

HUNTING AND CONSERVATION IN  
KASEMPA DISTRICT OF NORTH-  
WESTERN PROVINCE OF ZAMBIA,  
1934-1994

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BY

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LUSAKA

1999

256929

## DEDICATION

To all my beloved ones who did not live long enough to see the fruits of this work.

**DECLARATION**

I, Chikosa Langson Kamwengo, do hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own work, and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

Signature: ..... L. C. Kamwengo .....

Date: ..... 22<sup>nd</sup> April, 1999. ....

**APPROVAL**

This dissertation of Chikosa Langson Kamwengo is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History at the University of Zambia.

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## ABSTRACT

The central theme of this study is to highlight the failure of game laws in both the colonial and post-colonial governments in conserving game in Kasempa District from 1934 to 1994. The study shows that because the Kaonde area had no cattle and lacked sufficient fish resources, hunting of game was a an important form of food production in the ecosystem. Since hunting was engaged on a subsistence scale, it had little impact on the populations of game.

The introduction of colonial game laws in the district restricted the hunting of game by the local people. The study shows that when the restriction of the local people from the game resource was evident, the only way people in the district could gain any benefits from game was by illegal hunting. Overall, state intervention in game conservation failed in Kasempa District during the colonial period because the local people were not part and parcel of the game conservation strategy devised and enforced by the colonial authorities in the area.

The study also demonstrates that the establishment of game sanctuaries and the enforcement of the game conservation laws allowed large tracts of land which were not cultivated to revert to bush. This attracted tsetse fly which increased the incidence of trypanosomiasis among cattle and sleeping sickness cases among humans in the area between 1942 to 1964.

After the colonial period, law enforcement measures continued as an accepted attempt to deter poaching in the district. However, these measures did not end poaching in the district. The study shows that from the 1970s, poaching escalated in the district because of the financial incentives the Copperbelt towns offered to those involved in the activity.

In 1987, a programme called Administrative Design for Game Management Areas (ADMAGE) was started in the district with the purpose of restoring to the people their authority over game in the GMAS, and to use it wisely so as to reap benefits from it. Interestingly, ADMAGE failed to preserve and conserve game because of poor management and misguided policies. The study emphasises that ADMAGE could only succeed if the whole society and not groups within the GMAS benefit from the organisation's projects. Meanwhile, the problem of illegal hunting of game continued in the district.

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I also wish to thank the staff at the University of Zambia Library, National Archives of Zambia, the Department of National

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All shortcomings in this dissertation are entirely my own responsibility.

Lusaka, Zambia

Chikosa Langson Kamwengo

April 1999

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One pound (£1) .....	Two kwacha (K2)

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADMADE	Administrative Design for Game Management Areas
BCA	British Central Africa
BSAC	British South Africa Company
DC	District Commissioner
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
GDP	Gross Dometic Product
GEA	German East Africa
GMA	Game Management Area
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
IAS	Institute of African Studies
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
KNP	Kafue National Park
LEGCO	Legislative Council
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
NER	North-Eastern Rhodesia
NPWS	National Parks and Wildlife Service
NR	Northern Rhodesia
NWP	North-Western Province
NWR	North-Western Rhodesia
PC	Provincial Commissioner
SR	Southern Rhodesia
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UNZA	University of Zambia
USA	United States of America

USAID United States Agency for International Development  
WCRF Wildlife Conservation Revolving Fund  
WWF World Wildlife Fund

GLOSSARY OF KAONDE WORDS IN THE TEXT

<u>KAONDE</u>	<u>ENGLISH</u>
Bakambole	Honey badgers
Bakibinda	Skilled hunters
Bakibinda baba kabwa	Hunters who used dogs
Bambuzhi	Goats
Bankumba	Pigs
Banzolo	Chickens
Bena kyowa	Mushroom clan
Bibimbi	Cucumbers
Bimbo	Game pits
Bipangwa	Fruits
Buki	Honey
Bulembi	A creeper used to smear at the tip of an arrow to act as poison
Bulozhi	Sorcery
Buta	Bow
Bwanga	Charms
Bwanga bwa nyama	The charm of meat
Chi wanga cha wa mvubu	Bamboo platform
Inanji wa bwanga	Mother of the charm
Imbote	Honey beer
Jamba	Hemp
Jifumo	Harpoon
Kabwa	Dog
Kakose	Noose
Katete	Float made of reeds
Katumpa	Civet

Kijiba	Falling trap
Kipuku	Ghost
Kiyombo	Communal burning of grass With the object of killing game
Kyovwe	Hippopotamus
Luku	Finger millet
Luyeye	Squirrel
Maluko	Bee larvae
Makamba	Cassava
Makonde	Bananas
Mashamba (munamana)	Early planted maize
Mataba	Maize
Matete	Thick reds
Mbalala	Groundnuts
Mbuyu	Baobab tree
Mebele	Sorghum
Mfimbo	Trap
Mioma	Bee hives
Mpuku	Field mouse
Muchi wa vingonga	The hunter's medicine kept in an empty shell of a hard shelled beetle to prevent the elephant from seeing or smelling him.
Muketo	Arrow
Mulama	A tree used for preparation of various traditional medicines
Musalu	Vegetables
Mututula	Muzzle Loader

Muyanga	A good hunter in a particular locality
Mwana wa bwanga	Child of the charm
Myenge	Sugar cane
Myungu	Pumpkins
Ndale	A tree used for medicinal purposes (Swartzia madagascariensis)
Nkombalume	Renown hunter
Nkunde	Beans
Nsenzhi	Cane-rat
Nsumbilo	Quiver
Ntamba	Sweet potatoes
Ntanda	Chiefdom
Nzovu	Elephant
Matemate	Tomato
Viangi	Two canoes joined together when hunting hippo
Wa nzovu wa pa misangi	Weighted spears.

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## INTRODUCTION

Let us begin by establishing what is meant by hunting. In this study, hunting will mean any act directed at the killing or capturing of any animal.<sup>1</sup> Since there are no clear taxonomic or even behavioural boundaries defining wildlife, we shall, in this study, restrict the term wildlife to mean those species that provide either benefits or detriments to human society, notably game animals.<sup>2</sup> Wildlife will therefore be used interchangeably with game or wild animals.

There is no readily acceptable definition of conservation. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and the Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) have jointly defined it as 'the rational use of the earth's resources to achieve the highest quality of living for mankind.'<sup>3</sup> Vaughan-Jones defined it as 'preservation for a good purpose and qualified by control.'<sup>4</sup> The joint report by the Government of the Republic of Zambia (GRZ) and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources defined conservation as 'the wise management of our natural resources so that they produce sustainable benefits indefinitely.'<sup>5</sup> Black defined it as 'the use of our resources in such a way that they provide the greatest good, for the greatest number, over the longest period of time.'<sup>6</sup> In this study, conservation will mean the management and utilisation of wildlife in such a way as to ensure its perpetuation.

## Conservation Problems in Historical Perspective

The problems of wildlife conservation experienced in Zambia are not different from those experienced in other parts of the world. During the second half of the twentieth century, the question of illegal hunting of game achieved more prominence than any other aspect of wildlife conservation. Pollock noted that some 150 species of animals became extinct throughout the world in the last 300 years and 240 more species were threatened.<sup>7</sup> Eckholm also pointed out in 1978 that the worldwide extermination of wild animals could, if allowed to continue, alter the nature of life on this planet for all time in the next few decades.<sup>8</sup> This wanton destruction of wild animals has occurred within the last few hundred years especially after the spread of Europeans to different parts of the world.

During the early nineteenth century, wild animals abounded over most of the African continent except for the Cape Province where excessive hunting during the previous one hundred years reduced the amount of game.<sup>9</sup> Following the opening up of Africa to European influence, during the later part of the nineteenth century, wildlife suffered a rapid decline in population.

In Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) there were, however, still found in various localities high concentrations of game, especially, in the bush savanna grasslands. European travellers in the region in the second part of the nineteenth century, made constant mention in their writings of the abundance of game in the region. Major Serpa Pinto who passed through King Lubosi's (Lewanika) country which present day forms Western Province of Zambia wrote:

Lubosi's country runs through a vast plain, in which graze thousands of buffaloes, zebras and a great variety of antelopes. I never in my life saw so much game together as I beheld in that district.<sup>10</sup>

Dr. David Livingstone writing of a place near the confluence of the Kafue river with the Zambezi during his second journey commented:

The plain below us had more game on it than anywhere I had seen in Africa. Hundreds of buffaloes and zebras grazed on the open spaces, and there stood lordly elephants feeding majestically, nothing moving apparently but the proboscis. When we descended we found all the animals remarkably tame. The number of animals was quite astonishing, and made me think that here I could realize an image of the time when megatheria fed undisturbed in the primeval forests.<sup>11</sup>

Emil Holub writing of Mala area in present day Namwala District in 1885-6, said:

because of the abundance of game we were hoping that day at least a juicy buffalo calf, and indeed, our wish was fulfilled.<sup>12</sup>

Frederick Courteney Selous also walking up the Luangwa river in 1893 saw plenty of elephants in the area.<sup>13</sup> The above accounts showed that game abounded in many parts of Zambia in the second half of the nineteenth century.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, game was still found in many parts of the territory. Zambia entered the twentieth century with a unique wildlife complex form of an abundance and variety of flora and fauna which Darling described as 'a marvellous ordering of nature.'<sup>14</sup> Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane writing on their impression of the Tanganyika

plateau in 1911 noted that abundant amount of different species of both larger and smaller game were found in the region.<sup>15</sup> A Baptist missionary, Doke, also wrote:

Game of almost every kind abounds. In 1913, when I first visited the country, portions of the Kafue plains were still teeming with herds of big game, and one could stand on an anthill and chose one's breakfast from ten or more species feeding with apparent unconcern.<sup>16</sup>

Doke was writing of the present day Copperbelt Province where it is now extremely difficult to see any wild animals except for the common duiker. Frank H. Melland wrote of Kasempa District in 1923 that game was plentiful in most parts of Kaondeland.<sup>17</sup> The above testimony attest to the fact that game was still in abundance in certain parts of the territory at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In Zambia, it was after the First World War when the destruction of game by hunting began to greatly exceed the productive capacity of the game populations. This was as a result of the relaxation instituted during the war which allowed an immense amount of killing game to feed the troops fighting the German campaign in Northern Province.<sup>18</sup> This slaughter of game which increased in intensity especially in the latter years of the 1920s prompted the colonial government of Northern Rhodesia to take some drastic steps to conserve game. The demand for game meat was also stimulated by the development of Copperbelt and other towns along the line of rail.<sup>19</sup>

Although game conservation started much earlier in 1902 in North-Eastern Rhodesia, it was the faunal survey of Northern Rhodesia in 1931-32 by C.R.S. Pitman which revealed the decline

in most species of animals over a comparatively short space of time.<sup>20</sup> Darling who visited Northern Rhodesia in 1957 also commented on the decline of the number of animals, particularly, the lechwes whose numbers dropped from approximately 400,000 to 40,000 in the twenty-five year period as a result of periodic communal hunts especially by the Ila fo Southern Zambia.<sup>21</sup> During the post-colonial Zambia, poaching escalated despite increased arrests. The 1969 Annual Report for the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Services showed that the number of poachers arrested had been increasing at roughly five per cent per annum.<sup>22</sup>

In Kasempa District of Zambia, poaching was the single most important problem facing game conservation since the time of colonial rule. The Kasempa Controlled Areas which were created in 1943 were heavily poached by illegal entrants mainly from the Copperbelt. The number of animals killed in these areas was substantial.<sup>23</sup> Since the time of colonial rule, game populations continued to decline in Kasempa District despite attempts to improve law enforcement and supply badly needed field equipment to wildlife officers. Up to 1994 indications were that the ordinary people in Zambia in general, and in Kasempa in particular, did not regard poaching as a serious crime.<sup>24</sup> This study is an attempt to investigate why state intervention in game conservation was not successful in Kasempa in the period 1934 to 1994.

## **The Objectives of the Study**

This study attempts to establish the effectiveness of the various measures taken by the colonial and post-colonial governments in conserving game in Kasempa District. It also documents the changing illegal hunting methods which the local people devised over time in the district. It also investigates the extent to which government game conservation measures caused conflict between the state and the local community. Lastly, the study examines the environmental effect of the state's game conservation policies on the proposed area of study, over time.

## **Literature Review**

The problem of hunting and game conservation has received little attention from Zambian writers and researchers. So far, there are only a few comprehensive studies on the subject from an historical perspective. This study is an attempt to investigate the state's intervention in game conservation in Kasempa District from 1934 to 1994. The year 1934 marked a turning point in the history of game conservation in Northern Rhodesia when Captain C.R.S. Pitman produced a report which revealed that practically all species of animals, except the elephant and buffalo, were declining on a rapid rate. The year 1994 marks the end our study to give us a good time period in which to investigate the problem of hunting and game conservation in the area of our study.

Background information about the area of study comes from John M. Moubrey's In South-Central Africa (1912) and Frank H. Melland's ethnographical study In Witch Bound Africa (1923).

Melland gives a detailed description of the history and way of life of the Kaonde people. He shows that, traditionally, hunting among the Kaonde was highly valued and skilled hunters attained high prestige in society.<sup>25</sup> These writers also show that the Kaonde have been great hunters using muzzle loading guns.<sup>26</sup> Kate Crehan writing on Mukunashi, one of the remotest areas of Kasempa District, observes that although the Kaonde were primarily cultivators, they had a strong hunting tradition of using bows and arrows, spears, dogs, pits, snares and so on.<sup>27</sup> The use of muzzle loading guns is of interest to our study as it is cited in most conservation literature in Southern Africa as the cause of massive destruction of game in the region.<sup>28</sup> The study will attempt to establish whether or not the use of muzzle loading guns has been responsible for the decline of game populations in the district.

The traditional way of hunting among the Kaonde is similar to that portrayed by Stuart Marks and J.C. Stiers,<sup>29</sup> in their studies of the Bisa of the Luangwa Valley and the four Game Management Areas in the Luangwa Valley, respectively. Both studies apparently indicate that 40 to 70 per cent of the local meat consumption in the area came from wildlife. The two scholars are critical of official protectionist and licensing policies of the Department of wildlife which they see as being contrary to the interest of both the subsistence hunters and game. Marks further shows how the traditional hunting methods using bows and arrows, spears, nets, traps and even muzzle loading guns usually only cropped the expendable surplus and brought no significant reduction in the game herds.

A study by Fraser F. Darling entitled Wildlife in an African Territory (1960) traces the history of game conservation in Northern Rhodesia. He blamed the Africans for the depletion of game in the territory with their use of muzzle loading guns.<sup>30</sup> Mwelwa C. Musambachime also traces the various game ordinances passed by the Northern Rhodesia colonial government to conserve game. He, however, notes with dismay that while these ordinances were enforced on the Africans, there was on the other hand, unrestricted granting of licences to European big game hunters who killed game indiscriminately.<sup>31</sup>

Julian Huxley in his study entitled The Conservation of Wildlife and Natural Habitats in Central and East Africa (1960) singled out the existence of the Copperbelt meat market as being a major stimulus to game hunting in areas around the Copperbelt.<sup>32</sup> The study will attempt to establish whether the proximity of Kasempa District to the Copperbelt towns led to increased illegal hunting of game in the area.

Katowa A.H. Mulongo's study of the environment in Namwala and Bangweulu between 1850 and 1964 is a valuable source for our study. He shows that the African traditional hunting was for subsistence and not for trade, and hence the methods used (traps, snares, trenches, etc), had little effect on the game population given the human population of the time. He notes that the colonial government game laws could not succeed because the concept of poaching was alien to the Africans.<sup>33</sup> W.B. Banage points out that poaching was alien to Zambians because it was simply the game laws which automatically took away the African traditional right to hunt without a permit.<sup>34</sup> He further looks at

the increase in human population and rural development activities in Zambia as being responsible for intensification of illegal hunting and habitat modification. Banage's argument is of interest to our area of study because, although, Kasempa district has a small population,<sup>35</sup> and also lacks rural development activities,<sup>36</sup> poaching is rampant in the area.

A factor which is attributed to the increase in illegal hunting of game in certain parts of Zambia is lack of cattle. John A. Hellen and Robert Stjernsted point out that the presence of the tsetse fly in Kasempa has made it difficult for the people to keep cattle.<sup>37</sup> In an area such as Kasempa where game is abundant, people resort to illegal hunting of game to secure their major source of protein.

C.T. Duval and P.O. Park have argued that the influence of the tsetse fly has been responsible for the preservation of Africa's formerly abundant wildlife.<sup>38</sup> The study will endeavour to examine the relationship between the presence of tsetse fly in Kasempa and the preservation of game, which in turn caused sleeping sickness in man and nagana in livestock.

A number of authors such as Geoffrey W. Howard, B.L. Mitchell, W.F.H. Ansell and Shamilupa E. Kalapula have written on the Kafue National Park.<sup>39</sup> The northern sector of the park is in Kasempa district. The park was established in 1950 and is one of the largest and best stocked natural preserves in the world. Kalapula in his study shows that the increase in demand for meat by the local and urban dwellers consequently increased poaching in the Kafue National Park.

A study by Nawa Nawa on conservation in Western Province is

a useful source. He discusses various pieces of game laws that were passed during colonial rule to curb poaching. He notes that wanton destruction of wild animals was not a common feature in Western Province because conservation strategies in the area were part and parcel of community participation.<sup>40</sup> He points out that in other parts of the country these game laws did not reduce poaching. He argues that poaching can only be controlled if the local community is integrated into the national conservation strategy. This is supported by Dale Lewis, Gilson B. Kaweche and Ackim Mwenya whose experiment showed that the involvement of the local community outside game reserves in wildlife protection and management activities drastically reduces poaching.<sup>41</sup>

Mark R. Theonisz and W.R. Bainbridge discuss the role and functions of the Wildlife Conservation Society of Zambia. They point out that the main aim of the Wildlife Conservation Society of Zambia is the preservation of wildlife from wanton destruction through illegal means. Bainbridge shows the negative effects of poaching in Zambia and suggests effective measures for controlling game population through cropping. He argues that game cropping protects the natural habitat from overstocking and over-grazing and at the same time provides cheap, vital protein for the people. The two studies demonstrate that wildlife is a national heritage which must be protected from poachers for the enjoyment and benefit of the present and future generations of this country.<sup>42</sup>

Clark Champion Gibson's dissertation on the Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Zambia is a valuable source for our study. He examines the content, continuity and change of wildlife policy

in Zambia from 1964 to 1991. He argues that because wildlife possesses political and economic value to Zambia, farmers, urban dwellers, tourism business owners, government officials, politicians and international conservationists each seek wildlife policy that secures that value to themselves.<sup>43</sup> His dissertation moves beyond conventional public policy analyses which try to explain failed wildlife conservation policies by assailing weak or absent implementation mechanisms. This study although looks at failed conservation policies, it also looks at the problem of underdevelopment in wildlife rich areas which encourage poaching.

General works and case studies on hunting and conservation in Africa and elsewhere have enhanced our understanding of the problems of wildlife conservation in Kasempa district. Edward R. Grumbine's study of 'Viable Populations, Reserve Size and Federal Land Management (1990) observes that the creation of game reserves and national parks does not adequately protect wild animals.<sup>44</sup> This is relevant to our study as it shows the need to go beyond the legal boundaries of parks in curbing poaching. Erik Eckholm's study points out that the excessive hunting of animals for food, profit and recreation in the twentieth century has surpassed the rate at which new species are reproducing and hence poses a major threat to the survival of wildlife.<sup>45</sup> The study demonstrates that poaching can be controlled by well-enforced national and international wildlife regulations.

Some conservation scholars such as Jenny Macgregor, H.D. Kumar, Karen A. Calson and Noel Simon look at the expanding human population as the major cause of the declining wildlife resources.<sup>46</sup> They contend that wild animals have lost the

competition for space with man and have retreated to remote areas from their natural habitat. William D. Newmark's study agrees with these observations. He states that settlement patterns must be taken into consideration when designating areas as game reserves.<sup>47</sup> His work is supported by S.K. Eltringham who points out that how many people living adjacent to wildlife protected areas see these animals as creatures to be eliminated.<sup>48</sup> The understanding of this antipathy towards wild animals is a major factor which must be taken into account in any scheme designed to protect game.

Valerius Geist's study on the marketing of wildlife meat argues strongly against the legalisation in retail trade in wildlife. He points out that,

paid hunting imposes a self-defeating deterrent fee that in the long run reduces public interest in wildlife, and hands wildlife to a wealthy minority for their exclusive use.<sup>49</sup>

He shows that the local community views the protected animals in game reserves and national parks as a preserve for the rich minority, and hence, see no need to preserve them.

Other major studies on hunting and conservation in Southern Africa are by William Beinart, Jane Carruthers and Robert Mutwira. Their major argument is that local interest and attitudes must be considered if any conservation policies can succeed in the region.<sup>50</sup> This observation above is supported by Malcom L. Hunter, Robert K. Hitchcock and Barbara W. Baird who point out that the fauna conservation models developed in Europe and North America have failed in much of Southern Africa because Africans have been denied their long tradition of hunting and

subsequently have lost interest in wildlife conservation.<sup>51</sup>

Scholars on conservation and ecology such as John Ford, Helge Kjekshus and Leroy Vail have looked at colonial policies as having contributed to the ecological crisis in Africa at the turn of this century. Ford's study demonstrates how in pre-colonial times, many African societies managed to achieve their own solutions to the problems created by the presence of tsetse and trypanosomiasis, often by use of the mechanism of the 'no man's land.' He argues that it was colonial policies which interrupted the traditional conservation measures, and caused the ecological crises (trypanosomiasis) which beset some parts of Africa (East Africa, Rhodesia, Nigeria, etc) at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>52</sup>

Kjekshus' study shows that pre-colonial African economies developed within an ecological control situation until the end of the nineteenth century when colonial rule upset the balanced relationship between man and his environment.<sup>53</sup> Vail's study demonstrates how colonial policies disrupted the finely balanced relationship between man and his environment that had existed in the area prior to the late nineteenth century. He sees the refusal to allow Africans to hunt game as having led to a rapid increase in wild game and consequently to the spread of tsetse fly and trypanosomiasis.<sup>54</sup>

The studies cited are very important in that they show how colonial conservation policies were directly responsible for the changes in the vegetation, wildlife, pest infestation and retention of soil fertility which in most cases led to the deterioration of the natural habitat as a whole.

A survey of the literature cited above show that there are many and diverse explanations of the causes of the declining game populations in Zambia and elsewhere. In my discussion and analysis of the problems of hunting and conservation in Kasempa District, I have taken this position.

### **Organisation of the Dissertation**

This dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first chapter contains a summary of the geographical features of Kasempa District which are important determinants of the outcome of the conservation efforts. The chapter also gives an historical background of the Kaonde people and their major economic activities. Special attention is given to the prominent role hunting played in traditional society. The major argument presented in this chapter is that before the establishment of colonial rule in Kasempa, hunting among the Kaonde was an inseparable part of the whole culture system.

The second chapter looks at colonial administration in Kasempa up to 1953. This is important because the various colonial game laws were enforced and implemented by the colonial administrators in the area.

The third chapter describes the history of wildlife protection in Zambia as a whole. The chapter focusses on the means by which the colonialists imposed European conservation models that were believed to be superior to African values. The chapter argues that the colonial state failed abysmally in the efforts to preserve and conserve game because of misguided policies. So long as the great majority of the local people were

excluded from the tangible benefits of wildlife conservation, they could not be expected to support the cause of conservation.

Chapter four evaluates state's intervention in game conservation in the district from 1934 to 1964. The chapter also looks briefly at the background of state intervention in game conservation in the district from 1902 to 1933. The relation between the presence of game and the increase in tsetse fly, which caused trypanosomiasis in domesticated animals and sleeping sickness cases in humans, also forms part of this chapter. It is argued that traditional Kaonde society had a relatively long and stable co-existence with wildlife which can be explained by the fact that ecological values were an intrinsic part of their society. The state must therefore adopt strategies whose policies define the relationship between man and his environment, and at the same time recognising that development and game conservation go hand in hand.

The last chapter discusses the continued problem of game conservation in the district after independence. The proximity to the Copperbelt towns coupled with the declining economy starting in the 1970s is emphasised as the major incentive to illegal hunting of game. The chapter also looks at the new concept in game conservation in the district which involve the local people (Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas - ADMADE). It is argued that the local people hunt to subsist and to supplement their personal income. To separate them from wild animals and break the chains of knowledge, by whatever means, would mean the loss of these foundations and would do irreversible damage to their society.

It is concluded that the state must integrate the local community in conservation related activities and at the same time address problems of economic underdevelopment in wildlife rich areas.

## **Methodology**

The material for this dissertation was collected in five stages. The first part was undertaken in the University of Zambia Library where I consulted and analysed both primary and secondary sources which included colonial annual reports, books, articles, dissertations, seminar and research papers. These sources gave me a broad view on how the hunting methods have changed over time in Kasempa, and what measures both the colonial and post-colonial government took to conserve game.

Secondly, I collected data in the National Archives of Zambia. The data collected was from primary sources and other documents, notably; district notebooks, annual reports, tour reports and secretarial files. These sources contained vital information on various aspects of hunting and game conservation in the district.

Thirdly, I consulted newspapers from the Times of Zambia Library in Lusaka. I obtain information on the current position of poaching in the district. The information revealed various poaching cases in the district from 1980 to 1994.

The fourth part of my data collection was done at the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Services Library at Chilanga. I consulted and analysed both the colonial and post-colonial annual reports for the department in which useful information on the problems of game conservation in Zambia, as

a whole, and Kasempa District , in particular was obtained. Few people were also interviewed on the problems of game conservation in the nation as a whole and Kasempa, in particular.

