

**A STUDY OF THE LIFE, WORK AND CONTRIBUTION OF ALFRED
KAPELE NKONDE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LUMPA CHURCH,
1953 - 94.**

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APPROVAL

This dissertation of **Morris Mukuka Musa** is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in History by the University of Zambia.

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DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

To my beloved wife, Rose, and all my children for making it possible for me to accomplish this noble task.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
DHRD	Directorate of Human Resource Development
HOPE	Help Other People Emerge
<u>JRA</u>	Journal of Religion in Africa
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
NAZ	National Archives of Zambia
NR	Northern Rhodesia
SR	Southern Rhodesia
UCCA	United Church of Central Africa
UCZ	United Church of Zambia
UNHR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIP	United National Independence Party
UTH	University Teaching Hospital
ZANC	Zambian African National Congress
ZCBC	Zambia Consumer Buying Corporation

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ABSTRACT

Sufficient work has been produced by scholars on the Lumpa Church. However, very little is known about important church leaders who were instrumental in the development of the church. Most of the studies have focused on the founder of the church, "Prophetess" Alice Lenshina, at the expense of subordinate leaders in the church. There is no doubt that some of the leaders who worked under the prophetess played a significant role in the development of the breakaway church. In view of this fact, this study is intended to examine the life history and role of one of the leaders, Alfred kapele Nkonde. Through this study, which is the first of its kind in the church, scholars would be afforded an opportunity to learn about some of the most important events in the church before and after the ban of the church in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) on the eve of the country's independence in 1964. This study demonstrates Nkonde's contribution to the development of the church. It is argued that he was both a key figure in the church and very influential person.

CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to investigate the history of the Lumpa Church through the study of the life of Alfred Kapele Nkonde and to examine how this individual's life was shaped by the Lumpa Church and how in turn he helped to shape the history of the Church. This approach marks a departure from the existing literature on the Lumpa Church, which concentrates on the life of the leader, Alice Lenshina.

The Lumpa Church belongs to the syncretic religious movements. Syncretic movements are churches which have combined both christian and traditional religious elements. These were founded in South Africa in the late nineteenth century. By 1930, they had reached Northern Rhodesia (Zambia). These churches were formed because Africans disagreed with the interpretation of the Bible by the Europeans; Africans regarded the European interpretation of the Bible as racially motivated and therefore incompatible with their culture. Syncretic movements were opposed to what they saw as bad both in the Bible and in the traditional culture. In colonial Zambia, these syncretic movements included the Mcapi and Mwana Lesa Movements.

Many scholars have written extensively on Alice Lenshina's church. Lewis Gann, a colonial historian, described separatist churches as breakaway movements of disgruntled Africans eager to wrestle power from white church leaders. He paid little attention to reasons why these churches broke away.¹

Vernon Stone has attributed the success of the Lumpa Movement to Lenshina's own relationship with the supernatural and also to the movement's promise to deal with witchcraft.² He argues that from the beginning, Lenshina had claimed to be in direct relationship with the supernatural and everything in the movement depended on her. He has also acknowledged the fact that the Lumpa Church equally owed its success to subordinate leaders such as Lenshina's husband, Petros Chintankwa, and Nkonde. However, he has not discussed their contribution to the church in detail.

Robert Rotberg has discussed Lenshina's Movement as a social, religious and nationalist organisation. He focuses on the movement's origins and growth, the church's secular role and the

personality of Alice Lenshina herself.³ He has not shown the contribution of subordinate leaders in the church. Like other scholars, Rotberg focuses on Lenshina at the expense of other church leaders.

Louis Oger has also analysed the Lumpa Movement in detail. Like many other scholars, he has devoted much of his energies discussing Alice Lenshina. However, Oger's study is significant in that it was written at the peak of the Lumpa Church.⁴

Jean-Coup Calmettes, writing from a radical perspective, points to the political, religious and economic implications of the Lumpa upheaval. In his analysis of the conflict between the Lumpa church and the State, he argues that the main cause of the Lumpa riots is to be found in the defence of the political, religious and economic privileges of the messianic group.⁵ He further argues that the style of leadership by Lenshina was incompatible with the views of the State.⁶

Andrew Roberts' "Letters to Alice Lenshina from members of the Lumpa Church" has shown that Nkonde was the general choirmaster at Sione. And that he was assisted by two conductors: Messrs K. Sumaili and K. Besa.⁷ However, Roberts has not shed sufficient light on their roles in the church.

The report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church, an official government document, has provided some vital findings on the Lumpa Church. The report looks at the origins, development and causes of the conflict between the United National Independence Party (UNIP) and the Lumpa Church.⁸ These studies have approached the subject from one perspective, laying emphasis on Lenshina and attributing the success of the church to her personally. These studies are an example of history from above, an approach which puts the leaders at the centre of all activities at the expense of their subordinates. This work is a complete departure from the previous works in that the focus is shifted from Lenshina, the founder of the church, to a man who joined the church as an ordinary church member and rose through the ranks, to occupy one of the most influential posts in the church. This study approaches the same subject from a completely different perspective.

Data for this study were collected in three ways. First, we consulted published and unpublished sources from the University of Zambia (UNZA) Library. These included books, theses, journals, magazine and newspaper articles.

Second, we consulted unpublished primary sources in the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ), such as the Chinsali Notebooks, Government reports and correspondence from church members to Lenshina. We also consulted the Mission Archives at Ilondola and Lubwa Missions in Chinsali, as well as Mindolo in Kitwe.

Third, interviews were carried out with several people on the role of Nkonde in the Lumpa Church. Among the interviewees were his church colleagues, friends and family members.

Finally, a significant number of ex-Lumpa Church members and the Lumpa refugees who returned from Zaire were interviewed. Some of them provided very useful information which had never been documented before. In particular, the information provided by Sandereni [sic] (also spelt as Sundie Rain), a former deacon at Sione, was very useful. Sundie Rain and Nkonde provided very useful and original information. Of all the sources I consulted, the archival materials and interviews were the two most important ones.

The dissertation has five chapters. Chapter one deals with the introduction. Chapter two discusses the origins and growth of the church from 1953 to 1964. Chapter three analyses the personal life of Nkonde and examines the reasons why he joined the Lumpa Church; it also examines his role in the church before it was banned. Chapter four analyses the causes and consequences of the conflict between the government and the Lumpa Church. In Chapter five, the conclusion, we discuss the main points of the study in relation to Nkonde.

NOTES

1. L.G. Gann, A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), P.231.
2. W.V. Stone, The "Alice Movement", Occasional Papers (London: International Missionary Council 1958), P.5.
3. Robert Rotberg, "The Lenshina Movement of Northern Rhodesia", Rhodes - Livingstone Journal 29 (1961),pp. 63-66.
4. Louis Oger, Lumpa Church: The Lenshina Movement in Northern Rhodesia: Religious Sect Founded by Alice Mulenga (Isoka: Catholic Church, Mulilansolo, 1960), p.4.
5. Jean-Coup Calmettes, "The Lumpa Sect: Rural Reconstruction and Conflict", M.Sc. Dissertation University of Wales, (1978), p. 193.
6. Calmettes, "The Lumpa Sect", p. 195.
7. A.D. Roberts, "Letters to Alice Lenshina from Members of the Lumpa Church, Found in Lenshina's House at Sione" (16 December, 1964).
8. Government of the republic of Zambia, Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church (Lusaka : Government Printers, 1965), p.3.

CHAPTER TWO : ORIGINS AND GROWTH OF THE LUMPA CHURCH

History of the Lumpa Church

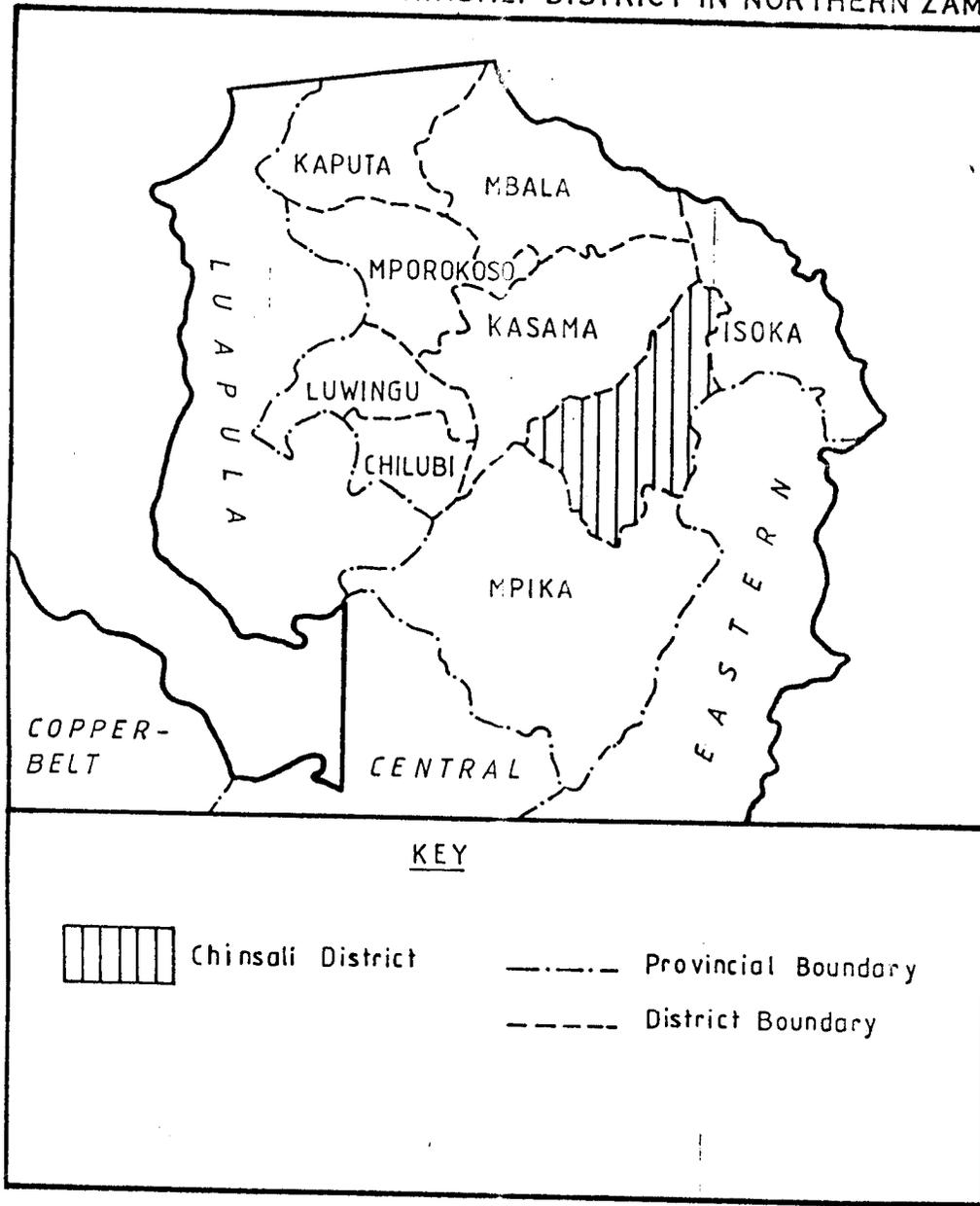
Lenshina, whose full names were Alice Mulenga Lubusha Lenshina was born in 1920 in Kasomo, a small village about six kilometres from the Scottish Presbyterian Mission at Lubwa, founded in 1905.¹ Her father, a Mr. Lubusha, was a policeman in the colonial administration at Chinsali.² Lenshina attended school at Lubwa at the same time as the first President of Zambia (1964-1991), Kenneth David Kaunda.³

In September 1953, the self - proclaimed prophetess, Lenshina, founded the Lumpa Church at Kasomo village, in Chinsali district after her religious vision.⁴ She claimed to have died and met Jesus Christ, who taught her Inyimbo (hymns) and gave her Ibuku lya Mweo (a book of life). After she had "risen from the dead", she sought a meeting with Ian Macpherson, a missionary of the Church of Scotland at Lubwa, on September 18, 1953.⁵

