A HISTORY OF THE KASEMPA DISTRICT, NORTHWEST PROVINCE ZAMBIA

(MANUSCRIPT by D. JAEGER, compiled in 1975, with notes and minor revisions in 2018)

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Introduction

This manuscript reviews the periods of the history of the Kasempa District and in older times for a while Kasempa Province (refer appendix 1). The former Kasempa Province, with Kasempa as Provincial Capital, included Solwezi and Mwinilunga District, part of Kabompo District and todays Mufumbwe District(the later was part of Kasempa District till 1978). It comprises roughly the area between the Kafue and Kabompo rivers.

Kasempa is one of the few administrative centres in Zambia that remained on the same location since its establishment. It is also one of the few capitals named after a local chieftainship.

A map is attached of the area and with an indication of the pre- and early colonial paths and tracks through the region, $M^{*}(\mathbb{Z}^{d})$

The following periods can be distinguished and are described in this manuscript:

- 1.Early days: Archeological evidence suggests that also this part of Zambia has been inhabited at least since 11,000 BC. However not much is known about the earliest human inhabitants. A very old population group are the BaTwa. They lived over the whole of area of Zambia. They assimilated with incoming Bantu immigrants and were pushed away into remote swamp regions like the Bangweulu swamps, and the Lukanga and Busanga swamps. (Moubray 1912).
- 2. <u>Bantu migrations</u>: Over the last milenium Bantu migrations from the north took place. The Mbwela people lived for long in the area. Various small Kaonde clan groups related to the Sanga entered from the DR Congo (off shoots of the Luba and Lunda empires) in the 17th century and in increasing numbers during the 18th and 19th centuries. The first Kaonde immigrants were of Luba origin. Later groups were Sanga related and later arriving groups/clans Lunda affiliated. The Mbwela residents were driven further south and partly assimilated with incoming groups.

The Kaonde immigrants never formed a coherent political territorial organization. They made up a loose confederation of different clan-groups sharing a similar language (although different dialects can be distinguished) and common cultural background.

In the second half of the 19th century life was disrupted by intensified slave raiding, both from the west by the Mambari (Angola) and from the north and east by the Bayeke. Many small Kaonde village clan groups scattered in that time into distant places and build strong stockades.

- 3. <u>Colonial occupation first period</u> 1900 1920 : The arrival of white rule in 1901 was a blow to the independent, self willed population and their leaders. Although the Kaonde were easily overcome, covert resistance against the new rulers existed in many forms. The early decades were generally characterized by unrest, assaults and religious uprisings.
- 4. <u>Administrative consolidation</u> 1920-1950: After World War I and the handing over of BSAC-company rule to the Northern Rhodesia Administration, Kasempa District experienced a time of rest and stabilization. Chief's areas were demarcated. Senior Chiefdoms were established. Indirect rule was introduced. People were obliged to stay where they were settled.
- x) Kasempa region and its people were conquered by the colonial invaders (BSAC) under pretext of the treaty with the Barotse King Lewanika (Shaloff 1972). No treaties or agreements were made with the local chiefs; the region was just occupied by the Europeans. The local chiefs, like Jipumpu and others had to accept the new situation (Chibanza 1961, Short 1973) The first years the relations between the chiefs and the occupants was restrained and Chief Kasempa Jipumu was more than once put into goal (Chibanza 1961,p69; Jaeger,1981,p 69,239). After the death of Kasempa Jipumpu in 1905, the chiefs palace was relocated from Kamusongolwa Hill to its present location about 10 miles west of Kasempa Boma. Since that time contacts gradually changed.

Nevertheless under the influence of labour migration to cities and the mines and through general contact with European administration and with missionary activities a process of change and deterioration of traditional values took place.

- 5. First attempts at economic development (1950-1964): In this period government attempts to further economic development started and medical care and education were introduced. Modernization in Kasempa District, however, lagged behind other parts of the country. North-Western Province could still be spoken of as the "Cinderella province", a ready labour-reserve for the nearby Copperbelt.
- 6. Independence accelerated development: Since 1964 new agricultural schemes have been inaugurated and market production of crops has continued to rise. A marked increase in the availability of basic services has also come about, including schools, water supplies, rural health centers, agricultural extension work and roads. New mining activities have been undertaken in the district, as well.

For detailed information and for a chronology of events (1875 – 1975 and 1964-2004) and for literature references and a detailed bibliography (till 1980) refer the following websites:

Jaeger D. Settlements Patterns and Rural Development, a human geographical study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia Amsterdam 1981; https://dare.uva.nl/records 394624

Jaeger D. Fifty Years of the Kasempa District, 1964-2014 Change and Continuity, The Hague 2015; http://www.asclibrary.nl/docs/40898225X

For information on the Northwest Province refer: https://davidwilkinnwpzambia.com and for Kaonde history and culture the webside: www.kaondewordpress.wordpress.com

HISTORY UP TO 1900

Early History

Archeological excavations indicate that the area under discussion here, has been inhabitated already for a long period.

Late stone age sites have been discovered at Kamusongolwa Hill, the well known landmark in the centre of the District near Kasempa Boma.

These finds of simple stone tools indicate a date of around 11.000 B.C. representing the early period of the late stone age in Zambia (Fagan, 1968, 57).

It seems likely that at least from that period onwards the Kasempa area has been inhabitated and i.a. Kamusongolwa Hill. This hill with its natural defense facilities, its open view over a wide table-land and situated close to a good perennial stream, the Lufupa river, has been a site for human habitation and a centre for different population groups up to recent times.

Similarly late stone age finds, as well as rock engravings and rock paintings, have been found in the north of the North - Western Province in the mountains of the Zambezi-Congo watershed. Well known are the engravings on the rocks along the Kifubwe stream near Solwezi Boma. These are dated about 4350 BC. Little is known about the culture of these inhabitants, but it may be assumed that they were hunters and food-gatherers and probably not much unlike the Bushmen.

Old oral Bantu traditions sometimes refer to "the little people", who lived in these areas before. Some of these traditions are kept alive by reference to the small simple organized groups of people of fairly small posture, who used to live, up to recent times, ive. on the bordets of the Lukangwa swamps, the Batwa, excellent fishing people.

Of more recent times are the pottery remains of the early farmers and iron-workers also found at Kamusongolwa Hill which date back to 1150 A.C. (Fagan, 1968, 92). These early farmers and iron-workers, who were spread over many parts of Zambia and who showed different types of culture all over the country, were very probably speaking Bantu-languages.

Note x/

⁻Brelsford, W.V. 'The Tribes of Zambia', Lusaka 1965

⁻ Clark J.D.'A note on the pre-Bantu inhabitants of Nothern Rhodesia', N. Rhodesia Jl. 1950 vol 2

⁻Lawrence Green 'The Great North Route', Cape Town 1962

⁻Moubray J.M., 'In South Central Africa', London 1912, chapter VI.

They arrived from the North-West and besides hunting and gathering, they were already acquainted with the cultivation of cereal crops and also with metal and copper working.

Maybe they are the forbears of the Mbwela people, who occupied large areas in southern Zaïre, Angola and Zambia some centuries ago.

In the 18th and 19th century the Mbwela in Zambia were pushed further southwards into what is now the Western Province, by new incoming groups of Luba and Lunda origin from Zaire. The descents of the Mbwela are better known under names of Nkoya, Mashasha and Lukolwe today. For a long time they resided in the Kasempa District, and the Mashasha chief Shikanda Kahari had his headquarters at the Kamusongolwa Hill in the middle of last century. (Clay, 1945, 7).

Kaonde Migrations

Without elaborating into full detail, a short review is given here on the migration of the Kaonde population groups which are settled in the District nowadays (see further details, c.f. Chibanza 1961, Jaeger 1971, Melland 1967). The migration of the Kaonde's, not unlike other Bantu groups who arrived in Zambia consisted of small clangroups, usually sub-clans i.c. lineages organized matrilineally who split of from their parent clans in Zai're. They all were of Luba stock originally, and they brought with them the same cultural background and the same language. But they were not interconnected and may aptly be described as a loose confederation of chiefs, without any paramount chief or state organization. (Melland, 1967, It seems they were first of all called Kaonde by surrounding groups like the Mbwela and Lunda, because they all came from about the same direction and from an area known by the name Kaonde. Subsequently the incoming groups adopted this name for themselves.

The most widely accepted explanation for the origin of the name Kaonde is, that it was derived from a small river in Zaire, a tributary of the Mukwishi. Although there are other explanations. According to Grevisse (1946, p.50) and Boone (1965, p. 264) the root of the word could also have been derived from the verb Ku-onda, which means 'worn out, miserable'. It is possible that the

"Kaonde" clangroup of Mushima, who clashed and was defeated by the Lunda, got this nickname. Later other "Kaonde" groups who were related to Mushima, like the Balonga, became also known by the same name, and so the name spread and became commonly in use.

⁽Note) X

It may be assumed these migrations were initiated partly for sociopolitical reasons like wars, disputes within the clan, the eagerness
of active leaders to start their own chieftainship and have their
own territory. Partly for ecological reasons like population pressure,
the necessity to search for fresh hunting and agricultural grounds
and probably other economic reasons, like the desire to gain access
to new natural resources and trade-centres (Roberts, 1970, 724).
Although difficult to ascertain in the areas under discussion here,
copper locations like at Kansanshi and along the Kafue, Lunga and
Dongwe rivers and also the saltpans located near the Busanga swamps
and at Kaimbwe may have lured the leaders of some of the migrational
groups. These regions might have been worthwhile to conquer and to
push other residents away.

The oral history known about the clan movements are in fact the histories of the wanderings of the leading families, as representatives of their clan or subclan. Whereas other ordinary villagers have different histories in many cases as a result of the fact that they were incorporated into the clangroup, by intermarriage, enslaving or absorption.

