

**THE LUMPA CHURCH: ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT IN LUNDAZI
DISTRICT IN EASTERN PROVINCE OF ZAMBIA, 1955-1995**

BY

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**A Dissertation Submitted to the University of Zambia in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

LUSAKA

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DECLARATION

I, Elijah Munga, declare that this dissertation

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district in Eastern Province of Zambia from 1955 to 1995. It reveals that the church spread to the district in about 1955. The study shows that the church members spread the church in the district by preaching its beliefs and values. This was necessitated by the proximity of the area to Chinsali district, the headquarters of the church.

This study demonstrates that the Lumpa Church activities had both positive and negative socio-economic impacts in the district. The construction of Lumpa Church buildings contributed to infrastructure development. The promotion of moral values, led to a reduction in, among other things, beer drinking, polygamy and witchcraft. The study concludes that the existence of the church in the district made many people to disregard both civil and traditional authority. The 1964 bedlam led to the destruction of life and property, poverty and hunger as well as the emergence of over 5,000 refugees in the district. Also, the district lost revenue before, during and after the 1964 war.

The study further concludes that the government and other organisations such as the World Food Programme (WFP) introduced some socio-economic mitigation measures in order to cushion the negative impact of the church's activities in the district. Headmen were warned and fined for coercing their subjects to become Lumpas. During and after the 1964 war, security, food, clothes, health care and transport were provided to the affected people in the district. Many affected people, orphans inclusive, were rehabilitated. Also, to revamp agricultural production, some affected peasant farmers were provided with seeds and fertilizers. Conversely, such provisions were inadequate. Also, the Zambian government collaborated with the governments of Malawi and the Congo in order to help ex-Lumpa refugees resettle in various parts of Zambia by 1995.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my mother, Tisaine Phiri, my late father, Whyson E. Munga, and all my siblings.

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I give praise and honour to the Almighty God for his guidance and good health during my study, both at taught and dissertation writing stages. It is also worth noting that this work culminates from my undergraduate mini-dissertation on the subject.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AICs	African Independent Churches
ANC	African National Congress
AFIF	Agriculture Farming Improvement Fund
BOMA	British Overseas Military Administration
CID	Criminal Investigation Division
CMML	Christian Missions in Many Lands
COY	Company
DC	District Commissioner
DPP	Director of Public Prosecution
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
FENZA	Faith and Encounter in Zambia
LEA	Local Education Authority
LMS	London Missionary Society
MMD	Movement for Multi-Party Democracy
MBE	Member of the British Empire
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
NRAF	Northern Rhodesia Air Force
NRR	Northern Rhodesia Regiment

PROVOPS Provincial Operations Committee

UN United Nations

UNIP United National Independence Party

UNHCR United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UTUC United Trades Union Congress

WFP World Food Programme

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LIST OF PLACES

A. Names of Towns

Old	New
Abercorn	Mbala
Broken Hill	Kabwe
Fort Jameson	Chipata
Salisbury	Harare

B. Names of Countries

Old	New
Congo Leopoldville/Congo Kinsansha/Zaire...	Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)
Northern Rhodesia	Zambia
Nyasaland	Malawi
Southern Rhodesia	Zimbabwe
Tanganyika	United Republic of Tanzania

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

African Independent Churches (AICs), also known as Separatist Churches established themselves firmly on the African continent by the middle of the 20th century. In Southern Africa, the development of AICs started earlier among the Xhosa in South Africa who fought for an indigenised church. By the end of the 20th Century, AICs had spread all over Africa.¹ Some of the countries where the independent churches became common included Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In Northern Rhodesia, two AICs became prominent and these were the Mutima (the Sacred Heart) led by Emilio Mulolani and the Lumpa Church led by Alice Mulenga Lenshina Lubusha², indicated in Figure 1. The rise of the latter church, the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the Smith government in Southern Rhodesia and the Adamson Mushala rebellion were some of the challenges that Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) faced after 1964. These challenges had several diverse effects ranging from the social and economic to political effects on the newly born nation of Zambia. The focus of this study is on the Lumpa Church.

¹ Obed Kealotswe, 'The Nature and Character of African Independent Churches (AICs) in the 21st Century: Their Theology and Social Agenda', Department of Theology and Religious Studies, Seminar Paper, University of Botswana, Gaborone, p.229.

² John Vernon Taylor, *Christianity on the Copperbelt: The Growth of the Church in Northern Rhodesia* (London: Forgotten Books, 2013), p.214.

Figure 1: Alice Mulenga Lenshina Lubusha



Source: David M. Gordon, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012), p.100.

Lenshina was born in the Chinsali district of Northern Province in the early 1920s. It must be mentioned that Lenshina was a corruption of the English name Regina. She was a Bemba woman from Kasomo village which was about six miles (a mile is about 1.5 Kilometres) from Lubwa Mission of the Church of Scotland. She married Gibson Nkwale. After the demise of Gibson, she was cleansed and inherited by her cousin, Petros Chintankwa, with whom she bore five children.³

Lenshina was a member of the Church of Scotland until early November, 1953, when she fell ill and allegedly underwent her religious transformation. The events that followed remain mythical and discussions on what exactly took place vary. Nonetheless, it was during this time that she was believed to have received a vision which marked her new life that eventually led to the formation of the Lenshina movement. In early 1955, Lenshina told the District Commissioner (DC) for Chinsali during a meeting that she would establish her own church since she had attained the right to baptise directly from God and not from Lubwa Mission. This led to the formation of the Lumpa Church with its headquarters at Sione in

³ David M. Gordon, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012), pp.89-91.

Kasomo village.⁴ The word ‘Lumpa’ was derived from Ibibemba language for ‘to travel for or better than exceeding all the rest’.⁵ By the end of 1955, the Lubwa Church elders expelled her together with her twenty-six closest followers from the Presbyterian Mission.⁶

According to Kampamba Mulenga, the Lumpa Church soon spread to most parts of Northern Rhodesia areas including Kasama, Isoka, Mporokoso, Kawambwa, Lundazi, Fort Jameson (Chipata), Lusaka, Broken Hill (Kabwe), Mpika, Abercorn (Mbala) districts and Luapula Province as well as all towns on the Copperbelt.⁷ The church was registered under the Society Ordinance of 1957.⁸ According to the Register of Societies, in 1958 there were 60 registered Lumpa churches in Chinsali, 23 in Lundazi, 20 in Kasama, 20 in Mpika, six in Isoka and three in Kawambwa. Lusaka had four, Kitwe had three and rest of the Copperbelt had nine. The church had wide support in Chinsali and Lundazi districts.⁹ According to Andrew Roberts the church reached its greatest influence in 1959 as its total membership was between 50,000 and 100,000.¹⁰ Table 1 shows statistics of membership comparisons of the church in Northern and Eastern provinces of Northern Rhodesia in the late 1950s with other churches.¹¹

⁴ Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, pp.89-91.

⁵ John J. Grotperter, Brian V. Siegel and James R. Pletcher, *Historical Dictionary of Zambia*, Second Edition (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), p.201; John Hudson, *A Time to Mourn: A personal Account of the 1964 Lumpa Church Revolt in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999), p.20 and Margaret Musonda Chileshe, ‘Church and Politics in Zambia, 1950-1991’, M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2014, p.54.

⁶ Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, 91.

⁷ Kampamba Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1998), p.18 and Morris Mukuka Musa, ‘A Study of the Life, Work and Contribution of Alfred Kapele Nkonde to the Development of the Lumpa Church, 1953-94’, M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 1998, p.9.

⁸ Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands*, p.12.

⁹ Richard Hall, *Zambia* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p.229 and Sean O’Leary, ‘The Lumpa Church within a Context of Innovation’, Diploma in Missiology, n.p. (May, 1982), p.8.

¹⁰ Andrew D. Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenishina* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.29. See also Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, p.91.

¹¹ John Hudson, *A Time to Mourn: A personal Account of the 1964 Lumpa Church Revolt in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999), p.12 and Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenishina*, p.26.

Table 1: The Lumpa Church established population by the late 1950s

District	Population	Lumpa Churches	Membership	Catholic	Protestant
Chinsali	70,940	60	35,000	8,500	4,000
Kasama	113,520	20	19,000	32,000	-
Mpika	61,420	20	15,000	20,500	-
Isoka	80,000	6	4,000	-	-
Lundazi	122,390	23	17,000	2,000	3,091
Total	448,300	119	90,000		

Source: John Hudson, *A Time to Mourn: A personal Account of the 1964 Lumpa Church Revolt in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999), p.12.

The Lumpa Church also spread across Central and Southern Africa. For example, the church spread to Tunduma in Tanganyika (currently, United Republic of Tanzania), Wankie in Southern Rhodesia (currently Zimbabwe), Central Nyasaland (currently Malawi) and Congo Leopoldville, which later changed its name to Congo Kinshasa, Zaire and currently called Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and Johannesburg in South Africa.¹²

The growth and spread of the Lumpa Church was attributed to the fact that Lenshina could heal people, catch witches and wizards, and allowed fellow Africans especially *badikoni* (deacons) to preach in her church. As a result of this, Africans felt part and parcel of the church unlike the case was with the mission-run churches. As a result, believers started flocking to Chinsali as early as 1954 on pilgrimages on foot or bicycle.¹³

The Lumpa Church decided to remain apolitical by not paying taxes and only recognising Jesus as their leader. This resulted into conflicts with chiefs and the colonial government in

¹² Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba – Speaking Women of Zambia in a Century of Religious Change (1892-1992)* (New York: E.J Brill Leiden, 1994), p.98 and Morris Mukuka Musa, 'A Study of the Life, Work and Contribution of Alfred Kapele Nkonde to the Development of the Lumpa Church, 1953-94', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 1998, p.9.

¹³ Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina*, p.16 and Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.26.

Northern Rhodesia.¹⁴ Afterwards, the Lumpa adherents clashed with United National Independence Party (UNIP) members because they did not want to belong to any political party. When these clashes deteriorated in the early 1964, the central government involved troops. The most affected area was Chinsali district because the area was the headquarters of the church and a stronghold for UNIP¹⁵ as well as the home district for Kenneth Kaunda, the leader of the party.

The conflict between the church and the UNIP government started in Chinsali after 1962. This was after the election which resulted in the formation of a coalition government between UNIP and the African National Congress (ANC). This event made the Lumpa Church feel isolated as it had earlier on relied on the imperial government to keep the peace and to protect religious freedoms despite its various differences with the authorities. After Lenshina's rally in 1962 in Chinsali district where she expressed her displeasure with the new government, suspected UNIP members burnt down three Lumpa Churches. This was followed by further burning of several other Lumpa churches in Chinsali and Lundazi districts by UNIP members. In retaliation, the Lumpa members attacked Kapimpa village, an area occupied by the arsonists. However, the Lumpas responsible were arrested and convicted.¹⁶

In June 1963 the government in an attempt to restore peace in Chinsali district sent Minister of Agriculture, Simon Kapwepwe. The minister listened to accusations from both the Lumpa Church members and UNIP members. The former accused the latter of burning their churches and forcing them to attend political meetings while the former stated that the Lumpa Church members burned the Party cards and that Party members had been expelled from the church.

¹⁴ Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia 1873-1964* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p.273.

¹⁵ Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), p.22.

¹⁶ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.33.

Kapwepwe's appeal for peace and harmony from both sides was short-lived as the violence resumed in August. This made Kenneth Kaunda to visit the district in the same year where in an effort to promote peace, he engaged leaders of both sides to agree on the measures to prevent further mess.¹⁷ This agreement was yet again soon broken as it was followed by a serious clash in the Luangwa valley in October where six people died and thirty six were wounded. In December, as a result of further clashes in Chinsali, nine people died and one hundred were wounded.¹⁸

The clashes forced the Lumpa Church members to move out of their original villages where they intermingled with other people including UNIP members to form exclusively Lumpa stockade settlements for more safety. By the December 1963, thirty eight of such settlements had been established among which twenty two were in Chinsali, six in Kasama, three in Isoka, two in Mpika and five in Lundazi districts.¹⁹

The hostilities continued between the two groups. John Hudson argues that the situation only needed a spark to set off an explosion of violence which eventually took place on 25 June 1964. This was after a boy from Kameko, a Lumpa settlement in northern Chinsali, was reprimanded and assaulted by his UNIP uncle while passing through another village for failing to attend a local school. When the boy reported the assault on his return to Kameko, fifteen of his friends rampaged through the uncle's village. When a Police Sergeant and three constables who were conducting patrols learnt of the incident, they went to Kameko and made several arrests and left for Chief Mubanga's court. On their way, the Lumpas freed the prisoners from the police officers. When this incident was reported to Chinsali, the Officer in Charge of Police, Senior Inspector Ellis made a follow up accompanied by Assistant

¹⁷ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, pp.30-34.

¹⁸ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.34.

¹⁹ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.34.

Inspectors Lester and Shimulopwe, Detective Inspector Hopwood, and ten armed officers. When they reached the village, they saw four Lumpas sitting, each with a bundle of spears and immediately one of them shouted 'Jericho' while another aimed his spear at the policemen. Senior Inspector Ellis then ordered his men to fire, and the spearman was shot dead. Due to the overwhelming numbers of the Lumpas who gathered, the police withdrew from the village but in the process, Senior Inspector Ellis was speared to death.²⁰

After the above incident, a series of meetings were held from early July in order to persuade the Lumpas to return to their villages but to no avail. When the situation worsened, two battalions of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment and Mobile Unit platoons were sent to Chinsali. It was during this operation that the Kamutola Cathedral, indicated in Figure 2, built in 1957²¹ was destroyed and many Lumpas were killed. When the news of the attack on Sione reached the Lumpas in Lundazi district, the Chipoma settlement attacked Lundazi Township killing ordinary citizens, police officers and destroyed buildings including a police station and capturing its armoury of weapons. The troops were also sent to Lundazi district where further deaths and casualties were reported in villages such as Paishuko.²² Further confrontations between the Lumpas and troops combined with the Mobile Unit were reported in other districts such as Mpika.²³

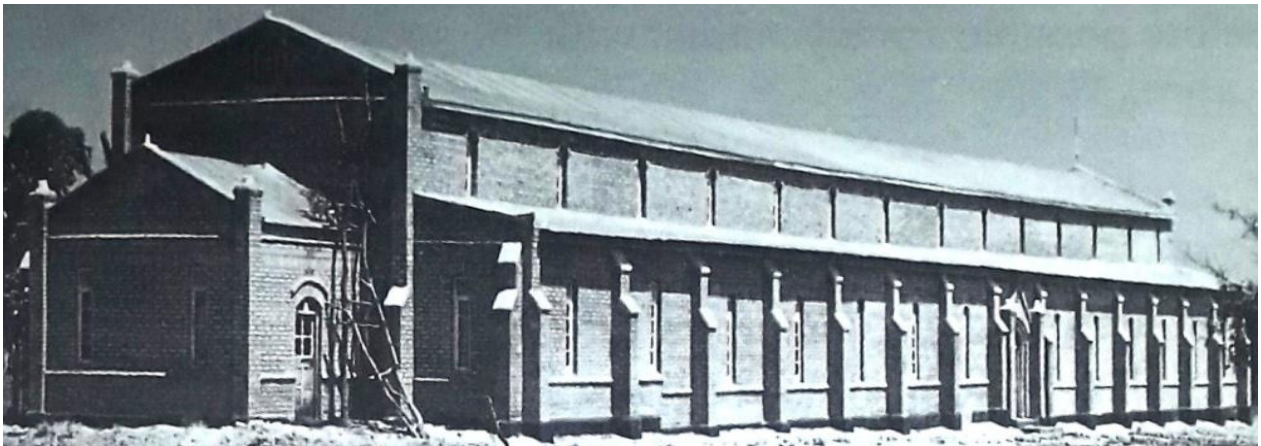
²⁰ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.38.

²¹ Jean Loup Calmettes, 'The Lumpa Church and Witchcraft Eradication', Conference on the History of Central African Religions. August 30th- September 8th 1972', Chinsali: Ilondola Mission, 1972, p.8.

²² Richard Hall, *Zambia* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p.229.

²³ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.48.

Figure 2: The Kamutola Cathedral at Sione



Source: John Hudson, *A Time to Mourn: A personal Account of the 1964 Lumpa Church Revolt in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999), p.21.

The civil war resulted in more than 19,000 Lumpa Church members to flee to Congo Leopoldville for refuge. They settled at Mokambo settlement. In the early 1970s, some of church members were moved to Lubumbashi, further in the interior of Zaire. Some of ex-Lumpas were repatriated back into Zambia in 1994 and their resettlement in various parts of the country ended in 1995. Some of the Lumpa refugees were resettled in some districts including Petauke, Chipata, Kasama and Mpika. It is worth noting that Lenshina died on 7 December, 1978 in Lusakas' Kaunda Square area. She was buried in Chinsali district.²⁴

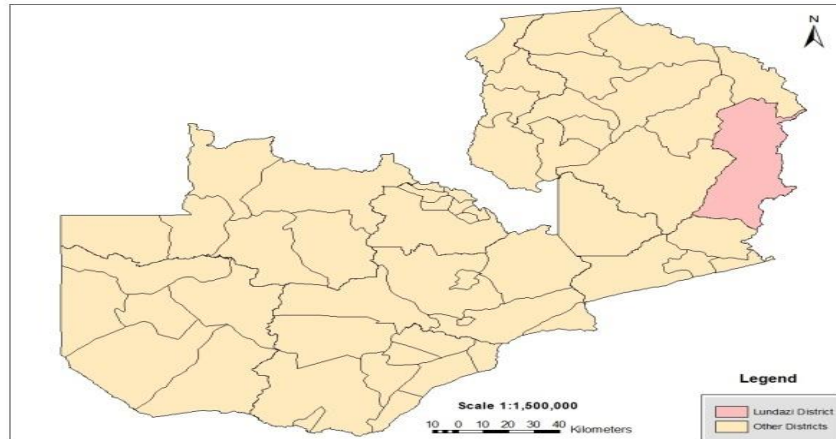
Study Area

This study focuses on Lundazi district of the Eastern Province of Zambia as maps 1 and 2 indicate. During the 1964 civil war, Lundazi district encompassed Chama as a sub-*Boma* before it became an independent district in the 1970s. Therefore, despite Chama district currently being under Muchinga Province in Northern part of Zambia, in this study, Chama

²⁴ Musa, 'A Study of the Life', p.46 and 49.

will be treated as part of Lundazi district. The district neighbours Chinsali district, which was the headquarters of the Lumpa Church.²⁵

MAP 1: Location of Lundazi District in Zambia



MAP 2: Lundazi District and its Neighbouring areas



Map drawn by the Department of Geography and Environment Studies, Cartographic Unit, University of Zambia, 2016.

²⁵ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.26.

Statement of the Problem

The Lumpa Church was one of the African Independent Churches (AICs) in Zambia. It was led by Alice Mulenga Lenshina Lubusha. The church had a huge following almost countrywide from 1953 when it was founded up to 1964 when it was banned. The church's preaching and activities conflicted with those of the United National for Independence Party (UNIP), culminating into the only civil war that Zambia has ever had. Most studies on the Lumpa Church have discussed its socio-economic impact from the macro perspective. However, the proposed study seeks to investigate the socio-economic impact of the church from a micro approach, focusing on Zambia's Lundazi district, where the Lumpa Church attracted a huge number of adherents from 1955 to 1995. In spite its large number of followers; Lundazi district has eluded the attention of most students of the Lumpa Church.

Objectives of the study

The objectives of the study were three fold and these were:

1. To investigate the spread of the Lumpa Church to Lundazi district.
2. To examine the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church on the people of the district during and after the uprising.
3. To investigate the socio-economic mitigating measures introduced by the government in conjunction with other organisations to help the affected people in the district.

Rationale

This study is to contribute to the historiography of the Lumpa Church in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) by unveiling the socio-economic impact of the church in Lundazi district from 1955, the year the church spread to the district, to 1995, when the resettlement exercise of the

ex-Lumpas from DRC in different parts of the country ended. It is also hoped that it will further interest on the activities of the Lumpa Church in other parts of the country other than Chinsali district.

Literature Review

The historiography of the Lumpa Church has concentrated on the development of the church and the disturbances that occurred between the Kaunda led UNIP government and the Lumpa Church, particularly in Chinsali district. The works include books, journal articles and dissertations. Most of these works however have not specifically tackled the impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district. Despite this, these literatures still remain significant in this study as they act as a guide.

John Mwanakatwe's work, *End of Kaunda*, explains how the Lumpa Church started in Chinsali district and how it spread to other parts of Northern Province. He argues that the church grew in the 1950s. This growth was due to the nature of the doctrine and theology of the church which allowed its members to mix Lenshina's teachings with traditional rituals. He also notes that the church had 148 churches or congregations in Northern Province by 1958, 60 of which were in Chinsali alone.²⁶ Mwanakatwe's work provides this study with an insight on the genesis and the doctrine of the Lumpa Church in Kasomo, and its growth in the 1950s particularly in Northern Province which led to its spread to other parts of the country such as Lundazi district. The present study provides statistics in terms of growth of the church in Lundazi district.

²⁶ John M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era* (Lusaka: Multimedia Publication, 1994), p.42.

Similarly, Eric Rosenthal's work gives a brief background of the Lumpa Church. He states that the Lumpa Church was a religious movement which was based on Christianity and started in Northern Rhodesia. Its leader, Alice Lenshina, gained thousands of followers within Chinsali district and other districts. Rosenthal argues that the refusal of the Lumpa Church to acknowledge government rights or to pay taxes led to a clash with the police, followed by military action in 1964. Rosenthal estimates the death toll of the UNIP-Lumpa Church confrontations to have been between 500 to 1,000 deaths.²⁷ The study provides this study with insights on the origin, development and impact of the UNIP government-Lumpa Church confrontation. The present study demonstrates how the church spread to Lundazi district of Zambia.

The study by Jean Loup Calmettes analyses the Lumpa Church in terms of the rural reconstruction and conflict. He explains that the formation and characteristics of the Lumpa Church were a protestant ethic, witchcraft eradication and a strong commitment to Lenshina. He notes that the White Father Priests at Kanyanga and Lumezi Missions in Lundazi district reported the Lenshina influence in 1956 and that she and her deacons made several visits to the district including in 1957 and 1958.²⁸ Calmettes also argues that the Lumpa troubles extended to Lundazi district in 1959, leading to the burning of Lumpa Churches in 1963 in the district. He also states that during the 1964 civil war, many people died in Lundazi district including Chief Chikwa.²⁹ Although Calmettes does not examine the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa activities in Lundazi district, his work is very useful to our study as it provides the historical background of the church and gives insights on the activities of the church in the district.

²⁷ Eric Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 6th Edition (London: Frederick Wame and Co, 1961), p.334.

²⁸ Jean Loup Calmettes, 'Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction, and Conflict', M.A Thesis, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1978, p.7.

²⁹ Calmettes, 'Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction, and Conflict', pp.29-32.

George Bonds' work, *The Politics of Change in a Zambian Community*, argues that the Lumpa congregations in the Northern and Eastern Provinces in Northern Rhodesia founded independent religious communities which disregarded the authority of the government. This is similar to Rosenthal's argument above. Its strength is that they give this study insight of the resettlements or detention camps set across the nation through its mention of the Uyombe Lenshina/Lumpa rehabilitation committee.³⁰ However, it does not discuss the socio-economic impact of the church in Lundazi district, the focus of our study.

John Hudson's work is one of the comprehensive studies on the Lumpa Church from its origins up to 1964 when it was banned. In terms of the calibre of the church's membership for instance, Hudson argues that most Lumpas were illiterate or semi literate villagers, implying that they could not read and/or write. However, he also noted that some members had served in the army, the police, and the Department of Game and Tsetse Control. Jacob Lungu, one of the members, for instance was an ex-army corporal. To Hudson, such individuals used their experience and training to advise the deacons on tactics during the civil war. Just like Rosenthal, Hudson states that the conflict led to a number of deaths and injuries on several people. The major strength of this work is that it demonstrates that the church survived both the 1964 tribulations, and the exodus of many of its followers to the Congo Leopoldville (Zaire).³¹ Although this work gives valuable background information of the Lumpa Church, it hardly discusses the socio-economic impact of the church in Lundazi district.

Apart from being a relevant work on the origin and development of the Lumpa Church in Chinsali and eventually the UNIP government-Lumpa Church confrontations, Kampamba

³⁰ George C. Bond, *The Politics of Change in a Zambian Community* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), p.156.

³¹ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.63.

Mulenga's work, *Blood on their Hands*, demonstrates in detail how the fights spread to Lundazi district. He argues that the conflict spread to the districts after Sione, the then headquarters of the church, had been attacked on the night of 3 August 1964.³² This work is relevant to the current study for the background account of the church in other districts too. The study also mentions albeit in passing, the rehabilitation camps as one measure which the government put up to help the Lumpa remnants. The present study shows how the Lumpa Church developed in Lundazi district. It also shows the socio-economic mitigation measures that the Zambian government introduced to assist other affected citizens such as orphans and widows who assumed such a status due to UNIP government-Lumpa Church clashes.

Sean O'Leary's paper gives statistics in terms of the growth of the Lumpa Church in Zambia and the deaths which were as a result of the UNIP government-Lumpa Church confrontations. He states that by 1959, the church had about 148 congregations which were mostly rural based 16 urban areas congregations especially on the Copperbelt and Lusaka. He also argues that at its peak, the membership of the church grew to about 100,000.³³ The statistics in this work provides insights to this study in terms of the growth of the church in Zambia. However, O'Leary's paper hardly discusses the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district, the focus of the present study.

D. G. Coe and E. C. Greenalls' work shows the message which Lenshina was given by 'the Lord' through a vision. The message was to protect all believers from witchcraft. It also argued that the church faced challenges with the government from about 1959 because it failed to recognise the authority of any earthly government. Its members were not liable for taxes, a move which conflicted with chiefs and the colonial government. The Lumpas started

³² Kampamba Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1998), p.73.

³³ Sean O'Leary, 'The Lumpa Church within a Context of Innovation', Diploma in Missiology, n.p. (May, 1982), p.8.

building stockade villages, remained apolitical and only recognised Jesus Christ as their only leader they needed to follow. The two scholars also argue that after the 1964 clashes, the surviving members of the church were pursued by local UNIP officials who were acting in the name of the Zambian government and many Lumpas fled to Congo Leopoldville (Zaire which is currently known as Democratic Republic of Congo).³⁴ Although this study provides relevant background information to this study, it does not discuss the socio-economic impact of the church in Lundazi district as the current study does.

In addition to Coe and Greenalls' argument with regard to causes of the UNIP-Lumpa Church clashes, other scholars such as David Mulford, K. Virmani and Hugo Hinfelaar have looked for other reasons. Mulford for instance, argued that the Lumpa Church was encouraged by people like Robert Makasa who attempted to use it for political meetings³⁵ while Virmani attributed the conflict to white settlers and the Welensky led party which offered Lenshina a sum of £8,000 so that her church could rise against the Northern Rhodesian government³⁶. Additionally, Hinfelaar argues that it was prophetess's lieutenants known as *Badikoni* (deacons) who were used as instruments for political ends.³⁷ These studies give the present study an insight on the causes of the conflict in order for us to understand the UNIP-government conflict..

Hinfelaar's study though it concentrated on the Bemba-speaking women in relation to the religious change in Zambia stated that the Lumpa Church's theology concentrated on repentance and that thus her adherents took it as a witchcraft eradication movement. The

³⁴ D. G. Coe and E. C. Greenall, *Kaunda's Gaoler: Memories of a District Officer in Northern Rhodesia and Zambia* (London: The Radcliffe Press, 2003), p.190.

³⁵ David C. Mulford, *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1957-1964* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p.40.

³⁶ K. K. Virmani, *Zambia: The Dawn of Freedom* (Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1989), p.190.

³⁷ Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba-Speaking Women of Zambia in the Century of Religious Change (1892-1992)* (New York: E.J. Brill Leiden, 1994), p.76.

study also demonstrates that the 1964 clashes led to many deaths and that the church survived thereafter changed its name from Lumpa to *Benakasomo*, *Benalenshina* (the followers of Lenshina, those of Kasomo) or more recently 'The Church of the New Jerusalem'. At its peak, the membership of the church had grown to about 150,000, the growth attributed to the open nature of the church's membership. Other members came as far as Bulawayo.³⁸ Although Hinfelaar's study gives our study insights on the growth and impacts of the church beyond the 1964 clashes, it does not demonstrate the development of the church in Lundazi district and is not exclusive on the socio-economic impact of the church in the district.

Besides Virmani's study being important to the current study for the origin of the UNIP-Lumpa Church conflict, it too, just like studies by Mulenga, Hudson and Macpherson, demonstrates how the conflict spread to Lundazi. Macpherson in addition shows the development and expansion of the church before the conflict. He for instance states that by 1956 about 2,600 members of the United Church in Chinsali had defected to the Lumpa Church.³⁹ However, he does not demonstrate the church's development in Lundazi district, the focus of the proposed study.