The final part of my data collection involved field work in Kasempa. I gathered data from the following departments: Kasempa District Council Licensing Office, National Parks and Wildlife Service, Central Statistics, Agriculture, Veterinary and Tsetse Control, Meteorological, Prisons and Judicial Department. I interviewed different categories of people to find out about the extent of poaching in the district and how the local people view state game policies. I also inquired about the operation of the Administrative Design for Game Management Areas (ADMAGE) in the district.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### THE PHYSICAL SETTING OF THE AREA AND THE PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMY OF THE KAONDE

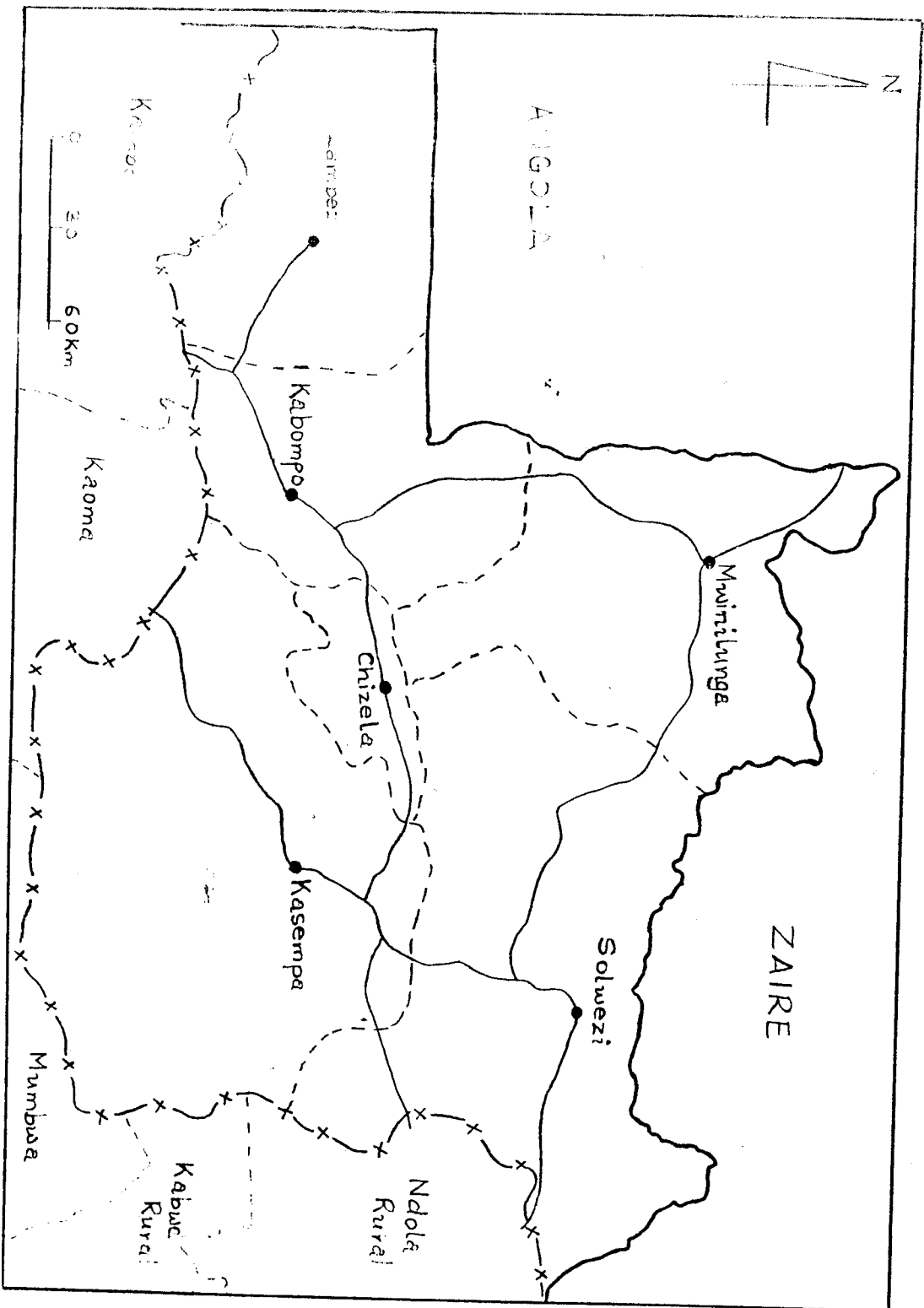
#### AREA OF STUDY

##### Location and Boundary Delineation

Kasempa is one of the six administrative districts of North-Western Province of Zambia. It is situated at 12°45' to 14°45's latitude and 24°15' to 27°E longitude.<sup>1</sup> It borders Solwezi District in the North and Mufumbwe and Kabompo Districts in the west. Kaoma and Mumbwa Districts are in the South while Kabwe and Ndola Rural form its eastern boundary. It is linked to the provincial headquarter, Solwezi, mainly by a gravel road. Kasempa is about 190 kilometres from Solwezi.

Kasempa is the second most thinly populated area in the province after Mufumbwe. The district covers an area of 20,821 square kilometres with a total population of 36,893.<sup>2</sup> Half of the land area is taken up by the Kafue National Park, several Game Management Areas, and forest reserves. These areas are practically devoid of inhabitants so that the average population density for the settled areas is 1.8 per square kilometre.<sup>3</sup> The main language spoken in the district is Kaonde. The sparse population is dispersed over the area in small villages.

# THE LOCATION OF KASEMPA IN NORTH WESTERN PROVINCE



- LEGEND**
- International boundary
  - - - Provincial boundary
  - - - District boundary
  - Roads
  - Districts

**SOURCE** Davin G. Johnson (ed.), Zambia Geographical Association Regional Handbook, no. 8 (1980), p. 94.

## Climate

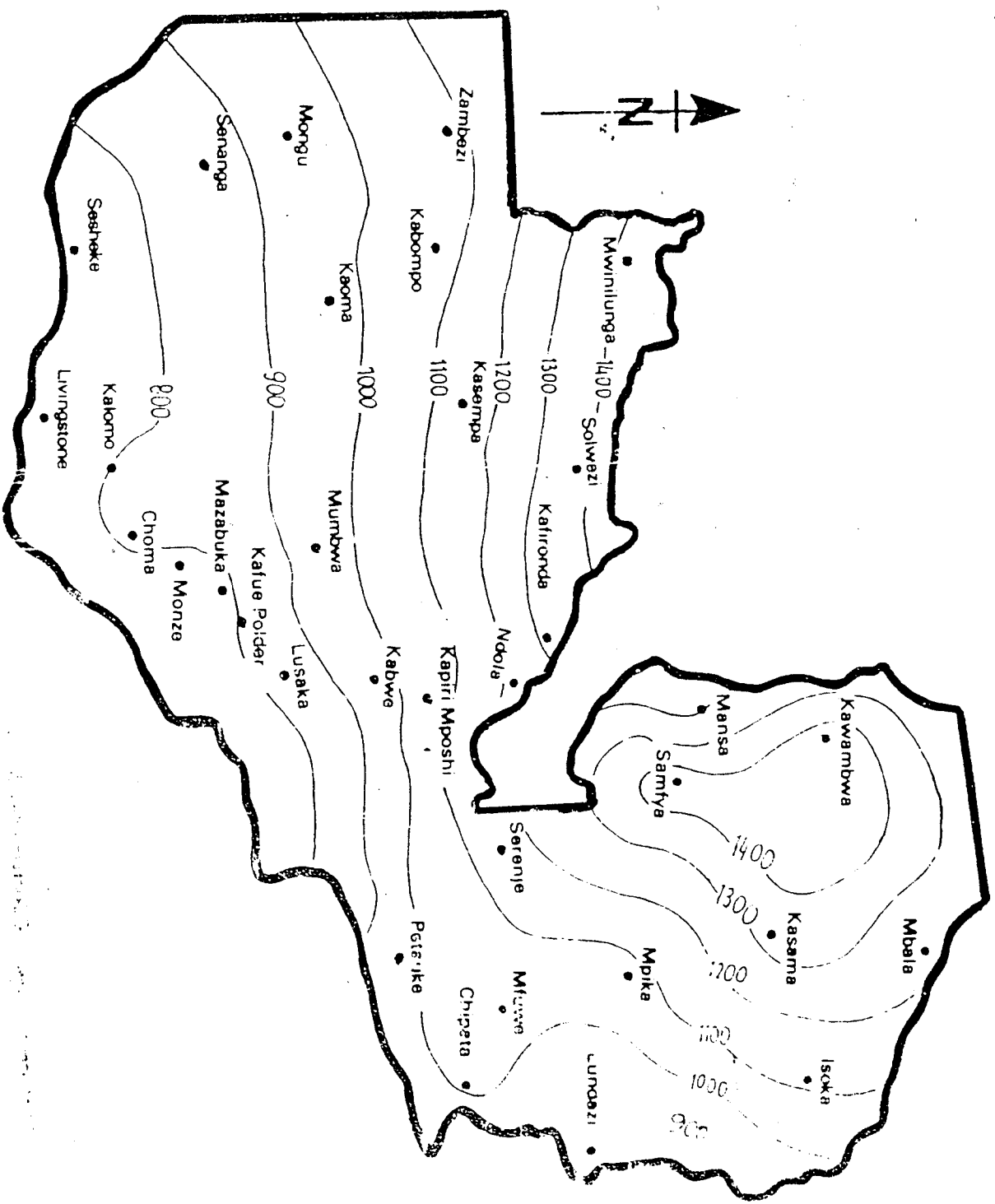
The district has marked seasonal variations of climate. Three distinct seasons can be identified in the area. A relatively warm rainy season from November to March followed by a cool dry and windy season which lasts from April to July. During these months, dry, gusty winds blow almost continuously and the temperature falls to a minimum of  $6.7^{\circ}\text{C}$  in July from a minimum of  $16.8^{\circ}\text{C}$  in December.<sup>4</sup> During this period, nights are unpleasantly chilly with ground frost in high places. These are also the harvest months, and the rivers and streams also begin to recede during this period.

Then, there is a warm dry season which lasts from July to October. The mean temperature for the hottest month, October, is  $23.5^{\circ}\text{C}$ , and for the coolest, June, is  $15.8^{\circ}\text{C}$ , giving an annual range of temperature of  $7.7^{\circ}\text{C}$ .<sup>5</sup> The mean annual temperature for the district is, however,  $20.1^{\circ}\text{C}$ . In the hot season of the year which falls between August and November, the temperature varies from an annual average minimum of  $12.9^{\circ}\text{C}$  to a maximum of  $27.8^{\circ}\text{C}$ .<sup>6</sup> The highest daily temperature recorded between 1985 and 1994 was  $37.3^{\circ}\text{C}$  in October 1991, while the lowest for the same period was  $11.5^{\circ}\text{C}$  in June 1987.<sup>7</sup>

The rainfall in the district is particularly determined by the humid Congo air stream which brings rains from the Equatorial regions from October to April. The rains in the area are influenced by the Zaire air and then stabilised by the Intertropical Convergence Zone. This southward movement of the Equatorial low pressure belt in the rainy months is associated with the migration of the overhead sun. With the arrival of the

rains at the end of October or the beginning of November, there is a sharp decrease in temperature in spite of the continued high potential of the heating power of the sun. The rainfall is mainly confined to between December and April, giving a mean annual rainfall of 1,184mm.<sup>8</sup> The length for the whole food crop growing season is 150 days from early November to mid - April.<sup>9</sup>

# MEAN ANNUAL RAINFALL (mm) IN ZAMBIA

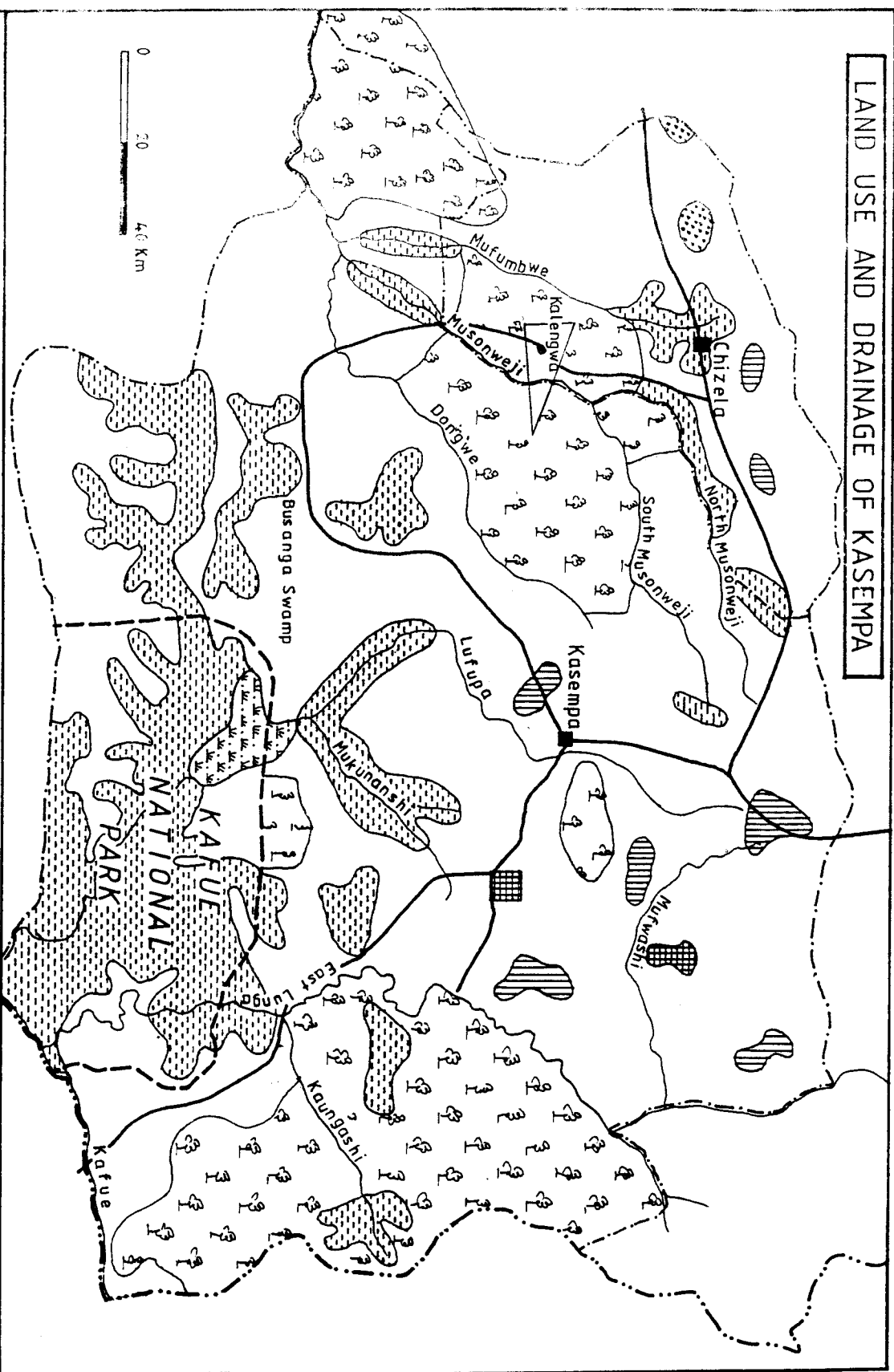


## Relief and Drainage

Like most parts of North-Western Province, the district is a monotonous plateau land at an average altitude of 1200m.<sup>10</sup> There are, however, few peaks which rise up to 1500m. The landscape is that of a gently sloping plateau. The altitude drops considerably at its southern border by the Lunga and Kafue river junction. The land is mainly cut by a river system which flows into the Zambezi river via the East Lunga and Kafue river in the east. Between the Lunga and Lufupa river, there are numerous small streams flowing southwards to join one or other of the two rivers. Many villages cluster near these rivers and streams for easy source of water. The many streams in the area originate in the grassy plains called dambos. These are shallow depressions within the plateau surface which are swampy during the rainy season, but in most cases dry during the dry season.

Vegetation is characterised by an extensive and monotonous open woodland. The majority of species are those of Brachystegia, Isoberlinia and Julbernardia locally known as Miombo woodland.<sup>11</sup> Along the edges of dambos, vegetation is thick consisting of a large variety of trees and shrubs. In general, the ground is lightly covered with short grasses. Large anthills are a noticeable characteristic of the landscape.

# LAND USE AND DRAINAGE OF KASEMPA



Provincial Boundary .....  
 District Boundary.....  
 Road .....  
 District Centre.....

Farming and Settlement Schemes.....  
 Protected Forest Areas.....  
 Cassava Base Chitemene.....  
 Cassava- Maize- Cattle Economy.....

Land not cropped past 20 years.....  
 Swamp.....  
 Dambo, Floodplain.....  
 River.....

## Soils

About 50 per cent of the district is covered by plateau soils.<sup>12</sup> These ferrallitic 'sand veld' soils are fairly leached and have low fertility. They are suitable for extensive cultivation of grains such as sorghum, finger millet and maize. The 'Barotse' sands found in the western part of the district are loosely structured soils. They are not very fertile and lack a humus layer. However, they are still suitable for the production of crops such as maize, groundnuts, cotton, cassava and tobacco, under extensive agricultural practices. Other types of soils found in the area are red clays, dambo and flood plain soils, hill soils, and rock and rubble.

## Ecology

The presence of tsetse fly is a significant aspect in the ecology of Kasempa. Nearly 70 per cent of the district is plagued by Glossina morsitans in varying degrees.<sup>13</sup> The combination of a very low population density and a high density of game, due in part to the existence of many protected hunting areas, combines to make this area one of the most seriously tsetse fly infested parts of Zambia.<sup>14</sup> This fly is a vector carrying Bovine trypanosomiasis from a number of wild animal species to humans and livestock, and also functions as carrier between livestock and from humans to humans (Human trypanosomiasis). Wild animals, especially, buffalo, antelope, warthog and bush pig serve as reservoirs of trypanosomiasis.

Game was formerly abundant in the whole district at the beginning of the twentieth century. Over the years, it has been

exterminated in many areas, and as a result, its distribution has tended to become more localised. The best game areas are those watered by the Eastern Lunga river throughout its length, the Kafue flats and the lower reaches of the Lufupa river.<sup>15</sup> The open plains of the Busanga in the south of the district, contain the largest abundance of game. Some of the animals found in the area are elephant, buffalo, eland, hartebeest, wildebeest, lion, sable, reedbuck, waterbuck and other species.<sup>16</sup> The animals in this area, however, do not exceed the carrying capacity of the land to cause degradation of the habitat.

The presence of game in the district has made the continued presence of tsetse fly unavoidable. The presence of tsetse fly has precluded the keeping of livestock in most parts of the district. The centre of the district (boma) is, however, tsetse-free, and it is in this area where emergent commercial farmers keep cattle.<sup>17</sup>

### **The Establishment of the Kasempa Chieftainship to 1900**

Kasempa District is mainly inhabited by the Kaonde speaking peoples. Local history links the Kaonde to the disporas that were characteristic of Central Africa in about 17th Century. The Kaonde trace their origin from the Lunda Empire ruled by Mwatiyamvwa in what is today western Shaba region.<sup>18</sup> In his written historical narrative of the Kaonde, Chibanza shows that the Kaonde were of a Luba stock who were mixed with the Basanga and Baluba.<sup>19</sup> Richards also classifies the Kaonde with the Lala and Lamba together with the swamp dwelling peoples of the Bangweulu. She states that all these peoples originated from the

Shaba area in Zaire and only migrated to Zambia some 300 years ago. She also links these peoples with the Luba tribe of Shaba.

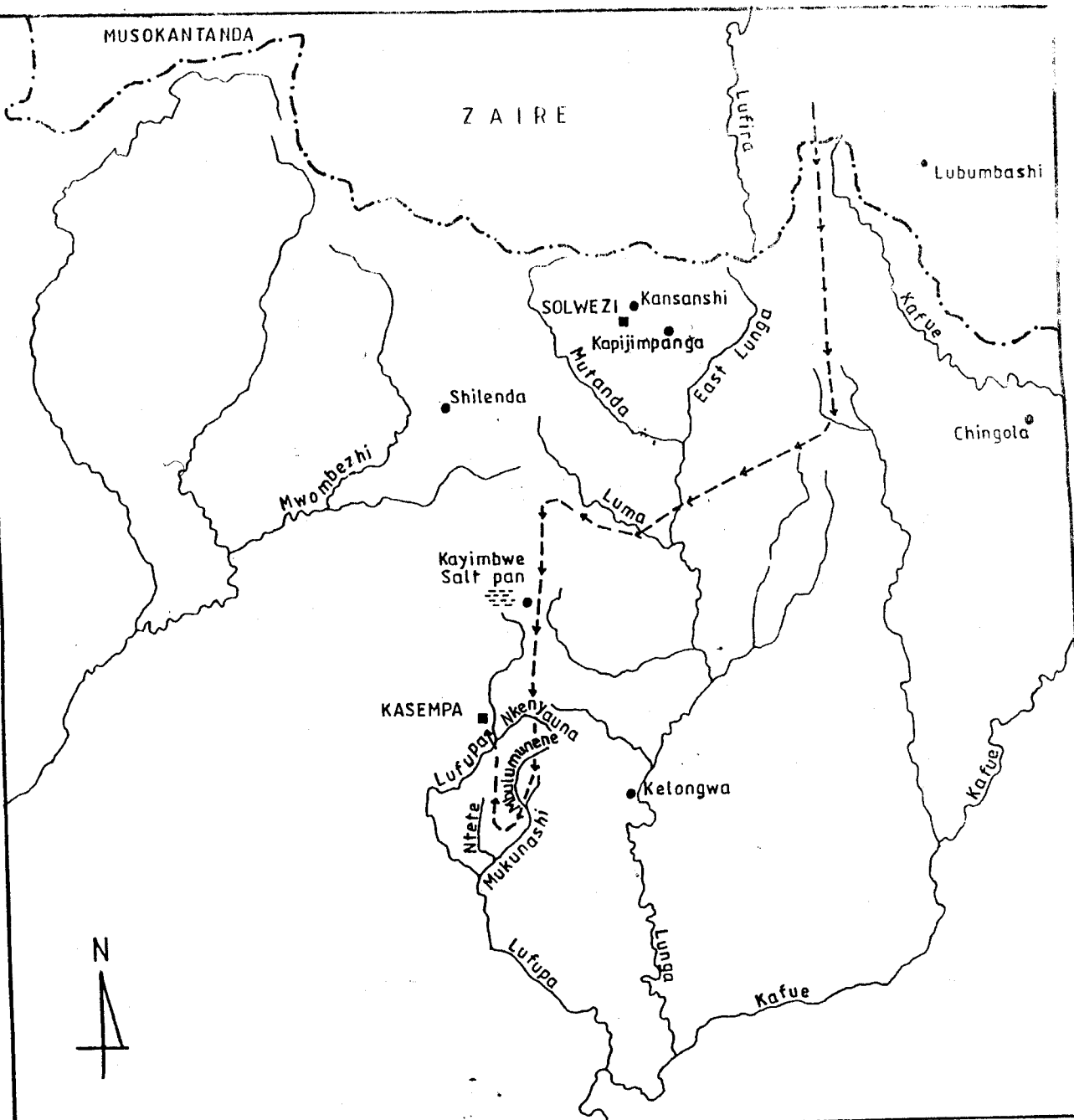
Although the Kaonde were closely allied with, and are offshoots of the Baluba, they came under a Lunda Chief, Musokantanda. The Kaonde, therefore, had a closer connection with the Lunda than with the Luba people. According to tradition, the Kaonde left the Luba country as a result of the pressure to pay tribute exerted on them by their Lunda overlord Musokantanda.<sup>21</sup> According to oral traditions, Chiboko was the first man appointed as chief by Musokantanda in about 1800 and was confirmed by the Paramount Chief, Mwatiyamvwa.<sup>22</sup> Many local leaders in the Katanga region accepted Lunda rule because they were attracted by Lunda prestige and also the possibility of receiving a title from Musokantanda, and thereby, enjoying a degree of autonomy.

Chiboko who was given the Lukano (insignia) by Musokantanda settled in what is today Shaba Region of Zaire. He ruled his people only for a few years. He died before the Kaonde came to reside along the Mumbeshi, Mutanda and Lunga rivers. He was succeeded by Nkumba Kasempa. After Nkumba Kasempa II's death in Zaire, Nkombe Chikunku Kasempa III was chosen to be the next chief. He migrated from Zaire to Zambia and settled along the Mutanda and Luma streams in Solwezi.<sup>23</sup> He is remembered to have ruled his people very well. Nkonde Chikunku Kasempa III was succeeded by Miyamba Kasempa IV who died about 1858.<sup>24</sup> Mudungu Kasempa V became the next Chief of the Kaonde. He was quickly deposed from his Chieftainship because of his mistreatment of strangers.

One clan of the Kaonde, the Bena Kyowa (Mushroom) settled by the Mutanda and Luma streams in Solwezi area. They later moved further south and settled close to Kaimbwe salt pan. Jipumpu Kasempa VIII had already ascended to power when the Bena Kyowa settled in this area. He was a very powerful and intelligent chief. He came to power between 1878 and 1880 after killing his cousin, Kabambala Kasempa after a quarrel over ivory.<sup>25</sup> He was a good warrior and a hunter of elephants for ivory.

Jipumpu settled in many areas before finally settling at Kamusongolwa. He remained at Luma from about 1882 to about 1885 when he moved to Ntete.<sup>26</sup> As the Kaonde moved further south, they displaced the Nkoya and Mashasha. They captured some of these and exchanged them for firearms and gun powder with the Mbundu traders from Angola.<sup>27</sup> In about 1887, Jipumpu left Ntete and settled at Mbulumunene, a tributary of the Mukunashi river, to about 1890.<sup>28</sup> He clashed with the Lozi and killed their leader, Matale, who was a representative of Lewanika, the king of 'Barotse'<sup>29</sup>. Matale had come into Jipumpu's country to collect various kinds of animal skins as tribute from the Kaonde.<sup>30</sup> At Mpatamato, on the junction of the Mukunashi and the Lufupa river, Jipumpu fought and defeated the Ila, commonly known as the Bashikulumbwe.

# APPROXIMATE ROUTE OF THE BENA KYOWA CLAN (Kasempa)



0 40Km

- Bena Kyowa clansection (Route).....→→→→→
- District.....■
- Other Settlements.....●
- International Boundary.....-.-.-.-.-
- Rivers.....~~~~~

**SOURCE:** Dirk Jaeger, SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT (Amsterdam, Royal Tropical Institute, 1981) Fig. 2.1

Jipumpu felt very insecure after the killing of Matale and, hence, shifted from Mpatamato to Mpembwe in 1893 where he lived up to about 1896.<sup>31</sup> He found that his stockade was not strong enough to protect him from the Lozi and other enemies. He finally established his headquarters at Kamusongolwa in 1896.<sup>32</sup> The Kaonde pushed the Mbwela further south to the Busanga plains. His village was near Kasempa boma, in an area where the Mbwela chief, Mwene Kahare, formerly had his village. The Kamusongolwa hill, with its single path and steep sides, formed a reliable and secure place for the Kaonde.