Four main migration divisions which settled in the Kasempa District can be distinguished. These divisions came at different times and along different routes (see map II). In general the leaders of these groups were recognized as chiefs and got protection and their chieftainship insignia from the Lunda overlords to whom they were obliged to pay tribute. This was especially the case during the 18th and 19th century when the Lunda empire expanded its sphere of influence considerably by appointing tributary chiefs in the areas surrounding the Lunda empire. Exception has to be made for some clangroups who were settled already further to the south near the Kafue and who evaded Lunda overlordship.

The earliest Kaonde migration group was the Balonga sub-clan, who arrived in Zambia probably in the late 17th century, they migrated along the Lunga river as far as Kafue Hook, where they settled for some time (see map II). (x) Fights with Mbwela and later with the Mashukulumbwe (I a) drove some of them (like Kapiji Mujimanzovu and Nyoka) back to the north

Note (x): It might be possible that these imigrants of Luba stock, with their coppersmelting tradition from the Katanga region, were attracted by the copper outcrops in that area.

to seek protection of the Lunda Paramount Chief Musokantanda. The Balonga were of direct Luba origin, and until recently one of the chiefs who lives in the Kafue Hook area, already for a long time, is known as Luba-Kaonde (Kaindu), while others mixed with the Ila and are nowadays known as Ila-Kaonde (Brelsford, 1965, 58).

A second important clan group were the Benakyowa, known in Zaire earlier as Batemba, they are of Luba-Sanga origin and arrived at the beginning of last century (19e) under the leadership of Nkundwe-Kiboko. They passed the Solwezi area and settled subsequently at the Luma stream and near the Kaimbwe saltpan, an important natural resource and tradecentre in the middle of Kasempa District (sometimes called the heart of Kaonde Land). Under the well known leadership of Chief Jipumpu, who seems to have been the first to introduce the name Kasempa, they wandered further southwards towards the Busanga swamps, maybe to avoid Lunda overlordship. (x) Jipumpu was a quarrelsome man, who fought many battles against Mbwela, Lunda and Lozi. At last he settled at Kamusongolwa Hill. There he defeated a Barotse army under guidance of a Lozi induna, some years before the turn to the 20th century. (Chibanza, 1961, 62).

Note (X)

The origin of the name Kasempa is not clear. According to Jesse Sandasanda (personal information), a nickname for Kasempa was Kasempakanya bantu biseba, literally meaning "one who causes people to overlap their skins", that is wrapping the skins around the body instead of hanging them from a belt. Sandasanda states that Jipumpu was a chief who attacked so suddenly that his adversaries fled with so much haste that their skins were improperly adjusted.

This army was joined by people of Mushima, a Kaonde chief, who had trekked through the Kasempa area and who was on bad terms with Kasempa at that time.

Reasons why he looked for protection and help from the expanding Lozi kingdom. This fight against the Barotse army, although most likely it hasn't been a large military operation, is still a landmark in Kaonde history and gave Jipumpu final recognition as an important Kaonde chief, although this didn't mean he became a paramount chief for all the Kaondes. Jipumpu appointed chiefs in neighbouring areas, like Ingwe to the north and Kasonso in the south-east. To smooth relations with King Lewanika presents were brought to Lealui, but there is no indication that from that time onwards a regular tribute relation existed between Kasempa and the Lozis. Jipumpu was a much too self-willed chief to subdue either to Lunda or Lozi rule.

- The third group was the Balembu clan-group of Mushima Mubambe, who also came along the Lunga, settled for some time near the Kafue, went back to the Lunga and from there crossed the area of Busanga and settled at the Lalafuta river, on the border with the Barotse Kingdom. An off-shoot of this group, Kinsengwe and his people, who mixed also with some Lamba speaking people, remained at the Lunga. Although at first the relations between Mushima and the Lozis had been intimate, in later years Mushima integrated more into the Kasempa District.
- A fourth group of incoming immigrants mainly the Bena-Luo clan and the Bapumpi clan moved according to their oral tradition from Zaïre via the Solwezi area to the Kabompo river. Subsequently Chief Chizera and Munyambala of the Bena-Luo clan moved a bit east, more into Kasempa District, along the Musonweji river and are today settled along the Kasempa-Kabompo road. Chief Ntambo of the Bena-Luo is settled along the Kabompo river and is more closely related to the nearby Lunda in Mwinilunga District.

The sequence given here isn't an exact chronological sequence, except for the first mentioned group of the Balonga.

Many immigrant groups seem to have arrived in about the same period, first in the Solwezi and Mwinilunga District and later in Kasempa District.

Some groups stopped for some time somewhere, while other groups passed the same area to treck further on.

Not mentioned here are some smaller immigrant clangroups who moved more separately to the area, like for instance Kalasa and its people who were more closely connected to the Lamba and came from eastern direction.

In the second half of the last century many of the new immigrants were harassed and constantly on the move due to the intensified slave-raids in this part of Central Africa.

Especially the war parties of the Bayeke in Katanga and the Mambari slave trade expeditions from Angola into Zambia created a continuous state of warfare among many villages and caused many villages to find a refuge into the most remote and inaccesible parts of the region. As a result the settlement pattern in the District became extremely scattered and much suspicion existed between the various autonomous clangroups at the beginning of this century.

x) refer website for a summary of the Kaonde clangroups who settled in Zambia, with the names of the main representatives (chiefs or headman) (Jaeger, 1981, p 55)

Trade routes and European explorers

Most probably Portuguese and English explorers of the last centuries did not visit the areas inhabitated by the Kaonde in Zambia. The monotonous table-land crossed by relatively few rivers and very thinly populated, was not really inviting for a visit. Neither were there important trade-routes through this area, which is both on the west, along the Kabompo river and on the east, along the (east) Lunga river, bordered by stretches of land heavily infested by tse-tse fly.

Well known trade-routes were situated north of the Congo-Zambezi watershed, like for instance from Angola to the densely populated Lunda-kingdom of King Mwachiamvwa and the court of Kazembe in the Luapula valley, and in the south west the routes through the Zambezi valley, towards the fertile Batoka plateau. Several Portuguese travellers visited surrounding areas, like Capello and Ivens, the court of Mwachiamvwa and Silva Porto, who, coming from the West, travelled to the Upper Zambezi and whose followers continued the journey to the east-coast. The Hungarian traveller Magyar Laszlo also paid visits to the Lunda Kingdom of Mwachamvwa in about 1850 and he passed the court of chief Musokantanda and the region of the Lunda/Ndembu chief Kanongesha (Gann, 1969, 25). By doing so he covered an area situated in close vicinity to the dwelling places of the Kaondes. In 1853 Livingstone set out for Luanda on the west-coast, from Linyanti along the Zambezi. In January 1854 he was forced to make a stop by the Lunda chiefteness Nyakulenga, who took him to the court of the Lunda chief Ishinde, located in the present Zambezi District. So he too travelled through land situated close to the Kaondes without really getting into it.

Livingstone's last exploring expedition in search of the source of the Lualaba, which he supposed to be the source of the Nile, nearly took him, if he had not died of exhaustion in 1873 during his last trip through the swamps of the Bangweululake, to the region considered here, the region between the sources of the Zambezi and the Kafue. (x)

Although there existed not any important trade route through Kaonde land, certainly there were several smaller trade routes and centres.

Very probably the copper mine at Kansanshi, although not any more in operation at the end of the 19th century, has been a trade centre and likely as well the Kaimbwe saltpan.

note (x): Livingstone supposed to find there the hill with the four fountains of Herodotus, where the Lomani, the Lualaba, the Kafue and the Zambezi should have their sources together, the former two flowing north to feed the Nile, and the latter two to the south.

(F. Jeal, Livingstone, London 1973, p. 205)

The intensified slave-raiding and slave trade in the last part of the 19th century, affected heavily File add to the chief-centres of Kasempa, Mujimanzovu, Mushima and others. Both the Bayeke from the north-cast and the Mambaří slave traders from the west crossed the Kaonde country, as well as Luvale traders (Fagan, 1968, 105). Apart from these autochtone traders and maybe some caravans quided by half-cast Arabs and Portuguese, it can be assumed that the first Europeans who came to the Kaonde region, were the prospecting expedition of George Grey in 1899 and Col. Harding's expedition in 1900 in search of the source of Kabompo river and directed against the slave trade in that area. This made the Kaonde District one of the last in Zambia, which was brought under English influence from the south. With even the exception of the area between the Kabompo and the Zambezi which remained "no man's land" until 1905, when under arbitration of the King of Italy, the final frontiers between the English, Belgian and Portuguese spheres of influence were defined:

Network of paths and tracks in pre-colonial and early colonial times.

In Annex III an elaborate description (compiled in 2018, based on literature and documents at the National Archive of Zambia) is given of the routes in older – pre-colonial - times. There existed a fairly dense network of village- paths, inter-village routes, paths to palaces/stockades of chiefs and of trade routes all over the north western part of Zambia(refer map). A network that had its links into regions like today's DR Congo and Angola.

Late 1800's Kasempa became a central place due to the might and victories of Chief Jipumu Kasempa and from the 1900's onwards due to the establishment of the colonial administration near his capital. The existing well trodden paths of pre-colonial times became intensively used as cycle tracks by colonial officers and mail runners and missionaries. Villagers were obliged to maintain these routes. It took until the late 1920's before this network was replaced by motor tracks constructed on the crests in the landscape (refer map). It was also then that the traditional older type of settlement pattern changed into a ribbon pattern along the main roads.

x) The definite delimitation of the border between Northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo took place by the Anglo-Belgian Boundary Commission during the years 1911 – 1914. The border with Angola territory became mainly a straight line on the 13th parallel south and the 22th meridian east, splitting local tribes into different governed regions.

The first mining prospectors and administrators

The main reasons for further exploration and the settlement of administration and police posts at the turn of the century were the ever increasing slave trade in this remote north-west corner of Zambia and the tidings of mineral finds, first in the surroundings of Kafue Hook and later along the Upper Kafue. Politically the road to the north was paved by the treaties, made up by the British South Africa Company (BSAC) with the local chiefs in the years 1890-1900, and the treaty between England and Belgium of 1885, to determine the Congo-Zambezi watershed as a boundary between their spheres of interest (Steel, 1917, 180).

