Mass Media complex, all in Lusaka. I also consulted archival sources of the Seventh Day Adventists at Rusangu. Between November, 1986, and February, 1987, oral traditions were collected in

Hanjalika's area through interviews with one hundred and ten informants, seven of whom were basimalende, namely: Chiyonga, Chifwumpu, Choonya, Hangandu, Hapenga, Kamboombo and Mungalu.

Some oral traditions were also collected from chieftancies of Monze, Mwanza, Chona and Ufwenuka in Monze District, and Mwenda, Naluama and Mwanachingwala in Mazabuka District, all from the Tonga plateau. One particularly useful source was Chisenge, commonly known as Joojo, one of the first four students of Father Moreau at Chikuni in 1905. Despite advanced age, more than ninety years old, he was a very valuable source of information on malende from the precolonial period to independence.

The informants included those old women and men who had participated in activities at malende including some who could describe malende rituals held during the early colonial period and had been told by their parents of the powers of the malende before colonial rule. Particular attention was paid to basimalende for their expert knowledge.

During field work I participated in malende rituals for obtaining rain at Chitongo, Munjile, Mapondo, Mainza, Maunga (Hanjalika), Chivuna, Chibuyu, Nkonkola, Hanzala and Kamaila, all in Chief Hanjalika's area. I also observed rain regulating rituals at Bansanje village near Chikuni Mission in Chisekesi.

Questionnaires in English were distributed to eighty literate men and women who were known to be fairly fluent in English. The sample was neither random nor stratified but was

chosen from those easily available to me. The majority were civil servants (including technical personnel), secondary school pupils, and members of the clergy. Twenty one were originally from Hanjalika area. The rest came from other parts of Butonga. Only seventeen returned a filled in questionnaire. The written questionnaires therefore have been of little use in assessing what people with education know about malende and in rating their current importance. People preferred to exchange ideas in an interview. The questionnaire provided a basis for interviews with persons who preferred not to fill in a form as well as with those who had to be interviewed in ci-Tonga.

Group interviews were conducted at St. Joseph's Girls, and Monze Secondary Schools with grades eight, ten and twelve pupils, and with grades three and seven at Kataba and Hanjalika primary schools. Those were held to get public opinion, especially of those at school, on their knowledge of malende. The pupils, especially those at secondary schools, came from different parts of Butonga.

I had many advantages in carrying out research especially in Chief Hanjalika's area because I was familiar with the language of the area and the culture of the people. Therefore, I was able to obtain information without contravening taboos associated with malende. I also knew the geography of the area.

Written and oral sources have been used together to offset the obvious weaknesses of each kind of data.

Organization of the Study

This study is divided chronologically into three chapters. Chapter One examines the role of malende in the pre-colonial period, and general organization of Tonga society. This is the basis from which later developments of malende are traced. Chapter Two looks at the colonial period and examines the new environment in which malende came to operate. It examines various factors which affected malende activities. The third and last Chapter, examines how the malende operated during the independence period. A concluding section provides a summary and analysis of the various changes that have taken place between 1890 and 1986.

CHAPTER ONE

THE MALENDE IN PRECOLONIAL TONGA SOCIETY

This chapter discusses the role of malende in the last few decades of the precolonial era. This is reconstructed on the basis of information recorded between early 1900s and the present, and from interviews carried out in 1986 - 87, with informants whose memories of oral traditions extended back to 1850.

Early travellers who passed through Butonga, such as Livingstone in 1855 and Selous in 1888, mentioned meeting Monze Mayaba the rain maker, and chief of the Tonga.[1] Since praying for rain was an important component of malende rituals, it means that malende existed among the Tonga well before 1890.

The dwelling places of basangu were in trees, rocks, deep pools and other natural objects, treated as sacred and referred to as malende.[2] Other shrines were man made miniature huts, twaanda (kaanda - singular).[3] Twaanda were built at the homesteads of basimalende, basangu mediums, and at certain other sites such as the grave of a dead medium. Fast growing trees were planted around the grave. Once the trees grew, they made a grove, Gonde.[4] The basangu of the dead medium would also be linked to the twaanda built by a new

medium at his own homestead and he continued to consult the shrines of his namesake's malende. He conducted rituals at both new and old malende; natural and man made, to which his possessing basangu was connected. Such links maintained the continuity of the activities of the same basangu through the old and new mediums. It could be suggested that such links legitimised newly established mediums and their malende.

Twaanda were believed to be homes of basangu, and were also known as malende. Twaanda were commonly referred to as 'huts of gods', twaanda twabaleza. This denoted that basangu were spirits of a higher order in society than the family spirits, mizimo (muzimo - singular). They were ranked second to God the creator, Lubumba or Leza. Other spirits such as mizimo were believed to be inferior to basungu. The basangu looked after the general welfare of the community and were responsible for the prosperity of the community in the form of good rainfall, good health, increase in herds of cattle and social harmony within each clan.[5]

Although some spirits had roles both as basangu and as mizimo, in the latter role they were concerned only with the welfare of an individual or a lineage. While basangu dealt with a wider community (several villages) mizimo only dealt with their own kin. While all ancenstral spirits may be referred to as mizimo, in general, the term mizimo is specifically ascribed to family guardian spirits which were consulted directly by

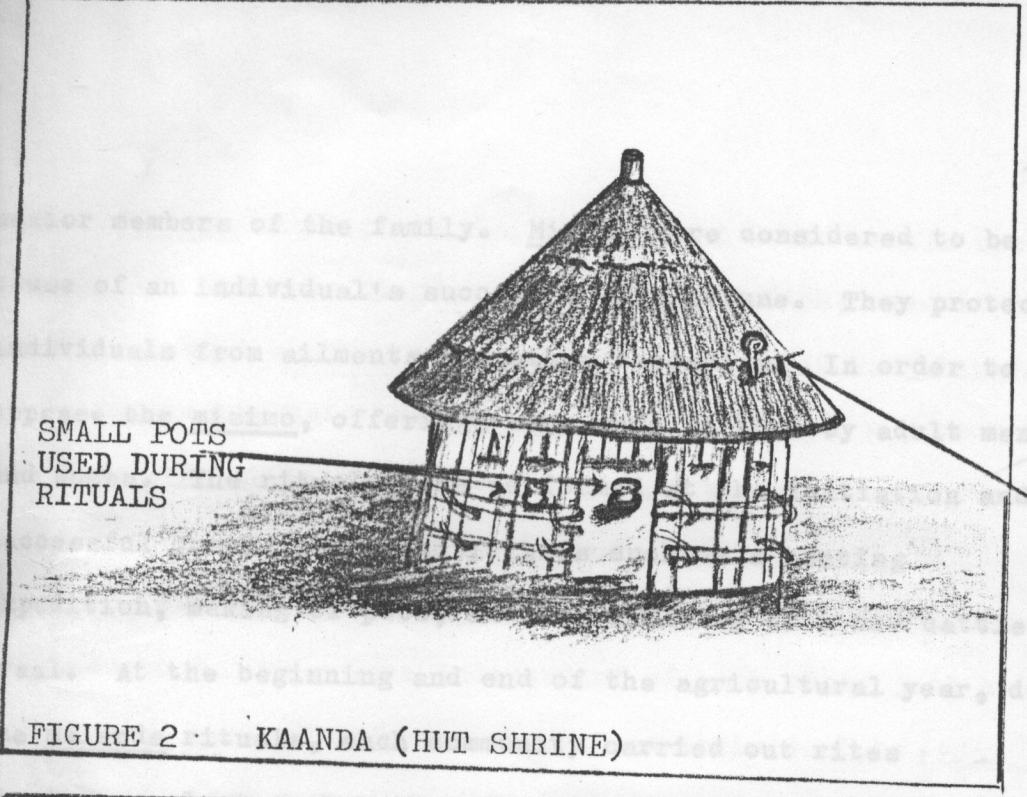


FIGURE 2 KAANDA (HUT SHRINE)

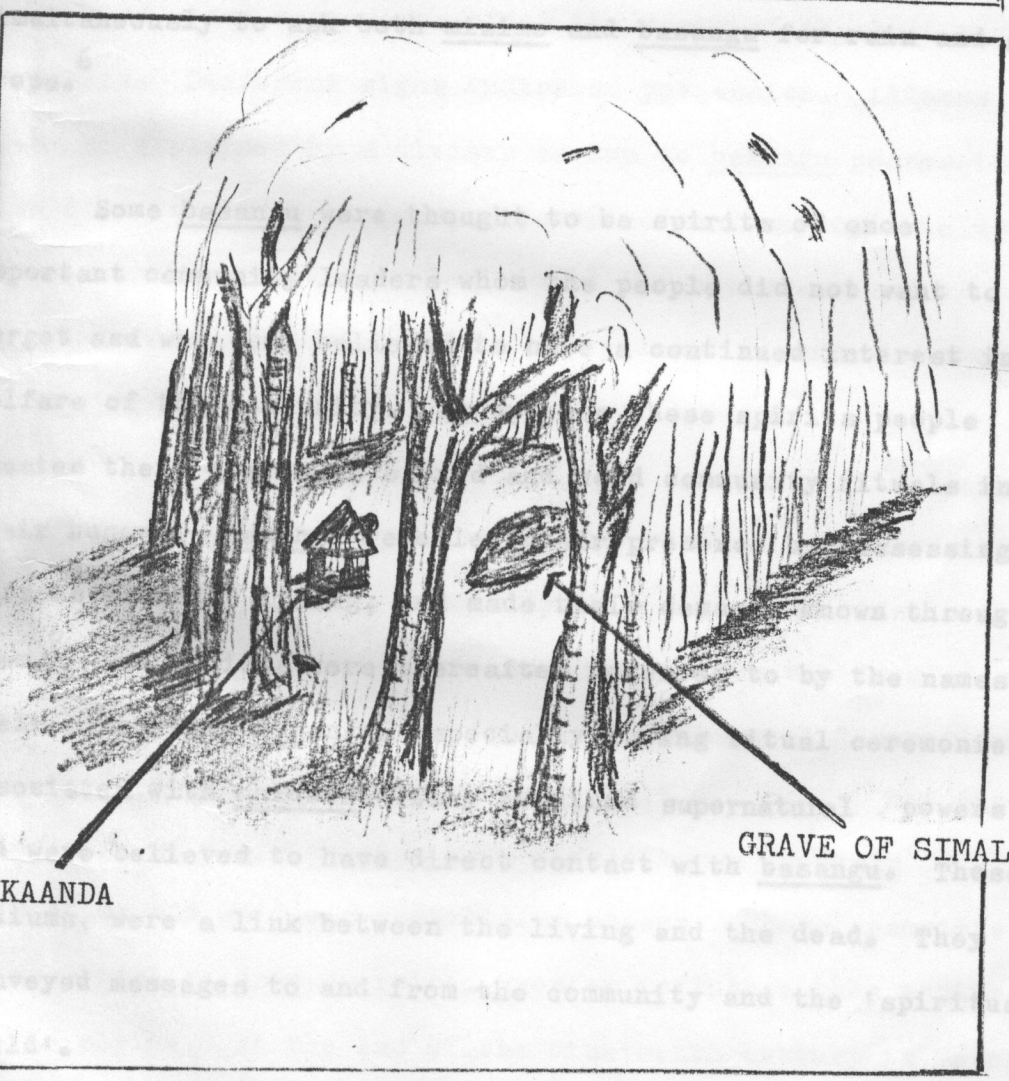


FIGURE 3. GONDE (GROVE GRAVE SHRINE)

senior members of the family. Mizimo were considered to be the cause of an individual's success or misfortune. They protected individuals from ailments and other hardships. In order to appease the mizimo, offerings were made to them by adult men and women. The rituals were performed at the initiation and successful completion of activities such as a hunting expedition, making of pots, and the building of a new cattle kraal. At the beginning and end of the agricultural year, during the malende rituals, each community carried out rites simultaneously to ask both mizimo and basangu for rain and good crops.[6]

Some basangu were thought to be spirits of once important community leaders whom the people did not want to forget and who were believed to have a continued interest in the welfare of the community. To appease these spirits people treated their graves as sacred and held community rituals in their honour. Basangu revealed their presence by possessing persons of their liking, and made their demands known through them.[7] The mediums were thereafter referred to by the names of their possessing basangu, especially during ritual ceremonies associated with malende. They acquired supernatural powers and were believed to have direct contact with basangu. These mediums, were a link between the living and the dead. They conveyed messages to and from the community and the 'spiritual world'.

Basangu chose their own mediums and would settle upon someone in the same clan as the previous medium, even if tha person lived in another neighbourhood. In Chief Hanjalika's area, informants said that basangu only possessed a person in the same clan as the dead medium, though not necessarily a close relation.[8] Usually there would be more than one simalende and they would be from different clans in the same neighbourhood. They were independent of each other just as the basangu were. The possession of an individual by a basan could take place many years after the death of the last perso possessed. Different signs indicated possession. Illness might be explained by a diviner as due to basangu possession. Then a particular basangu was identified and appropriate rituals were conducted to legitimise the choice. When a simalende died, a member of the matrilineal lineage inherited the muzimo but not his basangu.

Basimalende ensured that proper rituals were performed. They advised and led the community in a series of rituals such as those for harvest, and could criticize the form of ritual action carried out in the past and suggest innovations. Some basimalende had influence outside their own neighbourhood especially if their malende were widely known for rain regulating and epidemic controlling powers. Those associated with several malende exercised greater influence than mediums of one shrine. At the end of the nineteenth century in Maunga neighbourhood of the present day Chief Hanjalika's area,

Himatambo of Bansanje clan performed rituals at several mal
Namoozya, Namwaanga, Kabwe Kamoomba and Mandungwa.[10] It wa
control of many malende which made him famous in the reg
and as a result many neighbourhoods came under his influenc

Malende were important in Tonga society. They were
focus of rituals that regulated various activities and ensu
the general welfare, since malende rituals counteracted
droughts, floods and epidemics. They ensured that traditio
codes of behaviour remained in effect. Offences against th
were subject to fines: chickens, goats or cattle payable to
the malende were then eaten by the elders of the community.
Fines were also paid in hoes and axes which were then place
at the malende. Since malende were the focus of the
community, people guarded them to avoid wrath from basangu.
Although basangu on their own could punish offenders by
sending sudden illness or death, in most cases, the communi
as a whole was punished because of the offence committed by
person. All the people in the community were subject to
malende laws and expected to participate in the rituals.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The Political Role of the Malende

In the precolonial period the political system among
the Tonga was based on the rule of elders who settled disput
organized for warfare, and negotiated inter-neighbourhood

matters. These elders ruled almost as equals which made the system highly decentralized.

