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Moving along the roadside: A social history of Mwinilunga District, 1870s-1970s

Pesa, I.

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Author: Peša, Iva

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1: Pathways through the past

Continuity and change in Mwinilunga, c. 1750-1970

In many parts of Northern Rhodesia the ancient (...) ideas and practices of the Africans are dying out, through contact with the white man and his ways. Employment in the copper mines, on the railway, as domestic servants and shop assistants; the meeting and mingling of tribes in a non-tribal environment; the long absence of men from their homes – all these factors are contributing to the breakdown of (...) the values of kinship ties, respect for the elders and tribal unity (...) But the Lunda (...) in their talk by the village fires still live in the strenuous and heroic past. Whatever time and raids have done to them, 'We are the people of Mwantyanvwa', they say, and that is that!²²³

The paradox between continuity and change is an enduring feature in the area of Mwinilunga. In the 1950s Turner suggested that factors such as labour migration would lead to 'tribal breakdown' and would bring about a radical transformation of society. Nonetheless, despite social change the Lunda have maintained a notion of continuity with the past through an emphasis on 'tradition'.²²⁴ Some people might say that tradition has perished (*chisemwa chafwa dehi*). Yet the annual *Chisemwa ChaLunda* ceremony, (re)instated by Senior Chief Kanongesha in 1996, testifies that asserting connections to the past and upholding traditions remains important to individual and collective consciousness.²²⁵ Whereas historical events, such as the establishment of colonial rule or the obtaining of independence, might propel change and cause discontinuities with earlier periods,²²⁶ the effects of these changes have simultaneously been curbed by long-term patterns of continuity with the past. Continuity and change might go hand in hand, as new influences have been embedded within the context of existing practices and modes of thought.²²⁷ Based on an assessment of the long-term socio-economic and political history of Mwinilunga, are there any foundations for asserting continuity with the past or has change been pervasive?

In order to provide a framework for the following thematically organised chapters, this chapter will offer a broad historical overview, drawn up around several major themes and landmarks. This overview will serve to place events within a historical context so that the impact of changes can be assessed and the degree of continuity with the past can be gauged. The focus will be on two aspects. First of all, on the relationships between the inhabitants of Mwinilunga and external actors, whether these were immigrants, traders or colonial officials. The constant interaction between actors on a local, regional and global level has influenced events in Mwinilunga in profound ways. Although changes did occur, the population of Mwinilunga was able to appropriate external influences and make sense of

²²³ V.W. Turner, 'Lunda rites and ceremonies', *The occasional papers of the Rhodes-Livingstone museum* (Reproduction nos. 1-16, 1974), 336-7.

²²⁴ This focus on 'tradition' is still maintained, see: Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda Ndembu, Volume I, The Kanongesha chieftainship succession in Zambia' (Unpublished manuscript, 2010), 5.

²²⁵ Debates on 'ethnicity' will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 3A&B (L. Vail (ed.), *The creation of tribalism in Southern Africa* (London etc., 1989), suggests that ethnicity was a construct rather than a fixed category); whereas the recent resurgence of 'tradition' will be addressed in Chapter 5 (E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The invention of tradition* (Cambridge etc., 1983)).

²²⁶ V.W. Turner, *The drums of affliction: A study of religious processes among the Ndembu of Zambia* (Oxford and London, 1968), 14, asserted that in the 1950s 'great waves of change were sweeping over the lives of the Ndembu', as a consequence of labour migration, the effects of capitalism and colonialism. That events such as the inception of colonial rule caused drastic ruptures in historical consciousness is argued by: J.A. Pritchett, *Friends for life, friends for death: Cohorts and consciousness among the Lunda-Ndembu* (Charlottesville etc., 2007).

²²⁷ J. Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests: Toward a history of political tradition in Equatorial Africa* (Madison, 1990), 236-7; M.H. Wilson, 'Zig-zag change', *Africa* 46:4 (1976), 399-409. For the idea of 'progress' in historical narrative, see: E. Hobsbawm, *The age of empire 1875-1914* (London, 1987), 26-33.

events.²²⁸ Secondly, changing settlement patterns will be examined, in order to test Turner's hypothesis that colonialism and capitalism would inevitably lead to 'village breakup'. Settlement patterns were historically flexible and ultimately resilient, suggesting that Turner's observations overemphasised the influence of the changes he witnessed in the 1950s.²²⁹ This chapter will outline major trends, examine whether and when change occurred, and provide threads which will be elaborated in subsequent chapters. Challenging linear historical narratives which suggest sharp chronological divisions between time periods,²³⁰ it will be examined how people in Mwinilunga negotiated and made sense of change.

Constructing a region: The Lunda entity, history and reproduction

When asked to recount their history, the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District will generally start by saying: 'We the Lunda, we have come from Mwantianvwa.'²³¹ With this statement they refer to the figurehead of the Lunda entity, a polity which was established between the beginning of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.²³² From its heartland surrounding the capital city Musumba, located along the Bushimaie-Nkalanzi River in present-day Congo, the Lunda entity gained influence and spread across large parts of the Central African plateau.²³³ Notwithstanding its extensive regional impact, the origins and the political, social and economic basis of the Lunda polity consisted of the village. The village was a territorial as well as a human unit, with a group of matrilineally related kin at its core. It was governed by a council of elders (*ciyul*), which was headed by 'the owner of the land' (*mwaantaangaand*), a position of ritual importance through connection to the founding ancestors of the village. Individual villages would be grouped together in larger allied units, forming a vicinage and paying tribute to the Lunda court through a political representative (*cilool*).²³⁴ Through such loose patterns of authority – later cemented into fixed hierarchies of headmen and chiefs by the colonial government – the village, the vicinage and the central Lunda polity were ultimately interconnected. The Lunda court, which had itself grown from small-scale village origins, depended on these connections for legitimacy and sought to reciprocate ties to outlying areas, for instance by sending gifts, endowing rulers with regalia or providing protection from outside attacks.²³⁵ The expansion of the Lunda polity, achieved by gradually integrating villages on the fringes of its sphere of influence, was greatly aided by the practices of positional succession and perpetual kinship.²³⁶ New

²²⁸ See: C. Piot, *Remotely global: Village modernity in West Africa* (Chicago etc., 1999); K. Crehan, *The fractured community: Landscapes of power and gender in rural Zambia* (Berkeley etc., 1997).

²²⁹ V.W. Turner, *Schism and continuity in an African society* (Manchester etc., 1957).

²³⁰ J. Ferguson, *Expectations of modernity: Myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian Copperbelt* (Berkeley etc., 1999), 17. Many RLI scholars adopted ideas about linear social change.

²³¹ All questions about 'early history' or 'origin' would provoke a similar response, providing an outline of Lunda dynastic history. For example: Interview with Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, 29 July 2010, Kanongesha.

²³² For a review of the date of origin of the Lunda entity, see: J-L. Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda et la frontière luso-africaine (1700-1900)', *Études d'histoire africaine* 3 (1972), 65-6.

²³³ Alternatively referred to as (South-) Central African savanna. For an overview of early Lunda history, see especially: J.J. Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej: Reconstructing Ruund history (The nuclear Lunda: Zaïre, Angola, Zambia)' (PhD thesis, Yale University, 1978); J. Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes de la savane: Les États des savanes méridionales de l'Afrique central des origines à l'occupation coloniale* (Léopoldville, 1965); Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (London etc., 1970).

²³⁴ Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes*; Hoover, 'Seduction of Ruwej'; R.E. Schechter, 'History and historiography on a frontier of Lunda expansion: The origins and early development of the Kanongesha' (PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1976).

²³⁵ See: Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; E. Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule: The politics of ethnicity* (Cambridge etc., 1975).

²³⁶ J. Iliffe, *Africans: The history of a continent* (Cambridge etc., 1995), 104; G. Macola, *The Kingdom of Kazembe: History and politics in North-Eastern Zambia and Katanga to 1950* (Münster etc., 2002), 39n: 'Through positional

subjects could be incorporated into the Lunda political system through the award of political or ritual titles. This linked them directly to the Lunda court and created a hybrid mix of population groups, origin and authority, blurring the distinction between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’, ‘autochthon’ and ‘immigrant’.²³⁷ Villages had never been isolated or bounded, as even in early history links between local, regional and trans-regional developments, involving a multitude and mingling of actors, had been influential.²³⁸

Today, the subjects of chiefs such as Kazembe in the Luapula Province of Zambia, Chinyama in Angola and Musokantanda in Congo – encompassing the vast area between the Kasai River in the west and the Lualaba River in the east – all trace common origin through Lunda descent. The prestige, influence and strength of the original Lunda polity were merely some reasons contributing to the desire of outlying areas to seek association with the capital.²³⁹ At the end of the nineteenth century Portuguese travellers described Mwantianvwa and his capital in lavish terms:

