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by: Leroy Vail

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Ethnicity, Language and National Unity

The Case of Malawi[1]

by

Leroy Vail

> 'So far as I am concerned, there is no Yao in this country, no Lomwe, no Sena, no Chewa, no Ngoni, no Nyakyusa, no Nkhonde, no Tonga: there are only 'Malawians'. That is all.'
>
> — President H. Kamuzu Banda[2]

> 'I am a Chewa.'
>
> — President H. Kamuzu Banda[3]

In late 1976, in the Mkuyu detention camp, outside Malawi's old colonial capital, Zomba, there were detained fifty-five university graduates. Forty-five were from the Northern Region.[4] Between 1973 and 1976 many senior administrators and lecturers at the University of Malawi were detained. Over 90 per cent were from the Northern Region. In early 1976 sixteen people employed at the vital National Statistical Office were detained. All were from the Northern Region.[5] Children from northern Malawi now being enrolled in school are being entered by their parents as non-Northern in origin and with new surnames. As a growing manifestation of a deepening 'Chewa' ethnic awareness, anti-Northern policies are common in Malawi today, destroying rapidly the remaining shreds of the national feeling inspired by the movement against the Central African Federation in the late 1950s and early 1960s and bring into question continued political stability once President Kamuzu Banda, already in his late seventies, passes from the scene.

Thus far, however, the growing ethnic divisions in Malawi have not attracted scholarly attention. Since the late 1950s, historical research has been largely dominated by an emphasis upon political history, focussing on the growth of nationalism during the colonial era. Nationalist historiography has tended to see almost any form of resistance to colonial rule as contributing to the growth of an almost teleologically determined procession towards

national independence and unity.[6] Such an approach has fitted in well with the fact that men from Nyasaland who were migrant labourers in Southern and Central Africa were known collectively as 'Nyasas', enjoying a particularly high reputation as workers.[7] Such a classification as members of a labour elite naturally gave these men a feeling of belonging to a particular country and later was used as a base for building the essentially negative Malawian nationalist movement of the Federation period, with its dread of the spread of the racial practices of the white-dominated South.

More recently however, the realities of ethnic or class disintegration in countries such as Uganda, Zaire and, most especially, Nigeria —— to name but three —— have eroded former confidence in the heady promises of nationalism. Within Malawi, the lack of any positive Malawi nationalism among the mass of the people has been largely papered over with empty rhetoric, which, significantly, continues to linger upon the personal role that President Kamuzu Banda played in 'breaking up the stupid Federation.'[8] Accepting this rhetoric at face value, or simply ignoring it, most observers of contemporary Malawi over the past decade have concentrated on two or three key phonomena that have caught their eye: the country's emphatic orientation towards South Africa; economic attempts made to overcome the country's appalling poverty —— in 1972, in terms of per capita income it was the third-poorest country in the world —— ; and the eccentricities of President Banda.[9] The most recent commentator upon Malawian political life, although briefly mooting in an embarrassed fashion a possible 'tribal' element in political cleavages, quickly veers away from this 'tribal' possibility and discusses other aspects of the situation.[10] It appears that the nationalist myth, which still has wide currency, is responsible for this avoidance of a 'tribal' or ethnic approach to Malawian politics today. Yet the nationalism in Central Africa during the 1950s and early 1960s was dominated not by positive visions of a national future, but rather by a strong destructive anti-Federation feeling. As a result of its negative orientation, once successful, it proved to be, in the words of a recent commentator, a nationalist movement 'even more ephemeral than most.'[11] This poverty of ideological content is underscored by President Banda's constant harkening back to his breaking up of the 'stupid Federation' as the greatest moment of his life and, by extension, the greatest triumph of Malawian nationalism.

To understand contemporary Malawi, one must take ethnic particularism seriously and not assume that Banda is an aberration on an otherwise healthy body politic. Ethnic tensions do exist in Malawi, they have been growing since independence, and they should be assessed. To do this, one must go beyond the nationalist-dominated historiography which, by stressing the perceptions and ideas of a now largely displaced well-educated elite, maintains an exaggerated picture of the extent of truly national feeling present in the colonial period. One must seek out the roots of ethnic particularism, for, as with nationalism, this has had its roots firmly in the twentieth century. And, although largely the creation of members of a rural elite,[12] it has found a ready response among villagers whose horizons have been more bounded by the district than the colony or nation.[13]

In exploring the roots of ethnicity in Malawi, I shall argue that the growth of ethnic consciousness in northern Malawi occurred among people who, in the middle and late nineteenth century, possessed a very heterogeneous culture, the differentiation of which historical change increasingly eroded until all were united by a common language, among other cultural facets, and that this particular factor became the most potent base for a new ethnic identity. The development of ethnic consciousness resting upon a common language resulted from the efforts of a relatively small group of people educated at and associated with the Livingstonia Mission, aided in those efforts by both the colonial authorities and, more notably, the Mission's personnel. Whenever colonial policies threatened the rising consciousness based on language, the Mission rallied to its defense. As a result, ethnic awareness became a vital force in the lives of the people from northern Malawi, particularly when policies of the post-Independence Banda regime threatened them by fostering a new Chewa ethnic identity.

I

The 'Tumbuka' Background

The area upon which this essay focusses is Malawi's Northern Region, an area of 10,376 square miles and, as of 1966, of 467,491 people. The languages spoken in this region include Nyika, Lambya, Sukwa and Ndali --- all of minor importance --- and Ngonde and Lakeside Tonga, but the language spoken by the largest number of people, including the so-called Ngoni, is Tumbuka, the mother tongue of an estimated 68 per cent of the people of the region and 11 or 12 per cent of the country.[14]

In the early nineteenth century, the Tumbuka-speaking people were not politically united, and many aspects of their culture, other than language, were dissimilar. Earlier, the Tumbuka-speakers had inhabited an area in which the dominant cultural patterns involved matrilineality, chiefdoms of a very small size, which were frequently little more than clan areas, and a religious system that involved the worship of a spirit, Chikang'ombe, who was said to have had spirit-wives on earth at various locations. In the middle of the eighteenth century, however, persistent migrations of small groups of people from patrilineal areas of Tanzania and north-eastern Zambia gradually transformed the cultural complexion of the northern part of the Tumbuka language zone, especially with regard to kinship, inheritance and political organization.[15] The people who inhabited this northern part of Tumbuka country I have termed the 'Northern Tumbuka'. To their south, other Tumbuka-speakers maintained their original culture, virtually untouched by the transformation that was occurring to their north, and continued in it down to the middle of the nineteenth century. These people may be called the 'Southern Tumbuka'.[16] Further cultural differentiation of the Northern Tumbuka occurred around 1770, when a group of traders settled among them, effecting great political and economic changes, bringing about a degree of centralized control hitherto unexperienced in an area where decentralization and small-scale polities were the norm. The traders who effected these changes have gone down in history as the Ɓalowoka, 'those who have crossed the water', because they came from across Lake Malawi. The pre-eminent of the Ɓalowoka was one Chikulamayembe, who established a chiefly line in the area.[17]

When, after the Mfecane in South Africa, the Ngoni of Zwengandaba passed through Central and East Africa, finally settling down in northern Malawi, further great changes occurred amongst Tumbuka-speakers. In the north, the ßalowoka were displaced as political leaders. The Chikulamayembe was slain and the people pushed aside, the Northern Tumbuka area became largely depopulated and reverted to bush.[18] The Ngoni settled in the Southern Tumbuka area, absorbing and incorporating these people into Ngoni social and political life and trying to remake them in their own image through incorporating them into Ngoni villages with strong Ngoni leadership.[19] Matrilineal inheritance and marriage customs were rapidly replaced by Ngoni-style patrilineality and lobola,[20] and the old cult of Chikang'ombe rapidly died out.[21] In short, the Southern Tumbuka were largely shorn of their traditional culture by the heavy-handed policies of their Ngoni conquerors, although, in fact, they retained an awareness of themselves as distinctly different from the Ngoni because of the inferior position they now held as ßafo, 'slaves' or 'serfs' of the Ngoni. Perhaps one of the most important changes in the history of the Tumbuka occurred when their attempted rebellions against Ngoni hegemony in the late 1870s proved abortive, and large numbers of Tumbuka-speakers were forced to flee for safety northwards beyond the Ngoni reach, to the area around present-day Karonga. There, far from their original homeland, they settled among the wholly alien Ngonde people. This group of Tumbuka-speakers --- known as the Henga --- continue to swell there to this day as an island of Tumbuka culture and language in a sea of Ngonde people, retaining quite consciously their separate identity.[22]

With the coming of the Pax Britannica in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries --- and in some ways even before then --- the Tumbuka-speakers did one of three things. Either they remained under Ngoni chiefs in what was to become known as Mombera (or Mzimba) district, continuing in the subservient relationship that had existed since the mid-nineteenth century conquest. Or, as Henga, they remained in Karonga under the political authority of the Ngonde chiefs, Kyungu and Kilapula. Or, they migrated away from the Ngoni and Ngonde political elites to settle in those lands that had been cleared in the 1860s and 1870s and had been lying empty for two decades or more.[23] These areas --- mostly in present-day Rumphi district --- were at that time in the administrative district of North Nyasa, hence the Tumbuka-speakers who returned to them were not considered to be under Ngoni chiefs.

Moreover, as they were a great distance from the nearest Ngonde chief, they had, de facto, their own headmen, and it was this group upon which was to be built, initially, Tumbuka ethnic identity. In 1900 then, the Tumbuka were, in the words of a local missionary, a 'much scattered and peeled people,' with virtually every aspect of culture save language caught up and modified by historical developments over the previous century and a half.

II

The Tumbuka Elite and the Birth of 'Tumbuka' Identity

At the very time when some Tumbuka-speakers were moving away from their political masters in search of a measure of local independence, others, particularly those who dwelt among the Ngonde near Karonga, but also many under the Ngoni to the south, became ardent supporters of the Livingstonia Mission, which had been established in Northern Malawi in 1879.[24] The Henga at Karonga, far from their own homeland and dwelling among Ngonde people who had ample reasons for disliking the Henga for their alliance in the 1880s with the Arab slavers who had preyed upon them,[25] and with their own religion of Chikang'ombe dead, were willing to experiment with a new religion and eager for an education that would enable them to become successful traders.'[26] The Ngonde, on the other hand, having been minimally disrupted by the Ngoni and saved from the potential disruptions of the slave trader, Mlozi, by the intervention of the British, still enjoyed an integral culture and were described as living in an almost idyllic fashion in their ancient manner.[27] The Henga responded to the Mission vigorously, and by 1911 a Mission report summed up the difference between the Tumbuka-speaking Henga and the dominant Ngonde succinctly:

> The Henga are a keen, vigorous, progressive people; the great majority of the church members are from amongst them; their schools are well attended, the pupils alert, and the boys and girls in about equal numbers. The Gonde, on the other hand, are slow to move, extremely conservative, and suspicious of the new movements going all around them.[28]

In 1921 the intelligent and sensitive District Commissioner at Karonga, J. C. O'Brien, could still contrast the 'intelligent and progressive' Henga with the 'extremely slack and lethargic' Ngonde.[29]

For the Tumbuka who continued to live under Mbelwa's Ngoni, the situation was somewhat more complex. The Ngoni themselves felt that during the 1880s and 1890s the Mission was desirable from a political and economic point of view, and hence they wanted missionaries to dwell in Ngoni country.[30] At the same time, however, the Ngoni feared the possibly corrosive impact of the Word of God upon the traditional Ngoni military ethic. Therefore, rather than send their own children to the schools which the missionaries sought to establish, they tended to send the children of their ßafo, their Tumbuka serfs.[31]

In the south, therefore, as in the north, the Tumbuka-speakers were the earliest converts to Christianity in substantial numbers. In this area, particularly, educational expansion was remarkable. In 1893 there were ten schools with 630 pupils, and by 1901 there were 55 schools with an average attendance of 2800 pupils. By 1904 one station, Loudon, maintained on its own 134 schools with 9000 pupils.[32] As evidence of the Missions's impact upon the area's people, when Governor Sir William Manning visited the Mission's centre in 1911, he was told by the Mission's founder, Robert Laws, that in 1910 1200 lbs of writing paper and 30,000 envelopes had been sold at the Mission's shops to the people of the area.[33] In the years before British colonialism was formally imposed upon the Ngoni area, then, a large number of Tumbuka-speakers were becoming educated to at least a small degree, and afterwards the earlier trend was maintained. Added to the attraction of the Mission for Tumbuka alienated from their own culture and dwelling under the Ngoni or among the Ngonde, was the fact that, after 1894, the main station of the Mission, the Overtoun Institute at Kondowe, was situated between Ngoni and Ngonde countries in the heart of the land that was gradually being reoccupied by the Tumbuka who had dispersed two or three decades earlier. In the Tumbuka mind, then, the Mission was associated with neither the Ngoni nor the Ngonde political hierarchies. It was politically neutral. This fact was of crucial significance in the emergence of the notion of Tumbuka ethnicity in the first decade of the century.