The basic unit of organization was a mukwashi. It was comprised of matrilineal kin, their wives, children and other dependents. The mukwashi belonged to a larger unit, the clan mukowa (mikowa - plural), which was composed of those who shared inheritance, paid bride wealth for their members and were responsible for paying damages. Among the Tonga, there were twelve mikowa and each mukowa had a totem.[12]

Informants in Chief Hanjalika's area said that mukwashi consisted of both the living and dead. Spirits of the dead members of the lineage and clan were believed to continue living among the people and affected their lives. This suggests a possible explanation for the burial of the dead at the homesteads. The spirit (muzimo) of the dead was inheritable by any member of the lineage. Further, new born were given names of the dead members of their lineage and in that way it was believed that the spirits had eternal lives. Membership in a mukowa offered a link between families. This was shown in moments of sorrow such as funerals, and in happiness during ceremonies such as puberty rituals for girls (Nkolola) when people of the clan convened together. As a mukowa grew bigger, it appeared that strong ties remained restricted more to mukwashi than to mukowa.[13]

The largest political unit among the Tonga was the neighbourhood, cisi (masi - plural). A neighbourhood consisted of a number of villages, approximately five or more.[14] People were free to belong to any neighbourhood. If any one was not happy with local leadership or had pressing disputes with other residents, he could move into unoccupied land and establish a new neighbourhood. The first settler in that area became ulaanyika, the owner of the land. Ulaanyika was among the elders that ruled the community. His significance in the neighbourhood varied. If he was also a simalende or widely known in warfare, his status and fame was greater. Ulaanyika received samples of the first crops, fruits and portions of game meat especially where a hunter belonged to a different neighbourhood in recognition of his authority.

Each group that settled in the neighbourhood had its own lineage land which was held in custody by its own elders over which it had use rights including the right to cultivate. This land was known as the Katongo of that lineage. Any other group which wanted to settle or use such land had to consult the Katongo owners. If newcomers wanted to settle on unoccupied land in the neighbourhood, Ulaanyika was consulted in order to avoid occupying other peoples Tutongo (plural of Katongo).

People in the neighbourhood (bantu ba cisi) therefore gave allegiance to one or more sikatongo who derived

legitimacy for limited power and authority over the neighbourhood because of being the first to settle in that particular area or because he was a descendant of the first settler. People who settled in the area later regarded the sikatongo as the owner of the land, ulaanyika. They consulted him on matters concerning land. Although the sikatongo was referred to as ulaanyika (the owner of the land) he did not own the land as such. He did not even have power to allocate land.

Ruling elders included persons of high standing like famous warriors, hunters and medicine men. All co-operated to settle disputes. All such elders were almost on the same plane. They shared political power such as deciding on important issues concerning security, warfare and disputes which were associated with their special qualities and skills.

Basimalende (basangu mediums) were undoubtedly important. They guided the people in matters concerning the general welfare. They dealt with a variety of activities such as ritual to ensure good harvest, health and success in warfare. Their association with malende and the importance of malende rituals gave them a relatively higher position in neighbourhood politics than other elders.

In each neighbourhood there would be several basimalende, and beendelezi who served as officiants at malende when there

were no mediums attached to the malende. Their reputation depended on the effectiveness of their malende. Basimalende with less effective malende had diminished status, but might consulted during severe drought and epidemics. There was no organized hierarchy of all malende in Butonga.[15] Each malen was independent. However, in a limited sense malende whose basangu were associated with the same lineage formed a hierarchy. Those appealed to first were considered least important. Importance was also recognized by the types of offerings made at the malende.

In Maunga neighbourhood of Chief Hanjalika's area, at end of the nineteenth, and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, malende under the Bansanje clan had some kind of hierarchy.[16] At Bina Hamoonga and Namwaanga malende goats an chickens were offered. Mandungwa was considered the most important. This has been so since the reign of Himatambo at end of the nineteenth century. At Mandungwa a cow was offere and it was appealed to last.[17]

The role of basimalende was politically important beca they dealt with public matters on a wider scale than the loca community. They had influence from their experience and knowledge in general, and during rituals they occupied a special position as intermediaries between basangu and the community. The well being of society largely depended on the effectiveness of basimalende and their basangu. Because basimalende were associated with godly powers, they were more

respected than other elders such as ulaanyika. At times they were referred to as 'the chiefs of soil', bami babulongo. Although associated with supernatural powers basimalende live like ordinary people, except during rituals and when basangu were active in them. They did their own private work such as gardening. They were also subject to the control of other elders. They married and died like others.

The malende were an important unifying factor among the Tonga. It was through malende that some form of Tonga organization evolved. They were effective centres of communit rituals and ceremonies without which the community was believe vulnerable to general disasters such as droughts, floods, pestilence and epidemics. Rituals and ceremonies which were normally accompanied by dances and prayers were important occasions in the community. Their significance is evident fro the fact that all people were compelled to attend and observe rules. Violators were punished.

Warfare

During the 1880s and 1890s the Tonga experienced devastating raids.[18] They were raided from three directions b groups such as the Chikunda on the east, the Ndebele from the south and the Lozi from the west. It was not until the coming of t British that such raids ended. Apart from external raids ther were inter-neighbourhood feuds.

There was no united single defence system of all
Only in some instances did several neighbourhoods co-ope
to put up a united resistance. The defence system among
Tonga was one which required all able bodied men to defe
their neighbourhoods or lead the people into hiding. Si
neighbourhoods had no standing armies, men were called
together during emergencies. Fighters dispersed after p
incidents. Livingstone was told that the wars were resp
for the development of the small scattered village syste
characteristic by mid-nineteenth century. The villages
as observation posts. Those small scattered villages we
sharp contrast to the ruins of big towns which Livingsto
reported when he travelled through Butonga in 1855. The
suggest that the Tonga once lived in large villages.

The wars affected the development of malende. So
malende were abandoned or lost fame. Informants specula
why this happened. Firstly, they thought basimalende an
beendelezi could have been killed or carried away into c
during raids, or communities could have been wiped out b
or the people migrated to distant places far from their
orginal malende. In that way previously celebrated male
were superseded by other local malende frequently visite
the people.

Malende which failed to protect people from raids
reputation. Success in warfare was usually associated w

basangu powers. Although many war leaders were not basimalen such as Mwanachibinda and Hadobelo of Baleya and Bansanje cla respectively in Maunga neighbourhood, and Mbwela of Beetwa cl in Makolyo neighbourhood in Chief Hanjalika's area their succ in warfare in 1890s was attributed not only to their ability and skills but also to basangu assistance.[20] They consulted basimalende and sought basangu help. There were incidents of Tonga victory or successful resistance to external attacks as result of direct basangu influence. Fighters worked in liais with malende leaders who predicted the impending raids and pointed out the possible solutions. Some of the basimalende such as Himatambo in Chief Hanjalika's area, Munzya of Mungol area in Chief Mwanza's area and Monze Mayaba of Monze area were particularly remembered to have protected their people from the enemies.

In Chief Hanjalika's area at Maunga, Himatambo, a simalende who lived during the second half of the century defended his neighbourhood and also led his people during raids on other people. He is famous for having been successful because of help from basangu which were believed t have caused enemies to sleep or deterred them with wind, mist and cold.[21]

Elsewhere there were many basimalende who like Himatambo were successful in warfare, such as Munzya of Mungolo neighbourhood in Chief Mwanza's area who relied upon

basangu to defend their neighbourhoods. Informants said Mu successfully beat off several Ndebele and Lozi raiding parti at Mungolo in the 1890s.[22] The spear blade in her kaanda is said to have been stained with blood on the side from which raiders were coming. Then Munzya alerted people in the neighbourhood and organized them to defend themselves. One her methods of defence involved meat poisoning. A few goats were killed on the predicted day of invasion. Meat was cooked near her kaanda as if for a ritual ceremony. Some pieces of meat in the pots were deliberately disturbed to suggest that pieces of meat were carried away as the people fled. The rest of the meat was poisoned and left near the fire to keep it warm. While a few men were doing all that the rest of the people fled into hiding. When either the Ndebele or Lozi raiders arrived the 'meat guards' ran away. The raiders were misled to believe that their arrival disturbed the festival which was taking place and thought that the meat left behind was safe. They feasted on the meat without knowing that it had poison. Shortly after eating many are reported to have died and others who were left weak by the effect of poison were finished off by the spears of the people of Mungolo.[23] Such tricks by Munzya left only a few survivors among the raiders.

Health

Among the Tonga, individual health was usually associated with the activities of mizimo who guarded people

against various ailments. Illness was linked either wit
anger of mizimo or the work of witchcraft. Herbalists w
were specialists in curative herbs for various illness w
consulted and appropriate remedies were sought, and offe
were made to appease the mizimo.

Outbreaks of diseases like small pox and measles
rinderpest in cattle were attributed to basangu, angry a
neglect of rituals or customs. People then sought to
propitiate them through basimalende and beendelezi. It w
better not to offend. This meant that communities had to
keep certain norms to avoid the wrath of basangu. Therei
basangu were an important element in enforcing discipline
unity.

Rituals to counteract epidemics were simple but
important. People assembled at the twaanda, sang and cla
Then basimalende led them in prayers and consulted basang
after which they explained the reasons for the outbreak,
medicines to be used and the rites to be observed. The
medicines were prepared at the twaanda and people went th
for treatment. Many basimalende were famous for predicti
and control of epidemics. These included Munzya, Nangoma
and Hikabwalama.

Munzya lived in Mungolo neighbourhood in what is no
Chief Mwanza's area in Monze district during the second ha

of the nineteenth century. According to the people of Mungol Munzya protected people and livestock from epidemics, such as smallpox, measles, and coughing.[24] Her malende are reporte to have been so effective that she was even famous in othe neighbourhoods. People gathered at her kaanda to ask for help from the basangu, Mungolo. On the floor of the kaanda there were several small pots and a spear blade used during rituals such as Lwiindi Lwakutebula and those to counteract epidemics. The spear blade was used as a warning device of different hazards that could befall the neighbourhood. It is said to have been bent or stained with blood on the side in the direction from which the epidemic was spreading. Then Munzya announced the impending danger. She explained the ritual and medicine to be used to prevent the epidemic from spreading to the area. The ritual involved the covering of medicine on the floor of kaanda by the pots which were placed upside down, symbolising that the neighbourhood was quarantined from the epidemic just as the medicine in the pot was isolated. If the epidemic finally spread into the neighbourhood, curative medicine was prepared at the kaanda and people assembled for treatment. Munzya, like other basimalende, acquired knowledge about different diseases and their treatment from her basangu. Munzya also successfully protected livestock. For example, in 1896 livestock in Mungo area were saved when many animals died of rinderpest in other neighbourhoods. According to oral tradition, those who did not comply with ritual rules perished together with their livestock.

At Nampeyo neighbourhood in current Chief Chona's are in Monze district there lived another female simalende calle Nangoma. She is believed to have protected her people and their livestock from various illnesses. In 1893 during an outbreak of smallpox only two of those treated by Nangoma w reported to have died.[25] Others who ignored her treatment perished. Nangoma also knew how to protect animals from diseases. During an outbreak of an epidemic she appealed to basangu who directed her on what medicine was to be used and how it was to be prepared.

In Chief Hanjalika's area at Chibuyu, north east of present day Chivuna mission in Mazabuka district there was Hikabwalama, a male simalende.[26] He was so famous for his successful treatment of epidemic diseases that people from distant neighbourhoods appealed to him for help. He is also remembered to have predicted the coming of white settlers and the eventual loss of power by community elders. Hikabwalama lived towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Although infertility in women was usually attended to by herbalists, in very restricted cases women approached malende for help.[27] For example, in Chief Hanjalika's area at Maunga, Munjile, Chibuyu, Nkonkola and Namaila some barre women were reported to have appealed to malende for children This was done on an individual basis. Individual appeals to malende of this kind were most unusual. However, most of th

informants were dubious about the success and frequency
appeals. Some women asked for a limited number of chil
A large number of children seemed to have been an unbea
burden during the hard times of raids and famines
characteristic of the nineteenth century. It was diffi
flee during raids with many small children, and it was
to find food for many children during crop failures.

It was amazing to discover that only women appea
malende with regard to fertility. The reason is not ap
but it could have had something to do with male chauvin
may be that women were sent by their husbands, or due t
fact that the Tonga were matrilineal. They traced thei
ancestry through females. This could have had profound
influence on the development of the role of women in
determining the number of children to be produced. Alt
the father was an important person to the child as duri
mizimo rituals, child and father belonged to different
and clans. If the mother belonged to Baleya clan and t
father to Beetwa, then the child belonged to Baleya cla
It was common practice among the Tonga to attach import
to the maternal uncles. They got part of the bride wea
the nieces and they also contributed to the payment of
bride wealth of the nephews. Since children belonged t
mother's lineages this could be an explanation of why c
women appealed to malende on matters regarding fertilit

Economy

During the late nineteenth and the early twenti
centuries, the Tonga were subsistence farmers dependent
on cultivation and herds of cattle for their livelihood

The division of labour was according to sex. Me
the fields, cut poles for huts and granaries, and built
structures. They looked after cattle and assisted in p
weeding and harvesting. In addition to purely agricult
work men hunted and caught fish. They also worked in c
produced items such as spear shafts, porridge stirrers
spoons. Specialists who made items such as drums and s
were believed to have been instructed by their mizimo t
in the crafts,

> which in theory restricted the crafts to those whose ancestors had the skill, and within this group to those particularly chosen by the ancestors for work.[28]

Women planted the crops and did most of the wee
harvesting. They also caught fish and engaged in craft
items such as clay pots, baskets and mats.