The reaction of the missionaries at the station at the time was that her "Ministry" was neither heretic nor schismatic.⁶ Initially, there was local opinion among white missionaries that the Lenshina was neither "heretic" nor "schismatic". She assumed the name of "Regina", a Latin word for Queen. The name was corrupted to "Lenshina".⁷ According to Nkonde, "Lenshina", a Bemba version of Regina, the queen of heaven, was a name given to her by the local people after she had come back to life.⁸ It is important to point out, however, that at the time she received her vision in September 1953, Lenshina was not a baptized christian at all.⁹ For sometime, she continued receiving instruction at Lubwa as a catechism student until she was finally baptized as "Alice" in November, 1953 by Reverend Paul Mushindo, the African Minister at Lubwa.¹⁰

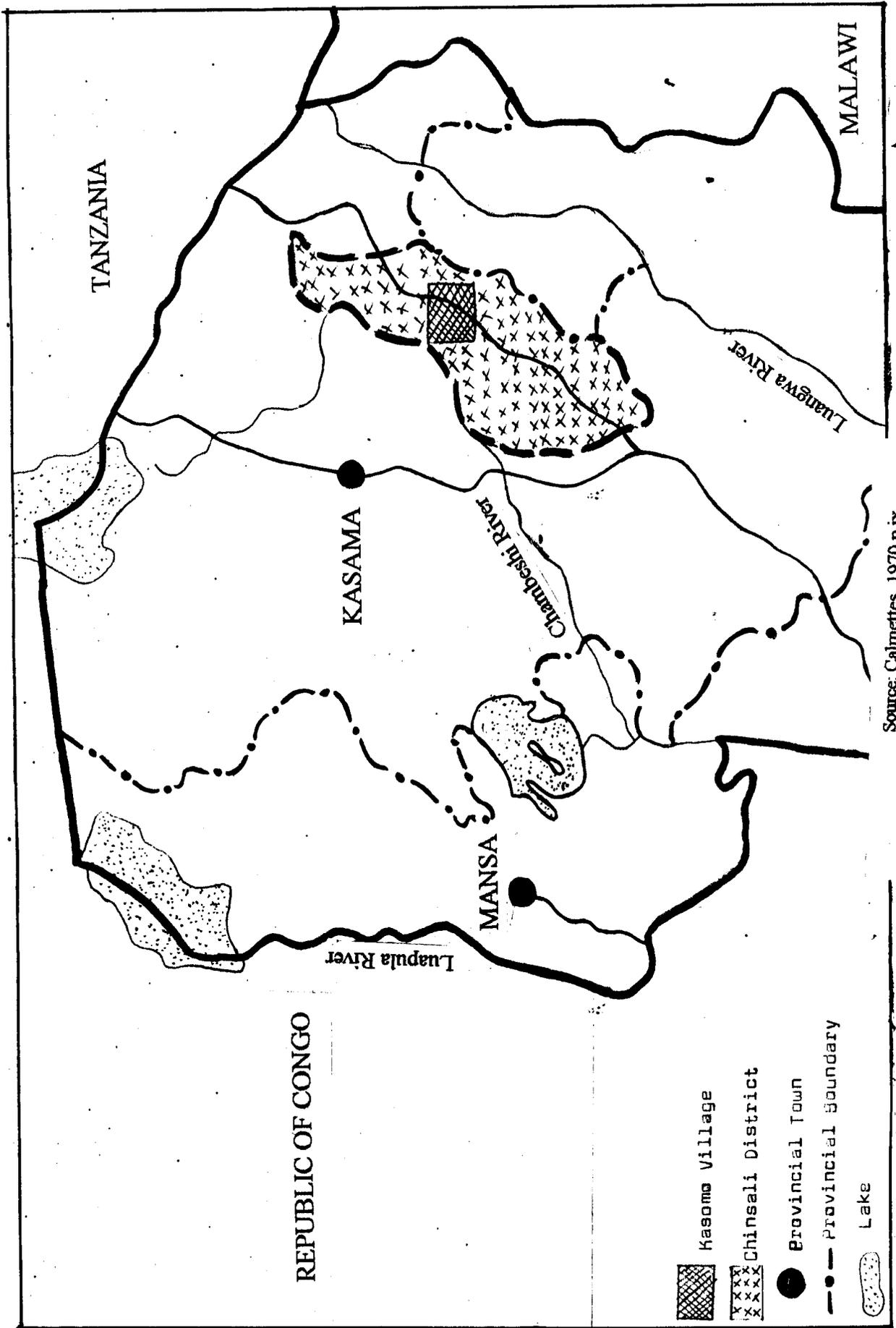
Initially, the Lumpa Movement, whose name is derived from the Bemba word "Kulumpa", meaning "the highest point" or "that which excels the other (in order of salvation),¹¹ operated within the parent church of the United Church of Central Africa (UCCA) at Lubwa under which both the Presbyterian and Church of Scotland operated. The mission lorry took Lenshina's choir to the near by court of the Senior Chief Nkula where they sang hymns taught to Lenshina by God.¹² The Lumpa's period of "incubation" at Lubwa mission only lasted for one and half years.¹³ Its members were accepted as members of UCCA at Lubwa between September, 1953 and November, 1954.¹⁴

MAP 1: LOCATION OF CHINSALI DISTRICT IN NORTHERN ZAMBIA



Source: Hinfelaar, 1994, p.217.

MAP.2: LOCATION OF KASOMO VILLAGE IN CHINSALI DISTRICT



Source: Calmettes, 1970,p.ix.

From December 1954, Lumpa Movement members seceded from the parent church (UCCA).¹⁵ Owing to this secession, the Lumpa Movement finally broke away in 1955 and became an independent church from 1955.¹⁶ Kasomo, became the holy village or "New Sione" and the focal point for all members of the new African church.¹⁷

There were three main reasons which contributed to the breakaway. First, Lenshina had set out standards of behaviour which were not necessarily contrary to the teaching of the established churches. However, some members of the established churches could not observe them and Lenshina found it necessary to form her own church in order to enforce them in her church.¹⁸ Second, differences arose over the church funds with the parent Church (UCCA). She was accused of being unwilling to surrender this money to the mother church.¹⁹ Third, since the movement had attracted malcontents and suspended members (rejects) of the Lubwa church in its ranks, the move strained relations with that church.²⁰ However, this secession accelerated competition for members with the parent Church of UCCA. The competition for membership between the two churches, one African-led and the other European led, continued up to the time the Lumpa Church was proscribed. From the outset, the Lumpa Church was opposed to witchcraft; witchcraft was to be eliminated at any cost because it was a sin. This appealed to many Africans. The church, thus began partly as an institutionalised witch-eradication organisation.²¹ Roberts argues that:

The Lumpa Church was heir to two traditions in the modern history of Zambia: Movements toward African christian independence, and movements toward the eradication of witchcraft and sorcery.²²

The ability of Lenshina to save people from the evil of witchcraft led to the rapid growth of the Lumpa Church. By the end of 1954, and from the beginning of 1955, many people from far and near were flocking to Kasomo village.²³ She collected witchcraft charms from those church members who surrendered them voluntarily. Some of these charms were human bones, horns, amulets, beads and other objects used in sorcery.²⁴ The collection of charms was done by a Mr. Matamanga, who was known as the *capitao* (Captain of the prophetess).²⁵ The charms were heaped in a house at Sione. Oger observes:

As an anti-sorcery cult, Lenshina's church was certainly more firmly based than the MUCAPI cult twenty years earlier. But the Bamucapi had introduced two important innovations to Bemba techniques of sorcery control.

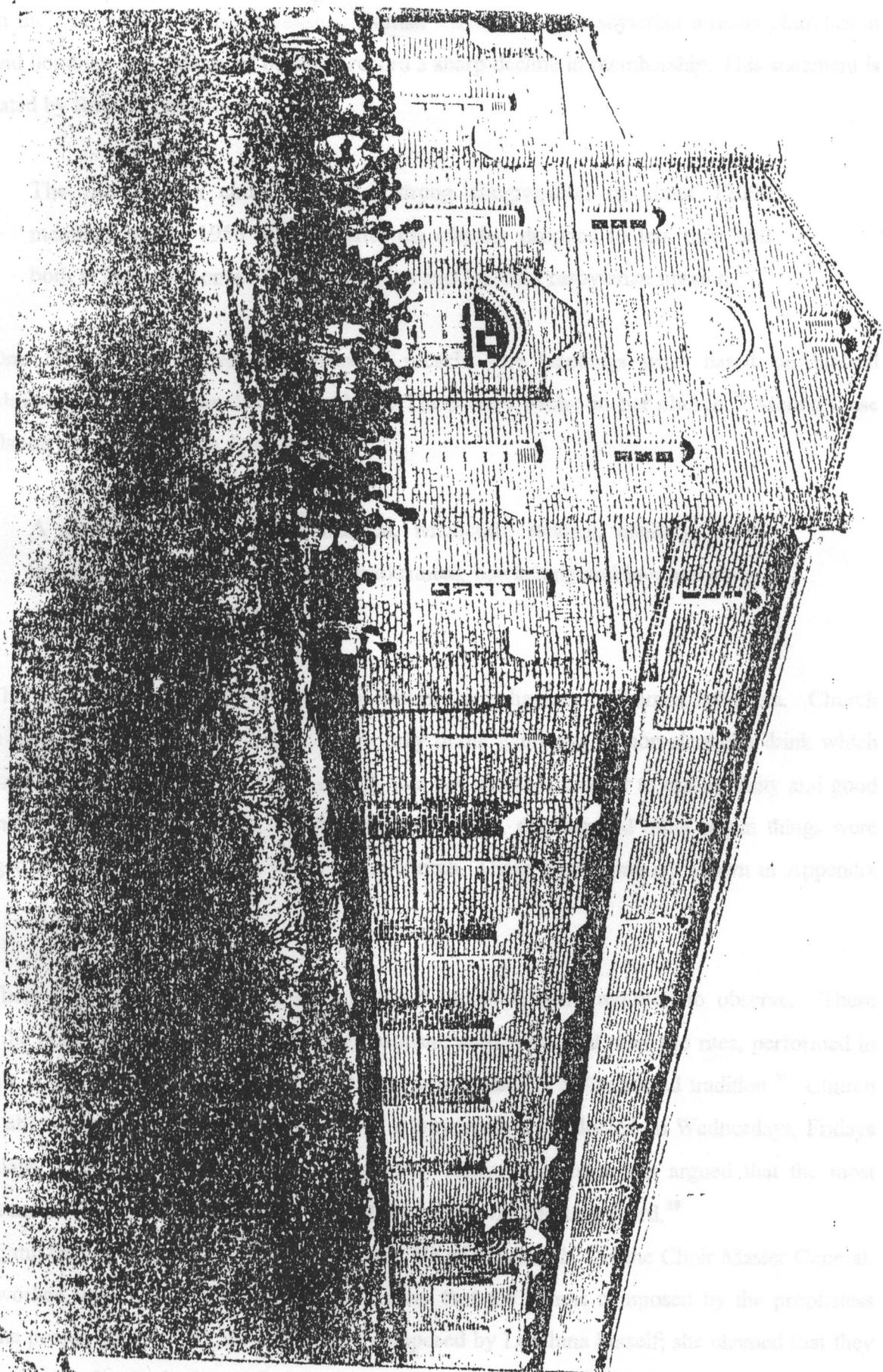
They sought not simply to control it but to eradicate it by taking of Mucapi. They did not inflict penalties on those whom they exposed as sorcerers though they were ready with dire threats for backsliders. Lenshina also sought to eradicate sorcery, and being baptized by her, like taking the Mucapi, was also said to mean instant death to any who reverted to sorcery.²⁶

In African Societies, people believed in the existence of witchcraft. They lived in constant fear because it posed a serious threat to their lives. However, unlike the Orthodox Churches like the Presbyterian and the Roman Catholic Church which did not recognise the existence of witchcraft, the Lumpa Church recognised the fact that witchcraft was real and worked towards eradicating it. To this end, Lenshina did not only preach against it but she also collected witchcraft. As a result, many people were attracted to the Church. Besides witchcraft, the Church also condemned sorcery because it aimed at the propitiation and worship of ancestral spirits (imipashi).