Before the coming of the Ngoni there had been no such thing as a unified Tumbuka 'tribe', kingdom or polity. The Tumbuka-speakers were split into highly localised geographical groupings, even after the ßalowoka had worked their economic and political transformation upon the Northern Tumbuka. Although united by language, the Tumbuka were politically and culturally

much-divided. On the high Nyika Plateau there were three Tumbuka-speaking groups, the Phoka, Nthalire and Wenya peoples. Clustered around the plateau's southern edge were the Yombe, Hewe, Nkhamanga, Henga, Mzumara and Msowoya. Further south there were the Siska, Nyanjagha, Ngwira, Tumbuka, Matanje and other groups, some being only clans. By 1900, the Northern Tumbuka were dispersed, while the Southern Tumbuka were subjugated and deprived of many elements of their own culture, and even under the British administration, they continued in a position of subservience. But this situation did not continue for long. The British quickly accepted that in the former no-man's land between Ngoni and Ngonde countries, which the Tumbuka in the 1890s and early 1900s were reoccupying, they would have to recognise some sort of political structure. The British even during this period of Direct Rule wanted to use local chiefs as tax-collectors and mobilizers of labour.[34] The Livingstonia Mission also like to work in a situation in which local leaders had power, finding that such an umbrella was useful in their work.[35] With the two most powerful forces in the area, the Administration and the Mission, both eager to have a political structure in the Hewe, Nkhamanga and Henga Valley areas, and with the people themselves desirous of such a structure, it is not surprising that such was soon to materialise.

It would be wholly erroneous, however, to assume that such a political structure was imposed, willy-nilly, from the top. Quite the opposite in fact occurred, in that the ordinary people of the area were instrumental in creating this structure. They were well aware that they had to deal effectively with the British administration so as to protect their interests, and to do so unity would be advantageous in that it would provide them with needed leverage. The young Livingstonia-educated elite — clerks, teachers and clergy — which was centered at Karonga and Deep Bay, as well as the Livingstonia missionaries themselves, encouraged them in this assessment.[36] In Nkhamanga, the old heartland of the Chikulamayembe chiefdom, popular feeling called for a revival of the ancient chiefdom. According to Tumbuka custom and tradition, however, a revived chiefdom should fall to the line of Majuma Gondwe, the last Chikulamayembe, who had been killed in 1880 by the Ngoni. But the people were aware that an educated man would be better able to protect their interests than one who was not educated. As one informant put it, 'For an uneducated man to speak with Europeans was an impossible dream.' Thus, when the revival of the chieftainship was mooted, the office was not offered to a man of the

Majuma line, but rather to one of the Bongololo Gondwe line, to Chilongozi Gondwe.[37] In deciding between Peter Masanga and Chilongozi Gondwe, the people decided upon Chilongozi 'because they felt that he would understand Europeans better.'[38] Therefore, it was in response to the popular request, as well as meeting Mission and administrative desires, that the Resident of Karonga, G. R. Palmer, in 1907 appointed Chilongozi Gondwe as Chief Chikulamayembe IX, to reside in Nkhamanga. In this way an embryonic ethnicity had been created at a time when changing political and economic realities were offering to the Tumbuka the opportunity for a new definition of themselves.

This appointment is interesting in that Chilongozi was not from Nkhamanga but rather from Karonga. He was a Henga who had attended school at Livingstonia and had then become a policeman at Deep Bay at the foot of the mountain on which Livingstonia Mission's headquarters are situated.[39] He was not a 'common man'. He was an outsider as well. Yet that his appointment was popular is attested to not only by testimony collected in the 1960s and early 1970s, but also by the fact that at the time the people spontaneously gave him a large herd of cattle as a gift and installed him with a great deal of pomp and ceremony.[40] His appointment initiated the rise of the myth of the so-called Nkhamanga Empire and the beginning of a conscious revival of Tumbuka self-regard. In 1907 a missionary was appointed to the Legislative Council and it was opportune to create a respectable Past. As J. H. Plumb has noted, 'The past is always a created ideology, with a purpose, designed to control individuals, or motivate societies.'[41] The new chief and his Livingstonia-educated supporters, seeking a widespread sense of 'Tumbuka' identity, set about building up a myth of the past in articles in the Livingstonia News, the local mission newspaper, and through popular celebrations on the anniversary of his appointment.[42] As the Resident at Karonga correctly noted, 'This is the first I have heard of a Chief keeping up the anniversary of his accession . . .'[43] At the same time, a young man from Karonga, Saulos Nyirenda, a telegraph clerk of the African Lakes Company who had been trained at Livingstonia, and whom T. Cullen Young called 'The Father of History' for the Northern Region, wrote the first substantial history of the Tumbuka. Nyirenda's history, which Young later published, was written with one main purpose: to glorify the past of the Chikulamayembes, and, incidentally, to attack the Ngoni for having spoiled 'our country'.[45] This was not surprising, as the new Chikulamayembe's second wife was a

Nyirenda of the same family as Saulos Nyirenda himself.[46] In addition to Nyirenda's work, a similar history was written by Andrew Nkhonjera, another Livingstonia product, apparently with aim of convincing the then Resident of Karonga, Arthur Dove Easterbrook, of the importance of the Chikulamayembe-ship in overall Tumbuka history.[47] For the well-educated elite to accept traditional values and a hierarchical arrangement of society under chiefs is NOT to be wondered at given the nature of the Victorian education they had received in the schools of Livingstonia.[48]

In 1910 the new chief was earnestly consolidating the historical myth that his young, literate supporters were disseminating:

> In the beginning of September he (Chikulamayembe) came to Karonga to visit me and entered my office wearing a European hat. I asked him to remove this whilst in the office. He demurred, saying that it was 'not his custom to do so.' I insisted and pointed out to him that it was a necessity when he entered my office. I noticed that he visited all the Henga villages near Karonga using a drum to sound his approach and a seat covered with a leopard skin. I also found that he had made this trip through the villages as Tembo (sic) or King and that quite a number of young bulls had been killed to feast him. . . .
>
> I warned Chikulamayembe that he was not to assume the title of King, and that if I found him levying tribute or interfering in matters that did not concern him, he would be subject to removal to Karonga. . . .[49]

Chikulamayembe was, however, not so easily checked, as he was far removed from the District Commissioner's office. In 1916 he was reported to be appointing, behind the back of the District Officer, a new sub-chief at Mwafulilwa, thus extending his power and prestige.[50]

Perhaps the most potent force on behalf on the revived Chikulamayembe-ship, both directly and indirectly, was the Livingstonia Mission, and in connection with the Mission, two names stand out. One of these is Thomas Cullen Young, a young Scot who went to Livingstonia in 1904 as accountant and remained in the country until 1931. The other was Edward Bote Manda, a Tonga from Ngoni country who became a teacher and minister at Kondowe. These two men, backed by the Mission's prestige and working among a people who almost worshipped the printed word, between them took Nyirenda's history and created a solid myth around the Chikulamayembe which proved of immense use in consolidating in the popular mind the glories of the Tumbuka past.

Thomas Cullen Young, soon after coming to Kondowe, became interested in the customs and history of the people around him. At Kondowe he was in a non-Ngoni area rapidly being refilled by Tumbuka-speakers, among whom he did considerable research, publishing in 1923 at the Mission press his Notes on the Speech and History of the Tumbuka-Henga Peoples. Shortly afterwards he divided the two topics and produced two books, Notes on the Speech of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples in the Northern Province of Nyasaland (London, 1932) and Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples in the Northern Province of Nyasaland (London, 1932).[51] This linkage of language and history is noteworthy. For his historical study, he depended largely upon Saulos Nyirenda's vernacular history and upon oral evidence from the Chikulamayembe's own area. His data was therefore substantially biased towards the chief's own official history. Although provoking considerable criticism from those who thought that the official history purveyed by Young was slanted and inaccurate,[52] nonetheless for the first time, the Tumbuka had in their hands books that they could consult about their own history, even if they might disagree with certain aspects of it. Furthermore, the 1923 edition was printed on the spot, in the middle of Tumbuka country, and the 1932 edition was widely available through the Mission's shops. Since English was an important language in the Mission's school curriculum, and as the ability to read English was frequent among important people, Young's works were read and were important in forming Tumbuka consciousness at the very time that the Chikulamayembe was trying to do likewise. Young's history, additionally, was the base for historical phmphlets in the Tumbuka language that were widely used in the local Mission schools.

Young's principal thesis was the same as Saulos Nyirenda's: that in the pre-Ngoni period there existed a large empire of the Tumbuka, created by the first Chikulamayembe, Mlowoka, and maintained by his successors.[53] This empire had a large territorial extent, extending over not only the Tumbuka, but also the Tonga, Ngonde, and some Chewa peoples, from the Songwe River on the north to the Dwangwa River on the south, and from the Luangwa Valley on the west to Lake Malawi on the east. I have elsewhere criticized this vision of the Chikulamayembes' state and argued that its territorial extent was small.[54] Yet the official version provided a heady vision of the past to a people scattered, oppressed and discontent. It is not at all surprising that this vision passed into the consciousness of the people, particularly in the northern Tumbuka areas, and it is the version used in the most recent popular history of Malawi.[55]

While the Chikulamayembe was working to expand his popularity and prestige through pomp and circumstance, and while Cullen Young was publishing his inflated version of the Tumbuka past, the Livingstonia missionary, Edward Bote Manda, was similarly active. Edward Manda was born a Tonga in an area under Ngoni hegemony, his father having been captured in an Ngoni raid. He came to Kondowe to study in 1895, while the Ngoni were still independent of the British. In 1905 he was made a teacher, and in 1908 he began a theology course, and after his ordination in 1918 he remained as a missionary at Kondowe.[56] He was also a proto-nationalist, involved in the first of the Nyasaland 'Native Associations', the North Nyasa Native Association, which was set up in 1912 with the advice and encouragement of Robert Laws, Livingstonia's head.[57] In 1925 Edward Manda was the chairman of the association, and he was unpopular with the colonial administrators, as he harassed them over what he saw as the injustices of the colonial system.[58] Further, he felt that it was essential for the people to have strong and progressive leaders who would reflect the interests and the opinions of the educated classes, and who would work for the people as a whole.[59] Although himself a Tonga, with all the ardor often found in a convert, Edward Manda set about to bolster the status of the Chikulamayembe-ship in the popular imagination and then to use it for what he viewed as the people's benefit. To do this, he was geographically eminently well-placed. As a District Commissioner rather unhappily pointed out, Nkhamanga was far from the District's Headquarters, and