The Muata-lanvo is surrounded by a numerous court, which includes, as principals: the *mutia*, father of lanvo; the *calala*, chief-executive in charge of transmitting orders to the armed population; the Muene *cutapa*, executor of high justice, generally the uncle of lanvo; and many highly respected personalities and their *a-cajes* (concubines), who live with them (...) Usually it [his court] is composed of a rectangular palisade, which encloses it completely, and, depending on the magnitude, can be as long as 1500 meters on each side; locked up in the centre is the residence of the chief, with two circular walls and a corridor in between, above which is elevated a vast dome (...) [After listing the subordinate chiefs] All these are tributaries to the supreme chief, conform to his laws, and are obliged to send tax through a special committee. Failure of such payment is considered such a grave offence, that only rarely does the head of the tributary remain undamaged in case of repeat. Disposing over the lives of his subordinates (...) he destroys the villages of those who do not contribute to his supremacy.²⁴⁰

The goods with which Mwantianvwa surrounded himself added to his grandeur. Items such as lion and leopard skins, ivory, various types of coloured beads, palm oil, game meat, salt, tobacco, a variety of calicoes, gunpowder and firearms, all attested his mastery of complex circuits of domestic and foreign exchange, tribute and trade.²⁴¹ By means of these outward manifestations of wealth, prestige and authority the Lunda polity was able to strengthen its hold even over previously non-aligned population groups, constructing a region interconnected by the movement of people, ideas and goods.²⁴²

Although the level of control from the central Lunda polity rapidly diminished in outlying areas, various social, economic and political factors tied Musumba, Mwinilunga and other places of purported Lunda origin together.²⁴³ These included the framework of long-distance trade and tribute, but also comprised ties of marriage, alliance, friendship and ritual.²⁴⁴ Particularly tribute, which has been

succession, the successor to a name or title inherits not only his predecessor’s insignia, rights and duties, but also his social and political relationships. Positional succession serves to maintain the form of descent groups and may evolve into perpetual kinship between titles. The perpetual relationship is an expressed kinship relationship between the holders of two names, which does not vary with the actual genealogical relationship of the people who are at any time holding the names. It is a fixed relationship between hereditary names which remains constant through the generation.’

²³⁷ Schechter, ‘History and historiography’; R.J. Papstein, ‘The Upper Zambezi: A history of the Luvale people, 1000-1900’ (PhD thesis, University of California, 1978).

²³⁸ D.L. Schoenbrun, ‘Conjuring the modern in Africa: Durability and rupture in histories of public healing between the Great Lakes of East Africa’, *The American historical review* 111:5 (2006), 1403-39.

²³⁹ Hoover, ‘The seduction of Ruweji’, offers a description of this migratory movement and lists the migrating chiefs.

²⁴⁰ H.C.B. Capelo and R. Ivens, *De Benguela às terras de Iaca – Descrição de uma viagem na África central e ocidental, 1887-1890, Vol. 1* (Coimbra, 1996), 314-6. Translation by author.

²⁴¹ Capelo and Ivens, *De Benguela*, 315 and 317.

²⁴² Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*.

²⁴³ Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes*, 63.

²⁴⁴ Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, 1-7; Vellut, ‘Notes sur le Lunda’, 78-84; Turner, *Schism and continuity*, XX.

referred to as the life-blood of the Lunda polity, is illustrative of these links of interdependence.²⁴⁵ The meaning of the proverb '*kudya kekenyi kusinsishamu*' (eating what belongs to a termite one has to replace it), reflects that a chief should be reimbursed through tribute for the benefits his rule bestows on the people, otherwise his rule would be jeopardised and his authority would fade.²⁴⁶ Because the rule of a chief should provide protection from external threats and redistribute long-distance trade goods to subjects, among other things, the provision of tribute was regarded as an act of moral obligation, rather than being exerted by force.²⁴⁷ A local hunter was expected to offer the chest of his kill as tribute through his headman to Chief Kanongesha. Chief Kanongesha would then send locally prized items such as leopard skins, ivory or slaves to Mwantianvwa, if not regularly at least on special occasions such as at installation ceremonies. In return Mwantianvwa would remit valuable trade goods or emblems of chiefly authority, thereby providing subordinate chiefs with legitimacy and prestige.²⁴⁸ In this way the various levels of authority were connected to one another, in a hierarchical and centralised, yet loose and reciprocal manner. Although by the end of the nineteenth century Chokwe incursions and slave raids discontinued the regular payment of tribute to Mwantianvwa, and subsequent colonial boundary demarcations cut right through existing allegiances, connections within the wider Lunda region continued to be upheld and renewed, remaining significant even at present.²⁴⁹

The Lunda-Ndembu,²⁵⁰ as the inhabitants of Mwinilunga District are occasionally referred to, trace back their settlement of the present area to a migration from the core Lunda polity.²⁵¹ The causes for this migration are to be sought in internal power struggles at the centre and in a desire to extend Lunda influence to outlying areas. Propelled by the penetration of Luba influences from the east, Lunda emissaries set out to secure access to scarce salt pans, hunting grounds and agricultural land beyond the established boundaries of the polity.²⁵² The departure from Musumba involved many of the current major titleholders in the area, such as Kazembe Mutanda, Ishinde, Musokantanda and Kanongesha. Nominally, Ndembu refers to the stream along which the migrants sojourned after their departure from Mwantianvwa's court, before dispersing in various directions towards their present locations.²⁵³ Evidence suggests that Chief Kanongesha, one of the main chiefs who came to settle along the Upper Zambezi, reached the present area between 1740 and 1755.²⁵⁴ According to oral tradition, his following comprised of 12 members of matrilineal kin, some of whose descendants are still important chiefs in

²⁴⁵ Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, 5; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 78-84.

²⁴⁶ Mulumbi Datuuma II, 'Customs of the Lunda Ndembu', 10.

²⁴⁷ Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 325: 'The giving of tribute was regarded as a moral obligation rather than as a compulsory matter – ultimately as a recognition of the historical origin and unity of Ndembu in Mwantianvwa.'

²⁴⁸ Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, 17 August 2010, Kanongesha, but also stated in: (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, A Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

²⁴⁹ J.A. Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu: Style, change and social transformation in South Central Africa* (Madison, 2001); O. Bakewell, 'The meaning and use of identity papers: Handheld and heartfelt nationality in the borderlands of North-West Zambia', *International Migration Institute Working paper 5*, University of Oxford (2007).

²⁵⁰ The term 'Lunda-Ndembu' originated in the colonial period, serving to administratively differentiate the Lunda under Senior Chief Sailunga from the Ndembu under Senior Chief Kanongesha. The language currently used in the area is referred to as Lunda, and the term 'Ndembu' seems to have fallen into disuse at present. Throughout this work, I prefer to adopt the generic term 'Lunda' and will use 'Ndembu' only in references to other authors, in quotations from archival sources or where its use seems specifically warranted.

²⁵¹ L. de Heusch, 'What shall we do with the drunken king?', *Africa* 45:4 (1975), 363-72; T.Q. Reeve, 'Traditions of genesis and the Luba diaspora', *History in Africa* 4 (1977), 183-206; R.E. Schecter, 'A propos the drunken king: Cosmology and history', in: J.C. Miller (ed.), *The African past speaks: Essays on oral tradition and history* (Dawson etc., 1980), 108-25; L. Duysters, 'Histoire des Aluunda', *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale* 12:40 (1958), 75-98; V.W. Turner, 'A Lunda love story and its consequences', *Rhodes Livingstone journal* 19 (1955), 1-26.

²⁵² Macola, *The kingdom of Kazembe*, Chapter Two.

²⁵³ Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Ilunga, 16 March 2010, Ikelenge.

²⁵⁴ Schecter, 'History and historiography', Chapter Four.

Mwinilunga District today.²⁵⁵ These followers were assigned prestigious titles and tasks by Kanongesha, which in turn were sanctioned by Mwantianvwa. Illustrative are the titles of Mwinimilamba *Ifota*, the pathfinder or the one who led the way in the original migration; Ikelenge *Kalula*, the one who spreads the lion or leopard skin mat on which Kanongesha sits; and Nyakaseya, the one who pours beer for the chiefs, or the ritual wife of Kanongesha.²⁵⁶ Through movement and the award of political titles Lunda influence was spread, but the establishment of authority in the area of Mwinilunga remained a gradual and intricate process.

Lunda oral traditions describe the settlement of outlying areas, such as Mwinilunga, in terms of epic migrations, involving the swift conquest and forceful subordination of established population groups.²⁵⁷ This was most probably not the case. Rather, the area of Mwinilunga was occupied as a result of a general and gradual movement of population, from the outset involving mixed population groups located at the southern edge of the Lunda polity, rather than constituting a direct thrust from the centre outwards.²⁵⁸ Inter-marriage and the forging of strategic alliances between immigrants and existing population groups were crucial to this process. In the area of Mwinilunga the diverse set of population groups encountered was referred to as Mbwela.²⁵⁹ Contrary to what some traditions might suggest, the Mbwela were not forcibly subdued or chased, but were rather integrated into the newly established Lunda polities in the area.²⁶⁰ Due to such interaction and mixture of diverse people, ideas and influences, cultural hybridity and the incorporation of change, rather than uniformity of ideas, beliefs and practices prevailed in Mwinilunga.