These cultivators had control over the means of
production, including their labour, and the exchange of
surplus they produced because of the nature of the orga
of society which was highly decentralized. While ulaan
claimed a share in ivory and game meat, no local leader
position to exact regular tribute as in centralized sta

as those of the Lozi and Bemba. Beer, first fruits and crop taken to ritual leaders, basimalende and beendelezi, were consumed on the spot by those who attended the rituals and a such they could not be regarded as tribute. In production even elders relied primarily on their own family efforts rather than on assistance from other people. If assistance needed as in making a roof, or planting a large field, this supplied through work parties, Ndima. An announcement was that help was needed and beer was prepared. On the day peo gathered to help in a specified task. After work people dr beer and later dispersed. Ndima was voluntary and rare.

Sorghum and millet were the main food crops, but mai was increasingly grown by the end of the nineteenth century. The idea of growing maize was spread to this part of centra Africa from America by the Portuguese. It was not until th penetration of money economy and after the introduction of ox-driven plough in 1905 that more land became increasingly cultivated, and production became market oriented.

Grain was used in several ways. Processed into meal was used for light porridge, ceele and thick porridge, nsim From it the Tonga also made chibwantu, a non-alcoholic drin which was taken as food by both adults and children. Beer, bukoko, was also made. Beer was ritually important during offerings to mizimo, ceremonies celebrating the growth of children, and annual rituals such as that for planting,

Lwiindi Lwakumwaka. Maize could also be taken as green ma
Cobs were boiled or roasted. At times dry maize grains w
boiled and mixed with pumpkins, or grains were pounded to
remove the husks and then boiled and mixed with groundnuts
From the stalks of millet, sorghum and maize mats were mad
Stalks were also used for roofing and bedding material.[29]

The Tonga also grew varieties of pumpkins, beans,
cucumbers, water melons, okra, sweet potatoes and sweet st
sorghum.

The Tonga kept dogs for hunting and goats, cattle,
chickens and pigeons which supplied meat. They had milk
goats and cattle, butter fat was used as cooking oil and
ointment softening human bodies especially during the cold
season. Skins were used as mats and for clothing. Horns
were used as containers of medicines and as musical
instruments. Livestock were slaughtered as offerings at
malende and for funerals and girls' puberty ceremonies,
Nkolola. Cattle and goats were used for bride wealth. Th
also added to the owner's prestige and wealth.

Success in agriculture was associated with communi
spirits, basangu who were believed to ensure adequate rai
protect crops from pests and be responsible for good yiel
They also protected livestock from diseases of epidemic n

Therefore, malende were directly associated with the agricultural cycle. It was a common belief among the To success in agriculture was achieved because of the bless from basangu and that if basangu were angry, because the not appeased or rituals were not conducted, the communit experienced harships such as the visitation of droughts, and general crop failure. Livestock could be attacked b epidemics.

Therefore, to ensure the success of the agricultu cycle the Tonga performed various rituals at malende. T included rituals of thanks giving, prayers for good crop rainfall, rituals to counteract floods and droughts, rit to eradicate epidemics and protect crops from rodents. were two major annual rituals, one at the beginning of planting season and the other after harvesting or at the period of harvesting. Those were called Lwiindi Lwakumw ritual to initiate planting season, and Lwiindi Lwakuteb or Lwiindi Lwakulyata makuba, ritual for the harvest.[30]

Lwiindi Lwakumwaka was held during the late dry s towards the planting period from August to November. Th community led by basimalende and beendelezi organized ri to ask the basangu, and individual mizimo to liaise with and provide the community with adequate rainfall and a g agricultural season. Basimalende in consultation with community elders announced the time when people were to

preparing for Lwiindi. Sample grains of what were to b
planted during the coming season were presented to basi
who appealed to basangu to bless the forthcoming crops
community. Then, they prepared the grain to ferment.
rest of the community also fermented grains at their ow
Later, basimalende announced when people in the neighbo
should start brewing beer simulataneously.[31]

Lwiindi was a joyful event of much beer and gene
festivity.[32] All people were expected to attend to sho
appreciation for the help given by basangu and to solic
continued assistance. The involvement of the whole com
is evidence of the importance of the ritual.

The quantity of beer brewed for Lwiindi varied.
good agricultural years a lot of beer was brewed. Duri
bad years only a little beer was prepared just by a fe
selected families to signify a major annual event, Lwi
Since basangu were believed to watch closely developme
the community, they were satisfied with a token if the
previous harvest was poor. The basangu, therefore, di
make impossible demands.

When beer for Lwiindi was ready, early in the m
small pots of beer were taken to malende where basimal
and beendelezi, together with other community elders a
to basangu and God to bless the forthcoming season.
mentioned the names of former basimalende who had beco

basangu too, and called upon their related mizimo to join in the celebration. A little beer was poured on the floor at the door way of the kaanda as each spirit was named. That was the drink for basangu. The ritual symbolised community happiness and acknowledgement of the basangu and their activities.

During the ritual, elders from the father's and mother's lineages of the basimalende played a dominant role. They led the community in praising basangu and appealed to related spirits whomthe community might have forgotten or those they had not known to join. Active also were bajwanyina.[33] Bajwanyina were people with a joking relationship with the lineage in charge of the particular malende. For example, if the malende where the ritual was held was controlled by Baleya (goat clan), Bansanje (Hare clan) and Beetwa (crocodile clan) who had a joking relationship with Baleya would be very active. Bajwanyina uttered rebuking words to basimalende and their basangu such as 'if you don't bring good rains and yields we shall never pray through you any more. We shall not give you any more drink'. This was symbolic of the joking relationship ties that the basangu enjoyed when they were human beings. Bajwanyina could also offer livestock at malende. Other people in the community were free to take livestock for offerings. The exercise was voluntary, but where no persons volunteered to offer, it was the responsibility of the clan which controlled that particular malende to ensure

that a fowl or beast for the ritual was available. The lineage elders of basimalende could request specific individuals or villages to find appropriate livestock to be offered lest the whole community suffer severe hardships. People usually co-operated and met malende requirements.

It was the common practice to assign bajwanyina to do certain jobs such as slaughtering livestock and preparing ritual meals at malende. The offering varied from malende to malende. At some malende no nsima was prepared and only meat was served. The bones were collected and burnt. The smoke was symbolic of the dark clouds which could form during the approaching season. At other malende, the communion meal included nsima.

Elders in each lineage appointed persons to organize offerings to lineage ancestors during the general Lwiindi rituals. Basimalende and beendelezi saw that rituals were conducted correctly but became active only at crucial moments as in leading prayers to invoke basangu. They were prompted by experienced lineage and community elders. After prayers and songs, people visited other malende centres both man made and natural. Then, amid jubilation they dispersed to their villages and rejoiced as they drank beer. Age mates drank together.

After Lwiindi Lwakumwaka, the ritual to initiate the planting season, people were free to plant their crops with hope

of success. Nevertheless, crops were at times attacked by pests and rodents. Crops like millet and sorghum were always targets for birds. To save crops from destruction, rituals were conducted annually. A ritual to make scaring of birds and rodents effective, Lwiindi Lwakuyamina, was conducted around February and March each year. People in the community collected samples of the crops to be protected which were presented at the twaanda. Then basimalende announced when the people should start preparing for the ritual. People in the neighbourhood brewed beer simultaneously. When beer was ready samples of the crops from various fields and beer from different homes were carried to twaanda by young boys and girls who had not yet attained puberty and still had their upper teeth (it was a Tonga custom to knock off the six front upper teeth as a symbol of ethnic identity). The reasons for choosing the young are not clear, but it could be that they were symbolic of continuing growth of the crops and it was mostly children who scared birds and rodents: basangu may have been expected to show mercy to the young by protecting the crops they offered, and consequently save the whole community from crop failure.

Basimalende and beendelezi took the offering and appealed to basangu for assistance in scaring birds and rodents.[34] Basimalende then sent children with beer from the twaanda to sprinkle on the fields of basimalende or any nearby fields. Then people rejoiced drinking beer and praised basangu. After this they were free to start scaring birds and rodents in their

fields. It was generally held that if this ritual was carried out scaring activities would be successful and crops were going to be safe from birds and rodents, or at least their effects would be minimised.

If insect pests did invade the fields, children were sent to collect specimens to be presented to basimalende. People gathered at twaanda, singing, dancing and appealing o the basangu to eradicate the pests. The basimalende ther covered the pests with small pots in the twaanda, or ied the pests on broken pieces of clay pots. Then people spersed. It was hoped that after such a common ritual the sts would die.

Crops could also be affected by drought and floods, ch were attributed to the anger of basangu. The success of planting season depended on adequate distribution of nfall. Long dry spells or too much rain destroyed crops. refore, rituals were carried out at malende to ensure sfactory rainfall. When the crops were threatened by flood drought people through their elders consulted basimalende in turn consulted their basangu and explained to the elders causes of the problem and possible solutions.

In Chief Hanjalika's area as elsewhere in Butonga the s in consultation with basimalende decided when and where rituals were to be conducted.[35] On that day people

gathered at malende. They announced their arrival by singing and dancing around the kaanda near the simalende's home. After the simalende greated them, one of the elders representing the group announced their mission, such as an appeal to end drought or floods. The simalende later joined the group at kaanda and led the people in singing malende songs and dancing around a kaanda in an appeal to basangu. If the simalende was entered by basangu, he announced their wishes. The people might be told to return to the malende the next day to allow the simalende time to consult basangu either through dreams or vision, or to decide what type of ritual was to be carried out. The following day the community was told what preparations were needed, such as finding a black beast or fowl if the community was faced with drought, or white livestock if the ritual was to end the floods. Black livestock was symbolic of dark clouds and white livestock stood for clear sky which meant the reduction of the amount of rain.

Offered livestock was usually killed by bajwanyina. At Hanjalika malende if a chicken was offered wings and legs were held firmly and the head was hit against the supports of the kaanda. A goat or cow was held by its mouth until it suffocated. Its legs were tied by ropes and held firmly to prevent it from making a lot of movements. The killing of the beast or fowl by cutting the throat was discouraged because it was a common belief that this would lead to lightning during the rains as symbolised by the oozing of 'red' blood.

Once the sacrificial animal was killed, it was cut into pieces and the meat was usually roasted. In very few cases, especially where the ritual involved the offering of a bigger beast like a cow the meat was boiled. No salt was added.[36] There were two main reasons for this ban. Firstly, when salted meat is put on the fire there are a lot of salt sparks. Sparks were associated with lightning. Therefore, to avoid rains accompanied by lightning meat was not supposed to be salted. Secondly, the eating of unsalted meat had its own significance. It symbolised that people had given up pleasure because eating meat without salt was unpleasant. However, the origin of the ban on the use of salt at malende may reflect the scarcity of salt for large amounts of salt would have been needed. People could have contributed small amounts for the general meal but the ban made salt unnecessary.

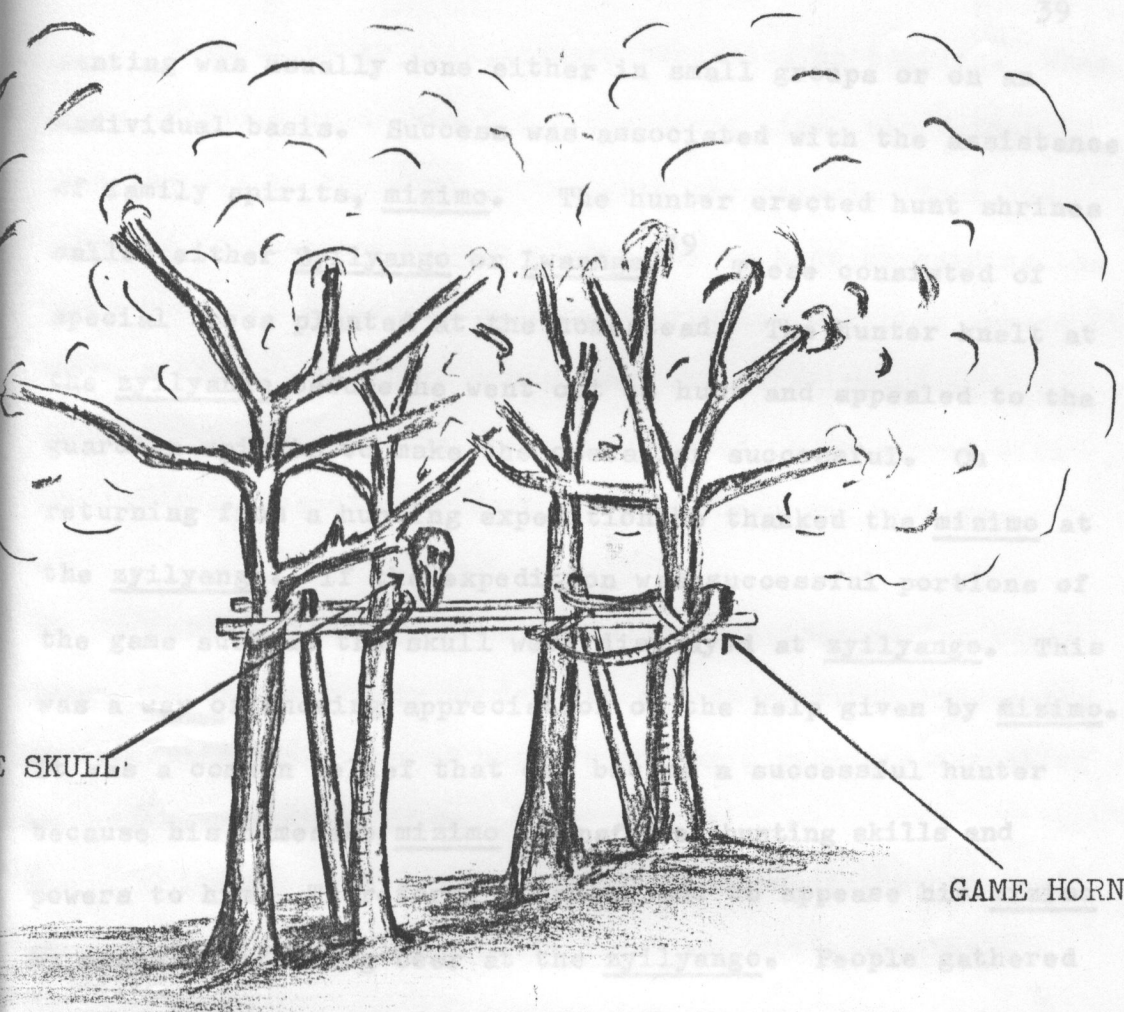
After feasting people resumed singing and requested basangu to answer their requests. If the rituals were held at a malende distant from simalende's homestead, people started moving back to the homestead while singing. At the homestead people continued singing, and danced around kaanda. After several songs they dispersed. If their prayers did not yield results, they went back to the same malende the following day and tried again, or they could decide to consult a different malende in the same neighbourhood, or even in another neighbourhood. Lack of success was usually attributed either to misdeeds that had angered basangu or to witchcraft.