> there is a tendency for things to fall into the hands of the Mission natives, particularly the Rev. Edward Manda at Livingstonia, who is of necessity a liasion between Chikulamayembe and the D. C. as he is in telegraphic, telephonic and postal communication with Karonga. I regret this tendency which I consider administratively bad and unfair on the chiefs who experience difficulty in keeping their end up in an area so greatly under the influence of mission teachers.[60]

If Manda was well-placed, and if he had the prestige of the Mission behind him, he was also active at a most opportune moment.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Shenton Thomas, was involved in introducing a system of Indirect Rule in Nyasaland that was modelled on the system operating in Tanganyika. Thomas's decision in favour of Indirect Rule seemed to provide the opportunity to Nyasaland's chiefs to increase their authority and prestige, as, after years of being

tax-collectors and labour mobilizers, they would have enhanced powers and their own treasuries. Chikulamayembe's Tumbuka, described at the time by a government official as 'flag-waving' patriots, especially welcomed the decision.[61] Manda, in this atmosphere of change, set about to enhance the chieftainship, presented with a golden opportunity to do so by the death of Chilongozi Gondwe in 1931. Chilongozi had been in poor health for several years, and Manda had acquired much real power in the late 1920s, thus being well-placed to influence the succession.[62] Although many elders supported the claims of Gogoti Gondwe, who appears to have been the appropriate choice for successor according to tradition and custom,[63] Manda was able to overturn this choice and persuade the elders to adopt the Mission's candidate, John Gondwe, son of the deceased.[64]

John Gondwe had been educated to Standard Six at Livingstonia and had left school in 1925 to become a clerk in Tanganyika Railways.[65] In 1930, he returned to Nyasaland, and at a mere twenty-five years of age, he quickly fell under Manda's thumb. Manda appears to have had in mind two things: the encouragement of 'progress' and the strengthening of christianity, and he felt that both required an educated chief.[66] As one councillor of the time put it:

> When appointing John we knew that John had education, knew white men and modern affairs. It was because of this that we appointed John. If we had followed our ancient customs, we should not have appointed him, but chosen our Themba from amongst the brothers of Chilongozi.[67]

Progress was equated with education, and once in power John Gondwe introduced compulsory education for all children in his area, the first Nyasaland chief to do so, and in a few years a District Commissioner commented that 'compulsory education in Chikulamayembe's country has ceased to be an experiment and is becoming an accomplished fact.'[68] In short, Manda, although at odds with the colonial administration, succeeded in setting up a vigorous chieftainship under the auspices of Indirect Rule very much to his own liking and closely associated with the Livingstonia Mission.

This linkage with the Mission explains Manda's second preoccupation: that the Chieftainship should forward Christianity and morality as well as progress. Thus, for the coronation, Manda drew up 'Vows of Chieftainship' to which the new Chikulamayembe would swear, and he had these printed on the Mission press for distribution throughout Tumbuka country. They were highly

moralistic, including such as:

> Do you solemnly promise to protect our Christian religion and submit to the Bible teachings which are a guide to righteous ruling of your people?
>
> Do you solemnly promise to guard and protect your people and country from all evil influences and customs which tend to destroy the morality of your people as well as your country's welfare?
>
> Do you solemnly denounce the taking al all intoxicating drinks, knowing that they are the enemies to good conduct and life?[69]

Although the Government refused to permit the use of these 'Vows' in the installation, Manda did succeed in making himself — and through him the Mission — a key figure in the actual installation ceremony.[70]

Whether functioning as a theocratic eminence gris or progressive, Edward Manda used history and the myth of the past to bolster his chosen tool, the Chikulamayembeship. When Indirect Rule was mooted, he suggested that the new, more powerful chief should rule over all UTumbuka, 'The Land of the Tumbuka'.[71] This new area would include territory never under the Chikulamayembes, and Young's historical work was used as the justification for expansion.[72] At the same time, the ancient title of the chiefs, Temba, was revived, and a 'High Court' established to attend upon the Chief.[73] Shortly after the imposition of Indirect Rule, the Chikulamayembe and his supporters 'invaded' Mwafulilwa's country at the time a regent was about to be appointed for that chieftainship and attempted to annex it. For this, the District Commissioner publicly reprimanded the Chikulamayembe.[74] Although thwarted at Mwafulilwa in 1933, in 1934 Manda and the Chikulamayembe attempted to set up covertly a Tumbuka chiefdom in Ngoni country near Hora mountain, and, in the words of the District Commissioner, 'make this a centre from which the Tumbuka influence would spread and eliminate Ngoni rule.'[75] In this way the Tumbuka would live 'without the stigma of subservience to Angoni rule.'[76] This precipitated amongst the Tumbuka still under Ngoni chiefs a bitter anti-Ngoni feeling, particularly among the partisans of chiefs of the area whom the Ngoni conquest had eliminated.[77] This agitation has been fairly constant since then down to today, aimed at resurrection of long-deceased Tumbuka chieftaincies, and in 1958 the agitation erupted and led to the deportation of many Tumbuka partisans to Northern Rhodesia's Lundazi District.[78]

III

The Revival of Ngoni Ethnicity

While in Nkhamanga there was a gradual increase in the powers and prestige of the Chikulamayembeship after 1907, a somewhat different train of events —— although ultimately with similar results —— was occurring in the Ngoni area to the south, in Momber (Mzimba) District. The Ngoni state continued independent of British over-rule until 1904, the last part of Nyasaland to be incorporated into the Protectorate. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, there were considerable problems in the Ngoni state caused by the degradation of the area's ecology initially due to over-grazing by domestic stock and a population too large for the state's relatively poor soils, a condition exacerbated by a falling watertable.[79] The initial decline was worsened again when, in 1896/97, the great rinderprest eopzootic devastated the Ngoni's cattle, their main source of wealth.[80] These processes could not but undermine the state's well-being. Moreover, as the extension of the Pax Britannica to areas surrounding the Ngoni ended raiding as a possible way of life, many of the young men took their places in the swelling flow of labour migrants to Southern Rhodesia and to the Rand, thereby weakening the state's internal cohesion and vitality.[81] There had been, as a sign of this weakening vitality, a seven-year interregnum between the death of Mbelwa I in 1891 and the advent to power of his son Chimtunga in 1898. Finally, a famine in 1903 prodded the people to begin moving on a large scale from their heartland in the Kasitu Valley to empty land around it, thereby breaking an agreement made earlier with Commissioner Harry Johnston. With full Mission backing and encouragement, the Ngoni accepted British sovereignty in September, 1904, with the first taxes to be collected in 1906.[82] Under the terms of this agreement, Sir Alfred Sharpe, the Governor, agreed that the Ngoni should retain their Paramount chief, with considerable freedoms granted which were denied others of Nyasaland's peoples.[83] Most notably, in 1912, when the District Administration (Native) Ordinance of 1912, which limited the powers of chiefs and reduced them to 'Principal Headmen', was imposed, it was not applied to the northern Ngoni. This meant that after 1904 the Ngoni Paramount was the sole chief to retain Paramount status, and in the eyes of his people he was equal in status to the District Commissioner.[84]

The first fifteen years of British rule were difficult years for the Ngoni. Even after moving out of their exhausted homeland, they did not find fertile soils, and in their rain-shadow area there was always a threat of famine. The people deeply resented the annual hut tax, yet they could not effectively ignore it, and labour migration increased as it seemed the only answer for meeting the tax obligation.[85] In turn, this put a strain upon family life, causing innumerable cases of litigation over adultery, divorce and, particularly, child custody.[86] The tensions within Ngoni society boiled to the surface in July of 1914, when, at a meeting with the Governor, Sir George Smith, mutual recrimination filled the air. It had been alleged that the Ngoni chiefs were encouraging 'their people to evade payment of hut tax, deceived the Resident when he applied to them for information and assistance' and did little to deserve their subsidies. On their part, the Ngoni chiefs remonstrated over the lack of markets in the district and the obligation to pay taxes in a poverty-stricken area.[87]

Lastly, the Ngoni political hierachy, which had throughout its history enjoyed prestige and popularity among the people, was dealt a savage blow in 1915. When the local District Officer in Mzimba attempted to raise men for the dreaded carrier corps (tenga-tenga) for service in the East African Campaign of World War I, Paramount Chief Chimtunga, supported by the other chiefs, forbad such recruitment.[88] For this he was removed from office and banished to Southern Nyasaland, and the District Administration (Native) Ordinance of 1912 was imposed upon the Ngoni, making the chiefs little more than assistants to the District Commissioner in the mobilizing of labour and the collection of taxes. The people still recall this shattering event in and Ingoma song, indicating the profound attack upon Ngoni tradition and self esteem:[89]

Inkosi Chimtunga Jere	Inkosi Chimtunga Jere
Bambeke egcekeni,	Has been publicly humilated,
Inkosi yelizwe,	The Chief of the Land,
Sibabaza hee!!	We make it known, oh!!
Sibabaza hee!!	We make it known, oh!!
Elizwe liyoneke,	The land is spoiled and made rotten,
Sibabaza hee!!	We make it known!!

This blow to Ngoni self-respect was followed by the deaths of many Ngoni in the tenga-tenga, in which many thousands of them took part.[90] Following the war in rapid succession came the great Spanish influenza pandemic, the world inflation of 1920-1, which played havoc with prices in northern

Nyasaland,[91] and a startling famine in 1924, with which the colonial regime failed to deal effectively.[92] Colonialism coincided with --- and indeed caused --- a general decline in the living standards of the Ngoni and their subject peoples, and it is by no means surprising that the Livingstonia-educated people of the area began to protest against the realities of colonial rule.

In 1919 a group of Livingstonia-educated clerks, clergy and teachers established the Mombera Native Association, modelled on the North Nyasa Association which had been established in 1912. This association was destined to be dominated over the years by the Ngoni analogue of Edward Manda, the Livingstonia-educated Reveral Charles Chinula, a leading exponent of the Tumbuka language, in spite of being associated with the Ngoni elite.[93] As with the North Nyasa Association, the Mombera Association was forward-looking and progressive. As the Reverand Yesaya Chibambo, a leading figure among the Ngoni elite said in 1920:

> The country is now in a new era with a new life, new knowledge, new resolutions, new laws, new customs which can be learned through education: it would be foolish and ridiculous if people of this country dislike the civilization. The old life differs greatly from the present life, and it would be wise for the people of this country to aspire to have education, which alone leads to civilization.[94]

But if elitist in makeup and fashionably progressive in attitude, the Association was not heedless of the common man or of the traditional customs of the Ngoni.[95] As one informant said, it 'was an organization for chiefs, zinduna and others who were well known as notables in our district,' and the members were'expected to present the compliments of the people to the government.'[96] More to the point, the Association was in close contact with the chiefs of the area --- now known as Principal Headmen --- and in addition to protesting about such things as the burning of tax-defaulters' homes and forced labour, the Association also fought for the restoration of Ngoni self-respect through a revival of the old, powerful Ngoni system of chieftainship. In the late 1920s, indeed, the President of the Association was none other than the claimant to the Ngoni Paramountcy, Lazaro Jere. In 1930 a District Officer perdeptively analysed the reasons behind the alliance between the chiefs and the Association:

> My experience of District Councils in the Northern Province is that the Chiefs were so tired of trying to get their grievances redressed that they turned to the Native Associations in the hope that the latter, being more educated, would bring greater pressure to bear upon the Government.[97]

The Mombera Native Association took up the case of the deposed and banished Chimtunga and succeeded in persuading the colonial authorities to allow him to return home, although he was allowed no political function. After Chimtunga's death in 1924, the Association intensified its pressures for an ethnic revival by championing the claim of Chimtunga's putative son, Lazaro Jere, a mission-educated clerk in the Northern Rhodesian administration, to return and become, not Principal Headman, but 'Paramount' of the Ngoni, despite the fact that under law there was no office of Paramount permitted in Nyasaland.[98] Lazaro Jere returned to the district in 1924, and at once a popular campaign was launched to resuscitate the Paramountcy, and this would cover not only Mzimba District, but also areas to the north, south and west. This displeased the government immensely, and the District Commissioner contemplated calling in troops to put an end to the movement.[99] Nonetheless, in 1928 these pressures paid off when Lazaro Jere was made Principal Headman.[100] The naming of Lazaro to this position set off another wave in the campaign to revive the Paramountcy. In June, 1930, for example, the Mombera Native Association asserted that the Ngoni

> desire to have a paramount chief in Mombera still rings in the hearts of the people, for the present policy of equalizing all the Principal Headmen is contrary to the law of the country — the law being that there must be one Paramount chief and that all other chiefs must act as his assistants. This old Ngoni law aims at having unity, lacking which it is difficult to form a nation. As the cry for a paramount chief grows greater and greater, the Association earnestly asks Government to take this question into deeper consideration.[101]

Again, as with the pressures for a stronger Chikulamayembeship, these demands came at an opportune moment, as Indirect Rule was about to be introduced in the Protectorate.