Although Lunda migrants derogatorily referred to Mbwela as nomadic or even primitive,²⁶¹ they equally acknowledged the importance of Mbwela collaboration in successfully administering the area. Lunda men took Mbwela wives, and Mbwela lineage heads were granted Lunda political titles to bolster ties between the two. Mbwela were acknowledged as 'owners of the land' and given the position of 'ritual installer' of Lunda chiefs (*chivwikankanu*), firmly cemented by practices of perpetual kinship and positional succession.²⁶² Although the term '*kabeta kaMbwela*' is used to refer to 'the south', denoting the direction in which the Mbwela were chased, Mbwela presence was by no means obliterated.²⁶³ Some Mbwela might have been driven away or killed by Lunda violence, but the fact that even today villages of Mbwela origin persist in the area of Mwinilunga – a marked example being the village of Nsanganyi in ex-chief Mukangala's area – testifies that co-existence was equally possible and was probably common.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, Lunda chiefs derive great prestige from claiming to have

²⁵⁵ Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes*, 126; Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 7.

²⁵⁶ Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 11; Interview with Mr. Wombeki, 27 April and 11 May 2010, Nyakaseya.

²⁵⁷ See: Interview with Chief Mukangala, 3 November 2010, Mwinilunga. Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 2-3, calls the population movement an 'invasion'.

²⁵⁸ This is a summary of the nuanced work by Schecter, 'History and historiography'.

²⁵⁹ The Mbwela are alternatively referred to as Nkoya or Lukolwe, they are linguistically and culturally diverse, yet constitute a kindred matrilineal group. These groups have commonly been defined by what they are not (a negative contrast), i.e. non-Lunda, rather than by similarity or unity. See: W.M.J. van Binsbergen, *Tears of rain: Ethnicity and history in Central Western Zambia* (London etc., 1992).

²⁶⁰ Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi', suggests that the Mbwela were forcefully subdued. Yet for the area of Mwinilunga, Schecter, 'History and historiography', has suggested peaceful co-existence and gradual movement of population.

²⁶¹ Schecter, 'History and historiography'; Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi'; Van Binsbergen, *Tears of rain*. See also archival material and oral interviews: (BOD) Richard Cranmer Denning, Land Tenure Report No. 7, North Western Province.

²⁶² Schecter, 'History and historiography'.

²⁶³ Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 3.

²⁶⁴ Ex-chiefs Pompora and Kangombe, whose areas were transferred from Mwinilunga to Solwezi and Kabompo District in 1948, are reported as Mbwela chiefs.

fought and defeated the Mbwela, as this claim gives them legitimacy to occupy the present land.²⁶⁵ Because land rights would be obtained through protracted occupation, cultivation and connections to ancestral spirits, long-established residents of an area, in this case the Mbwela, enjoyed a privileged position.²⁶⁶ In order to assert land rights, Lunda chiefs formally had to establish their superiority by subjugating the Mbwela.

That the Mbwela were by no means powerless, but had to be carefully reckoned with, is tacitly acknowledged by oral traditions. Kanongesha Kabanda, one of the first Lunda chiefs who settled in the area of Mwinilunga, is said to have been severely wounded whilst fighting the Mbwela in the Mayawu plain, consequently dying from his injuries. This testifies that the outcome of Lunda-Mbwela struggles was by no means predetermined.²⁶⁷ Rather than being unilaterally imposed, authority had to be brokered between numerous actors. Gradually, Lunda and Mbwela developed relationships of interdependence. Through the award of titles, by means of marriage and ties of kinship, all people in the Upper Zambezi area were eventually linked to the central Lunda court, no matter how tentatively or loosely. Such was the context within which individuals, headmen and chiefs in the villages throughout Mwinilunga negotiated issues of authority, hierarchy and power.

Because of their location on the southernmost fringes of the Lunda polity, the communities along the Upper Zambezi enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy from the central Lunda court.²⁶⁸ Notwithstanding important ties to regional or polity wide developments, village units were the most significant levels of social, economic and political organisation.²⁶⁹ The village was the daily stage for social interaction. Agricultural assistance, company in the hunt or advice and chatter in the light of the nightly fire could all be found within this unit.²⁷⁰ Livingstone's description from the 1850s offers some insights into the appearance of southern Lunda villages:

We came to a village every few miles, sometimes passed 10 in a day. These were civil (...) We often entered a village, and when sitting on oxback could only see the tops of the huts in a wilderness of weeds. By & bye the villagers emerged from their lairs, men & women each smoking a long pipe and followed by crowds of children.²⁷¹

Such villages would consist of small units of matrilineally related kin, accommodating non-kinsmen at will.²⁷² Although villages appeared to be dotted across the landscape, their location was by no means arbitrary. Settlements would be strategically concentrated along waterways, close to hunting grounds or patches of fertile land.²⁷³ High degrees of spatial mobility prevailed, and villages shifted in intervals ranging from one to twenty years. Movement might be motivated by the quest for hunting, fishing or cultivating grounds, or yet by quarrels and deaths within a village.²⁷⁴ As a result of these movements, housing structures would be of an impermanent nature. Houses would commonly be made of poles

²⁶⁵ (NAZ) SEC2/222, K.S. Kinross, Ndembo Chiefs on Merger of Courts, July 1944. 'When we Ndembu came from Luunda in early times we found no other Chiefs here but Ambwera whom we conquered (...) [Mwinimilamba claims:] Nyakaseya cannot be my senior (...) he did not fight with the Ambwera as I did.'

²⁶⁶ Schechter, 'History and historiography'; Based on a reading of archival sources (NAZ).

²⁶⁷ This event is recounted in the official version of the Kanongesha royal history. See: Interview with Mr Jesman Sambaulu, 10 August 2010, Kanongesha.

²⁶⁸ A.St.H. Gibbons, *Africa from South to North through Marotseland* (London and New York, 1904), 33: 'Since the fall of Muato Yamvo's empire the greater part of this tribe [Lunda] had (...) broken up into small independent communities (...) owing to want of cohesion the districts more or less remote from the centre have proved a fruitful field for the slave trade.'

²⁶⁹ Vansina, *Les anciens royaumes*.

²⁷⁰ See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

²⁷¹ I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's missionary correspondence 1841-1856* (London, 1961), 261-2.

²⁷² Turner, *Schism and continuity*, XVIII-XIX.

²⁷³ (NAZ) SEC2/955, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, November 1947.

²⁷⁴ Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 91; (NAZ) SEC2/955 R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 1947; (NAZ) NWP1/2/17, F.M.N. Heath, Mwinilunga District Travelling Report, 1/1948.

and thatching grass, materials which facilitated frequent relocation.²⁷⁵ Although agricultural production was widely practiced, there would equally be a heavy reliance on hunting and foraging to complement supplies of cultivated food.²⁷⁶

These highly mobile and impermanent living conditions were described as 'nomadic' or even 'primitive' by European travellers in the area. Colonial officials referred to Lunda settlements in similar terms: 'They depended a great deal upon wild forest produce in their diet. This was accompanied by a great deal of shifting, and they often lived for long periods in grass or leaf huts.'²⁷⁷ Alternatively, such living conditions might be viewed as ecologically sound and inventive adaptations to a complex and fragile environment.²⁷⁸ In an attempt to maximise access to resources, individuals sought to diversify their livelihoods by relying on a mixture of hunting, fishing, agriculture, and foraging. Although game appeared to be relatively abundant in the area, it could easily be chased away or depleted. In a similar manner the fertility of the loose Kalahari sands would rapidly diminish under permanent cultivation.²⁷⁹ Whereas large, fixed settlements would have strained the fragile resource base heavily, small shifting villages enabled individuals to profit from existing diversity throughout Mwinilunga.²⁸⁰

The environment has influenced not only economic organisation and patterns of livelihood procurement, but also village settlements and political authority in the area. Centrifugal political relations, connected to the high degree of spatial mobility, tended to predominate in Mwinilunga. Turner attributed village fissure to the inherent antagonism between matrilineal descent and virilocal marriage. Whereas Lunda descent was reckoned through women, upon marriage women would move away to reside with the kin of their husbands. This caused continual tension, competition and a high degree of village fissure, as the husband and the brother would both compete for a woman's allegiance and offspring.²⁸¹ This 'radical incompatibility' of kinship relations, nevertheless, was not the only factor behind the small size of villages. Small villages equally enabled flexibility in a fragile environment. Because hunting and shifting cultivation formed the economic base of village society, small shifting settlements proved highly compatible and sensible.²⁸² Possibly, the village breakup into small units or 'farms', which Turner noted in the 1950s, was not new but had parallels with earlier periods. At the end of the nineteenth century villages and settlements already appeared to be mobile, flexible and small as an adaptation to ecology. The degree of continuity or change in village layout and organisation should therefore be further explored.²⁸³

Coupled with the geographical mobility and adaptability of villages, political hierarchies generally remained flexible and open to competition. The distinction between lineage heads, headmen and chiefs was often ill-defined and success was most clearly demonstrated by the size of the following one could muster.²⁸⁴ Human labour, far more than land, was a scarce factor. Population densities remained low and did not exceed six persons per square mile even in the late 1960s.²⁸⁵ The scarcity of population, the abundance of land, the fragile environment and the resulting high degree of spatial mobility, all stimulated political competition among villages. Early colonial administrators pejoratively referred to a lack of 'cohesion', as: 'internecine disputes, and mutual mistrust and feuds between every village and its very neighbour make combination [into large villages] most remote, if not utterly

²⁷⁵ Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Andrew Kambowa, 2 October 2010, Ntambu.

²⁷⁶ Van Binsbergen, *Tears of rain*; Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi'.