When crops matured each family presented samples of the first fruits of cucumbers, water melons, maize, sorghum and millet to malende. Basimalende appealed to the basangu to *bless the crops. The offerings were cooked with special herbs* at malende.[37] By eating the prepared offering basimalende and other elders such as ulaanyika inaugurated the eating of the first crops.

After the ritual, elders announced to the public that new crops were ready for consumption. The ritual was important because it was commonly held that if people started eating fresh crops before the ritual was conducted they would be made ill or experience severe hardships. When the crops were ready for harvest or just after the harvest, the thanks giving ritual for the harvest, Lwiindi Lwakutebula or Lwiindi Lwakulyata makuba was conducted. This was organized in a similar manner to the ritual to initiate the planting season. The only difference was that here people were thanking basangu and God for the harvest, and soliciting continued assistance. After the ritual they were free to make beer out of the new crops, including beer for girls' puberty ceremonies and general offerings to guardian ancestral spirits.

Hunting and Gathering

In the precolonial period the Tonga were hunters of large game. They used dogs, spears, traps and fire drives.[38]



E 4. ZYILYANGO OR LWAANGA (HUNT SHRINE AND HOUSE-HOLD SHRINE)

Hunting was usually done either in small groups or on an individual basis. Success was associated with the assistance of family spirits, mizimo. The hunter erected hunt shrines called either Zyilyango or Lwaanga.[39] These consisted of special trees planted at the homestead. The hunter knelt at the zyilyango before he went out to hunt and appealed to the guardian spirits to make the operation successful. On returning from a hunting expedition he thanked the mizimo at the zyilyango. If the expedition was successful portions of the game such as the skull were displayed at zyilyango. This was a way of showing appreciation of the help given by mizimo. It was a common belief that one became a successful hunter because his namesake mizimo transferred hunting skills and powers to him. Therefore, a hunter had to appease his mizimo by annually offering beer at the zyilyango. People gathered at his homestead and drank beer. The hunter performed a mock hunt. A zyilyango with many animal skulls displayed showed that one was a good hunter. Hunters were respected because they provided game meat to their own kin and to many others in the neighbourhood.

Hunt shrines were at times also referred to as home spirit gates. When an individual left on a journey, he appealed to the mizimo at the door of his hut and at zyilyango. In that way mizimo were believed to protect the traveller from misfortunes on the journey.[40]

Several other rituals were connected to hunting. When a boy killed a wild animal for the first time, his father took the boy to the hunt shrine with the animal. Then, he appealed to guardian mizimo of the boy to keep on guiding the young hunter. A red or white bead wristlet was tied around the boy's right wrist. This symbolised his maturity as a hunter. As a hunter the boy was supposed to be served with special portions of game meat like the head and kidneys.

Communities organized annual expeditions called chila held any time from July to September each year.[41] The chila involved large numbers of hunters and as a public undertaking needed the blessings of basangu. Rituals were performed to ensure the success of chila in which leaders of the hunting groups worked in liaison with basimalende and beendelezi. This annual ritual was the ritual for spears, Lwiindi Lwamasumo. People prepared beer for the event and when it was ready gathered at the homesteads of basimalende with the hunters in the forefront. The ritual brought together hunters from different parts of the neighbourhood. The hunters assembled with their hunting tools. There was much pride among the hunters since the ritual was held in their honour. The hunters were joined by elders and by the women and children of the neighbourhood. Samples of beer prepared at the hunters' homes were presented to basimalende at the twaanda by the hunters. Then basimalende inaugurated the ritual by pouring beer on the floor of door ways of the twaanda

and appealed to basangu to bless the hunters and the chila. The basangu were praised and thanked for success of previous chila. Hunters rejoiced as they acted a mock chila. There was much singing, dancing and ululation by women. Game previously obtained by the hunters was offered at twaanda. If no game meat had been obtained, a mock hunt was performed. After the chila ritual, people returned to their villages and relaxed as they drank beer.

During the ritual basimalende advised hunters on the type of charms, if any, they needed in order to make chila a success. Precautionary measures were taken to ensure their safety during chila. Hunters were reminded of taboos to be observed such as avoiding sharing a bed with a woman the night before chila. Their wives also observed certain taboos while their men were out on chila. They had to avoid commiting adultery, and they could not talk about their husbands' possible luck or misfortune. It was believed that if these taboos were not observed the hunters would be unlucky. Misfortune during chila at times affected only particular hunters who were believed not to have observed the taboos, or those with offending wives at home.

Hunters also made individual offerings at their zyilyango and appealed to the mizimo for safety and success during chila. Game or fowl was normally offered and a mock hunt was performed. Thereafter, spears and other weapons were

displayed at zyilyango as members of their families and other celebrants feasted.[42] They ate meat with nsima and drank ritual beer.

After the rituals were completed the chila leaders in liaison with basimalende announced the day for the hunt. On that particular day hunters converged at specific points at an agreed time and then moved to where chila was to take place. Chila made use of bush fire. Usually people were not allowed to start bush fires, both because fires were dangerous if people had not taken precautionary measures like clearing around their homesteads and because earlier bush fires made chila a failure.

During chila bush fires were started at strategic points forcing fleeing game to pass where hunters lay in ambush with spears and axes. Some animals also died from fire burns. The meat was shared amongst the hunters. Certain portions such as the heads and hind legs were reserved for hunters who actually killed the animals. The rest of the meat was shared among all hunters in the band. At the end of chila the hunters returned to their villages where they distributed meat to their own kin and other people in the village.

While hunting was done by men, women and children collected wild fruits, edible roots and termites. Although gathering was done almost on anindividual basis or in small

groups, first fruits needed blessing from basangu. Samples were therefore presented at twaanda where basimalende accompanied by community elders thanked the basangu and appealed for a more bountiful supply in the next season.

The ritual for gathering did not require the whole community to attend, and uniquely no beer was offered at twaanda at this time. However, the ritual was considered important because without it people were not free to publicly collect and eat wild fruits or greens. The ritual had the effect of protecting fruits from selfish individuals in the interest of the community. Through the ritual people became aware that wild fruits of a particular kind were now ready. This gave a chance to everyone to get a share.

Fishing

There were few perennial rivers in Butonga such as the Kafue and Zambezi. However, there were many streams most of which broke up into deep pools during the dry season. Streams included Kalomo, Munyeke, Mutama, Kaleya and Magoye. In Chief Hanjalika's area numerous small streams such as Namaila, Mayuwa and Ntonge flowed to the east towards the Zambezi valley. Flowing to the west were Keembe, Chibuyu, Nanjili, Musenzi, Chandwe, Kamvwule, Mbaya, Musuma and Kabolongola which drained into Ngwezi, a tributary of Magoye which in turn joined the Kafue river. In such rivers and streams

both men and women caught fish on an individual or family basis. They used spears, nets, traps and baskets. In many parts of Butonga, people also organized larger fishing expeditions. This was usually done between July and October when most streams were reduced to isolated deep pools. It was in those pools that people caught fish.

Before organized community fishing operations, people carried out rituals to appease basangu which were believed to be in control of rivers and streams, and all creatures in the water. In any given neighbourhood certain portions of the streams such as deep pools were associated with particular lineages. Their elders as custodians of the land (Katongo owners), with other neighbourhood elders organized the annual ritual for fishing. Since the ritual involved the whole community or large sections of the community basimalende were consulted. People clapped and sang songs of praise of basangu at the twaanda and basimalende inaugurated the ritural by appealing to basangu and God for help in the forthcoming fishing operation.

The ritual itself was simple and brief, and it did not involve offerings of livestock or beer. Basimalende advised those who gathered at the twaanda on the kind of poison to be used to kill fish in deep pools, and precautionary measures to be taken to avoid misfortunes. The role of basimalende was basically to solicit basangu blessings and to remind basangu

that people continued to remember them. If the ritual was not carried out basangu were believed to make fishing difficult by sending hazards such as dangerous snakes. From the homesteads of basimalende people moved to the deep pools led by the ulaanyika. At the stream, ulaanyika appealed to appropriate mizimo for successful fishing. He inaugurated fishing activities by dipping his fishing spear or net in the water first. The rest of the people followed. Basimalende and ulaanyika participated in catching fish just like other people in the community.

In areas where streams were usually reduced to isolated deep pools during the dry season, the ritual for fishing was very significant. Fishing had to be controlled to give all the people in the community equal opportunity of getting fish. Private fishing by individuals was discouraged because it deprived other people of the opportunity to catch fish once the deep pools were fished out until the next rainy season when the streams were restocked from perennial streams and rivers. Until this happened, communities either stayed without fish or got fish from other neighbourhoods. In areas with perennial streams and rivers, where the fish supply was rather steady and fishing was done throughout the year, ritual controls on fishing were less important.

From the foregoing discussion the importance of the malende in the precolonial period is evident. The malende held the social fabric together. The imposition of British

colonialism at the end of the nineteenth century put in question belief in the power of basangu, basimalende, and the malende rituals. The factors of greatest importance were the restructuring of political authority; the control of feuding and prevention of raids; the emergence of a very different economic order which stressed cash cropping, wage labour, and trade; the creation of schools and hospitals associated with Christian missions, and the penetration of European attitudes and values throughout Butonga. These influences and their impact will be examined in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER ONE - NOTES

1. Early travellers mention visiting Monze Mayaba and her sister who were both basimalende. See Schapera (ed.), Livingstone's African Journal 1853 - 1956, Volume II (London: Chatto and Windus, 1983), 350 - 353; F.C. Selous, Travels and Adventures in South-East Africa (London: Rowland Ward and Co., 1893), 203 - 243; and J. Moreau, S.J. 'The origins of the Monze Chiefs' (Type script) 1 - 7; David Livingstone met Monze Mayaba in 1855 and mentions Monze's rain making reputation.

2. Basangu is also used with a different connotation as the plural for evil spirit, musangu, but such basangu are not associated with malende. The malende basangu were believed to ensure the well-being of society while the other basangu were viewed by the Tonga as evil spirits whose main concern was to inflict misery on the people. This study is concerned with malende basangu, and basangu as used here refers only to malende basangu.

3. See sketch, figure 2, p11.

4. See sketch, figure 3, p11.

5. A. Mhoswa, 'A study of the educational contribution of the Jesuit Mission and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu,' M.A. ED. Dissertation, The University of Zambia (1980), 8.

6. Colson, The Plateau Tonga, 2.

7. E. Colson, 'Social Change and the Gwembe Tonga', Rhodes - Livingstone Journal, Human Problems in British Central Arica, 35 (1964), 4; M. Kamboombo, a Simalende, 70 years old, interview, at Mainza, Magoye, 27th December, 1986.

8. Interviews with mediums: Kamboombo; M. Chiyonga, 65 years old, at Namwaanga, 29th December, 1986; and M. Hang'andu c. 80 years old, at Chikumba (Chivuna) 28th December, 1986.

9. Scudder, The Ecology of the Gwembe Tonga, 115.

10. Interviews with nieces of Himatambo; Bina Kanyumbu c. 80 years old, at Chitongo, 20th November, 1986; and Bina Chisaala, over 80 years old, at Simwaaba, Magoye 20th November, 1986.

11. Colson, The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, 88.

12.

Clan	Totem	Clan	Totem
Bayuni (Bansyanga) -	Birds	Bantanga -	Zebra
Baleya (Bang'anda) -	Goat, Vulture and Black ants	Bakonka -	Cattle
Baloongo (Bachimba)-	Monkey	Bazyamba -	Hyena
Bachindu -	Chicken and Lion	Bayinde (Bagande, Bafwumu)	Frog and pigeon
Bansanje -	Hare		
Badenda -	Elephant		
Beetwa -	Crocodile		
Bansaka -	Dog and Leopard		

Source: A.W. Chiitauka, Ulimuzubo nzi? (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1957), 3, 6-7.

13. Chiitauka, Ulimuzubo nzi?, 6 - 7.

14. E. Colson, 'The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', in E. Colson and M. Gluckman (eds.) Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), 152.

15. Colson, 'The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', 154; Chiyonga, Interview; Choonya, basangu medium - 63 years old, interview, Maunga, Magoye, 20th December, 1986.