In about 1897, Lewanika sent an army of about 2,000 to punish Jipumpu.<sup>33</sup> The reasons arose from a complaint made to him by Chief Mushima that Jipumpu's son, Ingwe, had abducted two of his wives. The Lozi also wanted to avenge for the death of Matale. The Lozi army was led by another Matale, the young brother of the Lozi leader killed by Jipumpu in about 1891. The Lozi army had several muzzle-loading guns. When the Lozi army attempted to climb the steep hill where Jipumpu and his people were hiding, the second Matale was shot and killed by Ingwe.<sup>34</sup> The remainder of the army fled in panic.

After defeating the Lozi, the Bena Kyowa established themselves as a powerful clan under the strong leadership of Jipumpu. Their position was strengthened by the acquisition of guns from the Mbundu slave traders at the close of the nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Jipumpu, however, sought reconciliation with Lewanika by sending him tributes. This was shortly before the establishment of colonial rule in the area at the turn of the century.<sup>36</sup> The other inhabitants of Kasempa include the Lamba to

the east, and the Kaonde-Ila and Mbwela to the south.

## THE PRE-COLONIAL ECONOMY OF THE KAONDE

### Crop Production

The Kaonde of Kasempa were subsistence cultivators.<sup>37</sup> The crops were mainly grown for consumption by individual households rather than for exchange. The little surplus was used for celebrations, funerals, settling disputes and so on.

The Kaonde practiced a form of shifting cultivation in which they prepared their fields by cutting down the trees over an area, and piling the trunks and branches in the cleared space. Just before the onset of the rainy season in October, fire was set to the piled branches. After the arrival of the rains, seeds were planted in the ash. Such a field was cultivated for between seven to ten years, and then abandoned in favour of a new area after the soil's fertility had been exhausted. The Kaonde had so much land that they hardly ever returned to old fields.<sup>38</sup> The abundance of land, coupled with a low population density with little competition for land facilitated a high degree of mobility in the district.<sup>39</sup> It was only in certain areas such as along the rivers and streams where villages were more sedentary.

The staple food of the Kaonde was sorghum (mebele).<sup>40</sup> However, other food crops such as finger millet (luku), cassava (makamba), and maize (mataba) were also grown. They planted early maize, generally known as mashamba or munamana, in dambos and stream sites.<sup>41</sup> The rest of the crops included sweet potatoes (ntamba), groundnuts (mbalala), beans (nkunde), pumpkins

(myungu), cucumbers (bibimbi), and tomatoes (matemate). Bananas (makonde), mangoes, and sugar cane (myenge) were found in most villages which were sedentary.

Immediately before the cereals ripened, the people moved from their villages into the fields. They lived in temporary grass huts to protect the grain from the birds, and also to prepare for the harvest. Apart from the birds, the fields were protected from vermin such as elephants and bush pigs which frequently damaged crops.

Men and women had their own recognised roles in this work. The new land was cleared by men who cut down trees and bushes, and then burnt off the grass. Women usually prepared the land for planting. When the rains began, women sowed the seeds. They also weeded and tended the plants during the growing season. The harvesting of crops was, however, a shared responsibility by all members of a particular household.

The women pounded the grain into meal in their mortars using pestles. The other method was by grinding the grain between two stones. The mortar, in particular, was one of a woman's most personal possession which she took into and outside marriage.<sup>42</sup> The pounded meal was cooked into a thick porridge called nsima which was eaten either with meat or vegetable relish. Meat was in variable supply depending on the success of the hunt. The diet was varied by vegetables (musalu) and other fruits (bipangwa) collected from the bush. Grain for immediate use was stored in pots or baskets. It was also stored in granaries for later use. These were special huts which were generally raised on stones or posts to keep pests away.

This village economy based on subsistence cultivation has since the time of colonisation changed as a result of the pressure from the wider capitalist economy.<sup>43</sup> The need for cash income by the Kaonde to buy items such as clothes, blankets, and other valuables has forced them to produce agricultural crops for the market.

### **Animal Rearing**

The Kaonde were not a pastoral people because of the presence of tsetse fly.<sup>44</sup> The tsetse fly was found over a wide area of the district. The most affected areas were those which today form the Game Management Areas, and the surrounding areas of Jifumpa, Kalasa, Kamakechi and Mukunashi. On the other hand, goats (bambuzhi) and pigs (bankumba) were found in many parts of the district. Apart from game meat, chickens (banzolo) also provided meat to the majority of the indigenous people.<sup>45</sup> Most of the domesticated animals such as goats, pigs, chickens and pigeons were never slaughtered to satisfy hunger, but for special reasons. A chicken, for instance, was the most prized reared bird which was eaten at special functions such as marriages, funerals, births,<sup>46</sup> and so on.

### **Honey Collecting**

Honey (buki) was collected by men usually in the dry season. Honey was readily available especially from May to December. Honey collecting was usually done simultaneously with hunting. The Kaonde made bark cylinder bee hives (moma) which they put up trees so that bees could colonise them.<sup>47</sup> The bee-hives were

usually placed far away from the villages. Interference with someone's bee-hives was a serious matter. However, theft of honey largely occurred among bee-keepers themselves as the hives were often placed in high, inaccessible trees where only skilled climbers could reach. The wild bees also nested in holes in the trees and termite mounds. Honey badgers (bakambole) did not create much problems for the bee-keepers in the area as they were not found in many areas.

Before collecting the honey, fire was used to smoke the bees away from the bee-hives. However, the honey collectors did not collect all the honey. They left some to ensure the return of the swarm. Once collected, the honey was taken to the villages. It was either eaten as it came from the hive or as combs containing bee larvae (maluko). Furthermore, honey played an important role in the cultural aspects of the Kaonde. It was used in the brewing of a local brew called imbote (honey beer) which was important in many cultural functions.<sup>48</sup> In many cases, hunters and honey collectors suffered from sleeping sickness after being bitten by disease-carrying tsetse fly whilst in the bush. Nowadays, most of the honey is sold at the boma to women who brew imbote.

### **Subsistence Hunting in Kaonde Society**

Historically, like most tribes of Central Africa, the Kaonde had the common trait of hunting.<sup>49</sup> The pursuit of hunting for game meat was part and parcel of their existence. Before colonial rule, hunting of game was of great importance as a means of food production in the Kaonde ecosystem. This was of

particular importance as their area had no cattle and also lacked sufficient fish resources.<sup>50</sup> Hunting was engaged in on a subsistence level and not on a commercial basis. The hunters killed only enough animals for their sustenance. Consequently, this had little impact on the population of the game.<sup>51</sup>

Before guns were introduced into the Kaonde hunting culture, animals were hunted largely with the use of dogs, organised communal burning of the bush, nets, traps and game pits, bows and arrows, and spears. The methods of hunting were many and varied according to the type of animals sought. The Kaonde valued the dog (kabwa) because of the role it played in hunting activities in pre-colonial society.<sup>52</sup> The use of dogs in hunting game increased the chances of tracking down and capturing small and wounded animals, and also made hunting a viable subsistence activity.

The hunters who used dogs (bakibinda baba kabwa) used special charms to enhance the dog's speed, aggressiveness and sense of smell.<sup>53</sup> The commonly used charm was the roots of hemp (jamba) which was ground and then dried before mixing it with any food given to the dogs. This practice was repeated at intervals by the owner of the dogs. The dogs administered with this drug caught more game than any other ordinary dog. The dogs were, in particular, used to capture small game such as warthogs, antelopes and hares. The Kaonde, in particular, hunted warthogs using dogs. Its meat was preferred to that of any other animal among the Kaonde.

Dogs were also used extensively for hunting monkeys which were very destructive to food crops, particularly, pumpkins,

cucumbers and maize. The monkeys climbed up the trees when they detected the presence of dogs. They were sometimes dislodged by violently shaking the trees until they jumped off. The dogs would then attack and kill them. *The monkeys were, however, not eaten by the Kaonde.*

Like many other African peoples, the Kaonde also conducted annual organised communal burning of the grass (kiyombo) with the object of killing game.<sup>54</sup> This method was practiced during the dry months of September and October. On an agreed day, the people from neighbouring villages gathered in their respective villages and moved in groups to the site of the hunt. The site was encircled and then the grass was fired. Within a few minutes, the various species of animals such as antelopes, duikers, hares and warthogs were enveloped by an advancing wall of fire and smoke. The panick- stricken animals retreated into the centre of the ring and the fire raged over them. The exposed, burnt and blinded animals were then attacked by the surging crowd of hunters using dogs, bows and arrows and spears to kill off those which may not have been killed by the fire. In this type of hunt, very few animals managed to escape.

This operation was usually directed by a village headman who also presided over the distribution of the meat to all those who took part in the burning. The young boys also conducted their own group hunt for cane rats (nsenzhi).<sup>55</sup> They usually encircled the thick reeds (matete) and tall grass with fire, and then dogs were set inside the circle to chase and catch the rats. Any cane rat which was killed by a particular dog, automatically belonged to the owner of the dog.

Another method of communal game hunting was the fastening of a large net across a dambo or open space. Poles of about three metres high were staked into the ground at intervals of about one metre or more.<sup>56</sup> The nets of about two metres high, worked up by hand into rope from various fibres especially that of a baobab (mbuyu) tree, were suspended from them, extending in an unbroken line for about fifteen kilometres or more.<sup>57</sup> Usually the nets were arranged in such a way as to be supplemented or flanked by some obstacle such as a fence or a river. A number of men then drove the small game such as reedbuck, oribi and puku into the net. The entangled animals were then killed off by bows and arrows, and spears by the men hiding in the twigs or bushes close to the nets.

Another method of hunting was the erection of a series of bush fences which were constructed of trees and several branches piled together to a height of about two metres or more.<sup>58</sup> This fence extended for about ten kilometres or more in an unbroken line. An opening was often left in these fences in which game pits were dug and covered over with grass. These pits varied in sizes according to the animals intended. Some were three to five metres in depth.<sup>59</sup> The animals intending to use these openings were trapped into the pits. Large animals such as elephants, elands and bush pigs were killed off by spears while small game like bushbuck were clubbed.

Nearly all Kaonde men made traps and snares of a wide variety. Anyone could make and set a trap because trapping was not considered an organised or specialized skill in which magic played a major role. The traps were extensively used for the

capture of smaller animals like civet cat (katumpa) which was very destructive to chickens.<sup>60</sup>

The commonly used trap was called mfimbo.<sup>61</sup> It was formed of vertical logs with a narrow doorway over which was a heavy log. The trap was baited, and the animal on taking the bait released the heavy log which fell and killed it instantly.

Snare-traps were also common and were set along the paths favoured by animals. In this trap a young sapling was bent over and a strong cord of either sisal fibre or wire was attached to its end. The other extreme end of the cord was formed into a noose (kakose) which was buried in a carefully made round hole covered over with bits of bark and soil. Attached to the cord above the loop was a shorter string, terminating in a small piece of wood tied crosswise, which was hitched into the angle formed by two pieces of wood which constituted the trigger. When an animal stepped on the hole, it depressed and released the trigger. The sapling straightened itself and the noose caught round the foot of the animal which found itself jerked into the air. Some of these traps were made so strong that even the largest antelopes were sometimes caught in them.

A small falling trap (kijiba) was used to trap smaller animals like field mice (mpuku) and squirrel (luyeye).<sup>62</sup> In most cases, the animal caught belonged to the individual who made and set up the trap.

The bows and arrows were used either to kill small or large game. The wood of the bow (buta) was about one metre long or more,<sup>63</sup> and was made from various strong bending trees. The string was made from spinal tendons of certain animals like eland

and kudu. The arrows were about sixty centimetres long, with about six centimetres of soft iron for the point.<sup>64</sup> The point of entry of the iron was bound to prevent splitting. It was also bound round the notch. The string passed through a hole at either end of the bow, and was then wound about twenty times round before being made fast on itself. To tighten the bow, the two ends were bent towards each other, and the slack of the string was taken in by pulling through the holes, and then twisting all the turns round it till it was taken up.

The tip of the arrow (muketo) was smeared with a mixture of fat and the ground seeds of the bulembi creeper.<sup>65</sup> The arrow was fired from the left side of the bow with the forefinger of the left hand keeping it in position. They were carried in a hide called quiver (nsumbilo) with their butts projecting over the left shoulder. Large and small game like giraffe, wildbuck and antelope were hunted with poison - tipped arrows. Before eating the meat, the hunters made sure that the poison was drained out of it.

The Kaonde constructed various kinds of snares and traps. The game pits (bimbo) dug along the game paths were used to capture all kinds of large and small game like eland, zebra, buffalo and elephant. A row of game pits were often dug along game paths leading either to water sources, or places where animals came to lick the ground containing saline matter. The pits were usually about five metres long and three metres deep.<sup>66</sup> The top was covered with twigs, leaves and grass, over which soil was sprinkled to match the surface with the surrounding terrain. The excavated soil was carried far away so that game could not

detect the presence of a pitfall.

In some cases, poisoned spears with points projecting upwards were sunk into the ground at the bottom of the pit, especially, those for the elephants and hippopotami. Any animal which fell into the pit, failed to extricate itself until the hunters came and speared it. The animal was usually shared by all who took part in the construction of the trap.

The circumstances which surrounded the status of professional hunters in Kaonde society were similar to those found with certain other specialists such as diviners,<sup>67</sup> and blacksmiths.<sup>68</sup> Among the Kaonde, hunting was highly valued and skilled hunters attained high prestige in society. Specialised hunting was an exclusively male dominated occupation which was either undertaken by individuals or groups. The hunters used charms (bwanga) intended to protect them from animals. In pre-colonial Kaonde society, success and achievement in hunting were a major route to manhood. A good hunter in a particular locality received the honourable title of muyanga.<sup>69</sup>

In pre-colonial times, the hunting of elephants and other dangerous animals such as lions and leopards was restricted to a class of skilled hunters (bakibinda) who were aristocrats of the sport and were held in great esteem by their fellow villagers.<sup>70</sup> Before a man was admitted into the association of elephant - hunters, he first applied to one of the bakibinda or elders of the bwanga for permission to join the hunter's guild.<sup>71</sup> The hunter's guilds were groups of skilled hunters whose magic and rituals gave them leadership roles and monopolies to exploit animals like elephants.<sup>72</sup> The elephant hunters, in particular,

were the aristocrats of the hunting guilds. The desire for one to be initiated sprang from the fear that his hunting would not succeed because the already established professional hunters would be jealous of any of his success and hence evoke supernatural powers to thwart him.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, it was believed that a hunter could be exposed to various dangers while hunting unless he was initiated. Once admitted, he underwent a process of initiation which took various stages.

The initiation ceremony took place on the outskirts of the village. The initiate received marks on his right arm in which medicine was rubbed into. It was believed that this would give him courage. Other medicines concocted from various trees such as the mulama (Combretum mechowaiianum O. Hoffman) and some ingredients of animals such as the adam's apple of a lion, small bones of dangerous snakes, and various parts of the elephants, were administered to enable the initiate approach the animals he wanted to kill without being seen.<sup>74</sup> At the onset of the ritual, the professional hunter killed an animal. The initiate was asked to sit on the neck of the dead animal while the professional hunter sprinkled him with its blood. This was repeated several times. Afterwards the initiate was asked to kill an animal to put into practice what he learnt.

On returning home, the professional hunter cooked special parts of the animal such as ear, heart and lungs for the initiate to eat. Thereafter, the professional hunter and the initiate continued to hunt together for a year. After this period, the initiate was allowed to erect a shrine of his own containing the hunter's charms.<sup>75</sup> Once a shrine was erected, other professional

hunters were called to a celebration where beer was drunk and a white cock was killed and eaten by all the bakibinda. Women and children also joined in the dancing and singing. Whenever, an animal was killed, its skull, horns and vertebrae of the neck were stuck up this shrine comprising a small hut.

Once the initiation rites were completed, the instructor (Ng'anga) received his pay from the initiate for the services rendered.<sup>76</sup> The newly qualified professional hunter called kibinda, was soon after killing an elephant, given the honourable title of nkombalume.<sup>77</sup> Subsequently, he received more marks on his right forearm. When the right forearm was completely covered, the marks were continued on the left forearm.

In most cases, the newly qualified hunter (kibinda) gave himself a praise-name to boost his hunting prowess. Until he made a name for himself, he was called mwana wa bwanga (child of the charm), and the professional hunter who initiated him was called inanji wa bwanga (mother of the charm). The praise-names were usually selected from names of professional hunters who were either living or dead. Praise-names such as Bwanga bwanyama (the charm of meat) were common.<sup>78</sup> It is also worth noting that the social bonds of membership in a particular hunter's guild inter-linked individuals in different localities, and even crossed clan boundaries. Only those hunters with great skill and ritual prestige belonged to the higher grades within the hunter's guild.

The new professional hunter represented a lone proficient hunter who could be relied upon to bring in meat whenever it was required. In addition, he had to observe rituals and taboos as prescribed by the guild to protect hunters from the dangers they

faced while in the bush. Those who received or ate the meat were also required to observe a number of taboos. If they did not, the hunter's prowess would be impaired. Among the Luvale, for instance, the hunter's meat was not supposed to be mixed with other types of meat in the pot.<sup>79</sup> The hunter's wife was equally warned against having a sexual relation with any other man when her husband was on a hunt.<sup>80</sup> In addition, she was not allowed to shake hands with anyone. The hunter was required to make offerings to a departed ancestor to seek his assistance whilst on a hunt. If a hunter in a particular locality killed animals whose meat lacked fat or taste, it was believed by the local people that sorcery (bulozhi) was at work.<sup>81</sup>

Until recently, the Kaonde used poisoned spears of various lengths with broad blades to kill elephants. The weighted spears (wa nzovu wa pa misangi) were thrown on to an elephant as it passed beneath the hunter in a tree as Melland explains:

The hunters would first note the elephants' paths, and preceding the herd, would mount a tree with an overhanging path. Other members of the party would go herd the elephants in the desired direction. The waiting hunters were armed with spears of an extra large and heavy make. When the elephants came under the tree, the leader was allowed to pass, but at the second elephant the hunters hurled their spears aiming at the base of the neck-so with the next and at the third, if they were lucky.<sup>82</sup>

The other method was the use of drop spears which consisted of a metal spear head set in a heavy log, and suspended from a tree or two trees growing close together on a well frequented elephant path. In connection with this weight, a string was stretched across the path in such a way that the former dropped

instantly the spring was touched. This made the log and spear to fall down on the elephant spine and killed it. When hunting elephants, the medicine called muchi wa vingonga kept in an empty shell of a hard shelled beetle was placed at the back of the hunter's neck, and also in his mouth to prevent the elephant from seeing or smelling him.<sup>83</sup> After the elephant was killed, the new professional hunter was sent away before the tusks were cut out. The elders (bakibinda) chewed the leaves of the Ndale (Swartzia madagascariensis) tree, and spat out what they had chewed as the tusks were being removed.<sup>84</sup> No chanting was allowed at that particular moment.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the use of guns instead of heavy spears, changed this method. The use of guns also changed some aspect of elephant hunting as Melland explains:

The youths of the party were left in the shelter. Once the elephants were located, one was selected and all fired at the same animal. They kept on firing until the animal was dead. The elephant belonged to the man who supplied the powder. When the elephant was killed, he stood on top of the carcass while the others moved round and round while singing. After the song, he climbed down and cut off the tail. Then the tusks were removed. This done, the youths were summoned from the shelter and all helped in cutting up the meat and drying it. On returning to the village, there was much singing and dancing. Beer drinking and singing was continued until sunset. The meat of the feast was eaten by all the people present.<sup>85</sup>

There were certain taboos which were observed after an elephant was killed. The head was not supposed to be touched when cutting the meat without wearing medicine over the buttocks and the pubic area to prevent sterility. The nerve was also not

supposed to fall down when cutting out the tusk because this could cause sterility and madness. To lay the ghost (kipuku) of the elephant, the hunter had to administer some medicine. All these activities were done to ensure the continued success of the hunters' prowess.

Hippos were traditionally hunted and killed with large barbed harpoons (jifumo). These were attached to ropes and poisoned. They were thrown at the animals from the canoes as Melland explains.

Two canoes were joined together (viangi). The crew on board went to likely pools and finding a hippo, they harpooned (jifumo) him. Occasionally, the harpooner was able to get hold of the cord at the end of the harpoon, but more often he had to let go. It was then followed by means of a float (katete). The float was subsequently picked up and fastened to the bamboo platform (chiwanga cha wa mvubu). The hippo feeling the barbs in the harpoon pulled the viangi along. As the hippo got near he was speared again and again until he died.<sup>86</sup>

The meat was in most cases dried in the bush. It was either dried in the sun or first cut into big pieces which were placed on stakes and then dried by fire under it. The pieces were packed in bundles and transported back to the villages.

The animals which either attack or kill humans such as leopards, lions, hyenas and crocodiles were considered to have magical powers. They were killed only after the performance of rituals.<sup>87</sup> The rituals were accompanied by considerable singing and dancing by the hunters, women and children. However, most of the other types of hunting could be done by anyone and did not require specialisation, and in Kaondeland any person could hunt anywhere within the chief's chiefdom (ntanda). Among all the

various types of relish eaten with nsima, game meat was the most preferred to any other among the Kaonde. The regular availability of meat in the diet of the Kaonde was a clear testimony of the effectiveness of the hunting techniques practiced in the past.

Hunting was an important activity in the subsistence economy of the Kaonde. It provided both the relish and clothing. Later, however, hunting became important for both subsistence economy and to meet the new demands of trade. The hunting of elephants, in particular, brought the hunter closer to the chief because the ivory and tail occupied an important position in the traditional economy and political structure, and its acquisition raised the social status of a hunter.<sup>88</sup> It was also customary for any hunter to give the chest or thigh of any animal he killed to the senior headman of the area in which he hunted. He could then carry the rest of his kill back to his village for distribution. It should, however, be mentioned that it was mostly meat from large species of game such as elephant (nzovu) and hippopotamus (kyovwe) which were distributed.

Since meat was a highly prized food item, its possession enhanced the hunter's status. The gifts of meat were used either to cement agreements or to ensure a favourable outcome in future negotiations. The head, heart and intestines were, in most cases, retained by the hunter. The professional hunters did little cultivation and they obtained most of their food crops through exchange for meat.

As mentioned earlier, in addition to the meat, the ivory and tail were greatly valued, and were generally presented to the

chief who rewarded the hunter with gifts of salt, beads, cloths, slaves, and so on, in return.<sup>89</sup> It was usually the left hand tusk which was given to the chief. Renown hunters were usually given their own villages by the chief. Professional hunters were buried along a game trail or some other specified site in the bush. They were buried in a sitting position with their charms and weapons clasped between their hands. It was believed that this ensured that the deceased continued hunting in the next life.

The coming of the firearms drastically changed the traditional methods of hunting in many African societies of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) at the close of the nineteenth century. It was not until this particular period that the use of guns become more important than the use of spears in many parts of the territory. For the larger part of the pre-colonial period, guns were mainly used for ceremonial purposes such as at funerals.<sup>90</sup> What made guns so important at such functions was their association with fire and noise.

The supply of firearms increased in the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of the change in gun technology in Europe from muzzle-loaders to breech-loaders. The new gun technology made available on to the African sub-Saharan market a vast number of obsolete muzzle-loaders (both flintlocks and percussion guns).<sup>91</sup> The value of ivory also rose, and this created pressure from the people in the interior to meet the demand. This, in addition, increased the demand for firearms.

We find that despite the growth of the gun trade in the second half of the nineteenth century, spears were still widely

used as guns were often unreliable and their maintenance was irregular. The supplies of ammunition and powder were also irregular. The hunters who used guns in the pre-colonial period largely relied on their own traditional wisdom of huntmanship.

The scramble for Africa by European powers in the last two decades of the nineteenth century also led to the enormous supply of firearms to Africans especially those enlisted as soldiers, policemen and levies.<sup>92</sup> European countries at that time replaced breech-loaders with the more efficient magazine rifles so that the market was once again flooded with obsolete breech-loaders. The long distance traders on both the west and east coast of Africa had easy access to these breech-loaders and, consequently, sold off their obsolete muzzle-loaders in the interior of Africa.<sup>93</sup> In addition, the price of ivory rose rapidly at the coast during that period as more and more areas were depleted of elephants. It can, therefore, be argued that the demand for ivory on the world market drastically revolutionised the technology of game hunting, in general, and that of elephants, in particular, through the massive imports of firearms. The general increase of violence in the interior of Northern Rhodesia towards the end of the pre-colonial period also stimulated an increased demand of firearms.<sup>94</sup>

It is upon the foregoing background that the muzzle-loading gun culture came into use in Kasempa at the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>95</sup> These guns were either purchased or exchanged for elephant tusks or slaves with the Mambari slave traders from Angola.<sup>96</sup> The Kaonde also made their own local muzzle-loading guns.<sup>97</sup> It became common for many Kaondes to own one or more

guns, although it was not everyone who hunted actively.<sup>98</sup>

The copper trade also expanded in the later part of the nineteenth century. Even though the practical uses of copper was strictly limited at that time, the Kaonde at Kansanshi, however, made good use of it by making copper bullets which were quite effective.<sup>99</sup> In addition, some bits of iron or brass were used as bullets.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, gun-powder was freely obtained from the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Angola.<sup>101</sup>

The increased number of firearms, ammunition and gun powder in Kasempa at the beginning of the twentieth century, consequently, increased hunting activities in the area. This development led to the increase in game meat in most of the Kaonde villages.<sup>102</sup> It should be mentioned here that at least for the pre-colonial period, the paucity of the population prevented the complete destruction of the larger fauna in Kasempa.