²⁷⁷ (BOD) Richard Cranmer Denig, Land Tenure Report No.7, North-Western Province.

²⁷⁸ W. Beinart: 'African history and environmental history', *African affairs* 99:395 (2000), 269-302.

²⁷⁹ This argument will be further elaborated in Chapter 2.

²⁸⁰ Turner, *Schism and continuity*, does hint towards the influence of ecological factors on the size of village units, but does not recognise their full importance.

²⁸¹ This is a summary of Turner's more complex argument. See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 76 and 302.

²⁸² Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*.

²⁸³ This will be done below and in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

²⁸⁴ (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, A report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936. See: J. Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization in Equatorial Africa', *Man* 28:2 (1993), 243-65.

²⁸⁵ (NAZ) Ministry of Agriculture, Monthly Economic Bulletin, February 1968.

impossible.²⁸⁶ In this competitive setting the position of village heads has been described as that of *primus inter pares*, holding a position of ritual importance and reigning rather than ruling.²⁸⁷ A correlation between the rule of a village head and the size of a village existed. Informants still claim that: 'It depends on the rule of a headman how many people there are in a village. A bad headman causes a village to split because of lack of good communication, so people are encouraged to move to their own place.'²⁸⁸ In the context of these competitive disputes for authority and recognition, a patchwork of ties and connections was created, as population groups continuously shifted and mixed. Yet there were certain tools which could be used to attract a larger, and more stable, following. The effective mastery of flows of trade was one of these.

Through politics, trade, kinship and mobility, ties of Lunda allegiance have created connections between local and regional actors and influences. Although these ties have been continuously adapted as a reaction to historical events, they have retained their significance even in an altered context. Notwithstanding profound changes within the Lunda polity itself, Lunda connections and allegiances provide a thread of continuity in the history of Mwinilunga.²⁸⁹ It will be explored how connections between the local and the regional context, established by the Lunda entity, could provide a basis for subsequent interactions between Mwinilunga and regional, national or even global processes, influencing reactions to capitalism, colonialism and patterns of political authority. Could notions of Lunda identity provide an alternative frame of reference to Zambian nationalism, for example?²⁹⁰

A window to the world: Long-distance trade and slavery

Exchange and trade have since long played an important role in the Central African region. Occupational specialisation and environmental variation had induced trade, within a single village but also between villages and over long distances. The development of metallurgy, for instance, propelled the exchange of scarce iron tools for a range of available produce, including crops, livestock and reed mats. In West Central Africa this exchange dated back to the first millennium A.D. and could cover remarkably long distances, thereby connecting distant communities through extensive networks.²⁹¹ Localised trade, involving exchange between neighbouring villages and population groups, complemented regional trade networks. Local exchange was dictated by the differential allocation of scarce natural resources, as well as by occupational specialisation. The Luvale living on the banks of the Kabompo River, for example, would barter dried fish for grains or game meat with the Lunda living on the other side.²⁹² Good hunters could barter game meat for supplies of grain crops within their own village or in a neighbouring village. Similarly, for rare supplies of high-quality salt people in Mwinilunga would depend on Angolan saltpans.²⁹³ Overall, trade served to complement individual and household production, offered people access to a wide range of goods and enabled the diversification of individual livelihood strategies. Most significantly, trade provided connections between local, regional and occasionally even global actors. The long-distance caravan trade, constituting an increase in scale and distance covered, built upon and fed into pre-existing forms of local and regional trade and exchange.

²⁸⁶ (NAZ) HC1/2/42 BS2/251 Loc.130, G.A. MacGregor, Monthly Report Balunda District, January 1909.

²⁸⁷ Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 318-9.

²⁸⁸ Interview with Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, Kanongesha, 17 August 2010.

²⁸⁹ Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*; O. Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating or migrating villagers? A study of movement from North West Zambia to Angola' (PhD thesis, University of Bath, 1999).

²⁹⁰ See especially Chapter 3A&B.

²⁹¹ Vansina, *Paths in the rainforests*, 58-61; J. Vansina, *How societies are born: Governance in West Central Africa before 1600* (Charlottesville etc., 2004), 60-7.

²⁹² Papstein, 'The upper Zambezi'.

²⁹³ Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej', 327-356.

Although long-distance trade goods had started trickling into Mwinilunga from the Indian Ocean coast during the first half of the second millennium A.D.,²⁹⁴ it was especially from the eighteenth century onwards, as a result of the expansion of trade with the Angolan coast, that a wide array of goods from overseas areas became readily available. This exchange provided access to crops (such as maize, cassava and sweet potatoes), industrially manufactured cloth, firearms, gunpowder, beads, tobacco and liquor, among other things.²⁹⁵ After some faltering attempts, stable trade relations were developed between the central Lunda court and the Portuguese, who had reached the Angolan coast by the end of the fifteenth century. Initially relying on indirect trade through African intermediaries, most notably the Ovimbundu, the Portuguese sent their first direct emissaries to the Lunda court around 1800, an act which was soon reciprocated by Lunda dignitaries travelling to the Angolan port Luanda.²⁹⁶ Under the umbrella of the Lunda polity, trade goods would be redirected into channels of tribute, distribution and hierarchies of power, interlinking chiefs, headmen and the village population. Recollections describe that the tribute caravan from Chief Sailunga to his superior Musokantanda, raised through levies from villagers and headmen, might carry five large calabashes of honey, six leopard skins, twenty small skins and ten man-loads of dried fish. In return, Chief Musokantanda would send Sailunga trade goods, consisting of loads of brightly coloured calico, strings of large white and small red beads, as well as a muzzle-loading gun, which could be distributed to the villages in his area.²⁹⁷ Through these trade networks involving European traders, African intermediaries and local interests, individuals in the area of Mwinilunga increasingly came to participate in international exchange, both as consumers of coveted imports and as producers of exportable goods. The significance of international trade should not be downplayed, even if major caravan routes would bypass the area either to the south or to the north and would only rarely diverge into Mwinilunga.²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the effects of the long-distance trade became increasingly tangible, not only due to its sheer scope, but also because trade goods would be incorporated into existing channels of exchange and relationships of power. The long-distance trade connected the inhabitants of Mwinilunga to local, regional and even global networks.

Not only was the growth of the Lunda state dependent on increasing quantities of trade, but the state structure itself served to encourage further trade.²⁹⁹ Trade fed into existing patterns of distribution and tribute, circulating goods through the polity.³⁰⁰ By means of exchange, tribute and warfare the Lunda entity managed to amass large quantities of exportable goods in Musumba.³⁰¹ The concentration of population, resources and wealth in the Lunda capital made it a uniquely attractive destination for Portuguese traders and African intermediaries, rewarding the long trek to the interior through prospects of high profits.³⁰² The items attracting traders consisted of salt, copper, iron and a variety of tropical goods initially. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries these were increasingly supplemented by slaves, rubber, ivory and beeswax, all readily exportable from coastal

²⁹⁴ R.A. Oliver and J.D. Fage, *A short history of Africa* (Harmondsworth etc., 1962), 81-2.

²⁹⁵ A. von Oppen, *Terms of trade and terms of trust: The history and contexts of pre-colonial market production around the upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster etc., 1994); J. Miller, *Way of death: Merchant capitalism and the Angolan slave trade 1730-1830* (Madison, 1988); J. Vansina, 'Long-distance trade-routes in Central Africa', *Journal of African history* 3:3 (1962), 375-90; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'.

²⁹⁶ Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*.

²⁹⁷ (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

²⁹⁸ Based on: Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*; confirmed by the map drawn in Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, and by my own limited reading of pre-colonial traveller reports. Examples of travellers who did pass through the area are: Livingstone (1850), Cameron (1870), Gibbons (1890) and Arnot (1890).

²⁹⁹ For the first view see: Gray and Birmingham, 'Some economic and political consequences of trade', 15; whereas the second view is advanced by: Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, 21.

³⁰⁰ Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej', 340-53; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 78-84.

³⁰¹ Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 61-166.

³⁰² Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 215-228; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*.

depots.³⁰³ Both Portuguese traders and local potentates attempted to control trajectories of trade. Chiefs and headmen played a particularly important role as intermediaries or even gatekeepers of trade, as they could attain scarce goods and distribute them among the population. In the area of Mwinilunga certain headmen and chiefs, who had managed to manipulate trade relations to their benefit and had consequently obtained a degree of wealth, acted as purveyors of trade or lenders of capital:

Long ago I had a case & to settle this I had to find certain goods. I went to [Chief] Chibwika to borrow these goods & he lent me 1 gun, 1 cloth & 1 load of wax (...) with which to settle my case. Chibwika then came to me later wanting me to discharge my debt. I offered him 3 blankets which he refused saying he wanted a gun on top. I had not a gun so I gave him my daughter Nyatusachi instead as a hostage.³⁰⁴

Because indebtedness could result in dependency on those more successful at controlling flows of trade, access to material wealth could afford headmen or chiefs a greater degree of leverage over village affairs and could strengthen ties of personal allegiance. Trade goods could function as a store of wealth and by dispensing scarce commodities headmen and chiefs could attract a large following.³⁰⁵ Control over goods and people, mediated through trade, went hand in hand.