As her Church grew, Lenshina started to build more churches and large numbers of people made the pilgrimage to her headquarters at Kasomo. Those wishing to join promised to obey the rules of the church and went through a simple form of baptism, performed by Lenshina herself and assisted by or her husband, Petros Chintankwa, who by this time had become an important figure in the church.²⁷ Baptism became a very important ceremony in the church. Lenshina was often assisted by her husband and capitao Matamanga.²⁸

The membership of the Lumpa Church included former converts of Lubwa mission and the neighbouring Roman Catholic church at Ilondola.²⁹ The church also attracted many of its members from the illiterate rural peasants while others came from urban areas. Nkonde, observes that although the church was non-racial and open to all, there was no single white person who had joined the Lumpa Church from its inception to its proscription in 1964.³⁰

By 1955, the Lumpa Church had spread to such districts in the Northern Province as Kasama, Luwingu, Mpika, Mbala and Mporokoso. The church also enjoyed great support in Luapula Province and in the Lundazi District of Eastern Province, as well as in Central Nyasaland (Malawi). There were also Lumpa congregations in urban areas, especially in Lusaka and Livingstone. The church also spread as far as Salisbury (Harare) and Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Johannesburg in South Africa.³¹ It has been estimated that by 1955, 65,000 Africans paid allegiance



PICTURE 1: THE LINPA CHURCH CATHEDRAL AT KASOMO BUILT IN 1938.

(Source: National Archives of Zambia, NHIA 1/3/10, Lusaka.)

to the Lumpa Church.³² The growth of the Lumpa Church at Lenshina's village, contributed to the decline in the membership of the established Roman Catholic and Presbyterian mission churches at Lubwa and Ilondola. Both churches began to record a sharp decline in membership. This statement is corroborated by Rotberg, who writes:

The two mission churches had a strong congregation of about 12000 members before 1955 but thereafter the number dropped to less than 600 both at Ilondola Roman Catholic mission and Lubwa Presbyterian mission.³³

One of Lenshina's main tasks was to preach. Her teachings were based on biblical commandments and regulations outside the bible. There were twelve in her church.³⁴ Among these was regulation number 4, which stated that:

A christian must avoid covetousness, witchcraft, stealing, adultery, witch-hunting, sorcery, discrimination, drunkenness, bewitching and immoral songs, dancing and other pagan things.³⁵

This regulation was strictly enforced to control the behaviour of Lumpa followers. Church members neither smoked nor drank beer. They only drank Munkoyo, a non-alcoholic drink which they brewed locally. Witch-hunting in the church was not allowed in order to ensure unity and good understanding among the members. Besides, immoral songs, dancing and other pagan things were discouraged in order to preserve the purity in the church. These regulations are shown in Appendix "A".

There were also rituals in the church which members were required to observe. These included the observance of sacraments such as baptism, confession and marriage rites, performed in the church. The rituals operated to ensure that there was continuity in the sacred tradition.³⁶ Church members attended prayers three times a week. The prayers were conducted on Wednesdays, Fridays and Sundays.³⁷ During prayers, the choir sang many songs. Lehmann has argued that the most important medium in the Lumpa Church was not the spoken but the sang word.³⁸

Hymn singing played a significant role in the life of the church. As the Choir Master General, Nkonde worked very closely with Lenshina to ensure that the hymns composed by the prophetess reached the people quickly. All the songs were composed by Lenshina herself; she claimed that they were given to her by God. According to Nkonde, the Lumpa hymns were based on a traditional Bemba tune of the songs in the Ndelema dance. This was a traditional dance which attracted both

men and women singing and dancing together in a circle. Similarly, these hymns were accompanied by dancing, clapping and ululation.³⁹ Macpherson, who was a missionary at Lubwa has argued that:

The Lumpa hymns were more original than mission songs. They did not only carry indigenous praise, but they were also simple and carried evangelical message and not in any sense heretical in message.⁴⁰

Some hymns were more popular than others and carried more message. Below are the titles of some of the most popular hymns as provided by Nkonde:

- i. "Mutima Wandi Shipikisha", meaning that all the church members should persevere and endure to overcome acts of provocation and temptations by Satan. This song was started after the "death" and vision of Lenshina in 1953.
- ii. "Mwitontokanya ifya mweo" meaning do not worry about life because God provides all our needs.
- iii. "Tata nakula pebwe," meaning no body will destroy the church because it is built on the rock.
- iv. "Baletwita twise twingile mung'anda yashila kamutola", meaning let's all come forward and join hands together to praise the lord. This song was first sung during the opening of the new church at Kasomo in 1958.⁴¹

In terms of finance, the most reliable source of church revenue was subscriptions from church members. Tithes were paid at all prayer meetings, baptisms and confessions. Visiting deacons brought cash collected from their congregations. Cash was kept on behalf of the church by Lenshina at Sione. There was little accountability for the church funds and because of this, it was common for church funds to be misappropriated.⁴²

Lehmann has described the status of Lenshina as that of a woman chief and that the Lumpa followers treated her as such. She received the respectful greeting of kneeling and clapping. Like a chief, she was given presents of food and money.⁴³ According to Sundie Rain, Lenshina was addressed by her followers in various ways to express their respect for her. She was addressed as

Mulopwe (Her Excellency), Ba mama (Grandmother), Ulubuto lwa calo (light of the world); Katula wa calo (saviour of the world).⁴⁴

Structure of the church

Lenshina was the head and leader of the church. Appointments to the various positions of authority were made by her. Lenshina's husband was second in command. He also served as the high priest and church treasurer. Below him were senior deacons, who carried out the day-to-day administration.⁴⁵ The structure of the Lumpa Church was constantly evolving as the church expanded. The expansion required more personnel.

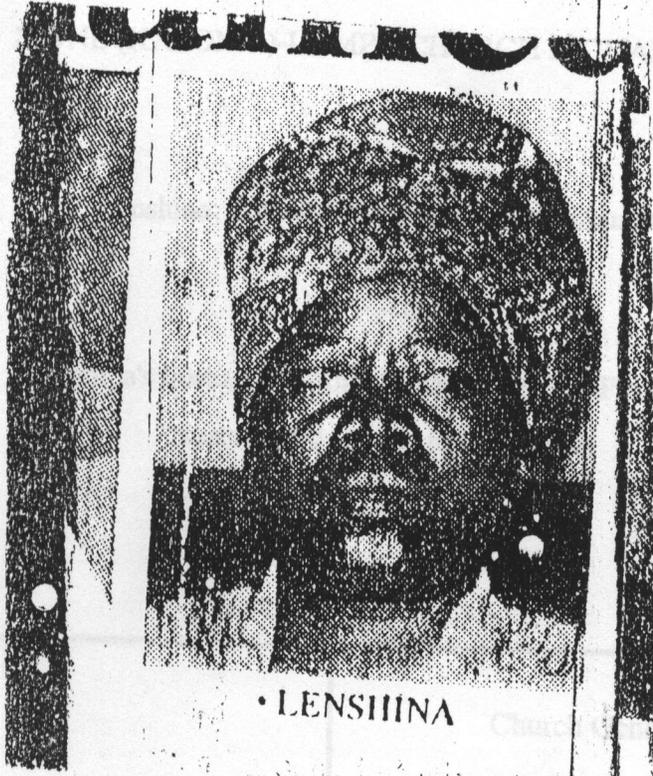
As earlier pointed out, the top hierarchy of the Lumpa Church was based at Sione, the church headquarters. A village congregation was headed by a deacon who reported directly to Sione. Records and correspondence at Sione were kept by the General Secretary. The structure of the church was as shown in the diagram below.

Appointments in the church were made on merit. Only men and women perceived by Lenshina and her officials as being of good character and sober habits were appointed. They were expected to be exemplary in their behaviour to those they led. Senior deacons had the following duties:

- a. To formulate the church policy and undertake general administration of the church.
- b. To disseminate church policies to the village congregations.
- c. To receive reports from village congregations and act on them.
- d. To preach and officiate at marriages.
- e. To mediate in disputes (e
- .g. To counsel church members about marital problems).⁴⁶ The senior deacons were appointed to their positions for life.

The deacons were chosen from men and women who lived in villages and were in charge of the temples in their respective villages. Their functions included:

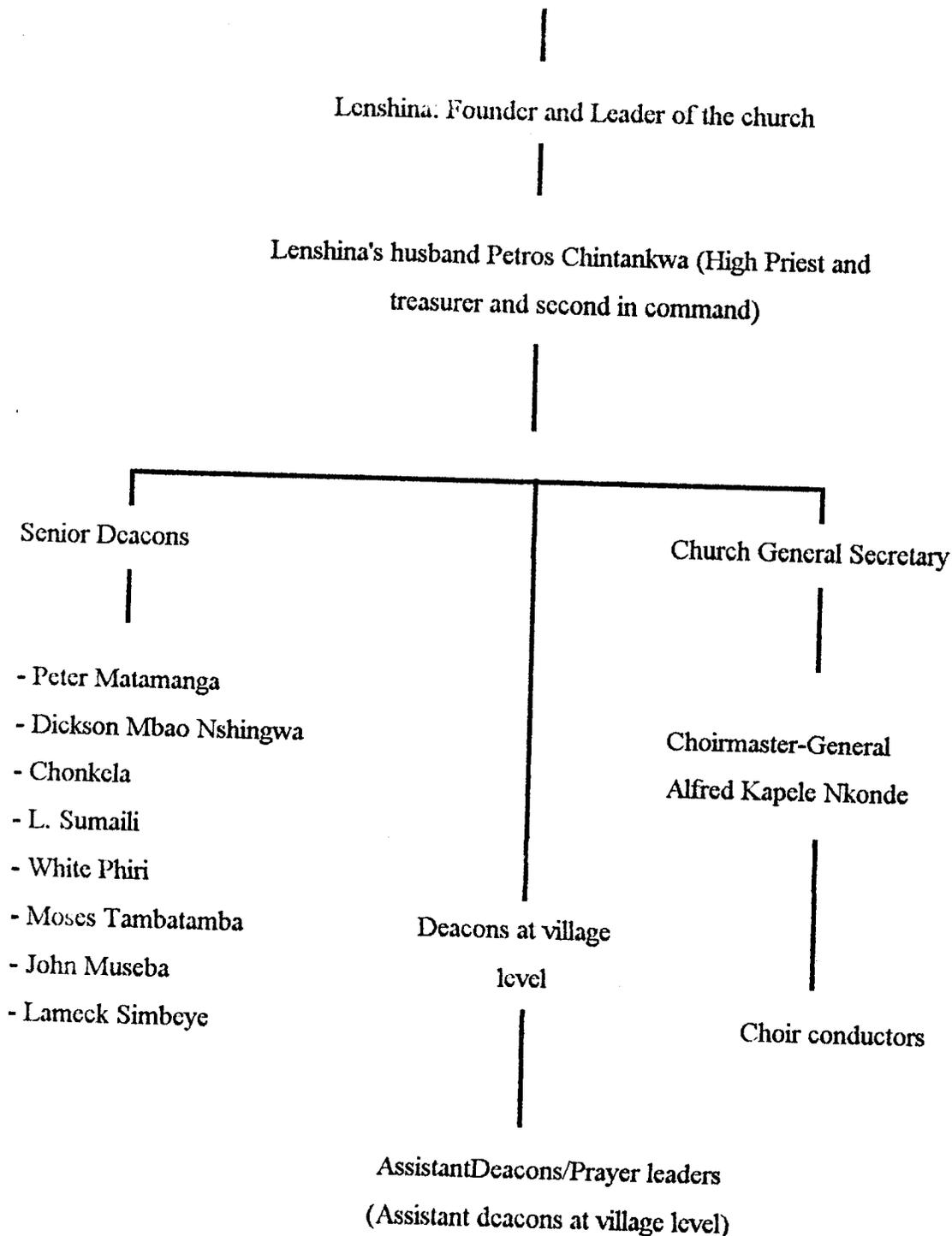
- a. To carry out orders from Sione
- b. To go to Sione every month to handover contributions and learn new hymns and receive new directives.⁴⁷