Jean Calmettes' paper focuses on the differences of the Lumpa Church and the Roman Catholic. He argues that the church was anti-catholic and the followers stated that there was *bwanga* (medicine) in catholic rosaries. As such, as a way of repentance, the convents threw away their rosaries. Calmettes also argues that the non-Catholics viewed the Lumpa Church as a plain anti-sorcery movement. People migrated to Kasomo to seek purification and

³⁸ Hinfelaar, *Bemba-Speaking Women of Zambia in the Century of Religious Change*, p.98.

³⁹ Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Time and the Man* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.197.

immunity against *Baloshi* (witches).⁴⁰ This work provides insights to the present study in relation to the origin and development of the Lumpa Church.

Joseph Smaldone's article 'Historical Setting' in Kaplan's work, *Zambia: A Country Study*, gives the origin of the Lumpa Church and states that the church was founded on the basis of witchcraft eradication.⁴¹ In addition to this, Grotpeter, Siegel and Pletcher in the *Historical Dictionary of Zambia* state that the initial messages of Lenshina were strict morality, forbidding drinking, smoking, dancing, and adultery as well as renunciation of magic and sorcery for an individual to be reborn.⁴² These works are important to this study for background information especially in relation to the theology of the Lumpa Church which led to its spread to parts of the country as well as other countries.

Richard Hall argues that people made pilgrimages to Kasomo where they surrendered bones, horns and other witchcraft paraphernalia to Lenshina. With regards to the origin of the fights, Hall states that the Lumpa Church disturbances started on 22nd June, 1963 when a young girl was shot dead with a muzzle-loader by four suspected UNIP members during a Lumpa prayer-meeting. This resulted into a major fight which led to many people dying in Chinsali and Lundazi. This is supported by Tordoff and Molteno's chapter 'Introduction' in Tordoff's work, *Politics in Zambia*.⁴³ Hall further argues that the statistics of deaths given were conservative.⁴⁴ These works give insights on the development and growth of the Lumpa Church as well as on the impact of the government- Lumpa Church conflict.

⁴⁰ Calmettes, 'The Lumpa Church and Witchcraft Eradication', p.6.

⁴¹ Joseph P. Smaldone, 'Historical Setting' in Irving Kaplan (ed.), *Zambia: A Country Study*, Third Edition (Washington D.C: Library of Congress Cataloguing, 1979), p.36.

⁴² Grotpeter, Siegel and Pletcher, *Historical Dictionary of Zambia*, p.202.

⁴³ William Tordoff and Robert Molteno, 'Introduction' in William Tordoff, *Politics in Zambia* (London: Manchester University Press, 1974), p.12.

⁴⁴ Hall, *Zambia*, p.229.

Calmettes work translated by Harrison placed emphasis on the leadership hierarchy of the Lumpa Church in Zambia before it was banned in 1964. He also commented on doctrinal and theological aspects of the church which was salvation, and baptism and confession being initiation rites of the church.⁴⁵ This work can be applauded for showing how the Lumpa Church continued its existence in Zaire. He argues for instance that the Lumpas in the Zaire camps totalled to about 15,000. While Camettes's study demonstrates the genesis, development and organisation of the church in Zambia and in Zaire, it does not examine the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district.

Frederick Cooper's work like O'Leary's, indicated how widespread the Lumpa Church had become albeit it concentrated on the Copperbelt. He stated that in the late 1950s the Church had 65,000 followers living by the edge of the Copperbelt. With regard to impact of the 1964 conflict, Cooper stated that the disturbances resulted into the bloodiest episodes resulting in about 700 deaths of the Lumpas.⁴⁶ Hall does agree with this figure and states that Lenshina transferred to Barotse province, nearly 1,000 miles from Lubwa, after being released from Mumbwa prison in an effort to restrict her. Her remnants scattered and some fled to Congo and established themselves at Mokambo on the Copperbelt border. This is supported by Andrew Roberts in the *History of Zambia*. Roberts further argued that between 1968 and 1971 some of the refugees at Mokambo returned to Zambia and perhaps settled in towns where the church survived and operated underground.⁴⁷ Jan Pettman put the number of Lumpas who returned to Zambia from Zaire in 1968 due to a political amnesty to about

⁴⁵ Jean Loup Calmettes, *Lumpa Church I The Genesis and Development: 1953-1964* (Mbala: Kayambi Mission, 1970), p.V.

⁴⁶ Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.127.

⁴⁷ Roberts, *A History of Zambia*, p.250.

3,000.⁴⁸ These works are imperative in this study for some statistics on the impact of the UNIP-Lumpa Church conflict.

The study by Win van Binsbergen focuses on the religious change in Zambia. With regard to the doctrine and theology of the Lumpa Church, he stated that the church emphasized on the eradication of witchcraft through baptism and surrender of sorcery apparatus and later on, the eschatological overtones. The church's idioms highlighted God and Jesus while denouncing ancestors, deceased chiefs and affliction causing spirits as objects of veneration. Binsbergen argued that the death toll of the fighting in the area North-Eastern Zambia is estimated to have had reached 1,500, a number which exceeded that of the Cha Cha Cha campaign of 1961 between the colonial government and the nationalists.⁴⁹ He also like Hall⁵⁰ argues that there was insecurity in Zambia after 1964 due to the 20,000 Lumpa refugees, one of the largest refugee groups in Africa, who had crossed to Congo Leopoldville thus the government declared a state of emergency and re-activated every after six months until the creation of the second republic in December 1972. Van Binsbergen study highlights the impacts of the UNIP government-Lumpa Church conflict. However, he does not critically examine the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district.

Although Bernhard Udelhoven's work concentrated on the Luangwa valley, it provides the general historical background of the Lumpa Church and provides information on the management of the church. He argues for instance that the church was self-reliant through regular contributions from the members of the church in kind, labour, and money ("one pence, one pence"). This enabled the Lumpa in Chinsali to operate two lorries and built one

⁴⁸ Jan Pettman, *Zambia: Security and Conflict* (London: Julian Friedman Publishers, 1974), p.95.

⁴⁹ Win M. J. Van Binsbergen, *Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies* (London: Keagan Paul, 1981), pp.2-6.

⁵⁰ Richard Hall, *The Higher Price of Principles: Kaunda and the White South* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), p.45.

of the most elaborate cathedrals in Zambia.⁵¹ This work is important to this study for the background of the church and the management of the church.

The recently published work by David Gordon on the Lumpa Church, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History*, considers the implications of ‘the invisible world’ on various moments of social and political upheaval in nineteenth and twentieth-century Central Africa. Gordon states that Lenshina’s political objective was to transform people’s hearts and the evil stored in bad things, *fyabubi*.⁵² He also argued that some impacts of the UNIP government-Lumpa Church conflict were deaths, scattering and exiling of some Lumpas to Congo Leopoldville. In terms of leadership, Gordon states that in Mokambo, the church was led by leaders such as Lenshina’s daughter, Elizabeth Ng’andu and her husband Alfred Kapele, and Lenshina’s nephew, Dixon Mulenga who was identified as ‘Moses’ for having led the initial march through the bush to Congo. Gordon’s study does not examine the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district. However, his work is important to our study for the origin and development, and leadership of the Lumpa Church even in exile.

Morris Musa’s thesis focuses on the life, work and contribution of Alfred Nkonde to the development of the Lumpa Church. The work discusses the origin of the church, its expansion and its ‘decline’. Musa for instance states that the Lumpa Church expanded as far as Salisbury (Harare), Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Johannesburg in South Africa. He also argues that the causes of the UNIP-Lumpa Church conflict included the Lenshinites stopping their children from obeying school rules, saluting the government flag or sing the National Anthem but obeying God only and not earthly power. This resulted into their children being expelled from school. The UNIP-Lumpa Church confrontations led to the

⁵¹ Bernhard Udelhoven, ‘Christianity in the Luangwa Valley’, Report of the Luangwa Valley Research, Catholic Diocese of Chipata (December 2006), pp.149-150.

⁵² Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, p.96.

banning of the church on 3 August 1964. Musa also argues that the government set up rehabilitation camps for the ex-Lumpa Church members after the conflict. He further argues that some survivors fled to Congo Leopoldville and settled at Mokambo and continued practising their religion freely led by Nkole at Kanyama and its faction led by Ncelelya at Lubumbashi. Some of these were repatriated back in Zambia in September 1994. In addition, Musa argues that Nkole became the Archbishop of one wing of the New Jerusalem Church after his return assisted by bishops: Messrs Reuben, Moses Chinshingwa and Alfred Kapukulapo.⁵³ This work is important for insight on some impacts of the conflict and leadership of the Lumpa Church both in Zambia and Congo Leopoldville.

David Gordon's article 'Rebellion or massacre? The UNIP-Lumpa conflict revisited' focuses on the events of 1962-4. It only considers Lumpa ideology and mentions the Lumpa Church in the 1950s in passing. It only briefly describes the fate of the Church from 1965 onwards. Gordon states that the UNIP-Lumpa conflict was exacerbated by orders of Lenshina who called a meeting and instructed her followers to form *Misumba* [missions/capitals] and in order for them to establish shops and become self-reliant. Gordon argues thus that Lenshina gave each *musumba* 30 shillings so that they could establish shops and become self-reliant. He further argues that many Lumpas died in the conflict due to direct confrontations or starvation in bushes where they hid while others fled to Congo Leopoldville. Many of the latter returned back to Zambia after the 1991 UNIP defeat and the eventual declaration of Zambia as Christian nation by President Frederick Chiluba. Since 2005, some Lumpa groups who previously existed as independent branches of the Uluse Kamutola Church joined the Jerusalem Church under the joint direction of Lenshina's two daughters, Jennifer Ng'andu

⁵³ Musa, 'A Study of the Life', p.49.

and Elizabeth Ng'andu.⁵⁴ His work is useful to our study for insights on the impact of the government-Lumpa Church conflict.

Basil Musonda's work focuses on the significance of the Lumpa Church in Zambia. It gives the background of the church since its inception on the 10th of September 1953 when Alice, a wife of Petros Mulenga Chitankwa, underwent religious change through a vision. Musonda argues that the church spread quickly in Chinsali, Lundazi, the Luangwa valley, and the Copperbelt and later along the line of rail, Kabwe, Lusaka up to Livingstone. The church also spread to Malawi, Zimbabwe, South Africa and East Africa. The method of teaching in the Lumpa Church which was simple and evangelical in nature usually included songs sung in an African idiom and style of tone. He also argues that the government set up the Katito, Makali rehabilitation centres for the ex-Lumpas. He also argues that after the church was banned in 1964, some members operated underground on the Copperbelt perhaps because the government denied them registration of the New Jerusalem Church⁵⁵ and it was un-banned by President Frederick Chiluba and gazetted as the New Jerusalem Church.⁵⁶ The church operates under the umbrella name of Jerusalem Christ Church of Zambia (JCCZ). Although Musonda's work is useful for the background, organisation of the Lumpa Church, it does not examine the socio-economic impact of the church in Lundazi district.

Margaret Chileshe's study on 'Church and Politics in Zambia' focuses on the church's involvement in the creation of democratisation of politics in Zambia up to the end of UNIP era. Chileshe, like Coe and Greenall, argues that the factors which led to the 1964 Lumpa

⁵⁴ David M. Gordon, 'Rebellion or massacre? The UNIP-Lumpa conflict revisited', in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, many histories Towards a history of post-colonial Zambia* (Boston: Brill, 2008), p.75.

⁵⁵ Basil Chinga Musonda, 'The significance of the Lumpa Church in Zambia', Student Report, University of Zambia Lusaka, (1990), p.20.

⁵⁶ Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2004), p.190.

Church uprising included messages not to obey man, but God, and Lenshina's instruction to her followers to destroy their political party cards. Also, the Lumpa Church's stance not to register the church under the provisions of the Societies Act in either in Chinsali or Lundazi districts in 1958 and 1959 which was against UNIP's quest for co-operation in the fight for National political independence, and the belief amongst UNIP members of the church's 'unholy alliance' with Roy Welensky, Moise Tshombe and Harry Nkumbula aimed at preventing Lenshina's thousands of followers from voting. These led to confrontations between the UNIP and the church which resulted to the burning of various buildings and Lumpa Churches from April to May 1963 in Chinsali and Lundazi districts⁵⁷ and eventually causing the 1964 civil war. She also argues that 2,000 of the church members were killed by government soldiers alone despite the official death toll being set at 1,111 while thousands more were wounded with others dying of starvation, sickness and trauma on their journey to places of safety. The war forced about 20,000 to 30,000 Lumpa followers to flee from Northern Rhodesia and settle in the Katanga Province of the Congo Leopoldville.⁵⁸ While Chileshe's study is important for the historical background of the church, with regards to Lundazi district, it only discusses the 1964 clashes between the church and government.

Elijah Munga's study focuses on the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district from 1953 to 1970. I, like Musa and Chileshe, states that the 1964 government-Lumpa Church confrontation led to among other things, deaths and family disintegration in the district.⁵⁹ Also, I mention that about 19, 000 ex-Lumpas migrated to Congo Leopoldville after the 1964 civil war and that the repatriation of these to Zambia ended in 1995.⁶⁰ In as much as my study gives insight to the current study, being an undergraduate mini-

⁵⁷ Chileshe, 'Church and Politics in Zambia', p.61.

⁵⁸ Chileshe, 'Church and Politics in Zambia', p.61.

⁵⁹ Elijah Munga, 'The Lumpa Church: Its Socio-Economic Impact on Lundazi and Chama Districts of Zambia, 1953-1970', H 492 Student Report, University of Zambia, 2012, p. 25, 28 and 38.

⁶⁰ Munga, 'The Lumpa Church', p.21

dissertation, it lacks sufficient primary sources in assessing the impact of the church in the district, which the current study uses. In addition, the current study extends to 1995, when the ex-Lumpas were finally resettled in Zambia.

A scholar who has recently studied the Lumpa Church in Lundazi is Kenneth Chirwa. He, like van Binsbergen, and Coe and Greenall attempts to explore and analyse the activities of the church in the district from 1953 to 1964. The study looks at the development of the church in the district with regards to its relationship with chiefs, colonial administration and the UNIP led government. The study highlights some socio-economic impact of the church such as deaths of human beings, extensive destruction of property, physical and mental disabilities, and emergency of orphans, widows and refugees.⁶¹ While the study is rich on the church's activities in the district up to 1964, it does not include Chama, which had more Lumpa adherents than Lundazi and also the nearest area to Chinsali district. Also, it does not demonstrate the socio-economic impact of the church in the district beyond 1964 and the socio-economic mitigation measures that existed to cushion the impact in the district and the nation at large up to 1995, omissions the present study seeks to examine.

Research Methodology

This study was accomplished using both primary and secondary sources of data. The data for the study was drawn from the University of Zambia main Library where dissertations, theses, project reports, books and newspapers were consulted. The second part of research was conducted at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) where primary sources in form of government documents such as District Commissioners Note Books, District Commissioners and District Messengers tour reports, provincial annual reports, provincial Operations

⁶¹ Kenneth A. Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi, 1953-1964', M.A Dissertation, Zambia Open University, Lusaka, 2015, pp.85-89.

Committee (PROVOPS) messages and correspondences amongst the Lumpa members were consulted. While analysing these governmental reports, I was mindful that the writers were government employees. Therefore, more often than not, they sided with the government in their reporting. However, they supplied critical information on the origin and spread of the Lumpa Church and the 1964 civil war as well as its aftermath. This also included mitigation measures to help the affected people.

At the White Fathers' Missionary Archives commonly referred to as Faith and Encounter Centre (FENZA) library, secondary sources such as books, dissertations and Lundazi Diaries were consulted. Some of these sources were written by Roman Catholic church missionaries who had the interest of the church at heart. Therefore, they mostly promoted the agenda in their works, hence castigating the Lumpa Church. This made me to have a cautious approach towards them. At the National Assembly of Zambia library, parliamentary debates and speeches concerning the Lumpa uprising were also consulted. These like other government documents, were used cautiously because they promoted the agenda of the government, to demonise the Lumpa church. Finally, at the Livingstone Museum, data collected from newspapers particularly for October 1964, which were missing at NAZ, added a non-official voice on the activities of the Lumpas in Congo Leopoldville and also both Zambian and Zairean efforts to have the ex-Lumpas repatriated back into Zambia.

Furthermore, the research used field study in Lusaka and Lundazi districts of Zambia where oral interviews were conducted. Interviewees included former UNIP minister Grey Zulu, London Mtonga, a Bishop for the Jerusalem Church, an offshoot of the Lumpa Church, ex-Lumpa Church members and survivors of the UNIP government-Lumpa Church confrontations such as Elivini Nyirenda, Patwel Tembo. Other interviewees such as Bernard Mtonga, Nobet Nkhoma and Tisaine Phiri, Mukhondo Lungu, Isaac Banda, Effron Lungu were ordinary citizens who either in the affected areas either before or after the conflict.

While using oral sources, I was also mindful of the drawbacks of relying too much on this type of data. This is because some of them were emotional as they were victims while others lost relatives during the 1964 civil war. Nonetheless, the interviewees provided data on how the Lumpa Church spread to Lundazi district, the socio-economic impact of the 1964 conflict in the district and some mitigation measures that were put in place in order to help the affected people in the district.

The research was based on archival and oral sources and largely employed qualitative analysis of the data collected. Both archival and oral data was analysed in comparison to each other. Where available and applicable, statistical evidence was used in correlation with qualitative information. Specific themes were identified under which the data was analysed and presented.

Organisation of the Study

This study consists of five chapters. Chapter One is the introduction and historical background. Chapter Two investigates the spread of the Lumpa Church to Lundazi district. Chapter Three examines the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church on the people of Lundazi district during and after the uprising while Chapter Four investigates the socio-economic mitigating measures introduced by the government in conjunction with other organisations to help the affected people such as the orphans, widows and the ex-Lumpa Church members in Lundazi district. The fifth chapter is a conclusion of the whole study.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SPREAD OF THE LUMPA CHURCH TO LUNDAZI DISTRICT

Introduction

The exact time, in terms of dates, when the Lumpa Church spread to Lundazi district is not very clear. However, evidence suggests that the church gained a considerable following in Lundazi district in 1955. This is the period it also spread rapidly both in the Bemba and Bisa areas in the northern part of Zambia.¹ In Lundazi district, the church first spread and grew in Chama, an area which was on the northern part of the district.² Chama encompassed areas of Chiefs Chifunda, Chikwa, Lundu and Kambombo. The church later spread southwards through the district to include Chiefs Phikamalaza, Magodi, Chifwiti, Mphamba and Kapichila as well as Lumezi areas.³

This chapter investigates the spread of the Lumpa Church to Lundazi district of Eastern Province of Zambia. This is owing to the fact that the district had different languages and cultures from those of Chinsali district, which was the headquarters of the Lumpa Church. In addition, this chapter will investigate how the local people in some parts of Lundazi district reacted to the spread of the Lumpa Church. The chapter is subdivided into four sections. The first part investigates how the proximity of Lundazi district to Chinsali district contributed to the spread of the Lumpa Church in the district. The second part considers how the supernatural powers that Lenshina was alleged to possess, contributed to the spread of the

¹ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 23 September, 1965, p.5; National Archives of Zambia, (hereafter NAZ) NP 3/12/003, Letter from Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, to R.S. Foster, Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, 5 August 1959. p.53 and NAZ SP 1/14/61, Northern Rhodesia Government, Background to the Lenshina Disturbances.

² Fergus Macpherson, *Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia: The Time and the Man* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p.179 and Andrew D. Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.16.

³ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Eastern Province Intelligence. Report Month Ending 15 November 1955; NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Eastern Province Intelligence Report Month Ending 1 February 1956 and NAZ EP 4/2/123, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 14/61.

Lumpa Church to the district. The third part investigates the role played by Lenshina apostles or *Shimapepos* of the church and the general membership in the spread of the church to district. The fourth part investigates how Lenshina's several visits to Lundazi district helped in the growth and consolidation of the church in the district.

Proximity and Language

Geographically, Chinsali district, where the Lumpa Church began was and is still near Lundazi district of the Eastern Province of the country. The distance therefore from Kasomo to Lundazi district was not very long, about 140 Kilometres. The two districts were only separated by the Luangwa valley which in the Muchinga Escarpment. This area provided a convenient route for Lumpa adherents from Isoka and Lundazi districts who visited Prophetess Lenshina. The Luangwa valley road in Lundazi district was the main road for Lenshina's visitors. There were large numbers of people from the district itself, many of whom were Senga. Some came from distant areas such as Central Nyasaland from as early as 1955.⁴

In addition to their proximity, there were economic, social and cultural contacts between people of Lundazi and Chinsali districts. For instance, two villages of Councillor Lundu of Lundazi located in Chief Chibesakunda's area, like other areas in the chiefdom, became strongholds of Lenshina's church in Chinsali district. By 1958, the two villages were moved to Lundazi district.⁵ Such proximity and regular contacts led to the spread of the Bemba language and the Lumpa Church.

⁴ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Eastern Province Newsletter Quarter Ending 30 September 1955.

⁵ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 11/58 and NAZ EP 4/1518, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No.14/61.

The first waves of Lenshina adherents in Lundazi district covered most parts of the Luangwa valley up to the Kazembe-Chifunda border area. The Lumpa Church, however, did not strengthen its support in Kazembe's area compared to the plateau areas where it received considerable acceptance by 1959.⁶ The proximity of the Lundazi and Chinsali districts therefore enabled many ordinary people to make pilgrimages to Kasomo. Some did so perhaps earlier than 1955. In August 1955, for example, P.G.F Farwell, the District Commissioner (DC) for Lundazi, encountered a group of pilgrims of approximately 150 people, amongst whom many were women and children on their way to Chinsali. Men also undertook the long journey. According to the DC, the group had many blind, disabled and aged people who chose to make the pilgrimage. They were influenced by reports of miraculous cures they had heard from other people. In the same month, during his tour of Lundu's area; the DC met 30 people who were coming back from a pilgrimage to Prophetess Lenshina.⁷ Further, by 1955, a large number of people from the western side of Chief Chinde Jere's area in Mzimba, had also visited Lenshina.⁸

In relation to the proximity factor, a number of chiefs in Lundazi district also made pilgrimages to Kasomo including Senga Chief Kambombo, Tembwe, Chiwale, Mulilo and Lundu.⁹ Amongst all the chiefs in the district, Chief Chiwale was the nearest to Kasomo. His subjects made more pilgrimages to Kasomo. Chief Chiwale himself visited Lenshina to

⁶ NAZ SEC 2/730, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 8 of 1959.

⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/55.

⁸ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Lusaka Political Intelligence Report for December 1955.

⁹ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Report No. 14/57.

observe what was taking place at Kasomo. Chief Kambombo visited Lenshina in early June of 1955.¹⁰

Many Lumpa followers in Eastern Province lived in the northern part of the Luangwa valley, situated near what later became the administrative centre of Chama. All the missionaries in Chama area of the district including those living at the three Catholic small mission stations namely Paishuko, Chipaula, and Chilanga, indicated that from November 1955, many subjects of Chief Chifunda from the southern part of Chama visited Lenshina at Kasomo.¹¹ In 1956, the White Fathers at Kanyanga and Lumezi acknowledged Lenshina's influence in their areas of operation. They indicated that many of her churches were built in the district from as early as 1955.¹² Services at the Lumpa Churches were packed by men, women and children. On average, attendance in these church services was about two hundred adherents, depending on the size of the village or area. A collection of one penny per head, or sometimes a plate of maize or pieces of game meat, was done at the end of a church service as offering. Food was used to feed pilgrims who passed through or spent a night. Most of the office bearers of the church were men who had made the pilgrimage to Kasomo. In some branches, women held important positions as well. In addition, by May 1957 most of the *Boma* messengers at Lundazi supported the church.¹³

In relation to proximity, language also played a significant role in the spread of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district. In terms of tribal outlook, Lundazi district was a Tumbuka,

¹⁰ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Chinsali Intelligence Report: May/June 55; NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Chinsali Intelligence Report: June/July 1955 and NAZ EP 4/15/18, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 3 of 1962.

¹¹ Jean Loup Calmettes, 'Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction, and Conflict', M.A Thesis, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1978, p.13.

¹² Calmettes, 'The Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction and Conflict', p.20.

¹³ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Letter from Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, to R.S. Foster, Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, 30th July 1959.

Chewa, Senga Ngoni and Kunda area. Languages spoken were Chitumbuka, Chichewa, Chikunda and Chibisa.¹⁴ Due to the proximity factor, many people in the district were able to understand the Bemba language which was the language used by the Lumpa Church. In addition, many people in the district especially men who had been on the Copperbelt as labour migrants were able to understand the Bemba language.¹⁵ Therefore, the church found a following among the Senga and Tumbuka-speaking groups as most of these people understood and spoke the Bemba language. Thus the proficiency in the Bemba language contributed to the spread of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district. Similarly, the social contacts and labour migrations also enabled the church to spread to the Copperbelt Province.

Labour migration also enabled some Bemba speakers to migrate to other countries like Southern Rhodesia and Tanganyika. This enabled some migrants to accept the church in their working places hence contributing to the spread of the church. The Bemba language therefore became known in other regions especially in the mines of Zambia and South Africa as well as the farms of Zimbabwe.¹⁶ However, the Lumpa Church never spread to south of Lundazi district mainly because the area was the northern limit of the Chewa-speaking. The proximity and language factors nonetheless had less effect on some areas like the lower Luapula valley to the west, the Abercorn district to the north or in Serenje district to the south. This was despite these areas being near Chinsali district. This was attributed to local religious history: these were Jehovah Witnesses' areas who like the Lumpa Church, promoted independence from white control.¹⁷ In addition, the Luapula valley was divided into two: Christian

¹⁴ NAZ KST 3/1, Lundazi District Note Book Vol. II, 1937, p.16.

¹⁵ Interview, Effron C. Lungu, Member of Parliament (MP) for Chama South Constituency, Lusaka, 5 May 2016 and Interview, Yizenge Chondoka, Senior Lecturer, Zambia Open University Lusaka, 10 May 2016.

¹⁶ Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina*, pp.23-24.

¹⁷ Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina*, pp.23-24.

Missions in Many Lands (CMML) to the south and London Missionary Society (LMS) to the north.¹⁸

Prior to 1955, amongst the Senga, before the church buildings were built, regular gatherings were held at houses of senior leaders. This was however not uniform as adherents sometimes had their meetings in the open and in houses. At these gatherings, they sang hymns in Chibemba and listened to sermons on ‘brotherly love’. In 1958, the DC saw seven Lumpa Churches built by local communities for their meetings.¹⁹ One crowded Lumpa Church service lasted about three hours.²⁰ According to some former Lumpa Church members like Pastone Phiri²¹ of Machilika village of Chief Mphamba and Tamenji Tembo²² of Muyukwa village of Chief Magodi, three languages: Chewa, Bemba and Tumbuka were used in the service in Lundazi district which facilitated in spreading the Lumpa Church to the area. According to Basil Musonda, the hymns sung in Lumpa Church services included the 300 that Alice composed. These songs, according to the Commission of Inquiry set up in 1965 to investigate the operations of the Lumpa Church, were all simple and evangelical in nature, generally sung in an African idiom and style of tone.²³ Below are three examples of the Bemba songs sung by the Lumpa Church with my own translation:

¹⁸ Interview, Mwelwa C. Musambachime, Senior Lecturer, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 11 May, 2016.

¹⁹ NAZ SEC 2/729, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 5/58.

²⁰ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Eastern Province Newsletter for Quarter Ending 31 December 1955.

²¹ Interview, Pastone Phiri, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 8 February, 2016 and Margaret Musonda Chileshe, ‘Church and Politics in Zambia, 1950-1991’, M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2014, p.13.

²² Interview, Tamenji Tembo, ex-Lumpa Church member, member Lundazi, 10 February, 2016 and Basil Chinga Musonda, ‘The significance of the Lumpa Church in Zambia’, Student Report, University of Zambia Lusaka, (1990), p.13.

²³ *The Northern News*, Friday, October 2, 1964, p.2; Government of the Republic of Zambia, (hereafter GRZ.), *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church of Mrs. Alice Lenishina Mulenga* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965), p.3 and Musonda, ‘The Significance of the Lumpa Church in Zambia’, p.13.