In 1900 the well known Lochner treaty was renewed by a pact that Corydon, the BsAC's administrator in Barotseland at that time, entered into with King Lewanika. Mineral rights were obtained for the entire region under Lewanika's sovereignity. The interpretation of this agreement caused a great deal of confusion especially for the Kaonde in later years. The BSAC had the fictitious notion that the Lozi rule reached as far as large parts of the north-west; this meant that the British sphere of influence could be enlarged considerably.

This idea was only too readily supported by Lewanika and he tried to effectuate it by ordering a few of his indunas (chief councillors) to accompany the British expeditions from Lealui to the north, to fortify his own claims. These claims and a supposed tribute relationship of the Kaonde chiefs to Lewanika has always been strongly rejected by the Kaonde chiefs, with the exception of some Kaonde's resident in the south of the District, who maintained good relations with Lewanika. (Shaloff, 1972)

Several exploring-companies received grants from the BSAC to explore the regions north of the Zambezi.

The Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. founded in 1899, received permission to explore areas south of Lake Tanganyika. (Guernsey, 1953, 5) (SARKA 2016) For that purpose R. Williams, the manager of the Company, sent George Grey from Bulawayo to the headwaters of the Kafue to explore the surroundings of the Zambezi-Congo watershed. (See also appendix III)

This well-organized and well-conducted expedition, of five Europeans and 38 Africans, supported by a large number of pack-animals, such as donkeys, bulls and horses, left Bulawayo on April 5, 1899. (Grey, 1901, 6)

After having crossed the Zambezi and the Kafue, the journey led through the present copperbelt region to the source of the Kafue and from there to the west in the direction of the East-Lunga river. The most important discovery was made on Seft English, 1899 when Grey, probably guided by Kaonde chief Kapiji Mpanga, reached the old copper workings of Kansanshi. (Bancroft, 1961, 106).

EAST

The expedition returned south on October 1, mainly following the west banks of the Lunga. Among others they passed Lima Ndhlovu also called Kalimanzovu, the village of the Kaonde chief Mujimanzovu. (* 1)

Further outh Grey's expedition first passed the Lamba-Kaonde chief Kalasa who had his domicile south of the Mpungu river, a tributary to the Lunga and then the Luba-Kaonde chief Kasonso, who at that time had his villages in the triangle formed by the Lufupa and the Lunga flowing into the Kafue (presently situated in Kafue National Park). (* 2).

According to Chibanza (1961, 68) several ex-wagons were left behind at Kalasa's, a piece of news which is confirmed by oral information of exchief Kalasa (and the last donkeys died of sleeping sickness there).

However, it seems probable, that this occured at Grey's second expedition, since from his record of the journey it may be concluded that the oxwagons of his first expedition were left behind when crossing the Zambezi (Grey, 1901, 62). In 1901 Grey set out on an expedition to Kansanshi again with supplies for two years and complete equipment for prospecting to get started — the mining activities at Kansanshi (Bancroft 1961, 106). Because many oxen died of sleeping sickness on the way, he had to leave behind several wagons in the course of his trip. While passing the area of Kalasa again, Chief Kalasa a well known warrior, fired some shots on the expedition, according an account of Thornhill, who passed this area in 1906. (Thornhill, 1915, 31).

Note 1) The name Mujimanzovu was coined by the Bayeke and means such as:

'one who grows tusks.'

The Bayeke slave caravans from the land of chief Mwende (also known under the name Msidi) visited this place regularly; from there they set out in smaller parties on their slave-raids. (Denny, 1957, 334). At the same time the name points to ivory trade, which very well fits with the fact that it concerns an extremely inaccessible region north of the Lukanga swmaps, where there were many roaming elephant herds.

2) The Northern Territories (BSA) Exploring Cy obtained a large number of copper prospects in the surroundings of the Kafue. Lewis, Baragwanath and others pegged in particular the famous mines Silver King and Sable Antilope, in the area of Kafue Hook, later the Mumbwa District.

From here Lewis and Baragwanath pegged in 1900 old-copper workings in the area along the Kafue and the Lunga, like for instance the Hippo mine and the Jumbo and Buffalo mines, which Grey had visited in the previous year. (Baragwanath, 1963, 217).

Melland (1969, 17) erroneously records the mines Buffalo and Jumbo to have been discovered by Edmund Davis.

Davis however, was director of Northern Territories Cy. and probably never visited this region in person. Also as regards to the date of Grey's expedition, Melland incorrectly mentions 1897 instead of 1899 (Melland, 1969, 5)

The copperfinds along the Kafue and the Lunga, but especially the reports about slave-trade in the region and the danger this created for further exploration of the land, directly led to the foundation of police posts. In particular Val Gielgud, who was sent to the area of Kafue Hook by the administrator of North-east Rhodesia, insisted by Corydon, (1) on the establishment of a strong base north of the Kafue-Lunga junction to stop the slave traffic, probably this advice let to opening of the Kasempa station (Denny, 1957, 334).

In October 1900 Colonel Colin Harding of the Barotse Native Police made an expedition to the source of the Kabompo.

Harding says about his expedition In Remotest Barotseland: (1904 p. 368-369)

"Though we left Lialui with a small caravan, composed solely of the necessary carriers, a few police, and Barotse indunas sent as usual by the King to guide and look after me, we had, before reaching Kasempa, a following of several hundred natives-husbands looking for their wives, mothers looking for their sons and children looking for their parents, who had been stolen and sold for slaves. I was successful in restoring a number of these unfortunate people to the respective owners. Whilst at Kasempa I was fortunate enough to be able to punish a noted slave trader storming his kraal at daylight and burning all his belongings.

From Kasempa, which is 250 miles north of Lialui, we journeyed to the source of Kabompo, a distance of about 200 miles, passing through a country nearly denuded of natives by slave raiders,

but well watered, mineralized, and to all app earances healthy."
Whether Harding also met Chief Jipumpu Kasempa is not quite clear, but
it may be presumed that Harding was the first European to travel the
heart of Kaonde-land and visited several villages there.

According to Harding be also determined the sites for two new forter due.

According to Harding he also determined the sites for two new forts during this journey (1904, 376). It is highly probable that one of those is Kasempa Boma. The Follow up of this journey was the expedition of Sergeant Major Mobbs and Trooper Lucas (a close collaborator of Harding), who pitched camp on the Lufupa river with a detachment of Barotse Native Police at the start of the first rains in 1901 (November), very close to Chief Jipumpu's stockade. (x) 2

Note 1.) The administrator of North-west Rhodesia Af KALOMO.

²⁾A village with a fenced wall of poles, nearly all the bigger villages of chief or headman were fenced at that time.

This marked the beginning of a fixed post in Kaonde-land. A post, which was named Kasempa and has always remained in the same spot since that time, which is quite exceptional for most of the Bomas in Zambia.

Early 1902 this military forerunner of the government was followed by Captain Stennett of Barotse Native Police and Macauley as officer in charge of the post. During this travel a Lozi headman, to support Lewanika's claim to souvereignty over the Kaonde (Stephenson, 1965, 117), was seated next to Macauley on the bench of the cart.

The first annual report of Kasempa dates back to 1902 and denotes the beginning of Kasempa District, later Kasempa Province. Macauley, known by the Kaonde name of Tabataba, stayed in Kasempa until 1904. Then he could ga away on leave, because his place was taken by E.A. Copeman who arrived from Kalomo, after he had assisted Anderson, the District Commissioner

at the first tax-collection in thefregion of the Ila (Copeman, 1955, 74). Copeman who obtained the Kaonde name of Chikoloso, remained on the post in Kasempa until 1908.

Note:

of Shaloba Boma (Mumbwa District),

¹⁾ The first district messenger was Chikulukumbwe. Chief Jipumpu placed the young boy as a recruit at the disposal of the Boma-officers.

In the fifties Chikulukumbwe lived still at Chizera, the region he originated from. (Clark, 1955, 63 and personal information R. Short)

²⁾ W.V. Brelsford in "The story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment" (Lusaka, 1954, o. 19) presents a survey of the strength of the detachments of Barotse Native Police in the various districts of North-Western Rhodesia anno 1902. After Kalomo, the capital that time with 156 men, Kasempa has the largest detachment, with 30 native non-commissioned officers under sub-Inspector Macauley and a white sergeant-major.

Compare: Monze: 3 , Nkala: 21, Lealui: 20, Victoria: 10 men. It indicates the frontier position of Kasempa and the intention of the BSAC to bring the area under its controle.

⁽Thornhill,1915,p28).

Reactions to Colonial rule

Which has been the reaction of the population to the establishment of European Government? We do not know much about that. Especially as far as the small, scattered population groups under the leadership of a local headman or chief, without further central government are concerned, the organization, armament and technical knowledge of the new rulers, although they were very few in number, was such that the local people did not offer organized resistance. The new rulers were accepted as a sudden power from outside. Besides the fact that the better organized Lozis cooperated with the new rulers and journeyed along with them was a reason more, not to start a fight openly.

Chibanza writes in his Kaonde History (1961, 68) (reporting about Harding's journey):

"In about 1898, a terrific blow came upon the native mind by seeing the first European ever since the earth was created by the Almighty God under the sun. This was a great nuisance in the native mind.

The European in question was a man named Captain in command of several native policeman or askari. He called at Jipumpu's village. He was coming from the direction of the Barotse. He began asking Jipumpu whether he had any slaves with him. He replied affirmatively. So the captain began setting all the slaves free from bondage, both from Jipumpu and his people. All the slaves were immediately set free and then went away to their respective people and relations.

He thereafter returned to Nkala Boma after spending two days at Jipumpu's village.

Jipumpu and his people were utterly impressed on seeing the European's rifles and how they could be fired within a minute. He found it quite futile to try and fight with them as he had no proper weapons to be compared with what he had seen. This left an impressive stain upon the people who had been accustomed with the irksome custom of owning slaves from times immemorial.