PICTURE 2: ALICE MULENGA LENSHINA
 (source: Times of Zambia, February 13, 1998)

Power Structure in the Lumpa Church

SIONE (KASOMO)-LUMPA CHURCH HQ/QUARTERS



As regards remuneration in the church, both Rain and Nkonde have pointed out that deacons were not on salaries.⁴⁸ Their work in the church was voluntary and their survival depended on the

donations and good will of the members. During the field work Rain and Nkonde agreed with the statement by Roberts that church officials such as deacons were not paid a salary.⁴⁹ Scholars such as Oger and Calmettes have erroneously asserted that deacons were paid a monthly salary of £9 (about K18,000). However, the church spent part of the members' contributions on the purchase of two lorries for transport and also to buy cattle and goats that was kept at Sione.⁵⁰

The Secret of Lenshina's Religious Success

The Lumpa Church was one of the most popular religious organisations in colonial Zambia. The success of the church could be attributed to several factors which I would like to discuss. To begin with, the basis of the Lumpa Church's popularity was its ability to deal with witchcraft. Stone acknowledges Lenshina's ability to firmly deal with the problems of witchcraft.⁵¹ The report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Former Lumpa Church, appointed in 1965, also pointed out that the success of the Lumpa Church depended on the ability of Lenshina to release people from witchcraft.⁵² This obviously led to rapid growth in the church. According to Lehmann, the success of Lenshina emanated from the fact that she was opposed to witchcraft and was determined to fight it. She argues that while European Missionaries and their African preachers did not recognise the existence of witchcraft, Lenshina was able to identify and eradicate it.⁵³

The second factor was Lenshina's position as a divine leader. From the beginning Lenshina had claimed to be in direct contact with God. The followers believed that Lenshina was annointed by God and that her authority was from Him. It is in view of this fact that she was treated with great reverence.⁵⁴ Rotberg supports this view by saying that:

The core of the church was based on the oneness of Alice Lenshina, her faith and her vision. The central experience so essential to any religious movement was Lenshina's belief in her own death, rebirth, and personal contact with God.⁵⁵

Third, the success of the church depended also on the fact that it was an indigenous and truly African church, a fact which coincided with the upsurge in African political consciousness.⁵⁶ To start with, the entire leadership in the church was African, the hymns were simple and evangelical, sung in the African idiom and therefore held widespread appeal.⁵⁷ The converts were baptized in local names, a complete departure from Orthodox Christian culture at Lubwa UCCA. The findings of the

Commission of Inquiry revealed that the established churches had lacked the flexibility to allow indigenous expression in worship.⁵⁸ Stone has corroborated this view by stating that:

Lubwa UCCA had failed to meet the aspiration of the local people. It appeared as an outside run, outside financed organisation. He stressed that the "Alicc movement" had become very far from orthodox (and also emphasized that) it satisfied a genuine desire for African participation in the life of the church, a desire which could only be met through African leadership.⁵⁹

Propaganda was another effective tool used in the marketing of the church to the people. Lenshina's doctrine was disseminated by deacons in villages near and far. Singing was also an effective method of spreading the information. The leader's teachings were found in the hymns; these had a tremendous appeal especially among the Bemba-speaking people.⁶⁰

The success of the movement was to a certain extent due to the hardwork of her senior deacons, who went round the villages evangelizing the people. It is in this context that one appreciates Nkonde's role as a Choirmaster-General. As already pointed out, singing was used as an important instrument of evangelization. The choir moved from place to place. Initially it was not an easy task. But things changed when the church acquired its own transport to ferry choir members to various places where their services were needed.

Finally, compulsion was also used in the recruitment of members. For instance, those who refused to go to Kasomo to be cleansed were accused of being witches and practising sorcery. Sometimes, threats and blackmail were used. For instance, those who came to Kasomo were promised rainfall for their crops, while those who did not come would not have it. Those who contributed to the construction of the church at Sione would be blessed as well as those who attended church ceremonies.⁶¹ The success of the Lumpa Church was therefore a collective effort of Lenshina on one hand and her followers on the other.

NOTES

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CHAPTER THREE: ALFRED KAPELE NKONDE AND THE LUMPA CHURCH

Background

Nkonde was born in 1938 at Machango village, Chief Nkula in Chinsali District. His father was Mausala Nkonde and his mother was Shula Bwali. His parents were ordinary peasants. He was the last born child in the family of two sons and two daughters.

As a boy, his main ambition was to have a good education. In 1947, at the age of nine, his parents enrolled him at a local school, Nsunge Primary School in Chinsali. He was there up to Standard Two (Grade IV). Thereafter, he moved to Lukashya Upper School in Kasama where he continued his education until he completed standard VI.¹ While at school, Nkonde was good at both English and arithmetic.

Upon his completion of Upper Primary education in 1954, he was employed as a salesman in a company called Booth, whose premises were taken over by Zambia Consumer Buying Corporation (ZCBC) at Chinsali Boma which is one of the District Administrative Centres in Northern Province. This job provided him with an opportunity to work closely with people. Consequently, he developed keen interest in dealing with people at the grassroots. As a salesman, his job involved selling various wares and ensuring that goods were available at all times. He was a salesman for six years. In 1960, Nkonde left employment on his own accord and later joined his parents at their farm helping in tilling the land.

The formation of the Lumpa Movement in Chinsali by Lenshina in 1953 attracted people from all walks of life, both old and young. Among these people were Nkonde, who in 1954 at the age of sixteen, joined the Lumpa Church.² In 1958, he married Lupele Ng'andu, Lenshina's daughter. The couple has two children, Lilian, aged thirty three and Boniface aged thirty one respectively (1996)³. The former was born on 12th August, 1963 while the latter was born on 10th June 1965.



PICTURE 3 : ALFRED KAPELE NKONDE

(Source: Times of Zambia, October 8, 1994).

Reasons for Joining the Lumpa Church

Several reasons prompted Nkonde to join the Lumpa Church. First of all, Nkonde was attracted by Lenshina's wish and commitment to eradicate witchcraft which was the major driving force. This was the first time a church had committed itself publicly to the elimination of witchcraft. Orthodox churches turned a blind eye to this problem. The ability to eradicate witchcraft marked a significant departure from the religious practice of mission churches which did not acknowledge the existence of witchcraft. To Lenshina, witchcraft was as evil as a lion which killed a person made by God. For this reason, she called upon the sorcerers to surrender their charms.⁴ It was during this period of Lenshina's "holy war" against witchcraft and sorcery in 1953 that Nkonde's elder brother Wallen, quit the church of Scotland to join the Lumpa Church.

In 1954, Nkonde also joined the Lumpa Church. He described the decision by his elder brother as one of the major reasons that influenced him to join the Lumpa Church as well.⁵ However, the rest of the family members continued as members of the Church of Scotland. From its inception, the Lumpa Church drew its membership from the ranks of Orthodox mission churches. It was clear that sooner or later, the Lumpa Church would come into conflict with these churches as it posed a serious threat to their existence. Many members of these churches began deserting to join Lenshina's church.⁶

According to Nkonde, he was also anxious to join the Lumpa Church because of his curiosity to prove Lenshina's alleged contact with God.⁷ It was widely believed among her followers that the Lord regularly spoke to her. As a result, thousands of people including some non-Lenshinites in Chinsali and the neighbouring districts undertook pilgrimage to Kasomo Village, where they were "cleansed". Nkonde was among those who made a pilgrimage to Sione. This is what he said about his experiences at Sione: "Lenshina was indeed a prophetess coming after Jesus, sent by Him to save the souls of the Africans."⁸ Oger has also argued that prophetess Lenshina was regarded as a saviour sent to Africans.⁹ Nkonde's first visit to Sione led to his baptism on 15 November, 1954.¹⁰

To the new converts, the Lumpa Church became a satisfactory alternative for African religious expression and views, a factor which also encouraged Nkonde to enlist as a member. In addition, the church was indigenous, led by an African prophetess whose interpretation of Biblical writings was based on the African traditions and culture. The songs were sung in local languages; they were also appealing to the Africans because they depicted African feelings and thought. According to Nkonde, there was a tremendous response from the people, and the church became more popular than the orthodox mission churches. This was partly because of its freer and more conducive environment for Africans to express their religious feelings, as opposed to mission churches whose rigid religious practices were alien to them.¹¹

During the 1954 visit to Sione, Nkonde was privileged to meet two Senior Deacons for the first time. These were Messrs Peter Matamanga and Dickson Chonkela. Both of them were good preachers and they encouraged him to continue in the church.¹²

Nkonde's Role in the Church

Nkonde joined the Lumpa Church as an ordinary member and went to live at Sione in 1954. There, he became a very active member of the church choir. As a member of the choir, he carried out a number of responsibilities. He assisted the poor and the old by providing them with basic needs such as church food, clothing and shelter. He also welcomed those who came to Sione for their pilgrimage and also sang church hymns.¹³ As earlier explained, singing in the church was a very effective means of spreading propaganda.¹⁴ This was in line with rule Number five of the church choir, which stipulated that a singer should cooperate with clergymen in such tasks as visiting sick people and singing and preaching to them the gospel of the Lord.¹⁵

After two years of commitment and hardwork, Nkonde was elevated to the post of Choirmaster-General, a post which carried a very heavy responsibility. As a Choirmaster-General, his responsibilities were: heading the choir at Sione, writing hymns together with Robert Kaunda (the elder brother of Zambia's first President), conducting hymns in churches, ensuring that new hymns were disseminated to all villages where the Lumpa Church had established branches and also ensuring that all the requisites for the choir members, such as uniforms, were provided.¹⁶ These responsibilities were in accordance with rule number seven of the Lumpa Church choir which stipulated that uniforms for every singer were necessary to make the singers smart. However, this rule was not religiously followed.¹⁷

As the Choirmaster-General (1956-1960), Nkonde was in charge of ten members at Sione and was the overall overseer of sixty eight other choir members in all branches of the Lumpa Movement.¹⁸ He was assisted by L. Sumaili (Conductor), K. Besa (Conductor), Justin Bwalya (Conductor), W.M. Ngulube (General Secretary, Choir), M.D.C Mfula (Vice-Secretary), D. Mutale (Uniform master), M. Nyaphili (Conductor), A. Nkashi (Conductor) and Tambatamba (Choir Conductor).¹⁹ All these conductors were resident at Sione and from time to time they visited their members in other branches.