1. <i>Mwabombeni Mwe babomfi (2)</i>	Well done servants of God (2)
<i>Temaka yenu yalebomba</i>	It is not your power that is working
<i>Nimfumu Ilebomba</i>	But God at work
2. <i>Kamutola, Kamutola (2)</i>	Kamutola, Kamutola (2)
<i>Ning'anda iyashila</i>	The holy house
<i>Ning'anda yakwa lesa</i>	The house of God
3. <i>Peleni ubupe kuli Lesa</i>	Give offerings to God
<i>Lesa tasala</i>	God does not choose
<i>Nakanono alapokelela.</i> ²⁴	Even the little, He receives

Lenshina's Supernatural Powers

The Lumpa Church was accepted by many people because of the supernatural powers that Lenshina was alleged was thought to possess. Lenshina exhibited these powers by identifying witches. This was the reason her church was referred to as a movement eradicating witchcraft. Others accepted Lenshina as a healer of assorted ailments. It was due to such powers that enabled her church to spread to among many areas in Lundazi district. The Commission of Inquiry further states that Lenshina's powers made her church to spread to other countries like Congo, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa.²⁵

An example can be cited to illustrate Lenshina's powers: The Mfunu family of Maluba village (where a Lumpa Church temple was built later) in Chief Phikamalaza in Lundazi district, lost a child mysteriously in 1954. The father, Mr Mastadi Mfunu was working in

²⁴ Interview, Musambachime,

²⁵ GRZ., *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church*, p.3 and Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, p.98.

South Africa as a migrant labourer. As soon as he learned of the death of his child, from his uncle, Reuben Ziwa, who was Chief Phikamalaza III, and that there was a diviner in Chinsali who had powers to determine who were responsible for the death of the child, Mfuno came back to the village. Initially, he thought it was a close family member who was responsible for the death of his child. Therefore, he took all close family members at the village to Lenshina in Chinsali in order to find out who had killed of his child. The family walked to Kasomo village to visit Lenshina, passing through Luangwa valley on foot.²⁶

In the same year, 1954, the feet of Elivini Nyirenda, the wife to Mastadi had mysteriously twisted, facing backwards, a disability which according to her came as a result of being bewitched. When the family arrived at Kasomo, Elivini was instructed by Lenshina to climb a Mukuba tree. After incantations by Lenshina, Elivini's ailment was cured. Elivini was baptised and eventually became a member of the church.²⁷

After incantations, Lenshina performed other rituals in order to find out the killers of Mastadi's child on each member of the entourage. Each of them paid a penny.²⁸ None of those family members in the entourage was found guilty. Lenshina then instructed the family to return to their village and take the entire village along. The alleged killers of the child were found and identified. They were Yohane Lungu of Maluba village and Canan Myeta both of Myeta village and Gideon Ziwa of Eufumbeni village. Lenshina then gave the 'suspected' wizards' charms and instructed them to stop bewitching. Failure to observe this instruction would lead to adverse consequences which included death. It was also believed that people

²⁶ Interview, Elivini Nyirenda, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lundazi, 9 February, 2016.

²⁷ Interview, Elivini Nyirenda.

²⁸ NAZ SEC 2/726, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/55.

who committed sins after being baptised by Lenshina were instantly punished by God through being dwarfed, referred to as *kundukumala* in Tumbuka.²⁹

The initiation rite into the church was baptism. According to Tamenji Tembo, former church member, of Muyukwa village, Chief Magodi, Lenshina baptised her members at a ceremony saying “I baptise you in the waters of [the] Jordan in the nature of the powerful (*libwe lya malala*) stone”.³⁰ This signified that the new converts had successfully crossed the Jordan River which separated New Jerusalem from the Old Jerusalem. In other words, it implied that the converts had crossed over to New Jerusalem and that the past had gone. The new converts became full Christians and returned to their homes more often with new names as a sign of their conversation.³¹

In principle, it was due to this belief that Lenshina had been given powers by God to cleanse the society of witchcraft, sorcery, divination and demonic practices as well as teaching evildoers to repent of their sins that made people in Lundazi district in the early 1955s to become aware of her. Others joined the church because Lenshina was believed to have had powers to drive demons out of the possessed and also because she taught them to observe the Ten Commandments.³² What made Lenshina become accepted was her power to eradicate witchcraft. This power and the fear of being accused of being witches was what made most people of areas in Chama area, Lumezi, Kanyanga and Lumumba to ditch their former

²⁹ Interview, Elivini Nyirenda; NAZ SEC 2/726, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/55 and *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 23 September, 1965, p.5.

³⁰ Interview, Tamenji Tembo; Musonda, ‘The Significance of the Lumpa Church in Zambia’, p.10; GRZ., *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa*, p.3 and *The Northern News*, Friday, 2 October, 1964, p.2.

³¹ Kenneth A. Chirwa, ‘The Lumpa Church in Lundazi, 1953-1964’, M.A Dissertation, Zambia Open University, Lusaka, 2015, p.33.

³² Interview, Florence Kumwenda, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lundazi, 10 February, 2016 and Interview, Benson Nyirenda, Induna of Chief Mphamba, Lundazi, 10 February 2016.

churches such as the Roman Catholic and join the Lumpa Church.³³ The accusations were perpetrated by Lumpa adherents on non-Lumpas. The former accused the latter, who did not make at least a pilgrimage to Lenshina, of being witches or wizards. For fear of this accusation, many people made pilgrimages to Kasomo and eventually became Lumpa members upon being baptised.³⁴

In Chama, the Lumpa message spread to many areas including those of Senior Chief Kambombo, sub-chiefs Tembwe, Chikwa, Lundu, Mulilo, Chifunda and Chibale. The Bindula settlement in Chief Kambombo's area became the largest Lumpa settlement in Chama. It accommodated about 40,000 people. This was followed by Mangwere settlement in Chief Chikwa with 20,000 Lumpas.³⁵ Lenshina and her evangelists followed people that made pilgrimages to Chinsali. Eventually this led to the construction of more Lumpa temples.³⁶

According to Markson Ndolo also as known Shoeshine, who was a United National Independence Party (UNIP) youth member, temples built in Lundazi district especially near the *Boma* included the one built at Maluba, Kamutola and Zuleni villages. The Kamutola Church building was the biggest in the district. This was followed by the one built at Maluba.³⁷

³³ Archives of the White Fathers also known as Faith Encounter Centre of Zambia (FENZA), (hereafter AWF) 9-P-Hi, 03 K. Hennecart, From Fort Jameson to Chipata Vol. 2., p.143.

³⁴ Interview, Isaac.K. Banda, Member of Parliament (MP) for Lumezi Constituency, Lusaka, 19 April, 2016 and Interview, Effron .C Lungu, Lusaka, 5 May, 2016.

³⁵ Mulenga, *Blood on their hands*, pp.79-80 and Calmettes, 'The Lumpa Church and Witchcraft Eradication', p.6.

³⁶ Interview, Elivini Nyirenda.

³⁷ Interview, Markson Ndolo, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 9 February, 2016.

The Lumpa Church Apostles and General Membership

In the initial stages, the Lenshina's Church hierarchy did not have members who were given the mandate to spread the Church to other areas. This implied that each member of the church was an evangelist. However, those that became so active in spreading the church were referred to as Lumpa Church evangelists. However, as the Lenshina movement became larger and spread further, it consisted of different types of followers. Various leadership positions were also created. At the helm of the leadership structure was 'Mama' as Lenshina was commonly referred to. She was followed by Petros Chitankwa (her husband) who was the high priest and aided by Robert Kaunda (brother to Kenneth Kaunda) and deacons. According to Gordon, the deacons were very close to Lenshina.³⁸ Initially the deacons were men or women who were related to Lenshina. Later, non-relatives and those who made pilgrimages to Kasomo were chosen as deacons. The deacons were responsible for the religious ceremonies such as giving instructions to those wishing to be baptised and conducting baptism in the village temples. In addition, they performed marriage ceremonies.³⁹

Second from the lower ranks of the Lumpa Church's organisational structure were the apostles. These travelled from village to village to spread the teaching of the prophetess. They were followed by choir members and at the bottom lay the general membership of the church.⁴⁰ The apostles or evangelists also became known as missionaries. Amongst the Lumpa Church apostles, were bishops and pastors, deacon and deaconesses.⁴¹ All the church leaders visited Sione, learnt songs and stories of Lenshina's resurrection. They also visited

³⁸ Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, p.92.

³⁹ Jean Loup Calmettes, *Lumpa Church I The Genesis and Development: 1953-1964* (Mbala: Kayambi Mission, 1970), p.V and Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina*, p.24.

⁴⁰ AWF 9-P-Hi., Hennecart, *From Fort Jameson to Chipata Vol. 2.*, p.146; Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, p.92.

⁴¹ Interview, Z. Mtonga, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lusaka, 17 March 2012.

Sione regularly together with choir members to learn new songs that God had taught Lenshina during her alleged vision and other new songs.⁴²

All those who were responsible for spreading the Lumpa Church were commonly referred to as '*Shimapepos*', a noun that will consistently be interchanged with apostles. The *Shimapepos* influenced the rate at which the church spread. Burges, the DC of Lundazi, reported that the more committed the local *Shimapepos* were, the more the church expanded. This implied that when the *Shimapepos*' commitment faded, the local faith faded with them.⁴³ Some of the *Shimapepos* that helped in the spread of the Lumpa Church included Lyangapo Mtonga and Lajubu Mtonga in Kajumba village in Chief Kambombo's,⁴⁴ Edward Soko in Chief Magodi's and Kaula Dimo in Kuzuni village in Chief Phikamalaza's areas.⁴⁵ Other prominent church leaders in the district included Alfred Luhana Banda, a Tumbuka head deacon of Ponyani village of Chief Phikamalaza's, Semi Ngoma, Section Leader in attack on Lundazi *Boma* in August 1964 and Chinyumba of Chief Mphamba's areas. These were arrested in 1964 and detained at Mumbwa Prison.⁴⁶ The ordinary membership which also spread the church is referred to as members of the church.

There were various methods that were employed by Lumpa Church *Shimapepos* or apostles to spread the church in Lundazi district. According to Mtonga, the two most outstanding ways were; preaching of the gospel, and singing of songs. From 1953 when the Lumpa church began, Lenshina and her apostles' message was that people should repent and turn

⁴² Gordon, *Invisible Agents*, p.92.

⁴³ NAZ EP 4/2/123, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 8 of 1959.

⁴⁴ Interview, Florence Kumwenda, Lundazi, 10 February, 2016

⁴⁵ Interview, Patwel S. K. Tembo, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 10 February, 2016.

⁴⁶ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from E. Leighton, for Commissioner of Police, Lusaka, to Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister, Permanent Secretary, Deputy Governor's Office, General Officer Commanding, Forces Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Commander, Northern Rhodesia Army, Lusaka, 7 August 1964.

away from their bad practices. The emphasis of their messages was on witchcraft⁴⁷ which by then seemed to have been the worst practice that affected individuals, their families and communities at large. The Lumpa Church denounced such practices. This eventually helped in the spread and expansion of the church even far beyond Lundazi district.⁴⁸ Mailess Mbewe argues that the Lumpa Church spread in some parts of Zambia because Africans chose to align themselves with an African Church which understood their real problems better. The church had the capacity to deal with them effectively. One of these problems was the fear of witchcraft which the European missionary societies belittled.⁴⁹

The songs in the Lumpa Church were sung in an African idiom. They were all in local languages, Bemba and Tumbuka. This was contrary to the hymns sung in the European missionary societies, many of which were translated from English to local languages, but kept the European idiom. The Lumpa songs, like Fwemba traditional songs, were accompanied by dances, clapping, drum beating and ululating.⁵⁰ According to Bernard Mtonga, the songs were displayed in a manner that whoever listened and witnessed them could not resist the temptation but stop whatever they were doing to watch with admiration. The singing of songs in Tumbuka and Bemba attracted many listeners and watchers, who eventually joined the church. This was because local languages made them feel more attached to the supernatural being (God).⁵¹ The Church attracted more converts in the district when Lenshina visited the area in 1959. The other attraction was the church associated itself with

⁴⁷ Interview, Kumwenda and Calmettes, Lumpa Church I The Genesis and Development, p.28.

⁴⁸ Interview, Bernard Mtonga, Lusaka, 17 March, 2012.

⁴⁹ Mailes Mbewe, 'The Growth and Spread of African Independent Church Movement in Zambia: A Study of Lusaka Province, 1964-2002'. H 492 Student Report, University of Zambia, 2005, p.18.

⁵⁰ Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi', p, 35.

⁵¹ Interview, Alexander Grey Zulu, former Minister of Commerce and Industry. Lusaka, 23 February, 2012.

Africans. This was because it localised its activities like the use of local languages and because it was led by Africans.⁵²

The importance of the visits by ordinary members from Lundazi district to ‘*Mama*’ which started as early as 1955 cannot be overemphasized in expanding the church’s influence. When at Kasomo, the visitors stayed in shelters erected in the village by the local people. Those who could not find room in them slept in the open and at times in fences made out of grass.⁵³ In terms of food provisions, the visitors depended on the food they came with from their villages.⁵⁴ When their food ran out, they were fed by local people. The ordinary members or visitors satisfied with the results of the pilgrimage to Kasomo, spread the church’s message especially after returning to their homes. They spread the news of the arrival of a new African prophetess who had the power to release those she blessed from the fear of witchcraft. More and more people made the pilgrimage to Kasomo from Lundazi district and other areas like Nyasaland and Tanganyika.⁵⁵ The flow of visitors to Kasomo reached its highest level in May and June of 1955, when as many as many as five hundred were counted in a single day.⁵⁶

In addition, members of the church informed other people about the miraculous cures of the various ailments that Lenshina was able to perform on those who visited her at Kasomo. They also told non-members that Lenshina’s prayers offered at one penny per individual neutralised witchcraft and was medicine for African poison. This made a lot of people including many blind, disabled and aged people to make pilgrimages of different sizes,

⁵² Interview, Bernard Mtonga.

⁵³ Interview, Effron Lungu.

⁵⁴ Interview, Kumwenda and NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Eastern Province Newsletter for Quarter Ending 31 December 1955, p.7.

⁵⁵ NAZ SP 1/14/61, Northern Rhodesia Government, Background to the Lenshina Disturbances

⁵⁶ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Eastern Province Newsletter for Quarter Ending 31 December 1955, p.7.

comprising mainly women and children. Men also undertook the long journey to Kasomo and eventually became members of the church by being baptised by the prophetess. Lenshina's baptism was a preserve of only those who embraced monogamy.⁵⁷ Examples of such Lumpa members included 41 members; 29 of whom were from Chief Kambombo's area. This was one of the first areas in Lundazi district to feel Lenshina's influence. Also, it was the first area in the district where Lumpa Church buildings sprung up as early as 1956. The other 15 were from Chinsali. The group was led by Jackson Karua from Lundazi.⁵⁸ These also spread the church into Nyasaland. They flouted the Meetings Control Order or regulation by entering Rumpi district of the Northern Region of Nyasaland with a view of holding church meetings. This led to the arrest of six of them. They were sentenced to one month imprisonment by the Katumbi Native Authority while two shotguns were confiscated from them by the police.⁵⁹

Other groups categorised as 'ordinary members' that contributed to the spread of the Lumpa Church to Lundazi district were chiefs. These were especially those who made pilgrimages to Prophetess Lenshina in Chinsali, and the African National Congress (ANC) members respectively. The visits of traditional leaders, especially like that of Chief Kambombo who became members of the church, allowed Lumpa members to build churches at their headquarters. In this way, many of his people were attracted and joined the church.⁶⁰

Another church member was the former Chief Mulilo who was deposed after 3 years conviction in 1947 for ivory poaching. He became an elder in the church. With his level of education of Standard V, he became a much more forceful character with regards to the

⁵⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/55.

⁵⁸ NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure 3 Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/56.

⁵⁹ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Letter from Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, to the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, 26 June, 1956 and NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/56.

⁶⁰ Interview, Kumwenda and NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Chinsali Intelligence Report: July/August 1955.

spread of the church to the area. The ANC's role in the spread of the church to Lundazi district lay in the manner and status they gave to Lenshina. The Congress regarded Lenshina as an African spiritual leader, a title that made many local people to join the church in Lundazi district.⁶¹

The chiefs also contributed to the spread of the Lumpa Church through intimidation or lies and coercion.⁶² When the Lumpa Church, for instance, built a church at Msekadane, baptism of followers spread to many areas starting from 1957 when Lenshina visited the churches. The rapid spread and growth in the number of the Lenshina adherents in the area was due to coercion reports that Chief Magodi had ordered all the people to join the church. Some headmen were also forcing their people to start making pilgrimages to Kasomo and attend church's meetings in their respective areas. Those who would fail to observe these orders were threatened with evictions from their villages. It was also reported that the chiefs threatened that those who were not going to comply with the orders would be fined £5/0/0 by colonial authorities at the *Boma*.⁶³

In addition, the reports indicated threats that the houses and *nkhokwe* (granaries) of such subjects would be burnt down. The DC was informed about these threats by a Catholic Priest, Father Superior in December 1957. The areas which were most affected included Msekodani and Chifwiti which were among the villages controlled by the Catholic Mission near Lundazi *Boma*. This was the reason why the Catholic Church intervened through Father Superior. The Catholic Church lost a lot of faithful members including many catechumens. Many of the postulants of the three parishes of the district left to join the Lumpa Church.⁶⁴ The African

⁶¹ NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 12/56.

⁶² Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi', p, 44.

⁶³ AWF 5-ZWF-MD 04, Lundazi Diary V.IV 1953-1966 and Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi', p.44.

⁶⁴ AWF 9-P-Hi 01 R.A, K. Hennecart, 1949-1959 Diocese of Fort Jameson, p.200.

Priest and the European missionaries of Lumezi tried to combat this development as summarised in the local mission diary:

‘Father Superior goes to the District Commissioner in Lundazi, and to all the chiefs in order to stop Elenshina (sic) followers and the headmen from frightening and threatening. He gets the necessary papers and informs all the Catechists of what they have to do:

1. Tell all the Christians, Catechumens and postulants: to be baptised by Elenshina or only to ask for Elenshina’s prayers is equivalent to give up the Christian faith....
2. Tell all the people, especially the headmen that neither the Boma nor the chiefs order the people to go to Elenshina and that nobody should be forced against his will.’⁶⁵

Furthermore, Father Superior told the people affected by the reports that anyone who was going to force a fellow person to make pilgrimages to Lenshina, threaten any person to be evicted from one’s area, one refused to visit Lenshina or call another person ‘*mfwiti*’ (witch or Wizard) would be found with the case by the *Boma* and eventually made to pay a fine of five pounds.⁶⁶

In areas such as Chief Chikwa’s⁶⁷ and Councillor Kapichila’s⁶⁸ areas, the coercion aspect by Lumpa Church members was dealt with firmly by the chiefs themselves in their courts. In such cases and particularly in the two areas, headmen were reprimanded for forcing their subjects to join the Lumpa Church.

⁶⁵ AWF 5-ZWF-MD 04, Lundazi Diary.

⁶⁶ AWF 5-ZWF-MD 04, Lundazi Diary.

⁶⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/58 and NAZ EP 4/2/125, Annual Report on African Affairs for Eastern Province, 1960.

⁶⁸ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Lundazi Tour Report No. 14/58.

However, it should be noted that the wide reports of intimidation or lies and coercion were spread by the Roman Catholic Church. This was in most of the areas where it had a following especially Lumezi area of chief Zumwanda and chiefs Mwase's and Magodi's areas of Lundazi. A few cases were reported in Chama area especially in the Chikwa Chiefdom. According to Yizenge Chondoka of Sitwe village his chiefdom (Kambombo) did not have such reports because of the absence of the Roman Catholic Church.⁶⁹ The Roman Catholic Priests initiated these reports because they were aggrieved due to the large number of their followers who left their church to join the Lumpa Church. Kenneth Chirwa in his study argues that the accused headmen accepted the charges but that they argued that they were mandated as headmen to protect villagers from witchcraft and sorcery which according to the Christian faith were evil acts. Examples of such headmen included Headman Nyamulani and Kapongolo of Chief Zumwanda; Headman Gulufa of Chief Magodi and Headman Henyezi, Ndemanga, Kazumba, and Cinenu of Chief Mwase's territory. The Priests wrote letters to the DC of Lundazi, requesting the office to take action against headmen involved in the reports. Some headmen were found guilty of accusing their chiefs of instructing them to tell their subjects to make pilgrimages to Lenshina. These headman included Headman Nkhombokombo and Gulufa who accused Chiefs Mwase and Magodi, respectively. From 1962 onwards, resulting from these reports, some chiefs and headmen were strongly warned, suspended or disposed by the colonial authorities and the most affected chiefdoms were Zumwanda, Magodi and Mwase.⁷⁰

It is worth noting that before many Lumpa temples were constructed in Lundazi, the *Shimapepos* walked to the district on foot in order to spread the church while others used bicycles as a mode of transport. Some of the bicycles used by the Lumpa Church members to

⁶⁹ Interview, Chondoka.

⁷⁰ Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi,' pp.45-46.

spread the Church to among Lundazi district and other areas were given to them by Kenneth Kaunda in Chinsali in 1963. This was after he, together with other government officials like Grey Zulu, visited the district with an aim of persuading the two parties, UNIP and Lumpa Church members to maintain peace, following reports of attacks between them. Kaunda also called upon the latter group to abandon their stockade villages and return to their original villages.⁷¹

Furthermore, collective work or self-help that the Lumpa Church promoted amongst its members also contributed to attracting people to the church in Lundazi district. This was done by helping members in collecting firewood, cultivating gardens and weeding. In addition, according to Patwel Tembo⁷², a former Lumpa and Nobet Nkhoma⁷³, a former UNIP youth member, church members who had goods or property to spare were encouraged to give the members who lacked. These goods included sugar, salt, clothes, and goats, chickens and clothes. According to Markson Ndolo, another item that some members were given was hoes⁷⁴, an important implement used by villagers for cultivation of assorted food stuffs. These gestures attracted people to join the church thereby increasing the membership of the church.

Lenshina's Regular Visits

One of the factors which made Lenshina's Church attractive to people to join it lay in the manner in which she administered her church. From the inception of the church, Lenshina

⁷¹ Interview, Grey Zulu.

⁷² Interviews, Patwel Tembo.

⁷³ Interviews, Nobet Nkhoma, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Chipata, 6 February, 2016.

⁷⁴ Interview, Ndolo.

embarked on village to village visits.⁷⁵ These visits were both in Chinsali and other areas like Lundazi. The purpose of Lenshina's visits was in order for her to meet her members and to convert new ones, and eventually baptise them. This worked very well as her visits materialised into more people hearing about her and some came physically to see her. Therefore, many of such joined her church thereby increasing the membership of the church.

Lenshina started visiting Lundazi in early 1956. However, she started having big meetings in the area in December, 1957.⁷⁶ The areas she visited in the district included Msekadane, Chifwiti, Chitungulu and Maluba. The news that Lenshina was expected to visit an area as was the case in Chitungulu area⁷⁷, Senior Chief Kambombo's valley area⁷⁸ and in Chief Chikwa's area⁷⁹, made many people to join her church. Lenshina was expected to visit the two latter areas in September and October of 1957 respectively. Her visits worried the Catholic Missions in areas like Msakadane in 1957 and the White Fathers at Kanyanga mission⁸⁰ because of the potential it posed to the Catholic Church in losing many of its members. After visiting the Luangwa valley in 1957, she set out for Kanyanga, an area under the Catholic mission, where she baptised the many people in the area who came to receive her baptism. In addition to this, she left behind well organised congregations with deacons and prayer leaders in the area.⁸¹

In areas like Kambombo chiefdoms which had no mission station, there were many fervent Lumpa followers including Senior Chief Kambombo himself who had visited Lenshina at

⁷⁵ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 16 July, 1974, p.8.

⁷⁶ AWF 5-ZWF-MD 04, Lundazi Diary and Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina*, pp.24-31.

⁷⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 6/58.

⁷⁸ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/57.

⁷⁹ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/57.

⁸⁰ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 1/58.

⁸¹ Calmettes, 'The Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction and Conflict', p.20.

Kasomo in 1956. Each of his villages had a Lumpa Church building.⁸² Lenshina's visit achieved tremendous results in terms of spreading her church in Lundazi district especially the one she and some thirty members undertook to the area in November 1957. The visit lasted for about one month. During her stay, many people joined the church. It was later announced that eight new churches were to be built in the district. Chief Mazembe's area was covered during that visit.

The visit impacted positively on the church's statistics at the Registrar of Societies. In October 1958, it indicated about ten churches organised by two leaders in Lundazi East, and about thirteen churches organised by two leaders in Lundazi West. One Mutelwe Branch, for instance, which fell in the Western part with a membership of 1,098 applied for registration under the Societies Ordinance in 1958.⁸³ Other areas which saw an increase in the Lenshina temples due to her visits in 1958 after being visited by the 'leading lady' in October and November of 1958 included that of the Senga chief, Tembwe⁸⁴, and the Chewa chief, Kapichila.⁸⁵ During most of these visits to Lundazi, Lenshina had translators who translated her Bemba messages into local languages such as Tumbuka.⁸⁶

People's Reaction to the spread of the Lumpa Church

Generally, the people of Lundazi district responded positively to the spread of the Lumpa church. This was through the various methods in which the message about the church reached

⁸² NAZ EP 4/2/96, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/57.

⁸³ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Letter from Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, to R.S. Foster, Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, 5 August 1956, pp.16-17.

⁸⁴ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/58.

⁸⁵ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Lundazi Tour Report No. 14/58.

⁸⁶ Interview, Mukhondo Lungu, Member of Parliament (MP) for Lundazi Constituency and Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly of Zambia, Lusaka, 21 April 2016.

them. That is, either through the Lumpa Church apostle or ordinary members. This was evidenced in the number of local chiefs who welcomed the church. Some became adherents of the church and went further to visit Lenshina at Kasomo. These traditional leaders included Chiefs Kambombo, Mulilo and Lundu.⁸⁷ The Mushrooming of Lumpa Church building was evidence enough that the Lumpa Church found fertile grounds in the district. According to an administrative official in Lundazi, a lot of churches were built in the Luangwa valley.⁸⁸ According to Mulenga, in terms of statistics, in the 1950s Lundazi district had thirteen Lumpa Churches with a population of 17,000 out of its total population of 122,390.⁸⁹

The people of Lundazi district accepted the Lumpa Church for various reasons. The first, being the absence of the influence of mission churches especially in the whole Senga area. Initially, the Church of Scotland operated in the area from Mzimba, in Nyasaland. In 1903, it opened its first mission station in the valley in Kazembe Chiefdom. However, the church abandoned its work in the district and the entire Eastern Province earlier and only returned to the province, through Nyasaland in 1960. Amongst the problems that contributed to this withdrawal were health reasons, the area was hot and tsetse infested.⁹⁰ The Church of Scotland also had problems finding local committed leadership and had financial constraints.⁹¹ The White Fathers on the other hand had operated in the Senga area from about

⁸⁷ NAZ NP 3/12/003, Extract from Chinsali Intelligence Report: July/August 1955 and Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands*, p.41.

⁸⁸ Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, p.26.

⁸⁹ Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands*, p.12.

⁹⁰ Donald Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People: Sixteen Years' Work among the Warlike Tribe of the Ngoni and the Senga and Tumbuka Peoples of Central Africa*, Second Edition (London: Seeley Service & co. Ltd, 1922), p.52.

⁹¹ Bernhard Udelhoven, 'Christianity in the Luangwa Valley', Report of the Luangwa Valley Research, Catholic Diocese of Chipata (December 2006), p.8.

1953. They, however, had no manpower to start infiltrating from the Chewa area.⁹² In addition, the mission churches were reluctant to deal with witchcraft which affected African communities. As a result of these challenges, some areas like Chief Kambombo never had any mission church, thus giving the Lumpa Church fertile grounds within which to spread enormously.⁹³

According to Benson Nyirenda, Chief Mphamba's Induna, another reason the Lumpa was met with little or no resistance in the district was because it preached against witchcraft and polygamy.⁹⁴ Other people however accepted the Lumpa Church due to the fact that it was an 'indigenous church'. In addition, the church's messages and songs were in the local languages.⁹⁵

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the various ways through which the Lumpa Church of Lenshina Mulenga spread from Chinsali district to Lundazi district. It has been established that the Lumpa Church spread to Lundazi district between 1953 and 1955. The first reason for the spread was because of its close proximity to Chinsali district, where the church began from. The two areas were only separated by the Luangwa valley. In relation to this, we have established that the other reason that enabled the Lumpa Church to spread to Lundazi was because of the Bemba language. Some people in the district understood the Bemba language

⁹² NAZ EP 4/2/125, Annual Report on African Affairs for Eastern Province, 1960; NAZ EP 4/2/71, Annexure 4 Lundazi tour Report No.17/55 and Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People*, pp. 292-297.

⁹³ Interview, Chondoka and NAZ NP 3/12/003, Letter from Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, to the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Kasama, 26 June 1956.

⁹⁴ Interview, Benson Nyirenda and Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina*, pp.29-31.