Still it remained relatively turbulent in the District for the next 20 years and several incidents and movements occured, which indicate resistance and a none too evident acceptance or feeling of relieve from the slave-trade and raids, as has been supposed at times. (2)

Note : 1) The date has to be not 1898, but 1900 (see p. 14)

²⁾ The studies by I. Rotberg "The rise of Nationalism in Central Africa" (1965) and H.S. Melbelo "Reactions to Colonialism" (1971) extensively enter into the resistance which arose in other parts of Zambia [As well as studies By Prof. Kakoma, UNIA LUSAKA].

To many chiefs and headman the slave trade was well rewarding and provided them with goods, such as guns, powder, and calico.

It can be assumed that the trade with the Portuguese and the Mambari had provided the population with relatively many weapons. These were of importance for hunting, but also for defence and to attack other villages in order to capture slaves. (MACOLA, 2010).

Anyhow, the slave trade continued for quite a while after the arrival of European administration. Especially from the Kansanshi region, reports about slave-trade came in regularly from Europeans, who worked there. For the work at Kansanshi mine Grey and Boyd Cunningham MADERIE of a transport route to the west coast for supplies by ox-wagon. (Copeman, 1956, 92).

They regularly reported on Mambari parties of slave dealers and they send large numbers of confiscated goods to Kasempa Boma. (*)

The no-man's land west of the Kabompo and the impenetrable swamps on the border of the Congo to the north, was such an inaccessible region where slave trade could continue. Many years later Melland reports about the Jivundu swamps (1923) (1967, 240) that this area was for a long time a hide out for out-laws, thieves and tax defaulters.

The king of Italy's arbitration in 1905 made it possible to occupy also these regions and to subject the Ndembu and Lunda. From his station at Kasempa, Copeman first established a police post at Shilenda in 1905 and subsequently a sub-Boma called Kalalua in the Lunda sub-district (later called Mwinilunga district). Native commissioner Bellis was placed in charge of this post. Kalalua Boma was situated at a distance of 15 miles north east of the Kalene Hill, the well known missionary post and hospital where dr. W. Fisher of the Plymouth Brethern started his work in 1906.

A clear example of the resistance against the new order was headman Kasanza's violence against the Native Commissioner Bellis and the District Commissioner Copeman. After having fled from the Kasempa District in order to continue his flourishing trade in guns, powder and slaves in the surroundings of the Kabompo, he was summoned by Bellis to come to the sub-Boma Kalalua in 1908.

Because he did not answer the summoning, Bellis went to Kasanza's region, Near the Kasanza's village Bellis was ambushed and badly wounded and he had to be transported to the small hospital at Kansanshi mine.

Note (x)

A wealth of stock; used by the government to enlarge Kasempa-Boma and to erect strong brick buildings. A number of Batonga, brickmakers and bricklayers, trained by one of the missions on lake Nyassa were hired to do the job. (Thornhill, 1915, 32).

When Copeman received this news in Kasempa, he covered the 240 miles from Kasempa to Kasanza's village in a forced march. Kasanza entrenched himself in his stockade and Copeman was taken by surprise and only barely missed by a bullet; his district messenger pulled him away just in time. Kasanza fled to Portuguese territory. Years later, in about 1935. Kasanza reported at Mwinilunga Boma, where he was imprisoned after an interrogation. The next day he was found dead in his cell. (Copeman, 1952, 64).

Unrest caused also in this period the irresponsible actions of the European Dubin (Clark, 1955, 63) and the actions of Bellis successor in Mwinilunga "one eyed" Mac Gregor, who enforced his administrative duties in an Oppressive manner.

Fear drove many villagers to Portuguese Angola at that time (Brelsford 1965, 117).

Tax and labour recruitment

A measure, which clearly met resistance with the chiefs and the population was the enforcement of the 5sh tax per head, first introduced in the surroundings of Kansanshi and subsequently in the area of chief Kasempa and Kalasa. Chibanza mentions chief Jipumpu's reaction (1961, 69):
"Jipumpu Kasempa strongly declined on several occasions the innovation of Native Tax among his people. He became ill during the year and was reported to have died in 1905 in Mr. Copeman's residence at Kasempa. The people wondered and suggested that he had been bewitched by Europeans who were anxious to inaugurate their own schemes into the country. It was unanimously agreed upon by all the natives that the Europeans are too expert in bewitching others and have very powerful charms and amulets with them. So it was suspected that Jipumpu had been killed or bewitched by European charms".

In those days the BSAC administration was based on a system of "direct rule". This made it very difficult for the local chiefs to maintain their positions. In order to retain power one often finds identification of the chiefs with the white rulers (after initial efforts to resist) which the population considered to be collaboration with the new rulers.

By oral information Kalasa reports, about the attitude of the chiefs:
"the then resident Kalasa-chief was called Bonshe, which means one
who has rotten all the things, the man who rot all things, the old things,
because he went with the Europeans".

Tax could be paid by an one month's labour at the government post or by earning cash in the mines.

People went to the mines in South-Rhodesia and South-Africa via Barotseland and also to the new mining activities in the country itself. The working conditions were bad and the number of labourers to fall ill or die during the contract period was large. Gann (19-9, 107) reports a deathrate of 65.43 per thousand for North-Western Rhodesian Africans in 1912.

Gann relates about the working conditions at Kansanshi in 1913 (1969, 123): "Existence was harder still for the African labourers employed on the early mines.

At Kansanshi for instance the local district officer reported that conditions were poor, the food indifferent and there was no regular day of rest. Abuses were sometimes made worse by the employment of inferior types of Europeans or of African capitaos as labour agents who scoured the villages for men, and sometimes secured labour by false promises or threats."

Signs of resistance at the time were in 1909 the murder of the merchant Richardson, a man with a bad reputation and in 1911 the murder of Mr. Ohlund a Swede who worked together with his landsman, trader and labour recruiter W. Frijkberg at Kasempa.

Frykberg, an ex-sergeant major of the Matabele war, opened around 1907 a store at Kasempa Boma and had various trading and recruiting ventures in the District. Short, in his African Sunset (1973, 27/28) relates the following on this tragic event:

"In 1910 some four hundred Kaonde recruits were sent down to Southern Rhodesia. Unfortunately, during a smallpox epidemic some one hundred were stricken and died.

Compensation was demanded from Frykberg, in accordance with what was the native custom, a payment of money to the relations. None was forthcoming.

Note (x): First to Kansanshi mine and the mines at Broken Hill and in the Kafue Hook area later in the 30's to the then new Copperbelt mines

A further batch of recruits were ready to be sent down, among them Tumila, Topeka and Kungwana of Makabula village. They ran away, were caught, imprisoned for a brief period for breaking their indenture, and then allowed to go to their village to visit their relatives before they went south. They determined never to go back. At first they decided to kill Frykberg himself, but he was away. Then their choice fell upon Severts, an aged relative of Frykberg who eked out a scanty existence some thirty miles to the north of the Kaimbwe saltpan. But "why should we kill him?" they said, " is like one of ourselves, and all he has is a little salt."

So they determined to kill Ohlund, another Swede, who had been associated with Frykberg and was working a small gold property at Shundanvwa (Shindamona) thirteen miles north from Kasempa.

They watched him through the window of his small house as he ate his supper; then as he began to work at his typewriter they each shot him in the back, and fired another single shot to frighten away any of the villagers who might come. Then they fled together into the bush.

It was eleven months before they were caught, as they clearly had the passive sympathy, if not the open support, of most of the local people.

Through cooperation of a headman in the neighbourhood of Mwinilunga District (he received a considerable reward), a patrol headed by the District messenger Kanyakula succeeded in bringing at last the three murderers to Kasempa.

After due trial all three were publicly hanged outside Kasempa Prison, on 12 november 1912, along with a Police Msikari who had committed another murder, in presence of all Kaonde chiefs of the District and a great number of Headmen who were called in to watch the ceremony. (Clark, 1955, 65)

This affaire, with no precedent in Northern Rhodesia, marked the end of labour recruting in Kasempa District (Short, 1973, 29).

x) A 'Hanging Pan'- a heritage site- is located near Tamala resthouse.

Religious uprisings

There was another outlet, and indication for the unsettled situation of that time, namely various religious expressions of disatisfaction, which like in other parts of Zambia and Malawi, occured also in the North-Western Province. These movements often were anti-white and rejected the existence of the white rulers and the missions. Gann provides us with an example of such an anti-European movement (1969, 124):

"A former district officer, Edward Arden Copeman, thus recalls that at Kansanshi, the management complained of constant desertations. Copeman hurried to the mine and finally learned that the capitao kept a gruesome collection of skulls and human bones in his hut and practised the black art. As soon as the foreman was arrested, the African mine hands, who previously would not talk, became only too eager to tell all they knew, and their evidence showed that the capitao by claiming supernatural powers, tried to force his workmates into a brotherhood of which he was the leader. He used his position to ill treat those who wanted nothing to do with his movement, but many others joined impressed by the capitao's threats, that he would live for ever, that the Europeans would soon die, and that he and his friends would then seize their property".

Hooker (1965, 99) relates that the Watch Tower already in 1913 had a reputation for being witchfinders in Kasempa District and several government officers, also from Kasempa, strongly dissapproved of the practices of the Watch Towers. It is highly probable that the Watch Towers had many adherents among the Kaondes in those days, like they had around the thirties as reported by rev. Foster (see p. 25) and like they still have at present. Chibanza (1961, 81) writing about the Watch Tower influence says:

"They had recently welcomed another bad sect of Watch Tower Pastors as being the best witchfinders or smellers out. This caused a great nuisance and disorder in the country and it finally led to serious cases of both murder and manslaughter until it was promptly stopped by District officers".

Also the reports about the profetess Inamutapa, who prophesied that Luchele (the creator) was returning to earth somewhere within the Mutanda area, give evidence for an eschatological movement in Kasempa District in the years around 1914. (Beech, 1953, 47).

In many villages a long straight pole had been placed, in preparation for Luchele's descent. Food sacrifices were brought to the pole regularly and then transported to Inamutapa's village.