Trade goods penetrated into the spheres of social relationships and hierarchies of power. The settlement of cases, bridewealth negotiations, death penalties and tribute could all be mediated by imported goods:

I committed adultery with a married woman, Nyailolo; it was sometime after this her child died, and the husband (...) [said that I] had caused the death of his child (...) I paid up to settle the matter, calico & beads.³⁰⁶

In the area of Mwinilunga trade could be actively pursued, even over long distances. The goods obtained would become entangled in social relationships through the settlement of cases, some involving slavery:

Kashali (...) gave Msangi some beads to buy salt with on the Lualaba. Msangi went away to the Lualaba River & bought 6 cakes of salt, & returned with them. Kashali received his salt. At that time he had an affair with Msaila & gave him the salt & some beads (...) He then redeemed Nyamasau with 1 gun, 16 yards [of cloth], & 3 beads.³⁰⁷

Next to social relationships, the long-distance trade profoundly influenced material expectations and patterns of consumption. Social relationships, hierarchies of power and patterns of consumption were all affected by patterns of trade and the effects of such trade reverberated well into the twentieth century.³⁰⁸

Because imported goods had to be paid for, trade influenced productive relationships as well. Rubber and beeswax would be procured from the forests and elephants would be hunted to provide supplies of ivory with which to acquire imports.³⁰⁹ A brisk trade in rubber and beeswax to Angola persisted well into the colonial period, as cloth, guns and liquor could be obtained in return.³¹⁰ Food production for trade caravans, containing up to 6,000 individuals travelling for months at a time, was equally important.³¹¹ Livingstone described how:

Very little exertion is required to procure the staff of life, which in these parts is the manioc (...) Maize, beans, earth nuts, &c, are planted between, and here we have a supply of food for years. The climate is

³⁰³ Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, 1-40; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, 45-99 and 211-35.

³⁰⁴ (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Nyansheta of Nyachulu v. Chibwika of Chibwika, 12 February 1919.

³⁰⁵ See: Guyer, 'Wealth in people and self-realization'; Miller, *Way of death*.

³⁰⁶ (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/1, 28 December 1909.

³⁰⁷ (NAZ) KSE3/1/2/1, Msangi v. Chingbwambu, 7 July 1912.

³⁰⁸ E.A. Steel, 'Zambezi-Congo watershed', *The geographical journal* 50:3 (1917), 187.

³⁰⁹ Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej'; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*.

³¹⁰ (NAZ) SEC2/133, N.S. Price, Annual Report Mwinilunga District, 31 December 1937; (NAZ) SEC2/41, Ormeby-Gore Report, 21 May 1937.

³¹¹ Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 139; Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, 91.

so good, they are either planting or reaping the whole year round. All the different grains, roots, &c, may be seen at one time in every stage of growth.³¹²

Not only does this attest that by the 1850s items from overseas, in the form of cassava, maize and groundnuts, had reached Mwinilunga and had been adopted as mainstays of agricultural production, it also evidences that food production was copious, hinting at the salience of the trade in food. Passing caravans would depend on villages en route for their supplies of food, and the ensuing demand encouraged the expansion of agricultural production.³¹³ Cameron, travelling through the area in the 1870s, provides an insight into the provisioning of caravans:

being the last station in Ulûnda, we remained (...) a few days to procure corn and make flour for a reported march of five days (...) For a piece of salt I obtained one fowl; but the people would not even look at my remaining beads, being very eager for cloth, of which I had none for trading. My only stores were a few beads and seven or eight viongwa, or shell ornaments from the East Coast.³¹⁴

By means of food, beeswax or ivory production for trade caravans, the inhabitants of Mwinilunga found an outlet for productive activities, thereby firmly linking themselves to international markets and circuits of trade. The long-distance trade with the Angolan coast constituted an increase in scope and intensity compared to previous patterns of trade, but it equally built upon the bases of local and regional exchange. Although the long-distance trade did provide access to new goods and trade networks, the trade was founded on and incorporated into existing patterns of production, consumption and social relationships in the area of Mwinilunga. Long-distance trade goods would be distributed through local and regional socio-political networks, and could thereby influence and change the make-up of the village. Looking at slavery can further illustrate how the long-distance trade built upon but also altered social relationships and hierarchies of power.

An integral component as well as a spin off to the long-distance trade was the traffic in slaves. Slavery had existed previously within the Lunda polity, as Mwantianvwa possessed large plantations worked by slave labour.³¹⁵ Nevertheless, the trade in slaves was greatly propelled by stimuli emanating from the long-distance trade. Slaves were a prized item of exchange, ensuring access to guns, cloth and beads. In addition, slaves could act as porters of ivory or beeswax, transporting supplies from the interior to the coast.³¹⁶ Although large-scale violent slave raids could have severely disruptive effects in the area of Mwinilunga, slavery could equally involve complicity or even active involvement of the local population. Elders still recount stories of slave traders visiting their villages, buying people in a peaceful and negotiated manner:

At our home there was a girl who was enslaved, she was called Kabanda. She was enslaved by the Ayimbundu [Ovimbundu] and sold. Kadata and Chiseki, her grandfather and uncle³¹⁷ gave Kabanda a *mubulu* [bracelet]. When the Ayimbundu came, Kadata and Chiseki pointed to the girl with the *mubulu* and sold her as a slave. They told Kabanda to go and chat with the Ayimbundu, who were her relatives, and to come back later. However, when Kabanda arrived where the Ayimbundu were seated, she was taken as a slave. Her uncle and grandfather were given cloth and guns.³¹⁸

Slavery was part of social relationships and hierarchies within the village. Slaves could be demanded as a payment to settle cases, ranging from divorce, theft and debt to murder. Or slaves might be claimed as a compensation after the death of a relative:

Mapupu himself came to me to claim goods in compensation for his son Chindora's death, saying that since my sister [Nyachianzu] had killed him, being a witch, I her brother must pay. At first he claimed all

³¹² I. Schapera (ed.), *Livingstone's missionary correspondence 1841-1856* (London, 1961), 261-2.

³¹³ Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*, 96, estimated that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century 14,000 tons of foodstuffs would have been required annually to supply the caravans passing through the Upper Zambezi area.

³¹⁴ V.L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (London etc., 1885), 405-8.

³¹⁵ Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda', 77-8.

³¹⁶ D.M. Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade and the transformation of the South-Central African interior during the nineteenth century', *The William and Mary quarterly* 66:4 (2009), 915-38; Miller, *Way of death*.

³¹⁷ Usually grandchildren or nephews/nieces (*mwizukulu* and *mwihha* respectively) would be the ones sold into slavery, see: Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

³¹⁸ Interview with Headman Kachacha, 27 July 2010, Kanongesha.

the goods that Chindora had brought with him from Kambove & given his wife [Nyachianzu], and other goods besides. I paid him 8 yards of calico, one short flintlock gun, one blanket and one string of beads, and he accepted these (...) Mapupu reopened the accusation (...) claiming that (...) he had a right to greater compensation. In fact he claimed goods to the value of Nyachianzu herself & her 2 children, who were given as slaves.³¹⁹

Slaves would either be resold or incorporated into the village and given tasks to do, such as cultivating, building houses or drawing water. Although it was not uncommon for slave women to marry free men, slaves remained distinguishable as a separate category up to the 1950s.³²⁰ The motives behind slavery were manifold, and slavery itself was multifaceted, involving violent raids, judicial settlements and deliberate sale of kin. Nevertheless, the practice could and did make sense within existing social relationships and hierarchies of power. The slave trade was not an alien imposition, but was actively negotiated and could even prove beneficial to certain individuals.³²¹ Relationships of authority and concepts of wealth in people became intertwined, as village heads used the slave trade to amass a large following and bolster their prestige. The slave and the commodity trade reinforced and fed into each other, creating a vicious circle.³²² Slavery was connected to the global context of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, but it equally played into regional and local negotiations, involving internal African slavery and the articulation of relationships of debt, dependency and authority. Slavery illustrated the complex relationships between goods and people.³²³ Selling kin into slavery might have been an 'accommodation, to the inevitable fact of slaving in the area.'³²⁴ The sale of kin, even if it caused conflicts within the village and region, seemed preferable to being subjected to slave raids, which were unpredictable, indiscriminate and difficult to control. This proposition can be applied to the case of Mwinilunga, where slave raids caused insecurity and disruption.

Although the British formally abolished slavery in 1807 and the Portuguese outlawed the slave trade (but not slavery itself) in 1834, the practice of slavery and the trade in slaves continued unabatedly in the interior, possibly even heightening.³²⁵ The 'legitimate trade' in ivory, beeswax and rubber spurred the internal demand for slaves as a means of 'production, exchange, and wealth'.³²⁶ Towards the end of the nineteenth century violent slave raids occurred. In Mwinilunga these raids were most commonly attributed to Chokwe and Luvale neighbours. Later reminiscences are revealing:

There were (...) cases of slaves being carried off by force, and the roads to the west were littered with wooden manacles and the forked neck-sticks, as well as with skulls and human bones, showing the extent of this horrible trade.³²⁷

Although some Lunda slaves might have been incorporated into Chokwe social relationships through the pawnship system in a relatively orderly manner, others would be sold off or exposed to harsher treatment. The Chokwe had successfully capitalised on the rising demand for beeswax, ivory, and later

³¹⁹ (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/2, N.C. & A.M. Court Mwinilunga Sub-District, Criminal cases, Rex vs. Mapupu, 9 January 1915.