⁹⁵ Interview, Bernard Mtonga.

thereby making it easy for the church to find a fertile ground to spread in the district. The language factor also enabled the church to spread to other parts of the country like Copperbelt as well in other countries like Central Nyasaland. This spread of the Bemba language was as a result of labour migration.

The Lumpa Church also spread to Lundazi district through its *Shimapepos* or apostles, also referred to as evangelists. They preached in most parts of the district. They also participated in the singing indigenous songs in choirs. The songs were all in Bemba and Tumbuka and accompanied by marvellous dances. Some of these *Shimapepos* travelled from Chinsali district on foot to Lundazi district owing to the short distance between the two neighbouring districts. Others used whatever means of transport which came their way to ensure that the message reached Lundazi. The prominent mode of transport was the use of bicycles.

The ordinary members were yet another way through which the Lenshina message spread to Lundazi district. This happened after the members returned home from their pilgrimages to Kasomo. The members told other people of the miracles that were taking place at Kasomo performed by Lenshina. They also indicated she was able to free people from the fears of witchcraft.

The chiefs too, helped in the spread of the Lumpa Church. Some of them like Chiefs Kambombo and Tembwe became Lumpa adherents and even made pilgrimages to Kasomo. Some of their subjects followed suit. Other chiefs coerced their subjects to make a pilgrimage to Kasomo or attend Lumpa Church meetings within their villages. Failure to do so, could either result in being threatened with eviction from their local areas, their granaries being burnt, or be made to pay a fine of five pounds at the Lundazi *Boma* by the colonial authorities.

This chapter has also established that people in Lundazi district were attracted to join the Lumpa Church because of the collective work and self-help spirit that the church encouraged especially amongst its members. The members helped each other in works like collecting firewood, cultivating gardens and weeding. Those with surplus goods such as sugar, salt, clothes, livestock, clothes and hoes gave to those who lacked.

Furthermore, this chapter has argued that the spread of the Lumpa Church to Lundazi district was due to the supernatural powers that Lenshina was alleged to possess. Her powers were evident in the miracles she performed on people who visited her at Kasomo such as the one she performed on Elivini of Chief Phikamalaza but also in the various areas she personally visited to establish her church. Similarly, the Lumpa Church also spread to Lundazi district because of the village to village or annual visits that Lenshina undertook to the area. During these visits she baptised a lot of her new converts and left well organised churches under the leadership of *Shimapepos*. It has also been established that the reaction of people in Lundazi district was positive as many people joined the church and many temples were built.

CHAPTER THREE: SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE LUMPA CHURCH IN LUNDAZI DISTRICT

Introduction

The socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district started being felt in about 1955, when the church spread to the district and also when many people started making pilgrimages to Kasomo's village in Chinsali district to visit Lenshina. The effects heightened in the late 1950s and early 1960s when the church had confrontations with some traditional and civil authorities. The traditional authorities were chiefs while the civil authorities were the colonial and later, United National Independence Party (UNIP) led government. The confrontations worsened in late 1964 when a civil war, mainly involving the church members and the UNIP-led government under the leadership of Kenneth Kaunda, erupted in the country. It must be stated that the impact was felt in Lundazi district, and Chinsali districts, the headquarters of the church. The confrontations forced President Kaunda to deregister the church in 1964, in accordance with the Societies Ordinance (Laws, volume 8 and cap. 262).¹

This chapter examines the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district. It is divided into two main sections, each with various sub-themes: the positive and negative socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church, respectively. Themes under the first section will include eradication of witchcraft fears and other ailments, the reduction of polygamy levels, reduction in beer drinking and careless conduct as well as infrastructural development. The themes under the second section will include disregard of traditional and civil authority, disruption of the education system, destruction of life and property, anarchy, poverty and hunger, break up of families and loss of revenue for the district.

¹ National Archives of Zambia (hereafter NAZ) MHA 1/3/10, Government Notice number of 1964.

The Lumpa Church Confrontations with the Traditional and Civil Authorities

The confrontations between the Lumpa Church adherents with the traditional and civil authorities started in Chinsali district. They however spread to Lundazi district from about 1955 when the church activities increased in the district. It is worth mentioning however that its adherents initially lived in harmony with the other people around them in the district. There was the 'live and let live' spirit which its leader, Lenshina, emphasized; implying that there was the spirit of tolerance.² The confrontations both in Chinsali and Lundazi districts emanated from the church's principles of a theocratic society, only Lenshina and her deacons were recognised as the sources of authority. As a result, the church did not recognise both traditional and civil authorities.³ The other reason that led to the confrontations was because the UNIP members started forcing the Lumpa Church adherents to join their political party. This was done by forcing them to obtain UNIP membership cards and register as voters in order for the party to win elections.⁴ However, the Lumpa Church members refused because Lenshina instructed them not to participate in politics.

As a result, non-church members and especially UNIP members started attacking Lumpa Church members. When Lumpa Church members started retaliating, there was a breakdown of social order especially in the late 1950s and early 1960s, both in Chinsali and Lundazi districts. One of the first direct confrontations between Lumpa adherents and non-members in Lundazi district took place in 1959 in Chikwa Chiefdom. This was after the chief's retainers prevented Lumpa adherents from taking a buffalo that Lumpa adherents had killed. This resulted in the destruction of property and life.⁵ However, statistics in relation to the types of

² NAZ EP 4/2/123, Lundazi Tour Report No. 11 of 59.

³ Kenneth A. Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi, 1953-1964', M.A Dissertation, Zambia Open University, Lusaka, 2015, pp.51-52.

⁴ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 6 August, 1964, p.2.

⁵ David M. Gordon, *Invisible Agents: Spirits in a Central African History* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012), p.111.

property that was destroyed and the cumulative figure of the number of people who died was not clear. Further, a Lumpa young girl was shot with a muzzle loader in Chinsali district on 22 December 1963 by four suspected UNIP members at a Lumpa prayer-meeting. These attacks forced Lumpa Church members to start fighting back. The fighting ultimately forced the Lumpa members to move out of the original villages and build their own stockade villages which totalled 30 by the end of 1963 out of which five were located in Lundazi district.⁶ As a way of avenging the attacks by UNIP members, Lumpa church adherents started retaliating by harassing their neighbours who were non-Lumpa adherents. The fights increased in July 1964 during which a white Police officer was speared to death while trying to enter a stockade village in Chinsali district. Kenneth Kaunda, Prime Minister, deployed Platoons of Mobile Police Units in Chinsali to go and arrest the situation. In addition, two battalions were sent to pursue 5,000 Lumpa Church members. When the situation worsened, on 30 July 1964, government forces surrounded Sione and after fierce fighting, killed 74 people while 40 were wounded. In a reprisal, some Lumpa Church members fled to Lundazi district, spreading the Sione attack by government forces. These confrontations continued beyond 1964.⁷

Positive Socio-Economic Impact

Eradication of witchcraft fears and the healing of related Ailments

The Lumpa Church had positive impact on the families and on most people of Lundazi district. One way through which this was done was by liberating people from sorcery and witchcraft fears as well as healing of related ailments. This was the core objective of the

⁶ Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 2004), p.185 and Margaret Musonda Chileshe, 'Church and Politics in Zambia, 1950-1991', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2014, p.59.

⁷ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 13 August, 1964, p.12 and Richard Hall, *Zambia* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965), p.229.

Lumpa Church.⁸ The emancipation of people from sorcery and witchcraft fears involved calling on sorcerers to give up their evil charms. This aspect was important to Africans because it implied that the local people who had been held captive by witchcraft were let free. Many of the captives in the district surrendered their fetishes or witchcraft *bwanga* (medicine) to Lenshina. Besides, the people who had been affected by the activities of the sorcerers and witches by being bewitched or their relatives being bewitched became free.⁹ The Lumpa Church therefore reduced incidences of witchcraft in the district and many people no longer lived in fear of the vice.

Apart from freeing people from witchcraft, the Lumpa Church contributed to the eradication of assorted ailments such as blindness and lame amongst the people of Lundazi district. This was done through Lenshina's healing prayers. This encouraged some people from the district to make pilgrimages to Kasomo via the Muchinga escarpment hills paths in order to be cured. These included the blind, disabled and aged. Lenshina prayed for all visitors, each of which paid one penny. It was believed that the prayers cured ailments, neutralised witchcraft and was a remedy for African poisonous medicines. Such visitors returned back to the district more than satisfied with the pilgrimage.¹⁰

Promotion of Moral Values

Through the promotion of the church rules which were codified in 1957, Lenshina's church promoted moral values in Lundazi district. As a result of the church's rules and choir rules, shown in appendix I and II, the district experienced increased divorce cases and decreased

⁸ Interview, Benson Nyirenda, Induna of Chief Mphamba, Lundazi, 10 February 2016 and Government of the Republic of Zambia, (hereafter GRZ.), *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church of Mrs. Alice Lenshina Mulenga* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965), p.3.

⁹ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 23 September, 1965, p.5.

¹⁰ NAZ SEC 2/726, Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/55.

levels of polygamy. Divorce cases in the district were as a result of two factors. The first factor involved wives whose husbands had been away on the Copperbelt and elsewhere in Central Africa as labour migrants for some time exceeding five years. This was the time acknowledged by the local chiefs as being equivalent to desertion. The second factor, directly linked to Lenshina's Church was encouraging the people towards monogamy. The male church adherents released their extra wives and equally, the second wives released their husbands in their desire to become Christians or Lumpa Church followers.¹¹ Rumours also existed in some parts of the district that second wives who were Lumpa adherents were dying. This fear increased the number of second wives who opted for divorces.¹² The areas affected by divorces included Chifunda's Chiefdom. There, up to 95% of the people in the chiefdom had visited Lenshina in Kasomo by the end of 1955,¹³ and Chief Chikwa's Chiefdom whose divorce cases in terms of statistics were the highest in both criminal (Native Customary Law) and civil cases at the end of the third quarter of 1957 as shown in Table 2.¹⁴ Therefore, the Lumpa Church helped in making many families in the district become monogamous as opposed to polygamous.

¹¹ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Letter from District Commissioner, Lundazi, to the Provincial Commissioner, Eastern Province, Fort Jameson, 13 November 1957.

¹² Interview, Tiimepo Mfuni, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lundazi, 9 February, 2016.

¹³ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Lundazi tour Report No.17/55.

¹⁴ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/57.

Table 2: Schedule of cases in Chikwa's court, 1957

Criminal (Native Customary Law)		Civil	
Assault	11	Divorce	35
Other Criminal	7	Adultery	9
		Other Matrimonial	4
		Debt and Damages	6
		Other Civil	1
Total	18	Total	73

Source: NAZ., EP 4/2/96, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/57.

In addition, through its rules, the Lumpa Church reduced levels of beer drinking, some indigenous dances and divination in the district. The church also promoted togetherness in district. This was done by encouraging its members to share essentials such as food and clothes with those who lacked.¹⁵

Infrastructural Development

The Lumpa Church led to infrastructural development in Lundazi district. This was in the form of construction of Lumpa church buildings. Many Lumpa Church buildings were constructed by Lumpa members. School-going Lumpa children in the district also participated in the construction of the church buildings.¹⁶ Examples of chiefdoms which had Lenshina chapels in most of their villages were Tembwe¹⁷, Lundu¹⁸ and Phikamalaza. Initially, the Lumpa church buildings were constructed using poles and dagga [clay]. Despite

¹⁵ Kampamba Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1998), p.11 and John J. Grotper, Brian V. Siegel and James R. Pletcher, *Historical Dictionary of Zambia*, Second Edition (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1998), p.202.

¹⁶ NAZ SEC 2/731, Lundazi Tour Reports No.2/60.

¹⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No.8/58.

¹⁸ NAZ EP 4/2/123, Lundazi Tour Report No. 3/60.

this, J.H Burges, District Commissioner (DC) for Lundazi, indicated that the church buildings were good, built with care and spontaneous effort which one wished to see appearing in more worthwhile projects.¹⁹ Some brick-building churches were built later. An example of such building apart from the Cathedral build in Sione, included the half-built brick Lumpa Church burnt down by troops at Chipoma Village in August 1964. The troops did this to ensure that the building did not become a regrouping site for Lumpas.²⁰ Another example was the Kamutola Lumpa Church building which was the headquarters of the church in district.²¹

Negative Socio-Economic Impact

Disregard for Traditional and Civil Authorities

The Lumpa Church's activities in Lundazi district also led to some negative impacts with the disregard for traditional and civil authorities being one of them. This was in the form of non-payment of tribute and taxes to the chiefs by the Lumpa Church members who formed the majority in most of the chiefdoms in the district.²² It must be emphasised that taxes paid to chiefs were, in turn, paid to the colonial government. Lumpa Church adherents instead started paying offerings and tithes to the church. They also stopped cultivating in the fields of chiefs in preference to cultivating in the fields of their priests. In addition, they started giving gifts in the form of money and materials like foodstuffs such as millet, game and fish to church leaders such as deacons instead of chiefs. Lumpa adherents changed their allegiance because the church commanded them to only obey Jesus Christ and church leaders and not earthly

¹⁹ NAZ SEC 2/728, Annexure 5 Lundazi Tour Report No. 5/58.

²⁰ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 11 August, 1964, p.1.

²¹ Interview, Isaac .K. Banda, Member of Parliament (MP) for Lumezi Constituency, Lusaka, 19 April, 2016.

²² Eric Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Southern Africa*, 6th Edition (London: Frederick Wame and Co, 1961), p.334; D. G. Coe and E. C. Greenall, *Kaunda's Gaoler: Memories of a District Officer in Northern Rhodesia and Zambia* (London: The Radcliffe Press, 2003), p.148 and *Sunday Post*, Post Lifestyle, Sunday, 4 May, 2008, p.XIV.

authorities but. Lumpa Church priests presided over civil cases involving their adherents and even punished offenders instead of the chiefs who were mandated by the government to conduct such functions. According to Calmettes²³ and Chirwa²⁴, these changes brought by the Lumpa Church reduced the social, economic and political status of the chiefs in the district.

Another way through which the Lumpa church undermined the traditional and civil authorities in the district was through its evangelists or shimapepos who helped in spreading the church to the district. Some evangelists coerced ordinary people into becoming members of the church. An example of areas where evangelists used coercion in order to make people join the church was Chief Chikwa's area.²⁵ In addition, Lumpa evangelists superintended over the church's meetings without permits which was a requirement for such meetings. This was against the message of both the traditional and civil authorities in the district. Evangelists in Chief Chifunda, for instance, never got permission from authorities when they conducted their meetings in the area in 1959.²⁶ Yet, another example, was when in an effort to spread the church further, some Lumpa Church members led by evangelists from Kambombo Chiefdom, crossed the Nyasaland border where they held their meetings without obtaining permits. However, they were arrested and imprisoned because their meetings were an infringement of local Native Authority Orders.²⁷

However, from the late 1950s the situation changed especially when Lenshina herself visited the district. Before her 1958 visits to Chikwa and Chifunda Chiefdoms, respectively, for instance, she asked for permission to hold meetings from the office of the DC and of the

²³ Jean Loup Calmettes, 'Lumpa Sect, Rural Reconstruction, and Conflict', M.A Thesis, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1978, p.58.

²⁴ Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi,' pp.49-50.

²⁵ NAZ EP 4/2/123, Lundazi Tour Report. No. 9/59.

²⁶ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No.15/58.

²⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/85, Lundazi tour Report No.8/56.

chiefs. This was unlike her 1957 visit when she never asked for permission and therefore for her meetings were accompanied by noticeable incidents such as assaults and intimidation especially in Chifunda Chiefdom.²⁸

In addition, the Lenshina evangelists repeatedly refused to show any respect to chiefs in Lundazi district by attempting to show the local people that they were beyond the jurisdiction of the chiefs. They showed this aspect of disrespect by preaching that chiefs and headmen were to be disobeyed if their instructions conflicted with the church's interests.²⁹ Such a message objected and unquestionably undermined the authority of chiefs and village headmen thereby making the feeling towards the Lumpa Church especially in the Senga area tense by 1960.³⁰ Such tendencies were prominent in the Senga areas of Chikwa, Chiwale, Mulilo and Lundu Chiefdoms.³¹

Disruption of the Education System

The education system was one of the sectors that were negatively affected by the Lumpa Church presence in Lundazi district. The impact was in terms of school absenteeism by children or learners. The other one was on the curriculum through religious instruction, one of the subjects that were taught in the schools. The low school attendance by learners had an impact on both missionary and public schools in the district.³² The absenteeism was as a result of three main reasons: the first being that learners would escort their parents on

²⁸ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Lundazi Tour Report No. 4/57 and NAZ EP 4/2/108, Lundazi Tour Report No.13/58.

²⁹ NAZ EP 4/2/133, Annual Report on African Affairs for the Eastern Province, 1960.

³⁰ NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from W.A. Milligan District Commissioner, Lundazi, to the Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, 9 November 1960.

³¹ NAZ EP 4/2/123, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Report No. 3/60 and NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from W.A. Milligan, Lundazi district Commissioner, Lundazi, to the Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, 9 November 1960.

³² *The Northern News*, Thursday, 16 July, 1964, p.8.

pilgrimages to Kasomo to visit Lenshina.³³ Examples of areas where such incidents were noticed included: Kazembe, Magodi and Phikamalaza Chiefdoms. For instance, in 1955 Chiweza School, run by the White Fathers in Kazembe Chiefdom, which also enrolled children from twelve neighbouring villages of Chifunda Chiefdom, experienced a high rate of absenteeism especially from the end of October to the second half of November. This was due to parents taking their children to Lenshina. P.G.F Farwell, the DC for Lundazi, during his visit listed 20 out of the 41 children who were absent for two to three weeks. Attendance however returned back to normal two weeks prior to his visit.³⁴ Table 3 shows enrolment and the low average school attendance because of school-children accompanying their parents to Kasomo to visit Lenshina in Chifunda Chiefdom as observed by Farwell during his 1955 December visit to the area.

Table 3: Attendance figures at Chifunda: Local Education Authority (LEA), 1955

Enrolment		Average Attendance							
Sub. A		August		September		October		November	
Boys	Girls	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
20	15	10	8	13	±	13	10	±	±
Sub. B									
25	10	11	3	14	±	15	2	±	±
Sub. I									
27	8	15	5	12	±	8	0	±	±
Sub. II									
28	0	15	0	17	0	20	0	±	±

‘B’ and ‘G’ represent Boys and Girls respectively

± is not recorded by Teachers

Source: NAZ., EP 4/2/71, Annexure 4 Lundazi tour Report No.17/55.

³³ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Annexure 4 Lundazi tour Report No.17/55; NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure 1 Lundazi tour Report No.13/56 and NAZ SEC 2/726, Lundazi Tour Report No. 8/55.

³⁴ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Annexure 4 Lundazi tour Report No.17/55.

Attendance in Chifunda's area remained poor. This was in spite of the children in the area going to Lenshina early. These attendance figures were similar to those at Munyukwa³⁵ and Phikamalaza³⁶ Schools in Magodi and Phikamalaza Chiefdoms respectively. Teachers also visited Lenshina during the school break but without permission. At Chiweza School, for instance, two teachers, one had been at the school for 6 years, the other for 3 years, made pilgrimages together to Kasomo. The school was left with the wife of the Head Teacher in-Charge.³⁷

Absenteeism in some schools in some areas of the district was however not felt. In other words, some areas never experienced absenteeism at particular times of the year. In the same Chifunda Chiefdom, for instance, while Chiwaze School was adversely affected due to learners going to visit Lenshina together with their parents in the late 1955, Chifunda lower Primary School showed a different situation all together. The enrolments and attendance were most satisfactory in 1957 as indicated in Table 4.³⁸ This implies that the Lenshina influence amongst the pupils of some areas such as Chifunda Primary School was negligible compared to other schools.

³⁵ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Annexure 3 Lundazi tour Report No.18/55.

³⁶ NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure 1 Lundazi tour Report No.13/56.

³⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Annexure 4 Lundazi tour Report No.17/55.

³⁸ NAZ SEC 2/728, Annexure 5 Lundazi Tour Report No. 13/57.

Table 4: Attendance figures at Chifunda lower Primary School (LEA), 1957

	Boys	Girls	Total
Sub A	25	15	40
Sub B	22	14	36
Std. I	27	7	34
Std. II	30	5	35
Total	104	41	145

Source: NAZ., SEC 2/728, Annexure 5 Lundazi Tour Report No. 13/57.

Another reason which contributed to children's absenteeism from school in the district was because school-going children were made to stay at home so that they could help in the construction of the Lumpa Church buildings in their respective villages. One of the areas in the district which experienced some very poor attendance at all lower primary schools was Phikamalaza Chiefdom in the last quarter of 1959.³⁹ This was partly as a result of considerable Lenshina activities in the chiefdom including the aspect of school-going children being taken off to Chinsali to visit Lenshina by their parents.

Religious instruction was one of the subjects provided in the curriculum that was offered in schools in Lundazi, as in the rest of Northern Rhodesia. However, the evangelists instructed Lenshina followers not to allow their children to attend religious instruction lessons⁴⁰ because it had nothing to do with them. As a result, in Chikwa Chiefdom in 1957 for instance, few children closed their eyes at morning prayers and the majority spent this period chatting away

³⁹ NAZ SEC 2/731, Lundazi Tour Reports No. 2/60.

⁴⁰ K. K. Virmani, *Zambia: The Dawn of Freedom* (Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 1989p.191).

to one another.⁴¹ Colonial authorities insisted on closing eyes when praying even though there was not one form of praying. Nonetheless, these aspects caused uncertainty among most teachers because they never knew how to handle such ‘indisciplined’ children. The Director of Education was forced to declare in November 1957 that according to the African Education Ordinance ‘no child shall be compelled to attend religious instruction whose parents or guardian objected to such attendance’.⁴² Prior to this, only masters of the schools were fully aware of the Ordinance albeit they had been instructed not to broadcast it but only to be used in times of trouble. At the same time, schools were instructed to find alternative activities for such non-conformists.⁴³ Therefore, Lenshina’s church became an official reason by teachers for the low numbers on the school Attendance Boards. School managers and the Local Education Authority (LEA) however, knew about the ordinance.⁴⁴

The education sector suffered further when the UNIP-Lumpa Church conflict intensified especially from August to about December of 1964. This resulted in schools being closed in the district until the situation stabilised late 1964. In addition, most children were dispersed to some parts of Northern Rhodesia and also to some parts of other countries such as Republic of Congo Leopoldville and Republic of Malawi. Other children lost their parents and their guardians and thus found it difficult to return to school. Some of these were taken to Fort Jameson Orphanage where, fortunately, some of them were adopted and hence returned to school in their new homes.⁴⁵ Furthermore, some children that fled together with their parents to Congo and returned in Zambia in 1968, 1971 and 1994 did not acquire education due to

⁴¹ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/57

⁴² NAZ EP 4/2/96, Lundazi Tour Report No. 11/57.

⁴³ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 6 Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/58.

⁴⁴ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Letter from L. Bean, Acting Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, to District Commissioner, Lundazi, 28 October 1955 and NAZ EP 4/2/71, Lundazi tour Report No.13/55.

⁴⁵ Interview, Tisaine Phiri, peasant farmer, Lusaka, 24 April, 2012.

lack of schools in the areas where they stayed. One such area was Chipangali in Chipata district where some ex-Lumpas originally from Lundazi district had been resettled in 1994 after returning from DRC lacked schools.⁴⁶

Destruction of Life and Property

Initially, the Lumpa Church adherents coexisted with non-Lumpa Church members in Lundazi district. In about 1957, however, their relationship became tense and the first case of assault inspired by some of Lenshina evangelists was reported particularly in Chifunda Chiefdom. Although the victim complained to the chief repeatedly, no action was taken by the chief and his assessors until they were told by E. G. P Clarmonte, District Assistant. This was despite Kapasu John Chiwanga having witnessed the assault. No attempt was made by the chief to intervene because he himself had a case with Lenshina.⁴⁷

The major disturbances in the district that led to the destruction of life began in August 1964. This was after government troops ran on the Lumpa Church members at Sione in Kasomo village of Chinsali district where an estimated number of 5,000 people died.⁴⁸ Thus, as reprisal, the following night on 3 August Lumpa members attacked Lundazi district. These attacks were conducted in Chief Kambombo's areas and Lundazi *Boma* simultaneously. According to Median Mvula of Kapara Kanye Village of Chief Kambombo, the attacks ensued in the Kambombo's Chiefdom after Mwandila Goma and Chasure Goma, church elders, living together at Paishuko Mission called Lumpa members in the village on Sunday, 2 August 1964 and told them to gather outside their houses in order to hear from them. Goma then told them that he had received a letter from Lenshina at Sione urging them to start war on Monday 3 August, 1964, fighting all villages that belonged to UNIP. On Monday,

⁴⁶ *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 28 October, 1994, p.2.

⁴⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/108, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Report No.15/58.

⁴⁸ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Appendix 'E'.

volunteers left Paishuko by night to attack the villages. The volunteers returned back at the village on Tuesday, 4 August 1964 at 14.00hrs with seven wounded people who accompanied them to fight.⁴⁹

Similarly, on Sunday 2 August 1964 deacons at Chipoma Lumpa settlement called for a large meeting at which instructions were issued to prepare weapons which included axes, bows and arrows, and spears. At night, on Monday 3, two groups were created, one composed of Tumbuka from Magodi, Mphamba and Phikamalaza Chiefdoms. This group attacked Lundazi Township which mainly comprised of the Chewa and Ngoni groups. The size of this group comprised approximately 100 to 300 Lumpa adherents. It split into sections at the district airport before attacking the *Boma*. The second group comprised of Chewa men attacked villages of Magodi Chiefdom.⁵⁰ According to Kenneth Kaunda who visited the district just after the Lundazi Township incident, these were part of the approximately 30,000 active Lumpa Church members in the district in August 1964. However, the exact figure of those that bore arms was not known.⁵¹

The Lundazi Township attackers led by Semi Ngoma⁵² seized guns and ammunition comprising ten 303 rifles, one sten carbine, two greener guns, one riot gun, seventy five rounds of ammunition and four magazines containing in all 100 rounds from the armoury at the Lundazi Police Station.⁵³ In addition, 75 rounds of 12 bore ammunition and eight

⁴⁹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Appendix 'E'.

⁵⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, 080850, from Provops Lundazi, CID Investigation Sitrep.

⁵¹ *Central African Mail*, 7 August, 1964, p.1.

⁵² NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from E. Leighton, for Commissioner of Police, Lusaka, to Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister, Permanent Secretary, Deputy Governor's Office, General Officer Commanding, Forces Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Commander, Northern Rhodesia Army, Lusaka, 7 August 1964.

⁵³ Interview, Bernard Mtonga, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lusaka, 17 March, 2012; *Nshila* No. 171, 11 August, 1964, p.6; Richard Hall, *Zambia 1890-1964: The Colonial Period* (London: Longman, 1976), pp.176-177 and Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands*, p.18.

bayonets were also stolen from the police station.⁵⁴ During this attack, Lumpa adherents screamed “revenge for Sione and Jericho”. As a result of this attack, about 20 people died including six women and five children. Others killed were police constable Zimba, who was also a driver together with his wife and young son in his house as well as at least 5 children from different homes within the Police Camp.⁵⁵ At the *Boma*, Lenshina’s warriors also killed an African woman and two African boys. Furthermore, four African men and three African women, two Indian men and an Indian woman were killed too. Among the casualties of Asian origin who were killed in this attack were Mr. R. M. Malik, Mr. M. Suleman and Mrs. A. M. Chokse. Those who were wounded included Mr. Ahmed Chokse, and Mr. Suleman Valii who was seriously injured and was sent to Fort Jameson Hospital. One white Father also sustained serious head wounds. The confirmed number of deaths at the *Boma* was 28 while figures in rural areas were not given.⁵⁶ In the morning of 3 August, there were already 10 bodies in Lundazi mortuary although not all the dead bodies had been brought in.⁵⁷

The Lumpa Church members then moved north where they met up with their colleagues who were fleeing east from Chilanga and Chapaula in Chinsali district and continued ravaging villages in a path of 90 miles which encompassed six villages in Mphamba, three in Phikamalaza, one in Kambombo and seven in Kapichila as well as one in Chikwa chiefdoms,

⁵⁴ NAZ MHA 1/3/10/9302, 031355 Follow up report from Disops Lundazi; GRZ., *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church*, p.25 and *Nshila* No. 171, 11 August, 1964, p.6.

⁵⁵ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Message from Chinsali and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, 032230, Message from Chinsali from Disops Lundazi.

⁵⁶ NAZ MHA 1/3/10/9302, Outward Telegram no.438 from Governor, Lusaka, to C.R.O, London, sent 10:40hrs on 3 August 1964, Messages received from Chinsali and Lundazi; David M. Gordon, ‘Rebellion or massacre? The UNIP-Lumpa conflict revisited’, in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, many histories Towards a history of post-colonial Zambia*(Boston: Brill, 2008), p.68 and NAZ MHA 1/3/10/9302, Prime Minister (Kaunda’s) Speech, 3 August 1964.