While the pressure for naming Lazaro Jere as Paramount was growing, there was also a parallel in Ngoni country of the Tumbuka history writing exercise. Just as T. Cullen Young had systematized Tumbuka history for the Tumbuka, so too did the Livingstonia Mission's Reverend Yesaya Chibambo do the same for the Ngoni. Chibambo's task was far easier than Young's, as Ngoni

history was far more vivid in the minds of the people than was the largely mythical history of Young. The Ngoni past was relatively recent, and, when compared with the dreary realities of labour migration and ecological degradation, of litigation and emasculated chiefly authority, it was a glorious thing to contemplate. The migrations from South Africa, the exploits of Zengendaba, the victories of the Ngoni impi, their success in state-building — all were naturally easy topics for Chibambo to write about.[102] And these stories of past glories were also used in the Mission-printed texts that were used in the local schools.

When the colonial government instituted Indirect Rule, it yielded to the popular demands of the area and made Mezaro Jere Paramount chief of the Ngoni, with the name of Mbelwa II, creating amongst the Ngoni a sense of pride similar to that current among the Tumbuka to their north.[103] The Ngoni response to the new-found pride was similar to the Tumbuka response. When in 1929 the Native Reserve (North Nyasa District) Commission had suggested that the northern zone of the Ngoni area be transferred to Chief Chikulamayembe of the Tumbuka, the Ngoni complained vociferously that such would damage the unity of the Ngoni and gained their point from the government.[104] Later just as the Chikulamayembe attempted to acquire more territory, so did Mbelwa II. In 1934 he successfully attempted to detach part of the chiefdom of the Chewa Chief Kaluluma, and in the same year he attempted — this time in vain — to extend his influence into the Northern Rhodesian Ngoni chiefdoms of Magodi and Pikamalaza.[105] In 1938, Mbelwa petitioned the Bledisloe Commission that the area of Northern Rhodesia between the Luangwa River and the Nyasaland border be ceded to Nyasaland and placed under him.[106]

Thus, by the early 1930s, two strong chieftainship systems, fully allied with the areas' young intellectuals, had emerged in northern Nyasaland. One was the Ngoni hierarchy of Mbelwa II, firmly based on the glories of the Ngoni past. The other, that of Chikulamayembe and the other descendants of the Kalowoka, was based on the Tumbuka past as then accepted. Both were intent on creating tribal awareness, and in this they were assisted by the schools and texts of the Livingstonia Mission. It is in this context that the whole question of language policy arose, and decisions were made about language policy which are still felt today.

IV

Language Policy and the Rise of Regionalism

Malawi is a small country of only 36,481 square miles of land area. From the point of view of langue, four languages dominate the country: Chewa, Lonwe, Yao and Tumbuka, in that order. All are Bantu languages and have a number of similarities in structure and vocabulary, and it is usual that the speaker of one language will have little difficulty in acquiring a working knowledge of another. As with the much more complex and larger country of Tanzania, which uses Swahili as its lingua franca, Malawi could easily have a lingua franca, and this would be Chewa, a language understood by over fifty per cent of the population.[107] The two official languages of Malawi today are English and Chewa, and Chewa is the country's official lingua franca. But this decision dates from only 1968, whereas Swahili was an early choice as the lingua franca of East Africa. Before 1968 both Yao and Tumbuka shared with Chewa, then called Nyanja, the status of official language.[108] Why was a common lingua franca established so late? Was it another instance of canny 'divide and rule' tactics by the authorities of colonialism? The answer is linked intrinsically and explicitly to the development of a language-based ethnic or regional consciousness amongst the Ngoni and Tumbuka of northern Nyasaland, particularly after the advent of Indirect Rule.

In the late nineteenth century, the area under the Livingstonia Mission was a melange of languages. In addition to Tumbuka and Ngonde, there were Tonga, a language similar to Tumbuka in structure and vocabulary, and Ngoni, spoken by the governing elite and many of the adherents of Mbelwa's state. Additionally, Bisa, Swahili, Bemba, Senga and Nyanja were spoken — among others — by those whom the Ngoni had incorporated on their anabasis through South, Central and East Africa. With such a linguistic potpourri, the Livingstonia Mission seriously debated in its early years what language it would use, concentrating its attentions upon Nyanja, a language in which Scriptural writing had already been produced, and English, the language of 'higher culture.'[109] Ultimately, it was decided that Nyanja should be used as the language for teaching and preaching, partly because that language was functioning as a lingua franca in many parts of the Protectorate, used by planters, government officials, and missionaries as well as by the people

themselves, and partly because of the existence of a ready literature in Nyanja.[110] Such a decision was made easier, for although the Ngoni were proud of their language, it was rapidly dying out as early as 1890.[111] The importance of Nyanja within the Protectorate was signified by the Government's administering the civil service language examinations in only Nyanja and Swahili.[112] By the turn of the century the Mission was determined that Nyanja should be the lingua franca of their work, and a commentator reported in 1901 that 'With a view to throroughly effective teaching, the missionaries are trying to adopt the Nyanja as a common ground or lingua franca, enriched by such words as may be adopted from the other languages.'[113]

But events altered the common desire of both Mission and Government for Nyanja as a lingua franca. In the first place, as Ngoni died out, swamped by the mother tongue of the wives of the Ngoni, it came to be replaced by Tumbuka, the local language. As it was the Tumbuka who had earliest responded to opportunities for education, their language was no longer the language of slaves, but also the language of the rising educated elite. As such, it was more acceptable to the Ngoni themselves. This growing acceptability of Tumbuka was underscored by the fact that by 1911 large portions of the Word of God had been made available to the people in Tumbuka.[115] In 1914, therefore, Donald Fraser could write that:

> There are large districts in which it is an unusual thing to find even an old Ngoni who speaks the pure language of his fathers and one seldom hears it from the lips of a young person.[114]

The death of Ngoni and the rising respectability of Tumbuka meant two things. First, where there had been a linguistic mixture, now almost everyone spoke Tumbuka. Language came to be the essential base for unity in Mbelwa's area. Secondly, the Mission abandoned its policy of using Nyanja as a neutral way of overcoming linguistic disunity. In the years before World War I, the Mission accepted the situation and abandoned the use of both Nyanja and Ngoni in the North.[116] This change of allegiance to Tumbuka was paralleled in the North Nyasa District to the North. Here, as already seen, the Henga — whose language was Tumbuka — responded to the Mission, quickly swamping the Ngonde. The Henga became the teachers in the local schools, and by 1909 it was noted that Tumbuka was being used in local schools in the district, having largely displaced other languages.[117] By 1914, then, the use of Tumbuka was almost complete in the Mission establishment outside West Nyasa District, where Lake Side Tonga was used, and in the Northern Province Nyanja as a possible lingua franca was in full retreat.

While these changes in the linguistic configuration of the North were occurring, changes were also taking place in Government attitudes regarding language policy. Although ease of administration appeared to demand a lingua franca, and although Nyanja seemed a likely candidate in the pre-war years, these considerations were nullified by fears in war-time official circles. In the early years of the century, the colonial administration had reduced the powers of chiefs, believing that by so doing, administration would be facilitated and the emergence of possible local resistance would be impeded. The shattering impact of World War I, the rise of Ethiopianism and the fear in Whitehall that pan-Islamic doctrines might threaten the Empire's integrity led, however, to growing doubts about the wisdom of the Direct Rule policy. In 1917 a 'secret' memorandum was circulated to certain colonial governors in East Africa from Lt. Col. French, of the General Staff's Intelligence Service, urging upon the governors the conscious encouragement of 'tribal feelings' in their colonies:

> (The) spirit of nationality, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, of tribe, should be cultivated and no where can this be done with better chance of success then in British East Africa and Uganda, where there are numerous tribes ethnographically quite distinct from one another. It is suggested that in each ethnographically distinct district the schools should, as far as possible, form integral parts of the tribe and centres of folk-lore and tradition. Their masters should not be changed from one tribe to another, but must find their promotion by the length and success of service within the tribe they teach.
>
> . . .
>
> . . . a method must be found whereby the efforts of missionaries may also assist in the cultivation of national spirit. This it seems might be done by allowing only one denomination to work in each ethnographic area and by not allowing the same denomination to work in two adjacent areas.[118]

This document struck a responsive chord in the over-suspicious Governor of Nyasaland; Sir George Smith, already terror-struck by the Chilembwe Rising and by the recalcitrance the Ngoni chiefs had shown to the War Effort, decided that it would be good to counter the ethnic 'disintegration which has proved to be inconvenient if not mischievous' by bolstering the authority of the chiefs, thereby building up 'between the Government and the people, an intermediate power.'[119]

Thus by 1918 the ideas of Whitehall and Governor Smith coincided with those of men such as Edward Bote Manda and Charles Chinula. Each sought to increase ethnic awareness though for different reasons. The Chinulas and

Mandas desired it so as to meet the colonial regime from a position of popular ethnic unity in their area; the colonial administration wanted it to prevent the unification of the Protectorate's people as a whole and thereby obviate possible united resistance. Therefore, when it was again suggested in 1918 that Nyanja be made the official lingua franca of Nyasaland and that it be taught in all schools, Governor Smith, hag-ridden by the memory of the Chilembwe Rising of 1915, replied:

> Though the spread of one dialect through the country would be advantageous . . . it would tend to merge the various tribes in the Protectorate at a greater rate than at present, and this I consider not desirable. One of the chief safeguards against any combined rising is the individualism of the various tribes, and with a small and scattered white population, this I think should be postponed.[120]

In the north, then, the language that would be taught in the schools would, in addition to English, be Tumbuka. By the 1920s, the Livingstonia Missionaries had researched Tumbuka and throughout the 1920s the Mission's presses at Kondowe poured out printed texts in Tumbuka for use in the local schools in editions of between 7000 and 10,000 copies.[121] The idea of maintaining the Tumbuka language gradually became identified with both Tumbuka and Ngoni ethnicities, the Tumbuka seeing it as 'their' language and a symbol of their lost independence, and the Ngoni viewing it as 'their' language in a larger society of different and possibly competing languages.