After Inamutapa's death the movement dissappeared, but still after many years, one could find a long pole in the middle of Kaonde villages.

Chibanza (1961, 79) relates also about the influence which the prophet Mupumani (Cheso Jezus) from Namwala District enjoyed. People came from all directions, from Kasempa, Solwezi and Mwinilunga Districts to see this prophet, to hear his visions and to buy his medicines with supernatural power.

It seems these religious movements as expressions of dissatisfaction occured mainly before the 20's. As said the Watch Tower movement remained with ups and downs active in the area. Although the unrest it caused at times and its rejection of government rules, it must be noted that the Watch Towers were good organized and its members active in the field of training and learning to write and read. In later years many of them became good farmers.

From the 20's onwards influence of the Christian mission became more and more notable in the District (see chapter on Missionary activities p. 24)

PERIOD OF ADMINISTRATIVE CONSOLIDATION (1920 - 1950)

Accommodation to a new era

As described the first two decades of the 20th century were a restless period with frequent tensions, due to the forceful accommodation to a new era.

Even though traditional village life, continued like before, and there was little change during this first period in the manner of production of the means of living hunting, fishery and shifting cultivation, the arrival of the European rulers meant a complete break with the past.

Labour migration and employment as a carrier, mainly during the first world-war, confronted many men with a totally different world and this increasingly influenced the attitude and aspirations of the population. (x) The conclusion to be drawn from the previous chapter should not be that relations were tense all along the line and that everywhere and with everybody there was resistance against the new regime. Many were impressed by technical knowledge and possibilities the white men commanded, others took the opportunity to escape from the traditional village atmosphere, which they found oppressing and tried to develop themselves by acquiring mew skills.

note (x)

Melland (1967, 27) reports that during the period of war of 1915-1918 Kaonde men had signed up as war carriers about 10.000 times. This implies that practically all able bodied men have been a carrier once or more often.

Relations with government officers, especially with those Europeans who were resident in one post for a longer period of time and who learned to speak the local language, often were very good and intensive. Several officers went deeply into the traditions and culture of the population and according to the current colonial tradition they considered it their duty to govern "those who were entrusted to them justly and benevolently". This applies especially to the period after 1923 when the colonial-office took over administration from the period after 1923 when the colonial-office took over administration from the several of the local names which were given to those government officials kept their familiar ring for many years after the bearer's departure. These men had become friends with all their human pecularities included.

(Well known District Commissioners, i.a. have been: Hazell, Melland, Facey).

The involvement with which some officers have committed their experiences and knowledge about the area to paper, goes to show for this. (see publications by Melland and Short).

The intense identification with the interests of the people clearly is shown by the point of view taken by government officers in Kasempa District as regards Lewanika's so-called claims of souvereignity over the Kaondes.

The government officers always supported the denial of the Kaonde chiefs. (Shaloff, 1972) There were also close ties between the government and the districtmessengers, who often came from chief-families and remained in government service for many years. Kasempa was a typical, small frontierpost, with an isolated position far away from the centres of the country. A white colony of considerable size, who formed a seperate community of their own, never settled there. The white colony only consisted of a few government officers, some merchants and from 1926 onwards the mission post. In 1928, the white population at Kasempa counted 23 people, of which 7 women and 7 children (Joelson, 1928, 307).

Further European settlement in the province occured on a very small scale at Solwezi and a few European farms in the Mwinilunga District i.a. the well known Hillwood farm.

The christian mission that settled in the Kasempa area is from a strong orthodox protestant domination. Most of the missionaries with a methodist and evangelical background came from the United States, Canada and England. They operated fairly autonomous from the government, besides some of the occasional personal contacts between government officials and missionaries and in later years the supervision in the field of medical and educational work carried out by the mission on request of the government.

The mission and its activities made their own history, and is dealt herewith seperately.

x) however there was a European Cemetery near Kasempa boma (refer annex)

V TOBAY

Missionary Activities

The first mission post was opened in the Kasempa Province, about 10 years after the arrival of the first European miners and administrators. In 1910 Mr. F.S. Arnot, one of the moving forces of the Plymouth Brethern who started the wellknown Garaganze mission in Katanga, guided Mr. A.W. Bailey of the South African General Mission (SAGM, the name was Changed later on into African Evangelical Fellowship) to the area of Kansanshi mine. E(2. Mr. A.W. Bailey started a missionpost at Chisalala, near the villages of Chief Kapiji Mpanga and some miles south of Kansanshi mine, where at that time a considerable number of labourers were employed (Rotberg, 1965, 77). with the Plymouth Brethern who worked among the Lunda in Zambia, southern Zaire and Angola, the Paris Mission, who had been settled in Barotse-land already for many years and the Primitive Methodists in the south-east at the Kafue, the SAGM took up its missionary work in a large stretch of land in between and especially among the Kaonde's. From that time onwards a close link between the mission and many Kaonde people started. After a short while Mr. and Mrs. Harris joined Mr. Bailey at Chisalala and Bailey went off to travel through the Province, whereby in 1912 a new mission post was founded in the utmost southern part of Kaonde-Land, at the Lalafuta river, in the neighbourhood of the villages of Chief Mushima. At that place Mr. and Mrs. Vernon of the SAGM started their work. They moved the station in 1914 northwards a bit into Kaondeland to the Musonweji river. The first convert of these years John Pupe, joined the mission for many years and has contributed much to the translation of the bible into Kaonde.

A missionary couple who have lived for 58 years among the Kaonde are Mr. and Mrs. Foster. In 1917 they came out to Musonweji and they left the country in 1975, just after completing the tremendous task of translating the complete bible into Kaonde.

In 1917 the Fosters, arriving via South Africa from the US, travelled the 300 miles up to Musonweji with the help of 100 carriers on foot from the railwayhead at Broken Hill. After a short while they moved the post a few miles along the Musonweji river, up to a distance of still 56 miles from Kasempa Boma.

In these years a start was made with preaching in the villages, a bible training school at the station and some modest medical work.

At that time, missionary work was hampered by a shortage and transfer of staff, comparative lack of interest and the scattered distribution of the people and their habit of moving villages every 3 or 4 years. (Personal communication Mr. C.S. Foster and Mr. J.L. Wright)

Besides, journeys, the arrangements of supplies, which had to come from Bulawayo and had to be carried by bike or foot from the railway station at Broken Hill, to the remote post and the up keep of the station altogether demanded a lot of attention and time.

The thinly and scattered population distribution and their semi-nomadic pattern of live, brought the mission in 1926 to the decision to move the station to a central place among the Kaonde.

A new site was chosen 3½ miles south of Kasempa Boma, and the well-known Mukinge Hill Mission and later the Mukinge hospital were started there.

Out-stations were still Chisalala and Musor weji with African teachers in charge (Smith, 1928, 95). Subsequently Chisalala station was closed and in 1929 authorization came to open a new post on the Mutanda river, near the road from Solwezi to Kasempa. In later years a large boarding school for girls and boys was started at that place.

It was during these years that besides a number of converts here and there spread over the district and employed at the station, the beginning of a more spontanous religious response took place and eventuated in the establishment of churches in a number of villages.

A new move of Watch Tower activities spreading from the Copperbelt in the late twenties and early thirties meant a severe throwback (Foster, personal records). Many people came under the spell of their credo: "no more witches, no more death when baptized; whereby witches will drawn, and those who refuse baptism are suspected of witchcraft."

Their fierceful statements against missionary and European activities hampered for a long time the contacts especially with remote village groups in the District. It seems due to this situation, that a lot of the missionary's

work was concentrated on teaching activities, bible translation and enlargement of the Mukinge Missionpost.

In 1927 the Christian community counted about 200 people and there were 27 young men at the teachers and preachers training school at Mukinge.

In 1933 the New Testament was printed into the Kaonde language and the first village school was started at Katemba village. Steadily on the number of villages schools run under the supervision of the mission increased.

x) The Old Testament was completed and published in 1975 : 'Buku wa Lesa ',

In later years the Northern Rhodesian government assisted the mission to provide educational and medical coverage in the region by subsidising the Mission schools and hospitals.

As in so many other places in Zambia, around the mission station a more permanent settlement of villages took place.

Especially in the Nkenyauna region, bordering the mission station and near to the Boma, the beginning of a market economy started by supplying mission and Boma with grains, vegetables and fish.

Although contemplated already in 1921 to have a missionary doctor at the station, it was not until 1951, when dr. R.L. Foster, son of Mr. and Mrs. Foster takes up medical work at Mukinge Hill as a trained physician.

A small hospital is opened. Fairly fast the hospital became a very well known medical centre in the District with an attendance of patients from surrounding districts as well.

A leprosy village was founded near the hospital and the hospital became well known over the whole province for treating many cases of sleeping sickness successfully. A school for the training of enrolled nurses started and considerable extensions to the hospital and the training department were built in 1968/69 and 1974/75.

Missionary work in the District, was extended further with the opening in 1949 of Chizera Bible school for the training of evangelists and pastors at a station located near the main road from Solwezi/Kasempa to Kabompo. The Bible school actively train. Christian teachers through the correspondence school and through 10 extensions centres scattered through Kasempa. For many years mr. Frost did work there. Assessment of the missionary work of AEF in the district needs a fully separate study. In general it can be said that, with about 60 congregations [1972] meeting every Sunday, spread over the district and mainly run by Kaonde preachers and the villagers themselves and the large interest for the yearly district conference at Mukinge Mission. Christian witnesses got root among part of the population. It seems that even Without the presence of missionary activities from abroad, local church work continued spontaneously in the District by Kronde Pastons.

ALARGE

tinued spontaneously in the District By KRONDE PASTORS.

Besides like in many other parts of Zambia, the mission contributed extensively in the training of a considerably number of youngmen to take up jobs as teachers, and as government and local officials, in the years before and just after independence.

Administration of Kasempa Province and District (SiNGE 1901)

At first Kasempa District covered the whole of the present North-West Province except for Zambezi (Balovale) District, which was under the administration of Barotseland.