⁵⁷ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, 030945, Message from Chinsali and Lundazi; NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, 080850, from Provops Lundazi and *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 4 August, 1964, p.1

respectively.⁵⁸ In statistical terms, marauding bands of Lenshina members slaughtered 17 people in Mphikalamaza Chiefdom.⁵⁹ During the same period, about 14 villages in Chikwa's Chiefdom were burnt and destroyed and Senior Chief Chikwa himself was murdered together with his son. The District Messenger and nine other persons were murdered too. About 21 people sustained injuries and were brought to Lundazi on 4 August 1964. Further, the Lenshina members took firearms from Chikwa chiefdom.⁶⁰

The firearms included one which the chief himself had wanted to use through his Kapaso to shoot at the Lumpa attackers. The Lumpa members further used the firearms to kill other people during the fighting. During this night, an estimated number of 150 people died across the district. To avenge these deaths, on 7 August the Senga villagers armed with among other weapons, shotguns, murdered 46 people at Paishuko village which was 100 miles from Lundazi. This was the target of the government operation which had been planned for the 6th August, 1964 but had been postponed.⁶¹ About 2,000 Lumpa Church members had temporarily settled in Chikwa's Chiefdom, an area that was halfway between Lundazi and Chinsali *Bomas*. After these attacks, they fled to the thick bushes of the Luangwa valley where they continued with the attacks on other settlements therein.⁶²

On 10 August 1964, the government estimated that the total number of deaths had risen to 300 since Monday 3 August when Lumpa members went into rampage in Lundazi. However,

⁵⁸ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, Sitrep from Disops at Lundazi at 031200 and *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 4 August, 1964, p.1.

⁵⁹ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 4 August, 1964, p.1; NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Message from Chinsali and Lundazi and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Outward Telegram No.453 from government, Lusaka to S/state, London, 7 August 1964, follow up to telegram no. 150

⁶⁰ *The Northern News*, Friday, 7 August, 1964, p.1; NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government, Outward Telegram No. 446 from Governor, Lusaka, to C.R.O, London 5 August 1964 at 13:5hrs and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Message from Chinsali and Lundazi, 081845, Sitrep as at 1845hrs.

⁶¹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Diary of Events from 25 June to 15 October, 16 Oct. 1964 and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government, Outward Telegram No. 495 from Government, Lusaka to CROSEC, London, 10 August 1964 sent at 1930hrs, My \$57, Lenshina Disturbances.

⁶² *Central African Mail*, 7 August, 1964, p.1.

the number continued rising as more dead bodies continued to be found in the bush.⁶³ The corpses became too many both for Lundazi district residents and the government to bear such that the Prime Minister ordered that they should be buried in a mass grave.⁶⁴ Tractors were used for both digging the grave and also burying the dead. It is important to note that many Lumpa members died during the Chipoma and Paishuko incidents, and in most of the Lumpa Church-UNIP government confrontations. The figures with regards to how many Lumpa members died during each attack however were not reported. Nonetheless, most figures were given when government troops pounced on the Lumpa members. For instance on 4 August 1964 at 12:30 hours when the First Northern Rhodesia Regiment (1NNR) conducted an operation on Chipoma, a fortified settlement a few miles from Lundazi *Boma*, with an aim of making them surrender, the police opened fire on them when they failed to surrender. A total of 81 Lenshina members were killed, 42 wounded and 11 were taken as prisoners. Further, 10 rifles, one Sterling carbine and quantities of ammunition, all of which had been seized from the Lundazi police station the previous day were recovered.⁶⁵

From Chipoma, the 1NNR attacked Paishuko village where 16 Lenshina members were killed. However, most of the survivors fled westward into the bush.⁶⁶ Two other Lumpa stockade villages which were attacked by government troops included Wibinda and Museba. However, the church members in these villages were not as violent as those at Chipoma and Paishuko.⁶⁷

⁶³ Andrew D. Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.46.

⁶⁴ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from P.M Corte, Resident Magistrate Coroner, to the Acting Registrar, High Court of NR, Lusaka, 6 August 1964; *The Northern News*, Monday, 10 August, 1964, p.1; Morris Mukuka Musa, 'A Study of the Life, Work and Contribution of Alfred Kapele Nkonde to the Development of the Lumpa Church, 1953-94', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 1998, p.36.

⁶⁵ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government, Outward Telegram No. 444, From Mr Bennet, Governor, Lusaka, to C.R.O, London, 5 August 1964 sent at 1550hrs and Musa, 'A Study of the Life', pp.35-36.

⁶⁶ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Diary of Events from 25 June to 15 October, 16 October, 1964.

⁶⁷ *The Northern News*, Friday, 7 August, 1964, p.1.

Soldiers were also killed during these confrontations. For example, two soldiers were killed during an engagement between the Second Company of the First Northern Rhodesia Regiment (2nd Coy 1NRR) led by Thomas Fitzgerald and three Lumpa groups on the western side of the Luangwa River on 2 September, 1964. The two soldiers were killed by ex-Corporal Jacobi Lungu, a Lumpa adherent and a former member of the B Company (Coy) of the 1NRR. He was in the company of other adherents who were in possession of .404 and 15 rounds, 8 shotguns and several muzzle loaders.⁶⁸ In the same area, the Second Northern Rhodesia Regiment (2nd Coys 1NRR) under Colonel Baker accompanied by Fitzgerald and Criminal Investigation Division (CID) teams later located and dug up 5 graves. Those buried in the graves were identified as four adults and one female juvenile who died as a result of gunshot wounds. Among the deceased was Chibanga, known leader of Lenshina and ex-Corporal Yothan Lungu, who was known to be responsible for the original murder of Chief Chikwa and the two Askaris (local soldier) on 2 September. All their bodies were buried with certificates of identification as Lumpa Church members in their left hands.⁶⁹ Isolated attacks were reported in the district from the September confrontations onwards. For example, in mid October, the 2nd NRR troops killed about 60 Lumpa Church followers while more than 20 were wounded in the Luangwa valley. These were part of 200 Lumpas who terrorised the Luangwa valley. Army forces had been chasing after this group for several weeks from August when the civil war erupted.⁷⁰

The UNIP government-Lumpa Church troubles in Lundazi district are estimated to have led to more than 300 deaths and many others were wounded at the end of 1964.⁷¹ In total,

⁶⁸ *The Northern News*, Friday, 4 September, 1964, p.1 and *Central African Mail*, 11 September, 1964, p.4.

⁶⁹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi as at 0900hrs, 8 September 1964, 041045, from Provops Lundazi and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi as at 0900hrs, 8 September 1964, 050950, from Provops Lundazi, following from Fitzgerald.

⁷⁰ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 13 October, 1964, p.1.

⁷¹ NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964; Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi,' p.89.

Chinsali inclusive, the 1964 civil war led to at least 1,000 deaths. However, this estimate is conservative as others died in the bush where they fled to and also on their pilgrimage to Congo Leopoldville where they settled.⁷²

Assorted type of property was destroyed in Lundazi district, both private and public. Among the public property in the district was the Lundazi *Boma* police station where windows were smashed while locks and doors were destroyed. Government office buildings in the township were also destroyed.⁷³ According to Lieutenant Colonel Bill Baker on his way to Paishuko village in Chama when he led the company of the 1st Battalion of NRR at 3 A.M, other public property destroyed included a clinic, a dispensary inclusive and a school were burnt down within the 90 miles from Lundazi Township to the heavily wooded country on the edge of the Luangwa River escarpment.⁷⁴ In addition, the Northern Rhodesia Air Force (NRAF) aircraft crashed when taking off and eventually destroyed some sections of the Lundazi airstrip on 4 August, 1964. Rumours of it being shot down by Lumpas were denied by government authorities. Instead, government reports indicated that the aircraft crashed due to a technical fault. No casualties were reported though. A Dakota aircraft was chartered on 5 August from NRAF to replace it.⁷⁵

⁷² Interview, Chondoka; GRZ., *Debates of the First Session (Resumed) of the First Legislative Assembly, 22 September, 1 October, 1964*, Vol.IV (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1964), p.232; William Tordoff and Robert Molteno, 'Introduction' in William Tordoff, *Politics in Zambia* (London: Manchester University Press, 1974); Gordon, 'Rebellion or Massacre?', p.69 and Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.127.

⁷³ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 5 August, 1964, p.7; Hall, *Zambia*, pp. 176-177.

⁷⁴ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 4 August, 1964, p.1; *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 11 August, 1964, p.1 and *The Northern News*, Thursday, 22 August, 1964, p.2.

⁷⁵ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Outward Telegram No. 446 from Governor, Lusaka, to C.R.O, London, 5 August 1964 sent at 13:5hrs and *The Northern News*, Monday, 10 August, 1964, p.1.

Private property was also destroyed in Lundazi district in August and September in 1961. This occurred during minor disturbances involving Lumpa adherents and non-Lumpas. The disturbances led non-Lumpa Church members into burning of Lumpa Churches in Chikwa Chiefdom.⁷⁶ Destruction of major private property occurred just after the Lumpa members destroyed the police station. They then destroyed Asian stores and African houses in the district. After leaving the *Boma*, on their way to the eastern part of the district, the Lumpa members destroyed property in a number of villages within a range of 90 miles. This property included houses, granaries and livestock for non-Lumpa Church members. However, some granaries and livestock in some parts of the district were not burnt down completely for two reasons: either because they belonged to fellow Lumpa Church members or because they acted as food reservoirs for their sustenance. An example of villages which were not affected due to these reasons included Chibabula and Maluba villages of Magodi and Phikamalaza Chiefdoms, respectively.⁷⁷ Other villages were however not burnt completely as they acted as food reservoirs for Lumpa adherents. During further attacks in the district, the Lumpas went back to these villages to get food for their sustenance.⁷⁸ Such villages included the ones across the Luangwa valley where groups of Lumpas on the run in the area periodically collected food from destroyed villages of Lufila and Lundi rivers.⁷⁹ Other property destroyed included furniture and sewing machines.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ NAZ EP 4/2/123, Lundazi Tour Report No. 14/61 and NAZ EP 4/2/125, Annual Report on African Affairs for the Eastern Province, 1961.

⁷⁷ Interview, Tamenji Tembo, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lundazi, 10 February, 2016; Interview, Mfuni; Interview, Eveni Zimba, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lundazi, 9 February, 2016 and Interviews, Nobet Nkhoma, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Chipata, 6 February, 2016.

⁷⁸ Interview, Mfuni; Interview, ex-Lumpa Church member, Kumwenda, Lundazi, 10 February, 2016 and Interview, Nkhoma.

⁷⁹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi as at 15:30hrs 19 August 1964, 190955, from Provops Lundazi.

⁸⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Diary of Events from 25 June to 15 October, 16 Oct. 1964 and *Central African Mail*, 7 August, 1964, p.1.

The government's preliminary examination revealed in total, Chinsali district included, the government-Lumpa Church disturbances destroyed about 140 villages comprising 6,000 houses. Out of these, 31 were illegal Lumpa villages. The Lumpa raiders destroyed 109 of the 140 villages. Out of these villages, 96 were in Lundazi district out of which 92 villages were destroyed during the period from August to October 1964.⁸¹ The disturbance rendered more than 20,000 people, women and children inclusive, homeless in the two districts.⁸² The destroyed villages in Lundazi district in particular included six which included Masalisa village in Mphamba Chiefdom, three which included Kalinkhu village, the headquarters of chief Kambombo Chiefdom, seven including Myamba, Chitowa and Buckucha villages in Chief Kapichila's area, and one in Chief Chikwa's area and some villages in Chief Phikamalaza such as Musonda and Zuleni villages. Other affected areas included Smupakeni, Bolova, and Bosikolo villages in Chief Mwase⁸³ and other areas as indicated in Map 3 below. These destructions consequently led to a refugee problem in the district. For example, on 8 August 1964 over 1,000 refugees sat in the sun on a soccer field as they awaited the end of the holy war.⁸⁴

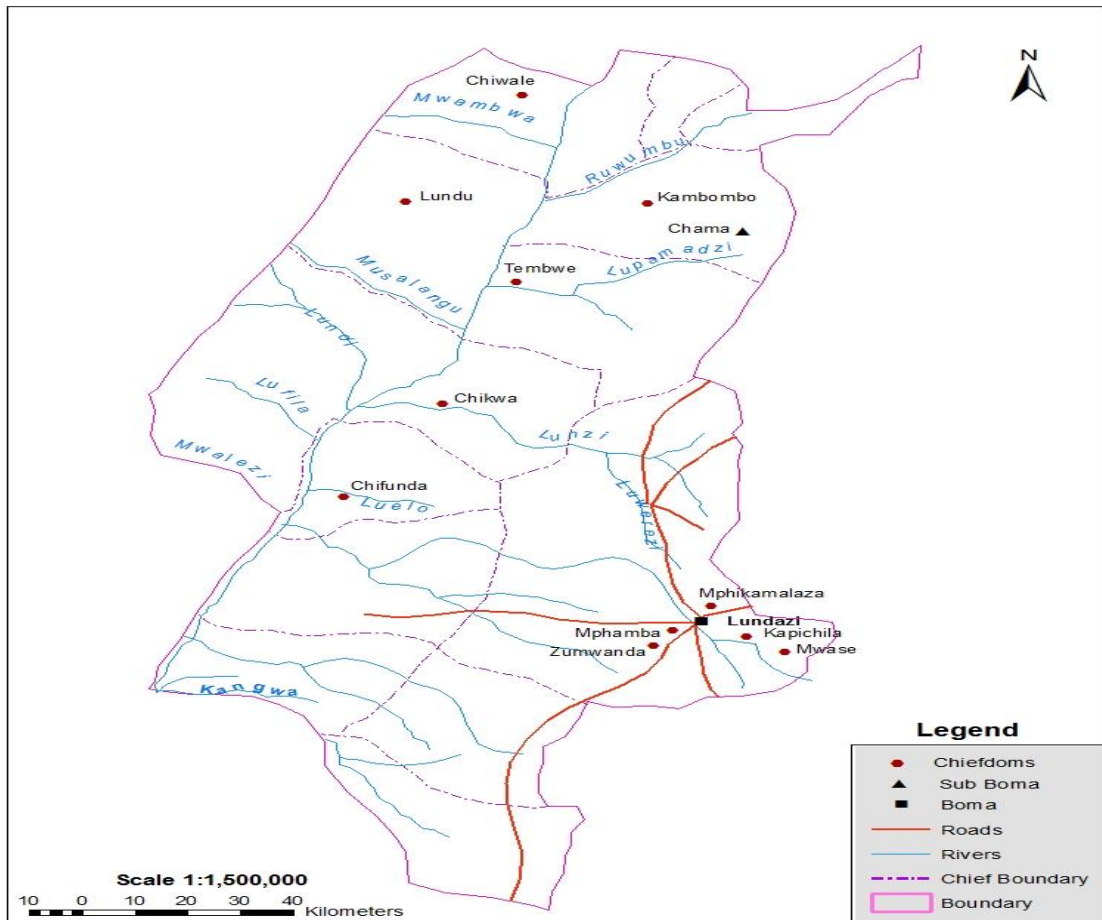
⁸¹ NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964 and GRZ., *Debates of the First Session (Resumed) of the First Legislative Assembly*, p.231.

⁸² NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, Sitrep from Disops at Lundazi at 031200; *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 4 August, 1964, p.1; *The Northern News*, Saturday, 8 August, 1964, p.1 and NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister, Lusaka, to the Chief Establishment Officer, Lusaka, 6 October 1964..

⁸³ Interview, Pastone Phiri, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 8 February, 2016; *The Northern News*, Saturday, 8 August, 1964, p.1; NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, 041130, from Disops Lundazi and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government (NRG), Pelein, Chief Information, Information received from Mr L.L. Phiri, Acting Information Officer, Fort Jameson, 3 September 1964.

⁸⁴ GRZ., *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church*, p.14 and Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi,' p.89.

Map 3: Some of the most affected Chiefdoms.



Map drawn by the Department of Geography and Environment Studies, Cartographic Unit, University of Zambia, 2016.

Anarchy

Both Chinsali and Lundazi districts experienced anarchy⁸⁵, prior and after government's INRR combined with Police Force attacks on Sione in Chinsali district. This anarchy was in the form of non-observance and obedience of the laws, raids, and assault and murder cases. Conflicts initially occurred because UNIP members forced Lumpa Church members to obtain party membership cards. Lundazi district, unlike Chinsali district, did not experience major

⁸⁵ Anarchy has been used in this context to imply the absence of order and control.

confrontations resulting from such coercion. Few occurrences, however, of fear crept into Lundazi when some traditional leaders, mostly headmen, started forcing their subjects to make pilgrimages to Kasomo to visit Lenshina and to start attending local Lumpa Church meetings. These headmen threatened that failure to obey these orders would result into a subject being thrown out of their respective chiefdom or fined £5.⁸⁶

Anarchy increased in the district in August 1964. This was as a result of government's attacks of Sione. This resulted into Lumpa Church members, armed with weapons such as axes, bows and arrows, spears, machetes, shotguns, rifles, and muzzle-loader guns initially from Paishuko and Chipoma, to attack most of the Chama areas. The most affected chiefdoms were Kambombo and Chikwa. Also attacked was Lundazi Township and the surrounding areas such as Mphampa, Phikamalaza, Kapichila, Mwase and Magodi Chiefdoms. These attacks were initially conducted in the early hours of Monday, 3 August 1964. The Lumpa members attacked the Lundazi police station, walked away with weapons such as 10.303 rifles, 2 Greener guns, 1 Sterling carbine, 1 riot gun, 75 rounds of ammunition and 4 magazines containing a total of 100 rounds of 9mm ammunition from the armoury and headed towards the police camp. Some police officers and some of the family members of the officers were left dead and injured. Thereafter, the Lumpas proceeded to vandalize government offices, Asian-owned stores and African houses in the district. A number of civilian residents died in the attacks. The attacks caused a state of alarm and despondency among the Lundazi residents and their relatives in other areas. The relatives included the mine workers on the Copperbelt who could not telegraph their relatives in the district because the Lundazi Post Office was occupied with the traffic of the security forces.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Archives of the White Fathers also known as Faith Encounter Centre of Zambia (FENZA), (hereafter AWF) 5-ZWF-MD 04, Lundazi Diary V.IV 1953-1966.

⁸⁷ Basil Chinga Musonda, 'The significance of the Lumpa Church in Zambia', Student Report, University of Zambia Lusaka, (1990), p.6 and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from G.T. Roche, District Commissioner, Bancroft, to the Provincial Commissioner, Western Province, Ndola. 11 August 1964.

In addition, about 1200 terror-stricken villagers including school-going children poured into the Lundazi *Boma* on 4 August. These refugees were settled in the ground near the DC's office. This was after a European Police Inspector, Paul Gillies and five Constables, managed to re-establish control of the township centre.⁸⁸ Other refugees fled to their chief's palaces and schools to seek protection. For example, most of the people in Chama fled to Chama Primary School to seek refuge.⁸⁹ In addition, about 750 non-Lenshinas fled east across the Luangwa river and settled temporarily in Chief Chikwa's area while about 700 refugees were at Chief Chipamba's area in September 1964. Many of these groups from Pondo and Fulaza returned and rebuilt their villages.⁹⁰ Other palaces which held these refugees included those under chiefs Mphamba, Phikamalaza, Kambombo.

Anarchy also emerged because some people in the district took the law into their own hands. This was demonstrated by both church members and non-members. In order to avenge the Sione attack, the Lumpa adherents, for instance, axed and speared many people during their attacks in the district in 1964.⁹¹ The non-members using mob justice also used whatever item they laid their hands on to attack the Lumpas. For instance, after Lumpa members had devastated about six or seven nearby villages on Monday, 3 August, in retaliation, UNIP Senga warriors attacked the stockade Lumpa village of Paishuko. The killing was carried out with savagery and ferocity that even veteran troops, who arrived two days later, were shocked. This was because the Provincial Operations Committee (PROVOPS) postponed its intentions to conduct a patrol on 6 August in order to disband Paishuko and take the residents

⁸⁸ NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964 and Hall, *Zambia*, p.229.

⁸⁹ Interview, Kumwenda; Interview, Morris Ndhlovu, Chief Mphamba, Lundazi, 10 February, 2016 and Interview, Patwel S. K. Tembo, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 10 February, 2016.

⁹⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government (NRG), Pelein, Chief Information, Information received from Mr L.L. Phiri, Acting Information Officer, Fort Jameson, 3 September 1964; NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi as at 0900hrs, 8 September 1964, 041045, from Provops Lundazi and NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964.

⁹¹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, 080850, from Provops Lundazi.

into protective custody pending resettlement. Therefore, they found 46 inhabitants already dead, 36 most of whom were women and children. Many of the bodies showed signs of being raped and tortured before being killed. Figure 3 below shows some Paishuko massacre victims. The bodies also had grain mortars and stakes thrust into their vaginas or anuses. The village was littered with bodies and every building had been put to the torch. Other Lumpa members however managed to escape into the bush.⁹²

Figure 3: Massacre victims at Paishuko Village, 9 August 1964



Source: Source: John Hudson, *A Time to Mourn: A personal Account of the 1964 Lumpa Church Revolt in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999), p.49.

Another form of anarchy was portrayed through the fact that Lumpa Church members took hostages from some areas they attacked. For example, on Friday, 7 August 1964 when the Lenshina members attacked Phikamalaza Chiefdom, they took hostage of 50 people. However, 25 people managed to escape through the thick bush until they met security forces.⁹³ In addition, the Lenshinas held 19 hostages from Lundazi Township, including a

⁹² Northern News, Monday, 10 August, 1964, p.1 and Fergus Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee: How the Zambian Nation was Made* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p.62.

⁹³ Musa, 'A Study of the Life', pp.35-36.

Police Constable Mtonga, his wife and children at their Chipoma settlement. The Lumpas also held about 20 other hostages across the Luangwa river.⁹⁴ Such incidences made people to leave in a state of fear.⁹⁵

Yet another form of anarchy was in the manner in which the corpses were disposed off both during and after the 1964 civil war. Some of the corpses that were found in Lundazi Township and other areas were buried at Kolopa burial site. These included Sergeant Lojobu Zimba and his family. In addition, the 150 Lumpa members who were killed at Kamutola in Chipoma Lumpa Settlement were buried in a mass grave by government troops. Other non-Lumpas and Lumpas members were either killed or died as they hid in the bushes. Some Lumpas also died during their trek to Congo Leopoldville and these were left unburied but were simply covered by leaves, which later dried up thus leaving the corpses in the open. Such corpses led to bad smell in the bushes. Other corpses were disposed of in the water bodies such as the Lundazi and Lundi rivers, which were sources of water for drinking and cooking and gardening for the surrounding villages.⁹⁶ Therefore, the waters from most of the water bodies in the district became a health hazards to the users even though no diseases were reported as a result of drinking water from these water sources.

The government-Lumpa Church confrontations also made people in Lundazi to live in fear of attacks. This forced many people to flee to different areas such as chief's palaces, the DC's office, in the bush and also bordering areas such as Mbelwa and Mzimba in Malawi. For example, Esther Mbale and Jiledi Zimba of Chief Phikamalaza and Chief Mphamba,

⁹⁴ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Message from Chinsali and Lundazi, from Provops Lundazi to Mainopa, 091330, Sitrep at 1330hrs and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi as at 15:30hrs 19 August, 190955, from Provops Lundazi.

⁹⁵ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 6 August, 1964, p.2 and Macpherson, *Kwacha Ngwee*, p.59.

⁹⁶ Interview, Pastone Phiri.

respectively fled to Malawi.⁹⁷ In addition, most people in the district could not move freely. This ultimately forced UNIP to postpone its annual conference slated for Mulungushi, near Broken Hill scheduled for 3 August to 2 September 1964. This was because delegates from Chinsali and Lundazi would not have made it due to security forces' operations against the Lumpas.⁹⁸ This atmosphere existed even beyond 1964. For example, in November 1967 when 4 ex-Lenshina followers from Mokambo, went to back Kambombo Chiefdom, about 129 people run away from their villages around Sitwe to Malawi.⁹⁹

Poverty and Hunger

The pilgrimages to Kasomo that the Lumpa adherents made depended on individual families. Some church members undertook their pilgrimages during the farming season. In 1955 for example, some Lumpas in Chiwale Chiefdom conducted their pilgrimages from the end of October to the second half of November.¹⁰⁰ These families could not produce adequate food for their consumption to last them for a year. As a result of this, in 1956 Chief Kazembe forced people to visit Lenshina after October to November so that his subjects could put garden work first.¹⁰¹ However, it is also important to note that most of the Lumpa adherents never conducted their pilgrimages at the height of the rainy season because several rivers in the valley became flooded. Due to this, pilgrimages in June 1956 in Magodi's Chiefdom for example, were delayed.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Interview, Gideon Phiri, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 9 February, 2016; Interview, Kumwenda; Interview, Timalizye Mtonga, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lundazi, 9 February, 2016 and *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 11 August, 1964, p.1

⁹⁸ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 11 August, 1964, p.1;

⁹⁹ NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from J.L. Sinyangwe, Assitant District Secretary, Chama, to all Chiefs, Ward Councillors, Constituency and Branch Officials in UNIP, Village Headmen, Chama, 24 November, 1967.

¹⁰⁰ NAZ EP 4/2/71, Annexure 4 Lundazi tour Report No.17/55.

¹⁰¹ NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure 1 Lundazi tour Report No.4/56.

¹⁰² NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure 1 Lundazi tour Report No.6/56.

Poverty and hunger also emerged in the district after the burnings and thieving that the Lenshina members conducted on the several villages in the district. The most affected areas included Mwase, Mphamba, Phikamalaza, Kambombo, Kapichila and Chikwa Chiefdoms. As Lenshina members destroyed these villages, they also destroyed granaries, food storage facilities for villagers used to store various kinds of foodstuffs most of which was maize and crops like groundnuts. This affected the food security of the people of Lundazi.¹⁰³

However, in some instances when the Lumpa members lacked some commodities, they resorted to stealing. Among the items they stole included food stuffs like maize, and bicycles. This was evident on a deserted west Luangwa Lenshina encampment where security officers found among other things a large amount of food and bicycles.¹⁰⁴ Both Lumpas and non-Lumpas who fled to the bush store foodstuffs such as cassava and sorghum from other people's gardens in order to sustain themselves.¹⁰⁵

Foodstuffs were also stolen by about 200 Lumpa followers from a village in Chikwa Chiefdom. These raiders were sighted by the reconnaissance aircraft on the west side of the Luangwa river and Lufila river area. These were Lumpas from Mpika.¹⁰⁶ Some Lenshina followers also raided Magodi Chiefdom on 5 August 1964. However, these fled into the bush after seeing air reconnaissance conducted by the troops.¹⁰⁷ It is important to state that at times, government troops deliberately destroyed granaries in villages. For example, the 1 Coy of NRR crossed the Luangwa river destroyed much of the food along Lufila and then along

¹⁰³ Musa, 'A Study of the Life', p.36.

¹⁰⁴ Interview, Bernard Mtonga.

¹⁰⁵ Interview, Kumwenda.

¹⁰⁶ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Diary of Events from 25 June to 15 October, 16 Oct. 1964 and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Summary of messages from Chinsali and Lundazi from Saturday, 29 August 1964 till 1000hrs, Wednesday, 2 September, 310800, from Army Headquarters Intelligence Summary to 291830.

¹⁰⁷ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Diary of Events from 25 June to 15 October, 16 October, 1964.

Lundi rivers.¹⁰⁸ This was done in order to starve the Lumpas who were hiding in the Luangwa valley.

Hunger and poverty was also realised at the end of the 1964-1965 farming season. This was because violence extended to Lundazi in August until October 1964, a period when local people supposed to be engaged in farming activities. Thus, despite fighting minimising in October, some Lenshina members who never wanted to surrender to the government authorities and be resettled continued to cause havoc especially along the Luangwa valley as they retreated towards Chinsali district to join their colleagues and retreat further. These frequent Lumpa attacks made many people in the district not to conduct their farming activities as expected thereby rendering them hungry thereafter.¹⁰⁹ In 1965, hunger and poverty in Lundazi district was exacerbated by heavy rains in the Eastern Province in the 1964/1965 farming season which had a disastrous effect on the crop yield on the Sandveld areas of the district. This led to substantial local food shortage in the district in 1965.¹¹⁰

Hunger and poverty also existed in the areas where refugees were settled from August 1964. These areas included Phikamalaza and Chama Primary Schools, Chief Mphamba and Chikwa's palaces, and at Lundazi *Boma* football ground. For example, by early September 1964, there were about 600 refugees in Chikwa Chiefdom who refused to go back west of Lundi river to their villages until assured that the area was clear of Lumpas.¹¹¹ The Lundazi soccer field had about 4,000 refugees during the same period. These temporal refugee camps experienced shortages of food until government started supplying them with foodstuffs.