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32. Chibanza, 'Kaonde History,' p. 59; Clark, 'Kasempa,' p. 66.
33. Short, African Sunset, p. 24; Chibanza, 'Kaonde History,' p. 60; Clark, 'Kasempa,' pp. 66-67.
34. Chibanza, 'Kaonde History,' p. 60; Clark, 'Kasempa,' pp. 66-67; Short, African Sunset, p. 25; Shaloff, 'The Kasempa Salient,' p. 23.
35. Andrew Roberts, A History of Zambia (London; Heinemann, 1976), p. 166.
36. Roberts, A History of Zambia, p. 166.
37. Kate Crehan, 'Mukunashi: An Exploration of some effects of the Penetration of Capital in North-Western Zambia,' Journal of Southern African Studies 8,1(1981), p. 83; See also Hellen, Rural Economic Development, p. 226.
38. Crehan, 'Mukunashi,' p. 86.
39. Dirk Jaeger, 'Socio-Economic Changes Mapped: An Illustration of Settlement Pattern Changes in the Kasempa District of Zambia,' Zambia Geographical Journal 33-34(1978-79), p. 61.
40. Interview with Lupiya Tebelenka, Kaimbwe Village, Kasempa, Zambia, 4th December, 1995.
41. C.G. Trapnell and J.N. Clothier, The Soils, Vegetation and Agricultural Systems of North-Western Rhodesia, Vol. I (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1957), p. 28; See also Jaeger, 'Changing Settlement Patterns, p. 138.
42. Interview with Milika Shindano, Muselepete Village, Kasempa, Zambia, 9th November 1995: She says it was a very big insult to a woman for a man to sit on a mortar. A man could even be fined for sitting on a mortar.
43. Crehan, 'Mukunashi,' p. 84.

44. Interview with Alfred Daka, Kasempa District Animal Husbandry Officer, Kasempa District Agriculture Office, Kasempa, Zambia, 8th November, 1995.
45. Interview with Daka, 8th November, 1995.
46. Interview with Tebelenka, 4th December, 1995.
47. Interview with James Kankishi, Kasempa Boma, Kasempa, 10th November, 1995.
48. Interview with Tebelenka, 4th December, 1995; See also R. Murray-Hughes, 'Hunting in North-Western Rhodesia,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 3 (1956-59), p. 143.
49. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 256; See also Owen Letcher, Big Game Hunting in North-Eastern Rhodesia (London: John Long, 1911), pp. 244-45; For the Bemba see Richards, Land, Labour and Diet, p. 16; Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane, The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia (London: Edward Arnold, 1911), p. 190; And the Ila see Edwin W. Smith and Andrew Murray Dale, The Ila - Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia, Vol. 1 (London: Macmillan, 1920), p. 153.
50. Interview with Daka, 8th November, 1995: According to Daka, the first man to keep cattle on a noticeable scale in Kasempa was Mr. Nyamvuka at Kabutwitwi in 1974; See also Gouldsbury and Sheane, The Great Plateau, p. 204; Anon, 'Trophy Hunters see what Zambia can offer,' Z Magazine (November 1971), p. 22.
51. Interview with William Kajoba, Officer in-Charge, Prisons Department, Kasempa District, 15th January, 1996: He remembers his father killing only one or two duikers for the pot when he was young. He says even if one killed more, there was no market for game meat except in the form of barter.
52. Interview with Meckson Kasambo, Lwamadamba Village, Kasempa, Zambia, 4th April, 1996.
53. Interview with Meleki Mutobola, Dengwe Village, Kasempa, Zambia, 12th December, 1995.

54. Interview with Tebelenka, 4th December, 1995; See also W. Singleton Fisher, 'Burning the bush for Game,' African Studies 7,1(March 1948), p. 36; V.W. Turner, Schism and Continuity in an African Society: A Study of Ndembu Village Life (Manchester: University Press, 1957), pp. 29-30; N.A.Z/SEC 6/16, Vol. 1, Fauna Conservation Ordinance, Chilas, Game Diaries, 1955-58: A Letter dated the 18th June, 1958 from the Office of the Director of Game and Tsetse Control, Chilanga, to the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources, notes with dismay the Massive destruction of the lechwes on the Kafue flats through Chilas (Game Drives).
55. Interview with Tebelenka, 4th December, 1995.
56. Interview with John G. Kachepa, Unit Leader for Lunga - Luswishi Busanga Game Management Area, 7th December, 1995.
57. Interview with Kachepa, 7th December, 1995.
58. Interview with Kachepa, 7th December, 1995.
59. Interview with Kachepa, 7th December, 1995.
60. Interview with Alex Mututubanya, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 17th June, 1995: He says the meat of the civet is not liked by many people because of its scent.
61. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 267; See also Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, p. 157: They argue that simple traps and snares were mainly used by small boys to trap smaller animals.
62. Interview with Tebelenka, 4th December, 1995.
63. Interview with George Kyamasengo, Kasempa Boma, Kasempa, 5th December, 1995.
64. Interview with Kyamasengo, 5th December, 1995.
65. Interview with Mututubaya, 17th June, 1996.
66. Interview with Kachepa, 7th December, 1995.
67. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, pp. 22-30; For the Ila see Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, Part 2, pp. 164-196.

68. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 136; For the Ila see Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, Part I, pp. 211-221; For the Lamba see Clement M. Doke, The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia: A Study of their Customs and Beliefs (London: George and Harrap, 1931), p. 347; For the Lunda - Luvale see C.M. N. White, 'The Material Culture of the Lunda -Luvale Peoples,' The Occasional Papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum 1-16(1974), p. 56: Among the Lunda-Luvale People of Zambezi District, in North-Western Province of Zambia, the iron smelter was secluded from the sight of women. Men also absented themselves from sexual intercourse while working iron.
69. Jaeger, Settlement Patterns, p. 28.
70. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 258; See also George Kay, 'An African Elephant Hunt,' Northern Rhodesia Journal IV(1959-61), p. 561; Gouldsbury and Sheane, The Great Plateau, p. 211; Richards, Land, Labour and Diet, p. 343; Andrew D. Roberts, A History of the Bemba (London: Longmans, 1973), p. 17; C.M.N. White, 'The Role of Hunting and Fishing in Luvale Society,' African Studies 15,1(1956), p. 76; Turner, Schism and Continuity, p. XVIII; p. 25; Doke, The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia, p. 321.
71. John Macrae, 'Elephant Hunting: Rituals and Charms,' Northern Rhodesia Journal V(1962-64), p. 609; See also Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, p. 168; Doke, The Lambas, p. 321; V.W. Turner, 'Lunda Rites and Ceremonies,' The Rhodes - Livingstone Museum Occasional Papers 1-16(1974), p. 369; Turner, Schism, p. 29.
72. Stuart A. Marks, Large Mammals and a Brave People: Subsistence Hunters in Zambia (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), p. 61.
73. White, 'The Role of Hunting,' p. 76.
74. Interview with Tebelenka, 4th December, 1995: See also Turner, 'Lunda Rites and Ceremonies,' p. 372.
75. Interview with John Malutilla, Kamusongolwa Village, Kasempa, Zambia, 10th December, 1995,' See also for the Lunda, Turner, 'Lunda Rites and Ceremonies,' p. 372; Turner, Schism, p. 27: Among the Lunda-Ndembu of Mwinilunga District of North-Western Province of Zambia, Women and uncircumcised boys were not allowed to approach the hunters shrine. If they did, it was believed that a woman would suffer prolonged and painful menstruation bleeding and would perhaps die. The boy, it was believed, would bleed to death when circumcised.
76. According to Doke, an initiate among the Lamba paid as much as f1 for the necessary initiation: Doke, The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia, p. 322.

77. Interview with Tebelenka, 4th December, 1995; Killing an elephant, rhino, or two buffaloes was generally accepted as evidence of hunting skill, see Gouldsbury and Sheane, The Great Plateau, p. 213.
78. Interview with Moses Kalepa, Lwamadamba Village, Kasempa District, Zambia, 10th November, 1995: He pointed out that many of the praise names had a lot of hidden meaning to do with the type of charms used in hunting and how they were acquired; See also Turner, 'Lunda Rites and Ceremonies,' p. 371.
79. White, 'The Role of Hunting,' p. 77.
80. Interview with Kachepa, 10th November, 1995.
81. Interview with Lameck Musampa, Miombe Village, Kasempa District, Zambia, 5th November, 1995; For the Lunda see Turner, Schism, p. 32: He points out that among the Lunda-Ndembu, successful gun-hunters were regarded as sorcerers who acquired their power in hunting from killing people using their magic. This, it was believed, was the reason why great hunters rarely became successful headmen.
82. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 258.
83. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 258.
84. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 259; According to Fanshawe, a Ndale tree is recognised by its fruit which has snake-like pods. He says the bark, roots, leaves and pods are used in the preparation of various traditional medicines: Fanshawe, Fifty Common Trees, p. 96.
85. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 259.
86. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 258; For the Ila see Smith and Dale, The Ila-Speaking Peoples, p. 156: They also note that the Ila used to kill hippos using spears while in the canoes.
87. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 91; p. 256; see also W. Gilges, 'Attacks of Wild animals on People,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 3(1956-59), pp. 233-37.
88. Francis Musonda, 'Cultural and Social Patterning in Economic Activities and their Implications to Archaeological Interpretation: A Case from the Kafue Basin, Zambia,' African Studies 48,1(1989), p. 57.
89. Interview with Musampa, 5th November, 1995.
90. A.D. Roberts, 'Firearms in North-Eastern Zambia before 1900,' Transafrican Journal of History 1,2(1971), p. 4.

91. R.W. Beachey, 'The Arms Trade in East Africa in the late Nineteenth Century,' Journal of African History 3,3(1961), p. 452.
92. G. Tylden, 'The Gun trade in Central and Southern Africa,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 2,1(1953-55), p. 43.
93. Beachey, 'The Arms Trade in East Africa,' pp. 452-3; Roberts, A History of the Bemba, p. 204.
94. Ackim Von Oppen, Terms of Trade and Terms of Trust: The History and Contexts of Pre-Colonial Market Production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai (Muster: Lit Verlag, 1994), p. 204.
95. Chibanza, 'Kaonde History,' p. 63; Moubray, In South Central Africa, p. 98; For the Lunda see Turner, 'Lunda Rites and Ceremonies,' p. 370: He points out that the muzzle-loading guns were introduced in Mwinilunga in the 19th century by the Ovimbundu traders from Angola; However, according to Von Oppen, 'Terms of Trade,' p. 174, the Ovimbundu acquired their muzzle-loading guns from the Chokwe who were experts in gun-technology.
96. S.R. Denny, 'Val Gielgud and the Slave Traders,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 3(1956-69), p. 337: Before Gielgud reached Kasempa, he found several hundred local husbands looking for their wives. Also mothers were looking for their sons and daughters, children for their parents who had been stolen and sold as slaves. In Kasempa he caught and punished a noted slave trader. He burnt all his implements used in raiding; See also Orlando Barangwanath, 'The First Copper Mines in Northern Rhodesia,' Part I, Northern Rhodesia Journal V(1962-64), p. 214: Travelling among the Baila and Baluba (Kaonde) off the Kafue Flats, he found a chief exchanging five material for tusks and slaves with the Mambundu slave traders from Angola. Muzzle-loading guns were sold at five shillings (5/-).
97. Maud Shimwayi Muntamba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia: Kabwe Rural District, 1850-1970,' Phd. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977, p. 66.
98. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 256; See also Oppen, 'Terms of Trade,' p. 175: He points out that towards the close of the nineteenth century, every Southern Lunda able-bodied man possessed at least one functioning flint lock.
99. Andrew Roberts, 'Pre-Colonial Trade in Zambia,' African Social Research 10(December 1970), p. 736; Chibanza, 'Kaonde History,' p. 112; Moubray, In South-Central Africa, p. 98.
100. Interview with Kachepea, 7th December, 1995.

101. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa, p. 256; see also E.A. Copeman, 'The Violence of Kasanza,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 1,V(1950-52), p. 64; N.A.Z./KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, A note on Ammunition and Powder Supply in Kasempa District by the Native Commissioner, R.E.B. Woods, 21st June, 1921, p. 193.
102. N.A.Z./KDD5/1, A note on Ammunition and Powder Supply, p. 193.

## CHAPTER TWO

### COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN KASEMPA, 1899-1953

Kasempa District was the first area in North-Western Province to come under colonial rule in the early twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the few administrative centres in the country which has remained at its original location since its inception. It is also one of the two districts in Zambia bearing the name of a Chief. The other district is Mporokoso (corrupted from Mumpolokoso).

There were two factors which forced the British South Africa Company (B.S.A.C.) colonial administration of North-Western Rhodesia at Kalomo to establish a government centre in Kaondeland. The first was driven by economic considerations. Robert Williams, having secured extensive mineral concessions (Tanganyika Concessions) embarked on extensive mineral explorations by sending out George Grey in 1899.<sup>2</sup> Grey's party heading for Katanga was led to the ancient copper workings at Kansanshi by Chief Kapijimpanga on 6th September 1899.<sup>3</sup> This area yielded valuable copper and gold deposits.<sup>4</sup> Kansanshi became the first important copper deposit find in Northern Rhodesia. It had been worked extensively by the local people probably for generations.<sup>5</sup> In the same year 1899, another prospector, Edmund Davis was led by the local Africans to the ancient copper workings at Jumbo and Buffalo both on the upper reaches of the Mutanda stream, an eastern tributary of the Lunga river.<sup>6</sup> This was near Chief Mujimanzovu in present day Solwezi District. The colonial administration was prompted to establish a government

centre in the area in order to protect the vital mineral deposits.

The second motive was based on security consideration. The Mambari slave traders from Portuguese Angola carried constant raids in the area which caused enormous sufferings and insecurity to the local inhabitants. The Mambari trafficked in slaves and guns and, Chief Kasempa, usually cooperated with them in selling the captured Mbwela and Mashasha into slavery in Angola. The colonial administration wanted to control and administer the area in order to check and put a stop to the activities of the Mambari slave traders.<sup>7</sup>

Colonial administration started in 1901 in the months of October and November when Mobbs and Trooper Lucas, with a detachment of the Barotse Native Police, pitched their camp on the rise over-looking the Lufupa river.<sup>8</sup> The police post was established a short distance to the west of Chief Kasempa's village which was situated at the foot of Kamusongolwa hill. In 1902 Stennett who was in-charge of a police contingent built a permanent police camp in the district.<sup>9</sup> The police post was re-enforced and transformed into a civil administrative station with the arrival of F.C. Macaulay from Kalomo early in 1902.<sup>10</sup> The civil administration was strengthened in the area in order to further restrain the slave trade and to give administrative support to the new mining activities in the area.

The government boma was established near Chief Kasempa's village and thus it came to be known by the Chief's name. The administrative post became the centre of the district and was geographically situated on a higher plateau which was fairly free

from tsetse fly.<sup>11</sup> The area was also surrounded by fertile red clay soils, and located near a good water supply from Lufupa river. The district had no defined boundaries during its early years. The sphere of influence of the District Commissioner extended as far as Kapupa to the east, along Kafue river to the north and west, to the junction of the Lufupa river.<sup>12</sup> This included all the Lamba to the north of the Kafue river. The area also extended to the north and south-west along the Kabompo and Dongwe Rivers including the Makundu on the Lalafuta river. The north remained for several years as an 'open' area where the slave trade to Angola continued.<sup>13</sup> It should be mentioned that the Kaonde were largely divided between Kasempa and Solwezi sub-district of the Kasempa district.

In 1905, E.A. Copeman took over the district administration from Macaulay. He re-organised the district in 1906 by excluding all the Lamba to the south and east of the Lunga-Kafue watershed.<sup>14</sup> This was done in order to strengthen the administration by limiting the boundary of the district to an administratively manageable size. The activities of the Mambari slave traders in the north led to the opening up of another police post at Shilenda (now in Solwezi District) by Carden.<sup>15</sup> The colonial administration wanted to counteract increased activities of the Mambari slave traders who had 'a free hand' in the northern sector of Kasempa District. The local people were informed that slavery was abolished in the district after the establishment of the police post at Shilenda. This consequently led to the commencement of the census in the area in 1905.<sup>16</sup>

It is important also to mention the position and reaction of Chief Kasempa to the onset of colonial administration in his area. Jipumpu Kasempa was unhappy with the advent of colonial rule because he was curtailed to exercise his authority freely by the new administration in his area. On several occasions, he opposed the registration of his people for census and tax purposes.<sup>17</sup> He became ill during 1905, and later died in Copeman's residence at Kasempa Boma. He was succeeded by his nephew, Kalusha Kasempa, in 1907. The Native Tax which he had strongly opposed during his reign was finally introduced after his death in October 1907. This was a Poll Tax of five shillings (5/-) per head.<sup>18</sup>

Two years later W.H. Hazell became the District Commissioner of Kasempa with Culley Parsons as Native Commissioner of the area.<sup>19</sup> Hazell resided at Kansanshi, a Sub-district which was formed in 1909 under the charge of Layman. It should be mentioned that Hazell played a significant role in clearly defining the boundaries of the sub-districts of Kasempa, Kansanshi and Lunda. It was also during the administration of Hazell that the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau of Southern Rhodesia was active in Kasempa District.

In 1909, Worthington, the Secretary for Native Affairs, argued that it was high time that the 5/- tax paid in Kasempa, Ndola and Luangwa Districts was raised to 10/- in line with the rest of North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia.<sup>20</sup> This was meant to force Africans to seek wage employment in order to raise money to pay tax. Although, the Kaonde grew maize for sale to the Katanga mines, this was banned by the North-Western

Rhodesia administration in 1910.<sup>21</sup> The Assistant Administrator, Carden, argued that since the Kaonde were of fine physique, they could earn more money by migrating to Kansanshi or Bwana Mkubwa mines.<sup>22</sup> The Company encouraged wage labour by discouraging cash cropping among the Kaonde.

In 1910, the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau opened an agency at Kasempa. In order to force many people to seek wage employment in the area, the 10/- tax proposed by Worthington was introduced in 1911.<sup>23</sup> In the meantime, between late 1909 and early 1910, about four hundred (400) Kaondes were recruited to work in Southern Rhodesia. Out of this number, one hundred (100) died.<sup>24</sup> This annoyed the local Africans in the area who subsequently murdered the Bureau's agent, Ohlund in June, 1911.<sup>25</sup> The District Commissioner, Hazell, was convinced that the murder was directed at the Rhodesia Native Labour Bureau because of the death of the migrant labourers sent to the South, and the absence of compensation for them.<sup>26</sup> This led to the end of recruiting for the Bureau in Kasempa District.

From 1901 to 1916, Kasempa was the headquarters of Kasempa District with Sub-stations at Shilenda, Mwinilunga and Kansanshi. Hazell resigned as District Commissioner of Kasempa in 1916.

Parsons commented of his resignation as follows:

Hazell though his method were secure when necessity required stern measures, his departure was regretted by the local people who had considerable confidence in him; and the European who had the pleasure of serving with him lost a kind friend and a very genuine chief.<sup>27</sup>

The resignation of Hazell led to the movement of the District Commissioner and Magistrate Office to the new Solwezi

which was in close proximity to the old sub-station of Kansanshi mine. F.H. Melland who took over the administration of Kasempa on 1st April 1916, administered the area from Solwezi.<sup>28</sup> Kasempa was for the first time a Native Commissioner's station only. It should also be noted that up to the end of the First World War in 1918, about four thousand local Africans were recruited in the Kasempa sub-district for various war related work.<sup>29</sup> The Kasempa sub-district, for instance, got £70 for assisting in supplying labour during the months of March and April in 1919.<sup>30</sup> About four hundred adults also died of influenza in the sub-district.<sup>31</sup>

At the end of the First World War, Kansanshi reduced its mining operations due to high costs of mining.<sup>32</sup> Kansanshi could not compete with the Katanga mines which were producing on a much larger scale. Little was done to develop Kansanshi mine until 1928. The reduction in the mining operations at Kansanshi led to the reposting of the District Commissioner and Magistrate to Kasempa in 1923. P.E. Hall became the new District Commissioner and Magistrate of Kasempa. Chief Kalusha Kasempa had by then moved his capital about five kilometres to the south of the boma.

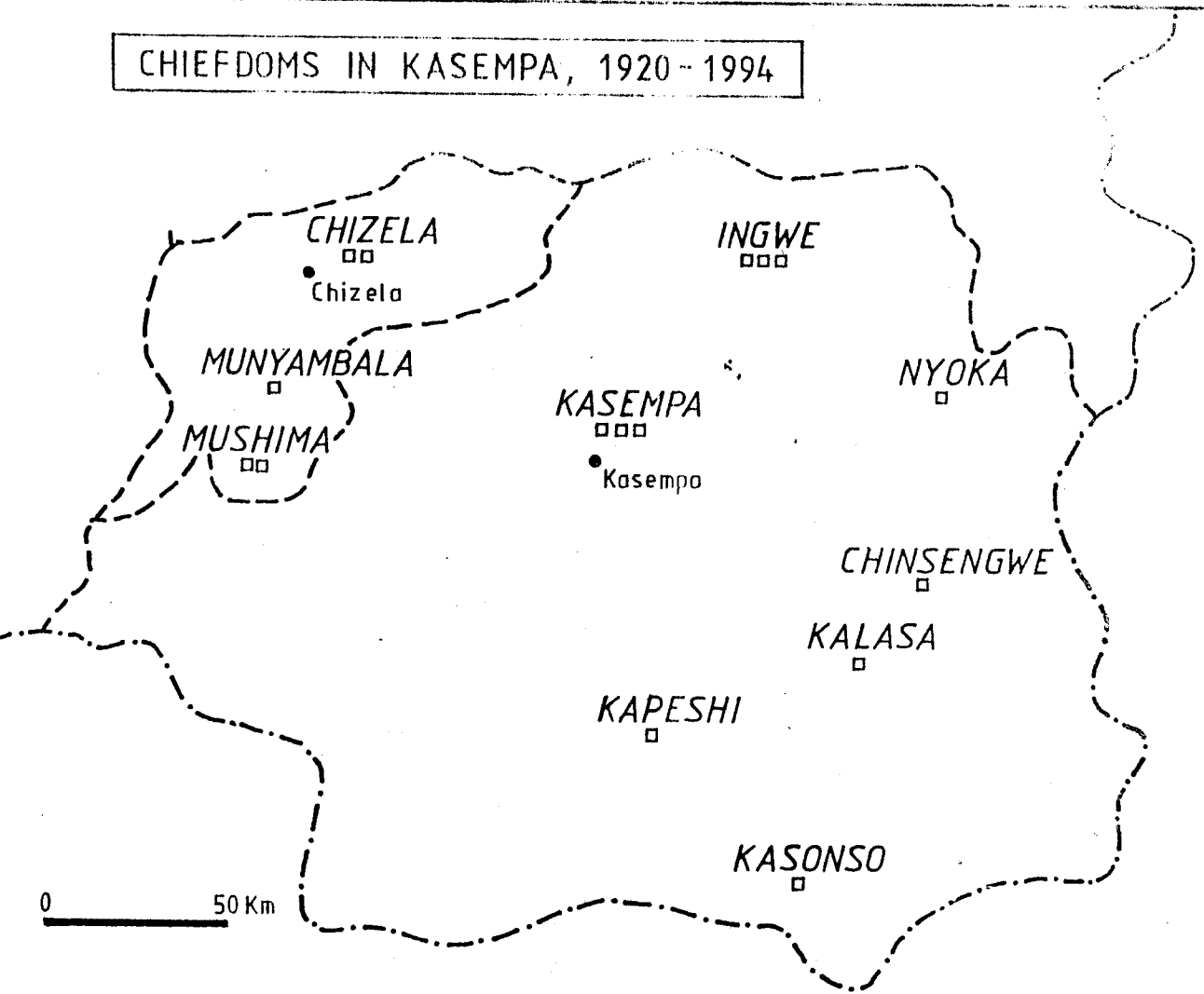
The expansion of mining activities on the Copperbelt in the 1920s attracted many able-bodied men from the district to seek wage employment. In 1929, about forty per cent of the able-bodied males were working at the mines outside the district.<sup>33</sup> Since most of these males sent part of their earnings to their families in the villages, this in turn, increased the circulation of money in the district. Remittances contributed to the increased total tax collected in the area. In 1929, for instance, the total tax collected exceeded that of 1928 by

£339.<sup>34</sup> From 1923, the district was called the Kasempa Province. In 1933 L.A. Russell handed over the area to the West-Luangwa Province, and once more Kasempa became an ordinary outstation incorporated in West Luangwa Province. Kasempa was combined with Solwezi into one district with Solwezi as headquarters.

The Second World War saw the resuscitation of Kasempa as a Provincial headquarters. E. Munday was appointed in 1942 as the Provincial Commissioner of the Kaonde-Lunda Province. The province also included Balovale District which had been excised from Barotseland in 1941.<sup>35</sup> This re-organisation of the province led to the closure of Solwezi boma. Kasempa remained as the headquarters of the Kaonde-Lunda Province up to 1946 when the whole area became part of the Western Province with its headquarters at Ndola. Kasempa was once again reverted to a status of a district boma only. Solwezi boma was, however, re-opened as a district boma in 1947. The period also saw the creation of a separate district of Kabompo in 1948 from parts of Kasempa, Mwinilunga and Balovale Districts.<sup>36</sup> In the same year, 1948, the Northern Rhodesia government, officially abolished the Chiefdoms of Kalasa, Chinsengwe, Kasonso, Nyoka and Munyambala and incorporated them into Chief Kasempa's area.<sup>37</sup>

Kasempa continued as the Southern most ordinary district of the extensive Western Province up to 1953 when it became one of the districts of the newly created North-Western Province with headquarters at Solwezi.<sup>38</sup> The other districts were Solwezi, Mwinilunga, Kabompo and Balovale (called Zambezi since 1969).