From the post at Kasempa, situated in the southern part of the District, two sub-Bomas were established in the area, apart from the previously mentioned police post in Shilenda, which operated from 1905 until 1916.

The sub-Boma, Kalalua, was established in 1907 in the neighbourhood of Kalene Hill mission, in the Lunda sub-district, which was to be Mwinlunga District later on.

In 1910 the Boma was moved to the site of the present Mwinilunga Boma. A sub-station was opened at Kansanshi mine in 1909. After the activities at the Kansanshi mine had been stopped in 1914, since the copper production was no longer workable under the economic circumstances of the first world war, the government post was moved several miles, to the present site of Solwezi-Boma in 1916,

At the same time the centre of the Kasempa District administration was transferred to Solwezi. This happened during the residence of the well-known District Commissioner Melland. For some years Kasempa Boma became a remote out-station. To become the centre of the entire region again, then known under the name of Kasempa Province, in 1923 when the administration of the BSAC was transferred to the Colonial Office.

In a later stage the capital was moved from Kasempa to Solwezi and back several times and also the administrative division was changed repeatedly. (see appendix)

In 1941 Zambezi District was incorporated into the Province and in 1948 Kabompo District was created.

Several times there have been proposals to establish the capital of the province more centrally in the area, for instance at Kankolonkolo, situated halfway in between Solwezi and Kasempa, near the well known Kaimbwe saltpan, or at Chizera in the West part of Kasempa District, situated on the mainroad from Solwezi to Kabompo and Zambezi. The high costs this was going to take and the insufficient infrastructure of the area, have always prevented this.

x) The region became a separate district in 1978, named Mufumbwe. Both land area and population are about half of the original Kasempa District. Chief Mushima's region became part of the new district. But to travel to Mufumbwe boma it was needed to do so via the road through Kasempa boma.

Whereas until now the history of Kasempa District has been treated in a wider sense, the following survey is going to deal with Kasempa District area Assach. The first decennia the number of inhabitants of the Kasempa District fluctuated around 20.000, but in the years 1940-1960 it has gradually risen to around 30.000. Data from the District Note-Book and the population census in 1963 and 1969 give the following numbers: [(NCLUDING CODAY'S Marfambur D)]

iof arise is oil, so that the restoring firms, are to

1913 - 20.696

1923 - 20.807

1933 - 20.132

1943 - 23.856

1951 - 30.000 (estimated)

1963 - 33.900

1969 - 32.656

(2010: 40.000 - CENSUS) EXCLUSIVE ME FEMBUE District

a rough indication. Obviously the figures have to be treated with care. Likely, not all the villages were always counted, due to their regular movements and it has to be assumed that people tried to evade the census, because it was used to decide the number of tax payers.

Even if there has been a growth of population in the first decades of this century, this has been undone by the migration to the mines, so that the population remained on the same level in the period 1900-1940.

Better medical care is probably the most important reason for the growth of population, which started after about 1940. This growth, is somewhat slowed down by the continous drift to the town, which shows a strong increase after independence and results in a decrease of the total population from about 1964, Kasempa, large 16.000 sq.miles, belongs to the largest district of the country with the lowest population density, about 2 persons per sq.mile. Administratively the district was divided into a number of chief's areas, this division was also used for the census in the past: Kasempa (devided into S.W. S.E. N.W. N.E.), Kapeshi, Mushima (W. and E.), Chizera, Munyambala. Ingwe, Nyoka, Kasonso and the chiefs Kalasa and Kinsengwe, who at that time were considered to be Lamba.

The villages in these regions were committed to their chief's area and had to obtain permission, both from the chief and the administration, to settle in a different region. Also the rule that at least 10 men were needed to obtain permission for the foundation of a new village, restrained their freedom to move and roused a great deal of resentment. Although within the own area the villages moved regularly, mainly for ecological reason

(shifting cultivation) and for traditional religious reason like the death of an important headman.

Connections with the outside world

Initially the connections from Kasempa District mainly went south, to Mumbwa District and Broken Hill, and consisted of walking-, and cycling-paths. The bicycle was often used as a means of transport in those years, both by the population and the government with its districtmessengers and officers. To go from Kasempa to Solwezi by bike was one and a half day's journey at that time. (REFER MAP AND ANDEX). After the rise of the Copperbelt and the opening of connections from there to Solwezi, Kasempa started focusing on Solwezi more and more. In 1926 roadconnections were improved a great deal and in 1927 the first trip by car took place from Solwezi to Kasempa. The 120 miles' distance was covered in 8½ hours, a trip that can be made in less than three hours nowadays.

The connection to Kaoma (Mankoya) and further on to Barotseland remained bad and insufficient.

In the years 1920 and 1930 there was much interest in geological prospecting in the district (Fox 1971). A mine that offered good prospects was the location Infumpa, close to the Lunga in the neighbourhood of the villages of Kalasa and Kasonso. The activities at this minelocation, which did not result in any copperproduction, did however, lead to the improvement of the road to Mumbwa (Kinross, 1964, 499). The Kasempa share of the Mumbwa road was constructed under C.R.B. Draper, then resident Provincial Commissioner in Kasempa.

In 1930 a sturdy wooden bridge was constructed, under J.J.A. Merry, near Kasempa-Boma across the Lufupa in the road to Mumbwa. This bridge remained standing until 1969, when it was replaced by a concrete construction.

Yet the connection to Mumbwa and Lusaka remained a secondary one and the two rivercrossings by ferry across the Lunga and the Kafue are bottlenecks, as is the passage through the tse-tse region between Lunga and Kafue and the many dambo's and laterite layers on the surface make bad going.

On the Kafue, just upstream of the pontoon-crossing at Lubunga on the Mumbwa-Kasempa road has been a Boma called Kaulundia, in the first decade of the century. It was only open for a few years and then moved to Mumbwa. (Brelsford, N.R.J. 1965, 295)

x) Initiated by the mine explorer J.J.A. Merry and the Kasempa trader H. Stiernspetz (refer for biographical details annex on European Cemetery)

Indirect rule

The change of administration from B.S.A.C. company rule to the Northern Rhodesia Government under supervision of the colonial office at London implied initially not much change for the rural population. As noted more attention was given to the recruitment and training of government personel.

Gradually the system of indirect rule was introduced, whereby

attention was given to the status and executive and legal power of the local chiefs. The chiefs—areas were demarcated more carefully and native authorities were established.

In the middle of the thirties also a Superior Native Authority for all the Kaonde was gazetted at Kasempa and a native treasury installed. To this end an indaba with all the Kaonde chiefs resident in Zambia took place in 1936.

After long debates Kasempa Arecognized as senior chief by the Kaonde chiefs in Kasempa District, even though initially some chiefs from the south of the district had tried to make connections with Lewanika in Barotseland. A few Kaonde chiefs in the Solwezi region dissociated from this nomination and continue urging for a Superior Court at Solwezi. Finally in 1951 also an appeal court for the Kaondes was established in Solwezi and Chief Kapiji Mujimanzovu appointed as Senior Chief for the Solwezi region.

The fact that all this has taken place fairly recently in Kaonde history, shows again that they were not acquainted with a centralized organization and used to live relatively autonomously in the past. As mentioned a number of Kaonde chiefs had a direct tribute relation to Musokantanda, the Lunda paramount chief, presently resident in $\rho R C$. Although he resided in Zambia from 1914-1919 (Shaloff, 1972, 30).

When the ties between the Kaondes in Zambia and Musokantanda in Zaire loosened, Chief Musele was appointed as representative in Zambia by Musokantanda in 1929. In the past the contacts between the Kaondes in Zambia and their clanmembers in Concovere rather frequent and there was a lot of travelling to and fro. These journeys were also stimulated by the search for work from Zambia in the mines of Katanga. After the second world war these contacts became less frequent.

x) A revival of contacts with Kaonde Chiefs in the DRC took place since 2000, with visits to the yearly Kaonde chiefs festivals.

This coincides with the phenomenon that Zambia and Zaire in general proceed in their own directions and have taken a different course both as regards the language and politically, a circumstance which continued after the independence of the two countries.

The relatively large number of chiefs in Kasempa District with only a few villagers in their region (varying from 500-1500) led to the dissolution of several of the smaller chief courts and their being incorporated into a larger chief's area in 1945.

Thus the chief areas of Kalasa, Kasonso, Kinsengwe and Nyoka all became incorporated with Kasempa and Munyambala with Chizera. (x)

From that time (1945) Kasempa District WASeen divided into four chief's areas: Kasempa, Ingwe, Mushima and Chizera. This new division was hard to accept for the previously mentioned (ex-) chiefs whose chieftitle was abolished. The population in these area's still continues to look upon them as their own chiefs and important representative for the clan.

Kapeshi's chieftainship located south of Kasempa had been dissolved in 1934, because of disorderlines of the chief and his area had been incorporated with chief Kasempa. In the beginning of the century Kapeshi lived near the area of Munyambala. Although called a chief he always has been a petty chief with only a small number of followers.

xx) They became Induna's to the Senior Chiefs. Refer also Jaeger 2015, page 50 and 81

FIRST ATTEMPTS TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT (1950-1964)

a market economy.