16. Bina Chisaala, interview; and Bina Kanyumbu interview.

17. Choonya, interview.

18. See Livingstone, Livingstone's African Journal, 348; Selous, Travels and Adventures, 203; British South Africa Company report on administration of Rhodesia 1899 - 1900, 449; Colson, 'A history of Nampeyo', 25; A. Roberts, A History of Zambia (London: Heinenann, 1976), 136; Kalomo Secondary School Historical Association, 'Busongo bwa bapati bufwa ambabo' (1970), 15; and J. Syaamusonde, Naakoyo Waamba Caano Cakwe (old Naakoyo tells her story) (Lusaka: National Educational Company of Zambia Ltd., 1978), 5, 8, 11, 24.

19. Selous, Travels and Adventures, 203 - 243.

20. D.C. Nchete, Catholic Parish Priest of Mazabuka, and a descendant of Monze Nchete, 67 years old, interview, at Mazabuka, 23rd December, 1986; Chinkuli, interviewed at Mapondo, Magoye, 15th December, 1986; Chinkuli born at about 1900 was one of the small boys living with Mwanachibinda, a war veteran of Maunga neighbourhood in Chief Hanjalika's area. Mwanachibinda lived towards the end of the nineteenth century and died in early twentieth century. Both informants said that some basimalende predicted wars and possible solutions.

21. M. Hansumbu c. 86 years old, interview, at Kataba, Magoye, 10th December, 1986; Bina Chisaala, interview; and Bina Kanyumbu, interview.

22. Chinkuli, interview.

23. Chinkuli, interview; and Chilemba, c. 80 years old, lived in Mungolo area until 1965, interview, at Mapondo, Magoye, 15th December, 1986.

24. Kamboombo, interview; Mapani, c. 70 years old, and S. Mwiinga, c. 60 years old, both lived in Mungolo until 1965, interviews at Mapondo, Magoye, 16th December, 1986; G.J. Labuschagne, NAZ, KSB 3/1, Mazabuka District Notebook, Volume II, 1954 - 1962, Tour report No. 8/1954, 44, mentions Mungolo Munzya as Simalende during the second half of the nineteenth century.

25. Colson, 'A history of Nampeyo', 38.

26. H. Milambo, c. 70 years old, interview, Chikumba, 20th December, 1986; and J. Moonga c. 60 years old, interview, Chibuyu, 20th December, 1986.

27. Mapani, interview; and Bina Maambo, 80 years old, interview, Maunga, Magoye, 21st December, 1986.

28. Colson, 'The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', 104.

29. Chinkuli, Interview; also see A.K.H. Weinrich, The Tonga people on the southern shore of Lake Kariba (Gwelo: Maambo Press, 1977), 71 - 89.

30. Colson, 'A history of Nampeyo', 100; Labuschagne, Mazabuka District notebook, 43.

31. D.C. Nchete, Maambaamba Musaama (Lusaka: National Educational Company of Zambia Limited, 1968), 36. Syaamusonde, Naakoyo, 38.

32. Colson, 'A history of Nampeyo', 100.

33. Choonya, interview; Hang'andu, interview; and E. Hamweenzu 50 years old, interview, Maunga, Magoye, 12th December, 1987.

34. H. Kalimamiyanda, 68 years old, interview, Maunga, Magoye, 26th December, 1986; M. Haapenga, c. 75 years old, interview, Chivuna, Magoye, 27th December, 1986; Kamboombo, interview; Hang'andu, interview; Choonya, interview; and Chinkuli, interview.

35. Kalimamiyanda, interview.

36. Choonya, interview; and Kalimamiyanda, interview. Both informants said that the ban on use of salt at Malende has been passed from generation to generation. This was during rituals which I observed on 26th December, 1986, at Maunga, Magoye.

37. Moonga, interview; Hang'andu, interview; and Chinkuli, interview.

38. A.M. Chimamu, Myezi (Lusaka: Longman Limited, 1975), 9.

39. See sketch, figure 4, p.40.

40. Joojo, c. 97 years old, one of the first four boys to work with Father Moreau at Chikuni in 1905, interview, Chikuni near Chisekesi, 10th January, 1987 and Bbweluuma, c. 90 years old, interview at Mapondo, Magoye, 15th January, 1987.

41. Moonga, interview; and Nchete, Maambaamba, 8.

42. Kalimamiyanda, interview; Choonya, interview; Hang'andu, interview; Bbweluuma, interview; and Haapenga, interview.

CHAPTER TWO

MALENDE IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1898 - 1963

This chapter will focus on malende in the colonial period. It will examine a whole new environment in which malende came to operate. The effects of a new environment were gradual but definite. Therefore, various factors of influence such as the colonial administration, the spread of Western culture and Christianity which had profound effects which led to a change in the role and status of malende will be examined. The chapter is divided thematically under subsections as: the coming of the British and the bureaucratization of rule among the Tonga; the economic impact of land alienation, labour migration, cash cropping and new agricultural technology; and missionary influence on education, religious belief, and health. An attempt will be made to establish how each of these factors affected the role and status of malende and their leaders.

The Coming of the British and the bureaucratization of rule among the Tonga.

British rule was introduced among the Tonga by the British South Africa Company. The company ruled the area from 1898 to 1924 when the British crown took over the administration. In an effort to control Butonga the British South Africa Company established a fort on the plateau at Monze Nchete's village in

1898. Probably due to lack of military resistance, the fort was abandoned in 1903 when the company created a civil administration.[1] In 1905 an administrative centre was set up at Magoye and other centres were later established in Butonga. European farmers began to arrive and forced out into remote areas the Tonga who lived on those areas where they chose to settle. This was in line with the Lawley Concession of 1898 in which the Lozi King Lewanika had granted the British South Africa company the right to farm land in any part of Butonga.[2]

Although the Tonga did not offer military resistance to the British occupation of their territory, they opposed some of the colonial policies. As a result the early Colonial officials at times resorted to violence in order to assert their authourity. For example, in 1907 about one hundred men in Chief Sigongo's area in the Gwembe Valley rebelled against paying tax. The Native Commissioner with the help of a few administrative officers fired on them. Some of the people died and others were wounded.[3] In 1913 Monze Nohete, a Tonga chief who was also a simalende, was arrested by the British South Africa Company when he tried to collect tax from the people and pay it directly to the British Crown instead of paying it to the company. The company forced him to live at the confluence of Magoye and Ngwezi streams in Magoye area away from his original village near Chisekesi. He remained there under company observation for two years. In 1915 Monze was allowed to go back to his previous village where he died two years later.

Elsewhere in Butonga such as in Chief Hanjalika's area, the British rule was imposed on the people without much resistance.

To begin with, the British South Africa Company ruled the Tonga directly. The company took over political, legislative, judicial and administrative power, but the company did not have enough personnel to carry out all its duties. This forced it to rely upon Tonga elders, some of whom were recognized as chiefs and headmen. It had difficulty in discovering leaders recognized by the Tonga themselves as rulers over large areas since the Tonga political organization was not hierarchical. Therefore, the company chose a few individuals who could claim status as representatives of the descendants of rain-makers or indunas and elevated them as Chiefs.

> For every man who thus became a Chief, there were probably ten who had an equally valid claim since they or their ancestors had also been recognized as leaders of small groups of villages, (cisi) or as ritual leaders.[4]

In Mazabuka district there were many cisi leaders who complained at not being recognized by the company. One such was Kasengo in what is now Chief Naluama's area.[5] Those passed over argued that they controlled larger areas than many of those given the status of Chief.

Most of the appointed Chiefs and village headmen were neighbourhood leaders such as the ulaanyika and basimalende. The Tonga attached great importance to malende rituals.

Other traditional ruling elders such as ulaanyika who acted as advisers on when rituals should be held were subject to the ritual pronouncements of those in charge of the malende. These basimalende were therefore the recognized leaders of the cisi with respect to the many aspects of life regulated through the malende. Usually, however, they and their malende controlled only a small local community. There were numerous such leaders among the Tonga. Company officials found it difficult to use a system which was highly decentralized into many small independent political communities. It preferred a more centralized system. It merged neighbourhoods together into what it called chieftaincies and in each chieftancy, one person was elevated to the position of secular ruler or chief. The rest were recognized only as village headmen or they were ignored.

In the 1890s Himatambo, a simalende of Maunga neighbourhood, was recognized by the company as chief of Chisalilo area which embraced the neighbourhoods of Chitongo, Munjile, Kataba, Mainza, Chivuna, Chikumba, Chibuyu, Nkonkola, Hanzala, Namaila and Meezi in Magoye region.[6] The chieftancy later became known as Hanjalika. Other leaders were appointed as village headmen under Himatambo. Previously all neighbourhood leaders had ruled more or less as equals and their neighbourhoods were independent of each other.

Before 1918 there were one hundred and sixteen chiefs on the Tonga plateau alone. Between 1918 and 1919 the company decided on further centralization. Some chieftancies were abolished and their areas were merged with other chieftancies. Chiefs Siyowi and Munenga for instance were made village headmen under Chief Mwanachingwala.[7] In 1919 the number of chiefs on the plateau was reduced to fifteen, although it rose again to nineteen in 1921. The qualities required of chiefs were the ability and willingness to co-operate with the British South Africa Company administrators. They held office only as long as the British administrators were satisfied with them. The newly appointed chiefs some of whom were basimalende had their secular authority enhanced and worked as political collaborators. They publicised and carried out directives. In other words, the chiefs acted as 'conveyor belts' of directives between the British rulers and the ruled, the Tonga. Their duties included such unpopular measures as collecting tax and finding recruits for the much hated forced labour, Chibbalo. In 1924 the British colonial office took over the running of Northern Rhodesia and continued with the chiefly system. That did not change the position of the Tonga chiefs as agents of foreign rule.

Basimalende or any other elders who became chiefs or headmen were entrusted with authority as secular rulers to control larger areas than they had previously done. However, initially allegiance to them was mainly from the members of

their original neighbourhoods.[8] People from other neighbourhoods looked at the new chiefs as outsiders who were unjustly imposed on them. Therefore, the chiefs as secular leaders relied for their authority upon the colonial officials rather than on popular support of the people. Secondly, the chiefs were integrated into a hierarchical political system which was quite new and without a parallel in Tonga culture. Thirdly, the customary role of the basimalende was not recognized by either company or colonial officials. This development isolated malende activities from the political order. Previously, there was no clearcut division between ritual and secular authority because most community issues including those of defence against enemies were closely linked to malende rituals. Although the Tonga attached great importance to malende and their associated personnel, colonial rulers were not interested in them. Once popular ritual leaders who were appointed as chiefs eventually lost some of their ritual authority as people turned to basimalende who were not associated with hated foreign rule, and their malende lost status accordingly. Furthermore, whereas basimalende obtained their position because they were recognized as vehicles of powerful spirits, the status of chief was a permanent position with the right of succession vested in the kin of the first incumbent. Among the Tonga the successor was to be chosen from among the matrilineal kin. This led to succession by individuals who had no relationship to basangu and were purely secular rulers without any religious authority in any neighbourhood.

In Chief Hanjalika's area, Himatambo a simalende who ruled at the end of nineteenth century was succeeded by his brother Hingwangwa who ruled until 1902 when he was succeeded by his nephew Chikakula, another simalende. Chikakula was the last simalende to serve as Chief Hanjalika. Those who ruled after him were purely secular rulers. They were Hichigaali (1920s - 1947), Hikabonga (1947 - 1961) and Hakanga Langson Masinja (1961 - 1980).[9]

The fact that chiefs were surbodinate to colonial officers and were ordered about by white administrators was in itself a humiliation. Basimalende who lacked official recognition did not suffer this humiliation. They continued to enjoy popular support in their ritual role while chiefs had to rely on colonial power to exert authority.

However, the changing political situation led to the loss of many malende rituals. Those interviewed in Chief Hanjalika's area, in 1986 and 1987, said that the coming of colonial rule led to the loss of some of the rituals. Rituals such as those associated with warfare were made obsolescent when Ndebele and Lozi raiding groups no longer appeared. Defence and security against such attacks were now in the hands of the colonial government. Neighbourhood feuds were punishable as criminal offences.

During World Wars I and II, although many Tonga were recruited for service,[10] the British made no attempt at

involving basimalende in support of either war. Individual men appealed to their mizimo for protection. In Chief Hanjalika's area purification rituals were performed for those who had killed enemies. This was not done by basimalende but by herbalists. Matters concerning warfare therefore were no longer considered the prerogative of ruling elders but rather that of the colonial central government. In Chief Hanjalika's area, no one could remember any rituals for warfare having been performed since the establishment of company administration in 1903.