¹⁰⁸ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi as at 15:30hrs 15 August, 190955, from Provops Lundazi.

¹⁰⁹ Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands*, p.75.

¹¹⁰ NAZ EP 4/2/152, Letter from the Chief Agriculture Officer, Fort Jameson, to the Director of Agriculture, Department of Agriculture, Lusaka, 17 March 1965.

¹¹¹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Summary of messages from Chinsali and Lundazi from Saturday, 29 August 1964 till 1000hrs, Wednesday, 2nd November, 310800, from Army Headquarters Intelligence Summary to 291830.

In November 1967, for example, about four ex-Lenshina followers who had gone to Mokambo between 1965 and 1967 returned to Chama sub-*Boma*. These were seen loitering about the bush thus causing uneasiness in a number of villages especially in Kambombo Chiefdom.¹¹² As a result, this led to about 129 people fleeing from their villages around Sitwe to the neighbouring Malawi. Despite the government sending the mobile unit to the area and urging the people not to live in fear and to continue cultivating their fields, only about 120 people returned. Hence such incidences affected the production of crops, ultimately leading to food insecurity in the district.

Breakup of Families

The pilgrimages to Kasomo to visit Lenshina that some people made in the district led to the disintegration of some families. Most of the pilgrims who left Lundazi for Chinsali district were married choir members. However, other pilgrims visited Lenshina for healing. In relation to this, on 25 June 1956, it was estimated that a total of 60,000 people had visited Lenshina.¹¹³ Most pilgrims more often took long to return to their villages. This led to the breakup of families in that both women and men left their homes for Chinsali to join the Lumpa Church. It is worth noting that this was in addition to labour migration which also caused some families to breakup even before the Lumpa Church was formed. In this regard, headmen dissolved some marriages in which a husband stayed as a labour migrant for a period exceeding five years on desertion grounds.¹¹⁴

Families in the district also broke up during and after the 1964 war. This became more adverse between July and October 1964. For example, on 3 August 1964 when the violence

¹¹² NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from J. L. Sinyangwe, Assitant District Secretary, Chama, to all Chiefs, Ward Councillors, Constituency and Branch Officials in UNIP, Village Headmen, Chama, 24 November 1967.

¹¹³ L. Oger, *The Lenshina Movement in Northern Rhodesia* (Chinsali: Ilondola Mission, 1960), p.4.

¹¹⁴ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Lundazi Tour Report No. 9/57.

spread to the district, a number of people including those of Asian origin were displaced. In this incident, people fled in various directions while others fled to the neighbouring Rumpi district of Malawi to seek refuge. Therefore, families disintegrated as husbands separated from their wives, so did the children from their parents.¹¹⁵ The death of Chief Chikwa and the wholesale slaughter of non-Lenshina also divided families, villages and the entire chiefdom and created an atmosphere of hostility which took many years to die away in the district.¹¹⁶ However, family disintegration happened to both the families of ordinary citizens whom the Lumpa members pounced on and to the Lumpa members themselves. For instance, after the government intervened through a combined team of military operations in the district, the Lumpa members who did not surrender to the armed forces opted to leave the district for other areas like the Copperbelt. It is worth noting that by September 1964, only a total of 560 ex-Lumpas surrendered in both Lundazi and Chinsali districts.¹¹⁷ On such tiresome journeys the ardent Lumpa members did not move with their entire family members since this was a sole decision of an individual.¹¹⁸ In addition, after the situation returned almost to normal in 1965, some ex-Lumpa Church members who were met by hostility in their former villages and those who did not want to mix with ‘infidels’ or non-members due to their participation in the fight felt insecure and went to Katanga from where they returned much later in 1994.¹¹⁹ Despite their return, most of the ex-Lumpas decided not to settle in Lundazi district for fear that they would be killed by people who had lost relatives during the 1964 incident. Thus, some who originally came from Lundazi district settled in different parts of the country such

¹¹⁵ Interview, Gideon Phiri; Interview, London Mtonga, Bishop of the Jerusalem Church, an offshoot of the Lumpa Church, Lusaka, 2 June, 2016; Interview, Kumwenda and Richard Hall, *The Higher Price of Principles: Kaunda and the White South* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), p.45.

¹¹⁶ NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964.

¹¹⁷ Virmini, *Zambia: The Dawn of Freedom*, p.192.

¹¹⁸ Interview, Alexander Grey Zulu. former Minister of Commerce and Industry. Lusaka, 23 February, 2012.

¹¹⁹ Van Binsbergen, *Religious Change in Zambia*, pp.2-6; Musa, ‘A Study of the Life’, p.46.

Kalundu area of Lusaka along Mumbwa Road, Madziatuwa area of Chipata and some areas of Katete and Petauke districts.¹²⁰ Therefore, these migrations affected the family negatively because they led to break ups.

Loss of Revenue

The Lumpa Church contributed to the loss of revenue in Lundazi district in three ways: Sometimes, when church members made pilgrimages to Kasomo to visit Lenshina, court clerks were going round the villages to collect tax for the government. For example, in 1955 in Chikwa Chiefdom, the DC found three headmen and others who were defaulters for periods varying from 3 to 5 years. In addition, Chikwa's Court Clerk did not collect enough tax during one of his visits in 1956 because he found that nearly everyone had made a pilgrimage to Lenshina.¹²¹ Furthermore, during the 1956 tour of Phikamalaza Chiefdom, the DC found that 24 taxpayers with their families were away seeing Lenshina.¹²² The pilgrimages ultimately led to some tax clerks running away from their villages to avoid being questioned by the DC over tax collection. Chiwale tax clerk was one of those that deliberately went to Lundazi Township during the DC's visit in 1961. Therefore, less tax was collected during the visit.¹²³

The third way through which Lumpa-related activities led to the loss of revenue in Lundazi district happened at the height of the government-Lumpa Church fight in 1964. This was the loss of revenue in the tourism sector. The Eastern Province and particularly the Luangwa valley attracted many tourists visiting the game reserves in the area. The Luangwa valley had

¹²⁰ Interview, London Mtonga and Interview, Nkhoma.

¹²¹ NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure 1 Lundazi tour Report No.6/56.

¹²² NAZ EP 4/2/85, Annexure 1 Lundazi tour Report No.13/56.

¹²³ NAZ SEC 2/732, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Reports No.12/61.

seven tourist camps in total.¹²⁴ These areas included the Mfuwe and Luembe National Park. The Native Authorities collected revenue from the games areas in their localities. For example, the Chewa Native Authority collected a considerable revenue capital from Luambe Game Camp and from Safari parties. Like other Native Authorities, it got shares of about £5 and £10 on an Ordinary Game Licence and supplementary game Licence respectively from the revenues collected by the government.¹²⁵ This income made the Native Authority to expend further money to maintain game camps because it had the knowledge that the outlay returned with profits as early as 1958.¹²⁶

In addition, most of the local and foreign tourists who came to view wild game in the district flew to Lundazi airstrip before they drove to the game reserves of their choice. However, as a result of the government-Lumpa Church conflict, on 5 August 1964, a Dakota AF102 crashed on takeoff 400 yards from the end of runway on the Lundazi airstrip. This obstructed the runway. As a result, no plane was allowed to land on the airstrip until it was repaired at the end of the month.¹²⁷ This disturbed the inflow of some tourists in the district thereby reducing revenue for the district. In addition, when fights spread to the district in 1964, the government through the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Alexander Grey Zulu, decided to caution the prospective visitors or tourists travelling to the district. The Luambe camp, one of the two Native Authority game camps that fell under the Chewa Native Authority was closed from 3

¹²⁴ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Draft press statement by Mr. A.G. Zulu, Minister of Commerce and Industry.

¹²⁵ NAZ SEC 2/1169, African Representative Council 1958, Provincial Agenda 'E'.

¹²⁶ NAZ EP 4/2/125, Annual Report on African Affairs for the Eastern Province, 1958.

¹²⁷ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and Lumpa Church Vol. 1.

to 24 August.¹²⁸ The camp was 90 miles away from and the nearest to Lundazi *Boma*. Statistically, in 1959, the camp had 221 visitors and made a profit of £415.¹²⁹

In addition, the Chibembe Pontoon that served traffic circulating between camps, also remained closed from 3 to 24 August.¹³⁰ In relation to this, the government instructed tourists to cancel their scheduled visits to the district. It also stated that no security would be provided to the tourists and that all those travelling to the district were doing so at their own risk.¹³¹ As a result, all the other camps had numerous cancellations during August and September. Accommodation utilised in 1964 reduced to 46% compared to 62% recorded in 1963. The total revenue from accommodation income in 1964 was £4497 which increased in 1965 to £5304 as shown in Table 5. In addition, the total number of visitors in 1964 showed a decrease of 16% compared with the 1965 figures.¹³² However, government sponsored visits to Mfuwe camp remained unchanged and Messrs Central African Safaris continued to operate at the camp through a resident manager and manageress.¹³³

¹²⁸ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Draft press statement by Mr. A.G. Zulu, Minister of Commerce and Industry; NAZ EP 4/2/149, Annual Report: Luangwa Command: 1964 and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Fort Jameson, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources, Lusaka, 26 August 1964.

¹²⁹ NAZ EP 4/2/105, Annual Report on African Affairs for the Eastern Province, 1959.

¹³⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources, Lusaka, to Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister, Lusaka, 14 August 1964.

¹³¹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from P.G. Bennet, Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister, Lusaka, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources, Lusaka, 20 August 1964.

¹³² NAZ EP 4/2/149, Annual Report: Luangwa Command: 1964.

¹³³ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from P.G. Bennet, Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister, Lusaka, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources, Lusaka, 20 August 1964 and NAZ EP 4/2/149, Annual Report: Luangwa Command: 1964.

Table 5: Revenue obtained and visitors accommodated during 1964 in the Luangwa Valley

Rest Camp and No. Of Beds	No. of Visitors	Visitors Nights	Total Possible Visitor Nights	% Occupancy	Revenue	
					1964 £	1965 £
Chilongozi (8)	301	594	1224	49%	601	602
Lusangazi (8)	173	300	1224	25%	316	370
Mfuwe (12)	157	603	1476	42%	524	620
Lion (6)	204	465	828	52%	483	555
Nsefu (12)	428	766	1656	45%	823	1055
Big Lagoon (12)	495	1178	1656	72%	1193	1240
Luambe (12)	241	511	1404	36%	557	862
Total (70)	1999	4417	9468	46%	4497	5304

Source: NAZ., EP 4/2/149, Annual Report: Luangwa Command: 1964.

Entry fees to these areas were £1 per car and £5 per person. Therefore, £371-0-0d was realised out of the 371 cars in the same year. Furthermore, £290-5-0d and £674-0-0d was raised out of hunting and fishing permits, respectively. However, the concessionaires were not affected much by the Lumpa disturbances in 1964. A total of 18 hunters took part in the safari and obtained, amongst other prized trophies, a record buffalo head. These hunters accounted for a total of 275 animals, giving an average of 15.3 animals per client.¹³⁴

Lundazi district and Northern Rhodesia as a country also lost revenue due to the Lumpa disturbances because refunds of deposits that government made to some tourists after their intended visits were cut as a result of the Lushina disturbances. These refunds were made through Messrs. Kees Ltd, who owned a booking agency.¹³⁵ In addition, the government

¹³⁴ NAZ EP 4/2/149, Annual Report: Luangwa Command: 1964.

¹³⁵ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources, Lusaka, to Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister, Lusaka, 14 August 1964 and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from Permanent

through the Office of the Resident Minister for Eastern Province also compensated property that the lorry driver and lorry boy of the Agriculture Farming Improvement Fund (AFIF) lost during the disturbance in 1965. The payments were in the range of £40 to £15.¹³⁶ These funds would have gone to various forms of development in Lundazi district.

The Lumpa disturbances in Northern Province in 1961 impacted negatively on the economy of Lundazi district too. The impact was felt in the scarcity of money in the district towards the end of the year. This was because the disturbances prevented farmers in the district from selling their tobacco at the beginning of the year. The most affected part of the district was the western part of Chiwale Chiefdom which bordered Isoka and Chinsali districts.¹³⁷

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church disturbances in Lundazi district. It has been established that the Lumpa Church had positive impact in the district and these included reduction in witchcraft fears and witchcraft related ailments, promotion of good morals through church rules which led to the declining levels of polygamy, reduction in beer drinking, some indigenous dances and divination and careless conduct. In addition, the church also brought about infrastructural development in the form of church buildings in the district.

However, this chapter has also demonstrated that the church had negative impact in the district. These included disregard or loss of civil and traditional Authority, disruption of the

Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Lusaka, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources, Lusaka, 29 August 1964.

¹³⁶ NAZ EP 4/15/18, Minutes of A.F.I.F Meeting, held on Wednesday, 27 November, 1965, held in the Office of the Resident Minister, Fort Jameson.

¹³⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/123, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Report No. 12/61.

education system through school absenteeism of Lumpa children and their refusal to attend religious instruction lessons as commanded by their parents, destruction of life and property, anarchism through activities such as raids and holding of hostages. This chapter has also shown that other negative impacts of the war were that it led to a refugee problem, poverty and hunger, break up of families and loss of revenue in the district.

CHAPTER FOUR: SOCIO-ECONOMIC MITIGATING MEASURES

Introduction

The socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church activities in Lundazi district included the emergence of refugees, destruction of life and assorted types of property as well as hunger and poverty as demonstrated in the previous chapter. The Northern Rhodesian government devised measures in order to mitigate the impact of the civil disobedience in the district. These were aimed at helping the affected people in the district who included orphans, widows and ex-Lumpa Church members. This was done with the help of individuals, companies and other organisations such as the Zambia Red Cross Society, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the World Food Programme (WFP) as well as the neighbouring countries of Nyasaland and Congo Leopoldville. This chapter is divided into seven sections and these are: security measures, provision of food and health care, transport, and donations of food and clothes, village reconstruction, rehabilitation camps and resettlement as well as the welfare of orphans. Other measures included the provision of agricultural related facilities and the governments' collaborative works with the government of Nyasaland and Congo Leopoldville, as well as with UNHCR and WFP.

Security Measures

There were two major difficulties that came with the spread of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district prior to the 1964 war. These included some Lumpa Church evangelists and some headmen coercing non-Lumpa Church members to join the church and the holding of unauthorised meetings. These were among some aspects which instilled fear in most people in the district. In order to maintain order and peace in the district, the colonial administration through the District Commissioner (DC), with the help of some chiefs, instituted a £5 fine on

whosoever was found guilty of forcing non-Lumpa Church people to join the church or threatening any person of eviction from a particular area or chiefdom in the case of traditional authorities such as headmen and chiefs.¹ Chief Chikwa was one of the chiefs who were firm on the Lumpa followers who coerced people to join the church.² In some cases, the fines were reduced on review to a binding-over to keep the peace. However, most of these people refused to be bound over and hence were committed to prison. On the other hand, those who were fined refused to pay. This resulted into the Lundazi prison being choked with Lenshina followers who made a great clamour at prayer-time on certain occasions.³ It should be stated however that up to 1960, some areas of the district such as the Kambombo Chiefdom did not have incidences of coercion. Instead, a healthy spirit of 'live and let live' existed between the Lumpa adherents and those of other beliefs.⁴

With regard to unauthorized meetings which some Lumpa Church evangelists superintended over, most of the chiefs dealt with them. Some of the chiefs who used their powers to stamp out meetings held without their permission from as early as 1957 included Chiefs Chiwale, Mwase and Chikwa.⁵ For instance, in 1959, Senior Chief Mwase publicly reprimanded Lenshina leaders who held unauthorised meetings in his chiefdom. These meetings caused minor difficulties. Those who had been reprimanded by the chief forced the evangelist in the chiefdom to relinquish his interest in the Lumpa Church and return to his former employment in Southern Rhodesia.⁶ In addition, when African National Congress (ANC) and United

¹ Archives of the White Fathers (AWF) also known as Faith Encounter Centre of Zambia (FENZA), (hereafter AWF.), 5-ZWF-MD 04, Lundazi Diary V.IV 1953-1966.

² National Archives of Zambia, (hereafter NAZ) EP 4/2/123, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Report. No. 9/59.

³ NAZ EP 4/2/125, Annual Report on African Affairs for the Eastern Province, 1959.

⁴ NAZ EP 4/2/123, Annexure 1 Lundazi Tour Report No. 11 of 59.

⁵ NAZ EP 4/2/96, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Report No. 14/57 and NAZ EP 4/2/123, Annexure 2 Lundazi Tour Report. No. 9/59.

⁶ NAZ EP 4/2/123, Lundazi Tour Report No. 3/59.

National Independence Party (UNIP) formed a coalition government in 1962, the confrontations between UNIP and Lumpas in the district intensified. This was because many of the headmen became members of the Lumpa Church. Therefore, the government warned them against supporting the church, failure to which, they would be deposed. The most affected areas where coercion and unauthorised meetings were prominent included Chikwa, Chiwale, Zamwanda, Magodi and Mwase Chiefdoms.⁷

The governments' direct involvement in the provision of security in the district begun in early 1960s. For example, in 1963 it stationed police officers at Chipoma, a Lumpa stockade village in order to protect it against attacks by a local UNIP branch. The officers were in the village even during the 1963 Christmas celebrations and ate together with the Lumpas.⁸ The provision of security in the district became more pronounced during and after the 1964 conflict. For example, when the Lumpa Church members seized the Police Station and attacked the Lundazi Township on 3 August 1964, initially, P. Gillies, Police Officer in-Charge, led five other police officers using arms from Indians stores and retook the Police Station. The officers further drove Lumpas off the township. In addition, the government sent troops from other parts of the country which included Fort Jameson, Chinsali and Broken Hill on the same day to reinforce security in the district. The reinforcements included 2 Coys (Companies) of INRR and other mobile platoons.⁹

Some troops were flown into the Luangwa valley to conduct aerial reconnaissance and patrols. On 4 August 1964, upon a request from Chief Mphamba, the troops destroyed the Chipoma stockade Lumpa settlement which was home to more than 250 Lumpa Church

⁷ Kenneth A. Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi, 1953-1964', M.A Dissertation, Zambia Open University, Lusaka, 2015, p.46.

⁸ George C. Bond, *The Politics of Change in a Zambian Community* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976), p.156 and Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi,' p.46.

⁹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10 Message from Chinsali, 042025, Sitrep and NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Outward Telegram no.438 from Governor, Lusaka, to C.R.O, London, sent 10:40hrs on 3 August 1964, Messages received from Chinsali and Lundazi, 031824.

members. Thereafter, other minor Lumpa settlements in the Luangwa valley where most of the Lumpas from the district fled to were also destroyed.¹⁰ The First and Third Platoon Mobile Units remained for the rest of 1964 in Chama and Lundazi areas, respectively, to continue providing security in the district.¹¹ Security personnel also guarded refugees at the soccer field at the *Boma*, some chiefs' palaces which included Mphamba and Phikamalaza and some schools such as Chama and Phikamalaza Primary schools in the district.¹²

Patrols by security personnel continued in the district. This was despite the government's move to suspend military operations in both Lundazi and Chinsali district on Friday, 14 August 1964.¹³ On 20 August 1964, for instance, the 3rd Battalion, the Royal Rhodesian Regiment and number 14 Supply and Transport Platoon comprising 400 Africans and 200 Europeans, were replaced by 'strong element' of the 7th Battalion to continue patrolling the district.¹⁴ Military operations existed only when need arose.

Another security measure that the government instituted was the evacuations of some residents to other areas both within and out of the district. The evacuations were undertaken by security officials. Those evacuated included school going children and ordinary residents. For example, five Catholic nuns and 130 school children were evacuated from Kanyanga Mission to the *Boma* as a precautionary measure.¹⁵ The government also evacuated Lenshina

¹⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, 041300, from Provops Lundazi; NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government, Outward Telegram No. 444, Lenshina Disturbances, from Mr Bennet, Governor, Lusaka, to C.R.O, London, 5 August 1964; NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Message from Chinsali and Lundazi, from Provops Lundazi to Mainops, 091330, Sitrep at 13:30hrs; *The Northern News*, Friday, 7 August, 1964, p.1.

¹¹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi as at 15:30hrs 19 August, 190955, from Provops Lundazi.

¹² *The Northern News*, Saturday, 7 August, 1964, p.1; Interviews, Morris Ndhlovu, Chief Mphamba, Lundazi, 10 February, 2016.

¹³ *The Northern News*, Saturday, 15 August, 1964, p.1.

¹⁴ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 21 August, 1964, p.2; *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 26 August, 1964, p.11; *The Northern News*, Friday, 2 October, 1964, p.1

¹⁵ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government, Outward Telegram no.450 from Governor, Lusaka to C.R.O., London, 6 August 1964.

women and children from Chipoma settlement to Fort Jameson after the village was destroyed in 1964. The government evacuated the citizens for safety, accommodation and feeding purposes.¹⁶

Other security measures that were instituted were calls to maintain peace initially by government officials and later, by Lenshina herself. When the Prime Minister, Kenneth Kaunda, visited the district on 5 August 1964, he called on UNIP followers not to take reprisals but maintain peace.¹⁷ In addition, on the night of Friday 14 August 1964, senior ministers and parliamentary secretaries flew out of Lusaka to Lundazi district to call for peace and also to make an on-the-stop assessment of what was required to restore health, education, housing, roads and communication in a unified programme of rehabilitation. The team included Simon Kapwepwe, Minister of Home Affairs, Alexander Zulu, Minister of Commerce and Industry, and Unia G. Mwila, Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Finance.¹⁸ Similarly, while Lenshina was in detention in Mumbwa from August 1964, her husband, Petros wrote letters on her behalf to the Lumpa Church members. The messages included appeals to her church members to move from the bush to their villages near them; to maintain peace in the villages and not to be violent against anyone.¹⁹

However, the government did not deploy troops in the game parks in the district in order to protect tourists. For example, when the Luambe camp was closed, the government through the Office of the Prime Minister on 20 August, 1964, stated that it would not offer security to protect tourists. Government reiterated that visitors to all other camps in the district would be

¹⁶ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government Outward Telegram No. 457 from Governor, Lusaka to CROSE, London, 11 August 1964 (My 459).

¹⁷ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Diary of Events and *Central African Mail*, 7 August, 1964, p.12.

¹⁸ *The Northern News*, Saturday, 15 August, 1964, p.1.

¹⁹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from Petros Chintankwa, Ndola, to the Lumpa Church/Lenshinas, 12 August 1964.

visiting the camps at their own risk.²⁰ Another camp which was not protected by security personnel included Mfuwe where government officials spent holidays.

Yet another security measure was the prosecution through the courts of law of some people from the district who were found guilty of crimes such as murder during the uprising. This in a way made would be offenders to refrain committing such crimes. Some were sentenced to death for having fuelled the uprising or being involved in the killings. Among those who were found guilty of murder included Haswell Mvula, for spearing to death M. Y. Seulemon, an Indian, during the Lundazi *Boma* attack.²¹ Others included Nehemiya Ngoma, Nelson Zimba, Haswell Muvula, Siu Kasambe, Rodwell Mvula and Rodwell Banda.²² Further, other six Lumpas were sentenced to death for spearing to death Inspector Philip Smith at Chapaula village within the district on July 24. These were Simon Simukoko, Philimon Siwila, Alick Jonas, Patson Muwowo, Lugson Mutembo, Jacob Siwila, and Blackson Siwila.²³ Such prosecutions continued until 5 July 1966 when the Director of Public Prosecution (DPP) announced the end of further court proceedings against persons who were involved in the Lumpa uprising.²⁴ This move was taken in order to maintain peace by ensuring that the memories of the uprising were somewhat forgotten by most Zambians. It is worth noting however that only Lumpa members were prosecuted and not UNIP members who were also

²⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from P.G. Bennet, Permanent Secretary, Office of the Prime Minister to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources, 20 August 1964.

²¹ *The Northern News*, Saturday, 3 October, 1964, p.1.

²² *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 6 October, 1964, p.1; *The Northern News*, Saturday, 20 March, 1965, p.3; *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 7 October, 1964, p.1; *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 7 December, 1964, p.3; *The Northern News*, Friday, 9 October, 1964, p.1.

²³ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 10 December, 1964, p.1; *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 17 March, 1965, p.1.

²⁴ *Times of Zambia*, Tuesday, 5 July, 1966, p.1.

involved in the killings in the district.²⁵ This was because UNIP members were part of the coalition government.

Provision of Health Care, Transport and Donations

From the start of the civil war, the government appeared to have been of great help to the citizens in the affected areas, Lundazi inclusive, as long as they were disadvantaged by the incident. One way through which it helped the affected people was by providing them with transport to various destinations. Both road and air modes of transport were used. It transported, for instance, some injured people and the corpses from some affected areas within the district to local medical centres such as Lundu,²⁶ Bindula²⁷ medical centres in Phikamalaza and Kambombo, respectively. Most of the casualties were transported to the Lundazi district Hospital where an emergency operating team worked by lamplight to save wounded people. The surgical team comprised three local doctors, the Assistant Medical Officer of Fort Jameson, Dr. Frank Kanweka, the Provincial Medical Officer, First Battalion medical personnel and Dr. Taylor who was flown into the district from Broken Hill.²⁸ About 31 Lenshinas found wounded at the Chipoma Lumpa settlement and a Lundazi Township-based White Father who was not seriously injured were some of the casualties that were brought to Lundazi Hospital for treatment on 3 August 1964.²⁹ In addition, the government called upon citizens to donate the much-needed blood for the victims of the Chinsali and

²⁵ NAZ SP 1/14/61, Northern Rhodesia Government, Background to the Lenshina Disturbances No.14, Transcript of the Prime Minister's Press Conference held on August 10, 1964, September 1, 1964.

²⁶ Interview, Blastone Manda, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 8 February 2016.

²⁷ Interview, Florence Kumwenda, ex-Lumpa Church member, Lundazi, 10 February, 2016

²⁸ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 6 August, 1964, p.2 and *The Northern News*, Saturday, 8 August, 1964, p.1.

²⁹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, 031240; NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Message from Chinsali and Lundazi, from Provops Lundazi to Mainop, 091330, Sitrep at 1330hrs.

Lundazi troubles during the Lenshina disturbances. Amongst the many people who donated blood daily for Lusaka Central Hospital's Blood Bank for this cause included Charles Chimbatu of Lusaka.³⁰

The victims that were critically injured were further transported to Fort Jameson Hospital.³¹ For example, a Northern Rhodesia Air Force (NRAF) Dakota plane was used to ferry casualties from Lundazi to Fort Jameson.³² However, in cases where the Fort Jameson Hospital became overcrowded and where special medical care was required, the government airlifted the wounded people from Fort Jameson to Lusaka Hospital. For example, on the afternoon of 6 August 1964, the government flew 40 adults and a few children to Lusaka for medical treatment. This was also in an effort to decongest the small Fort Jameson Hospital.³³ Other civilian casualties were also flown to Ndola using a NRAF Dakota. For example, on 5 August 1964, three women, two men and two children casualties were flown to Ndola and were all admitted to Ndola Hospital where their condition was later said to be out of danger.³⁴ In addition, nine wounded women from Phikamalaza Chiefdom were flown to Ndola on 7 August 1964.³⁵ Despite this government's move, some injured people were never taken to hospitals. They either died or recovered in their own villages.³⁶

The government also provided transport to some healthy people in the district, both Lumpas and non-Lumpas, during and after the fighting. For example, a day before the Paishuko

³⁰ *Central African Mail*, 21 August, 1964, p.7.

³¹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Outward Telegram no.438 from Governor, Lusaka, to C.R.O, London, sent 10:40hrs on 3rd August 1964, Messages received from Chinsali and Lundazi, 031745.

³² NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, 031044.

³³ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 7 August, 1964, p.1.

³⁴ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 6 August, 1964, p.2.

³⁵ *The Northern News*, Saturday, 8 August, 1964, p.7.

³⁶ Interview, Gideon Phiri, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 9 February, 2016.

incident, the government also evacuated about 200 women and children from the Lumpa village of Chipoma which was about five miles from Lundazi district. The children included babies who were brought to the Lundazi *Boma* using an ambulance. Most of the parents to these children were wounded or died during the army operations.³⁷ Authorities sent these villagers in a convoy of lorries to Fort Jameson, about 120 miles to the south, for protection because the area did not have much hostility towards the Lumpa followers.³⁸ This exercise continued until some peace returned to the district in 1965. The move was also necessitated by accommodation and feeding reasons.³⁹ These refugees were accommodated in the remand prison at Fort Jameson and they numbered about 800.⁴⁰ Thereafter, social workers began to trace their relatives and thus reintegrating the evacuees into village life.⁴¹

Another measure emerged as one way of helping the affected people. This came in form of donations of assorted items to the affected areas of both Lundazi and Chinsali districts. For example, the government delivered 400 bags of maize and 800 bags of meal across the Luangwa River where more than 750 non-Lenshas mainly from Pondo and Fulaza villages fled to. These provisions were meant to see them through the rains. In addition, 1,500 blankets were issued in various parts of the district to refugees whose homes had been destroyed.⁴²

³⁷ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 5 August, 1964, p.1.