Attention for development and village regrouping

As has been said before the years between the first and second world were a quiet period, contacts with the outside world were few and not much development took place, except for the described improvement of road connections and some mining and prospecting activities. With its sparse and scattered population the district was fairly neglected. As even can be said of the whole North-Western Province, which was called the "Cinderella" province of the country, for a long time. (A. VOH OPPEN 2002)

In the second part of the forties, beginning attention is paid to further agricultural improvement and attempts are made to start

Although the first farmers in the Kasempa District were Mbundu, immigrants from Angola who were already more acquainted with permanent farming, whereas the heart of the Kaondeman was still with his much favoured huntingactivities, some Kaonde started to become improved farmers too after a while. In the 50's 5 peasant farmers had settled in an area south-west of Kasempa, plots were demarcated and intensively agricultural extension work and even some irrigation systems were introduced. This group of farmers became the nucleus for the nowadays fairly wealthy farming area along the Nkenyauna stream. A local market was found at the missionpost, the hospital and Boma. Agricultural trails although without much success were made in 1953. At Kankolonkolo and at Njenga (some miles south of Kasempa Boma), where an attempt was made to introduce the corridor farming system, with plots of 25 acres, 5 under cultivation and 20 fallow (a system also much practised in the Congo at that time). It was even envisaged to open a road from the Ingwe area to Kalulushi in the Copperbelt, to bring the area nearer to a large market. Difficulties to bridge the Lunga, put a halt to further plans in that time. Later, in 1969, when the Kalengwa mine activities started, an all weather road and bridge were constructed in that area. A severe problem which hampered development WAS a to a sertain extend of

The introduction of cattle 18 still limited to a few areas. At Kasempa Could be Boma and in the region of Nkenyauna cattle and pigs are kept a still not many. Some sheep and cattle were also reared in the Chizera area.

 $^{{\}sf X})$ Criticized for its accent on environmental aspects, but also with positive aspects.

In 1947 the occurence of many cases of sleeping sickness brought the government to forcefully move all the villages, situated on the east side of the Lunga river, to the west bank. In one operation about 1500 people of Kinsengwe were resettled around the new service centre of Kelongwa, where a local court, dispensary, primary school and agricultural extension office were located. It was envisaged that also other village groups like the villages of Kalasa' should settle there. However, this centre never prospered. Situated as it was at the end of road connections, far from a market and with insufficient agricultural extension staff available.

The villages of Nyoka, further north along the Lunga were also regrouped. The comparative proximity to the Copperbelt (200 miles) made these surroundings an area from where many people, went off to work in the copperbelt very regularly. In the same period Chief Ingwe was persuaded to move his villages from the Lunga river area towards the Solwezi-Kasempa main road, at Kankolonkolo and the Kaimbwe saltpan. Only part of the villages followed the Chief, the remaining villages are still centred at "Old Ingwe".

About ten years before, in 1944, the Kafue National Park was gazetted and the Kasonso villages were obliged to move from their sites, where they had good hunting and fishing ground, although struck by sleeping sickness in that area too.

They had to settle further north along the Lunga and a number of the Kasonso people left the Kasempa District and went to Mumbwa District to settle there near the villages of Kaindu and other Kaonde clangroups in the area East of the Kafue.

Later in the fifties and sixties the Kasonso group was move several times more and kept hard feelings about these movements.

In general, administration did try to urge the villages to settle along the roads and close to small centres with a school, dispensary and a well. Gradually, either under pressure or more spontaneously, a movement can be observed from the banks of the streams towards the road and certain centres, whereby the availability of a guaranteed water supply played a major role. A difficulty is that the mainroads are situated on the crests, where also the better and heavier soils are, while water supply, fishing and hunting opportunities are fewer in these surroundings.

Especially in two areas spontaneous village settlement took place, namely in the already mentioned Nkenyauna area and in the Chizera area. Many villages from remote sites settled along the main road from Solwezi

and Kasempa to Kabompo, whereby Chizera became one of the main centres on that road. It developed to the second largest centre of the district, with a well-equiped dispensary, a police post, post office, school, local court and

agricultural—and community development staff. In 1975 Chizera became even a sub-Boma. Agricultural produce found a market at the centre and at the missionpost and transport facilities were available along the road. The production of vegetables and fruit was undertaken by the Kaondes and by the many immigrant villages of Luvale and Chokwe, that came from the Kabompo area and settled west of Chizera. Other new immigrants mainly also Luvale—villages settled near to the Busanga swamps, south—east of Kasempa and were engaged in fishery. Many Luvale still are active traders and transport their goods as far as the Copperbelt. A group of Luchazi settlers founded a separate village, Samuzimu, in the Kasempa area and unchan now have remained an isolated entity in a remote area near the Musonweji river.

The coming of Independence

Independence came fairly smoothly to the Kasempa area. Support for Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) was fairly unanimous. Only some nationalist activities occured in the years between 1962-1964 and a small arson at the Mutanda mission post took place.

A regional UNIP office was active at Kasempa near the village of Chief Kasempa and directly after independence the Kasempa District delivered its member of parliament, while chief Ingwe became a member of the House of Chiefs at Lusaka. In the west of the district where there is a more mixed population, African National Congres (ANC) had so some support and contacts with the ANC activities in the Kabompo area. But in general ANC influence in the Kasempa District could be neglected. Also at later elections UNIP support continued to be overwhelming in the entire district.

By the end of 1964 Zambians took over office at Kasempa and also the technical departments came into the hands of Zambians after a while. From that time onwards the Kasempa Rural Council consisting of representatives of the different wards in the district and some chiefs, became active in running the local affairs of the district. Activities concerning the further development of the area, like improvement of local-roads, the construction of wells, village resettlement were in their hands.

x) In 1978 a separate district, first named Kizera, soon named Mufumbwe (refer note on page 27)

Development since 1964

Much more development took place after 1964. The attention of the new Zambian government for rural development gave rise to several new agricultural schemes, improvement of infrastructure and more educational and medical facilities. Funds and staff were made available also for the remote areas. In view of the wish to spread industrial employment, new attempts were made to start mining activities outside the copperbelt region. But also population mobility increased after 1964. The sharp raise in activities and investments in the region of the railway-line promoted a further migration to urban areas. In the rural areas the restrictions on village movement and establishment of new villages were abolished. As a result many villages moved to other areas, to the road or newly established service centres. Many villages also dissolved and split up into smaller family-units and settled where they wished, often in areas with more economic possibilities. These changes caused a notable change in the settlement pattern in the District. Map 11 shows the difference between the settlement of village clusters in 1945 compared with 1970. A further population concentration is clearly visible along roads and among service centres.

On the basis of an agricultural survey in 1965 a huge resettlement scheme for the areas south-west and south-east of Kasempa Boma was launched. The aim of this plan was to combat the encroachment of the tse-tse fly, to concentrate the bulk of the villages in these areas, around new centres and within a radius of 30-40 mile of Kasempa Boma and to improve agricultural standards.

In 1965 a start was made with the implementation of the Mushima resettlement plan south-west and the Mpungu resettlement plan south-east of Kasempa.

The Mushima resettlement

The implementation of the Mushima resettlement scheme started with negotiations between the Kasempa rural council and chief Mushima.

After assurance was given that the new area would be provided with a modern service centre equipped with a pumped water supply, a school and a local court, chief Mushima agreed to move his headquarters from the remote southern part of the district to the newly planned centre about 30 miles from Kasempa. After the government exerted some pressure other villages and village-clusters in the area were persuaded in 1966 to do likewise. The official intention was to concentrate all the scattered small village-clusters from a wide area, altogether around 3.000 people, into one sizable village. A number of villages indeed settled near the new centre. Other village-clusters took up a location further away, along other treams in the area.

x) Refer web publication 'Fifty years Kasempa District' 1964-2014, Jaeger 2015

The immediate vicinity of the centre didn't offer enough good arable land for all these groups, while the still traditional system of shifting cultivation requires quite a lot of land. Besides, these were social forces opposed to concentration of all villages into one village, like the traditional feelings of village autonomy and clan loyality to a particular headman. After some time the government accepted this situation and arranged the provision of essential services also to the other village groups. Farther away from the main centre, 2 schools and a landing strip for the Flying Doctor Service with a dispensary were built to serve also the other resettled groups.

As far as attracting people closer to the central part of the district and away from the tse-tse fly infested areas, the resettlement has achieved its goals, however, further economic development didn't yet take place as was planned. The lack of large areas of good soil, the still meagre transport and market facilities in the area and the lack of agricultural extension staff and well planned further perspectives for the area made this plan successful from the point of view of economic development

The Mpungu resettlement.

Simultaneously with the start of the Mushima resettlement an area with rich heavy red clay soils 20-30 miles east of Kasempa Boma was designated for the Mpungu resettlement. In the middle of the Reference and state production unit cleared and cultivated a large plot of 400 are. Good access roads were built and boreholes for water supply were implemented for the Mpungu State Farm.

Agricultural production Af the State farm was fully mechnized, and from 1965 onwards a considerable production of maize was brought to the market.

In 1968 President Kaunda announced to allocate small plots of the cultivated area to some individual farmers, who could take part in the scheme, on the basis of a service cooperation, whereby the government provided mechanical help and agricultural extension staff. First of all the labourers who worked on the Production Unit got a chance to enroll and subsequently other villages' in the neighbourhood could subscribe. The scheme started with 20 farmers, each farmer got a 5 acre plot of land, with possible extension to 20 acre. Ploughing, intake of seed and fertilizer and the marketing of the produce was done cooperatively under the close help and supervision of the Department of Agriculture, who, besides local staff, engaged volunteer specialists from abroad. A system of water supply was provided to the farmers and they themselves built new houses along a central road. From the beginning this scheme was quite successful and between 1969 and 1974 the number of farmers on the scheme increased from 20 to 80 families. Whereas the agricultural extension staff was assisted for technical and management work by some Dutch volunteer experts for a number of years.

Other products besides maize were introduced, like groundnuts, beans and vegetables. Trails were done to introduce also burley tobacco.

Originally it was planned to concentrate the scattered village clusters of Kalasa, Kasonso and Mukunashi, all together in the Mpungu area. In 1966 the small group of Kalasa villages was willing to move from their original site downstream the Mpungu river, near the Lunga, towards a new service centre in the Mpungu area.

However, the other groups refused to move, attached as they were to their original environment with fairly good arable land, good hunting and fishing opportunities and a ready water supply from small streams. Based on the experience with the Mushima resettlement and in accordance with the idea of African Humanism, stipulating the general rights for freedom of movement and settlement government didn't insist on further concentration of all village groups into the Mpungu area. Subsequently these remote groups were also provided with basic amenities, like a school and some medical facilities. For some time a community -NEGRERIANDS (SHV)
development team of volunteer-experts from abroad worked together with the local population in the Kalasa and Kasonso area, to improve agricultural standards, and to provide health and social facilities. After some years, a small surplus production for the market was reached and sold to the ARM-Board. Gradually the extension work was given over from the expatriate team to local 7 ambian staff.