³²⁰ Turner, *Schism and continuity*, makes numerous references to people of slave descent. At present people of slave descent are no longer recognisable as such.

³²¹ L.M. Heywood, 'Slavery and forced labor in the changing political economy of central Angola, 1850-1949', in: S. Miers and R.L. Roberts (eds.), *The end of slavery in Africa* (Madison, 1988), 415-35; M.A. Klein, 'The slave trade and decentralized societies', *Journal of African history* 42 (2001), 49-65; W. MacGaffey, 'Kongo slavery remembered by themselves: Texts from 1915', *International journal of African historical studies* 41:1 (2008), 55-76; P.E. Lovejoy, 'The business of slaving: Pawnship in Western Africa, c. 1600-1810', *Journal of African history* 42 (2001), 67-89; C. Piot, 'Of slaves and the gift: Kabre sale of kin during the era of the slave trade', *Journal of African history* 37 (1996), 31-49.

³²² Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade'.

³²³ Miller, *Way of death*, 40-53.

³²⁴ Piot, 'Of slaves and the gift', 45.

³²⁵ J.C. Miller, 'Cokwe trade and conquest in the nineteenth century', in: R. Gray and D. Birmingham (eds.), *Pre-colonial African trade: Essays on trade in Central and Eastern Africa before 1900* (London etc., 1970), 177-8; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, 25.

³²⁶ Gordon, 'The abolition of the slave trade', 925.

³²⁷ (NAZ) HM6 CO3/4/1, Edward Arden Copeman Memoirs.

rubber. Displaying exceptional hunting ability, they would exchange forest produce for cloth and guns. Guns, in turn, would be used to raid for slaves. Slaves could act as porters for trade caravans or could serve to expand Chokwe lineages, creating more wealth and power. The Chokwe even managed to raid Musumba in 1885-88, and for a short period the Lunda state was overrun by chaos.³²⁸ These events seriously disrupted the long-distance trade and the ensuing insecurity proved so severe that changes in settlement patterns resulted. Whereas slavery could be incorporated into existing Lunda social relationships and hierarchies, the slave raids at the end of the nineteenth century caused disruption and propelled profound, but not permanent, change.

The tension caused by slave raiding, still palpable early in the twentieth century, was described by a missionary, as he: 'passed several groups of the huts of these timid, wild-looking people, who have been preyed upon, probably for centuries, by all the tribes around for supplies of slaves.'³²⁹ Some people reportedly hid in caves, such as *Kahoshanga* in Nyakaseya and *Nyawunda* in Sailunga.³³⁰ Others dispersed into the bush and sought security through mobility by shifting around in small bands. Another common response was to build a stockade (*mpwembu*) around a concentrated settlement:

The villages of these people are always small but are strongly stockaded. Circular earthworks are thrown up around a score of huts, and these are surmounted by a substantial palisade, at the base of which bushes and creepers are sometimes planted in order to render their fastness still more impenetrable. The entrance is through a narrow opening, which is firmly bolted by wooden logs on the inside. Usually these gateways are so low as to be passable only on hands and knees. At Kanungesa's the opening is the shape of a reversed V, only three feet six inches high at the apex.³³¹

Although palisades had been built around Musumba since the eighteenth century at least, outlying villages had remained without stockades.³³² The spread of *mpwembu* during the late nineteenth century, therefore, seems linked to defence mechanisms in reaction to the threats of slave raids. Within stockades security was sought in numbers, giving rise to villages of 100 individuals or even more. In order to better withstand the looming attacks from slave raiding groups, population would amass into concentrated fortified settlements.³³³ Slave raiding, thus, did not merely lead to insecurity and chaos, but arguably also to greater levels of village cohesion.³³⁴ Within the stockade, village organisation would be cemented, as: 'all the functions of defence were laid down and (...) everybody was trained to perform a specific duty when emergency arose.'³³⁵ Containing only a limited number of entrance doors, villages would be safely guarded by strong men, the warriors (*ayilobu*) of a village. The status of the headman or chief of such a large village would be exalted. United action upon attack could prove of vital importance and the headman was looked upon to provide such guidance. Mediated through the village head, supernatural protection or witchcraft provided security. The charm *mujiminu* might be used to make the village invisible to attackers, whereas an *ilomba*, a magic serpent, would guard the village against external attack.³³⁶ Nevertheless, this form of village cohesion proved short-lived. Upon the arrest of violent raids at the outset of the twentieth century, colonial

³²⁸ Miller, 'Cokwe trade and conquest'; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*; Hoover, 'The seduction of Ruwej'; Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; Vansina, 'Long-distance trade-routes.'

³²⁹ (EOS), Visits to Various Stations, Kaleñe Hill – Extracts from Mr. Arnot's Journal, 36th year No. 631 Part 1 October 1907.

³³⁰ See interview with Mr Wombeki, 27 April and 24 May 2010, Nyakaseya.

³³¹ Gibbons, *Africa from South to North*, 34.

³³² Vellut, 'Notes sur le Lunda'; Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*.

³³³ This view is based on various oral interviews, for example Mr Kasongu Mapulanga, 29 July 2010, Kanongesha, and a reading of archival sources (NAZ).

³³⁴ C.M.N. White, 'Clan, chieftainship, and slavery in Luvale political organization', *Africa* 27:1 (1957), 72-3: 'The fact that slavery no longer exists as an active element in Luvale life has had the effect of reducing the size of Luvale villages, and the danger of a kinsman being handed over as a slave no longer provides a unifying force in the village.'

³³⁵ (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, A Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

³³⁶ See interview with Mr Martin Kahangu, 30 September 2010, Ntambu.

administrators complained about village breakup into small units once more.³³⁷ It is questionable whether the emergence of stockaded villages where centralised forms of authority prevailed propelled structural changes in social and political relationships within Mwinilunga. The leader of a stockaded village would use similar tools to assert political authority as previous headmen and chiefs had done. Success in holding people together was due to the threat of attack, and concepts of authority remained embedded in notions of wealth in people. The later reversal to small and dispersed settlements testifies that stockaded villages signalled a temporary change, rather than constituting a rupture in socio-political relationships.

The long-distance caravan trade, which built upon existing foundations of production, consumption, trade and social relationships, established remarkably enduring patterns in Mwinilunga. In spite of disruptions caused by slave raids and subsequent colonial boundary demarcations, the long-distance trade lingered on illicitly during the first half of the twentieth century.³³⁸ Furthermore, the long-distance trade established trade networks, patterns of production, expectations of consumption and ideas about the relationship between goods, people and power which would prove influential during the colonial and post-colonial period. Trade goods provided Mwinilunga with a connection to the world at large. Even if this connection at times remained indirect, and its effects seemed challenging or threatening rather than beneficial, especially in the case of slave raids, local individuals by and large managed to make sense of trade. The familiar and the unfamiliar converged, as new trade goods were appropriated into existing social hierarchies, and settlement patterns were adjusted to ward off threats. Subsequent colonial advances were inevitably understood in the light of the contacts established by the long-distance trade.

Engaging the metropole: Colonial rule and local negotiation

Whether it was to consolidate and further explore avenues of trade, to prospect for minerals, to preach the gospel, or for other reasons yet, Europeans gradually sought to intensify and formalise their involvement with the Central African interior.³³⁹ Building upon the basis of the long-distance trade, new claims to territorial control were advanced towards the end of the nineteenth century, the period retrospectively signifying the dawn of formal colonialism in the area. It would be teleological to claim that Europeans had always negotiated with Africans from a position of strength. Rather, it was initially the other way around, as a handful of Europeans proved heavily dependent on the knowledge, skills and produce of the African population.³⁴⁰ The colonial occupation of Mwinilunga District provides a clear example hereof.

In the sphere of Lunda influence European presence had increasingly made itself felt through the long-distance trade. From the sixteenth century onwards European influence had started radiating from the Angolan coast into the hinterland. Initially, this was merely through trade goods, yet traders and other individuals followed in their wake.³⁴¹ In present-day recollections a clear association is made between trade goods and the first whites in the area of Mwinilunga, stressing the connection between goods and people. It is recounted that early European travellers carried salt and white cloth, which would be left as a rapprochement gift after unsuccessful attempts had been made to come into contact with local chiefs or headmen. This suggests that power relations were not necessarily tilted towards

³³⁷ (NAZ) SEC2/402, H. Vaux, A Report on the Sailunga Kindred, 1936.

³³⁸ For example: (NAZ) KSE3/2/2/7, Rex vs. Chisele, 24 July 1928.

³³⁹ See: J. Vansina, *Being colonized: The Kuba experience in rural Congo, 1880-1960* (Madison, 2010).

³⁴⁰ J-B. Gewald, 'Researching and writing in the twilight of an imagined conquest: Anthropology in Northern Rhodesia 1930-1960', *History and anthropology* 18:4 (2007), 459-87; D. Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development: A human-geographical study of the Kaonde, Kasempa District, Zambia* (Amsterdam, 1981).

³⁴¹ See: J. Prestholdt, *Domesticating the world: African consumerism and the genealogies of globalization* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2008).