CHIEFDOMS IN KASEMPA, 1920 - 1994



- .....Chiefs in 1920
- .....Chiefs in 1947
- .....Chiefs in 1994
- Provincial Boundary
- District Boundary
- .....District Boma

**SOURCE:** Dirk Jaeger, SETTLEMENT PATTERNS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT (Amsterdam, Royal Tropical Institute, 1981) Fig. 3.1

## NOTES

1. N.A.Z/KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964: The formation of the district by C.S. Parsons, 10/04/51, p. 1; See also Simon Jilundu Chibanza, 'Kaonde History,' Rhodes-Livingstone Communication 22(Lusaka: The Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1961), p. 69: Chibanza, however, says the first European called Shabula (Sergeant Major Mobbs) arrived in Kasempa in 1900 and established a police camp near Chief Kasempa's village.
2. Anonymous, 'Kansanshi mine,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 2,6(1953-55), p. 88.
3. Anon, 'Kansanshi Mine,' p. 88; See also J.A. Bancroft, Mining in Northern Rhodesia (London: B.S.A.C., 1961), pp. 37-39: Orlando Barangwanath, 'The First Copper Mines in Northern Rhodesia: Part I,' Northern Rhodesia Journal v(1962-64), p. 211; Raymond Brook, 'How the Northern Rhodesia Coppers were found,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 1,1(1950-52), p. 43; Michael S. Bisson, 'Prehistoricopper Mines of Zambia,' Ph.D Dissertation, University of California, 1976, p. 2; J. Moubray, In South Central Africa (London: Constable and Company, 1912), p. 98.
4. P.G.D. Clark, 'Kasempa: 1901-1951,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 2,5(1955), p. 62; See also Dirk Jaeger, Settlement Patterns and Rural Development: A Human Geographical Study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1981), p. 70; Robin Short, African Sunset (London: Johnson, 1973), p. 26.
5. Bisson, 'Prehistoricopper Mines,' p. 2.
6. Clark, 'Kasempa: 1901-1951,' p. 62; Barangwanath, 'The First Copper Mines in Northern Rhodesia,' p. 211.
7. Clark, 'Kasempa: 1901-1951,' p. 62; See also N.A.Z/KDD7/1, Annual Report for 1925, p. 5; According to E.A. Copeman, 'Kasempa,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 3(1956-59), pp. 92-94, he says the slaves purchased or captured by the Mambari and Mambundu were sold to the cocoa plantations on the islands of Sao Tome and Principe, off the west coast of Africa.
8. N.A.Z/KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 1: Chikulukumbwe recruited as messenger by Macaulay in 1902 emphatically stated that Mobbs and Lucas pitched their tent on what is now the football pitch at Kasempa Boma in October/November, 1901.
9. Short, African Sunset, p. 29.

10. N.A.Z/KDD5/1, p. 1; Clark, 'Kasempa,' p. 63; Short, African Sunset, p. 26; Stanley Shallof, 'The Kasempa Salient: The Tangled web of British-Kaonde-Lozi Relations,' International Journal of African Historical Studies v,1(1972), p. 25.
11. Jaeger, Settlement Patterns, p. 71.
12. N.A.Z/KDD5/1, p. 1; See also Clark, 'Kasempa,' p. 66.
13. Jaeger, Settlement Patterns, p. 71.
14. N.A.Z./KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 1.
15. N.A.Z/KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 1.
16. Clark, 'Kasempa,' p. 63; See also N.A.Z/KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 1.
17. Chibanza, 'Kaonde History,' p. 69.
18. N.A.Z/KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 1; See also Chibanza, 'Kaonde History,' p. 69; Clark, 'Kasempa,' p. 64; Shallof, 'Kasempa Salient,' p. 29.
19. N.A.Z/KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 21.
20. N.A.Z./NW/A/2/1/3: Memorandum by F.V. Worthington, Secretary for Native Affairs, 18th November, 1909.
21. Ian Henderson, 'Labour and Politics in Northern Rhodesia, 1900-1953,' Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Edinburg, 1972, p. 32.
22. N.A.Z/A/2/1/2: Assistant Administrator, Carden, to High Commissioner for South Africa, 12th March, 1910.
23. Henderson, 'Labour and Politics,' p. 32.
24. N.A.Z/KDD5/1: Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 22.
25. Henderson, 'Labour and Politics,' p. 32.
26. N.A.Z/NW/A/2/1/5: District Commissioner, Kasempa, W. Hazell, to Secretary for Native Affairs, 13 and 20th June, 1911.
27. N.A.Z/KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 27; See also Clark, 'Kasempa,' p. 65.

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### CHAPTER THREE

#### EARLY GAME PROTECTION IN NORTHERN RHODESIA (ZAMBIA), 1899-1953

##### Background to the British South Africa Company rule in Northern Rhodesia, 1890-1911

By the end of 1891 Britain gained recognition from other European powers of its right to occupy the area which later became Northern Rhodesia.<sup>1</sup> This was a year after Lewanika had signed the Lochner treaty which in principle delivered his kingdom into the hands of the British South Africa Company. Harry Johnson, the Commissioner of Nyasaland, was in 1891 assigned temporary responsibility for the Company's northern territories. The territory was, however, formally placed under the control of the British South Africa Company starting from the end of 1895.<sup>2</sup> In 1899, the Company formally divided the region into two: From the Kafue river eastward to the borders of Nyasaland became North-Eastern Rhodesia, with headquarters at Fort Jameson (Chipata). Lewanika's territory became part of North-Western Rhodesia, with headquarters at Kalomo from 1900, and from 1907 at Livingstone.<sup>3</sup>

In North-Western Rhodesia, Lewanika signed the Lawley Treaty in 1898 which among other rights safeguarded the traditional Lozi right to game.<sup>4</sup> Before this treaty became effective, the nature and extent of the Company's political involvement and responsibilities were spelt out by passing a special law called an Order-in-Council of 1899. The North-Western Rhodesia Order-in-Council stated that 'the country would be under an Administrator nominated and appointed by the Company, but subject

to the approval of the British government through the High Commissioner at Cape Town.<sup>5</sup> This position was further clarified by yet another agreement called the Coryndon Treaty of 1900. This treaty clarified and confirmed the Lawley Treaty of 1898, and the British government's responsibilities over the Company's Administrator for Barotseland Protectorate.<sup>6</sup>

North-Eastern Rhodesia was, on the other hand brought under the British South Africa Company (BSAC) through treaties and a number of campaigns against African chiefs and slave traders.<sup>7</sup> The British government's control in the area was exercised through the Commissioner for British Central Africa. The British South Africa Company administered North-Western Rhodesia and North-Eastern Rhodesia separately until 1911 when the two areas were amalgamated to form Northern Rhodesia with its administrative capital at Livingstone. Although the two provinces were placed under one Administration with one Administrator, they were administered jointly, though under separate Orders-in-Council.<sup>8</sup>

#### **Game Laws under the British South Africa Company (B.S.A.C.), 1890-1924**

The Problem of illegal hunting of game (poaching) and state intervention in game conservation in Zambia is a twentieth century phenomenon. There is little doubt that the population of game has declined considerably in Zambia as a result of poaching. There were more wild animals in the country before the establishment of colonial rule at the end of the nineteenth century. European travellers in what later became Northern Rhodesia made constant mention in their writings of the abundance

of game in the area.<sup>9</sup> The British South African Company administration in what later became Northern Rhodesia did not take the protection of game very seriously until at the close of the nineteenth century when it became evident that the game population was declining rapidly. Until this state was reached, the colonial administration adopted a laissez faire type of attitude of 'non-interference' in the belief that wild animals would protect themselves.<sup>10</sup>

Before the establishment of the BSAC rule in the 1890s, there existed hunters guilds' in many African societies which signified the importance of hunting in the territory.<sup>11</sup> Africans in the country had always regarded game as part of nature's gift which anyone could kill. They killed game using bows and arrows, traps, snares, pits, nets and spears. The use of locally made muzzle-loaders was also common in many societies which had a strong hunting tradition such as the Chokwe, Kaonde and Bisa.<sup>12</sup> The Africans also acquired firearms in the nineteenth century from either the West or East African traders such as the Portuguese, Arabs, Swahili and Mambari in exchange for slaves and ivory.<sup>13</sup> The hunting of game was unrestricted and this continued up to the time of the establishment of the BSAC rule in the 1890s.

Although game trapping and snaring were used in the territory since time immemorial, it was only at the close of the nineteenth century that poaching increased as a result of the acquisition of firearms by Africans from the coastal traders. It should be mentioned that in the pre-colonial period, the African population was very small and scattered while the wild

animals were so abundant that the hunting methods used did not have any impact on the total.<sup>14</sup> The animals were also killed only for subsistence consumption as there was no market for game meat. The acquisition of guns by Africans in the pre-colonial period was also limited to a small number of people while the majority still maintained their traditional hunting practices which had not changed for generations. The African hunters operated on foot and, therefore, their activities and achievements were strictly limited.

The early European community was responsible for shocking incidents of game slaughter in many parts of Northern Rhodesia at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>15</sup> They did not display a sense of sportsmanship and, therefore, could not be taken as an object example of an argument for game protection. The major targets were elephants which were killed in large numbers by these hunters because of the ivory 'boom' which was created particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. We find that the untamed African elephant, which had been hunted for generations by Africans to fulfil their subsistence needs, was now hunted for profit.<sup>16</sup>

It was this appalling situation, which in the 1890s, led to a growing anxiety in British colonial territories about the declining African animal resources. Although the official view in the British Colonial circles was that the Africans with their traditional hunting practices were responsible for the depletion of game, it was, however, the gun-technology which proved more destructive. The various types of guns used by European hunters, missionaries, settlers and colonial administrators were directly

responsible for the mass slaughter of game in British colonial Africa, even though, the African hunter was still perceived as a villain.<sup>17</sup>

The establishment of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia led to the enactment of game legislation and implementation of game policies aimed at curtailing Africans from their long established hunting practices. The Europeans who came to Central Africa in the 1880s and 1890s were also eager to suppress the rampant slave trade in the interior and, thereby, releasing labour for wage employment.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, as these Europeans were few in number, they desired to avoid trouble with the African local societies by restricting their access to firearms. The BSAC was equally concerned with a large number of firearms (mostly muzzle-loading guns) in African hands which the authorities believed were used almost exclusively for the destruction of wild animals. The concern of the Company, it was argued, was not the killing of game as such, but the scale at which it was done, and also the indiscriminate methods employed which could have led to the eventual extermination of fauna in the territory.<sup>19</sup>

A small but growing colonial elite, lamenting the retreat of the frontiers of game and the extermination or near extermination of some game species, a process in which they themselves participated, advocated for the introduction of game regulations to restrict hunting to members of their own class. We find that as game retreated from its original frontiers, the nature of hunting also changed from being a practical exercise to become what we know today as professional hunting which symbolises manliness and sportsmanship.<sup>20</sup>

It was natural then that one of the key policies of British officials in Central Africa was to deny guns and powder to the local inhabitants of the territory. The prohibition of the sale of guns and gun-powder was copied from Nyasaland (Malawi) where in 1891, Sir, Harry Johnston, the Commissioner of Nyasaland, in accordance with article 10 of the Brussels Act of 1890, promulgated extensive gun laws curtailing the sale of firearms and powder to Africans and placing heavy restrictions upon the use of those already in African possession.<sup>21</sup> This was done in an effort to suppress the slave trade and also control the lucrative ivory trade. Johnston suggested that only Europeans under licence should hunt elephants so as to maintain control over the profitable trade.<sup>22</sup> In 1896, Lord Salisbury, suggested that the issuance of licences would control large scale shooting of game and protect African fauna from total destruction.<sup>23</sup> It was the rinderpest epizootic which had killed many hundreds of thousands of animals in Central Africa in the early 1890s which gave impetus to Salisbury's idea. In 1897, the Nyasaland (Malawi) administration set up its first Game Reserve and promulgated restrictive game laws.<sup>24</sup> As a result of the above measures, the new Commissioner of Nyasaland (Malawi), Alfred Sharpe, was able to report with satisfaction in 1899 that, 'In Nyasaland, not many years ago, guns were plentiful but now, scarcely any natives, possess them.'<sup>25</sup>

It is upon this background that the BSAC in North-Eastern Rhodesia established the Mweru Marsh Game Reserve in 1899, and also issued a set of game laws.<sup>26</sup> This became the first game reserve in what later became Northern Rhodesia. In 1900, a

conference on the conservation of Africa's wildlife was held in London. This conference gave international sanction to the idea of conservation of animals in Africa.<sup>27</sup> The ancient privileges of unlimited hunting by the Africans were curtailed. The use of game pits was forbidden and other 'vexatious' game laws were devised to prevent the wholesale slaughter of elephant, rhinoceros, eland, hippopotamus and other large animals. In addition, the laws forbidding the sale of guns and gun powder were introduced.<sup>28</sup>

In 1902, another Game Reserve was established in Luangwa Valley, specifically for the preservation of a rare type of giraffe.<sup>29</sup> The restrictions on hunting were, however, extended to other animals in the reserve. The year 1902 also saw the introduction of game regulations in North-Eastern Rhodesia. The 1902 Game Regulations and subsequent amendments allocated game which could be hunted under licence into two schedules. The second schedule covered game which could be killed under 'special licence' issued by an official in charge of a district and costing £25. This covered four elephants, five rhinoceros, gnu, zebra and eland. The third schedule covered game which could be killed under an 'ordinary licence' costing £2. This covered six of each of the following animals: Buffalo, roan antelope and hippopotamus. Then, the rest of the animals the number allowed was not limited. There was also no requirement for a permit to introduce either arms or ammunition in North-Eastern Rhodesia.<sup>30</sup>

Naturally, following the disarming of the Africans, the absence of epidemics and the strict application of the game laws all led to the rapid increase in game which often encroached on land close to the villages. The destruction of crops was particularly common by the elephants and the bush pig. The protection of crops was hampered by the absence of males at the beginning of the twentieth century who went to work in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zaire to earn money to meet their tax obligations and buy other European goods. It should be emphasised that under Company rule, economically, Northern Rhodesia was less important as a source of minerals than as a source of labour for the mines of Katanga, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The imposition of a hut tax to stimulate labour migration, coupled with systematic labour recruitment drives, deprived the land of its most productive labour power as young men left their families who were in most cases women, old men and children unable to produce enough food for their subsistence<sup>31</sup>

These game laws prohibiting the hunting and trapping of wild animals, and forbidding the sale of gun powder to Africans were promulgated at the time when many parts of Northern Rhodesia were still feeling the effects of the rinderpest epizootic epidemic which decimated a large percentage of cattle in the early 1890s.<sup>32</sup> The Africans were, therefore, cut off from their major traditional source of animal protein. During the dry season, as mentioned earlier, the African people had, traditionally, hunted game for food which naturally kept in check the animal population. It was natural then that the implementation of these game laws faced very strong opposition from the local people.

These restrictions on Africans to hunt forced them to turn to hunt illegally (poaching) as their only way of obtaining their major source of animal protein.<sup>33</sup> The increase in illegal game hunting in some areas forced the colonial administration to relax the game regulations by allowing hunting with bows and arrows, nets and spears.<sup>34</sup>

The future prospects of game in Northern Rhodesia was extremely precarious because of the love of slaughter, often for profit, by a large section of the white community which was putting an enormous pressure on the game population of the territory. Even though these game policies were strictly enforced on the Africans, there was on the other hand, a 'free' granting of licences to European big-game hunters who killed animals wholesale and left the carcasses all over the veld to rot.<sup>35</sup> Hunting, therefore, became both a symbol of European domination and an indicator of status within the dominant community. The declaration of a Game Reserve in the Kafue Hook in 1908, for instance, was intended to preserve game by forbidding shooting so as to raise revenue by encouraging European sportsmen to hunt on possession of any of the three licences available at the time.<sup>36</sup>

The restrictions on hunting were, however, relaxed during the 1914-18 campaign against the Germans in East Africa. This was meant to allow an 'immense' amount of killing game, particularly in Northern Province, to feed the enormous number of troops deployed there.<sup>37</sup> It is believed the Unga and Batwa learned the techniques of mass slaughter of black lechwe at that time.<sup>38</sup> The Europeans roving through the country immediately

before and after the war were not all gentle, but their extravagance of killing were mitigated in many places by their relative paucity of numbers.

It is also important to mention the effect of the First World War on Kasempa District as a whole. During the whole period of the war, about 16,000 able-bodied men were recruited to do various war related works, which drastically affected productivity in agriculture and hunting in the area.<sup>39</sup>

### **Game Laws under the Colonial Office, 1924-1931**

In 1924, the Colonial Office took over the administration of Northern Rhodesia from the British South Africa Company (BSAC). The transfer of Northern Rhodesia to the Colonial Office did not itself cause any sudden changes of direction in the country's affairs.<sup>40</sup> Essentially, the Colonial Office continued the game policies of the BSAC administration with a number of modifications.

Game hunting in Northern Rhodesia became destructive when animals were killed for sale. Copper was discovered in the 1920s and this led to increased population on the Copperbelt. The large population provided a ready market for game meat which, consequently, accelerated the exploitation of this natural resource beyond sustainable yields.<sup>41</sup> The colonial government was under pressure to take drastic measures to redress the destruction of game in the country.

It is in view of the above that the Northern Rhodesia government passed the first Game Ordinance in 1925,<sup>42</sup> a year after the BSAC relinquished administration. This Ordinance did

not introduce any wide ranging changes other than merely introducing the 2/6 Native Licence.<sup>43</sup> The Ordinance also banned the indigenous hunting techniques such as the use of pitfalls, snares, poison and harpoon. Theoretically, the licence hoped to control hunting in African areas by restricting Africans to hunt in their own districts, and requiring them to endorse on the licence the number of game hunted. This ordinance proved ineffective as it did not set a limit on the number of animal species one could kill in a hunting season. That hunting on getting a licence from colonial officials meant that the only legal and permissible method of hunting was the use of the gun.

The weakness of the 1925 Game Ordinance forced the colonial government to pass yet another game ordinance in 1931 which limited the number of animals that could be killed by holders of certain categories of licences.<sup>44</sup> A holder of a £3 licence could still shoot as many as he liked of buffalo, bush pig, hartebeest, lechwe, impala, wildebeest and zebra. He could also shoot four elephant, four eland, two hippopotamus, and two kudu. Holders of other licences operating in remote areas could also take the liberty of killing any number of animals. Some Europeans who took these licences and killed more animals than allowed were never prosecuted.<sup>45</sup>

In 1931, game reserves were first demarcated on a significant scale after it became evident that other game protection legislations were unsuccessful. These additional game reserves were Victoria Falls, Kafue Gorge and David Livingstone Memorial.<sup>46</sup> The declaration of game reserves naturally isolated the traditional hunter from the game he had depended on for

generations. There was no alternative given to him, and as such, could not understand why he was being prevented from hunting for the pot in the areas he used to in the past.

All the above measures were difficult to enforce in the absence of a department responsible for the protection of game in the country. The colonial government's game laws up to 1931 were, therefore, not effective enough to ensure the continued survival of game for centuries to come. Game preservation did not succeed largely because the various game legislation introduced by the colonial government up to 1931 did not take into account the African people's feelings for wild animals.<sup>47</sup> The colonial authorities allowed the game regulations to fall into abeyance at the belief of a short-sighted community who wished the fauna destroyed. One of the weakest excuses for game slaughter came from a class of people who asserted that the game attracted tsetse flies which bit domesticated stock and gave it nagana disease.<sup>48</sup> It can be argued that the game laws were introduced in Northern Rhodesia because of the revenue that game brought and its value to European sportsmen and tourists.

Although guns were introduced by the Mambari slave traders, in the district, these were rarely used when hunting. Most of the animals were hunted using traditional methods to meet subsistence meat requirements. The outlawing of African hunting methods such as trapping, snaring and pitfalls failed because enforcement of such measures was difficult because of inadequate.

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## CHAPTER FOUR

### GAME CONSERVATION IN KASEMPA DISTRICT, 1902-1964

#### Background to State Intervention in Game Conservation in Kasempa District, 1902-1933

In Kasempa District, illegal hunting (poaching) was the foremost problem in the conservation of wildlife since the time of colonial rule. At the beginning of the twentieth century game abounded everywhere in the district except along the northern boundary.<sup>1</sup> In the dry season, both medium and large game was seen wandering over extensive tracts of the area in search of water and green grass.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, most Kaonde males in Kasempa owned at least a gun.<sup>2</sup> The Kaonde needed guns to hunt elephants in order to secure ivory to exchange for guns and cloth with the Mambari traders whose activities increased at the turn of the twentieth century. In 1903, for instance, during his tour of the district, the District Commissioner, F.C. Macaulay, captured a Mambari camp where three guns in addition to fourteen bags of gunpowder were destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

Ivory was the most important tribute the Kaonde gave to Lewanika, the Lozi king. In March 1903, for instance, Chief Kasempa and other Kaonde chiefs including Mujimanzovu, Chinsengwe and Kasonso went to Lealui to pay tribute to Lewanika mostly consisting of ivory.<sup>4</sup> Many other Kaonde village headmen paid tribute to Lewanika for fear of heavy penalties from the Lozi messengers.

The increase in the demand for ivory, subsequently, led to the decline in elephant herds in the district. In 1903, Macaulay, the District Commissioner of Kasempa, reported of the decline in the amount of ivory exported from the district.<sup>5</sup> Elephants which were until then found in many areas of the district were now concentrated only between Kasempa Boma and the Lunga river in the east.

Lewanika, whose sphere of influence extended as far as Kaondeland, sent his hunters to hunt game, particularly elephants in the area. Lozi hunters had an advantage in hunting large animals in Kasempa because they had efficient firearms and abundant ammunition which they acquired from the British South Africa Company.<sup>6</sup> Game and its products (elephants tusks, rhino horns, and leopard skins) were very important in the overall economic development of North-Western Rhodesia. In 1910, game alone brought in a revenue of £112 in Kasempa District.<sup>7</sup>

From the start of the First World War and the early 1920s, there was an increase in the amount of gunpowder imported from the Belgium Congo and Angola by the local traders.<sup>8</sup> This was matched by an increase in the manufacturing of caps and bullets by the local people during the same period.<sup>9</sup> Powder was sold at ten shillings (10/-) per pound in Kasempa while the price of caps varied from four pence (4d) to one shilling (1/-) per dozen.<sup>10</sup> The relaxation of the game regulations by the BSAC during the First World War directly contributed to the above developments. The BSAC allowed a large scale hunting of game, especially in Northern Province, to feed the troops fighting the German campaign. The slaughter of game in the district was expressed

by the Native Commissioner, R.E.B. Woods, in 1921 when he commented that: "Judging by the amount of game killed annually, I imagine that the amount of powder smuggled into this sub-district from the Congo, via Solwezi or Ndola is enormous."<sup>11</sup>

Herds of game such as wildebeest, roan, hartebeest, sable, warthog, reedbuck, zebra and eland which previously roamed near Kasempa Boma, especially, along the Lwamadamba stream were hunted constantly by the local people.<sup>12</sup> Most of the game was hunted at night by the local people using 'bulala' hunting lamps. The use of hunting lamps was subsequently prohibited in 1923 by the district officials.<sup>13</sup> Those wishing to use these lamps to hunt had to apply for permission in writing from the District Magistrate. This applied only to animals classified either as 'vermin' such as lions and leopards or garden raiders such as elephants and bush pigs. In the late 1920s, many chiefs, village headmen and ordinary villagers in Kasempa expressed willingness to buy guns for hunting game on the pretext of wanting to protect their fields from wild animals.

In 1925, the Administration of Northern Rhodesia introduced a new Game Ordinance in the whole of Northern Rhodesia except Barotseland.<sup>14</sup> This Ordinance did not please the Kaonde in Kasempa because it did not allow them to hunt game without a licence. It also prohibited the local people from selling game meat outside the district. This was the time when demand for game meat was slowly increasing on the small Copperbelt towns of Kitwe, Ndola and Luanshya where sinking of mines had started. These restrictions raised resentment of the local people to the Game Ordinance. They saw state intervention in game conservation

as a way of denying them a source of income to meet their tax obligations.

The 1925 Game Ordinance required that hunting of animals which were classified as 'vermin' such as lions and leopards be supported by proof of the hunt. Between 1926 and 1927 fifteen lions and leopards were killed in the district as vermin. During the same period, fourteen people were killed by lions and leopards while three others were wounded.<sup>15</sup> The Ordinance also allowed persons to either pursue, capture or kill any game that damaged gardens and a reward was given. For instance, a reward of £2 was awarded to anyone who lawfully killed an elephant in the foregoing described circumstance.<sup>16</sup> The hunting of an elephant meant two things: firstly, fields were protected from damage, and secondly, the colonial government secured the ivory for export to raise its revenue. Although this law was applied in Kasempa, it was meant to protect areas settled by European farmers. The white farmers, especially, along the line of rail constantly complained of the damage to their crops by wild animals. The colonial government gave them exclusive power to hunt them in the described circumstance. This was the reason why game protection laws during the period under discussion were under the department of agriculture.

The raising of government revenue as stated above was a major aspect of the Northern Rhodesia game laws. It is in line with the above that the 1925 Ordinance authorised the District Magistrates and their Assistants to receive duty and give receipts for ivory, hippo-teeth, rhinoceros horns, otter-skins and game heads obtained within their respective districts.<sup>17</sup>

These items were major game export products for the colonial government.

The opening up the Lusaka - Mumbwa - Kasempa motor road towards the end of the 1920s led to an increase in the number of poachers as well as bona-fide licence holders to Kasempa area. It was difficult to keep surveillance on poachers because of the size of the area and the small number of men deployed for the job.<sup>18</sup> The increase in the number of European hunters, especially in 1930, raised the concern of the District Commissioner, E. Sharpe, who suggested that a new game regulation be gazetted to make it compulsory for holders of licences from other districts to forward their licences in reasonable time to the Officer of the district they wished to hunt.<sup>19</sup> It was, however, found out that the amending of the game laws was not in any way going to prevent poachers coming into the district because of difficulties of enforcing the law.

In 1933, the district administration observed that modern firearms such as shotguns were more destructive to game than muzzle loading guns and, therefore, only chiefs were allowed to buy them on the recommendation by the District Commissioner.<sup>20</sup> There was no restriction on the purchase of muzzle loading guns provided proper permits and licences were legally obtained. The muzzle loading gun was very important in the district because it was a useful article to the local people.<sup>21</sup> It was used as a customary payment on marriage, inheritance, and compensation for deaths, adultery claims and so on. In most of the civil cases at the Boma, complainants usually preferred payment in form of muzzle loading guns to cash damages. In 1929 there were 2,858

sniders and muzzle-loading guns owned by the local people in Kasempa District.<sup>22</sup> In the following year, 1930, only 1,854 Africans took out arms licences in the district, leaving 1,000 unlicensed guns in private hands.<sup>23</sup> One of my informants argued that unlicensed hunters killed considerable quantities of game.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, between 1914 and 1933, twenty-four people were arrested and charged for violating various game laws in Kasempa sub-district.<sup>25</sup> Infringements ranged from illegal possession of firearms, hunting and selling game meat without a licence. Looking at the period and the number of people convicted of game offences, it is easy to see that the game laws were poorly enforced as a result of the inadequate staff to effectively patrol the whole area. For instance, in 1929, only two Africans and one white were charged with various game law offences in the whole sub-district.<sup>26</sup>

Even though the District Officials encouraged district tours and periodical police patrols on motor cycles to catch poachers, this was not effective because of distances involved and the small number of game guards employed at the time. In most cases, the Africans carried out their hunting activities at night, making it difficult for them to be detected. State intervention in game conservation failed in Kasempa between 1902 to 1933 because the local African community was not part and parcel of the game conservation strategy devised and enforced by the colonial authorities in the area. Game protection and conservation laws were only important because they ensured the continued survival of game which was exploited to boost the colonial government's revenue.