³⁸ Interview, Manda and Interview, Pastone Phiri, former member of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), Lundazi, 8 February, 2016.

³⁹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government, Outward Telegram No. 457 from Governor, Lusaka, to CROSE, London, 11 August 1964 (My 459) and *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 13 October, 1964, p.1.

⁴⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, 101730, from Provops Lundazi and NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964.

⁴¹ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 11 August, 1964, p.1.

⁴² NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964.

These donations were mostly sourced through the Department of Social Welfare (DSW). For example, the DSW donated many bags of maize, groundnuts, meal and packets of beans to refugees in the district.⁴³ In relation to this, supplies of milk powder, tinned foods, biscuits, clothing, blankets and other necessities were provided by the DSW's staff led by Miss Penly, Social Welfare Officer. These supplies were given to the refugees who lost everything during the troubles in some affected areas of the district. Some of the supplies such as mealie-meal, sugar, blankets and foodstuffs were donations in kind from associations such as the Lusaka Hindu Association. The Lundazi Muslim Association donated goods worth £605 while the Lundazi Indian community which suffered casualties in the district donated 380 blankets and 9 cartons of biscuits as well as five cartons of sweets on 3 September 1964.⁴⁴

The donations to the district were also made by the Zambia Red Cross Society. For instance, the Ndola branch of the Red Cross sent more than two tonnes of foodstuffs, blankets and clothing to Chinsali and Lundazi districts for the refugees after soliciting them from business houses and individuals throughout the Copperbelt. These were sent through the Central African Road Services. Other firms on the Copperbelt like Colwyn Low and Bonar Ltd donated £130 worth of clothing and the Oxford Manufacturing Company gave 100 dresses. The Northern Rhodesian Legion also sent one tonne of supplies to the district.⁴⁵ In addition, in early August 1964, while Lenshina was in incarceration at Mumbwa detention camp, the United Trades Union Congress (UTUC) through its president, Amonson Mugala, donated

⁴³ NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from District Social Welfare Officer, Lundazi, to the Assistant District Secretary, Chadiza, 2 August 1964; NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from M. John Munalula, Assistant District Secretary, Chadiza, to the Provincial Social Welfare Office, Fort Jameson, 16 September 1964; NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from Assistant District Secretary, Chadiza, to the Provincial Social Welfare Officer, Fort Jameson, 24 September 1964 and NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from District Social Welfare Officer, Chadiza, to the Assistant District Secretary, Chadiza, 28 September 1964.

⁴⁴ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Northern Rhodesia Government (NRG), Pelein, Chief Information, Information received from Mr L.L. Phiri, Acting Information Officer, Fort Jameson, 3 September 1964 and *The Northern News*, Thursday, 20 August, 1964, p.2.

⁴⁵ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 20 August, 1964, p.1.

£50 worth of mealie meal for starving villagers in both Chinsali and Lundazi districts.⁴⁶ At the end of August 1964, Joan Gorman, Director of Northern Rhodesia Red Cross, indicated that his organisation had spent £700 on blankets and £600 on medical supplies. These were additional supplies to the gifts of clothing and food that the organisation sent to both Chinsali and Lundazi districts.⁴⁷ Further, Safeli Chileshe, the first African Mayor of Lusaka, formed a national relief fund in which people and organisation deposited their financial contributions for the refugees. On 3 September 1964, for instance, the American Consul in Lusaka, Robert Foulon contributed a cheque for £1,000 to the fund.⁴⁸

Donations were made to the affected civilians and to the troops. After the Northern Rhodesia Legions appealed for comforts for the troops in Lundazi and also Chinsali district, the public response was overwhelming. The public donated books and magazines for the troops. These were sent to both Lundazi and Chinsali districts with regular ration tracks. Other donations included playing cards and 1,000 cigarettes.⁴⁹

The provision of health care, transport and various essentials like food and clothing to the affected people in the district. The government transported ex-Lumpas to Makali and Katito rehabilitation camps based in Petauke and Abercorn, respectively. From December 1964 to March 1965 the government further transported some ex-Lumpas 200 miles from the Chinsali bush areas and from remote areas of Lundazi using lorries or troop carriers to Katito camp. The camp was opened before Christmas 1964 for the temporal accommodation of a small number of such ex-Lumpas pending their repatriation. These also received medical treatment by qualified medical assistants who visited the camp daily and under the supervision of Dr. F.

⁴⁶ *The Northern News*, Saturday, 15 August, 1964, p.1.

⁴⁷ *The Northern News*, Monday, 7 September, 1964. p.6.

⁴⁸ *Central African Mail*, 4 September, 1964, p. 2 and *Central African Mail*, 11 September, 1964, p.4.

⁴⁹ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 6 August, 1964, p.2.

Kanweka, who also made frequent visits, administered treatment and referred to hospital all serious cases. Foodstuffs were also provided to the ex-Lumpas in the camps.⁵⁰

Most of the essentials like food, health care, and schools for Lumpa children were provided to the Lumpa refugees in exile by the host countries, that is, Nyasaland and Congo. According to London Mtonga, one of the Bishops of the Jerusalem Church, a branch of the former Lumpa Church, and one of the Lumpas who went to Mokambo, the government transported some Lumpas to the Congo.⁵¹ In terms of provision of other necessities, the Red Cross Society of Zambia provided some necessities which included clothing and food when need arose. In early July 1965, after the Red Cross Society received reports that about 500 young children living at Mokambo Border Post were in rags and some of them wore nothing, the Society distributed blankets and clothes to the children at the settlement.⁵² In addition, on 17 August 1965, the Kitwe Red Cross supplied one lorry load of provisions and materials. Two tonnes of food was denied entry at Mokambo because Katangese officials stated that the refugees had sufficient food.⁵³

From 1967 the ex-Lumpas at the settlement faced many difficulties with regards to their religion and life in general. This was because the Congolese people reduced the assistance rendered to them. Hence, there was insufficient medical care provided to the ex-Lumpas at the settlement. This was in accordance with one of three requests made by the Zambian government to the Congolese government in 1967 in order to force the ex-Lumpas to return to Zambia. The other two requests were: to move the ex-Lumpas from Mokambo settlement

⁵⁰ *The Northern News*, Friday, 26 March, 1965, p.1.

⁵¹ Interview, London Mtonga, Bishop of the Jerusalem Church, an offshoot of the Lumpa Church, Lusaka, 2 June, 2016.

⁵² *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 9 July, 1965, p.1.

⁵³ *Times of Zambia*, Tuesday, 17 August, 1965, p.1.

to some other place in the interior of Congo and to ban the church.⁵⁴ The settlement only relied on a clinic, owned by Edward Blackmore, based at Katula village, four miles from Mokambo inside the Congo. The clinic treated both the locals and the Lumpas. It mostly operated using smuggled medicine from Mufulira. For instance, in late April 1970 medicines worth K700 were smuggled from Mufulira to the clinic. According to Jonathan Ntambo, Mufulira governor, this delayed the return of the Lumpas because they accessed medical care.⁵⁵

The government resumed providing health services to Lumpas when they returned to Zambia. For instance, it sent a medical team to the Makeni ex-Lumpa camp on 20 November 1994 to provide health care. The team also identified at least 20 people at the camp who had relatives in the Eastern province.⁵⁶ These provisions continued to be administered to the ex-Lumpas up to about 1995 when the last repatriation exercise of exiled refugees from Zaire were resettled in Zambia.

Village Reconstruction, Rehabilitation Camps and Resettlement

The process of reconstruction of infrastructure which included villages, schools and bridges that were damaged during the government-Lumpa Church confrontations in Lundazi district and the reintegration of both non-Lumpas and ex-Lumpa back into their original villages in Lundazi district, started in August 1964. In order to attain this, in mid August, the UNIP

⁵⁴ NAZ MFA 1/1/222, Letter from M. C. Chona, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lusaka, to T.J. Kankasa, Zambian Ambassador, Kinshasa, 27 October, 1967; NAZ MFA 1/1/222, Letter from Permanent Secretary, Office of the President, Lusaka, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lusaka, 15 November, 1967 and Morris Mukuka Musa, 'A Study of the Life, Work and Contribution of Alfred Kapele Nkonde to the Development of the Lumpa Church, 1953-94', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 1998, p.45.

⁵⁵ *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 1 May, 1970, p.7.

⁵⁶ *Times of Zambia*, Monday, 21 November, 1994, p.3.

government sent representatives to Northern and Eastern provinces which were the most affected provinces to join in the rehabilitation as well as reconstruction. The team that went to Eastern Province comprised H.D Banda, Minister of Housing and Social Development and A .J. Soko, Parliamentary Secretary under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The team went round making assessments on how to restore health, education, housing, roads and communication facilities.⁵⁷ As a result, on 20 August 1964, a rehabilitation committee was set up with a mandate of helping welfare workers in the resettlement process of refugees in the district.⁵⁸ The committee, in conjunction with the District Secretary, chiefs and UNIP regional officials, ensured that the process succeeded.⁵⁹ Areas where the rebuilding of the burnt villages took place satisfactorily were Mphamba, Phikamalaza⁶⁰ and Chikwa Chiefdoms. Specific villages which were rebuilt in Chikwa Chiefdom included Pondo and Fulaza.⁶¹

The reconstruction of villages was done by village committees in the district and went hand-in-hand with the resettlement process of some displaced people and ex-Lumpa Church members. Initially, the resettlement process of the displaced people was slow because of the shortage the specialist forces to screen them.⁶² Screening needed to be done to ensure that the Lumpa adherents were separated from the rest of the displaced people to prevent further fighting between them in the areas where they were resettled and in their villages. The government, through the Lundazi Local Council took keen interest in explaining to the

⁵⁷ *The Northern News*, Saturday, 15 August, 1964, p.1.

⁵⁸ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 21 August, 1964, p.2.

⁵⁹ GRZ., *The National Assembly Debates Official Report of the Second Session of the First National Assembly (Resumed), Ministerial Statement on the Lumpa Refugees, 26 August 1965* (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1965), p.1280.

⁶⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi as at 15:30hrs 19 August, 190955, from Provops Lundazi.

⁶¹ NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964.

⁶² *The Northern News*, Friday, 2 October, 1964, p.1.

general public of the need to receive the ex-Lumpas back in their authorised villages. This was in an endeavour not to prolong the two groups separate existence and also to reduce government's expenditure in keeping the ex-Lumpas in the rehabilitation camps. For example, Nalumino Mundia, Minister of Local Government, stressed this need during the visit the district on 30 August 1964. Nonetheless, most ex-Lumpas were not accepted back into their villages and therefore some of them opted to join their fellow believers at Fort Jameson remand prison, about a mile outside the Provincial Headquarters.⁶³ This was one of the detention centres that were set up to keep them before transferring them to open air camps. The centres were surrounded by high barbed wire fences covered by grass. The Fort Jameson centre was originally designed to hold political detainees. The place was desolate and depressing. In addition, the screening of the inhabitants was from the public gaze. Further, men and women were separated within the centre. This was because the camp was not designed for married couples. However, a marriage took place between the Lenshinas within the camp.⁶⁴

The Department of Social Affairs also cared for the Lumpa refugees. In addition, the public and charitable organisations supplied them with clothing. The government supplied them with food. The food was cooked by selected cooks in a communal kitchen. The refugees were not allowed to leave the detention centre except when they needed medical attention at the clinic.⁶⁵ During the same time, social workers begun to trace relatives of the refugees at the remand prison and also reintegrating some of them back into village life.⁶⁶ Most of these were later transferred to Petauke open air rehabilitation settlement. Other ex-Lumpas

⁶³ *The Northern News*, Monday, 31 August, 1964, p.1.

⁶⁴ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 16 December, 1964, p.4.

⁶⁵ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 16 December, 1964, p.4.

⁶⁶ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 11 August, 1964, p.1 and NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report, Fort Jameson, 1964

remained wandering in the bushes. The non-Lumpas mostly from chiefs' palaces, schools and the soccer field at the *Boma*, who numbered more than 5,000 in total, went back to their villages after peace had returned to the district. Community Development workers in the district also played an important role in the rehabilitation of refugees and the rebuilding of Ministry of Education schools as well as villages which had been damaged during the uprising. In Chikwa chiefdom, for instance, the process of rehabilitation was completed in November 1964.⁶⁷ The funds for these rehabilitation works were provided by the government and approved by the Eastern provincial administration.⁶⁸

Another way through which the government directly got involved in the task of resettlement or rehabilitation was through the establishment of rehabilitation camps. This concept arose because a lot of people had become mentally and physically challenged and due to the fact that villages failed to reintegrate or incorporate the Lumpa Church members. It was because of the latter reason that led to some UNIP officials like Robert Kapasa Makasa and Jameson Chapoloko, the newly-appointed Under-Minister for Northern Province and Chinsali's Member of Parliament, respectively, to suggest that the only way to 'break up the Lenshina cult' was to split its members into single family groups which would be settled in different parts of Zambia, far from their original villages. The government hesitated to act upon this advice immediately.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, because of the need to rehabilitate the physical recovery of the ex-Lumpa Church members, many of whom became walking skeletons⁷⁰, the

⁶⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/152, Department of Community Development, Eastern Province Review of 1964 and NAZ EP 4/2/152, Department of Community Development, Eastern Province Quarterly Report October to December, 1964.

⁶⁸ NAZ EP 4/2/152, Letter from the Chief Agriculture Officer, Fort Jameson, to the Director of Agriculture, Department of Agriculture, Lusaka, 9 December 1964.

⁶⁹ David M. Gordon, 'Rebellion or massacre? The UNIP-Lumpa conflict revisited', in Jan-Bart Gewald, Marja Hinfelaar and Giacomo Macola (eds.), *One Zambia, many histories Towards a history of post-colonial Zambia* (Boston: Brill, 2008), p.71.

⁷⁰ Andrew D. Roberts, *The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina* (Lusaka: Oxford University Press, 1972), p.46.

government through the Central Security Council, on 12 August 1964, appointed Hugh Thompson, a member of the British Empire (MBE), as a Resettlement Commissioner.⁷¹

Thompson was freed from all other duties. He was instructed to find suitable places or areas to settle the surviving Lumpa members. The committee continued to assess the situation in terms of the impact of the war in both Lundazi and Chinsali district. In this line, Thompson left early Thursday, 20 August 1964 by air to Lundazi and Chinsali and other affected districts to assess the local requirements and to also set up rehabilitation committees where it was necessary. He was accompanied by Mr. Gresty of the Ministry of Housing and Social Development.⁷²

Rehabilitation camps were set in different areas in both Northern and Eastern Provinces. The two major camps which contained most of the Lumpa were Katito and Makali camps. Other minor camps were Chinsali and Lunzuwa camps in Northern Province. These were however disbanded within about a month of their existence. Most of their inhabitants were transferred to Katito camp which was situated about 14 miles outside Abercorn district (now Mbala) in Northern Province. On the other hand, the Makali camp was located about 23 miles outside Petauke district in Eastern Province.⁷³

In August 1964, the two camps had approximately 4,149 Lumpa Church members' detainees.⁷⁴ These centres were also surrounded by a single roll of barbed wire. There were few huts separated from the rest and wire-fenced. These were detention huts for people not prepared to co-operate. Nevertheless, by 16 December 1964, they were all empty and had not

⁷¹ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 18 August, 1964, p.1 and NAZ NP 3/12/10, K.P Gill, 'Memorandum containing proposals for the eventual resettlement of Lushina present at Katito and Luwingu camps', March, 1965.

⁷² *The Northern News*, Thursday, 20 August, 1964, p.1.

⁷³ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 16 December, 1964, p.4 and Margaret Musonda Chileshe, 'Church and Politics in Zambia, 1950-1991', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2014, p.18.

⁷⁴ GRZ., *The National Assembly Debates*, p.1279 and Kampamba Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1998), p.101.

been used since their construction. A roll call was conducted twice a day.⁷⁵ Government also provided security in the camps. For example, it drafted four platoons of Mobile Police to the Katito camp to add on the one platoon that was permanently on secondment at Kasama 90 miles away. The police offered security to the European population that expressed worry about the next move of the Lumpas at the camp.⁷⁶

The Katito rehabilitation centre had about 3,200 Lumpas and most of its detainees were from Chinsali district and some of them were from Lundazi district. The Makali rehabilitation camp had about 750 refugees. Most of them were ferried from Fort Jameson Remand Prison. Originally, they came from Lundazi district.⁷⁷ Some of the detainees arrived in these camps in an emaciated state, to the extent that even after being kept in the camps for several months, they were not deemed fit to leave Katito and Makali camps for their villages. This was because they had spent long periods hiding in the bush. They could not be returned to normal life until they had recovered. By September 1965, about 3,200 detainees were still in the camps. However, by October, about 680 refugees that remained at Makali camp had successfully been resettled.⁷⁸

The rehabilitation camps however brought more problems. One of these was overcrowding. This was because new detainees were constantly being brought into the limited camps. As a result of the excess numbers, more problems arose which included outbreaks of diseases like diarrhoea and vomiting especially among children. These ailments were prominent at the Katito camp. The camp also experienced between four to eight deaths daily, mainly from measles, pneumonia, malnutrition and wounds. Many of these were children and some aged

⁷⁵ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 16 December, 1964, p.4.

⁷⁶ *The Northern News*, Friday, 23 April, 1965, p.12.

⁷⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964.

⁷⁸ GRZ., *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church of Mrs. Alice Lenshina*, p.15 and Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands*, p.102.

people usually from among newcomers to the camp. The camp experienced a total of about 56 Lumpa deaths in the first seven weeks of their arrival at the camp.⁷⁹ Initially, the 117 bed capacity Abercorn district Hospital accommodated above 80 in-patients from the Katito Camp. Qualified medical assistants visited and treated the patients in the camp daily and referred all serious cases, whose room could be found, to hospital. Treatment of the ex-Lumpas in the camp comprised vitamin, administered three times daily, and supplementary protein. The children received half a bottle of milk a day.⁸⁰

In addition, the government provided basic rations of mealie-meal and dried fish for the camp which cost about £125, at 7.5d a head a day. The rations were issued to families and fairly distributed to the children and the aged by some of the housewives.⁸¹ At times, the ex-Lumpas refused to return to their villages for fear of being attacked by non-Lumpas. When government made such attempts, more often, the ex-Lumpas fought with the police. For example, there was a fight at the Katito camp between about 1,000 Lumpas and the Mobile Police Unit which escorted trucks meant to repatriate them back to their villages on Tuesday, November 7, 1965. This was a government move aimed at repatriating them before the rainy season.⁸²

At other times, the Lumpas also refused food or assistance from either the government or individuals. For instance, on Thursday, 28 October 1965, they refused nine lorry-loads of mealie-meal, corned beef and biscuits supplied by a local dealer. They instead preferred to buy. This was because they did not like the supplier. However, many of them were believed

⁷⁹ *Central African Mail*, 9 April, 1965, pp. 6-7.

⁸⁰ *The Northern News*, Friday, 26 March, 1965, p.1 and *The Northern News*, Friday, 23 April, 1965, p.12.

⁸¹ *The Northern News*, Friday, 26 March, 1965, p.1 and Kapasa Makasa, *Zambia's March to Political Freedom*, Revised Edition (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981), p.156.

⁸² *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 8 November, 1965, p.1.

to have built stocks of essentials from previous government rations.⁸³ Food was however inadequate especially that initially the detainees were not allowed to go out of the camps to look for extra food.⁸⁴ They were just allowed to work on their garden where they planted few crops. This made most of them leave the camps voluntarily before the government finally released them. Most of these were received in their villages without serious incidents. The decision by Lumpas to voluntarily leave the camps was also exacerbated by the fact that the government stopped sending medical doctors to the camps in 1965. Instead, the government resorted to releasing the detainees which proved to be a cheaper measure.⁸⁵ In relation to this, by mid March 1966, Mr. D. A. Penn, rehabilitation camp commissioner, stated that the cost of rehabilitation of the ex-Lumpas over the past 18 months was about £100,000.⁸⁶

The first major resettlement of ex-Lumpa followers in their old villages in the Lundazi district successfully ended in 1966.⁸⁷ However, some ex-Lumpa members were still met with hostility by the residents of their original villages and also district rehabilitation sub-committees. This situation necessitated some of them to eventually migrate to Katanga Province of Congo to join other ex-Lumpas who went there during the conflict.⁸⁸ However, other Lumpa Church members in minor camps remained and responded well to their rehabilitation and reintegration processes. An example of such rehabilitation camps included those in Chinsali district at the islands of Chishi and Chilubi. These never wanted to be

⁸³ *Times of Zambia*, Saturday, 30 October, 1965, p.11.

⁸⁴ *The Northern News*, Friday, 23 April, 1965, p.12 and John Hudson, *A Time to Mourn: A personal Account of the 1964 Lumpa Church Revolt in Zambia* (Lusaka: Bookworld Publishers, 1999), p.60.

⁸⁵ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Diary of Events from 25 June to 15 October, 16 October, 1964.

⁸⁶ *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 18 March, 1966, p.9.

⁸⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/127, Provincial and District Government Annual Report, Eastern Province, 1966.

⁸⁸ NAZ NP 1/4/2, Letter from G.K. Barr, Abercorn District Secretary, to the Rehabilitation Commissioner, Lusaka, 15 November 1964 and Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands*, p.102.

reminded of the unhappy history and as such, men did canoe-net fishing, known as *Umukombo* in local language.⁸⁹

At Mokambo, the ex-Lumpas were taken care of by the Katanga authorities in conjunction with UNHCR. The Lumpas continued practising their religion. This was after they were granted permission by the Congolese government through the Katangese provincial authorities.⁹⁰ The worship at Mokambo was led by Alfred Kapeli, Lenshina's son-in-law and 93 deacons. In addition, they accessed limited health facilities which included vaccines. They were also provided with food and clothes, among other amenities. These were not adequate.⁹¹ Food, for example, was rationed. Each family received *2lb* of mealie-meal and dried fish a week, which on a normal diet would last for two days. The Zambian authorities' role was very minimal. Only the Red Cross Society donated clothes to the refugees on August 8 July 1965 and food on 18 August 1965 at the Mokambo settlement.⁹² It is important to state that to supplement these supplies; the ex-Lumpas at Mokambo took to basket making and vegetable-growing. These items were sold in Mufulira nearly every working day.⁹³ However, there were no school for the children.⁹⁴

Attempts by the Zambian government to repatriate all the ex-Lumpas from Mokambo back into the intensified in 1968. However, this did not materialise because the ex-Lumpas were not happy with how the 3,000 fellow ex-Lumpas who had come back to Zambia between 1965 and 1968 voluntarily were treated out of about 20,000 Lumpas who fled to Congo. This

⁸⁹ *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 6 July, 1966, p.1.

⁹⁰ *The Northern News*, Thursday, 17 June, 1965, p.1 and *The Northern News*, Friday, 7 May, 1965, p.1.

⁹¹ *The Northern News*, Tuesday, 22 June, 1965, p.1; *The Northern News*, Thursday, 17 June, 1965, p.1; *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 1 September, 1965, p.8 and *Central African Mail*, 16 July, 1965, p.1.

⁹² *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 9 July, 1965, p.1.

⁹³ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 13 October, 1966, p.1 and *Zambia News*, 3 October, 1965, p.1.

⁹⁴ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 23 September, 1965, p.1.

made some of the ex-Lumpas to return to Mokambo.⁹⁵ For instance, the 38 ex-Lumpas returned to Zambia on 4 June 1968 and were accommodated in Mufulira.⁹⁶ This was after the Zairean government banned the church and gave them 20 days from 1 June within which to go back to Zambia willingly, failure to which they were to be scattered into the interior of Zaire.⁹⁷ However, because of the unfavourable treatment they received in Zambia, all the 38 ex-Lumpas returned to Mokambo on 6 June 1968.⁹⁸

There were two major reasons that were attributed to the failure to repatriate the approximately 17,000 ex-Lumpas based at Mokambo back into Zambia in 1968.⁹⁹ The first reason was that the United Nations (UN) team, which had studied the Lumpas and also visited the Mokambo camp in July 1968 never gave the Zambian government recommendations on the repatriation process.¹⁰⁰ Secondly, 1968 being Zambia's election year, the ex-Lumpas were afraid of being compelled to register as voters, own cards without which they would be victimised by the youths and junior government officials as well as the fact that chiefs would not accept them.¹⁰¹

The repatriation exercise of some ex-Lumpas occurred in 1971.¹⁰² During that year, the total number of Lumpas living in Zaire increased to about 19,000.¹⁰³ The exercise was aimed at

⁹⁵ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 6 June, 1968, p.1; *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 11 October, 1968, p.1 and Jan Pettman, *Zambia: Security and Conflict* (London: Julian Friedman Publishers, 1974), p.95.

⁹⁶ *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 5 June, 1968, p.1.

⁹⁷ *Times of Zambia*, Tuesday, 4 June, 1968, p.1.

⁹⁸ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 6 June, 1968, p.1.

⁹⁹ NAZ MFA 1/1/222, Letter from E.M. Mwamba, Consul-General, Lubumbashi, Democratic Republic of Congo, to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Home Affairs, Lusaka, 12 February, 1968.

¹⁰⁰ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 6 June, 1968, p.1; *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 22 November, 1968, p.1.

¹⁰¹ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 6 June, 1968, p.1.

¹⁰² Andrew Roberts, *A History of Zambia* (London: Heinemann, 1976), p.250.

¹⁰³ NAZ MFA 1/1/222, Report on Lumpas by D. Sibajene to the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lusaka, 16 July, 1968; D. G. Coe and E. C. Greenall, *Kaunda's Gaoler: Memories of a District Officer*

forcing all the ex-Lumpas at Mokambo either to go back to Zambia or to be moved further into the interior of Zaire. However, some ex-Lumpas resisted suggestions because of two reasons: their demands, which included releasing Lenshina from detention, had not yet been met by the Zambian government for them to go back. Secondly, the journey to Kamina, a place in the interior marked for their settlement, took three days and three nights.¹⁰⁴ As a result, they fought with the Congolese soldiers. Eventually, one group led by Kapeli, was moved from the Mokambo border settlement to Kamina by the Zairean soldiers and UN authorities while the group led by Mbelita Chilima Ng'andu (Lutanda), Lenshina's daughter, was repatriated into Zambia.¹⁰⁵

During this exercise, the Zambian government moved 72 ex-Lumpa families on the night of Tuesday, 5 October 1971, from the Mokambo settlement to the Ndola Trade Fair grounds where they were accommodated. However, in an attempt to move the rest of the ex-Lumpas who were willing to move further into the interior of Zaire and be settled at Kamina, a battle erupted between the ex-Lumpas and the Zairean soldiers leading to three ex-Lumpas deaths while a few were wounded.¹⁰⁶ Some of the wounded were taken to Ronald Ross Hospital in Mufulira. This battle made about 51 exiles and mostly children flee to the Mufulira rehabilitation centre. These were given food and other facilities by the government. Other ex-Lumpas walked to Mbomfu village on the Zambia-Congo border to seek asylum in the village. About 2,300 other Lumpas took to the bush and walked to Senior Chief Chiwala and Chief Serenji's villages on the Zambian side after hearing the gunshots at Mokambo railway

in Northern Rhodesia and Zambia (London: The Radcliffe Press, 2003), p.148; Jean Loup Calmettes, *Lumpa Church I The Genesis and Development: 1953-1964* (Mbala: Kayambi Mission, 1970), p.V and Joseph P. Smaldone, 'Historical Setting' in Irving Kaplan (ed.), *Zambia: A Country Study*, Third Edition (Washington D.C: Library of Congress Cataloguing, 1979), p.60.

¹⁰⁴ *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 4 August, 1971, p.2.

¹⁰⁵ Interview, London Mtonga.