As regards writing of church hymns, Nkonde was assisted by Kaunda, a former teacher at Lubwa. Robert Kaunda was one of the Deacons and founding fathers of the movement and resided at Sione.²⁰ Nkonde has dismissed the earlier claims by previous scholars, such as Oger and Calmettes that Robert Kaunda was the composer of the Lumpa hymns. He reiterated the fact that all the hymns were composed by Lenshina herself, the founder of the church.²¹ This fact was corroborated by

Sundie Rain.²² He pointed out that Kaunda only documented and edited the songs which Lenshina had composed. As a matter of fact, the 365 hymns in the Lumpa Hymnal were edited by Robert Kaunda.²³

Apart from organising choir activities at Sione, Nkonde's job also involved mobilisation and coordination of subordinate choir groups in various villages where the church had adherents. This meant that from time to time he taught new songs to church choir members from outlying villages. The main choir (at Sione), also toured villages to teach and sing new songs at organised camp fires hosted by local villages. Food and lodging were provided by host choirs in accordance with rule number ten of the Lumpa Church choir which stated that every choir must have the capacity to feed visiting colleagues.²⁴ Before the church had its own transport, choir members at Sione walked long distances to teach people in villages. This problem was overcome when the church acquired two lorries which ferried choir groups from place to place.²⁵ The travel expenses were met by the church in accordance with rule number nine of the church choir. This put an obligation on choir members to secure enough funds to buy fuel for the entire trip.²⁶

The strength of the church depended on effective organisation and this in turn depended on the effectiveness of leadership; hence the role of the educated church leaders was very crucial. It is in view of this situation that former teachers and catechists from Lubwa mission who had joined the church were given important responsibilities in the organisation. Sundie Rain, a former teacher said that there was a lot of mistrust and suspicion in the church between the educated on one hand, and the uneducated on the other because the latter accused the former of monopolising the leadership in the church and of leaking the church secrets to visitors who came to Sione.²⁷ Nkonde himself was one of the educated people who joined the church. He argued that educated leaders were given influential positions. He said he was promoted from Choirmaster-General to the influential post of Church Secretary in 1961, because of his good education and hard work. By virtue of his post of a Choirmaster-General, he became more popular than other leaders. In addition, he was the son-in-law of Lenshina. As a Secretary of the church, the responsibilities were even greater than before. They included reading and writing church correspondence destined for Lenshina, making announcements in church, keeping church records at Sione, carrying out day-to-day administration of the church and providing the necessary hospitality for the visitors at Sione.²⁸ This job did not carry any salary at all. It was voluntary.

As the Secretary, Nkonde entered into correspondence with some church members. Some of these letters from members of the church country wide were discovered by Roberts at Sione in 1964.²⁹ These letters expressed the views of members on the organisation of the church in general, its problems, membership and so on.³⁰ In turn, the Church Secretary advised, and where possible provided solutions to problems raised. Concerning hospitality, the Church Secretary was responsible for allocating accommodation and giving food to pilgrims at Sione. The expenses were paid for by the church.³¹ Nkonde served in this post for four years, 1960 to 1964, the year when a serious conflict broke out between the Lumpa Church and the State, culminating in the banning of the church and subsequent fleeing of its leaders and some members to Zaire.³²

NOTES

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CHAPTER FOUR: CONFLICT BETWEEN THE LUMPA CHURCH AND THE STATE

Background to the Conflict

The history of the Lumpa Church could be described as a history of success and upheavals. It was a history of peace, harmony as well as conflict. Initially, the general relationship between the Lumpa Church and other church and political organisations was cordial, but it gradually deteriorated.¹

From the beginning, the general public welcomed the Lumpa Church primarily because of its uncompromising stance on witchcraft eradication.² Similarly, chiefs and local Native Authorities welcomed the formation of the church and pledged to cooperate and work with its founder, Lenshina. One of the teachings of the church was not to interfere with, or take part in politics. In the early life of the Lumpa Church there was no real clash with politicians or political parties.³ Members of the public could quite happily belong to both organisations, the only restriction being that Lenshina herself disliked to see her followers holding office in the existing African political party, the African National Congress (ANC), led by Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula from 1953. However, the nationalist movement supported the Lumpa Church because it was an independent African-led organisation, which was both non-racist and anti-colonialism and worked closely with the Party.

Initially, many members of the Lumpa Church mixed politics with religion when nationalism in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was running so strong. In the early days of the movement ANC and later the United National Independence Party, in turn, exercised considerable influence and joint membership of the religious and political organisations was common.⁴

Nkonde also agrees with this view. He says (that) the relationship between the nationalist movement and the Lumpa Church was initially so warm that Lumpa Church followers were free to join the ANC, buy membership cards and attend political meetings. However, they were not allowed to hold any political position.⁵ In 1954, the unity between the Lumpa Church and ANC was further consolidated when its leader, Nkumbula, had a meeting with Lenshina to enlist her support for the nationalist cause, particularly in the struggle to bring down the Federation, which the colonial authorities had imposed on Africans a year earlier.⁶ The Federation brought together three colonial

territories: Northern and Southern Rhodesias and Nyasaland. This was done in the teeth of African opposition to this arrangement in all three territories. James Fernandez has observed that:

At the beginning relations with the African National Congress were first class, so good that the ANC is supposed to have promised the Lumpas to establish them as the national church.⁷

In 1958, the ANC split and this led to the formation of the Zambia African National Congress (ZANC), under the leadership of Kenneth David Kaunda. This party was soon banned and a new one, the United National Independence Party (UNIP), was formed as its successor. Upon his ascendancy to the UNIP presidency in 1961, Kaunda with other nationalist leaders such as Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, Kapasa Makasa, Aaron Milner and Mulenga Kasutu visited Sione to seek blessings from Lenshina.⁸ This move showed the willingness of the nationalists to cooperate with Lenshina, whom they also perceived as being anti-colonialist. The warm relationship between the Lumpa Church, ANC, ZANC and the State was shortlived.

Causes of the Conflict

However, the colonial government which was from the very beginning suspicious of the Lumpas, came into an open conflict with them at the end of 1957. It all started in schools. Children of Lenshinites were told by their church elders and parents not to obey school rules. They were also told not to salute the government flag or sing the National Anthem. They would only obey God and not earthly powers.⁹ This non-compliance with school rules by children of Lenshinites led to massive expulsion of these children from schools. The most affected districts were Chinsali and Lundazi which were the Lumpa strongholds.

In 1959, the relationship between the State and the Lumpa Church was further strained. One of the main reasons for this strained relationship was that Kasomo was regarded by the colonial authorities as an illegal settlement which should be disbanded. The territorial government and UNIP made several appeals to the Lumpa Church leaders to have the village dismantled and let the people go back to their original villages. Lenshina and her officials defied the government order. The chiefs became anti-Lumpa Church because they saw it as a threat to their power and privileges. Lenshina had usurped their powers. In this, the interests of the chiefs coincided with those of the colonial authorities. To the chiefs and local native authority, especially in Chinsali district, it was evident that

Lenshina had no regard for traditional authority and the chiefs appealed to the State to intervene in the matter. Roberts has argued that the Lumpa Church was theocratic because it recognised no source of authority other than that of God. This view was a direct challenge to the chiefs who believed that their traditional chieftainships were ordained by God.¹⁰ However, it is said that Lenshina was misled by her deacons, who were "irresponsible, fanatical and not prepared to listen to the government's call to destroy the Lumpa village at Kasomo"¹¹ The senior deacons at Sione including Nkonde himself, are believed to have influenced Lenshina to defy the government order to have the village destroyed. Nkonde also agreed with this view. And Rotberg explains that:

In May, 1959, troubles again erupted between the government and Lenshina. Chief Nkula sent his Kapasus (Chief's messengers) to Kasomo to evict the illegal settlers. The Kapasus were threatened with physical violence by the residents of Kasomo. Later, more problems emerged at Kasomo. This situation forced the government to send reinforcements of security men to Kasomo village. These men were denied peaceful access to the village by Lenshina's followers. The district commissioner warned Lenshina that immigrants from her village, would be removed by force if necessary. A pitched battle did take place when his warnings were ignored: spears and stones wielded by the tribesmen were pitted against guns. After blood was shed the illegal residents were removed and order was restored to the village.¹²

Mungulube who worked at Nkula's village as a Medical Orderly and one of those who accompanied chief Nkula and his Kapasus to Kasomo village to persuade the Lenshinites to return to their original villages, described the Lenshinites as very aggressive. He said the Lenshinites attacked the chief and his Kapasus with guns, spears, axes, bows and arrows. The chief escaped unhurt but Mungulube and other people were injured. He claimed that he sustained an arm - injury and was later rushed to Ndola central hospital for treatment. Due to this injury, he was compensated by the government and later discharged.¹³ According to Roberts, the unauthorized settlement at Sione by Lumpa adherents led to the first violent clashes between the Lumpa Church and the State in 1959.¹⁴

UNIP also came into conflict with the Lumpa Church. In May, 1962, Lenshina returned to Kasomo village after being absent for over one year. She lived on the Copperbelt where she was running a business. However, during this period, some church members took advantage of her

absence and joined nationalist and religious organisations. Consequently, this led to a decline in the membership of the church.

In 1962, Lumpa membership had dropped from about 70% to 10% during Lenshina's two years absence. Many of her followers had joined the United Church of Central Africa and the United National Independence Party.¹⁵

Soon after her return, she held a large rally at Kasomo which was attended by over 1,000 people from Chinsali, Kasomo, Lundazi and Isoka.¹⁶ In attendance also were her senior Deacons: Matamanga, Nshinga, Chonkela, Museba, Phiri and Tambatamba, as well as her Church Secretary and son-in-law, Nkonde. During her watershed speech, Lenshina ordered her followers to take no part in politics and strongly appealed to them to quit politics and surrender UNIP cards or burn them. UNIP was against the Lumpa Church. Many Lumpa followers who heeded Lenshina's call surrendered their cards and others burnt them to the displeasure of the UNIP cadres who also retaliated by demanding party cards from Lumpa followers during their door-to-door campaigns. This move resulted in confrontation between Lumpa followers and the UNIP cadres and accelerated the power struggle between the two organisations. Those Lumpa followers who had ignored Lenshina's decree quietly withdrew from the church. They saw the church as a hindrance and obstacle to their political aspirations and joined UNIP. UNIP posed a serious challenge to the existence of the Lumpa Church. UNIP saw Lenshina's decree to stop her followers from participating in politics as a big setback in the nationalist struggle.

No Lumpa Church members registered as voters in the general election held in October, 1962, following Lenshina's decree that members should not take part in politics. They did not even take part in the 1964 General Elections.¹⁷

The existing conflict between the church and UNIP seems to have started because of mistrust and suspicion.¹⁸ From 1962 the relations between UNIP and the Lumpa Church became strained. The government report of 1965 apportioned blame to either side. The report catalogued the problems between UNIP and the Lumpa Church as follows:

False rumours and reports, the alleged demanding of political cards on the one hand and destruction of cards on the other, the destruction of Lenshina houses, churches and crops and the retaliation, the mutual fear and suspicion;

the statements that political card bearing individuals and those who had died during the struggle for independence would never go to heaven and the counter-statements that Lenshina supporters would not be allowed to pursue their religion after independence, the movement of Lenshina supporters into separate settlements; the demands made by irresponsible youths that religious services should take second place to political effort until after independence was won [as being responsible for the crisis].¹⁹

Calmettes describes the cause of conflict between the Lumpa Church and UNIP in terms of opposition between religious and political messianism.²⁰ Roberts has argued that both church and party were competing for total allegiance and supremacy. He argues that it was their similarities as much as their differences which brought them into conflict.²¹ Nkonde, however, attributed the cause of the conflict between the Lumpa Church and UNIP to the interference of UNIP cadres into the affairs of the Lumpa Church. He further accuses the government of taking sides with UNIP. The government, in his own opinion, did not accommodate any complaints other than those of the party, UNIP.²²

In 1963, the conflict was further compounded by election campaign when it became evident that UNIP would win the forthcoming elections. There was apprehension among the Lumpa Church followers that UNIP would revenge against the church; hence they decided to set up their own stockaded villages.

In November, 1963, on their own authority, the Lumpa followers left their villages in order to regroup themselves in their own Lumpa villages which was completely illegal. This was the case of 800 people in the region of Chinsali, Kasama, Isoka and Lundazi. This secession served to aggravate still further the resentment of the native authorities and their police.²³

Such villages were established without the consent of either traditional or colonial authorities.



Table 1: Lumpa Villages by 1964

<u>District</u>	<u>Number of Villages</u>	<u>Adult Population</u>
Chinsali	22	5500
Kasama	6	1200
Isoka	3	450
Lundazi	6	1100
Total:	37	8250

Source: NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church.