## The Pitman's Report and later Developments in Kasempa District, 1934-1964

As a result of the rapid decline of game in the early 1930s, the colonial government of Northern Rhodesia invited Captain C.R.S. Pitman, Game Warden of Uganda, to review the status of game and its future chances of survival.<sup>27</sup> Pitman carried out a fauna survey in 1931 and 1932. Although Pitman's fauna survey was cut short by financial constraints, he was able to publish a report in 1934 which revealed that practically all stock of game animals other than elephant and buffalo, were decreasing at an alarming rate. As he put it, "game, one of the country's greatest assets, was being rapidly dissipated."<sup>28</sup> He anticipated an increase in poaching in the early 1930s as a result of the economic depression. His recommendations laid a foundation upon which serious approach to game conservation started in the whole of Northern Rhodesia and Kasempa District, in particular.

Initially, because of the importance of ivory and the development of settler agriculture, the colonial government directed its efforts towards controlling elephants which were perceived as a nuisance. During his tour in 1931 and 1932, Pitman received numerous complaints about crop depredations by elephants. It is in line with the above that an Elephant Control Organisation was set up in 1935 under the direction of various Provincial Commissioners.<sup>29</sup> The main duty of the organisation was to track down elephants which were raiding the fields and to keep settled areas free from their marauding.<sup>30</sup>

In Kasempa District, different species of game were abundant in the area at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although the Kaonde depended on game meat for their source of protein, they were both fewer in number and were mainly restricted in hunting methods to the use of the spear, pitfall, snare, and so on, which enabled them to live in a state of balance with game. The importance of game as a source of protein for the local people started changing starting from the 1930s.

The decline of game in the 1930s was aggravated by a sharp rise in illegal game hunting for marketable game products such as elephant tusks, rhino horns, and skins of leopard, crocodile and python.<sup>31</sup> In Kasempa, illegal hunting of game increased and exceeded the traditional requirements of the local people, largely due to the existence of a ready commercial market for dried game meat on the Copperbelt towns.<sup>32</sup> The presence of this insatiable market for meat was a major stimulus to illegal hunting. Game meat was more desirable than fish, but as it could not be sold legally, the prices were not constant or verifiable. The hunters passed through the bush using bicycles. Some used the fish trade as cover for selling illegally killed game.<sup>33</sup>

The desire to sell game meat by the local people was expressed in most of the meetings conducted by the District Officials with the local people in 1935. It was usually the village headmen who requested for their subjects to be allowed to purchase unregistered guns and sell game meat.<sup>34</sup> Before the increase in demand for game meat in the Copperbelt mine compounds, most of the muzzle-loading guns were used for ceremonial purposes. The rise in demand for game meat led to a

sharp rise in the use of these guns for illegal hunting of game.<sup>35</sup> The sale of game meat was prohibited in the district by District Officials.<sup>36</sup> Although details of the amount of illegal game sold annually within and outside the district were not available, it was suspected that it formed a high proportion of the total meat consumption in the district.<sup>37</sup>

The existence of game as a resource which ensured a ready source of income for the local people, discouraged agricultural production in the area. The poor agricultural performance in the district was commented upon by the Acting Provincial Commissioner of Ndola in 1939. He pointed out that the Kaonde were not keen agriculturalists and the idea of cash crops did not seem to make headway against their inherent conception of subsistence cultivation.<sup>38</sup> The growth of the mining industry on the Copperbelt deprived the area of able-bodied men which also affected productivity in agriculture.<sup>39</sup> Although Kasempa was affected by the development of the Copperbelt mines the local people did not lose land to settler farmers as was the case along the line of rail due to the presence of tsetse fly.

Before the formation of the Game and Tsetse Control Department in Northern Rhodesia, there was no real organisation to enforce the game laws in Kasempa District. Any game conservation in the area was done by the Officer of the Provincial Administration assisted by the Elephant Control Officer attached to the district.<sup>40</sup>

Annual Reports on African affairs of the 1930s showed that many people defaulted in the payment of game and gun licences mainly because of the depression. In addition, the local chiefs

in the area did not encourage their subjects to take up game licences.<sup>41</sup> This created a general contempt of the existing game laws in the district which made it difficult for the District Officials to prevent illegal hunting of game. This lack of cooperation from the local authorities in game conservation was also identified by Pitman during his national tour of 1931 and 1932. Pitman said, 'I am afraid one has to accept that the Game laws where an African is concerned are a farce, and without the whole-hearted cooperation of Native Authorities, there seems little hope for improvement.'<sup>42</sup>

The increase in illegal hunting of game was also as a result of the increase in ammunition smuggled from Belgian Congo and Angola.<sup>43</sup> The local people also developed their own art of manufacturing powder and caps.<sup>44</sup> All these developments helped in increasing poaching in the district. Reports compiled by Game Guards Chamafimbo, Ngolofwana and Mutobola in Kasempa District between 1940 and 1943 showed that many cases of poaching were committed in the district. For instance, between June and July 1940, Game Guard Mutobola managed to arrest three local people in Kalasa's area. These were fined amounts ranging from 2/6 to 7/6. During the same period, five Europeans who included two ladies were seen poaching in Kalasa's area by Game Guard, Mutobola.<sup>45</sup>

The traditional hunting methods using pitfalls, traps, snares, and so on, were still prevalent in the district in the 1930s. It was reported that apart from the local people in the area, other people from other districts such as Mankoya (Kaoma) and Balovale (Zambezi) were setting traps in the district.<sup>46</sup> Even

though, some people were arrested and convicted of game offences, this did not reflect the actual picture of illegal hunting of game which went on in the district. For instance, in 1937, only fifteen people were convicted of various arms and game offences.<sup>47</sup>

Before the creation of a Native Treasury in the district, all game and gun licences were paid at the Boma. This made it difficult for many people to travel long distances to pay for the above mentioned licences. In addition, transfer permits for guns were also issued at the Boma. This created inadequate control of guns in the district. In 1939, there were 3,400 guns owned by Africans in the district.<sup>48</sup> This number dropped to 3,000 guns in 1940 which were registered at the Boma.<sup>49</sup> The Officer in-charge of the Kaonde-Lunda Province, sympathised with the local people when he observed that, 'it was too much to expect the local people to undertake a three hundred miles journey for transaction of a gun at Kasempa Boma.'<sup>50</sup> Owing to a large number of guns constantly changing hands in the district, the Provincial Commissioner, authorised Native Authorities to issue Arms Transfer Permits. The proceeds were to be credited to the Native Treasury.

The state control of the sales and income from game products increased as the state became more involved in controlling hunting. In 1939, revenue derived from the local people from game, arms and ammunition were the highest in the whole of Western and Kaonde-Lunda Province combined.<sup>51</sup> See Table 1 and 2.

Table 1  
REVENUE FROM GAME

1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
£18 7s 6d	£34 5s 0d	£50 6s 6d	£45 11s 0d	£58	£46

Table 2  
REVENUE FROM ARMS AND AMMUNITION

1937	1938	1939
£46	£80	£51

There was, however, a decline in the number of people convicted of various arms and game offences in 1939. Only nine people were convicted during the year.<sup>52</sup>

In 1939, the Second World War broke out. In spite of the stringencies imposed by the war, the colonial government could not delay the establishment of the Department of Game because of the economic value attached to game. A new Game Ordinance was passed by the Legislative Council of the Northern Rhodesia Government in 1941. The Ordinance superseded that of 1925 and encompassed the formation of the Department of Game and Tsetse Control.<sup>53</sup>

After the Game Department was formed, the emphasis lay on the conservation and enforcement of the game laws than on the control of destructive animals. As Banage put it, 'control of game was emphasised above conservation, research or public

relations.<sup>54</sup> The Department carried out the task of safeguarding the game by checking on illegal hunting in the territory. Being constituted during the war-time, the Department did little to enforce the Game Ordinance as most of the European field staff were engaged in the war. The enforcement of the Ordinance was left largely in the hands of the Police and District authorities.<sup>55</sup>

In Kasempa, the most threatened game from poachers was that found outside the Kafue Game Reserve. This game was still an integral part of the economy of the rural people. In order to protect game outside the Kafue Game Reserve, the Game and Tsetse Control Department created the Kasempa Controlled Areas in 1943.<sup>56</sup> These areas acted as a buffer zone between the game reserve and settled areas. The controlled areas were primarily meant to conserve game for the local people who depended upon it for their meat supply.<sup>57</sup> As the areas were tsetse infested, it was hoped they would remain for a long time with game as the economic form of land use. A further important concept was that controlled areas would be under local authorities and thus be a vehicle for teaching Africans the need for conservation.<sup>58</sup>

Although the 1941 Ordinance restricted the number of permits allowed to European hunters in the district, very few European hunters, especially during the Second World War, adhered to these restrictions in the absence of close inspection. European hunters mainly from the Copperbelt hunted game illegally in the controlled areas.<sup>59</sup> They came in motor trucks and hunted game at night using 'bulala' hunting lamps. The licensing system was supposed to act as a deterrent to poaching. However, as one

concerned official from the Northern Rhodesia Game Preservation and Hunting Association commented, 'Licences were prodigally and carelessly issued with no educational work done at all.'<sup>60</sup> Even though some of the poachers in the district were arrested by the Game Guards and convicted by the District Magistrate, the majority of penalties imposed on them were too little to act as a deterrent to would-be poachers.<sup>61</sup>

The above situation forced the Game and Tsetse Control Department to send a Game Ranger, N.J. Carr, to Kasempa in July 1944.<sup>62</sup> He opened up the Department's work in the whole of Kaonde-Lunda Province. Unlike in other parts of the country where, because of the war-time shortages of arms and ammunition game population stabilised, in Kasempa illegal hunting of game increased. The Provincial Commissioner in Ndola, expressed his concern to the Director of Game and Tsetse Control in Lusaka that, 'I am informed by the District Commissioner, Kasempa, that serious breaches of the Game Ordinance continue to be committed by shooting parties in the protected areas of the district'.<sup>63</sup> He requested that all legal hunters send a full return of game killed to his office within a month of their hunting.

In order to promote game conservation in the area, the Game Ranger, Carr, took it upon himself going round the local schools giving talks on wildlife conservation. This effort was praised by the Provincial Commissioner and other members of the Game and Tsetse Control Department.<sup>64</sup>

Another area of concern in the district was the northern sector of the Kafue Game Reserve. This area of Busanga plains which merged into Busanga swamps contained the greatest abundance of game. The only game species which were absent were tsessebe and giraffe. During the Second World War, there was no proper organisation for the control of the reserve and as such poaching went on unabated. 'The greatest handicap to the development of the Kafue Game Reserve,' as the District Game Ranger pointed out, 'was that it contained a large meat-hungry population.'<sup>65</sup> Another problem in game conservation in the Game Reserve was the use of dogs by the local people in hunting.<sup>66</sup>

After the Second World War, illegal game hunting in the Kasempa sector of the Kafue Game Reserve and other areas became a rule than the exception. The District Officials closed some parts of Kasempa so that game could recover from previous excessive hunting.<sup>67</sup> In 1950, one African scout and twelve African Game Guards were employed to patrol and control poaching in the Game Reserve.<sup>68</sup> The other reason which led to increased poaching was that the Game Guards in the district were not closely supervised, and as such they habitually condoned hunting by friends.<sup>69</sup>

In the north of the district, game declined as a result of poachers from Solwezi and Belgian Congo.<sup>70</sup> Apart from outside poachers, the widespread scattering of villages and gardens also scared game in the north. So by 1950, game declined in the district to such an extent that the only areas which remained with game were the sparsely or uninhabited places such as the Kafue Game Reserve, the evacuated south area of the East Lunga

river and similar parts.<sup>71</sup>

A major step in the conservation of game in Kasempa was the creation of the Kafue National Park. The park was created when it became evident that earlier legislation on hunting was ineffective in conserving game as in the course of time numbers of game generally declined in the area. The Park was proclaimed by the Governor on 20th April, 1950 in pursuance of the government's obligations under Clause 1 of Article 208 of the 1933 London Convention for the Preservation of Fauna and Flora.<sup>72</sup> The Park was located on land which was considered 'worthless' for agricultural production.

The northern sector of the park found in Kasempa District contained the largest abundance of game. The park was established in the area in order to protect game from both African and European illegal hunters. The establishment of the park did not, however, solve the problem of poaching. For instance, in 1953, three people were convicted for unlawful possession of the meat of the buffalo which had been killed in the park.<sup>73</sup> It was difficult to totally control the activities of poachers in the park because of irregular patrols. In the whole of North-Western Province, there was only one vehicle stationed at Solwezi which patrolled all the areas.<sup>74</sup> This laxity in enforcing the game laws, was greatly exploited by poachers.

The prospect of profit from tourism also contributed to the establishment of the Kafue National Park.<sup>75</sup> It was envisaged that tourists would be attracted to the park to see wildlife in its natural habitat. In 1952, the Game and Tsetse Control Department, started preliminary work in the Kasempa sector of the

Kafue National Park. Rough roads were constructed, and temporary bush huts were erected at four rest camps. These were meant to provide facilities for visitors from the Copperbelt.<sup>76</sup> Access to this sector was through Kasempa which was 384 kilometres from Chingola via Solwezi. Initially, the local people retained fishing rights in the park. It was later found out by the officers of the Department of Game and Tsetse Control that most of the so called 'fishermen' were actually the people who encouraged poaching in the park. Game meat was usually parked between bundles containing fish.

The growing interest in game as a natural resource of economic value, led to the formation of the Northern Rhodesia Game Preservation and Hunting Association in 1953. The main object of the association was to promote the interest of game conservation in the territory.<sup>77</sup> The association augmented the work of the Department of Game and Tsetse Control as it encouraged the proper utilisation of wildlife resources and fostered a spirit of sportsmanship among hunters. There was a recognition and an appreciation of wildlife as a national heritage which had to be protected from illegal hunters for the enjoyment of present and future generations of the country.

One area of major concern in the district was the difference in licence fees between African and European. This was a source of friction between the officials of the Department of game and Tsetse Control and European hunters in the district since the creation of controlled areas in 1943. The Africans were allowed to hunt at any time in controlled areas upon the acquisition of a 2/6 licence. The European hunters were restricted to a hunting

season.<sup>78</sup> Many critics could not see the justification for different gun fee for African and European. The unrealistic licensing laws forced the Colonial government to review its 1941 Game Ordinance. The 1955 Fauna Conservation Ordinance which became operative in respect of Controlled Hunting Areas in 1957 was a considerable advance towards the possibility of control.

The 1955 Fauna Conservation Ordinance created the First and Second Class Hunting Areas to replace the controlled areas declared under the 1941 Game Ordinance.<sup>79</sup> Under the 1941 Game Ordinance, any African living within the boundaries of a Controlled Area was at liberty to hunt within the area provided one was in possession of a valid game licence. However, under the new Ordinance, hunting by residents in the First Class Hunting Areas was placed on the same basis as non-residents and both required permits before they could hunt game in the area.

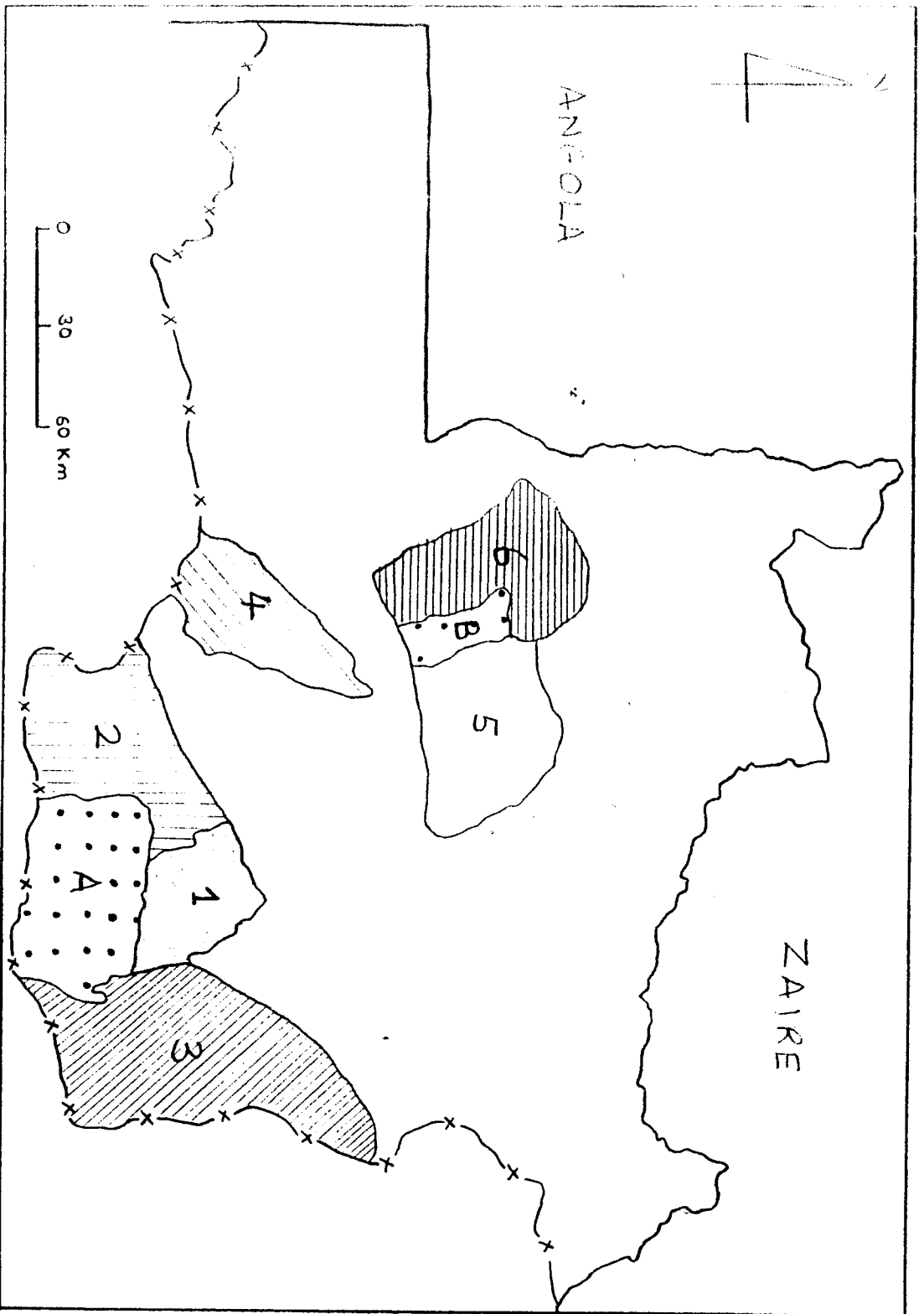
Hunting was also limited to what each area could withstand. In the Second Class Hunting Areas upon which Kasempa fell, Africans were not allowed to hunt beyond the limitations on the licences permitted. The new Game Ordinance was opposed by the local people at most of the Native Authority meetings because it limited the number of animals to be killed. The Native Authority in Kasempa associated it with the coming of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.<sup>80</sup> In order to gain support among fellow Africans, the nationalists propagated the idea that the proposed Federation was a white man's scheme devised to dominate Africans so as to effectively plunder the natural resources of the country of which one of them was game.

As a result of the fall in the prices of copper in 1958, the

colonial government reduced its expenditure to the game department. This led to drastic reduction in staff amounting to two-thirds of the European and African establishments throughout the country.<sup>81</sup> This made it difficult to effectively enforce the game laws in the district. Darling commenting on this said, 'The economic cuts were applied to the Game Department harder than any other Department of government because the value of wildlife as a natural resource was just not realised.'<sup>82</sup> Because of the continued problem of illegal game hunting in the whole country, the National Parks and Wildlife Act of 1958 created Management Areas in which wildlife conservation was paramount and replaced the First and Second Class Hunting Areas.<sup>83</sup>

Patrols to check on unlawful hunting and trading of meat were intensified by 1960. It was however, difficult to prevent poaching in the district because of lack of support from the local people. One area which was greatly poached by illegal entrants mainly from the Copperbelt was the East Lunga-Luswishi area. The poachers took advantage of the closure of this area to the public due to the outbreak of sleeping sickness in the area. The regular patrols instituted in the area by the Game Ranger in 1961 disclosed 86 illegal hunting and fishing camps.<sup>84</sup> Illicit hunting was encouraged by the presence of fish traders and other people who bought game meat. This increase in poaching was expressed by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone in 1961, when he lamented that 'he was becoming increasingly

THE WILDLIFE ESTATES OF NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE



LEGEND

- Infr. Boundary
- x- Prov. Boundary
- 1 Busanga
- 2 Kasonso
- 3 Lungu - Luswisini
- 4 Chizera
- 5 Musela - Matizo
- 6 Lukusaka
- A Kafue National Park
- B West Lunga National Park

SOURCE: David S. Johnson (ed.), Zambia Geographical Association Regional Handbook no.8 (1980), p.126.

perturbed by the activities of poachers and illegal traders in game meat and trophies in the territory.'<sup>85</sup> He called upon all officers in government to concern themselves with the prevention of poaching in the nation.

The increase in poaching forced the colonial government to amend the game laws in 1962. The main amendments comprised the introduction of provision for the declaration of and control of activities in the Game Management Areas. A comprehensive alteration was made to the game licensing system and licence schedule and fees. The old African Game Licence was superseded by a Restricted Game Licence which was available to all races qualifying by residence within the area. The licence fee was raised from 5s to 7s 6d.<sup>86</sup>

As a result of the negative effects of poaching in the district, the Department of Game and Tsetse Control decided to conduct an organised cropping of game in the area. Apart from poaching, the Game Department wanted to protect the natural habitat from overstocking and over-grazing, and at the same time provide cheap, vital protein food for the people. From the inception of the game cropping scheme in the Kaonde Superior Native Authority in July 1961 to December 1962, a revenue of £2,004 was realised.<sup>87</sup> The main problem encountered, however, was the marketing of meat. This limited the continuation of the scheme in the district.

At the time of independence in 1964, poaching was rife in the district from organised gangs which operated on a commercial basis dealing in meat, crocodile skins, ivory and rhinoceros horn. Poaching increased due to the scarcity of game in

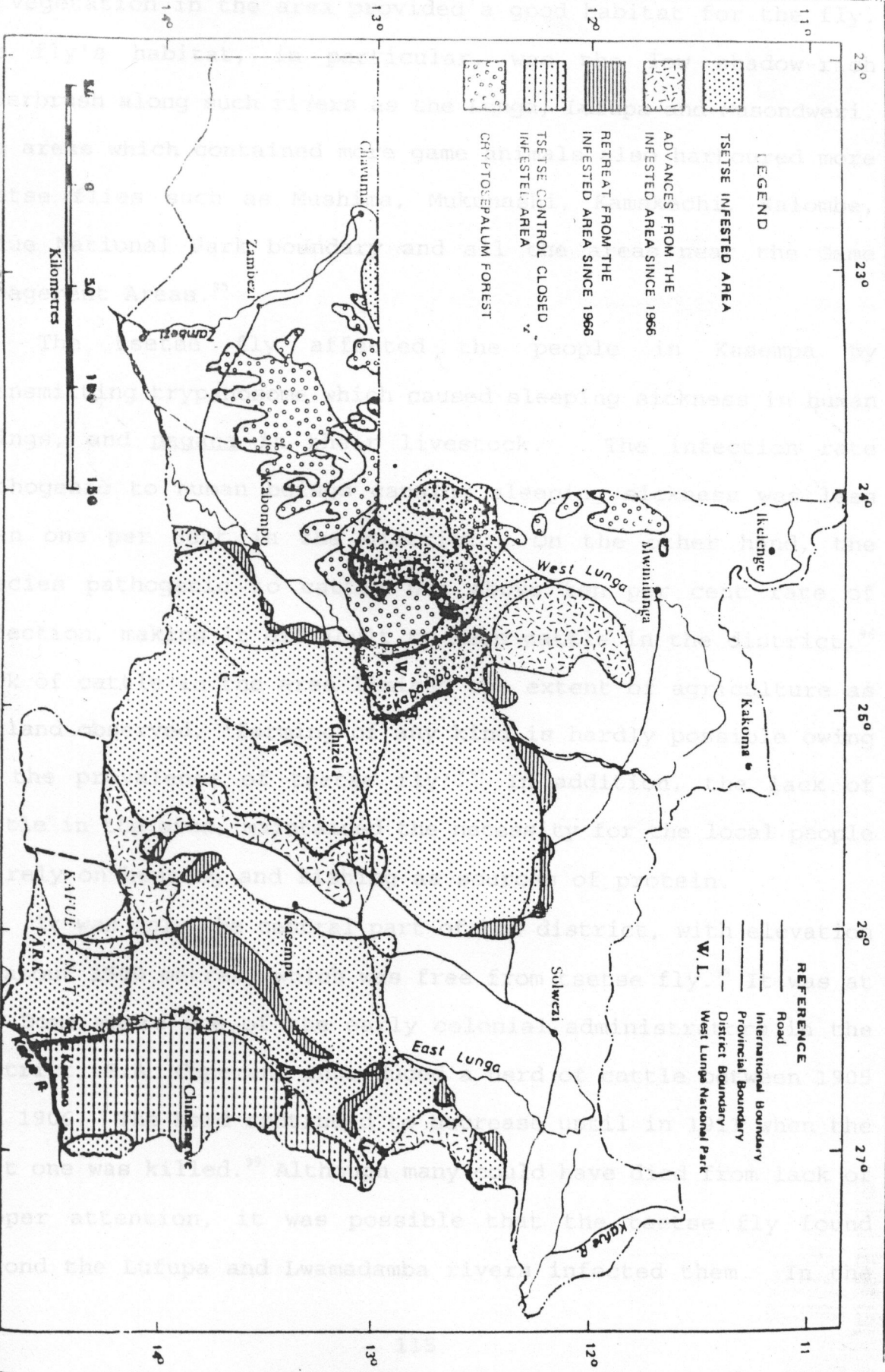
uncontrolled areas and because it became an organised business of considerable value to the poacher.<sup>88</sup> Although in 1964, about 49 people were convicted in the Kasempa sector with a total of fines of £383 imposed, it was still difficult to apprehend all poachers because the areas involved were large and the staff employed were sparse on the ground.<sup>89</sup> There was also no incentive to the staff employed in the Game Department. For instance, in 1964, staff housing in Kasempa was unsatisfactory.<sup>90</sup> Although this was attributable to lack of funds, it lowered the morale of staff.