Time passed. In the late 1920s, Governor Thomas, not haunted with visions of uprisings and not preoccupied with polcies of divide and rule, but eager to streamline the colony's administration, argued that a lingua franca would both unify the country and save administrative costs, just as the suppression of Kurdish in favour of Arabic in Iraq was said to be working.[122] In June 1930, in line with Thomas's policy, the Advisory Committee on Education adopted a suggestion of its Languages and Text-Books Sub-Committee to the effect that Nyanja 'be introduced as the medium of instruction not later than Class 4 in all Government and Assisted Schools.'[123] Having decided to introduce Nyanja as a lingua franca, the Government insisted that the missions use it in their schools as a prerequisiste for obtaining financial assistance from the Government.[124] This decision sent the Livingstonia Mission into a frenzy. On the 15th of July 1933 the Mission announced that it was 'unable to accept this ruling'. The Mission attacked the Nyanja as a lingua franca decision on several grounds. First, it was educationally

unsound and would not work. Second, it would cause trouble for the Mission, which would have to find teachers of Nyanja. Third, Nyanja was a bad choice as a lingua franca in any case, because it was not a 'language of higher cultural and linguistic value.' Fourth, it was an unsound decision as it was opposed by the mass of the people themselves. Rather than introduce Nyanja in the north, therefore, the Mission would prefer to do without Government aid. W. P. Young, the head of the Mission, put the argument in less reasoned terms:

> Politically, it is an unfortunate moment to choose to attempt to turn back the pages of history. When the Livingstonia Mission began work the local people were under the domination of the Angoni. The Tumbuka in especial were a scattered and subject people, whose language was proscribed. Yet they clung to it as the symbol of their identity as a people . . . to them in a peculiar sense, their language is their life.[126]

The Government had indeed chosen a bad moment at which to implement their decision, as was shown when the Governor, Sir Hubert Young, went on tour to try to convince the people that the Government's decision was in their best interests. Fierce opposition greeted him from Tumbuka who feared Nyanja's adoption might weaken their place in society. When he spoke at a baraza of Ngoni chiefs on 2 October, Charles Chinula told him that 'Chinyanja is not wanted in this Tumbuka-speaking area.' When he moved further north to speak with the Tumbuka chiefs on the 11th of October, their spokesman, filled with ethnic pride, told him that

> Tumbuka should be preserved for future generations just as much as seed for native produce, domestic and wild animals are preserved for them.[127]

In a minute of the 19th of October, Levi Mumba, the foremost spokesman in Zomba of Tumbuka-speakers and the first African to sit on the influential Advisory Committee on Education, lined himself firmly on the anti-Nyanja side, arguing that it was much too early to have any lingua franca in Nyasaland and that if there were ever to be one, it should be English.[128] Gov. Young was undaunted, and drawing support from the Dutch Reformed Church and the Roman Catholic Church, which both used Nyanja as a medium of instruction in their schools, he appealed to Whitehall for support. London agreed with Young that the Livingstonia Mission must face facts and accept Nyanja. If it didn't, then the students' careers would be endangered in that they would not know the principal language of the Protectorate, and hence would not obtain positions in the civil service.[129] In the north, the Ngonde, then also

experiencing a revival of ethnic consciousness, attacked Tumbuka's position and argued that 'We Bangonde would like our children to read Nyanja in schools and not Tumbuka.'[130]

Governor Young was soon transferred to Northern Rhodesia, succeeded in Nyasaland by Sir Harold Kittermaster, who ordered the immediate implementation of the lingua franca policy, not by using it as a medium of instruction, as had been earlier suggested, but by having it a compulsory subject. Kittermaster However, did not enjoy the influence in the Colonial Office that Young had, and the Mission decided that it would not submit docilely to Kittermaster's ardor for Nyanja. It carried the fight directly to London, over the heads of the Protectorate's officials, evoking sympathy from key Colonial Office officials.[131] As one noted:

> It does seem to me a pity —— to put it no more strongly —— that because of this persistent pursuit of a policy about whose merits there is considerable dispute, Government should run the risk of alienating a Mission in Nyasaland which is doing wonderful work and which, as I have said, is only too anxious to co-operate with Government wherever it can.[132]

The Mission gained an almost complete victory. Whitehall, thankful for its cooperation, instructed Kittermaster to hold another round-table conference on the issue and not to impose any policy against the wishes of the Mission.[133] In mid-1936 this conference was held, and the Livingstonia representative asserted that 'the mother tongue is the soul of the people' and that to impose Nyanja as lingua franca would account to the suppression of the Protectorate's other languages. Levi Mumba, the African member of the Advisory Committee on Education, not only deprecated the idea of lingua franca, but also said that Nyanja should not even be considered a school subject as its introduction 'would interfere with the mental development of the children,' predicting that 'the common language of the future would be English.'[134] The Mission and the supporters of Ngoni and Tumbuka ethnicity —— supported by the University Missions in Central Africa, which held similar views on Yao —— won, and Nyanja was not made lingua franca. After World War II an additional victory was gained when Tumbuka, together with Nyanja and Yao, was made one of the three official African languages in Nyasaland, and it remained so until 1968. Mission policy was therefore fundamental in blocking the acceptance in Nyasaland of a lingua franca that might have parallelled Swahili in East Africa, and aided in uniting Nyasaland with Northern Rhodesia, where Nyanja emerged as one of the colony's four principal languages.

V

Tumbuka-Speakers and Chewa 'Nationalists'

Nyanja was the language spoken by the Protectorate's largest group, but they were not as privileged educationally in the colonial period as were the North's Tumbuka, Ngoni and Lakeside Tonga. In the Central Province, heartland of the Nyanja-speakers, the Dutch Reformed Church was the dominant mission, staffed predominently by Afrikaaners from South Africa. Their policy was to use only Nyanja as a medium of instruction and to teach no English, for they felt it would lead people into urban areas and, hence, into sin.[135] Elsewhere in the Central Province and in large areas of the Southern Province the Roman Catholic Church held sway. Here a similar situation existed, as most of the Catholic missionaries were French speakers or Flemings who had little command of English, and in any case, they were far more interested in evangelization than in education.[136] This meant that the best education in the country went to those in the north whom the Livingstonia Mission educated. Most economic opportunities were in the south, leaving the Chewa haartland, the Central Province, educationally and economically behind the rest of the country. The Chewa, when it came time to meet the challenges of the 1920s, did not form Native Associations as had the northerners,[137] and as a population, they turned aside from what Ngoni and Manda understood as 'progress'. Instead, in search of a sense of solidarity, they turned backwards to their old customs, and the 1920s witnessed a tremendous revival of the old nyau societies and a declining school attendance.[138] It was only rarely that certain Chewa leaders realised that the lack of English placed them at a disadvantage in the Protectorate and complained about the situation.[139]

Neither Church nor Government answered these complaints, however, and their education remained markedly inferior to that which Northerners enjoyed. The result was the dominance of African political life in the period from 1920 down to 1953 by Northerners.[140] Additionally the Protectorate witnessed the emergence of a largely Northern elite of clerks, civil servants, teachers and white-collar workers. A survey Professor Margaret Read conducted in 1939 demonstrated that of all those from Mbelwa's area employed, 25 per cent could be placed in a category of 'skilled workers', a higher proportion than for workers of other areas.[141] The emphasis upon education in the

North is reflected in data from the 1966 Census, taken just after independence. Primary school enrollment is a criterion for concern with and availability of education. In Table One, I compare the three major Tumbuka-speaking districts of Malawi with three rural districts in the Central Region and three in the South. The figures speak for themselves.

Table One[142]

Primary School Enrollments

District	Primary Language(s)	Total Pop.	School-Age Population	Enrollment	Percentage
Karonga	Ngonde/ Tumbuka	77,687	23,376	10,761	46.1%
Rumphi	Tumbuka	46,636	18,197	9,261	50.2%
Mzimba	Tumbuka	229,736	83,563	27,133	30.8%
Dowa	Chewa	182,000	63,753	12,501	19.0%
Salima	Chewa	86,552	27,837	3,748	13.5%
Mchinji	Chewa	85,324	32,143	5,660	17.0%
Chikwawa	Chewa	158,145	53,094	8,494	15.5%
Mulanje	Lomwe/Yao	398,881	144,849	18,695	12.9%
Cholo	Lomwe/Yao	245,824	87,979	14,628	17.0%

Primary education was traditionally uneven, and another set of figures available in the Census is worth looking at. These are figures on the ability to speak English, something highly prized in the colonial era. Table Two gives figures comparing the same districts as in Table One. In spite of the very high incidence of migration of skilled men out of the Northern districts, English was still understood by a greater proportion there than elsewhere.

Table Two[143]

Ability to Use English

District	Primary Language(s)	Total Pop.	Understanding English	Percentage
Karonga	Ngonde/ Tumbuka	77,687	4,677	6.0%
Rumphi	Tumbuka	46,636	3,452	7.5%
Mzimba	Tumbuka	229,736	12,625	5.5%
Dowa	Chewa	182,000	8,267	4.5%
Salima	Chewa	86,552	1,823	2.2%
Mchinji	Chewa	85,344	2,600	3.0%
Chikwawa	Chewa	158,145	4.320	2.8%
Mulanje	Lomwe/Yao	398,881	10,715	2.8%
Cholo	Lomwe/Chewa	245,824	8,491	3.5%

The result of this superior education was that by Independence an educational cleavage existed in the country which coincided with a major regional cleavage. The populous Central Region, with its history of primarily vernacular-oriented education, was not proportionally represented in groups holding positions of power and prestige. At the University of Malawi, for example, a disproportionately high percentage of places in the mid-1960s were from the North.[144] In the civil service, in 1969, out of the 113 highest-level Malawian civil servants, the Northern Region, with but 12 per cent of the total population, held 57 positions, or just over 50 percent.[145]

During the years just after Independence, the Northern elite found itself in a difficult situation. The elections of 1961 resulted in a total victory for Kamuzu Banda's Malawi Congress Party, but the apparent unity enjoyed by Banda and the party proved evanescent. In 1964 the seminal Cabinet Crisis occurred, in which Chiume, Chirwa and Bwanausi were dismissed and Chokani, Chisiza, Chipembere and Mrs Chibambo resigned. Although the Cabinet Crisis has usually been interpreted in terms of ideology or

conflict between generations, it is interesting that none of those who resigned or were dismissed were Chewa. Ethnic cleavage was also shown in that three out of five District Councils in the Northern Region were dissolved as were six out of ten in the Southern Region. Chiefs from both areas were deposed, but not District Councils and no chiefs were touched in the Central Region.[146] The civil servants, finding 'their' representatives purged from Government, showed their dissatisfaction by street demonstrations.[147] At this time Banda discovered a welcome ally in the traditional rulers of Chewa society, the chiefs. The young intellectuals of the Malawi Congress Party had in the 1950s and early 1960s poured scorn on the 'backwardness' of the traditional authorities and had accused them of being 'relics of a dead past' and British stooges. Their idea was to overcome ethnic divisions in Malawi and 'build the nation'. In his struggle with the young intellectuals of the so-called 'rebel' group, Banda fell back upon the 'stooges' and 'relics' for support, and the newly-discovered alliance employed the traditional Chewa institutions of nyau and witchcraft accusations against Banda's opponents, and Banda, in turn, found much to praise in the old ways.[148]