Colonial rule also brought about a major transformation of economic activities which in turn weakened belief in the power of malende in ensuring food and other needs.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

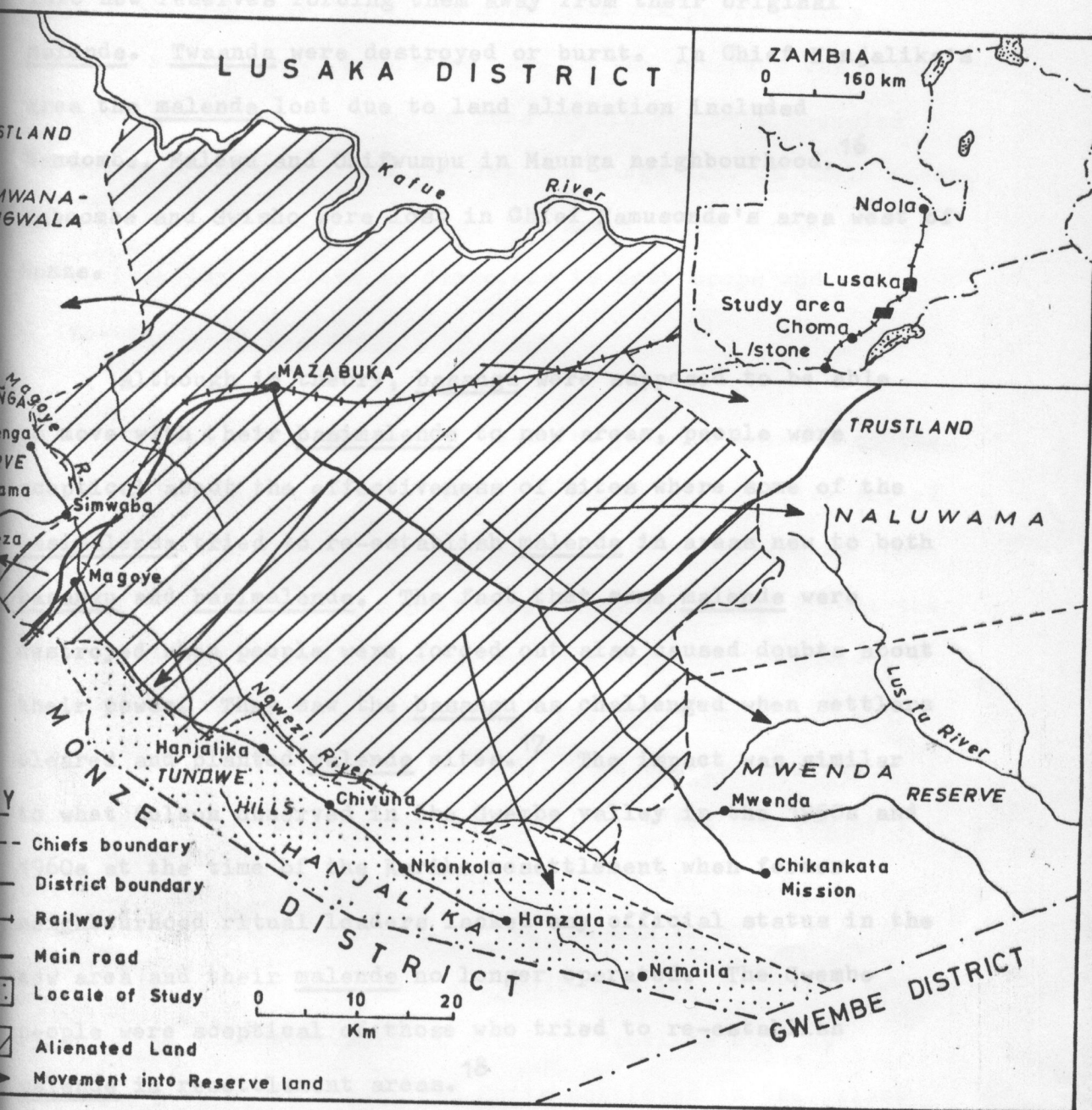
Land Alienation

Land alienation in Butonga was another assault on the status and role of malende. Much land was occupied by white settlers, especially the fertile land near to the line of rail previously densely populated by the Tonga. Many malende sites were lost and their rituals abandoned.

The first application for land on the plateau was made in 1902 by Walker who occupied the land in 1903. In Gwembe Valley, the Vlahakis brothers applied for farm land in 1905

and occupied it in 1906. Thereafter, many white settlers took up land between Kalomo and Mazabuka. More than 20,000 acres were lost in Mazabuka District alone between 1914 and 1918.[11] Thereafter, between 1919 and 1921 another 277,856 acres of fertile land were taken. The Magoye region was one of the areas with the heaviest influx of white settlers. In 1920 Chiefs Mwanachingwala and Siyowi's people lost most of the land west of Magoye and Mazabuka. They were pushed into the Kafue flats. To the east of Mazabuka, Chief Mwenda's people were pushed into hills in Mapangazya area.

In Chief Hanjalika's area, east of Magoye, many people had lost land and were pushed to the hilly and agriculturally poor areas.[12] Between 1905 and 1906 a Rhodesian copper company applied for farm land in Mapondo.[13] In 1913 the company occupied the farm which became known as 'Dora Farm' and displaced Munampamba and Mukwali villages to the confines of Tundwe hill. With the establishment of the white Soldier Settler Scheme in Magoye after 1918, the number of white settlers increased. By 31st March, 1931, there was a total of thirty-six grants comprising of approximately 221,744 acres of which twenty one were free grants to soldier settlers.[14] These farms displaced the following villages: Chipembele, Mwiinga, Nsompa, Nakuweza, Simoonde, Simoonga, Mweemba, Hangoba and Chimbwali. Those displaced were moved into Hanjalika which was demarcated as a Native Reserve in 1928 in line with Northern Rhodesia Crown Lands and Native Reserve Order in Council of 1928.[15]



ALIENATED LAND AND THE NATIVE RESERVES IN MAZABUKA DISTRICT

Land alienation was a brutal exercise. Many homes were destroyed as people were thrust out of their original villages into new reserves forcing them away from their original malende. Twaanda were destroyed or burnt. In Chief Hanjalika's area the malende lost due to land alienation included Mandombe, Malewu and Chifwumpu in Maunga neighbourhood.[16] Naboombe and Gwisho were lost in Chief Hamusonde's area west of Monze.

Although in theory, basangu were supposed to be able to move with their basimalende to new areas, people were sceptical about the effectiveness of sites where some of the basimalende tried to re-establish malende in areas new to both basangu and basimalende. The fact that some malende were destroyed when people were forced out also caused doubts about their power. They saw the basangu as challenged when settlers cleared and planted malende sites.[17] The impact was similar to what Colson observed in the Gwembe valley in the 1950s and 1960s at the time of the Kariba resettlement when former neighbourhood ritual leaders lacked any official status in the new area and their malende no longer operated. The Gwembe people were sceptical of those who tried to re-establish malende in resettlement areas.[18]

Land alienation together with new government policies with regard to game led to eventual abandonment of the ritual for hunting, Lwiindi Lwamasumo. Alienation led to a loss of

hunting grounds and rights. As early as the 1920s in Chief Hanjalika's area hunting became restricted to reserves, except for chila on the flats near Mazabuka particularly for the red lechwe. Soon most game in the reserves was either killed off or had run away to less populated areas occupied by white settlers who did not let the Tonga hunt on their farms. Some hunting methods, including the use of fire during chila, were viewed by settlers as dangerous to both crops and livestock.

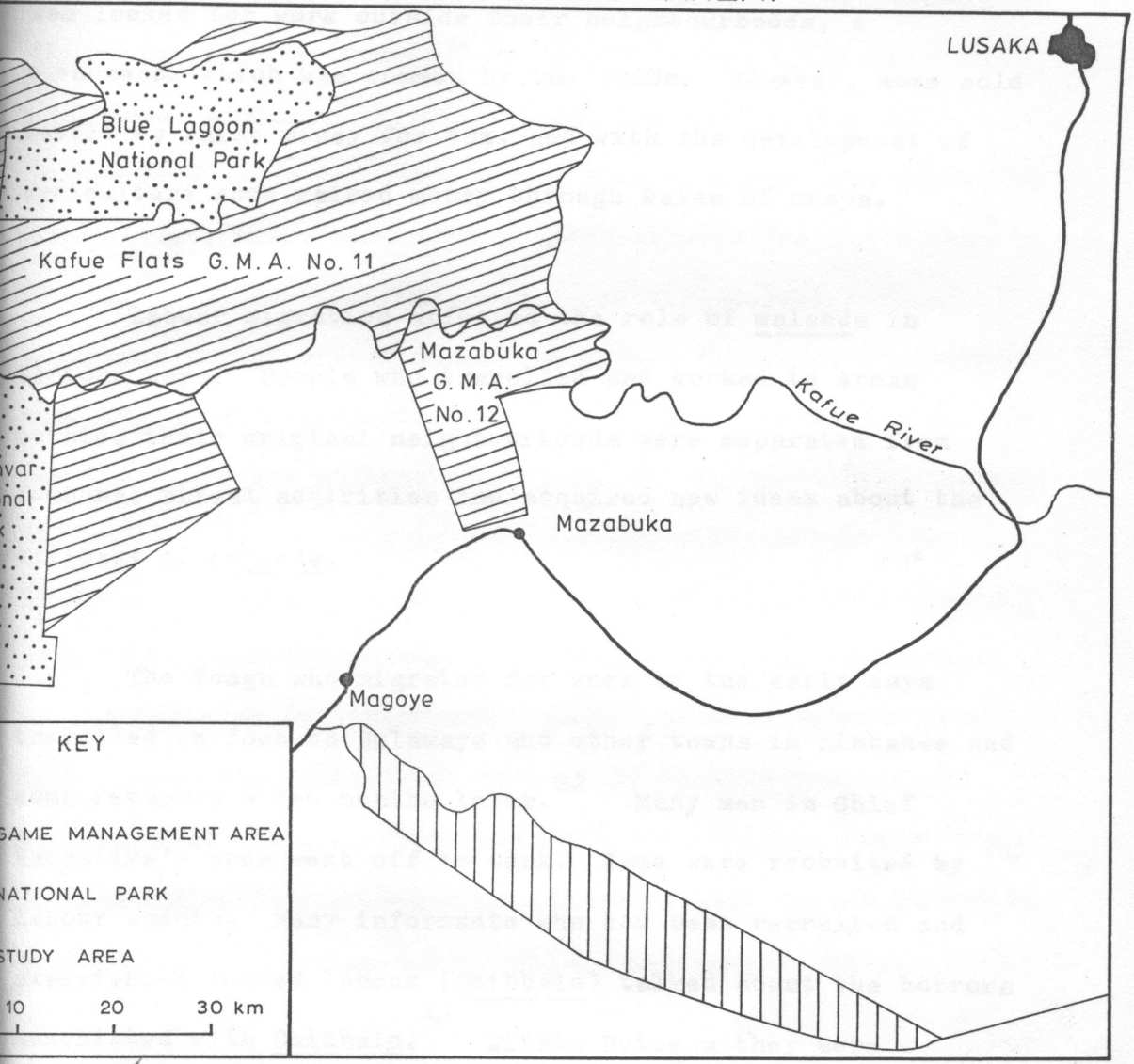
In the 1950s government began to protect animals on the Kafue flats near Mazabuka, when the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1958 led to the creation of the Mazabuka, Game Management area. By that time Lochinvar, a privately owned ranch, had become the main sanctuary of red lechwe (became a government Game Reserve in 1967, and a Game Park in 1972). The chila was officially banned in Mazabuka District in 1955,[19] on the grounds that there was little or no game (especially the red Lechwe) left in Mazabuka. The people, especially those from Mwanachingwala and Hanjalika viewed the ban on chila and general hunting as an unfair and deliberate action against them. This was because elsewhere in Southern Province such as Namwala, government controlled Chila continued to take place as late as 1961.[20] The ban on chila in Mazabuka effectively ended lawful hunting in Hanjalika. Consequently, the once important ritual for hunting and the displaying of portions of game on zyilyango were abandoned. People turned to secret

hunting using methods such as trapping, snaring and trenches as a reaction to the ban, and for this relied on personal medicines rather than public rites. In the eyes of the government officials such hunters were now poachers and liable to prosecution. By the early 1960s both the ritual for hunting and chila had disappeared in Chief Hanjalika's area.

Labour Migration

From the late 1890s many Tonga men and boys, 'Zambezi boys' as they were often referred to by colonial rulers, migrated to the South, to Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) and South Africa where they worked mainly on European owned farms and mines. The British South Africa Company regarded Northern Rhodesia, of which Butonga was a part, as a source of cheap labour mainly for Zimbabwe where it had interests in the mining industry as shareholder and ruling authority, and for its South Africa mining concerns. To stimulate labour migration the company introduced a tax on all male adults in 1904. This was to be paid annually. Additional tax was levied on a man with more than one wife or concubines. By 1907 Africans in Mazabuka District were required to pay five shillings per hut.[21] In 1910 the rate reached £1 per hut. This meant that those with many wives and grown up children had to pay heavily at the time when a cash economy had just been introduced in Butonga. Those who failed to pay tax were liable to a fine or imprisonment. Since tax was paid in cash many

6: GAME MANAGEMENT AREAS AND NATIONAL PARKS AROUND CHIEF HANJALIKA'S AREA.



men looked for work outside their neighbourhoods, a phenomenon which was common by the 1920s. However, some sold cattle to raise money for tax, and with the development of agriculture some raised money through sales of crops.

Labour migration affected the role of malende in various ways. People who travelled and worked in areas outside their original neighbourhoods were separated from communal ritual activities and acquired new ideas about the efficacy of malende.

The Tonga who migrated for work in the early days travelled on foot to Bulawayo and other towns in Zimbabwe and some returned a few months later.[22] Many men in Chief Hanjalika's area went off to work. Some were recruited by labour agents. Many informants who had been recruited and experienced forced labour (Chibbalo) talked about the horrors associated with Chibbalo.[23] Within Butonga they were conscripted to work in public works such as construction of roads.

With the development of urban centres along the line of rail which passed through Butonga, many Tonga men found employment as labourers, messengers, cooks, and later those who had acquired western education found better jobs as clerks and teachers. The number of wage earners increased during the later part of the colonial era especially after 1950. By

1952 of the total of 59,298 taxpayers in the province, 20,611 were engaged in work for wages while 29,687 made their livelihood at home.[24] Those taxpayers at work for wages represented 40.97 per cent of the total number. Ten years later, 1962, the number of taxpayers at work for wages rose to 27,452.[25] Such labour migrants were disassociated from important ritual activities at malende. There is no evidence that migrants instituted rituals in their repsective places of work, or that the absence of so many men increased the number of female and old basimalende. Labour migration in the colonial situation was an economic necessity. People needed cash to pay tax and to buy imported commodities. Previously people depended on barter and locally produced commodities. With the new economic development, the village economy was increasingly being incorporated into the world-wide economic system. More people were becoming aware that they belonged to a wider community than their village and neighbourhood.