#### **Game and Sleeping Sickness in Kasempa District, 1942-1964**

In 1973, Robin Short described Kasempa country as a thick belt of sleeping sickness inhabited only by game and tsetse fly.<sup>91</sup> The presence of tsetse fly was the most important aspect of the ecology of Kasempa. The district included a large area of endemic sleeping sickness. Nearly 70 per cent of the district was plagued by Glossina morsitans in varying degrees.<sup>92</sup>

There were three factors which affected and encouraged the spread of tsetse fly in the district. Firstly, the scattered population of the district with little permanence in village and village garden sites, left many areas either uninhabited or uncultivated, thereby, encouraging the growth of thick forests and bush.<sup>93</sup> Secondly, the availability of suitable host animals such as buffalo, kudu, eland, warthog and bush pig on which to feed enabled tsetse fly to survive.<sup>94</sup> The combination of this very low population density and a high animal density, encouraged

# TSETSE FLY INFESTATION IN NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCE



Source: Robert Stjernstedt, Zambia Geographical Association Regional Handbook, no.8 (1980), p.43.

the spread of tsetse fly in the district. Thirdly, the nature of vegetation in the area provided a good habitat for the fly. The fly's habitat, in particular, was the low shadow-rich underbrush along such rivers as the Lunga, Lufupa and Musondwezi. The areas which contained more game animals also harboured more tsetse flies such as Mushima, Mukunashi, Kamakechi, Kalombe, Kafue National Park boundary and all the areas near the Game Management Areas.<sup>95</sup>

The tsetse fly affected the people in Kasempa by transmitting trypanosome which caused sleeping sickness in human beings, and nagana in their livestock. The infection rate pathogenic to human beings causing sleeping sickness was less than one per cent in the district. On the other hand, the species pathogenic to cattle was above ten per cent rate of infection, making it difficult to keep cattle in the district.<sup>96</sup> Lack of cattle in the area limited the extent of agriculture as Melland observed, 'farming of any kind is hardly possible owing to the prevalence of tsetse fly'.<sup>97</sup> In addition, the lack of cattle in the area, maintained the necessity for the local people to rely on hunting and fishing as sources of protein.

It was only the central part of the district, with elevation of about 1500 metres, which was free from tsetse fly.<sup>98</sup> It was at the Boma where one of the early colonial administrators in the district, E.A. Copeman, introduced a herd of cattle between 1905 and 1906. The herd continued to decrease until in 1911 when the last one was killed.<sup>99</sup> Although many could have died from lack of proper attention, it was possible that the tsetse fly found beyond the Lufupa and Lwamadamba rivers infected them. In the

western part of the district, Chief Mushima kept a few cattle at his village on the Lalafuta river. The area contained plenty of game. The cattle did not last longer as all of them died from tsetse fly during 1912.<sup>100</sup>

It should be pointed out that the whole period up to the formation of the Game and Tsetse Control Department in 1942, the presence of tsetse fly militated against animal husbandry in the district. For instance, in 1929, the only domesticated animals in the district were three goats in Nyoka and one in Chizera.<sup>101</sup> In 1930, it was still reported that there were no cattle, sheep, goats or pigs owned by Africans in the district.<sup>102</sup> It was particularly difficult to report on tsetse fly because of lack of cattle which normally attract fly movements. In contrast, there was an increase of buffalo and hippo, especially south of Kasonso's villages in the Kafue Game Reserve. In 1932, these animals caused enormous destruction of crops which caused an outcry from the local people.<sup>103</sup>

In 1942, the Game and Tsetse Control Department was formed. The Department embraced under its operation the control of tsetse fly distribution and rinderpest in game.<sup>104</sup> The spread of tsetse fly increased the incidence of sleeping sickness in Kasempa District. As the game animals formed reservoir of sleeping sickness virus, which the fly transmitted to the human beings, the only way of getting rid of the possibility of further infection was to evacuate the people from the neighbourhood of game habitations. Initially, the incidence of sleeping sickness was more prevalent in the eastern part of the district than in other areas. To combat the disease, the people of Mufunshi and

Luwembo villages were moved in 1942 by the District Commissioner of Kasempa, E. Munday, from Ndola District, where the two rivers lie into the Kasempa District.<sup>105</sup> It was, however, found difficult to control sleeping sickness in the area because the evacuated people continued visiting Mufunshi and Mininga tsetse fly foci areas where they had established fishing camps.

After the Game and Tsetse Control Department was formed, cases of sleeping sickness were then easily recorded. The first recorded case of sleeping sickness in the district was in 1943 when a European missionary was treated after contracting sleeping sickness.<sup>106</sup> The following year, 1944, two Game Guards contracted the disease in the course of their duties.<sup>107</sup> Sleeping sickness became endemic with cases occurring largely in adult males who became infected while out fishing, hunting and collecting honey.

From 1942 to 1946, a large number of cases of human trypanosomiasis were reported from villages found east of the Lunga river. The population of these areas had always been sparse and in contact with dense tsetse fly. The danger was enhanced by the fact that a well used labour route passed through the suspected sleeping sickness area eastwards to Kitwe and in the south easterly direction to Broken Hill (Kabwe).<sup>108</sup> The District Game Ranger, N.J. Carr, recommended the gradual movement of people from the worst affected areas to the east of the Kasempa - Mumbwa motor road. In 1945, the villages of Kasonso found in the Kafue Game Reserve were moved to areas outside the game reserve.<sup>109</sup> Although this was partly meant to expand the size of the game reserve by freeing it from human habitations, it also reduced the human tsetse contact.

In 1946, Dr. L.O.C. Cookson undertook a survey of the sleeping sickness area in the east of the Lunga river to determine the number of cases.<sup>110</sup> The presence of tsetse fly in the area could not be avoided because of the existence of game. The only way to stop the contracting of sleeping sickness was to move the entire villages. In 1946, the Kaungashi-Mutanda area was inhabited by an additional 34 villages of the minor chief Chinsengwe. As a result of sleeping sickness, 48 of these villages were moved to the west of the Lunga river near Kelongwa in 1947. In the same year, as a result of Dr. Cookson's recommendations, all villages of about 1,500 people to the east of the Lunga river and on the south of the Mukereshe stream were resettled about 45 kilometres from the infested area in comparatively fly free areas to the west of the Lunga river.<sup>111</sup>

An examination by the medical staff found out that the local people living in or near the infested areas had a stronger resistance to sleeping sickness than people first coming into contact with tsetse fly. In the 1940s, many able-bodied men used the infested route on their way to the Copperbelt mines. Both local travellers and others from as far as Balovale, passed through Chinsengwe's country on their way to the Copperbelt mines which were a major attraction of male labour power in the district.<sup>112</sup> The District Game Ranger, Carr, complained at one time that the proximity of the mines which offered more attractive wages made it difficult for him to secure casual labour.<sup>113</sup> This continuous movement of people in tsetse infested areas was a great concern to the district officials. To prevent the risk of spreading of the disease, the central labour route

to the Copperbelt was closed later in 1953. Traffic was diverted round the infested areas to the north-east and south-eastern routes.<sup>114</sup>

There was great interest generated in the area because of the number of sleeping sickness cases. The Tsetse Control Supervisor of the Western Province was infected with sleeping sickness in October 1950 while touring the area between the Kafue and Lunga river.<sup>115</sup> This was an area which was previously evacuated because of the disease. As a result of the increased incidence of sleeping sickness in the eastern part of the district, a trained microscopist was posted to the Rural Dispensary at the Lunga Pontoon.<sup>116</sup> He carried out a medical surveillance of the people living in villages along the Lunga river. Because of the need to effectively combat the disease, the Dispensary was in 1951 moved to a more central position at Kelongwa.

Starting from the 1950s, a new focus of sleeping sickness was established in the district. Twenty-four cases of the disease were reported in 1951. The new focus was the Musondwezi river west of Kasempa.<sup>117</sup> The most infested area was, however, entirely uninhabited. Other cases of the disease were reported in 1952 and 1953 in the western section of the Kasempa District (Chizera's area).<sup>118</sup> Two factors were responsible for the increase of sleeping sickness in the western part of the district.

Firstly, there was an increase in tsetse fly as a result of the increase in elephant population after the area was declared a Controlled area in 1943.<sup>119</sup> The increase in game, particularly, that of elephants, warthogs, eland and wild pigs became a serious

threat to people's crops. Chief Chizera occasionally complained of the impoverishment of his villages due to the depredations of game which caused severe food shortages.<sup>120</sup> Most of the cases of sleeping sickness occurred in men infected during hunting, fishing and honey collecting trips. Secondly, the people of Mushima and Chinsengwe were interrelated. There was constant movement of people between the two areas which enabled the fly to spread and increased the incidence of sleeping sickness cases.<sup>121</sup>

In 1952, the eastern half of the district was declared a tsetse fly area. The old Copperbelt labour route was diverted to the proposed Kasempa - Kitwe road. Because of the various measures taken by the Tsetse Control Department to control the tsetse fly, the Veterinary Department introduced a demonstration herd of fifteen cattle at Kasempa Boma in 1953. Unfortunately, the whole herd was attacked and died of trypanosomiasis.<sup>122</sup>

For some years, there was concern at the number of sleeping sickness cases occurring in the villages of ex-Chief Nyoka, under Chief Kasempa, on the east bank of the Lunga river. The density of fly in the area was heavier between the Lunga and Kafue rivers, but lighter on the north of the river. In 1954, seven cases of the disease were reported in the area.<sup>123</sup> Among these cases, two were a European Tsetse Officer and a District Messenger working in the area.<sup>124</sup> The Tsetse Control Department moved the entire villages during the year from the tsetse fly focus area to the west of the Lunga river. The east bank of the river was declared a closed area.

In the west bank of the river, fly was expected to diminish

in numbers as gardens were cleared and game driven away. To this effect, the Tsetse Control Department started clearing the west bank of the river in 1954. The local people opposed the clearing of trees as they saw no point in expanding their gardens since the villages already produced a surplus of foodstuffs.<sup>125</sup> In addition, with the issue of Federation still fresh in their minds, they saw the land as being cleared for white settlers who would eventually take it away from them.<sup>126</sup> This suspicion proved to be totally wrong later. To ensure that the disease was effectively controlled, the people were medically screened at intervals of two to three months by a trained African microscopist.<sup>127</sup> The number of sleeping sickness cases in the eastern section of Kasempa District are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

SLEEPING SICKNESS IN THE EASTERN SECTION OF KASEMPA DISTRICT,  
1945-1953

YEAR	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953
CASES	13	8	4	2	2	9	6	-	4

Starting from 1955, there was a general increase in tsetse fly distribution in the district as a result of increase in game. The need to combat the disease was strengthened by the Tsetse Control Ordinance number 11 of 1956 which brought the original 1941 Ordinance up to date. The Ordinance provided for the issue of regulations governing the control of traffic through pickets.<sup>128</sup> Active operation was undertaken in Nyoka by the Tsetse Control supervisor, Kasempa. Pickets were established on the main roads in the area.

In 1957, a small number of peasant farmers were established at Nkenyauna, south of Kasempa Boma. Although this area was considered free from fly, cattle on these farms contracted trypanosomiasis which was undoubtedly due to carried fly.<sup>129</sup>

By 1961, the number of sleeping sickness cases treated had risen sharply. The areas infested by tsetse fly had become vastly extended. The increase in game directly contributed to the increase of tsetse fly in the district. The following table showed the increase of sleeping sickness cases for a period of four years.

Table 4

YEAR	1957	1958	1959	1960
No of cases	10	29	42	51

It was reported by District Commissioner that most of the Europeans who visited the northern sector of Kafue National Park contracted sleeping sickness.<sup>130</sup>

Efforts to control tsetse fly implied control of game as the normal carrier of sleeping sickness and food supply of the local people. This meant game extermination and closing certain areas to the public. To prevent the indiscriminate slaughter of game and in the process to enable the Native Authority to crop its natural resource, game, a systematic culling system was conducted in the district between 1961 and 1962 in which £2,004 was realised.<sup>131</sup> In addition, there was considerable evidence that tsetse flies spread with game, and increased in number as the herds increased. This necessitated the culling system mentioned above.

There was an enormous illegal traffic in game meat to the Copperbelt from the East Lunga Tsetse Control Area. Illegal hunters took advantage of the closed area to hunt game. In 1961, there was an outbreak of Bovine Trypanosomiasis in Chingola which was linked to the game meat from the East Lunga Tsetse Control Area.<sup>132</sup>

The increase of tsetse fly in Kasempa was a twentieth century phenomenon. Along with the climatic and vegetation conditions favourable to the fly, the presence of game was essential to the existence and spread of tsetse and trypanosome in Kasempa where flies of the Glossina morsitans group were the primary vector in diseases involving man and domestic animals. In addition, the establishment of a game park in the area, the enforcement of game regulations, the leaving of large tracts of land uncultivated and abandonment of fields as a result of migration of men to the Copperbelt mines, all encouraged the increase of game which provided additional opportunities for the spread of tsetse fly. As wildlife spread, its interaction with the human communities increased and exposed man and his cattle to the dangers of nagana and sleeping sickness. Individuals most at risk were those whose life styles and residence were closely associated with the substantial game populations such as honey gatherers, hunters, and isolated settlers.

The reported cases of sleeping sickness in Kasempa District varied from 19 to 84 between 1953 to 1977. This was an average of 40 cases per year. Cases ending up in death totalled 10 per cent which was an average of four deaths per year.<sup>133</sup>

It should also be mentioned that the existence of tsetse fly in large areas of Kasempa was responsible for the preservation of game up to the time of political independence in 1964.<sup>134</sup> The areas which were densely infested with tsetse fly were the least inhabited in the district. These areas provided sanctuaries for various species of game.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### TOWARDS A NEW CONCEPT OF GAME CONSERVATION IN KASEMPA, 1965-1994

*In the previous chapter, we saw how the various game ordinances passed by the Northern Rhodesia government eventually reduced the legal access to game by the local Africans. The Africans tried to circumvent those conservation measures which they felt were oppressive. They continued to hunt game in both the protected and open areas. The traditional methods of hunting such as the use of dogs, snares, pits and spears continued.*<sup>1</sup>

African nationalists in Northern Rhodesia used the colonial game laws as a grievance to express their resentment against the colonial government. Kenneth Kaunda, the future President of Zambia, enthusiastically encouraged Africans to kill any wild animals they desired, and to resist by force, if necessary, their arrest if caught hunting by wildlife officers.<sup>2</sup> He described European restrictions on African hunting a legal and cultural absurdity.<sup>3</sup> By the time of the elections held in early 1964, this political propaganda led many Zambians to believe that independence would give them the right to hunt without hindrance.

After independence, contrary to promises made by President Kaunda and other Zambian nationalists during the independence movement, the government of the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) continued with the same game laws inherited from the colonial government. In fact, immediately after independence, Kaunda made radio broadcasts and public speeches about the need to protect wild animals as an integral part of Zambian history.<sup>4</sup> The new government prevented people

from having access to game animals.

After independence there were very few Zambians besides Kaunda who favoured game conservation in the nation. Because of the need to conserve wildlife, the Department of Game and Fisheries expanded the number of its staff. For instance, in 1965, the Department recruited and employed an additional 223 Subordinate staff throughout the country.<sup>5</sup> This was an increase of 38 per cent of the Subordinate staff.<sup>6</sup> A total of 42 extra posts for technical officers were made available throughout the country, comprising of five Chief Rangers, five Senior Rangers, thirteen Rangers and nineteen Technical Assistants. One additional post of a Warden was also created.<sup>7</sup> The following year, 1966, the staff was expanded by another 32 per cent.<sup>8</sup> A total of 92 subordinate staff were recruited and trained as Game Guards at Chizombo Camp in the Luangwa valley.<sup>9</sup>

Even though the Department expanded its staff numbers, the major problem faced by the new Zambian government was how to convince the people to stop hunting game after having labelled game conservation an oppressive colonial scheme that only benefitted Europeans. The UNIP government was, therefore, reluctant to assign a high priority to the enforcement of game regulations throughout the nation, fearing local opposition.<sup>10</sup>

It was in the light of the above that poaching rates increased dramatically in the period immediately following independence. The Annual Report of the Department of Game and Fisheries for 1965 showed that there was little evidence of any reduction in poaching activity throughout the republic. Rather, poaching was increasing at an alarming rate.<sup>11</sup>

## Continued problems of Game Conservation in Kasempa, 1965-1982

Kasempa, being part and parcel of the new independent nation of Zambia, was equally affected by the problem of continued illegal hunting of game. The staff increases in the Department of Game and Tsetse Control only led to a temporary decline in poaching in the Kafue National Park (northern sector) and the Game Management Areas of Lunga-Luswishi and Kasonso-Busanga. The decline of game continued in areas outside the game reserves (open areas).<sup>12</sup> A principal cause of illegal hunting of game in these areas was lack of organised meat supplies by the local people.<sup>13</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, the presence of tsetse fly in the area prohibited the local people from keeping cattle as a principal source of protein. Game meat was, therefore, a readily alternative source of protein in the district.

In order to effectively enforce the existing game laws, a Central Anti-Poaching Platoon was formed at Chilanga in 1967.<sup>14</sup> In spite of this action, poaching continued unabated in the district. The people in the district seemed not to be moved by arguments that game protection was for their benefit. Illegal hunting of game was also difficult to eradicate in the district because the area was too large for law enforcement officers to patrol effectively.

In order to improve and effectively control poaching, in November 1968, Parliament passed the National Parks and Wildlife Act No. 57 of 1968.<sup>15</sup> The new Act provided for an increase in the maximum penalties over those in the existing Fauna Conservation

Ordinance of 1955. It is interesting to note that reports from all commands during the same year indicated that the ordinary people in Zambia did not regard poaching as a serious crime, and were not deterred from the pursuit of this past-time by the punishment that they received when they were caught and prosecuted.<sup>16</sup>

This disregard of the game laws, especially, in the North-Western command, led to a loss of game stock in the area. In 1970 very few Game Guards made more than one arrest per year due to critical shortage of transport and lack of adequate staff in the senior grades to supervise the guards.<sup>17</sup> The rate of detection was very low given the amount of illegal hunting of game which took place in the area.

The fall in the price of copper in the mid 1970s, led to a decrease in the Zambian government's revenue. In 1975, copper lost 40 per cent of its value. In addition, its terms of trade fell by 50 per cent, while its contribution to the Zambia Gross Domestic Product (GDP) fell to 13 per cent.<sup>18</sup> Consequently many Zambians became relatively poor. This encouraged some Zambians to enter the growing market in wildlife products. The rising value of wildlife products like ivory, rhino horns and game meat made poaching an attractive activity.<sup>19</sup>

The fall in the price of copper also affected the Department of National Parks and Wildlife. The government cut its budget so much that it was unable to control the subsequent increase in illegal hunting of game. The National Parks and Wildlife Service portion of total government expenditure which averaged nearly .5 per cent from 1970, dropped to an average of .2 per cent in the

period from 1975 to 1982.<sup>20</sup> The Department did not have the manpower or the finances to enforce the game laws. The steady breakdown of motor vehicles, coupled with increased fuel costs, limited the department's capability to control illegal hunting of game.<sup>21</sup> The decreased ability of the Department's resources to control poaching was reflected in the decline in the number of arrests throughout the Republic from 1,629 in 1972 to only 944 in 1974.<sup>22</sup>

After 1975, the Mushala insurgency caused insecurity and led to the closure of all the GMAS in Kasempa District. Illegal entrants mainly from the Copperbelt took advantage of the situation to hunt animals illegally, especially, in the Lunga-Luswishi GMA.<sup>23</sup> The two GMAS of Lunga-Luswishi and Kasonso-Busanga remained unpatrolled and unprotected until after peace and stability were restored in the area after the removal of Mushala by security forces in 1983. This activated the Department's efforts in game conservation in the district.

The Department of National Parks and Wildlife Service noted that there were ineffective investigations and weak prosecutions by the Zambian Police in cases concerning wildlife. To correct the situation, the Department's Directorate established a Prosecutions Unit in 1979.<sup>24</sup> While this led to a few more convictions, it did little to curb the extent of illegal hunting. The low costs in hunting and the high demand for game meat in urban towns, as well as ivory and rhino horns on the international market, made poaching to remain a profitable venture in Kasempa District.<sup>25</sup>

As a result of the insecurity created in the area by the Mushala insurgency, a huge illicit trade based on a highly organised network of poaching and smuggling developed in Kasempa District starting from the early 1980s. The increase in illegal hunting of game was particularly reported in the Lunga-Luswishi and Kasonso-Busanga GMAS. The sale of game meat on the Copperbelt towns, though illegal, became a major incentive to illegal hunting. The majority of the poachers arrested at road blocks, mounted by the Game Rangers on the Kalengwa-Kalulushi road, disguised the meat as bundles of fish when transporting it to the Copperbelt.<sup>26</sup> It was reported in 1981 that six out of every ten people travelling along the Kalengwa-Kalulushi road carried game meat of a sort.<sup>27</sup>

The problem of illegal hunting of game was regarded as being serious and difficult in the district. As far as the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) was concerned, the only remedy lay in more effective policing and heavier penalties. To avoid capture, the poachers started bribing the local people living near the GMAS with either money or other items such as bottles of whisky to hunt animals for them.<sup>28</sup> Since the sound of guns usually attracted the attention of Game Guards, some poachers resorted to using wire snares to kill game.<sup>29</sup>

A spokesman for the Copperbelt Anti-Poaching Unit expressed concern at the large number of Copperbelt residents caught with smoked game meat, particularly, on the Kalengwa road.<sup>30</sup> Some poachers used Solwezi road on their way to the Copperbelt in order to avoid arrest.<sup>31</sup> Illegal hunting of game increased in the district to such an extent that the District Magistrate, Hardis

Maule, issued a statement to the effect that, 'all Copperbelt residents contravening the National Parks and Wildlife Act in the district would be jailed with no option of a fine.'<sup>32</sup>

Poaching became difficult to control because it was a profitable venture which attracted even senior government officials. Concern was expressed by the Director of the Wildlife Conservation Society of Zambia, Ian Tanner, who observed that, 'poaching in the country was well organised and could only be wiped out if the anti-poaching campaign was organised from higher party and government levels'.<sup>33</sup> The Department of NPWS was let down by leaders who were using their positions to defeat the same law they made to protect wildlife.

During the early eighties, most of the poachers arrested in Kasonso-Busanga and Lunga-Luswishi GMAS were caught with meat of different species, muzzle loaders and several rifles such as G3 and AK 47.<sup>34</sup> The types of weapons used showed that those involved in illegal hunting of game were only agents of influential people in urban areas whose firearms were used. So up to 1982, the problem of illegal hunting of game was still the major problem faced by the Department of NPWS. The traditional conventional method of direct enforcement of the law, did not reduce the amount of illegal hunting of game in the district. On the contrary, the number of poachers was increasing in the district, particularly in the GMAS.

## Spreading the Benefits: Administrative Design for Game Management Areas (ADMADE), 1983-1994

Historically, people and wildlife in Zambia lived side by side for a relatively long period. Although, people were allowed to hunt animals, they had to protect them in certain seasons.<sup>35</sup> Those who did not abide by this restriction were heavily punished by the local leaders.<sup>36</sup> This ensured that all the people participated and became part and parcel of the whole conservation strategy devised by the community. The effect of these systems was extensively subverted with the arrival of the colonial government in Northern Rhodesia. It created laws to protect wildlife which did not take into consideration the traditional conservation strategies of the local people.