In Chinsali, the villages which were regarded by authorities as illegal were Chiwanga, Kamanikila, Fitumbi, Kanyesha and Kamoko. In Lundazi, Chapoma and Paishuko villages were the two prominent ones. These villages were called "New Jerusalem" by the Lumpa membership because they were exclusively for the Lumpa faithfuls and not for "atheists", a term they used to describe non-Lumpa followers.

These villages were built without the consent of the chiefs. According to Nkonde, this action by the Lumpa followers was prompted by UNIP threats and attacks on Lumpa members in the secular villages.²⁴ Nevertheless, these moves were interpreted by UNIP members as a show of strength. UNIP followers hated Lenshina's followers. Demands for UNIP cards by UNIP cadres became common when Lenshinites in illegal villages returned to their old villages to collect food. Nkonde added that a number of Lumpa Churches were burnt down and in order to protect themselves from further UNIP harassment and police, the Lumpas built stockades around their villages. They were defiant and assaulted government workers such as Kapasus.

Whilst in these villages, the Lumpa followers established an elaborate security system, with a sentry at each gate. They adopted pseudo names to disguise their true identity and hence avoid identification by the authorities. Names such as ba Mbokoshi (Mr. Box), or ba Supuni (Mr. Spoon) were used.²⁵ In these villages, non-Lumpa members were not allowed and no beer-drinking and smoking were entertained. There were no schools and no medical facilities; this meant living in perpetual fear of epidemic outbreaks. The Lumpa followers began to prepare and organise themselves against any eventualities. They developed hostility towards both government and UNIP.

They coined political slogans in praise of their leader, Lenshina. One of them went as follows: Kwacha Lenshina aletaka, meaning, "it is Dawn! Lenshina is in power."

These slogans enraged UNIP followers, who now regarded Lenshina as one of their political rivals and vowed to fight her. As a matter of fact, many Lumpa followers believed that Lenshina would one day rule Zambia. Her villages became centres of various illegal activities. A variety of weapons were manufactured, such as spears, axes, bows and arrows. Lumpa followers using the slogan 'Lyeni nabo' (eat with them), raided and looted villages of non-Lumpas in Chinsali and Lundazi Districts. Kaunda who had become Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia, in January, 1964, condemned the violent actions of the Lumpa followers, saying:

They have become anti-society. They have been known, husband and wife, to plan to kill their own parents because they were non-Lumpa Church members and this they have done. Innocent villagers and children trying to escape their burning homes have been captured by the followers of Lenshina and thrown back alive into the flames.²⁶

Government Response to Lumpa Activities

There was tension and insecurity in the areas where Lumpa villages were established. Rumours were rife that Lumpa followers had been armed in preparation for the "holy war" and that they would attack non-Lumpa villages at anytime. As a result of these rumours, most of the people lived in constant fear. However, as tension heightened between the Lumpa followers and UNIP cadres, there were sporadic attacks on innocent people in Chinsali and Lundazi Districts. There were accusations and counter-accusations of harassment of Lumpa followers by UNIP and vice-versa. The intransigence of the Lumpa followers was shown in their refusal to leave their villages and this became the greatest source of conflict between the two rival groups. In Chinsali, the government, in its effort to resolve the conflict, convened a meeting in August, 1963 between UNIP officials and Lumpa deacons, under the chairmanship of the District Commissioner. At the end of the meeting, an agreement was signed between the two rival organisations to restrain their followers from further acts of violence.²⁷ But no sooner had the agreement been signed than it was broken.

On 13 July, 1964, Kaunda as Prime Minister addressed Lenshina and her deacons in the Chinsali Welfare Hall. He instructed Lenshina to inform her followers to leave their villages and return to their original villages within one week. After Kaunda had left, Lenshina defied the order and told her followers that they would rather die than leave their villages.²⁸ According to Nkonde, the Lumpa followers objected to returning to their original villages, because they would have no houses, no food, no friends and no churches there. They feared that in their attempt to re-establish themselves, they would be attacked by UNIP members. Lumpa members still believed that they would all be killed if they left their villages. Hence, they remained in their large settlements where security was better.²⁹ This defiance led to a clash between the State Police and the Lumpa Church. On 25th June 1964, the first clash between Lumpa Church members and the police took place at Kameko village in Chinsali district. A small police patrol was attacked by Lumpa followers when they went to investigate a case of rescue from custody which had taken place the previous day.

In Chinsali, the Lumpa uprising of 1964 started on June 25th as a harmless family feud at Kasanka village in chief Mubanga. A non-Lumoa uncle accosted a boy belonging to the sect for not attending school. The matter was reported to a Lumpa village in Kameko and the result was that the sect attacked Kasanka village burning it to the ground and causing several casualties³⁰.

The attack was unnecessary and two police officers died from spear wounds. The police in response opened fire and killed six Lumpa followers³¹. Two days after the Kameko incident, Lenshina addressed a meeting at Sione, appealing to her followers to arm themselves and prepare for a "holy war". The meeting was attended by followers from other Lumpa settlement villages who were visiting Sione. Lenshina was flanked at this meeting by senior church members among whom was Mr. Nkonde, the Church Secretary³².

The message to her followers was specifically on the need for them to prepare for the "holy war" against the State. She told them that she had prepared some medicine which would prevent them from being killed by bullets. She instructed all the visiting deacons to take some of the medicine to their villages and ensure that villagers were protected from bullets. People attending the meeting were then incised on the forehead and inner arm by senior deacons and the medicine in the form of a powder was applied.³³

The conflict was further aggravated when on 24 July, 1964, a platoon commander, Derrick Smith, was killed at Chapaula village, one of the Lumpa villages in Chinsali District. This incident marked a dangerous development in the "holy war". The Lumpa followers refused to lay down their arms after an appeal from the District Commissioner (DC) at Chinsali. Armed with spears, arrows, and muzzleloaders they attacked the police. The police retaliated and after an hour and half, the police took over the village having killed twenty seven and wounded fifteen.³⁴ Six days later, the fate of the Lumpa Church was finally decided at Kasomo village. Roberts describes what happened:

On 30 July, 1964, the First Battalion Zambia Regiment occupied Sione (Kasomo), after a fierce battle in which spears, arrows and guns were thrown and fired with reckless bravado against automatic rifle fire and tear gas. Eighty-five people were killed. Lenshina had fled.³⁵

During the "holy war". Lenshina, accompanied by Nkonde and other senior church leaders at Sione, had fled to Kasama. Meanwhile, Nkonde had made secret contacts with the Church lawyers in Ndola to mediate in the conflict between Lenshina and the State.

During the "holy war", the Lumpa people carried membership cards which were labelled "Passport to heaven". They thought themselves immune to bullets and shouted their battle cry "Jericho", meaning "God help us".³⁶ The fanaticism of the Lumpa followers in battle could be attributed to their mistaken belief that their bodies were bullet proof and also that Lenshina had issued them with free passes to heaven.³⁷ Kaunda described "the passports to heaven issued by Lenshina to her followers as worthless pieces of paper provided by an imposter of the majesty God the Almighty."³⁸ The Lumpas who were killed by the State Police during the "holy war" were buried in Mass graves in Chinsali and Lundazi Districts, while a small number was buried in ordinary cemeteries.³⁹ According to Nkonde, a lot of property was lost during the "holy war". Such property included furniture, bicycles, sewing machines and other items. Some may have been left behind by the deceased, the wounded and those who had fled Sione during the invasion of the Lumpa Headquarters. These goods have not been accounted for up to now.⁴⁰

After the end of the "holy war" in August, 1964 and the subsequent surrender of Lenshina on 11 August 1964, the government issued an official count of the losses and casualties of the "holy war". The following statistics were compiled by the government.



PICTURE 4: VICTIMS OF LUMPA WAR IN 1964
(Source: NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lusaka)



PICTURE 5: MASSGRAVES AT CHINSALI AND LUNDAZI WHERE
LENSHINITES KILLED DURING THE WAR WERE BURIED
(Source: NAZ, MUA, 1998)

Table 2: Incidents from June, 1963 to July, 1964

a. UNIP Attacks on Lumpa

14 murders; 121 houses destroyed by fire
28 churches destroyed by fire, 28 grain
bins destroyed by fire.
66 assaults: with 22 serious ones.
22 cases of intimidation, 1 cattle
kraal burnt together with 18 goats.

b. Lumpa Attacks on UNIP

7 murders; 2 houses destroyed by fire
2 grain bins destroyed by fire.
10 assaults.

Source: Commission of Inquiry Report, p. 36 |

Table 3: Mortality Figures of People During The "Holy War"
(1964)

Villagers killed by Lumpa	185
Lumpas killed by villagers	46
Lumpas killed by Security forces	472
Army Personnel killed by Lumpa	3
Policemen killed by Lumpa	4

Source: Commission of Inquiry Report 1965, p.36

Table 4: The Total Number of the Wounded During the “Holy War” (1964)

Number of villagers wounded by Lumpa	128
Number of Lumpas wounded by villagers	3
Number of Lumpas wounded by Security forces	251
Number of Military Personnel wounded by Lumpa	12
Number of Police wounded by Lumpa	7

Source: Commission of Inquiry Report 1965, P. 36

Nkonde's Life After The Banning of the Lumpa Church

After the State Police attacked Sione, Lenshina fled to Kasama with some church leaders. Among these were her husband, Justin Bwalya (Church choirmaster), and her General Secretary and son-in-law, Nkonde. A warrant was issued to arrest Lenshina.⁴¹

The Lumpa Church was banned on 3 August 1964 while the war was still raging in Chinsali and Lundazi Districts. These were the strongholds of the church.⁴² The ban meant that the Lumpa Church became an illegal organisation in the country. However, while the government intensified its efforts to trace the whereabouts of Lenshina, Nkonde came out of the hiding in Kasama and contacted the church's lawyers in Ndola and appealed to them to intercede between the State and Lenshina.⁴³ After this contact, the lawyers arranged for a meeting with the government for a compromise which finally led to the surrender of Lenshina.

On 11 August 1964, Alice Lenshina Mulenga, head of the Lumpa Church surrendered to a government official in a small village, 88 kilometres from Kasama. She surrendered at Chintelelwa village in Kasama. Nkonde, a son-in-law of Lenshina and her secretary was also in Lenshina's entourage. She surrendered to Peter Bennet, an Acting Assistant Secretary in the office of the Prime Minister in Lusaka, in the presence of her lawyer, Charles Stacey of Ndola.⁴⁴

Following her surrender to the government, Lenshina on August, 12, 1964 at 9.00 P.M, called on her followers to lay down their arms. This appeal, entitled, Alice Lenshina's call for peace, was broadcast on the radio; it was also transmitted in leaflet form in Bemba and Tumbuka languages in the affected areas.⁴⁵ Although reactions to such overtures were mixed, several Lumpa members gave themselves up in a period of two weeks. Eventually, Lenshina was detained at Mumbwa Prison with seven other church leaders, namely, Justin Bwalya (church choirmaster); John Museba (deacon), White Phiri (deacon), Lameck Simbeye (deacon), Petros Chintankwa (high Priest), Lameck Sumaili (Church choir conductor) and Brown Lubusha, half brother of Lenshina (deacon).⁴⁶ Nkonde was not among those who were detained at Mumbwa Prison with Lenshina. He was briefly detained in Lundazi and later released. In my view, Nkonde was not arrested because he may have struck a deal with Kaunda. If Nkonde was not a traitor, then one could argue that Kaunda saw his struggle as one with Lenshina and not with her followers. As a matter of fact, Kaunda had managed to isolate Lenshina from her followers. At this moment, Robert Kaunda ceased to be deacon because the Prime Minister (and later President) was his younger brother. In this conflict between Prime Minister Kaunda and Lenshina, Robert Kaunda seems to have sided with his brother. From 1964, his name was no longer associated with the Lumpa Church.