Europeans from the outset.³⁴² From the perspective of the local population, initial encounters with Europeans remained occasional and marginal to lived reality.³⁴³

Towards the end of the nineteenth century attitudes and relationships started to shift. Spurred by a highly competitive international setting, Europeans made attempts to establish strongholds and direct control over large parts of the African continent.³⁴⁴ In the light of these developments, the establishment of colonial rule by British authorities in Northern Rhodesia has been presented as a swift thrust of a hegemonic 'civilised European power replacing uncivilised African powers.'³⁴⁵ Despite differing views as to whether colonial domination was established through the deployment of brute force, or by means of relatively peaceful treaties, it has rarely been doubted that colonial hegemony was established rapidly and completely.³⁴⁶ Especially the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 has been hailed as a landmark in the 'scramble for Africa' by European powers who 'carved up the African continent' between themselves.³⁴⁷ These views, however, grossly overestimate European power. Likewise, they ignore local responses to colonial advances and present Africans as powerless victims falling prey to all-powerful European administrators. Contrastingly, in Mwinilunga the establishment of colonial rule was gradual rather than sudden, partial and incomplete – especially in the early stages – rather than hegemonic. Local agency, initiatives and responses should receive as much attention as colonial interests or European statesmen when examining the establishment and functioning of colonial rule.³⁴⁸

The decision to assign the area of Mwinilunga to the British sphere of influence and demarcate international boundaries, which was made at the Berlin Conference and was affirmed by the arbitration by the King of Italy in 1905, did not equal physical occupation on the ground.³⁴⁹ Only in 1906-7 did reconnaissance of this 'No Man's Land' commence, when a government station was built and an official in charge was appointed.³⁵⁰ During this initial period, colonial rule was in the hands of isolated 'men on the spot', who had no prior knowledge of the area or language of the districts to which they had been posted.³⁵¹ Although on paper and in theory these men held considerable power over the area and the population, in practice they lacked control over district affairs.³⁵² British South Africa Company (BSAC) administration of Mwinilunga³⁵³ initially consisted of a Native Commissioner, his assistant, 25 head of Barotse Native Police and several messengers and porters, who would accompany the administrators whilst touring the area. Administrative aims remained modest, and no

³⁴² Interview with Mr John Kamuhuza, March and April 2010, Ikelenge.

³⁴³ Pritchett, *Friends for life*.

³⁴⁴ Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*.

³⁴⁵ F. Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest: The British occupation of Zambia, 1884-1924* (Harlow, 1981), 2.

³⁴⁶ Whereas Pritchett in *Lunda-Ndembu*, 33-37, and Macpherson in *Anatomy of a conquest*, argue that colonial rule was established and consolidated by displays of overwhelming force, P. Slinn, 'Commercial concessions and politics during the colonial period: The role of the British South Africa Company in Northern Rhodesia 1890-1964', *African affairs* 70:281 (1971), 365-84, argues that British rule was established by means of relatively peaceful treaties.

³⁴⁷ Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, 40.

³⁴⁸ See: W.T. Kalusa, 'A history of disease, missionary medicine and African medical auxiliaries in North-Western Zambia: The case of Mwinilunga District, 1893-1964' (PhD thesis, John Hopkins University, 2003).

³⁴⁹ (NAZ) KDD5/1, Kasempa District Notebooks; B.C. Kakoma, 'Colonial administration in Northern Rhodesia: A case study of colonial policy in the Mwinilunga District of Zambia, 1901-1939' (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1971).

³⁵⁰ (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

³⁵¹ Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest*, 228.

³⁵² L.H. Gann, *The birth of a plural society: The development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company 1894-1914* (Manchester, 1958), 64-5; B.J. Phiri, *A political history of Zambia: From colonial rule to the Third Republic 1890-2001* (Trenton NJ etc., 2006), 10-11.

³⁵³ Initially referred to as Balunda sub-District, administered within Kasempa District. Mwinilunga became a District in 1926.

recording of census or levying of taxes took place, to avoid antagonising the population.³⁵⁴ Officials expressed despair over their lack of control over village affairs:

The utmost secrecy is observed, and information is very difficult to obtain. Balunda communities mind their own business very surely when dealing with an official – they profess ignorance of their neighbours names or doings; are averse to lead you forward at times, and in many ways show very plainly that they also believe in the shrewd silence that is golden. Beyond the evidence of the man or woman venturing to seek aid or freedom, it is almost impossible to gain any outside information or statements.³⁵⁵

In spite of this feeble administrative hold, colonial headquarters allegedly ordered the Native Commissioner to 'subdue the wild Ba-Lunda', if necessary by using force.³⁵⁶ Local non-cooperation with administrative aims could evoke harsh treatment. Records of flogging, arrest, destruction of houses, burning of fields and other displays of violence by colonial staff were not uncommon.³⁵⁷ Especially in 1908-9, when the district was in charge of George Alexander MacGregor, excessive violence was displayed.³⁵⁸ He raided gardens to obtain food, beat and imprisoned people at random, and even shot a person.³⁵⁹ Because of this MacGregor met with deserted settlements whilst touring the district. People would abandon their villages upon his approach and only numbers of old men and women would remain in their houses.³⁶⁰ Some individuals even fled into Angola or Congo, which caused agricultural disruption, as: 'no one did any cultivation – they were all running away from Mr. MacGregor and left their land to the pigs.'³⁶¹

The introduction of taxation in 1913 caused equal, if not greater, disruption.³⁶² According to some accounts, the tax had propelled two-thirds of the population to flee across the border to Angola and Congo, where taxation was not yet introduced or administrative demands remained less onerous. The distress and passive resistance caused by the introduction of taxation were described in grim terms:

All the villagers have run, i.e. a population of 8000. All that remains are a few villages in the south. The people here are a wild and primitive lot and quite naturally don't like the idea of spending 10/- on taxes (...) The running last May has caused consequent starvation and the people are getting restless because of this. For these people were not content merely to run and leave their gardens to be eaten by the wild pigs in the bush – but they must also ply the hoe in the hand too and root up even their young cassava, so that they could leave with the feeling of finality and of burnt ships behind them. Now that most of them are back they are starving, and those who did not run are suffering.³⁶³

Those who refused to cooperate with the policy of taxation faced the uninviting alternatives of imprisonment, the burning of their huts or relocation to Congo or Angola.³⁶⁴ Violence was not shunned, and colonial official Pound proclaimed that: 'these folk need a bit of choking off, and I shall not spare the pains to give it to them.'³⁶⁵ Nevertheless, such examples overstate the violent nature of the early colonial period and equally overemphasise the hold which the administration commanded over the

³⁵⁴ (NAZ) HM6CO3/4/1, Edward Arden Copeman Personal Memoirs.

³⁵⁵ (NAZ) BS2/199 IN2/1/3, J.M. Pound, Monthly Report Balunda District, January 1909.

³⁵⁶ (NAZ) HM6CO3/4/1/, E.A. Copeman Personal Memoirs.

³⁵⁷ For example: (NAZ) HM6CO3/3/1, Edward Arden Copeman Papers.

³⁵⁸ See: Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest*, 124-5; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 33, 228-9; Pritchett, *Friends for life*, 48-51; Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 7.

³⁵⁹ (NAZ) A1/1/12 Loc.3975, Slave Trading North Western Rhodesia, 20th January 1910 Crewe to High Commissioner.

³⁶⁰ (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, Secretary of Native Affairs to MacGregor, 26 February 1909.

³⁶¹ (NAZ) KSE6/5/1, C.H. Bellis, Monthly Report Balunda District, October 1909.

³⁶² Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*, 33; Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest*, 115-6; Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 7.

³⁶³ (BOD) Mss Afr. S 779, Theodore Williams Correspondences, 8 May 1913 and 16 February 1914.

³⁶⁴ (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

³⁶⁵ (BOD) Mss Afr. S 777, Theodore Williams Diary, 20 July 1914.

local population. Occasional displays of coercion and violence did occur, yet administrative presence did not have permanently disruptive effects on daily life.³⁶⁶

Due to the numerical weakness of the administration, the display of force was neither universal, nor inescapable. After being harassed by MacGregor or upon the introduction of taxation, people did return. Some would return within several days, and most would eventually:

The Government (...) made certain concessions to encourage the remainder [those who had not fled from taxation] to pay, with some success (...) Favourable reports reaching the deserters, by no means happy in their retreats, slowly village after village returned, so that only a third of those who fled are still absent, and these may come in yet (...) Everything now looks brighter (...) Hundreds of acres of wood have been cut down and burnt, ready for the rains we are daily expecting [to start cultivating].³⁶⁷

Shortly after returning from exile, which was more often temporary than long-term, villagers would pick up cultivation and daily routines.³⁶⁸ Moreover, many were apt to deceive officials, merely fleeing temporarily upon their approach. Because administrators travelled with a large entourage of porters and messengers, their arrival would be announced several days in advance. This gave individuals ample time to retreat into the surrounding bush, only to reappear once the touring group had long passed.³⁶⁹ Consequently officials would falsely be impressed with images of 'deserted settlements'.³⁷⁰ Missionaries provided a vivid description of such practices:

At one village, near where our camp was pitched, the people entirely cleared off at first. By-and-by some little boys crept up, and then, after a time, men came with meal, etc. (...) soon two [women] came with some food for sale. I endeavoured to ensure them that we would neither catch them as slaves, nor eat them, but asked them to come and bring others (...) Quite a number of men came.³⁷¹

These examples suggest that colonial rule could not be established by violent and repressive means. If a harsh attitude was adopted by the administration, this would cause non-compliance and even flight. Therefore, the colonial administration had to rely on collaboration with local intermediaries and had to carefully manoeuvre so as not to alienate the population through oppressive policies. Due to a lack of financial resources, the colonial administration relied on the compliance of the population in order to rule effectively. That is why generous concessions followed the introduction of taxation.³⁷² Through a process of negotiation the local population was able to exert considerable influence over the manner in which colonial rule would eventually be established in the area of Mwinilunga.³⁷³

Taxation can provide an example to understand how relationships of interdependence and hierarchies of power between the colonial administration and the local population were worked out. Especially in Mwinilunga District, an area which did not seem to hold much potential for mining or agricultural development, taxation was the centrepiece of colonial rule.³⁷⁴ The dual objectives behind the introduction of taxation were to raise revenue for the cash-strained BSAC government and to create a cheap labour force.³⁷⁵ Not only local labour requirements, but equally those of the mines in

³⁶⁶ It might be argued that it was the other way around, that the colonial administration used violence because of a sense of despair and lack of control. See: Piot, *Remotely global*.