Individual farmers lenguage looking for more opportunities in the field of agricultural production and availability of services, were offered a chance to settle either in the Nkenyauna area or to join the agricultural cooperative scheme at Mpungu.

Intensive development area - The Nkenyauna area

As has been mentioned already, besides the two resettlement schemes, described above, the two areas where in particular population concentrations and further agricultural development took place, are the Chizera area and the Nkenyauna area. Especially the latter deserves some more attention here, because the region could become an "Intensive Development Zone" (IDZ) in the frame-work of the new rural development policy of the Ministry of Rural Development.

The area is by far the most prosperous agricultural region in the District.

Situated along the road to Mumbwa, at about 5 to 15 miles from Kasempa Boma, a market for its agricultural produce is nearby available at the Kasempa township and at Mukinge mission and hospital.

x) The Kawama Farm Settlement scheme was opened in 1975 penear of 1995

As has been mentioned before the Peasant Farming System introduced in the area was successful and consequently more people settled in the area to start a farm, small trade-store or to settless craftsman.

After 1964 the number of new residents, increased even more, especially those, who worked for a number of years in the mines of the Copperbelt or in Government service settled in the area in many cases these people brought with them some capital to start their own farm or business.

It can be observed that these people, who returned from the urban areas first of all went back to their original home villages, to move from there with their nucleus family to the $\kappa^{\kappa \xi W}$

In many cases they built their own stone- or kimberley-brick house. The appearance of the area is quite wealthy and a diversity of activities have been and still are being undertaken.

Besides, maize and sorghum, crops like beans, groundnuts and vegetables are grown and sold at the local market or to the ARM-board.

In some cases small irrigation systems are in operation. The area with some small perennial streams and hilly conditions provides ample opportunities for irrigation. Some farmers embarked also on fishponds, others on poultry farming and the breeding of pigs and cattle.

In the area a Farmers Training Institute has been established. Regular courses are given here to farmers from all over the district and also community development courses for women.

Fairly intensive agricultural extension work is carried out by Zambian staff and for some years additional assistance in this field was provided by a number of Dutch volunteer agriculturalists.

The positive results of the agricultural cooperative settlement at Mpungu resulted in setting up a similar scheme in the Nkenyauna area, fairly close to Kasempa Boma. Also in this case technical and organisational assistance is given by some Dutch volunteer workers.

The new settlement is provided with pumped water (supply) from a source further on.

The number of inhabitants in the entire area is still fairly small, about 1500, and most of the farms and villages, a number of which amestill based on a more traditional agricultural pattern, are situated along the road. Potential for further development is certainly there, but this will require among other things further opening of the area by constructing some feeder roads and by demarcating agricultural plots.

x) This was done in the 1980's. But during the economic crisis of 1990's agricultural development went down considerably and many farms were abandoned (refer Jaeger 2015,p17).

Mining Activities

For many years in the whole North-western Province, and in the Kasempa District too, geological prospecting took place. (Guernsey, 1951) Presently, only two locations provide real mining activities: the Kalengwa mine, near to Chizera on the Kabompo-Solwezi road and the Jifumpa mine near the East-Lunga river on the Mumbwa road.

Jafumpa mine

As has been described mining activities took place at the Jafumpa location during 1927-1930, although copper production never started at that time. In 1970 the para-statal organisation "Mindeco small mines" took over the Jafumpa location from Nchanga consolidated copper mines.

Actual mining activities started in 1972 and consisted intensive exploration work and repairing the old shafts.

Yearly production was planned on 1500 tons of copper for a period of 4 years, on the basis of 100 tons ore of 4% cu.a day.

A concentrate of 30% cu would be trucked to the Chingola acid leach plant. The labour force at the mine counted about 65-70.

Due to its remoteness and the high costs, the mine had to be closed again early 1976, $^{\kappa j}$

Kalengwa mine

The Kalengwa mine location, run by the Roan Copper mines, offers more favourable prospects.

Intensive exploration by helicopter and photo geology took place in 1957. In the period 1963-1966 Kalengwa was indicated as a potential copperore body.

Approval to go ahead with the exploitation and the building of a concentrater came in 1969. Already in 1971 the first shipment of concentrate (20-30% copper) took place and was transported over the new all-weather road via Kankolonkolo to Kalulushi.

The produce went straight to the smelter at Kalulushi, the only place in the world with such a production line.

Production is planned on 1000 ton copper a month and in 1972/73 the yearly production reached 12270 tons of copper. With a reserve of 1,3 million ton of copper ore (7% cu), the open pit location will at least offer 10 years production.

The mine engages a labour force of ca. 400 men.

x) In the 2000's open pit mining was resumed.

xx) closed around 1990, production was not viable anymore and transport costs to high.

xxx) Since the 2000's exploration and mining activities (legal and illegal) increased all over Kasempa district. Refer for Solwezi District: M. O'Çallaghan, 'Copperfields', Canberra, to be published in 2019.

REFER

Summary and concluding remarks

During the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, as mentioned earlier, Kaonde clangroups drifted south from the Lulaba basin in Zaïre, losing immediate contact with their cultural background. Encounters with powerful peoples like the Lunda influenced these groups politically and culturally but not sufficiently, not at close enough range to instill a new cultural identity. Under the leadership of independent small chiefs and headmen and without any overall political-territorial organization, the Kaonde occupied parts of North-Western Province as a loose confederation of clan groups. Slave raiding at an accelaretad tempo in the second half of last century severely har assed the small Kaonde groups. Many village clusters were driven to the remotest corners of the area. There was warfare and suspicion, not only directed at outsiders, but iternally, too.

It was into this deteriorating situation that white rule intruded, easily subduing the scattered and sparge population. Some indirect resistance occured, but no concentrated or armed opposition. Although in the first decades of white rule some minor shifts of village populations continued, it can be said that with the arrival of European administration, the general situation in Kasempa froze. Little by little European influence induced a change in and fading away of already undermined traditional cultural patterns. In addition to a decrease in hunting opportunities, increasingly strict hunting regulations and the establishment of game reserves considerably cut down the popular hunting activities of Kaonde men. This was critical not only for the Kaonde's subsistence economy, but it also had severe repercussions for Kaonde culture, rich in stories, dances and religious beliefs related to ancestor worship, spirits, witchcraft and hunting,

The policy of indirect rule, introduced about 1930, shored up the status quo still further. Chiefs' areas were defined. People's residency was fixed. Labour migration took place from the "native trust reserves" and migrants returned to their parent villages after a couple of years work at the mines or in town.

x) Of Luba and Sanga origin (refer Bantje 1971 and Jaeger 1971).

There was not much opportunity back home to embark on new ventures. There was nothing in the way of new social or economic prospects to promote any identification with Kasempa District for the future.

Economic hopes remained pinned on reaching the city.

Cultural identity grew weak. People lost confidence in their we potential. It should not altogether surprise us therefore that when development proposals for the district were finally first formulated in the 1950's and again after independence, it took time and will still take time to win rural enthusiasm and to speed up social and economic progress in remote areas. It is to be hoped that new activities in Kasempa District can initiate a process by which a new cultural identity for the Kaonde within the framework of national unity will eventually emerge.

In conluding, a few additional summary remarks about changing settlement patterns:

Pre-colonail situation, the end of the 19th century:

During this period of extensive migrations, regular warfare, slave raids, the primacy of fairly independent chiefs and headmen, a lively movement of village-clusters took place for socio-political and ecological reasons. However at various locations with rich mineral deposits mining was done for longer periods of time. The Kaonde were at that time a semi-nomadic society. In addition to shifting cultivation, hunting held a prominent place in their lives They trekked regularly over wide areas.

Colonial situation:

Movements of village-groups were restricted, chiefs' areas demarcated and people not allowed to settle elsewhere or erect a new village without official permission. Within chief's areas, some of which were of considerable size, the village groups continued to roam for ecological, social and religious reasons. Circular movements sometimes were made whereby villagers, after twenty-five to thirty years returned to the site of a former settlement after secondary bush had regenerated (Jaeger, 1981) Villages were situated for the most part along rivers and streams. Concentrations of popu .tion around mission posts and other centers In the 1950's colonial administration tried gradually grew, urging village groups to move close to motorways where amenities like wells were installed and where first endeavors at more permanent agriculture were being made. In sleeping sickness areas and where game reserves were established, villagers were forced to relocate to more accessible regions.

Refer website: "Fifty years of Kasempa District, 1964-2014".

The Kaonde were well known for their copper melting techniques, copper implements like: copper tools (axes), copper bullets, copper ornaments for women were common (Moubray, 1912, p. 99)

Post-Independence situation:

Since 1964 freedom to move and to settle has vastly increased village mobility. Many new, often smaller family-unit villages have sprung up. A large number of villages moved spontaneously to sites along roads and to centers where services were made available and the economic outlook has some promise. Furthermore the government embarked on several agricultural cooperative schemes and promoted village regrouping nearby.

Map II displays the remarkable change in district settlement pattern that took place in the comparatively short period of 1945-1970. An increasing segment of the population no longer only depends on shifting cultivation and subsistence economy.

The idea of permanent settlement in one place has taken root. Further concentration of population in the district remains to be realized, however, before the government can provide a higher level of services and more social and economic opportunities for all inhabitants. A combination of planned schemes and development efforts in certain regions of high potential, together with encouragement of spontaneous influx into these areas will speed the process of concentration without severe social distrubances, promoting, at the same time, the cultural welfare of the population.

Although Kasempa District is still remote today, the Kaonde's adaptation to permanent settlement based on agriculture, the expansion of mining, and, perhaps in the future, the spread of tourism and game-cropping schemes, all suggest reasons for being optimistic about the further economic advancement and cultural reorientation of the people in this peaceful and friendly district of Zambia.

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