¹⁰⁶ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 7 October, 1971, p.1.

station. Some of these were accommodated at the Kitwe show grounds. Armed police officers surrounded these camps and pressmen were not allowed to speak to the families. Refugees at the Kitwe camp complained that they were not allowed to visit relatives and that they were kept like slaves. The camp also experienced serious shortages of food. This made the Red Cross to appeal to charitable organisations and individuals for blankets, cooking utensils, high protein tinned food and milk in a bid to help the ex-Lumpas. Donors in Ndola were advised to take their donations to the Red Cross centre in Dr. Damie Street while those in Kitwe were advised to telephone 81594 for information.¹⁰⁷

Between the end of October and early November 1971, the government of Zambia transported the refugees to various parts of the country according to their individual family choices. This was amidst ex-Lumpa Church leaders instructing more than 1,000 ex-Lumpas at the Ndola Trade Fair camp to resist government's move to transport and resettle them in their original villages. They were advised to refuse to board the government army trucks, lorries and hired buses. This resulted into a riot. However, government resolved the situation by using para-military officers. The total government expenditure on food and medical supplies on these Copperbelt camps was more than K30, 000.¹⁰⁸ Most of the ex-Lumpas from Zaire who originally came from Lundazi district were not willing to go back to their original areas in Chama and Lundazi districts. As a result, they were resettled in other areas such as Chipata, Katete and Petauke.¹⁰⁹ The government incurred huge expenses during the 1971 resettlement exercise. For instance, between 8 October, 1971 to 16 November, 1971, it

¹⁰⁷ *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 6 October, 1971, pp.1-2 and *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 7 October, 1971, p.1.

¹⁰⁸ *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 28 October, 1971, p.7.

¹⁰⁹ NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from G.B.M Wamulume, Acting Permanent Secretary for Eastern Province, Fort Jameson, to Permanent Secretary, Provincial and Local Government and Culture, Lusaka, 26 November 1971 and NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from G.B.M Wamulume, Acting Permanent Secretary for Eastern Province, Fort Jameson, to Chief Lundu, Chama, 26 November 1971.

expended a total of K13, 728.02 in Petauke district only¹¹⁰ while the expenditure for Chipata district, only as extracted from the banking records, as of 24 November, 1971 was K21,901.98. These expenditures were on items such as foodstuffs, fuel and allowances for District Messengers.¹¹¹ By the end of 1972, the Zambia Red Cross Society raised funds for the resettlement of ex-Lumpa followers.¹¹²

The Lumpa Church in Zambia operated secretly from 1964 to 1995 for fear of being prosecuted by the government. Minor incidences occurred involving the church between 1972 and 1994. For example, in December 1975, it was alleged that over 300 families in Ndola's Sinia Township refused to buy UNIP cards or register as voters and that Lumpa children were engaged in selling their parent's articles instead of going school.¹¹³ In addition, in July 1978, more than 80 Lumpa families from Zaire's Shaba province, settled in Ndola's Kantolomba compound, threatened to cause anarchy in the area after they allegedly received a number of attacks from UNIP leaders.¹¹⁴

There was no major repatriation exercise of the remaining ex-Lumpas from Zaire to Zambia from 1972 up to 3 September 1994, when Lameck Mwaba, commissioner for refugees in the Ministry of Home Affairs, announced that at least 1,600 ex-Lumpas would be repatriated into the country. This resulted into the repatriation of the third group comprising about 1,373 ex-Lumpas from Lubumbashi led by Kapeli towards the end of September, 1994.¹¹⁵ These were initially temporarily settled in Kitwe Agriculture Show grounds and Ndola Trade Fair Ground

¹¹⁰ NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from A. M. Nguni, District Secretary, Petauke, to the Permanent Secretary, Chipata, 25 November, 1971 and Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi,' p.89.

¹¹¹ NAZ EP 2/13/15, Report by S.L.G.C and Chirwa, 'The Lumpa Church in Lundazi,' p.89.

¹¹² *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 20 December, 1972, p.2.

¹¹³ *Times of Zambia*, Saturday, 6 December, 1975, p.5.

¹¹⁴ *Times of Zambia*, Monday, 10 July, 1978, p.1.

¹¹⁵ *Times of Zambia*, Tuesday, 27 September, 1994, p.3 and Elijah Munga, 'The Lumpa Church: Its Socio-Economic Impact on Lundazi and Chama Districts of Zambia, 1953-1970', H 492 Student Report, University of Zambia, 2012, p. 21.

before being repatriated to places of their choices. The Red Cross, Ministry of Health, Immigration Department, and Local Councils provided necessities like foodstuffs to the ex-Lumpas. This was in conjunction with other organisations such the WFP, and the UNHCR which set aside K200 million for the exercise. There were dysentery and malaria ailments at the Kitwe temporal settlement on 25 September, 1994. For example, the government contained the situation by isolating and treating them in health stations like Mufulira Hospital.¹¹⁶ About 200 of them were transported to Chama, Petauke and Katete districts as well as Madziyatuwa in the Chipangali area of Chipata district in Eastern Province. About 158 Lumpas were given farms at Madziyatuwa area. This was in an effort to make them cultivate and attain food security. However, the area had no grass to be used for building huts and thus there arose a need for tents. They also lacked money for grinding their maize. There were also no lavatories, a clinic, a school for children and or police post for their security. This made them leave their farms and protest in October 1994.¹¹⁷ Other ex-Lumpas, however, were brought to Makeni area in Lusaka. Those that had relatives within the district were absorbed while about 300 who were not honest about their place of origin were settled in Chisamba at Zanimuwone area along the Great North Road, and Kalandu area along Mongu Road.¹¹⁸

Welfare of Orphans

Children who became orphans due to the government-Lumpa Church confrontations in Lundazi district were taken care of both by their relatives and non-relatives in the district and

¹¹⁶ *Times of Zambia*, Monday, 3 September, 1994, p.1; *Times of Zambia*, Monday, 26 September, 1994, p.3 and *Times of Zambia*, Monday, 16 December, 1994, p.3.

¹¹⁷ *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 28 October, 1994, p.2 and *Times of Zambia*, Monday, 28 November, 1994, p.3.

¹¹⁸ Interview, London Mtonga; *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 4 November, 1994, p.2 and *Sunday Post*, Post Lifestyle, Sunday May 4, 2008, p. XIV.

in Zambia at large.¹¹⁹ For example, nine months old child of Constable Zimba named David who sustained head injuries during the 1964 incident in which both of his parents were murdered was taken up by a female relative from its father's family.¹²⁰ In addition, a Roman Catholic priest, Father Claude Galmiche, cared for two orphaned children. Many other children whose parents were wounded or died during the war in the district flocked to him for protection especially from Chipoma Lumpa Church settlement.¹²¹

In addition, the government housed some of the orphans at Fort Jameson orphanage. The government provided food and clothes to the orphans. The government also encouraged the general public to adopt some of the orphans. In 1967, for example, Paulo Chidzala, an Agricultural Extension Officer based at Chipangali Agriculture Camp adopted two of the Lumpa orphans from the orphanage. One of whom was called James.¹²² Some of these eventually married and started a new a life after leaving the orphanage.¹²³

Provision of Agricultural related facilities

The Lumpa uprising occurred in the second half of 1964, which included the 1964-1965 rain season. This led to food insecurity in most of the adversely affected areas in Lundazi district. This was because, in most of them, granaries were burnt down during the fighting. Secondly, this was because most people were afraid to engage into farming freely during the initial farming seasons due to fear of being killed by the ex-Lumpas who went into hiding in the

¹¹⁹ Interview, Manda and Interview, Pastone Phiri.

¹²⁰ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Messages from Chinsali and Lundazi, 071730, from Provops Lundazi.

¹²¹ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 5 August, 1964, p.1.

¹²² Interview, Tisaine Phiri, peasant farmer, Lusaka, 24 April, 2012.

¹²³ Interview, London Mtonga.

bush and by those who had fled to Congo during the uprising but kept on coming back at different times. This was on suspicion that the ex-Lumpas would restart the war. Thus, such fears prevented some people in the district from cultivating enough crops to sustain themselves especially from about 1964 to 1967.¹²⁴

In order to promote food security and cushion the impact of the uprising on the agriculture sector in the district, the government provided agricultural farming inputs such as seeds.¹²⁵ In addition, government, through the Department of Agriculture provided nitrogenous fertilizers in the 1964/1965 farming season to some areas of the district. This was done under a scheme specifically meant to assist Lumpa rehabilitation in the Lundazi district. This was aside the fertiliser that was supplied throughout the province for the maize crop under Agriculture Farming Improvement Fund (AFIF) under the Small Scheme. About 350 tons of sulphate of ammonia 'z' mixture were distributed and applied under these schemes.¹²⁶ Furthermore, the government encouraged the ex-Lumpas at both Makali and Katito camps to cultivate and plant short term maturing seeds. These types of seeds were provided because the government hoped that the camps were temporal settlements and that the Lumpas would return to their original homes before the end of the following year.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ NAZ EP 2/13/15, Letter from J. L. Sinyangwe, Assitant District Secretary, Lundazi, to all Chiefs, Ward Councillors, Constituency and Branch Officials in UNIP, Village Headmen, Chama District, 24 November 1967.

¹²⁵ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 16 December, 1964, p.5.

¹²⁶ NAZ EP 4/2/152, Letter from the Chief Agriculture Officer, Fort Jameson, to the Director of Agriculture, Department of Agriculture, Lusaka, 11 February 1965, Eastern Province Monthly Report January, 1965.

¹²⁷ *The Northern News*, Wednesday, 16 December, 1964, p.4.

Diplomatic Collaborations

In order to cushion the socio-economic impact of the 1964 Lumpa uprising in Lundazi and elsewhere, the government of Zambia worked closely with the governments of Malawi and Congo and with other organisations such as the UNHCR and WFP. This was done by engaging the two countries during and after the uprising to render help to Zambia in the quest to end the uprising and in order to accommodate the ex-Lumpa refugees. For example, during the uprising, at about 21:00 hours the night of on 3 August 1964 the Northern Rhodesian government engaged the Malawian government to allow its troops to move through Malawi to the Lundazi area.¹²⁸ In addition, the Malawian government welcomed refugees, non-Lumpas, from Northern Rhodesia who fled to its border areas. The Malawian government also distributed food to the refugees. This food was only provided after being satisfied that there was a real and urgent need. This was done to help the Northern Rhodesian government's undertaking to meet the costs involved in mitigating the socio-economic impact of the uprising.¹²⁹

Similarly, the Congolese government welcomed the ex-Lumpa refugees and settled them at Mokambo border area. In April 1966, Foreign Ministers of Zambia and the Congo, Simon Kapwepwe and Justin Bomboko, respectively, met at the first Zambia-Congo meeting in Lusaka. The delegates agreed to set up an inter-governmental committee to organise the peaceful return to Zambia of Lumpas in Congo.¹³⁰ Hence, in December 1966, the Zambian and Congolese governments started engaging in talks to have about 12,000 ex-Lumpa

¹²⁸ NAZ EP 2/13/15, Outward Telegram no.438 from Governor, Lusaka, to C.R.O , London, sent 10:40hrs on 3 August 1964, 031830, Messages received from Chinsali and Lundazi.

¹²⁹ NAZ MHA 1/3/10, Letter from Secretary to the Prime Minister, Zomba, Malawi, to the Secretary to the Prime Minister, Lusaka, 11 August 1964.

¹³⁰ *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 5 April, 1968, p.1; *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 27 April, 1966, p.1.

refugees' return to Zambia.¹³¹ However, in June 1968, despite the Zairean government's move to ban the Lumpa Church, only about 38 ex-Lumpas returned to Zambia. They were settled in Mufulira.¹³² This was in spite of the Zambian government sending Grey Zulu, the Minister of Home Affairs, accompanied by Michael Mataka, Commissioner of Police, to visit the Mokambo camp to persuade ex-Lumpas to return to Zambia. Despite this move, only about 3,000 ex-Lumpa Church members voluntarily returned to Zambia. Further, in June 1970, as a gesture of solidarity with the Zambian government, Mobutu Sese Seko stated that he would refuse to grant citizenship to the remaining 16,000 refugees.¹³³ This resulted into some ex-Lumpas returning to Zambia in early August 1971.¹³⁴ About 700 ex-Lumpas, who refused to move to Zambia, were moved by Congolese soldiers and UN authorities to Kamina in the interior of Congo early in the month.¹³⁵ Other groups of the ex-Lumpas were later repatriated in September 1994 after further meetings between the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) led government and that of Zaire. They were eventually settled in various parts of Zambia. The resettlement process of the ex-Lumpas in Zambia ended in November 1994 when the ex-Lumpas based at Makeni camp were settled in Chief Mungule area along Kabwe Road. Organisations such as UNHCR and WFP helped in the sustenance and resettlement of the refugees up to early 1995.¹³⁶

¹³¹ NAZ NP 3/12/007, Office of the President, Operational Plan for handling "ex-Lumpa" refugees from Mokambo, 15 December, 1966.

¹³² *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 5 June, 1968, p.1 and *Times of Zambia*, Thursday, 6 June, 1968, p.1.

¹³³ *Times of Zambia*, Saturday, 28 October, 1967, p.1 and Pettman, *Zambia*, p.95.

¹³⁴ *Times of Zambia*, Friday, 13 August, 1971, p.1.

¹³⁵ *Times of Zambia*, Wednesday, 4 August, 1971, p.2 and *Times of Zambia*, Saturday, 14 August, 1971, p.1

¹³⁶ Interview, London Mtonga and *Times of Zambia*, Tuesday, 21 February, 1995, p.3.

Conclusion

This chapter has established that there were several socio-economic mitigation measures that the government of Zambia introduced in order to help the affected people in the district who included widows, orphans and ex-Lumpa Church members. One of the measures introduced was the provision of increased security in Lundazi district. This was done by sending more troops to the district from other areas such as Chinsali, Chipata and Kabwe. In addition, the government prosecuted the ex-Lumpas who were found guilty of having committed crimes such as murder during the uprising.

Other socio-economic mitigation measures included the provision of health care, transport and donations to the affected citizens from the time the incident started up to the time some ex-Lumpas were resettled in 1995. This was despite the fact that the quality of health care and transportation varied at particular times from good to completely nothing. The government further urged members of the general public through the Red Cross Society to render help through donations to the affected people. These donations were made by individuals, public and private companies who donated commodities which included mealie-meal, clothes and sweets.¹³⁷

The chapter has further demonstrated that the government constructed two major rehabilitation camps. These were Makali in Petauke district in Eastern Province and Katito in Abercorn in Northern Province. The government also took care of these people by providing them with food, clothes, schools, medical care, though these were not adequate. In order to help the children who became orphaned due to the civil war, the government sent some of them from the district to an orphanage in Fort Jameson. Later on, the government allowed the

¹³⁷ NAZ EP 4/2/127, Annual Report Eastern Province, 1964 and *The Northern News*, Thursday, 20 August, 1964, p.2.

general members of the public to adopt some of these orphans. Others however were taken in by their relatives.

Furthermore, the chapter has shown how the government worked closely with the governments of Malawi and Zaire as well as with external organisations like the UNHCR and WFP in order to help the people who became refugees as a result of the Lumpa uprising. For example, the government engaged into talks with Mobutu, the President of Zaire, who eventually refused to grant the ex-Lumpa Church members citizenship. This became a blessing in disguise because ultimately, the talks left ex-Lumpa Church members with no alternative but to return to their country, Zambia. The resettlement process of ex-Lumpas to various parts of Zambia ended in about 1995.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

The Lumpa Church led by Alice Mulenga Lenshina Kabusha started as a breakaway faction from the Lubwa Church of Scotland in the early 1950s. This followed the alleged return from the dead by Alice Mulenga. She claimed to have been sent back to preach the word of God. The new church focussed on the eradication of witchcraft. It gained wide acceptance in Chinsali and also spread to parts of the neighbouring districts, the Copperbelt, Southern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and South Africa.

The focus of this study was to demonstrate the socio-economic impact of the Lumpa Church in Lundazi district of Eastern Province of Zambia from 1955 to 1995. The study concluded that the Lumpa Church spread to the district in about 1955 based on the fact that this was the period when many people in the district made the first pilgrimages to Sione, in Kasomo village in Chinsali district. The factors that contributed to the spread of the church in the district included the proximity of Lundazi district from Chinsali district. The proximity factor also enabled some people in the district to understand the Bemba language which the church used in most cases. However, other languages such as Tumbuka and Chewa were also used prominently by the church in the district.

This study has also demonstrated that the Lumpa Church spread to some parts of Lundazi district due to the rumours of Lenshina's supernatural powers. These powers were portrayed through prayers. It was believed that her powers could detect and free witches as well as free the people that had been bewitched. Therefore, through her powers, some people in the district surrendered their witchcraft fetishes to Lenshina. Many people in the district were also healed by her powers.

This study also shows that the Lumpa Church spread to Lundazi through its evangelists and believers. They preached the word of God and also sung indigenous hymns accompanied by

dances. Most of the evangelists came from Chinsali district to Lundazi district on foot. Others however, used other means of transport like bicycles although it was not a new means of transport.

The study noted that the Lumpa Church also spread to Lundazi district due to Lenshina's regular visits. The visits were more frequent between about 1955 and 1959. Lenshina visited various parts of the district including Kambombo and Phikamalaza chiefdoms. During her visits, she preached the word of God. As a result, many people joined her church and were baptised as a sign of their membership.

This study has also argued that the Lumpa Church spread to Lundazi district because of the self-help or generosity value that the church encouraged. Self-help enabled members of the church to help both their fellow church members and non-church members. This help was in form of equipment like hoes, services like cultivating as well as foodstuffs. This further encouraged more people to join the church. Other factors included local people's curiosity and that the church was led by Africans led thus there was no friction between Africans and whites which existed in mission churches. In addition, this study has also established that the reaction of people in Lundazi district was positive. This was evident by the many people who joined the church.

Another conclusion is that the Lumpa Church activities had positive impact on the people of Lundazi district and these included a decrease in fears of witchcraft, polygamy and beer drinking. These aspects were enshrined in the church rules which were codified in 1957 and in the church choir rules. Infrastructural development was yet another positive impact of the church in the district. This was through the construction of Lumpa Church buildings in most of the chiefdoms before the 1964 civil war.

The study however has established that despite the positive impact in the district, the church's activities had negative impact in Lundazi district. Firstly, the presence of the church in the district made some people to disregard both traditional and civil authorities. The church held unauthorised meetings and church members also refused to pay tribute and taxes to chiefs and the government, respectively.

This study has concluded that the church's activities negatively affected the education system in Lundazi district because some children in the district stopped going to school frequently. Absenteeism arose because some children escorted their parents on the pilgrimages to Kasomo and also during the construction of Lumpa Church buildings in their respective villages. Additionally, these children were instructed by their parents not to attend religious instruction lessons.

Another conclusion in this study is that the Lumpa Church activities in Lundazi district led to family breakups. From the late 1950s, there were various confrontations between the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and the Lumpa Church because UNIP started coercing people to join the party in 1962 with the aim of forming government 1964. This was against the church's belief, not to participate in politics. When the confrontations heightened in 1964, in an attempt to ensure peace and security, government sent troops to Chinsali district. This led to church-state confrontation which spread to Lundazi district. The confrontations led to the breakup of some families in the district. This study has stressed that, as a result of the 1964 bedlam, people migrated from one place to another before, during and after the war. For example, after the war, more than 19,000 Lumpa Church members fled and settled in Congo Leopoldville.

The study has also established that another negative impact of the Lumpa uprising was anarchy. The state- church confrontation in the district led to the destruction of both lives of

people and property. For example, over 96 villages were destroyed and more than 300 people died in the district. Other property such as clinics and granaries were also destroyed in the district. The destruction of granaries led to poverty and hunger in Lundazi district. In addition, from about 1964/65 to about 1967/68 farming seasons, most people in the district did not cultivate as expected because ex-Lumpas went into hiding in the bushes and some fled to Congo Leopoldville but they later came back in the district. The presence of these two categories of ex-Lumpas caused uneasiness amongst the ordinary people in the district to an extent that they were afraid to cultivate their fields. For example, in November 1967, about 129 people in Kambombo Chiefdom stopped cultivating and fled to Sitwe in Malawi for fear of being killed by the ex-Lumpas who had come from the Mokambo settlement.

Another conclusion of this study is that the government-Lumpa Church confrontations retarded community development in the district. The 1964 war made community development officers in the district to shelve the formation of clubs which were meant to facilitate development in the district in preference to resettling and rehabilitating refugees. This was as a result of the deplorable state of the affected people in the district.

In examining the socio-economic mitigation measures, this study has concluded that the government of Zambia provided security in the district to cushion the alleged negative impact of the Lumpa Church activities in the district. For example, it cautioned some traditional authorities who were forcing their subjects to join the Lumpa Church from about 1955 to 1960. In addition, the government also sent extra troops to the district from other areas such as Fort Jameson, Chinsali, Lusaka and Broken Hill during the war in order to curb the situation. Furthermore, after the war, the government prosecuted some Lumpas who were found guilty of committing crimes such as murder especially during the war.

The study has also concluded that the government through organisations such as Department of Social Welfare (DSW) and Red Cross Society as well as other organisations such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the World Food Programme (WFP) were of great help to the affected people in the district. The affected people included widows, orphans and ex-Lumpa Church and non-church members. For example, the government provided health care to the wounded people in the district. It also provided transport to the affected people including transporting corpses to the mortuary at the *Boma* and to designated burial sites like Kolopa, where police officer Lojobu Zimba was buried together with his wife and child as well as where a mass grave of about 150 people was dug. The government also allowed the general public, both individuals and companies whether public or private, to render help to the affected people. This help was mostly in form of donations. Donated commodities included mealie-meal, sweets and clothes. The government also constructed rehabilitation camps like the Makali camp in Petauke district in Eastern Province, and Katito and Lunzuwa rehabilitation camps in Abercorn (Mbala) district in Northern Province respectively. These camps housed other ex-Lumpa Church members from both Lundazi and Chinsali districts. In addition, the government took care of the affected people by providing them with foodstuffs, clothes, schools, clinics and roads. However, in some instances and due to financial difficulties, the government neglected the ex-Lumpas in these camps and decided to send them into their original villages.

Furthermore, this study has concluded that one of the ways the government helped children who became orphaned due to the 1964 war was to allow the general public to adopt some of the orphans both during and after the war while others were taken and cared for by their relatives. For example, Claude Galmiche, a Roman Catholic White Father, took care of two Lumpa orphans. In addition, the government sent some of them to an orphanage that was

located in Fort Jameson district. Some of these orphans were also adopted by the general public.

The provision of agricultural related facilities was yet another measure that the government introduced to mitigate the socio-economic impact of the 1964 Lumpa Church uprising in Lundazi district. For instance, seeds were provided in some parts of the district. In addition, the government adopted a farming scheme specifically meant to help farmers in some affected parts of the district. The government, through the Department of Agriculture provided nitrogenous fertilizers in the 1964/65 farming season to some areas of the district through this scheme.

Furthermore, this study has shown that the Zambian government collaborated with the governments of Malawi and Zaire in order to cushion the impact of the 1964 civil war especially with regard to keeping and sustaining Lumpa refugees. For example, the Zambian government engaged the Zairean government on several occasions to ensure the safe return of the refugees that stayed at Mokambo border who were led by Lutanda, Lenshina's daughter, after Alfred Kapele led the second group into Lubumbashi in 1971.¹ Such engagements made Mobutu Seseko, the then President of Zaire, to move some of the Lumpas from Mokambo further into the interior to Kamina as refugees and not to grant ex-Lumpas Zairean citizenship. Such agreements led to the repatriation of the Lumpa refugees in 1968, 1971 and 1994. These ex-Lumpas were resettled in different parts of Zambia such as Lusaka, Kabwe, Petauke, Katete, Chipata, Kasama, Mpika and Chinsali districts.²

Finally, this study recommends that there is need for more research in other parts of Zambia other than Chinsali and Lundazi districts with regards to the activities of the Lumpa Church.

¹ *Times of Zambia*, Tuesday, 27 September, 1994, p.3.

² Morris Mukuka Musa, 'A Study of the Life, Work and Contribution of Alfred Kapele Nkonde to the Development of the Lumpa Church, 1953-94', M.A Dissertation, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 1998, p.46.

This is because firstly, some displaced people in the country as a result of the Lumpa uprising including some Lumpa adherents who fled to the Congo-Leopoldville, never returned to their original villages in Lundazi and Chinsali districts. However, some of these were resettled in 2004 in Chinsali district. Some of the ex-Lumpas originally from Lundazi district, based in Kalundu area in Lusaka, expressed their desire to return to the district in 2016.³ Secondly, due to leadership wrangles which started in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Lumpa Church split into different groupings which to date still exist under different umbrella church groupings led by their respective leaders and administered from different headquarters as listed: New Jerusalem Church - Rabson Zimba in Kitwe; Jerusalem Church - Bubile Ng'andu in Lusaka; New Pentecost Assemblies - Sandana Mtonga in Lusaka; Holy City Church - Mulantwishika Phiri in Lusaka; Uluse Kamutola - Maggie Kasungani Mfula in Kapiri Mposhi and Sloam Revelation Church of Christ - Kapanda Nyirenda in Ndola.⁴ Therefore, there is paucity of information on the possible transformations that have taken place in their doctrines and theology which will form the basis for future research.

³ Interview, Alex Musanya, Lawyer for the Lumpa Church, Lusaka, 14 May, 2016.

⁴ Interview, Shardreck Mtonga, Pastor and choir member of the Jerusalem Church, an offshoot of the Lumpa Church, Lusaka, 2 June, 2016; Interview, London Mtonga, Bishop of the Jerusalem Church, an offshoot of the Lumpa Church, Lusaka, 2 June, 2016; *Sunday Post*, Post Lifestyle, Sunday, 4 May, 2008, p.XII; Kampamba Mulenga, *Blood on their Hands* (Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1998), p.164; Hugo F. Hinfelaar, *Bemba – Speaking Women of Zambia in a Century of Religious Change (1892-1992)* (New York: E.J Brill Leiden, 1994), p.76.

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APPENDIX I

LUMPA CHURCH RULES

1. The Lumpa Church is a church in which God and His Son Jesus Christ are to be praised. It is not a political Organisation.
2. In our congregation there is no citizen of foreigner, black or white, man or woman, but we are all of the same family, therefore we must love one another.
3. A Christian must take no part in: (a) Backbiting, (b) Insults, (c) Lying, (d) Pride, (e) Boasting, (f) Hatred, (g) Anger, (h) Cruelty, (i) False accusation, (j) Spite, (k) Disobedience, (l) Deceit, (m) Theft, etc.
4. A Christian must avoid covetousness, witchcraft, stealing, adultery, witch-hunting, sorcery, discrimination, drunkenness, bewitching, immoral songs, dancing and other pagan things.
5. Every Christian must be of good character, whether in public, when eating or going to sleep, waking from sleep or when starting or ending his work, while at play or in times of sorrow or trouble. When he is on a journey, a Christian must pray to his Father.
6. There must be no beer or pagan dances during a Christian Wedding. If they have these things, those who are being wed will be punished by the Commandment of Jesus. They must not be separated from each other until they die.
7. It is the duty of a Christian to go with others for prayers from time to time and on every appointed day of worship.
8. A widow should not be inherited. She must only wear a string of white beads. If she wishes to remarry she must be allowed to do so.
9. A Christian must not be a polygamist.
10. A Christian should not participate in any mourning festival ceremonies. There should be no invocation of the spirits.
11. At the time of worship no one should smoke cigarettes or a pipe, or take snuff. They must not take things into the church.
12. Any person who has taken some beer must not come to worship in church, though he has taken a little.

Anyone who does not obey the rules is not liked by our Lord, the Almighty God, and that is why our Lord said "Stop practising witchcraft and live in my love". Anyone who is found practising witchcraft will suffer more when his time comes to an end because he or she will be heavily punished.

THESE ARE THE RULES OF THE LUMPA CHURCH

Lenshina Mulenga

Source: Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, pp. 137-138.

APPENDIX II

THE RULES OF THE LUMPA CHURCH CHOIR

1. Church choir is group of the singers of God. It is a choir which sings for our Lord God at any time. They are singers who are trained to sing well.
2. Every singer in the church choir should be decent, humble, generous, loving, obedient to the deacons, clergymen, and elderly members of the sect.
3. Every singer should be aware of the fact that he or she is in the hands of the Lumpa Church, and as such, is bound by the rules of the Lumpa Church.
4. Every singer in the Lumpa Church choir everywhere, except in Sion, should be ready in church before time and should start singing in order to warn other people that the service is about to commence.
5. A singer should co-operate with clergymen in such matters as visiting sick people, and singing and preaching to them the gospel of our Lord.
6. Visiting one another is a good thing and that is why the singers should do likewise in order to encourage one another.
7. Uniform: a type of dress for every singer. It is not compulsory but it would be appreciated if it is worn by every singer so that they look smart.
8. Singers should compel themselves to learn new and old hymns and should be competent to sing their respective parts.
9. Singers should be allowed funds to enable them to buy anything they wish, such as petrol for motor cars to enable them to visit their colleagues in distant places who are working for the same sect.
10. Every church choir should have mealie meal and relish ready at all times so that if they happen to receive their colleagues from elsewhere they would be ready to feed them.

NOTE: Singers have no authority over deacons. Their duty is to sing.

Source: Hudson, *A Time to Mourn*, pp. 139-140.