The State released Nkonde on condition that he assisted in pacifying the volatile situation, by appealing to the Lumpa followers to lay down their arms and return to their original homes. Nkonde says he rose to the occasion and requested the government to provide the necessary means of transport for him to carry out the assignment. To this effect, the government provided him with an helicopter which ferried him to some remotest areas in Chinsali and Lundazi Districts where Lumpa settlements existed. He appealed to the members to take advantage of the government's amnesty to lay down the arms.

This task was easy to carry out because Nkonde was (and still is) able to communicate effectively in ciBemba and Tumbuka, languages spoken in this area. Nkonde was (and still is) a multi linguist who could speak seven Languages, fluently, namely: Tumbuka, Senga, Mambwe, Ina-Mwanga, Bemba, English and Nyanja. In addition, he was the General Secretary and the only high ranking official not in detention. However, this exercise was not easy to accomplish because it was quite risky. It involved working day and night. On two occasions, in Lundazi District he was forced to sleep in a tree because he had lost direction.

People received the amnesty with mixed feelings: some Lumpa followers thought that the government aimed at tricking them, while others responded favourably and joined their colleagues in the centres set up by the government in various parts of the country. These centres were established with a view of settling those who did not want to go back to their original homes for fear of reprisals from their own people. Roberts points out that:

After the "Lumpa war" or "holy war," the rehabilitation process was initiated by the government. Survivors were rehabilitated at Katito centre in Abercorn (Mbala). There was an urgent need for a physical recovery of the survivors. Another centre was at Makali (Petauke) in the Eastern province. There were 4000 refugees at Katito in March 1965.⁴⁷

According to Nkonde, the living conditions in these rehabilitation centres were deplorable and unfit for human habitation. Food was inadequate, sanitation was poor, diseases such as measles, dysentery, pneumonia and diarrhoea were prevalent and many refugees died.⁴⁸

Nkonde's Role in the Church in Zaire

As the country prepared itself for independence in October, 1964, there were still isolated incidents of violence in the Chinsali and Lundazi. Both the Government and the Lumpa Church seem to have been committed to ensuring that peace and reconciliation were achieved within the shortest time. Most of the Lenshinites had responded favourably to the government's amnesty. The government would not prosecute Lumpa followers if they surrendered themselves. This was possible partly because of Nkonde's role in urging his fellow Lenshinites to lay down their arms and co-operate with the government, in order to bring peace in the country. On the eve of independence, the security situation in the trouble-torn districts had improved; people started to move freely again without fear or harassment.

In October, Nkonde sought permission from the government to visit Lenshina at Mumbwa prison, where she and other seven Church leaders had been detained. According to him, the main purpose of this visit was to brief her about the security situation and also seek further instructions from her. Nkonde points out that it was on this occasion that Lenshina secretly instructed her son-in-law to approach one or two neighbouring countries to provide refuge for her followers following the ban of the church in Zambia.⁴⁹

On Zambia's independence day, 24 October, 1964, Nkonde sneaked into Livingstone town with a view of crossing into Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). However, his journey was ended at the Victoria Falls bridge when he was stopped by a Mr. Mitimongi, an Officer in the office of the President and a relative of Lenshina who had known him personally.

After his abortive trip, Nkonde decided to go to Congo- (Zaire). He travelled by train from Livingstone to Mufulira. From Mufulira, Nkonde crossed into Congo through the Mokambo border post on 31 October, 1964. According to him, all this was an attempt to save the church from total collapse. Since the church was banned in Zambia, there was need to seek refuge in another country where freedom of worship could be guaranteed.⁵⁰

On arrival at Mokambo, the Congolese government officials welcomed Nkonde as the leader of the Lumpa refugees, together with three other Lenshinites who had accompanied him. The government granted them asylum and further provided them with transport. The Congolese government used bicycles and helicopters to transport Lenshinites who were trapped in the Congo-Zambia border on their way to Congo. At this time Moise Tshombe was Prime Minister of the Congo. Tshombe was well known amongst the Bemba-speaking people. He saw them as his relatives, since both the Lunda (Tshombe's tribe) and the Bemba originated from the Luba-Lunda empire in the Congo. That is why he received them warmly. Kaunda was opposed to Tshombe's idea of secession of the mineral rich Katanga Province from the rest of Congo, later Zaire.

This exercise bore fruit as more and more Lenshinites were traced by Nkonde and transported to Mokambo post where Nkonde had been allowed to camp. This development was reported in the *Zambian press*:

Fourteen Lumpa followers led by Mr. Alfred Kapele Nkonde, the general secretary of the Lumpa Church and son-in-law of Alice, had crossed into Mokambo border town where they could freely practise their religion after the banning of the Lumpa Church in Zambia. By February 1965 the number had risen to 184 and finally rose to 19000 refugees after those from Katito Lunzuwa (Mbala) and Makali camp in Petauke were allowed to join their counterparts in Zaire.⁵¹

However, it was observed that some Lumpa followers, especially those who had travelled on foot from towns in Zambia to the Congo did not reach their destination. They may have died on their way due to hunger, disease or fatigue. The Lumpa refugees were settled at Mokambo border town for seven years, practising their religion freely and engaging in various productive ventures, such as farming, making of mats and baskets, which they sold to earn a living

On 24th July, 1971, the United Nations through its agency, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), decided to move them into interior. When the Lumpa members were settled in Zaire, Kaunda thought that they would easily be integrated into the Zairean population and eventually lose their identity. On the contrary, this did not happen. The Lenshinites maintained their identity and remained intact. The presence of Lenshinites at Mukambo seems to have posed a threat to Kaunda's rule. As long as they remained there, the possibility of their return to destabilise Zambia was always there. It is in view of this situation that the Zambian government appealed to the Zairean government to have them moved into the interior. They were later settled at Kanyama. Nkonde was still their leader.

In December, 1972, Kaunda declared Zambia a One-Party state. This meant that all the opposition political parties ceased to exist by law and UNIP became the sole political party in the country. Opposition to Kaunda's rule was systematically suppressed. This political development led to increased suspicion of Kaunda's government by Lenshina's followers in Zaire. They maintained that as long as Kaunda remained in power, they would never return to their home country.

Lenshina, who had been detained for eleven years was eventually released on 23 December 1975, a move which some Lenshinites both in Zambia and Zaire appreciated. However, it is important to mention that after the ban of the Lumpa Church in 1964, the Lenshinites who had remained in the country later founded the New Jerusalem Church to replace the Lumpa Church. It was headed by Obed Muchinga Chileshe. He was an assistant deacon before the ban of the Lumpa Church.

Lenshina was released on condition that she renounced her divine powers and never made attempts to revive her church. Following her release, she lived in Chilenje South, Lusaka. Later, she was coerced by the State to join the United Church of Zambia. However, she was regularly visited by some of her followers, from inside and outside Zambia. This fact became evident in December

1978, when her followers visited her in Lusaka following her terminal illness. She died on 7 December, 1978.

Before she died, Lenshina left a "will", saying that her body should not be put in a mortuary or a fridge; no postmortem should be conducted on her body; she should not be buried in a dug out grave but in a brick tomb; and that her body should not be buried in any place other than her home village, Kasomo, in Chinsali, on a pulpit of her former church at Sione. But this was not done. Her body was instead taken to the University Teaching Hospital (UTH) mortuary. The action further strained the relations between the government and the Lenshinites. However, she was buried at the pulpit of her church at Sione. But this was not done. Her body was instead taken to the University Teaching Hospital (UTH) mortuary. The action further strained the relations between the government and the Lenshinites. However, she was buried at the pulpit of her church at Kasomo in Chinsali. The burial was attended by her followers from within the country and Zaire.

One of the most important aspects missing from Lenshina's "will" was the issue of her succession in the Lumpa Church. Before she died, Lenshina did not address this matter and no body was annointed to take over from her. This left the door open for anyone to claim that he or she was the rightful successor. It is not surprising therefore, that in 1992 Nkonde's leadership in Zaire was challenged by Ncelelya, a lady in her 60s, who claimed that she had a dream in which the late Lenshina appeared to her and told her to inherit the reigns of the church:

As a result of this claim, the Lumpa Church in Zaire split into two, one led by Nkonde at Kanyama and another faction led by Ncelelya at Lubumbashi.⁵²

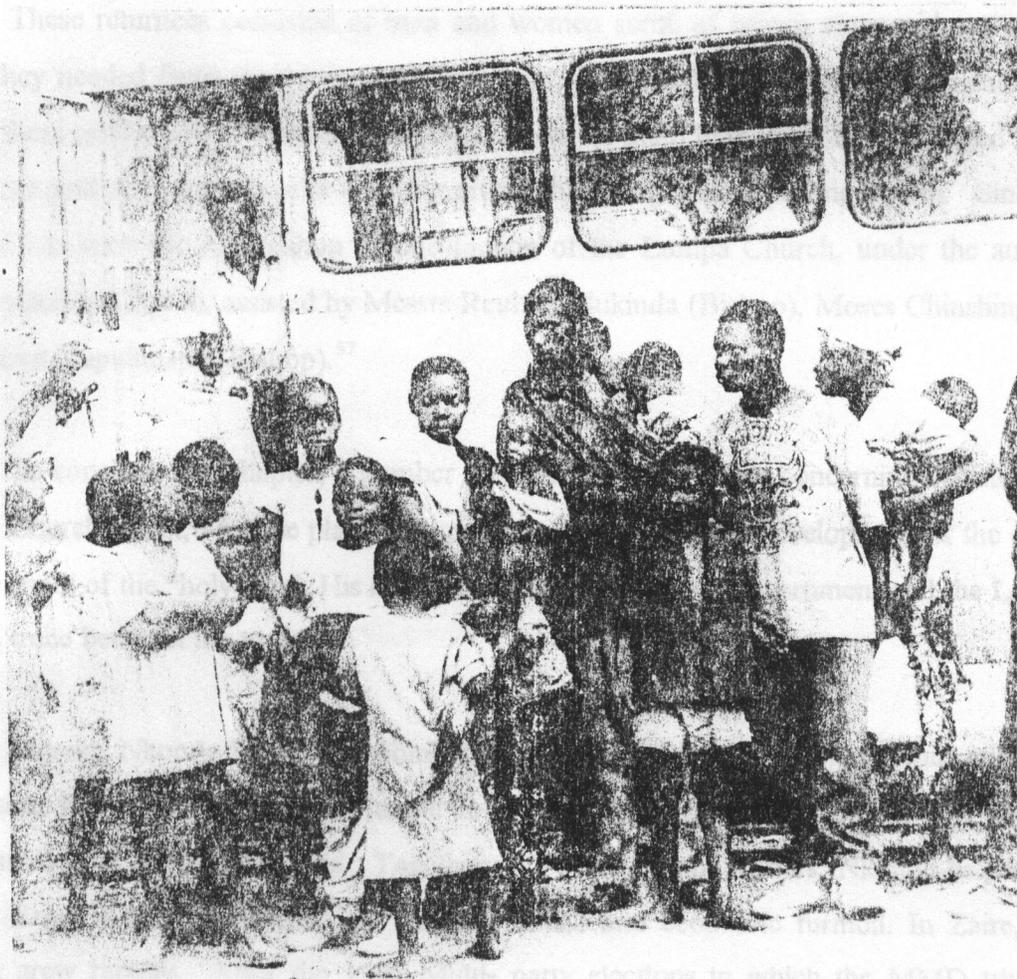
Ncelelya used the dream to legitimize her leadership. To demonstrate the split in Lumpa ranks, the Lubumbashi group composed different praise songs and wore multi-coloured uniforms, while the Kanyama group under Nkonde, wore white gowns and sang old songs. By remaining with the old symbols, Nkonde wanted to show that he was the logical successor to Lenshina. But both groups preached against polygamy, smoking, greed, drinking and adultery. They both prayed on Mondays, Wednesdays and Sundays.⁵³ However, during the repatriation from Zaire, the members of the two groups insisted to be repatriated in different buses and have since been resettled in different places.