Labour migration among the Tonga had a complex relationship with the role of malende. Migrants who returned from work in various parts of Africa came with much exposure to other world views and life styles in general. This had direct bearing on their attitudes with regard to malende. Informants in 1986-7 included some who had been labour migrants in 1930s to 1950s such as Chinkuli, Kalimamiyanda and Chipolokoto of Chief Hanjalika's area. They said their attitudes towards malende were affected in anumber of ways by

that experience. In the new working environment malende were not seen as necessary and labour migrants did not participate in any rituals held at local shrines near where they worked. These were not seen as providing them with protection. Since they were separated from the home environment, they could not participate in malende rituals at home. For the first time, they became aware that one could exist without participating in malende rituals. This created doubts about the significance and values of malende.[26] The longer one stayed away the more one doubted the power of malende. Some migrant workers stayed so long in towns or on European onwned farms that they eventually lost a knowledge of the malende traditions, and their children who grew up on farms and in towns had never attended such rituals.[27] Such labour migrants found it difficult to fit into village life as they returned. Some of them refused to participate in Lwiindi and other rituals, and in the new political order it was impossible to punish them. Now in society there were people who could not participate in rituals without being punished. Previously attendance was compulsory.

Some migrants were basimalende and beendelezi. One such was Chiyonga in Chief Hanjalika's area.[28] Although in most cases beendelezi were appointed to take care of malende in the absence of basimalende, people were sceptical about

the effectiveness of such ritual leaders who took over the leadership when authentic leaders were still alive. Traditionally, one only inherited from a dead relative. In some cases basangu were believed to be no longer with the absent basimalende and to have abandoned malende associated with them. People no longer attached much importance to such malende.

When some basimalende were drafted into forced labour schemes, this indicated that malende and their basangu had no power against the forces of Europeans. When the basangu failed to protect their malende, basimalende, and their people against humiliation by European forces, many said that malende were powerless.[29]

CASH CROPPING AND NEW AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY

Western ideas affected people who did not attend mission schools as well as those who did. Many in the rural community adopted new farming methods after these were demonstrated on mission farms and on the farms of settlers. Later, the colonial government introduced a system of demonstration farmers. Tonga farmers learnt how to use oxen to pull carts, and sledges for transport for both farm produce and people. People also learnt how to use the plough, deep ploughing, manuring fields to increase their fertility, crop spacing and

crop rotation.[30] They also learnt ways of improving their herds of cattle.

Since the introduction of the plough among the Tonga in 1905, its use has been widespread. By the 1930s the use of the plough became very popular,[31] and people produced crops both for sale as well as for consumption. The 'agricultural revolution' by 1950s in Butonga is directly associated with the plough technology and the colonial government policies towards production; good crop and animal husbandry methods.

As early as 1921 there were about two hundred families in Mazabuka District who used ploughs.[32] In 1932 the use of the plough was recorded to be on the increase and those without ploughs hired them. Three years later, Mazabuka District alone had 4,300 ploughs or 77.74 percent of the total of 5,531 ploughs in the province.[33] This may have been due to the demonstration effect of the large concentration of white farmers in the area.

In 1947 the colonial government embarked on teaching people good agricultural practices such as crop rotation. The government set up demonstrations in villages and incentives such as higher prices for crops and certificates for good management were offered. The Native Authority in Mazabuka District passed a code of agricultural orders, and gradually the advantages of following them were recognized over a wide

circle.[34] By the 1950s the Tonga of Mazabuka District, and those of Butonga in general adopted improved agricultural methods such as an increased use of commercial fertilizers, stooking, winter ploughing and the application of Kraal manure. The use of the plough was so widespread and popular that by 1952 there were 14,370 ploughs in Mazabuka District alone, and the province had a total of 21,207 ploughs.[35] This represented an increase of 10,070 ploughs for Mazabuka District, and 15,676 for the province, or 234.18 percent and 283.28 percent respectively since 1935. Since there were 29,687 tax payers making their livelihood at home in the province at that time, a plough existed for every 1.4 taxable males. By 1961 the number of ploughs in the province increased to 29,778. By that time the colonial government had also introduced agricultural shows which were already popular by 1958. At the shows farmers displayed samples of their crops and livestock, and prizes were offered for the winners.

The health of livestock was dealt with by the Veterinary Department. The colonial government instituted a system of stock inspection and registration, inoculations, and quarantine operations.[36] By the 1950s prevention and treatment of livestock diseases by the Veterinary Department were becoming popular and either competed with or reinforced malende rituals.[37] In 1959 during the outbreak of Trypanosomiasis in Mazabuka and Choma districts most people co-operated because they realized the importance of inoculations, and in 1961, 16,910 cattle were inoculated in the province against an Anthrax outbreak because of both the willing

co-operation of stock owners and the plateau Native Authority which passed its own order making inoculation compulsory.[38] Therefore, the prevention and treatment of livestock epidemics which were once a monopoly of basimalende were now also tackled by government Veterinary Officers. Malende rituals eventually lost popularity because an alternative existed which was seen to be working.

Interviews carried out in Chief Hanjalika's area between November, 1986 and February, 1987 show that during the colonial period people were increasingly aware that success in agriculture lay in good agricultural techniques such as the use of manure and not in the power of basangu.

Changes in agricultural practices in Chief Hanjalika's area as elsewhere in Butonga led to the collapse of some of the malende rituals, such as the ritual of scaring birds, Kuyamina, and rituals for harvesting. When people increased production of maize, partly for sale, which is also associated with plough technology, maize replaced older crops such as millet and sorghum which were the prey of birds. The ritual of scaring birds then lost its importance and was finally abandoned altogether because the ritual became irrelevant. The rituals of the first fruits, and fishing were also abandoned by the early 1960s as people became aware that white farmers and Christians and their workers, who ignored such rituals did not suffer from any illness as a result of

basangu anger. Therefore, many people stopped taking samples of their first crops or fruits to malende. Therefore, instead of performing rituals to thank basangu they took their produce to government organized agricultural shows which had become popular by the late 1950s.[39] Although the rituals for planting and harvesting continued during the colonial period, they increasingly lost popularity by 1963 as many people started planting and harvesting without waiting for the basimalende and encountered no problems from basangu. The rituals to control pests continued into independence period as the use of chemical pesticides had not yet become widespread, and there was no other effective alternative.

MISSIONARY INFLUENCE

Education and Religious beliefs

Since the early 1900s many missionary groups have settled among the Tonga: the Methodists at Sijoba (1901), and the Salvation Army at Ibbwemunyama (1926) in the Gwembe Valley, the Jesuits at Chikuni (1905), the Seventh Day Adventists at Rusangu (1905), the Brethren in Christ Church at Macha (1906), the Anglicans at Mapanza (1910) and the Church of Christ at Namianga (1922) on the plateau. These missions later opened many outposts, including Chivuna (Jesuits), Chitongo (Seventh Day Adventists) and Munjile (Salvation Army) in Chief Hanjalika's area. The missionaries spread Christianity through direct pastoral work and schools. The missionaries

were important agents of cultural change. They preached a new religion, Christianity, and introduced the new concepts of sin and salvation. They challenged the basis of Tonga religion including the malende. As a result some Tonga became converts and started questioning or rejected the malende, the basangu and their rituals. Precolonial Tonga culture was passed on to each new generation by elders who taught the young social, economic, political and religious practices and their rationale. With the coming of European rule, western methods of education affected both Tonga culture in general and the malende in particular. From the early days of colonial rule, missionaries were associated with the spread of colonialism and ideas of Western culture, mainly through education. They taught the people especially the young how to read and write so that they could read and understand the scriptures of the Christian religion.

It was not until after 1924 that the colonial government showed some interest in African education. In 1925 it established the Department of Native Education but only subsidized mission schools. From the beginning, it should be noted that it has been difficult to separate Christianity from education. Normally the two were interwoven; education was spread by missionaries, and Christian religion was part of the mission education. Mhoswa, another scholar who researched on the Tonga, discovered that in the 1940s it was not easy for missionaries to spread the idea of Christianity without

education.[40] Some form of elementary education was necessary because it was through education that the young could be influenced by Christianity. The school curriculum included subjects such as religion, catechism, reading and writing.

During the early days, mission education faced a major problem due to lack of students. Most of those who enrolled in schools could not tolerate the new education whose advantages they did not immediately perceive. They deserted schools because they were not prepared to adopt the new way of life based on Western ideas, attitudes, values and Christianity. Parents were reluctant to send their children to school. They preferred them to continue following the old ways such as herding cattle for boys and agriculture for girls. It was not until the 1930s and 1940s that mission education attracted many Tonga youth who were drawn to school by the examples of those few who had gone to school and now earned salaries as teachers or government civil servants, or had become successful farmers.

Mission education produced a new class of educated young Tonga which challenged the operation of malende. The school educated young were able to offer a competing interpretation of misfortunes such as drought, diseases and floods.

Mission education offered obvious advantages when jobs became available in the colonial administration and only those who had had some form of western education could be employed as clerks and teachers. They found work outside their neighbourhoods and away from the malende. Employment offered a regular salary and increased authority, prestige, and freedom from manual labour for those with education. These advantages drove many Tonga youth to enter schools and join churches. The church forbade attending rituals at malende, and therefore, most of those associated with the church and school stopped participating in such activities, weakening their ties with Tonga culture.[41]

Some of the young who became associated with western education and Christianity turned against malende rituals. They saw the new way of life including Christianity and other western ideas and values as the source of European power and wealth, and believed that those who learned to read could acquire the knowledge and power of the Europeans.[42] By the 1940s, and 1950s those with high social status such as clerks in government departments, and other wages earners were usually associated with European education.[43]

Education also provided a new class of political leaders. For example, during the struggle for independence people looked to those with some form of education for leadership such as primary school teachers most of whom had

standard six or lower education, and not malende ritual leaders most of whom were illiterate. In Chief Hanjalika's area prominent African National Congress Party politicians such as Naulo Moonga had some form of education. Basimalende as a group did not struggle for their lost political power, and educated politicians did not seek basangu powers against the colonial government. This further reduced the political significance of basimalende.

Through schools and church services missionaries attacked many aspects of Tonga culture: polygamy, drumming, dancing, initiation ceremonies of adolescents, communication with the mizimo and participating in malende rituals.[44] To the missionaries mizimo and basangu were evil spirits to be fought against. Efforts were made to discourage people from participating in prayers at malende. With the help of Tonga Christian adherents some missionaries even destroyed or burnt twaanda. Joojo of Chikuni who was among the first four boys from Monze's village to accept Christianity as early as 1902, reported in 1987 that before 1920 he had accompanied Father Moreau in burning twaanda in Nabukuyu area east of Monze town. Such acts attacked the status of malende and their leaders.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s mission work intensfied. In Chief Hanjalika's area missionaries established centres in 1940s and 1950s: the Catholics at Chivuna, Nkonkola and Hanzala, the Seventh Day Adventists at

Chitongo, Kataba and Hanjalika (Maunga), and the Salvation Army at Munjile, Mainza and Namaila. Informants said that through missionary preaching and teaching many people especially the young turned from traditional practices such as attending malende rituals to Christian church services. Many adopted Biblical names such as John, Luke and Judah which were meaningless to Tonga speakers. Early Tonga converts tended to evaluate malende in mission terms as 'devilish' or 'Satanic'. This was a direct attack on the practices associated with malende and the powers of basimalende and beendelezi. They began to challenge the old religion in favour of Christianity.[45] They argued, for example, that it was silly to believe that the dead would be concerned with the welfare of society such as bringing rain or causing illness. To such christians the dead were no longer effective because their souls (spirits) went to God in heaven. Since the idea of God was not new to the Tonga, those who followed Christianity found it easy to adapt themselves to the new situation. They argued that people should appeal to God through Jesus Christ and not to mizimo and basangu.

Although missionaries demanded the abandonment of malende rituals their campaign met with some resistance. Some people did not accept mission teaching and had no desire to become Christians. They continued to follow malende practices. Those most likely to uphold malende rituals included those least exposed to the preaching and teaching,

that is, those who did not get mission education, or those who did not live near mission stations.

According to most Christian churches polygamists who adapted the Christian way of life had to divorce all wives save the first. Christians were discouraged from drinking beer and participating in activities such as initiation ceremonies for the adolescent. Such requirements alienated elderly persons who were attached to tradition and who also saw their high status as elders undercut when they were ordered about by missionaries or by youngmen who were given church positions as preachers or evangelists. It was easier for the old to follow Tonga tradition rather than turn to the new religion with all its demands. During the early period of missionary preaching, even as late as the 1940s, some of the elders saw prayer meetings as another form of children's game 'harmless enough and beneath the interest of elders'.[46] But many of the first generation who tried Christianity fell back to traditional ways as the mission demands made it difficult for them to follow the new Christian faith.

Informants in Chief Hanjalika's area said that during the colonial period, as late as the 1950s and the early 1960s, some sections of the community still participated in various rituals including some less commited Christians: 'today they attend church service and tomorrow they attend rituals at

malende.[47] Such people saw little contradiction between Tonga religious traditions and Christianity. The missionaries appealed to God, and stressed the significance of the figure Jesus Christ and attached importance to the apostles. The non-Christian Tonga also appealed to God, but stressed the role of basangu for public matters such as praying for rain, and the mizimo for individual concerns. In both religions there were intermediaries; clergy for Christianity and basimalende for Tonga religious practices centred on malende.

However, the religious responsibility over the community was now being shared between Christianity and Tonga religion. People had divided loyalties, some decided to follow Christianity; others continued with traditional customs such as attending the surviving malende rituals; while some did both. This challenged the old supremacy of the malende.

Health

Before the coming of colonial rule epidemics were treated at malende by basimalende who also foretold epidemics. However, by the end of colonial rule the malende were less important in regulating the health of communities. They were being challenged by the introduction of western medicines.

Soon after the beginning of colonial rule, health centres with European type of medicine were established by the missions. Early centres in Butonga included Chikuni (Jesuits), Pemba

(Pilgrim Holiness), Ibbwemunyama which was later tranferred to Chikankata (Salvation Army), Macha (Brethrem in Christ), Mapanza (Anglican) and in the Gwembe Valley, Kanchindu (Methodist). In the 1940s and 1950s more mission health centres were opened such as Chivuna clinic in Chief Hanjalika's area, and Macha hospital in Choma. At some schools, such as the Jeanes School in Mazabuka, health facilities were also offered.