The subsequent creation of National Parks and Game Management Areas meant that whole communities were removed from their homelands to make way for wild animals.<sup>37</sup> The people reacted to these measures by hunting game illegally. The conventional response of the Department of NPWS was direct enforcement of the law. This naturally caused a lot of resentment and resulted in many wildlife - related conflicts between the government game law enforcement officers and the displaced people.<sup>38</sup>

In the early 1980s, as a result of the growing conflict between wildlife officers and the local people, a growing number of conservationists and development specialists argued for the inclusion of local communities in wildlife management as the only indispensable way for a successful conservation.<sup>39</sup> The experts charged that because conventional policies excluded the people

in the rural areas from the economic benefits of wildlife, they had no incentive to stop their illegal hunting.<sup>40</sup>

Realising that it was probably fighting a losing battle, the Department of NPWS embarked on an aggressive educational campaign involving the local people. This new approach for conserving wildlife in Zambia which involved the local people started in 1983 at Nyamaluma in Mfuwe in Eastern Province.<sup>41</sup> The test-area for this new community based approach to wildlife was Chief Malama's area in the Luangwa valley. An inter-disciplinary workshop was organised with the help of the American wildlife biologist, Dale Lewis, at Nyamaluma in 1983 which tried to find ways of how differences between NPWS Rangers and the local communities could be sorted out. What was observed and appreciated was that the local people wanted a right to hunt game in their areas.<sup>42</sup>

After the workshop, the Lupande Experimental Conservation Programme was initiated by the Department of NPWS, with the direct financial assistance from the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) of the United States of America (USA), and the New York Zoological Society from 1984 to 1987.<sup>43</sup> This new conservation programme inspired new life in what seemed to be a hopeless situation of poaching. This experimental conservation programme enabled the initiation of the Administrative Design for Game Management Areas (ADMAGE) programme in Zambia. From the start of the project, community participation was recognised as the major factor which would make the whole programme work.<sup>44</sup>

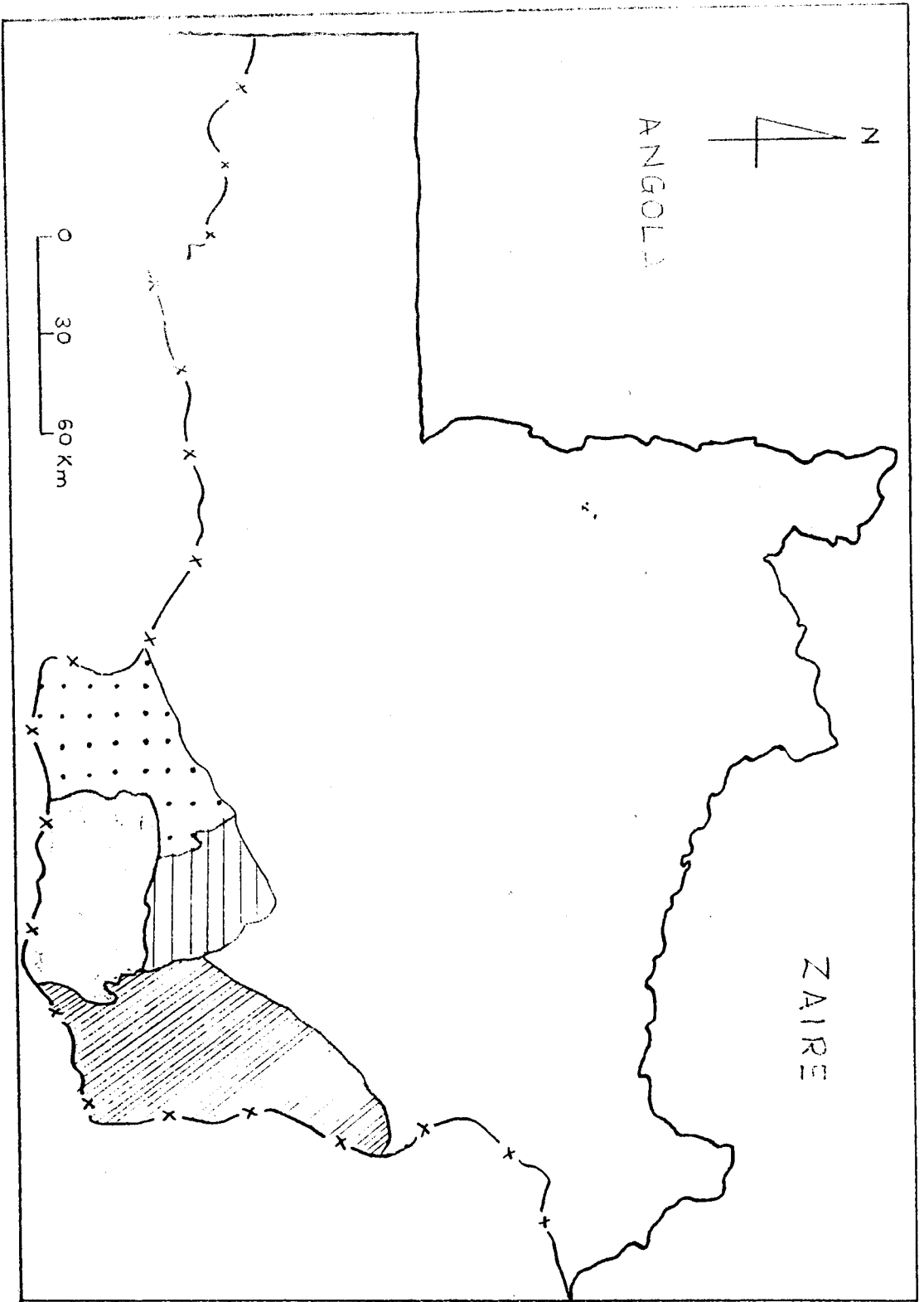
In Kasempa, ADMAGE started in 1987 when all the GMAS were nationalised by the UNIP government. ADMAGE represented the

official policy of the NPWS for involving local communities' participation in the management of wildlife resources and the distribution of its economic benefits.<sup>45</sup> ADMADE sought to secure the full benefits from wildlife without spoiling them, at any time, for future generations. The birth of this project marked a new approach in the district to wildlife conservation by educating and involving the local communities who lived next to wild animals.

The ADMADE project covered two GMAS of Lunga-Luswishi and Kasonso-Busanga. For purposes of hunting, the Lunga-Luswishi GMA was divided into two hunting blocks of Lunga-Luswishi and Lunga-Busanga. The two GMAS covered an area of approximately 21,120 square kilometres,<sup>46</sup> with a total population of approximately 12,385.<sup>47</sup> New settlers were not allowed to settle in the GMAS. It was difficult to estimate the animal population of the two GMAS because aerial and ground transect census have not been regularly conducted in the areas because of financial constraints.<sup>48</sup>

It was realised by the Department of NPWS that since some of the people who were involved in poaching were local people, ADMADE sought to conserve wild animals by incorporating them in decisions over and benefits from wildlife resources. In each of the GMA in the district, ADMADE established a Wildlife Management Unit.<sup>49</sup> A unit leader was appointed by the NPWS from its own staff to direct the implementation of ADMADE policy in each unit. The overall responsibility for ADMADE's design and implementation was in the hands of the ADMADE Directorate composed of senior officers from NPWS. In each unit, a Wildlife Management

# THE WILDLIFE ESTATES OF KASEMPA DISTRICT



## LEGEND

- International Boundary
- x-x- Provincial Boundary
- Kafue National Park
- ▨ Lunga - Luswishi
- ▧ Busanga
- ▩ Kasonso

SOURCE: A REPORT OF THE ADMANDE YEAR 1994-95 (Ministry of Tourism, September 1995), p. iv.

Authority was established to support its own wildlife management. This Authority was chaired by the District Governor with the District Executive Secretary as his vice-chairman. Other members of this Authority included the Provincial Wildlife Warden, area Member of Parliament, unit leader, chiefs and ward chairmen. The Authority also allowed the Managing Directors of Safari Companies in the GMA to become members. All development priorities in the GMAS were considered at the district level.<sup>50</sup>

The Authority also contained a Wildlife Management Sub-authority chaired by the local chief in the unit. The members of a sub-authority included village headmen, the unit leader as its secretary, ward chairmen, teachers and a District Council representative. It was believed that the acceptance of the chief as leader would hold the community together in game conservation.<sup>51</sup> The NPWS only provided technical advice to ADMADE project. It wanted to use these bodies to encourage support for ADMADE at the local level, especially, among the rural people who had traditionally been the most antagonistic towards wildlife conservation policy. The officers of NPWS also believed that if ADMADE could secure the support of the local people, then it would lower the department's enforcement costs.

Local residents trained at Nyamaluma in Mfuwe as village scouts were employed in the GMAS to promote community based management of wildlife. They were paid from the money accrued within the GMAS. The revenue was derived from two sources: Safari hunting concession fees and 50 per cent retention of all licences issued for sustained yield uses of wildlife.<sup>52</sup> It should be mentioned that before the ADMADE programme, money from Safari

hunters used to go to the Ministry of Finance for various development projects.<sup>53</sup> With the ADMADE programme, 35 per cent of the money accrued from safari hunters went to the residents of the GMAS for community development projects.

In January, 1990, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) released funds amounting to £3 million to expand and improve NPWs ADMADE programme.<sup>54</sup> During the period of 1989 and 1990, ADMADE allocated a total amount of K208,000.00 for various development projects in Kasempa GMAS.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, the money was misused by the Chairman of the Lunga-Luswishi GMA. Because of lack of proper publicity of the programme at its establishment, the majority of the people in the GMAS did not know about its operations in their areas. The Chief's Induna in the Lunga-Luswishi GMA, Dimas Mulyandambo observed:

What the local people knew about ADMADE was that it was only for three persons, namely, the former Governor of Kasempa, the Unit Leader, M. Mubita and Chief Kasonso himself, because these were the only people who used to attend the Wildlife Management Authority meetings in Kasempa.<sup>56</sup>

It was only in 1990 when all sub-authorities in the district learnt of the ADMADE programme. During 1990, an initial amount of K30,000.00 was allocated for a hammermill shelter in Mubambe's area in Kasonso-Busanga GMA. Ntete primary school in Mukunashi area was allocated K20,000.00 for a 1 x 2 classroom block.<sup>57</sup>

In 1991, ADMADE embarked on other projects in the GMAS. At Kaminzekenzeke village in Kasonso-Busanga sub-authority, a Rural Health Centre was began.<sup>58</sup> In the Lunga-Luswishi sub-authority, another Rural Health Centre was began at Jifumpa.<sup>59</sup> This project went only up to the window level before it was finally abandoned

when the area was taken over by a mining company.

In 1993, the Units were inadequately funded which made it difficult to meet the demands of managing the GMAS. It was difficult for the Units to embark on major development projects because funds for community development projects were not disbursed into the 35 per cent share accounts. Instead the units either completed or extended the already existing projects in the GMAS. At Kaminzekenzeke, after partially completing a clinic, the Unit started constructing a house for a Clinical Officer. At Lunga-Luswishi GMA, the unit started constructing a house for a Clinical Officer, after having renovated and converted into a clinic an already existing structure. ADMADE also worked on a classroom block at Ntete primary school.<sup>60</sup>

From January to December 1994, the Units were financed by the Wildlife Conservation Revolving Fund.<sup>61</sup> Up to October 1994, it was not possible to state how much money was released for all the GMAS in the district because all payments were made at Chilanga. However, K10,087,200.00 was released for Mubambe Sub-authority as part of the 35 per cent earning for 1994 hunting season.<sup>62</sup> The local community in the Kasonso-Busanga GMA used the money on carry-over projects which included the completion of a hammermill shelter, the clinic at Kaminzekenzeke and building a house for a Clinical Officer.

Unlike in the Luangwa valley in Mpika District where it was reported that the local people had abandoned illegal hunting of game because they were now beneficiary of government revenue from wildlife,<sup>63</sup> in Kasempa from 1992 to 1994 poaching increased in the area. The Lunga-Luswishi Block A and Lunga-Busanga Block B,

continued to be heavily poached by people from the Copperbelt and even Zaire. Former Chief Kasonso, Edward Shikombwe, expressed concern at the number of poachers who were flocking into the GMAS using bush paths, and killing animals using wire snares and a locally made muzzle-loader gun called mututula.<sup>64</sup> It was in light of the above situation that he called upon the Minister of Tourism to dispatch more wildlife police officers to control poaching which he said was getting out of hand in the GMAS.

Between 1992 and 1994, about 86 people were convicted of various gun and game offenses in the district. The penalties ranged from either K1,000.00 fine or six months simple imprisonment for a case of entering a GMA without a permit to K25,000.00 for a case of unlawful possession of a prescribed government trophy such as rhino horn, elephant tusks or leopard skin.<sup>65</sup>

The continued increase of illegal hunting of game in the district showed that there was a serious problem in the implementation of the ADMADE programme in the GMAS. The project was not functioning properly to meet its set objectives of integrating the local people in game conservation. Some of the ADMADE projects which were started in 1987 were not yet successfully completed by the end of 1994. Building materials were not brought in good time and in most cases were insufficient. The salaries of village scouts were very low and occasionally paid very late. Naturally, this lowered the morale of village game scouts in enforcing the game laws in the GMAS. Therefore, by 1994, the ADMADE programme was still far from realising its objectives as Gibson argued,

ADMADE did not create incentive structures sufficient to turn rural residents into conservationists; neither did the programmes devolve much authority over wildlife to the local level.<sup>66</sup>

In significant ways, ADMADE had negative effects for conservation and the local community participation in game conservation. The collective distribution of benefits to the local community and not to individuals did not induce a conservation behaviour. The continued illegal hunting of game by the local community could be seen as a protest at the incentive structure offered by ADMADE.<sup>67</sup>

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35. Gwyn Prins, The Hidden Hippopotamus: Reappraisal in African History: The Early Colonial Experience in Western Zambia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 78: Among the Lozi, larger animals in particular were more controlled by the Litunga; Among the Ila, the Chila (Communal game drives) method of hunting was a significant traditional wildlife conservation strategy in that it was only conducted at a certain season of the year: Francis Musonda, 'Cultural and Social Patterning in Economic Activities and their Implications to Archaeological Interpretation: A Case from the Kafue Basin, Zambia,' African Studies 48,1(1989), p. 56; Nawa Nawa, 'The Role of the Traditional Authority in the Conservation of Natural Resources in the Western Province of Zambia, 1878-1989,' M.A. Dissertation, UNZA, 1990, p. 99; Jenny Macgregor, 'The Paradoxes of Wildlife Conservation in Africa,' Africa Insight 19,4(1989), p. 201.
36. Interview with Lupiya Tebelenka, Kaimbwe village, Kasempa District, 4th December, 1995: He argued that the Chief in a particular locality regulated hunting in his area. For instance, the communal burning of bush (kiyombo) with the object of killing game, was only sanctioned at a particular period of the year. Any one who infringed on this restriction was heavily punished by the Chief.
37. Jane Carruthers, 'Creating a National Park, 1910-1926; Journal of Southern Africa Studies, 15,2(1989), p. 215; See also Marks, The Imperial Lion, p. 117: By 1984, Zambia had 18 National Parks covering 59,450 square kilometres, and an additional 32 GMAS covering 163,853 square kilometres.
38. 'Our Effort, Our Reward,' A Report of the ADMADE Year 1994-95 (Ministry of Tourism, NPWS, September 1995), see the Introduction.
39. Marks, The Imperial Lion, pp. 136-137; Macgregor, 'The Paradoxes of Wildlife Conservation,' pp. 209-211.
40. Gibson, 'Politicians, Peasants and Poachers,' p. 202.
41. Times of Zambia, 16th January, 1991.
42. A Report of the ADMADE Year 1994-95, See the Introduction.
43. Zambian Wildlands and Human Needs Newsletter 10(April 1992); See also the Times of Zambia, 19th February, 1991.
44. Interview with Kachepa, 7th December, 1995.
45. Zambian Wildlands and Human Needs Newsletter 10(April 1992).
46. WWF Support Project to the NPWS ADMADE Programme, A Baseline Survey for Nine GMAS in Zambia, Compiled by Mrs. P.A. Simasiku, Land Use Planning Officer, NPWS ADMADE Programme, p. 71; p. 93.

47. A Baseline Survey for Nine GMAS in Zambia, p. 72; p. 93.
48. Interview with Bornface Bungula, Wildlife Ranger, Kasempa District, 29th November, 1995; See also A Baseline Survey for Nine GMAS in Zambia, pp. 144-145.
49. Interview with Kachepa, 7th December, 1995.
50. Interview with Kachepa, 7th December, 1995.
51. A Report of the ADMADE Year 1994-95, p. 2.
52. Zambian Wildlands and Human Needs Newsletter 10 (April 1992).
53. Interview with Kachepa, 7th December, 1995.
54. Zambian Wildlands and Human Needs Newsletter (Nyamaluma Conservation Camp, Lupande Development Project, 5 (March 1990)).
55. Combined Status Report for Kasonso-Busanga and Lunga-Luswishi GMAS, by Betlem Chonde, Community Development Officer, North-Western Command, Chilanga, 1992, p. 5.
56. Combined Status Report for Kasonso-Busanga and Lunga-Luswishi GMAS, p. 6.
57. Combined Status Report for Kasonso-Busanga and Lunga-Luswishi GMAS, p. 6.
58. Combined Status Report, p. 7.
59. Combined Status Report, p. 8.
60. Zambia, National Parks and Wildlife Service, North-Western Command Annual Report for 1993, Submitted by Alick Sakala, Acting Wildlife Police Warden, NW Command.
61. REP 4/6, North-Western Command Annual Reports for 1994, Volume III, 30th April, 1995, p. 6; John G. Kachepa, The Unit Leader of Lunga-Luswishi-Busanga GMAS said that the unit received about K500,000.00 as a revolving fund from WCRF.
62. North-Western Command Annual Reports for 1994, p. 6.
63. Times of Zambia, 18th May, 1991.
64. Times of Zambia, 20th December, 1994.
65. Contravention Record Book, NPWS, Kasempa District, 1993-94: Information obtained from Mr. Bukari, Wildlife Prosecutor, Kasempa District, 6th December, 1995.
66. Gibson, 'Politicians, Peasants and Poachers,' p. 259.

67. Gibson, 'Politicians, Peasants and Poachers,' p. 259.

## CONCLUSION

The study showed that historically, among the Kaonde, hunting was an inseparable part of the whole culture system. The traditional Kaonde society had a long and stable co-existence with wild animals which was explained by the fact that ecological values were an intrinsic part of their society. The study exemplified that traditional methods of hunting had an element of conservation and did not threaten the depletion of game.

The establishment of colonial rule in Kasempa District led to the implementation of game policies aimed at restricting Africans from using their long established hunting practices. Consequently, the Africans were cut off from their major traditional source of animal protein. The restrictions forced the local people to revert to hunting game illegally. Illegal hunting of game is a socio-economic problem arising out of a desperate need by the local people to supplement both their income and protein in the diet.

During the later part of the colonial period, controlled hunting areas, game management areas and a national park were established in the district when it became evident that earlier game protective legislations were ineffective. The establishment of these game protected areas denied the local people the usage of large tracts of land for farming and hunting. As such, the attitudes of the local people towards the initiative by the government to conserve game were negative. Between 1934 and 1964, state intervention in game conservation failed in Kasempa District because the local African community was excluded in the game conservation strategies devised and enforced by the colonial

authorities in the area.

The establishment of game sanctuaries and the enforcement of game regulations led to large tracts of land remaining uncultivated and abandoned fields reverted into bush which attracted tsetse fly. The increase in tsetse fly increased the incidence of sleeping sickness cases in the district between 1942 and 1964.

Following independence in 1964, the Zambian government maintained and strengthened the Game Department, National Parks and Game Management Area Systems. Despite the establishment of protected areas and a clamp-down on hunting in the District, poaching escalated in the area from the 1970s due to financial incentives to poachers engaged in selling game meat on the Copperbelt towns. Like in the colonial period, law enforcement measures in the post-colonial era continued as an accepted deterrent to poaching in the district. As long as the majority of the local people were excluded from the tangible benefits of game conservation, they could not be expected to support the cause of conservation.

In 1987, a programme called Administrative Design for Game Management Areas (ADMADE) was started in the district with the purpose of restoring to the people their authority over game animals in the Game Management Areas (GMAS), and to use it wisely so as to reap benefits from it. However, ADMADE failed to preserve and conserve game in the district because of poor management and misguided policies. This lack of proper and efficient management led to the continued problem of illegal hunting of game in Kasempa District up to 1994. The use of

traditional methods of hunting and modern sophisticated weapons increased in the district. ADMADE could only succeed if individuals, and not groups within the GMAS directly benefitted from the project.

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Zambian Wildlands and Human Needs Newsletter. Nyamaluma Conservation Camp, Lupande Development Project, 5 (March 1990).

Zambian Wildlands and Human Needs Newsletter 10 (April 1992).

**APPENDIX 1**  
**List of English/Kaonde names of some Game animals**

ENGLISH	KAONDE
Baboon	Mpombo
Buffalo	Mbo
Bushbuck	Ngulungu
Bush pig	Ngulube
Civet	Katumpa (Mfungwe)
Crocodile	Kiwele
Duiker	Kasha
Eland	Nsefu
Elephant	Nzovu
Genet	Nshimba
Grey monkey	Kolwe
Hartebeeste	Nkonzhi
Hippopotamus	Kyovwe
Honey badger	Kambole (Kankwa)
Hunting dog	Musuka
Hyena	Mungolwe
Kudu	Sontwa
Leopard	Kisumpa
Lion	Bokwe (Ntambo)
Otter	Kibawe (Mushingo)
Porcupine	Nungu
Puku	Nsebula
Reedbuck	Kabazhi (Mbazhi)
Rhinoceros	Chilangwa (Kipembele)
Roan antelope	Ntengu
sable antelope	Mfumbo
Sitatunga	Mbundu
Warthog	Mpenge

ENGLISH	KAONDE
Waterbuck	Mukambi
Zebra	Mbishi (Kingalika)

SOURCE: Frank H. Melland, In Witch Bound Africa (London: Seeley Service and Company, 1923), pp. 268-9.

## APPENDIX 2

### The Succession of the Kasempa Chieftainship (Bena Kyowa-Clan).

1. Kiboko Kasempa I

- He settled in Zaire in the area of the Lufira river. He was given the chieftainship title by Mwatiamvwa about A.D. 1800.

2. Nkumba Kasempa II

- He settled in Zaire in the area of Luenge on the upper Kafue river.

3. Nkonde Chikunku Kasempa III

- He left Zaire and settled in the area of Mutanda and Luma streams in Solwezi District.

4. Miyamba Kasempa IV

- He was also settled in the area of the Luma stream in Solwezi District.
- He died about 1858.

Katutu

- He was only chief for a short period.

5. Mudungu Kasempa V

- He settled in the area of the Kaimbwe salt pan.

6. Kabambala Kasempa VI

- He also settled in the area of the Kaimbwe salt pan.
- He was killed by Jipumpu in about 1878.

7. Jipumpu Kasempa VII

- He succeeded in about 1882.
- He first settled in the area of Ntete and Mukunashi streams before finally settling at Kamusongolwa Hill.
- He died in 1905 at Kasempa Boma.

8. Kalusha Kasempa VIII
  - He succeeded his uncle in 1907.
  - He moved his village 5 kilometres west of Kasempa Boma.
  - He died on 2nd April, 1926.
9. Kibumba Kasempa IX
  - He succeeded on 11 June 1926.
  - He died on 2nd September 1947.
10. Samushi Mabende Kasempa X
  - He succeeded in 1947.
  - He died in 1975.
11. Benson Mushitala Kasempa XI
  - He was installed in 1977.

**Source:** NAZ/KDD5/1: Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 46; Dirk Jaeger, Settlement Patterns and Rural Development: A Human Geographical Study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1981), See Appendix VI on page 263; See also Simon Jilundu Chibanza, 'Kaonde History in Central Bantu Historical Texts I,' Rhodes-Livingstone Communication no. 22(1961), pp. 41-114.

APPENDIX 3

Clan Systems of some Kaonde Chiefs

CHIEF	DISTRICT	CLAN (MKOKA)
Senior house of Chief Chiboko Kasempa	Kasempa	Kyowa-Mushroom totem
Mushima	Mufumbwe	Balembu-Bee totem
Ingwe	Kasempa	Mpumpi-Hunting or river bed
Mujimanzovu	Solwezi	Balonga - water or river bed
Mumena	Solwezi	Batembuzhi - Lion
Kaindu	Mumbwa	Balonga - water

N.B. These clan (Mkoka) systems are still very much in force among the Kaonde.

SOURCE: P.G.D. Clark, 'Kasempa: 1901-1951,' Northern Rhodesia Journal 3 (1956-59), p. 68.

APPENDIX 4

Provincial Commissioners, District Commissioner and Magistrates of Kasempa District and Kaonde-Lunda Province, 1905-1946

NAME	DESIGNATION	YEAR
E.A. Copeman	District Commissioner and Magistrate	1905-1908
B.F. Bishof	Acting District Commissioner	1908-early 1910
W.H. Hazell	District Commissioner and Magistrate	1910-1916
	Between 1916-1923, the District Commission and Magistrate resided at Kansanshi in Solwezi	(1916-1923)
P.E. Hall	District Commissioner and Magistrate	1923-1924
C.R. Rennie	District Commissioner and Magistrate	1924-1926
C.R. Draper	District Commissioner and Magistrate	1926-1927
F.R. Bruce-Miller	District Commissioner and Magistrate	1927
C.R.B. Draper	Provincial Commissioner	1927-1930
E. Sharpe	Provincial Commissioner	1930-1933
L.A. Russell	Provincial Commissioner	1933
	During 1933-1940, Kasempa District was incorporated in Western Luangwa Province	
E. Munday	Officer/Commissioner	1940-1942
E. Munday	Provincial Commissioner	1942-1943
H.B. Watmore	Provincial Commissioner	1943
A.F.B. Glennie	Provincial Commissioner	1943-1944
E.D. Clough	Provincial Commissioner	1944-1946
J.P. Murray	Acting Provincial Commissioner	1946

SOURCE: NAZ/KDD5/1: Kasempa District Notebook, 1902-1964, p. 10.

**APPENDIX 5**

**Administrative Division of North-Western Province, 1901-1994**

1901-1916	<p><u>Kasempa District</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Headquarters: Kasempa.</li> <li>- Sub-stations: Shilenda, Mwinilunga and Kansanshi.</li> </ul>
1916-1923	<p><u>Kasempa District</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- District Commissioner and Magistrate resided at Kansanshi in Solwezi</li> <li>- Sub-stations: Kasempa and Mwinilunga</li> </ul>
1923-1933	<p><u>Kasempa Province</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- District Commissioner and Magistrate re-posted at Kasempa</li> </ul>
1933-1942	<p><u>Western Province (West-Luangwa Province)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kasempa became a Sub-station and combined with Solwezi into one district.</li> <li>- Headquarters at Solwezi</li> <li>- In 1941, Balovale District was excised from Barotseland and became part of the province</li> </ul>
1942-1946	<p><u>Kaonde-Lunda Province</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Headquarters was at Kasempa</li> <li>- Solwezi Boma was closed</li> </ul>
1946-1953	<p><u>Western Province</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The whole area became part of Western Province</li> <li>- Headquarters was at Ndola</li> <li>- Kasempa became a District Boma</li> <li>- Solwezi Boma was re-opened as a District Boma in 1947</li> <li>- In 1948, Kabombo became a separate District.</li> </ul>
1953	<p><u>North-Western Province</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Provincial Headquarters was at Solwezi</li> <li>- The Districts were: Solwezi, Mwinilunga, Kasempa, Kabombo and Balovale (called Zambezi since 1969).</li> </ul>
1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kizera was gazetted as a separate district</li> </ul>
1978-1994	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kasempa was one of the six districts of North-Western Province</li> <li>- The name Kizera was changed to Mufumbwe.</li> </ul>

SOURCE: Dirk Jaeger, Settlement Patterns and Rural Development: A Human Geographical Study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1981), See Appendix XI on page 280.

APPENDIX 6

Poaching cases in Kasempa District, 1992-1994

YEAR	NON OF CASES	OFFENSES	CONVICTED	ACCOUNTED
1992	56	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 42 Unlawful possession of Government Trophy</li> <li>- 3 Unlawful possession of firearm without a licence</li> <li>- 3 Hunting in the GMA without a permit</li> <li>- 6 entering GMA without a permit</li> <li>- 2 unlawful possession of wire snares</li> </ul>	51	5
1993	10	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 5 unlawful possession of Government Trophy</li> <li>- 2 hunting in GMA without a permit</li> <li>- 3 unlawful possession of firearm without a licence</li> </ul>	9	1
1994	20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 14 unlawful possession of Government Trophy</li> <li>- 4 unlawful possession of firearm without a licence</li> <li>- 2 hunting in GMA without permit</li> </ul>	19	1
TOTAL	86		79	7

SOURCE: Contravention Record Book (Kasempa District, NPWS, 1992-1994); Criminal Record Book (Kasempa District, NPWS, 1992-1994).