Such an alliance came naturally to Banda, who although Livingstonia-educated, was no Tumbuka-speaker. While a student in Chicago, he was the linguistic informant of Mark Hanna Watkins, the first grammarian of Chewa. In his introduction, Watkins noted that Banda 'was a very excellent informant',[149] and to this day Banda retains a fanatical interest in the language and in what he conceives as its purity. In addition to his interest in the Chewa language, Banda has long been interested in Chewa history and culture, and with Cullen Young edited in 1946 Our African Way of Life. Banda was a cultural prophet at a time when such seemed needed,[150] but he emerged as a distinctly Chewa prophet, and not a national prophet. He tended to equate Chewaness with Malawian-ness, and the Chewa people with the sould of the country. During his years in Nyasaland after 1958, while campaigning against the Federation, he frequently denounced tribalism in others, yet often emphasized that he himself was a Chewa.[151] In his speeches he was always at pains to paint a picture of a glorious Chewa past. Using the alleged territorial extent of the ancient Maravi 'empire' during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for example, he frequently has publicly

asserted that large parts of Zambia and Mozambique should by rights be under Malawi rule. In short, Banda has emphasized Chewa ethnic standards, not Malawi nationalism, and in his considerations of language, history and culture, he had been very much a latter-day Chewa version of Edward Manda and Charles Chinula, also Livingstonia-educated. Long defunct chiefdoms and 'authentic' clan names have been revived. The 'correct' form of Chewa —— as understood by Banda —— has been stressed and the para-military Young Pioneers drill it into children in the schools in non-Chewa areas.[152] The press to extend Chewa identity into other areas of the country is quite conscious, as shown by one of his more blatantly ethnic speeches, at the installation of Paramount Chief Lundu:

> And I am happy that because of my harping on the fact that all the people here are, in fact, Chewa, not Mang'anja, and the people themselves have realised and admitted the truth, this pleases me.
>
> I am happy because this is why I have done this, because the people themselves have recognised the truth, have admitted the truth they are, in fact, Achewa, although for the past one or two hundred years they have been calling themselves Anyanja or Amang'anja.[153]

In his drive to expand the Chewa component of the country, he was aided when, in 1966, large numbers of immigrant Lomwe registered themselves as 'Chewa' in order to give themselves greater status in their new home, and when the census enumerators lumped together the hitherto separate groups of Mang'anja, Nyanja and Chewa as 'Chewa',[154] this created a populace over 50 percent 'Chewa'.

In more recent years the nyau societies, and especially their dances, long despised by the educated as a symbol of Chewa backwardness in a modern world, have become perhaps the heart of what is conceived of as a national culture, even though they are the very hallmark of Chewa culture and only Chewa culture. The transformation of nyau has been effected largely through the sanitizing work of Professor Matthew Schoffeleers and Dr. Ian Linden, whose analyses of nyau and other aspects of Chewa culture and history have found great favour among Chewa intellectuals.[155] Schoffeeleers has depicted nyau as not only the essence of Chewa art and culture, but, even more importantly, as the root of Chewa resistance to colonialism and cultural imperialism, in contrast with such 'collaborators' as the Ngoni. With his timely writings, Schoffeleers became for growing Chewa ethnic

consciousness very much what Professor George Shepperson; with his magisterial Independent African, had been for Malawian nationalism in the early 1960s, or what Cullen Young had been to the Tumbuka —— a source of a useable Past to underpin ideology. In short, the message in the late 1960s and early 1970s was clear: the Chewa people and culture were the very core of modern Malawi as they were the most ancient and the least compromised by colonialism, and Malawi culture would be considered equivalent to Chewa culture.

The positive revival of Chewa ethnic consciousness has had a material side as well. Many government institutions have been transferred from the Northern and Southern Regions to the Central Region, most notably the capital itself, which was achieved with an initial grant from South Africa of ten million kwacha. Virtually all the parastatal organizations were placed under chairmen from the Central Region. While the Central Region obtained but 11 per cent of the development funds spent in 1967, it received 40 percent in 1972/73.[156] Agricultural loans are largely restricted to farmers in the Central Region, and it was from this region that fully 86 per cent of the surplus that the Farmers Marketing Board made in 1971/72 derived.[157]

With such a revival of Chewa culture and Chewa ethnicity, coupled with economic preferences for the Central Region, there arose a collision between the earlier, well-articulated Tumbuka and Ngoni ethnic consciousness and the newer Banda-backed Chewa sense of identity. The first major sign of this collision occurred in the 1965/65 Cabinet Crisis. The second was the decision taken in September 1968 to drop Yao and Tumbuka as official languages, replacing them on the radio and in the press with Chewa alone. This caused a great deal of resentment among the people of the North, and the Karonga transmitter of Radio Malawi was burned to the ground. After this the Parliamentary Secretary for Education, John Gwengwe, announced that all schoolchildren who failed their examinations in Chewa would be required to resit the examinations in all subjects.[158] This struck terror into the Northern and Southern sections of Malawi, which saw this as an attempt to deprive their children of secondary education. This was followed by the institution of the Malawi Examinations Board to replace the Cambridge Overseas Examination and a change in examination policy which required northerners to

obtain considerably higher grades in their school-leaving examinations than children in other regions if they were to qualify for places in secondary schools. In the heady days of Biafra secession at the end of the 1960s, one of the most frequently-heard remarks from young northerners was 'northern Malawi will be the next Biafra.' In the rural areas of the north a new proverb or slogan appeared. When one person, visiting another, saw an item in someone else's house that was new and asked where it came from, he would be told that 'Welensky gave it to me!' This indicated a deepening disenchantment with the realities of Independence and the feeling that the Federation had been better for the north than had been the Banda government.

In a country which is the third poorest in the world, the manner in which Chewa ethnicity has been forwarded has been largely done not by reducing school fees and improving educational facilities for the Chewa —— indeed, school fees have sky-rocketed since Independence —— but rather by removing northerners who had received an education and possessed positions of power from their places. This policy appears necessitated by the country's economic reality. Malawi is too poor to build a large educational infrastructure in Chewa areas, especially as those areas are often densely populated. And as an essentially rural country with limited economic opportunities for the ecuated, she would be hard-pressed to absorb large numbers of educated people. To purge the largely non-Chewa civil service, a mandatory retirement age of fifty was imposed, and large numbers of northerners thus retired. In a small country with only one University, it was not acceptable that it should be dominated by northern lecturers and administrators, especially at a time when an elaboration of Chewa history and culture was being sought. Thus, from 1973, the University's northern senior staff found themselves the target of a series of detention orders which opened the way for non-Northerners to take their place.

Thus far, the move against the non-Chewa and in favour of a Chewa identity for Malawi has been largely successful. Outnumbered by a Chewa-Lomwe grouping, the northerners are a frightened and harassed group, whether educated members of the elite or in the villages of the North. Banda, with his demagogic blandishments of rural people —— and particularly of rural women[159] —— has maintained his personal hold upon the people and enjoys considerable support. Yet, as Philip Short rightly noted in 1974, Banda's

cultural policies in general, and language policies in particular, were

> potentially a tragic mistake, leaving behind a residue of discontent, and removing, in the short term, the possibility of making Malawi a cultural unity.[160]

If anything, this is even more true today, and when the charismatic Banda disappears from the scene, it is likely that ethnic tensions will come to the surface, breaking the long silence prevailing in Malawi over the past decade and a half.[161]

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Footnotes

1.) This article is based upon research carried out in the Public Record Office, London; the National Archives of Zambia, Lusaka; the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; and the Malawi National Archives, Zomba. All archival references refer to files in the Malawi National Archives unless otherwise indicated. Additionally, I have used data gathered in field research in Malawi between 1967 and 1971 and in Zambia in 1974. Field interviews are prefaced 'O.T.' (Oral Testimony), and the references include the name(s) of informant(s), village, district and date of interview.

I acknowledge with thanks the University of Malawi, for financial support of my research, and Robert Boeder, Roger Tangri and, especially, Swanzie Agnew for comments on an earlier draft.

2.) 'The President Ngwazi H. Kamuzu Banda Speaks to the Women's League at State House in Blantyre on January 1st, 1970', cyclostyled speech issued by the Malawi Government's Department of Information (Blantyre, 1970), 4.

3.) 'Installation of Paramount Chief Lundu at Chikwawa, by His Excellency the President, Dr. Kamuzu Banda on July 5th 1969', cyclostyled speech issued by the Malawi Government's Department of Information (Blantyre, 1969), 4.

4.) Unattributable interview. Some information that I have used is unattributable because of the presence of the informant's family in Malawi.

5.) Unattributable interview.

6.) The most notable of these are George Shepperson and Thomas Price, Independent African: John Chilembwe and the Origins, Setting and Significance of the Nyasaland Native Rising of 1915 (Edinburgh, 1958); Robert I. Rotberg, The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964 (Cambridge, Mass., 1964); Bridglal Pachai, Malawi: The History of the Nation (London, 1973); as well as many articles, including Jaap van Velsen, 'Some Early Pressure Groups in Malawi', in Eric Stokes and Richard Brown, eds., The Zambesian Past: Studies in Central African History (Manchester, 1966),

352-412; Roger K. Tangri, 'Inter-war "Native Associations" and the Formation of the Nyasaland African Congress', Transafrican Journal of History, I, 1 (1971), 84-102, and 'Colonial and Settler Pressures and the African Move to the Politics of Representation and Union in Nyasaland', Journal of African History, XIII, 2 (1972), 291-304.

7.) See, for example, Charles van Onselen, Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933 (London, 1976), 122.

*8.) Malawi Hansard,

9.) See, for example, Philip Short, Banda (London, 1974), passim; Carolyn McMasters, Malawi:Foreign Policy and Development (London, 1974), passim; Simon Thomas, 'Economic Developments in Malawi since Independence', Journal of Southern African Studies, II, 1 (1975),30-51.

10.) Richard Hodder-Williams, 'Dr. Banda's Malawi', The Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics, XII, 1 (1974), 92.

11.) John Iliffe, review of A.D. Roberts's A history of Zambia, in The Times Literary Supplement, 30 Sept. 1977, 1114.

12.) See Elizabeth Colson, 'Contemporary Tribes and the Development of Nationalism', in June Helm, ed., Essays of the Problem of Tribe: Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society (Seattle and London, 1968), 202:

> The African tribal groupings are not survivals from the pre-colonial political world. . . They are largely the conscious creations of intellectuals and other active leaders who have had the greatest opportunity to participate in the larger political and social world.

See also J. Clyde Mitchell, 'Tribe and Social Change in South Central Africa: A Situational Approach', Journal of Asian and African Studies, V, 1-2 (1970), 83-101, for a discussion of the varying perceptions of 'tribe' in twentieth century Zambia; and Edwin Ardener, 'Language, Ethnicity and Population', Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford, III, 3 (1972), 125-32.

13.) This is especially so of the Chewa-speakers, who have never been as greatly involved in labour migration as other groups, and who have

had less opportunity of developing a specifically national feeling. See, for example, Martin Chanock, 'The Political Economy of Independent Agriculture in Colonial Malawi: the Great War to the Great Depression', Journal of Social Science, I (1972), 113-29.

14.) Malawi Government, Malawi Population Census, 1966 (Zomba, n.d. (1971)), passim, and Monica Wilson, The Peoples of the Tanganyika-Nyasa Corridor (Cape Town, 1958), passim.

15.) H. Leroy Vail, 'Suggestions towards a reinterpreted Tumbuka history', in B. Pachai, ed., The Early History of Malawi (London, 1972), 150-4.

16.) See Leroy Vail, 'Religion, Language and the Tribal Myth: the Tumbuka and Chewa of Malawi', in Matthew Schoffeleers, ed., Guardians of the Land: Studies in Central African Territorial Cults (Gwelo, in press), where I elaborate on the cultural distinctions existing between Southern and Northern Tumbuka.

17.) For a discussion of this process, see Vail, 'Reinterpreted Tumbuka history', 154-8.