At such centres many people were treated for ailments such as tropical ulcers, broken limbs, burns, malarial fever, ear ache, headache and tooth ache. The centres also vaccinated and treated people against outbreaks such as smallpox.

Many in Chief Hanjalika's area were sceptical when health centres were first introduced about the effectiveness of European treatment. Some avoided both vaccinations and treatment at the new European controlled centres because they believed that basangu were against European medicines.[48] Some people accepted vaccinations only after prevention and treatment at malende had failed, and usually after seeing what most of those vaccinated did not die. Some people both accepted vaccination, and continued to appeal to basimalende. However, by the 1930s many more people began to use the health centres, both because they accepted western medicine, and

because the colonial government compelled chiefs and village headmen to report outbreaks of epidemics to the government.[49]

In 1926 there were outbreaks of tropical sores and smallpox. Some people were treated at the Mission clinics. In the same year villagers living near Chikuni were vaccinated against smallpox and only a few cases occurred in the villages of Chisuwo, Maanya, Maalila, Fenuka, Syanamayila, Cobe, Mwanamalenga and Kenyemba.[50] The Batoka District Annual Report of 31st December, 1927 indicated that in Mazabuka District, of which Chief Hanjalika's area was a part, a total of 26,859 people were vaccinated against smallpox. There were six hundred recorded cases of illness; of which one hundred and thirty-four ended in death. The report indicated that the total number of people affected could have been about five thousand. This suggested that many were not vaccinated and those may have relied on malende rituals for prevention and treatment. In 1930 another outbreak killed many people.

In 1939 there was an outbreak of mumps. Many people went to the clinics, but some preferred to use malende. In Chief Hanjalika's area those who went to malende for protection against or cure of mumps were advised by basimalende to use dry gourd seeds from the previous season. The seeds were tied to a string which was worn around the neck. Those who complied were said to have recovered quickly, and some were not affected at all.[51] Thus, confirming traditionalist belief in

malende.

By the late 1930s European controlled health centres were increasingly becoming popular. Those health centres treated diseases of epidemic nature and attended to individual cases as opposed to malende which only took care of epidemics. This was seen by the people who opted for health centres with western type of medicine as an advantage over malende. In Mazabuka District alone, in 1935, there were about 31,000 attendances at the government Native hospital and the dispensaries attached to the Jeanes School and various mission stations.[52] By the 1950s European medicines and medical centres had become so popular that thousands of people walked long distances for treatment. In 1959 Mazabuka hospital alone recorded 74,500 attendances for various illness.[53] This could also be interpreted as an indicator of the increase of outbreaks of diseases as people increased their mobility and interaction in places such as towns, schools and churches.

The spread of European medicines and health institutions affected people's attitudes towards malende treatment of epidemics. At the health centres outbreaks of epidemic diseases were not explained as being due to the anger of the basangu. Many became sceptical that the malende rituals could prevent or treat epidemic diseases as effectively as the new health centres.

The spread of European medicines also affected people's attitudes towards mizimo as a source of individual good health. The role of herbalists was also affected as many people turned to the new health centres for treatment. But medical facilities were not readily available to all villagers and some people continued to appeal to basimalende for help. In most of Butonga, including Chief Hanjalika's area, by the early 1960s rituals to counteract outbreaks were rarely held and in some neighbourhoods they had died out completely.[54]

The western influences which had such an impact on malende did not cease with the coming of independence. Therefore, in the next chapter the focus will be on examining whether the forces which influenced the role and status of malende and their leaders during the colonial period continued during independence, and attempt to establish how each of them affected the malende during the post-colonial era.

CHAPTER TWO - NOTES

1. P.A. Large, NAZ, KSB 1/7/1, Mababuka District Tour Report No. 6/51, July 14th, 1951, 475; Also see T.W. Baxter, 'The Barotse Concession', The Northern Rhodesia Journal 1, 3 (1950 - 2), 39; and E. Colson, 'The Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia', in E. Colson and M. Gluckman (eds.), Seven Tribes of the British Central Africa (Manchester: The Manchester University Press, 1951), 101; Formerly, the British South Africa Company established an administrative centre at Kalomo in 1897, but it was not until 1903 that civil administration became effective. Below were some of the major administrative centre changes in Butonga, Southern Province: 1897 Kalomo was main administrative centre. In 1907 Mazabuka became an administrative centre for the plateau, and Gwembe for the Zambezi Valley. Livingstone administered areas around Livingstone to Batoka gorge and in 1922 Gwembe was merged into enlarged Mazabuka District. Namwala administered the Kafue Flats mainly inhabited by the Ila. Between 1951 and 1952 Kalomo, Choma and Gwembe were established as administrative centres. In 1968 Monze became a new district administrative centre.

2. NAZ, ZA 1/15, 1/4; GBCO 795/17/18252, 1927 Native Reserve Commission (Line of Rail) Report, 1927 Vol.1 outlines company rights to dispose Africans of their land for white settlers in line with Lewanika's agreement in 1906; See also NAZ, BS 2/25, British South Africa Company Annual Report, Feb. 1, 1905; for land alienation by 1909, see BS 2/137.

3. NAZ, NWR 2/241, Kafue District, Native Unrest, 1907.

4. E. Colson, 'Comment on the Tonga Report', in W.A. Allan, M. Gluckman, D.U. Peters and C.G. Trapnell, Land holding and land usage among the plateau Tonga of Mazabuka District: A Reconnaissance Survey, 1945 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968), 187; Also see NAZ, BS 2/137, Frank Northington, the first Batoka District Commissioner's memo of 1903, and in 1913 he complained of endless list of so called chiefs.

5. NAZ, KDB 1/5/2, Chiefs and Headmen, Mazabuka District, 7-10-34, shows that many 'sub-chiefs' in 1920s and 1930s claimed to be 'Cisi' owners, such as Kasengo who claimed to be owner of 'Cisi' and not Naluama; see letter no. 1258/10-A/34, 29th October, 1934.

6. Chief Hanjalika, 'Hanjalika chieftainship', unpublished typescript, Mazabuka, shows that Himatambo was the first Chief Hanjalika to be recognized by Europeans (British).

7. NAZ, KSB 1/7/2, 1934, District Commissioner's letter to the Provincial Commissioner, 21st April, 1934, indicated that Siyowi was dropped as chief in 1934, while Munenga who Selous found as a head of a 'district' was not on the list of chiefs. For details of Selous' encounter with Munenga, see F.C. Selous, Travels and Adventure in South East Africa (London: Rowland Ward and Co. Limited, 1893), 209 - 243. The power to appoint chiefs was with the Governor.

Although both the B.S.A Company and the colonial office practised rule through chiefs, indirect rule was officially launched in this region in 1929. For powers to appoint chiefs see NAZ WI 6/224/1929 April, 1929, Attorney general writing inreply to J. Moffat Thomson, Secretary for Native Affairs letter No. 654 - 27, 27/1 of 26th March, 1929.

8. Bina Chisaala, interview; and Bina Kayumbu interview, members of the Hanjalika royal family both indicated that apart from those close relatives to the chief and those living in the immediate neighbouring villages, many people looked at the chief mainly as one of the workers for the British and not as their rightful traditional ruler because in their areas they had other people to whom they gave much respect.

9. Chief Hanjalika, 'Hanjalika chieftainship'; Bina Chisaala, interview; and Bina Kanyumbu, interview, both are nieces of Himatambo, distinguished chiefs who ruled Hanjalika area who had not been basimalende.

). E. Colson, 'A history of Nampeyo', Unpublished printed manuscript (Lusaka: The University of Zambia publication bureau), 47, 96, and Namayowe, interview, Kataba in Chief Hanjalika's area, Magoye, 16th December, 1986, said that after he had returned from World War II, rituals to cleanse him were conducted by a herbalist.

. J.C. Momba, 'The state, peasant differentiation and rural class formation: A case study of Mazabuka and Monze districts', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto (1982), 121; also see NAZ, KDB 1/3/5, report by the Secretary of the Department of Lands, 31st January, 1921, for details on land alienation.

12. See map figure 5 p.62 on land alienation.

13. NAZ, KTC 1/1/2/1, 11/6/1913, Gosline, Native Commissioner, Magoye.

14. Magoye sub-district of Batoka, Annual Report, 31st March, 1931. In Mazabuka District land alienation became more effective after the Second World War when many Tonga left their traditional land or became squatters on European land; see NAZ, KSB 3/1, Mazabuka District notebook, Vol. II. 1954 - 1961, 261.

15. M. Dixon - Fyle, 'Political and Agrarian Change among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia, c. 1924- 1963; Ph.D. Thesis London University (1976), 240.

16. In an interview, Hamweemba explained how people were evicted from the present area of Ngwezi and Mbaya Settlements in Chief Hanjalika's area especially in 1930s and 1940s, and how people were pushed into what became known as 'Reserves'.

17. Bina Chisaala, interview; Bina Kanyumbu, interview; and Hamweemba, interview. Such people never went back to use their original malende such as Mandombe and Malewu because they were on European farms. However, it should be noted here that there were very isolated cases where white settlers such as Mr. Reeves later allowed people to hold rituals on their farms. Mr. Reeves allowed people to use Chifumpu malende in 1950s.

18. E. Colson, The Social consequences of resettlement (Kariba Studies IV): The Impact of Kariba Settlement upon the Gwembe Tonga (Manchester: Manchester University Press for the institute for African Studies, the University of Zambia, 1971), 225 - 233., and 'Converts and Tradition' South Western Journal of Anthropology, 26 (1970), 143 - 156.

19. Northern Rhodesia, Department of African Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1955 (Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1956), 84.

20. Northern Rhodesia, Department of Africa Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1961 (Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1962), 12.

21. NAZ, NWR, BS2/38; NAZ NWR A/3/17, BSACO, Hut Tax Annual Report, 1902 - 7. NAZ, KDC 2/17/1, Native Affairs and Customs, 1923 - 1930, and proclamations 9/1914, and 2/1921, Government notice 19/1921 required all adult male natives of African origin domiciled within the territory to pay tax, and additional tax for second or further wives or concubines. The tax was payable each year between July first and December 31st. Natives who without good cause neglected to pay taxes due within the six months allowed were liable to a fine of £5 or imprisonment, in default, for 3 months with hard labour.

22. Bbweluuma, c. 90 years old, interview, at Mapondo, 15th December, 1986, Chinkuli, interview, and Chipolokoto, 78 years old, interviews, Mapondo, chief Hanjalika's area, Magoye, 15th December, 1986. They revealed how they travelled with other Tonga men and boys from Hanjalika and some from other parts of Butonga, to Zimbabwe and finally to South Africa by using private paths during the 1930s and 1940s.

23. Hanzala (c. 80 years old), Halomba (c. 79 years old), Hansumbu, interview, Hanjalika, Magoye, 15 - 17/12/86; Bbweluma, interview. The above interviewees were all ex-Chibbalo recruits. Also refer to Simon Hamuchemba's song in Ci-Tonga, 'Twakali koona musyokwe kuyoowa chibbalo (we were sleeping in the bush because of fearing forced labour recruitment), Lusaka: Mass Media Complex, Tonga Section.

24. Northern Rhodesia, Department of African Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1952 (Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1953), 109.

25. Northern Rhodesia, Department of African Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1962 (Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1963), 23.

26. M. Choongo former Primary School teacher from 1940s to early 1960s, interview, Maunga, Magoye, 15th December, 1986; and Hamweemba a former farm labourer in 1930 - 50s, interview. Both explained how they found it difficult to fit in with the village life especially when it came to traditions such as ancestral spirit worship and malende rituals. To Choongo and Hamweemba some of the rituals at malende were meaningless, and were not worth attending.

27. Allan and others, Land Holding, 56 - 58, discuss the Machona rate (percentage of men away for five years). Research work in Hanjalika shows that there was a good number especially on European farms who stayed on the farms from 1940s into independence such as Khaki on Savory farm. All Khaki's children were born on that farm and know nothing about malende rituals.

28. Chiyonga, a Simalende in Namwaanga neighbourhood near Maunga in Chief Hanjalika's area, left his village to work on a white man's farm near Mazabuka. "During his absence," 1948 - 1956, people appealed to other malende, such as those under simalende Chifwumpu in Maunga neighbourhood. Although his agents kept repairing his kaanda and offered chickens annually, when Chiyonga returned in 1956, he found that many people ignored his malende. But he claimed that many people have been appealing to him since his return especially for rain regulating appeals.

29. People who indicated that basangu were powerless against the Europeans include, Chiyonga, Hamweemba, Bina Kanyumba and Bina Chisaala, interviews.

30. NAZ, KDB 6/7/1, Annual Report of Magoye sub-district of Batoka District for the year ending 31st March, 1916. C.E. Johnson, Northern Rhodesia, Department of Agriculture, Annual Report for 1946, 8. Northern Rhodesia, Department of African Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1960 (Lusaka: The Government Printer, 1961), 66; Momba, 'The State, peasant differentiation', 104, and A.M. Mhoswa, 'A study of the educational contribution of the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni and the Adventist Mission at Rusangu, 1905 - 1964', M.A.ED. Dissertation, the University of Zambia (1980), 196.

31. NAZ, KSB 3/1, Mazabuka District Notebook Volume 1, 1903 - 1953, Annual Report for 1936, 22. Northern Rhodesia, Department of Native Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1932 (Livingstone: The Government Printer, 1933), 18.

32. Vickery, 'The making of the peasantry', 442. Momba in 'The state, peasant differentiation', 94-5, estimated that there were thirty four taxpayers per plough in Mazabuka District in 1921.

33. Northern Rhodesia, Department of Native Affairs, Annual Report for the year 1935 (Livingstone: The government Printer, 1936), 37.