The Role of Nkonde in the Repatriation of the Lumpa Refugees into Zambia

The repatriation of the Lumpa refugees into Zambia was facilitated by the political changes which took place in Zambia, a change which ended the One-Party system and ushered in Multi-Partism. In 1991, just before the Multi-party elections which swept the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) into power, Nkonde came to Zambia briefly and met with MMD chairman for Local government and Housing, Michael Sata, who assured him that if the MMD won the elections, the Lumpa refugees would be welcome home and that the freedom of worship as enshrined in the constitution would be accorded to them. As a result of these assurances, the Lumpa refugees agreed to come back to Zambia after thirty years in exile. Through the help of UNHCR, they arrived in Zambia in the month of September, 1994, and were accommodated at the Kitwe showgrounds. The refugees arrived in two separate groups: the Kanyama group under Nkonde and the Lubumbashi group under prophetess Ncelelya. They were also accommodated separately.⁵⁴ However, both groups were happy to be back home. According to Nkonde, the refugees would not have agreed to come back to Zambia had there been no change of government. He emphasized the point that the UNIP government under Kaunda was responsible for the mass killings of the Lumpas in Zambia and their subsequent exile to Zaire.⁵⁵

On arrival in Zambia, the refugees were assisted by the government with food, shelter and clothing. Additionally, the Hope Foundation, a non-governmental organisation, led by the First Lady, Vera Chiluba, also gave some material assistance. However, the refugees complained that the supplies they received were not adequate at all. Each family received 2 bags of mealie meal, each weighing 90 kg, 1 tin of beans and some kapenta every month and these provisions did not last long. Owing to inadequate supplies, some refugees went back to Zaire.⁵⁶

The refugees refused to be resettled in their original homes, arguing that they preferred to settle in new places, anywhere in Zambia as long as they were given land, seeds, and other agricultural inputs. In the end, some were settled in Mpika and Chinsali in the Northern Province, others in Chipata and Katete in the Eastern Province and the rest in Lusaka and Central Provinces, respectively. Nkonde and his group were settled at Shimukuni village, Chief Mungule in Kabwe rural, 98 kilometres from Lusaka.



PICTURE 6: LUMPA CHURCH REFUGEES ON ARRIVAL IN KITWE FROM ZAIRE.

{Source: Times of Zambia, October 8, 1994}

These returnees consisted of men and women some of whom were widows and divorcees. What they needed from the government was land, seeds and other agricultural inputs which could enable them produce food to feed themselves. Some of them have since been engaged in the making of baskets and mats for sale and working on neighbouring farms, picking cotton. Since his return, Nkonde has been the Archbishop of one faction of the Lumpa Church, under the auspices of the New Jerusalem Church, assisted by Messrs Reuben Mukinda (Bishop), Moses Chinshingwa (Bishop) and Alfred Kupukulapo (Bishop).⁵⁷

To conclude this chapter, a number of points could be made concerning Nkonde's role in the Lumpa Church. First, Nkonde played a significant role both in the development of the church and in the aftermath of the "holy war". His role as a conciliator between government and the Lumpa Church led to a truce between the two.

Second, Nkonde led the Lenshinites into exile in Zaire. The speed with which he sought permission from the Zairean government to allow the Lenshinites refuge in that country, was a demonstration of his ability to lead. Together with other Lumpa leaders, Nkonde helped to keep the church intact in Zaire, a country of political, social and economic turmoil. In Zaire, the Lumpa Church grew rapidly. After the 1991 Multi-party elections in which the MMD triumphed over UNIP, Nkonde won an assurance from the new Zambian government to allow the Lumpa refugees freedom of worship once they returned home. In 1994, the Lenshinites were repatriated back into Zambia and were free once again to worship. This was not a small achievement, especially when one considers the difficult circumstances in which the Lumpa Church operated for thirty years. What ever weaknesses he may have had during this time, Nkonde's role in the survival of the Lumpa Church is very difficult to ignore. However, the Lumpa followers are free to worship under the New Jerusalem church, a renaissance of the outlawed Lumpa Church.

NOTES

1. Commission of Inquiry Report, p. 6.
2. Commission of Inquiry Report, p.6.
3. Roberts, The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina, p.10.
4. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church Report for year 1964, p.7.
5. Interview with Nkonde, Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
6. Northern News (19 June, 1965), p.1.
7. James W. Fernandez, "The Lumpa Uprising, Why?" African Report (Washington, DC, 9 - 10 November, 1964), p.30.
8. Interview with Elizabeth Nkonde.
9. Y.A Chondoka, "Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama District, North Eastern Zambia, 1890 - 1964," Ph.D. Thesis (University of Toronto, 1992), p. 176.
10. Roberts, The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina, p. 31.
11. Commission of Inquiry Report, pp. 9, 10 and 13.
12. Rotberg, "The Lenshina Movement", pp. 155-6.
13. Interview with Tandco Mungulube, Nkula's village, Chinsali (9 December, 1995).
14. Roberts, The Lumpa Church, p. 32.
15. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p.7.
16. NAZ, KTQ 2/1, Chinsali Notebook, Vol.4 (1964 - 1963), p.208.
17. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p. 8.
18. Interview with Kapele Nkonde, Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
19. Commission of Inquiry Report, p.10.
20. Calmettes, Lumpa Church 1, p.39.
21. Roberts, The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina, p.55.
22. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
23. Calmettes, Lumpa Church 1, pp. 49 - 50.
24. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
25. Interview with Mungulube. Nkula's village, Chinsali, 9 December, 1995.
26. Van Binsbergen, Religious Change in Zambia, p. 300.
27. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p.5.
28. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p. 7.
29. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
30. Commission of Inquiry Report, p. 36.

31. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p.6.
32. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p.2.
33. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p.3.
34. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p.3.
35. Roberts, The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina, p. 46.
36. Northern News (4 August, 1964), p.1.
37. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p.3.
38. Van Binsbergen, Religious Change in Zambia, p.300.
39. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p. 4.
40. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
41. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995)
42. Northern News (4 August, 1964), p.1.
43. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
44. Northern News (14 August, 1964), p.1.
45. Press Release, No. 1277, Press Section, Information Department Northern Rhodesian Government (August, 1964).
46. NAZ, MHA 1/3/10, Lenshina and the Lumpa Church, p.6.
47. Roberts, The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina, p.48.
48. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
49. Interview with Nkonde. Kwabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
50. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
51. Times of Zambia (9 July, 1995), p.1.
52. Times of Zambia (8 October, 1994), p.7.
53. Times of Zambia (8 October, 1994), p.7.
54. Times of Zambia (8 October, 1994), p.7.
55. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
56. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July 1995).
57. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

In concluding this study, we will recapitulate some aspects of the Lumpa Church and also assess the role Nkonde has played in it since the mid-1950s.

To begin with, Nkonde was among the first few enlightened people to join the Lumpa Church. He became a member in 1954, a year after its inception. The popularity of the Lumpa Church began from its very inception. Morris has argued that there were three main reasons which contributed to the success of the church. He points out that Lenshina preached against witchcraft and almost succeeded in eradicating it. She freed villagers from the fear of witchcraft by offering power to overcome it. The orthodox churches which had no solution to witchcraft did not believe in its existence. This made people believe in Lenshina's powers as a prophetess.¹

This study has also demonstrated the fact that the history and success of the Lumpa Church did not depend solely on Lenshina as the head of the church, but, also on other individuals, such as Nkonde. The success of the church was a collective effort of the whole leadership. In short, the membership as a whole contributed to the promotion and growth of the church. For instance, the construction of the church at Sione between 1956 and 1958 as well as church buildings in outlying villages was a collective effort.

However, there were some leaders, such as Nkonde, who dedicated their lives to the cause of the church. As earlier pointed out, Nkonde joined the church at the lower and grassroot level. He rose through the ranks to become secretary of the church, a position he held during the "holy war" and in exile in Zaire. In my own view, Nkonde remained loyal to the church because of three reasons: his rise to the position of Church Secretary, his conviction in Lenshina as a prophetess and also being Lenshina's son-in-law. These propelled him to dedicate his life to the church. His contribution to the Lumpa Church before and during Kaunda's rule, in exile in Zaire and in the post-Kaunda era, makes him one of the most important leaders of this church. While Kaunda is in the political wilderness, Nkonde has assumed the role of archbishop of the church, which he joined more than forty years ago.

The popularity of the church among the Africans was that the European-led churches did not do much to deter the Federation and therefore, they joined an indigenous church, which was totally African-led and suited the mood of the moment.

Furthermore, Lenshina was a religious genius. She composed hymns and songs which reflected the Africans' reality of God and expressed a genuine African thought. Nkonde's decision to join the church may also have been influenced by similar considerations. According to his own admission, Nkonde was impressed by the witchcraft eradication campaign of the church as well as the hymns. This seems to have been a source of the church's strength, because it attracted many people. As earlier pointed out, the hymns and songs were very appealing as they reflected the cultural aspirations of the people.²

The Africans were also convinced that Lenshina was God-sent. According to Nkonde, the Lumpa followers believed that Lenshina was a prophetess with authority from God, the rock on which the church was founded and because of this belief, her authority was unquestionable.³ Lenshina was perceived by her followers not just as a religious leader, but also as a political messiah. Her followers believed that one day she would rule Zambia and they were all looking forward to that day.

One other point which should be drawn from this study is that the Lumpa Church was theocratic. The Lenshinites recognised no source of authority other than that of God. Through Lenshina's mission, they rejected rigid traditional and State control. This belief was perceived both by the traditional rulers and the State as a threat to their power and privileges. Van Binsbergen argues that in the 1960s, both the Lumpa Church and UNIP were competing for allegiance and dominance and that this struggle for dominance in the same geographical area led to the confrontation between the two rival groups. He says:

The rising manifested the existence of massive and intransigent opposition to UNIP and to an African government in the part of Zambia that had been UNIP's main rural stronghold.⁴

This view is corroborated by Roberts. He writes:

While Kaunda established or headed Zambian nationalism, Alice Lenshina had her visions in 1953. This conjunction, in place as well as time of political and religious responses to colonial rule, was perhaps the main reason for both the rise and fall of the Lumpa Church.⁵

One would therefore assume that if the Lumpa Church had existed in some place other than Chinsali, a UNIP strong hold, the conflict might have been avoided and the Lumpa Church could perhaps have lasted longer.

NOTES

1. Rev. Colin Morris, "The Lumpa Church Tragedy: A Church Man's View," Northern News (2 October, 1964), p.5
2. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
3. Interview with Nkonde. Kabwata, Lusaka, (22 July, 1995).
4. Van Binsbergen, Religious Change in Zambia, p.268.
5. Roberts, The Lumpa Church of Alice Lenshina, p.52.

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(iv) Magazine

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Kasembe, Drum

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TRANSLATION:

LUMPA CHURCH

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 or foreigner, black or white, man or woman, but we are all of the same family, therefore we must love each other.

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 and immoral songs, dancing and other pagan things.

5. Every Christian must be of good character, whether in private or public, when eating or going to sleep, waking from sleep or when starting and 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 re-marry 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 any of these things into the church.

12. Any person who has taken some beer must not come to worship in church, though he has taken only a little.

Any one 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". Any one 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

THE RULES OF THE LUMPA CHURCH.

(Source: Report 1965, 17).

APPENDIX B

TRANSLATION

LUMPA CHURCH SION STATION HEADQUARTERS THE RULES OF LUMPA CHURCH CHOIR

1. Church choir is a group of singers of God. It is a choir which sings for our Lord God everyday and 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 Lumpa Church, and as such, is bound by the rules of 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 church 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 also 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 able to feed them.

NOTE: Singers have no authority over Deacons. They should get instructions from Deacons. Their duty is to sing.

THE RULES OF LUMPA CHURCH CHOIR.

(Source: REPORT 1965 : 19).