18.) Free Church of Scotland - Livingstonia Mission, 'Report on Journey of Exploration, September to December 1879', (n.p.,n.d.), 2; also National Library of Scotland, MS 7878, Laws to Mission Board, n.d. (1894).

19.) OT, Zakeyo Soko, Embangweni village, Mzimba district, 1 Aug. 1970; OT, Nelson Nkhata, Thombololo village, Mzimba district, 17 Sept. 1970, amongst other interviews.

20.) OT, Eliyah Mphangula, Kapela village, Mzimba district, 3 Aug. 1970; OT, Kayimbone Chavinda, Dakala village, Mzimba district, 3 Aug. 1970.

21.) OT, Group interview with Inkosi Mabilawo and councillors, Emfeni village, Mzimba district, 30 July 1971; OT, Vulakayina Ngwenya, Edingeni village, Mzimba district, 19 Sept. 1971. See also Donald Fraser, Winning a Primitive People: Sixteen Years' work among the Warlike Tribe of the Ngoni and the Senga and Tumbuka Peoples of Central Africa (London, 1914), 121-3.

22.) OT, Mayibale Munthali, Kaporo village, Karonga district, 10 Aug. 1971; OT, Nelson Kapila, Katumbi village, Karonga district, 11 Aug. 1971.

23.) Aggrey K. Mhango, 'The History of the Henga People', Unpublished University of Malawi student seminar paper, Blantyre, 1969, 15; see also Robert Laws, Reminiscences of Livingstonia (London, 1934), 155.

24.) For a history of this mission, see John McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 1875-1940: The impact of the Livingstonia Mission in the Northern Province (Cambridge, 1977).

25.) Arthur Silva White, 'The East Central Africa Question', Scottish Geographical Magazine, IV (1888), 307; L. Monteith Fotheringham, Adventures in Nyassaland: A Two Years' Struggle with Arab Slave-Dealers in Central Africa (London, 1891), 112-15.

26.) McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 106, quoting a mission report of 1899-1900.

27.) See, for example, Fotheringham, Adventures in Nyassaland, 21-25; D. Kerr-Cross, 'Reminiscences of Karonga', The Central African Times, 26 Aug. 1899.

28.) Livingstonia Mission Report, 1911, 38, quoted in McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 106; also NNK 2/4/1, 'Monthly Reports, North Nyasa, 1909/1910', Report for Sept. 1910.

29.) S1/1631/29, 'District Administration, North Nyasa, 1929', O'Brien to Chief Secretary, 30 Oct. 1929.

30.) John McCracken, 'Religion and Politics in Northern Ngoniland, 1881-1904', in Pachai, Early History, 225.

31.) OT, David Sibande, Emoneni village, Mzimba district, 14 Sept. 1971; OT, Mopho Jere, Ekwalweni village, Mzimba district, 22 Sept. 1971. Also, National Library of Scotland, MS 7879, Walter Elmslie, 'Report for Ngoniland of the Livingstonia Mission, 1895'.

32.) McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 118-19.

33.) W. P. Livingstone, Laws of Livingstonia: A Narrative of Missionary Adventure and Achievement (London, n.d.), 341.

34.) See NN 1/21/6, 'Indirect Rule, Policy - 1930', Senior Provincial Commissioner, Zomba to Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, 14 Jan. 1930.

35.) OT, Ganipani Gondwe, Luwili village, Rumphi district, 11 Aug. 1970; OT, S. G. Gondwe, Village Headman Bongololo and J. L. Chilambo, Bolelo village, Rumphi district, 17 Sept. 1969.

36.) OT, Group Village Headman Mcinanguwo, Mwazisi village, Rumphi district, 3 Aug. 1971; OT, Chitamo Gondwe, Mwenilondo village, Karonga district, 13 Aug. 1971.

37.) OT, Group Village Headman Mcinanguwo, Mwazisi village, Rumphi district, 3 Aug. 1971; OT, Chitamu Gondwe, Mwenilondo village, Karonga district, 13 Aug. 1971; T. Cullen Young, Notes on the History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga Peoples in the Northern Province of Nyasaland, 2nd ed. (London, 1970), 124.

38.) OT, Group Village Headman Mcinanguwo, Mwazisi village, Rumphi district, 3 Aug. 1971.

39.) OT, Chitamu Gondwe, Mwenilondo village, Karonga district, 13 Aug. 1971; North Nyasa District Notebook, III, 92; VII, loose typescript enclosure on the backgrounds of various chiefs.

40.) NNK 2/4/1, Monthly report for North Nyasa District, July 1909.

41.) J. H. Plumb, The Death of the Past (London, 1969), 17. For an example of the process similar to that which occurred among the Tumbuka, see Michael Twaddle, 'On Ganda Historiography', History in Africa, I (1974), 85-100.

42.) NNK 2/4/1, Monthly report for North Nyasa District, July 1909.

43.) Ibid., Aug. 1909.

44.) OT, S. P. K. Nyasulu, Mwenilondo village, Karonga district, 12 Aug. 1971; Malawi Society Library, Rangeley Papers, File 1/2/1, T. C. Young to Rangeley, 30 Aug. 1951.

45.) Saulos Nyirenda, 'History of the Tumbuka-Henga People', trans. and ed. by T. Cullen Young, Bantu Studies, V, 1 (1930), 1-75.

46.) OT, Chitamo Gondwe, Mwenilondo village, Karonga district, 13 Aug. 1971.

*47.) North Nyasa District Notebook, I, . For Nkhonjera's account, see 'History of the Kamanga Tribe of Lake Nyasa: A Native Account', African Affairs, X, No. 39 (1911), 331-41, and XI, No. 42, 231-4.

48.) On this point, see Martin Chanock, 'Ambiguities in the Malawian Political Tradition', African Affairs, LXXIX, No. 296 (1975), 527-30, where he discusses the 'politics of hierarchy' in connection with the northern elite.

49.) NNK 2/4/1, Monthly report for North Nyasa District, Sept. 1910.

50.) NNK 2/4/2, Monthly report for North Nyasa District, Aug. 1916.

*51.)

52.) Young, History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga, 62-80, 'The Nkonde Point of View'; 90-91, 'A Tonga-Chewa Memorandum'; also NN 1/20/7, 'A History of the WaFulilwa'.

53.) Young, History of the Tumbuka-Kamanga, passim, but especially 54-5; 84-6.

54.) Vail, 'Reinterpreted Tumbuka history', 155-60.

55.) It is also worth noting that at the very time that Young was preparing his book, he was also teaching John Gondwe, the son of Chief

Chikulamayembe, and hence in direct touch with the core of 'official history.' See B. Pachai, Malawi, 10-12.

56.) For this information of the life of E. B. Manda I am most grateful to Mr. T. J. Thompson, letter dated 10 Mar. 1977.

57.) For a discussion of these 'Native Associations' see van Velsen, 'Some Early Pressure Groups in Malawi', passim, and Tangri, 'Inter-War "Native Associations" and the Formation of the Nyasaland African Congress', passim.

58.) NN 1/21/27, 'Native Affairs, North Nyasa', O'Brien to Provincial Commissioner, 1 Mar. 1932.

59.) Manda envisaged himself quite explicitly as the representative 'for all the educated Henga people, both (in Nkhamanga) and at Karonga'. NN 1/7/4, 'Chiefs and Headmen, 1930-32', Encl. A in Burden to Provincial Commissioner, 28 Aug. 1931.

60.) NN 2/1/1, 'Annual Report, North Nyasa, 1930'.

61.) NNK 2/1/4, 'Annual Report, North Nyasa, 1931'.

62.) NN 1/21/27, 'Native Affairs, North Nyasa', O'Brien to Provincial Commissioner, 1 Mar. 1932.

63.) NNM 1/15/9, 'Native Authority Chikulamayembe', Memorandum of District Commissioner reporting meeting of 9 July 1931, dated 15 July 1931; OT, S. P. T. Nyasulu, Mwenilondo village, Karonga district, 12 Aug. 1971.

64.) NN 1/7/4, Encl. A in Burden to Provincial Commissioner, 28 Aug. 1931; OT, S. P. T. Nyasulu, Mwenilondo village, Karonga district, 12 Aug. 1971.

65.) NN 1/7/4, Encl C in Burden to Provincial Commissioner, 28 Aug. 1931.

66.) NN 1/7/4, Encl. A in Burden to Provincial Commissioner, 28 Aug. 1931.

67.) Ibid., reporting remarks of Councillor Juanini.

68.) SEC 1/67[F]/37, 'Annual Report, Mzimba District, 1936'. But see McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 286, for a report of these attempts failing as of 1935.

69.) NN 1/2/27, 'Native Affairs, North Nyasa', 'Vows of Chieftainship', encl. in O'Brien to Provincial Commissioner, 1 Mar. 1932. One of Manda's betes noires were Watch Tower preachers, whom he tried to have expelled from Tumbuka country.

70.) NN 1/2/27, O'Brien to Provincial Commissioner, 1 Mar. 1932.

71.) NN 1/20/4, 'District Councils, North Nyasa', Report of a meeting of 1 May 1932.

72.) NN 1/20/4, Minute of District Commissioner regarding meeting of 1 May 1932.

73.) NN 1/20/70, 'Native Administration, Karonga District, 1932-34', Report by the District Commissioner of Mzimba District, undated.

74.) S1/112/34, 'Annual Report, Northern Province, 1933'; NN 1/20/5, 'Native Affairs, North Nyasa', Report of a meeting of Nkhamanga chiefs on 18 Apr. 1933.

75.) S1/89[F]/35, 'Annual Report, Mzimba District, 1934'.

76.) Quoted in McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 289.

77.) See, for example, NNM 1/14/6, 'Administration, 1936-37', undated memorandum by G. M. Kayina Wavyenje Mwachanda, encl. in Jennings to Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province, 26 June 1937.

78.) Although several different claimants to Tumbuka chiefdoms alleged to have existed in Ngoni territory have pressed their claims, the dispute has centered around two principal claims: supporters of Baza Dokowe Nyirenda, defeated by the Ngoni in 1880 at Hora Mountain in an abortive revolt, and the supporters of Chimjokola Jenjewe, a chief of the ancient Matanja group of the Tumbuka. These claims keep alive today a certain feeling among Tumbuka people in Mzimba

district that they are distinct from the Ngoni and have a right to their own chiefdoms. OT, Chief Mphamba and James Dokowe, Mphamba village, Lundazi district, Zambia, 1 May 1974; R.P.K. Banda, 'Tumbuka Chieftainship: Katumbi Chimjokola Jenjewe', cyclostyled pamphlet, (n.p., n.d.), passim.

79.) Public Record Office, London (P.R.O.), F.O. 84/2051, 'Report on the Nyasa-Tanganyika Expedition', by H. H. Johnston, 1 Feb. 1890, encl. in *Johnston to F.O., 17 Mar. 1890.*

80.) James Henderson, 'Northern Nyasaland', The Scottish Geographical Magazine, XVI (1900), 86.

81.) See, for example, John McCracken, 'Underdevelopment in Malawi: The Missionary Contribution', African Affairs, LXXVI, No. 303 (1977), 199.

82.) OT, Inkosi Mzukuzuku and councillors, Embangweni village, Mzimba district, 16 Sept. 1971; OT, Inkosi yamaKosi Mbelwa III and councillors, Edingeni village, Mzimba district, 19 Sept. 1971.

83.) Mombera District Book, I (1904-07), 183, for the terms of the agreement between Sharpe and the Ngoni chiefs.

84.) P.R.O. C.O. 525/66, Smith to Bonar Law, 17 Jan. 1916.

85.) OT, Inkosi Mzukuzuku and councillors, Embangweni village, Mzimba district, 16 Aug. 1971; OT, Simeon Mvula, Mzimba town, Mzimba district, 17 Aug. 1971.

86.) For a comparable pattern of social change and ecological degradation just across the border in Northern Rhodesia, see Leroy Vail, 'Ecology and History: the example of Eastern Zambia', Journal of Southern African Studies, III, 2 (1977), 129-55.

87.) P.R.O. C.O. 525/66, Smith to Bonar Law, 17 Jan. 1916, encls. 1 & 4.

88.) OT, Inkosi Mzukuzuku and councillors, Embangweni village, Mzimba district, 16 Aug. 1971. See P.R.O. C.O. 525/66, Smith to Bonar Law, 17 Jan. 1916, for an account of the incident.

89.) Personal communication from J. C. B. Mkandawire, 10 Dec. 1977.

90.) OT, Levy Mbalo Mtonga, Euthini village, Mzimba district, 15 Sept. 1971.

91.) National Archives of Malawi, Charles Chinula Papers, Mombera Native Association Minute Book, Entry for 26/27 Sept. 1921.

92.) S1/1182/24, 'Famine Relief in Mombera', Provincial Commissioner, Northern Province to the Chief Secretary, 29 Nov. 1924.

93.) See Obituary of Charles Chinula, The Times (of Blantyre), 19 Nov. 1970.

94.) S1/210/20, 'Minutes of Mombera Native Association', meeting of 1/2 Sept. 1920.

95.) For a contrary view, see Tangri, 'Inter-War "Native Associations" and the Formation of the African National Congress', 87, and 'Colonial and Settler Pressures', 291, where he describes the associations as 'non-tribal in purpose and outlook'.

96.) OT, Inkosi Mzukuzuku and councillors, Enbangweni village, Mzimba district, 16 Sept. 1971; OT, Inkosi yamaKosi Mbelwa III and councillors, Edingeni village, Mzimba district, 19 Sept. 1971.

97.) NC 1/3/5, 'Native Associations', Minute by Brackenbury, 30 Aug. 1930.

98.) S1/1365/24, 'Mombera Native Association, 1924-29', Minutes of 12 June 1924 and 2 July 1929.

99.) NN 1/7/1, 'Chiefs and Headmen, 1926-30', Fairfax-Francklin to Provincial Commissioner, 11 Feb. 1927; Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 17 Feb. 1927.

100.) Mombera District Notebook, I, 7.

101.) NN 1/4/1, 'Mombera, North Nyasa and Angoni Highlands Native Associations, 1930-31', Minutes of a meeting of the Mombera Native Association, 2 July 1930.

102.) See Yesaya Chibambo, My Ngoni of Nyasaland (London, n.d.); Also J. D. Omer-Cooper, The Zulu Aftermath (London, 1966), 64-85, for an account of the basic outline of Ngoni history.

103.) S1/112/34, 'Annual Report, Northern Province, 1933'.

104.) B. Pachai, 'African initiatives in the Local Administration in Colonial Malawi: the case of M'Mbelwa African Administrative Council of Mzimba District', in Roderick J. MacDonald, ed. From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in Colonial History (Nairobi, 1975), 196.

105.) S1/89[F]/35, 'Annual Report, Mzimba District, 1934'. See also National Archives of Zambia, ZA 7/1/17/1, 'Annual Report, Eastern Province: Lundazi District, 1934'; OT, Chief Magodi and councillors, Egichekeni village, Lundazi district, Zambia, 29 Apr. 1974, during which the chief asserted that 'Mbelwa has always remained our chief.'

106.) Pachai, 'African Initiatives in the Local Administration', 209.

107.) Swanzie Agnew and Michael Stubbs, eds., Malawi in Maps (London, 1972), 72. Cf. Census, xiii.

108.) Lomwe was not an official language, even though it is the country's second most widely used language, because its users are migrants from Mozambique who have settled in Malawi during the twentieth century.

109.) National Library of Scotland, MS 7896, Elmslie to Laws, 22 Oct. 1892.

110.) National Library of Scotland. MS 7879, Minutes of Mission Council at Livingstonia, 12 Nov. 1896; The Handbook of Nyasaland (London, 1910), 106; James W. Jack, Daybreak in Livingstonia: The Story of the Livingstonia Mission, British Central Africa (London, 1901), 328-30.

111.) P.R.O. F.O. 84/2051, 'Report of the Nyasa-Tanganyika Expedition', by H.H. Johnston, 1 Feb. 1890, encl. in Johnston to F.O. 17 Mar. 1890.

112.) The Handbook of Nyasaland, 120.

113.) Jack, Daybreak in Livingstonia, 342.

114.) McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 277.

115.) Fraser, Winning a Primitive People, 189.

116.) Ibid., 195.

117.) McCracken, Politics and Christianity in Malawi, 118.

118.) GOA 2/4/12, 'Mohammadanism and Ethiopianism', Circular letter, Lt. Col. French to Gov. Smith, 7 Aug. 1917.

119.) GOA 2/4/12, Smith to C.O., 17 Feb. 1918.

120.) S1/1008/19, 'Annual Report, Mombera District, 1918', Gov. Smith to Chief Secretary, 7 May 1919.

121.) S1/449/32, 'Nyanja as a School Language', Minutes of the 4th session of the Legislative Council.

122.) P.R.O. C.O. 525/153, Young to Cunliffe-Lister, 9 Feb. 1934.

123.) Quoted in P.R.O. C.O. 525/153, Young to Cunliffe-Lister, 9 Feb. 1934.

124.) Ibid.

125.) Minute of Livingstonia Mission Council, 15 July 1933, encl. in P.R.O. CO 525/150.

126.) LB 15/1/1, 'Chinyanja as a Lingua Franca', Memorandum of W. P. Young, July 1933.

127.) NN 1/20/5, 'Native Administration, Mzimba, 1932-34', Minutes of barazas. In 1931 the Census noted that the Tumbuka people who had earlier tried to gain prestige by calling themselves 'Ngoni' were by 1931 'no longer afraid or ashamed to call themselves by their proper names.' John C. Abraham, Report on the Census of 1931 (Zomba, 1932), 21.

128.) S1/449/32, Minute of 19 Oct. 1933.

129.) P.R.O. C.O. 525/153, Young to Cunliffe-Lister, 9 Feb. 1934.

130.) S1/449/32, Chief Kyungu to District Commissioner, 9 Nov. 1932. Also S1/54^{G}/33, 'Annual Report, Karonga District, 1932'.

131.) P.R.O. C.O. 525/158, Turner to Vischer, 29 Apr. 1935.

132.) P.R.O. C.O. 525/158, Minute of Lee, 13 May 1935.

133.) P.R.O. C.O. 525/158, Bottomley to Kittermaster, 7 June 1935.

134.) S1/449/32, Minutes of a meeting on 22 June 1936. An irony in the situation is that at the very time that the Mission's representatives were asserting that language 'is the soul of the people', they were discontinuing the use of Ngonde texts in Ngonde area schools and substituting Tumbuka texts for them.

135.) See, for example, J. L. Pretorious, 'An Introduction to the history of the Dutch Reformed Church in Malawi, 1889-1914', in Pachai, Early History, 372-5.

136.) Ian Linden, Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland (London, 1974), 143-4.

137.) The Lilongwe Native Association, although in the heart of Chewa country, was actually dominated by George Simeon Mwase, a Tonga from Nkhata Bay District, and represented the local shop-keepers of Lilongwe, rather than the mass of Chewa peasants. See Martin Chanock, 'The New Men Revisited: An Essay on the Development of Political Consciousness in Colonial Malawi', in MacDonald, From Nyasaland to Malawi, 234-53, for a discussion of this association.

138.) Linden, Chewa Resistance, 117-37. For an assessment of the importance of nyau in maintaining a sense of Chewa identity, see Mitchell, 'Tribe and Social Change', 87.

139.) S1/992/25, 'Annual Report - Central Province, 1924'; SEC 1/67E/37, 'Annual Report, Dowa District, 1936'.

140.) Roderick J. MacDonald, 'A History of African Education in Nyasaland, 1875-1945', Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Edinburgh, 1969), 570; Roger K. Tangri, 'The Development of Modern African Politics and the Emergence of a Nationalist Movement in Colonial Malawi, 1891-1958', Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Edinburgh, 1970), 258.

*141.) Margaret Read, 'The Ngoni and Western Education', in Victor Turner, ed., Profiles of Change: African Society and Colonial Rule, vol. III of Gann & Duigan, Colonialism in Africa (London, 197), 371.

142.) Malawi Government, Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for the Year 1966 (Zomba, n.d.), Appendix E; Census, passin. I have chosen districts with large urban populations in order to maintain a consistently rural picture. The age spacing of 5-19 is wide for primary school education, yet it is appropriate where students frequently miss years of schooling when parents are unable to find money to pay school fees. The upper levels have relatively old students in them very frequently.

143.) Census, 139.

144.) MacDonald, 'A History of African Education', 542-3.

145.) Personal communication from Mr. Colin A. Baker, former Under Secretary to the Malawi Government and Principal of the Institute of Public Administration, Blantyre, Malawi, 30 Jan. 1978.

146.) McMaster, Malawi: Foreign Policy and Development, 65.

147.) Rotberg, Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa, 320.

148.) A. C. Ross, 'The Political Role of the Witchfinder in Southern Malawi During the Crisis of October 1964 to May 1965', in University of Edinburgh, Centre of African Studies, Witchcraft and Healing (Edinburgh, 1969), 60.

149.) Mark Hanna Watkins, A Grammar of ChiChewa (Philadelphia, 1937), 7.

150.) For a discussion of this role, see Chanock, 'Ambiguities', 344-5.

151.) Short, Banda, 93.

152.) Personal observation, Chikwawa town, Chikwawa district, 10 June 1968.

153.) 'Installation of Paramount Chief Lundu', 6.

154.) Personal communication, Professor Swanzie Agnew, 14 Jan. 1978.

155.) Matthew Schoffeleers, 'The Meaning and Use of the Name Malawi in Oral Traditions and Precolonial Documents', in Pachai, Early History, 91-103; 'Myths and Legends of Creation', Vision of Malawi (Dec. 1972); 'Towards the Identification of a proto-Chewa culture: a preliminary contribution', The Journal of Social Science, II (1973), 47-60; Matthew Schoffeleers and Ian Linden, 'The Resistance of the Nyau Societies to the Roman Catholic Missions in Colonial Malawi', in T. O. Ranger and I. N. Kimambo, eds., The Historical Study of African Religion (London, 1972), 252-73; Linden, Chewa Resistance, passim, among other works by the two scholars. Recently Steve Chimombo has taken the scholarly findings and cast them in the form of a Chewa culture-oriented play, 'The Rainmaker' (Zomba, 1974).

156.) Thomas, 'Economic Developments in Malawi since Independence', 49.

157.) Unattributable interview; Thomas, 'Economic Developments in Malawi since Independence', 49.

158.) Short, Banda, 274.

159.) Banda's very unusual relationship with the women of Malawi deserves a separate study on its own.

160.) Short, Banda, 274. For a different interpretation, see Alifeyo Chilivumbo, 'Malawi's Culture in the National Integration', Presence

Africaine, new ser., II (1976), 241, where the use of Chewa is viewed as 'narrowing differences in the modes of thought consumption ... (and) provides a framework for the cultivation of identity and a sense of being part of a vertical unit.'

161.) Strict censorship, refusal to allow outside journalists access to the country, and the oppressive atmosphere that pervades it, which prevents Malawians from discussing the situation existing there freely, all combine to maintain this silence.

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