³⁶⁷ (EOS) Walter Fisher, 'A Year of Changes', *Echoes of service*, 44th year No. 805 January part 1 1915.

³⁶⁸ (NAZ) KSE 6/5/1, C.H. Bellis, Balunda District Monthly Report, October 1909.

³⁶⁹ (NAZ) A2/1/4 Loc.3981, BSA2 Tax Evasion No 256, Acting Administrator of North Western Rhodesia, 20 December 1910.

³⁷⁰ (NAZ) KSE 6/1/6, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1928; W.S. Fisher and J. Hoyte, *Ndotolu: The life stories of Walter and Anna Fisher of Central Africa* (Rev. Ed., Ikelenge, 1992), 133.

³⁷¹ (EOS) Orpah Gertrude Sawyer, 'Visits to Fellow-Workers', *Echoes of service*, 42nd year No. 772 August part 2 1913.

³⁷² (NAZ) KSE4/1 Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

³⁷³ Kalusa, 'A history of disease'; Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'.

³⁷⁴ Macpherson, *Anatomy of a conquest*, 105; Slinn, 'Commercial concessions and politics', 365-8; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Crehan, *The fractured community*.

³⁷⁵ Gann, *The birth of a plural society*, 76, 113; R.S. Hall, *Zambia*, (London, 1965), 87; R.P. Lander, 'The British South Africa Company: An essay on its commercial history', *Heritage of Zimbabwe* 11 (1992), 1-3; Phiri, *A political history of Zambia*, 11.

Southern Rhodesia and South Africa had to be satisfied. Contrary to encouragements to move south, however, many individuals from Mwinilunga were attracted to the mines in Congo, encouraged by proximity, favourable working conditions and the presence of kin.³⁷⁶ Officials hoped that by introducing the hut tax individuals would become accustomed to the habit of working, handling money and moving out of the village to seek employment: 'The tax does good in making them work a bit, in learning how profitable work can be, and in taking them abroad to see the way the more civilised Bakaonde live and thrive.'³⁷⁷ Taxation, which was ultimately connected to issues of 'civilisation', aimed to tie the population to administrative control, as well as to influence the core values of society concerning work and thrift. The height of the tax was initially set at 10/-, which coincided with the average monthly wage of a labourer.³⁷⁸

Taxation could not simply be imposed, though. For one, collection of taxes was heavily dependent on the cooperation of headmen, not only for compiling a census of village population, but also for forwarding tax money and receipts.³⁷⁹ To the great frustration of the administration, headmen would frequently protect or hide tax defaulters. Headmen would perhaps claim that defaulters had moved to Congo or were away 'at work', while some had merely gone to the bush to hunt or cultivate.³⁸⁰ The lack of colonial control over the population was clearly signified by the aforementioned 'exodus' which followed the introduction of taxation. This exasperated officials to such an extent that they granted numerous concessions to those who did pay taxes. These concessions included the right to import gunpowder, collect and sell rubber, move to Congo without a pass and refrain from compulsory road labour.³⁸¹ Nevertheless, levels of default remained high throughout the colonial period, lingering around 30% in the late 1930s.³⁸² Although taxation was a central concern of the colonial enterprise, the imposition and collection of taxes was by no means straightforward. The administration could not demand local cooperation, but rather had to entice people to pay taxes by granting concessions. Dissidence and flight proved effective means to achieve local goals and keep colonial interference at bay, at least temporarily.³⁸³

Administrative aims went beyond touring the district and collecting taxes. Officials were responsible for hearing legal cases, mapping the district, compiling a vocabulary of the local language, interviewing chiefs and headmen, and more.³⁸⁴ The colonial administration introduced a plethora of legislation. To name a few examples, it became necessary to purchase a licence in order to own a gun, the shooting of large species of game was restricted, the cutting down of trees was subjected to limitations to preserve valuable timber species, the upkeep of inter-village paths was made obligatory and villages were encouraged to concentrate in large settlements along major lines of communication.³⁸⁵ Even though such regulations could limit pre-existing livelihood strategies, such as hunting or foraging, enforcement of laws was incomplete and could be circumvented.³⁸⁶ Illustrative was the attempt to regulate, or preferably exterminate, the remnants of the pre-colonial trade in rubber, ivory, slaves, guns and powder. Colonial officials condemned this trade, carried out by Mambunda, Mambari, Portuguese and 'undesirable European' traders, who robbed, plundered and ill-

³⁷⁶ (NAZ) KSE 4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks; (NAZ) KSE6/1/5, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga Sub-District Annual Report, 1926.

³⁷⁷ (BOD) Mss Afr. S777, Theodore Williams Diary, 16 July 1914.

³⁷⁸ The height of the tax fluctuated throughout the years. It rose to 12/6 in 1930, but was lowered to 7/6 in 1934 and 6/- in 1938. (BOD) Mss Afr. S779, Theodore Williams Correspondences, 22 October 1913.

³⁷⁹ (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Mwinilunga District Annual Report, 31 March 1922.

³⁸⁰ (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, T.M. Lawman, Lunda District Quarterly Report, 14 October 1912.

³⁸¹ (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks, Folio 29.

³⁸² (NAZ) SEC2/151, Provincial Commissioner Western Province, Annual Report on Native Affairs, 1937.

³⁸³ Scott has illustrated numerous instances of such resistance. See: J.C. Scott, *The art of not being governed: An anarchist history of upland Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 2009).

³⁸⁴ (BOD) Mss Afr. S779, Theodore Williams Correspondences, 11 February 1913.

³⁸⁵ (NAZ) KSE6/3/2, Mwinilunga Sub-District Reports Indaba, August 1927.

³⁸⁶ Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndemba*, 228-31.

treated the population, whilst illicitly straddling the boundaries between Mwinilunga, Angola and Congo.³⁸⁷ Despite restrictive legislation this trade persisted well into the 1920s, as it offered the local population favourable terms of trade with which the colonial administration could not compete.³⁸⁸ The establishment of colonial rule and legislation, thus, did not pose a sharp break with previous practices or patterns of livelihood. The population could circumvent colonial legislation, by exploiting its contradictions or partial enforcement. These acts, even if they might appear trivial or of limited scope, shaped the contours of colonial rule in Mwinilunga District. Colonial rule was not hegemonic or driven by European interests alone, but was negotiated among various actors, who could hold widely divergent interests. The inhabitants of Mwinilunga District sought to further their own interests, struggling to establish a form of colonial rule which would maintain a degree of continuity with past practices, ideas and modes of life.

Settlement patterns were fervently discussed by the colonial administration.³⁸⁹ Officials connected living conditions in the villages to issues of hygiene, thrift, agricultural production and, most importantly, accessibility to administrative control.³⁹⁰ Instead of scattered residence in the bush, where the evasion of colonial law and order would be all too easy, villagers were encouraged to gather into more concentrated settlements, containing a minimum of ten taxpaying males.³⁹¹ Such concentrated settlements should preferably be located in accessible places, along paths and roads, which would facilitate administrative control and compliance. Colonial officials described dispersed living conditions in derogatory terms, particularly condemning *nkunka* (conical grass houses):

The Balunda are a gypsy or nomadic people, for all their old and present huts are but skeleton frameworks, with uprights for walls consisting of poles from one foot to two feet apart with a thatched roof. Plastered walls are the rare exceptions, the usual and almost universal wall being formed by suspending grass mats along the inside of the skeleton wall, forming a break wind only. Sometimes grass is lashed along the wall, so as to completely enclose it. Many communities make no attempt at building decent huts, but live in a collection of beehive shaped, or conical small shelters of about six feet in diameter, and six to eight feet to apex. It is plain that the community building to-day, have vividly before them the possibility of circumstances arising to make them decide to remove again to-morrow.³⁹²

Inaccessibility and a degree of independence from colonial control, more than anything else, propelled such negative valuations. In order to administer the area, record census and collect taxes, to make the population controllable and legible, the colonial administration exercised pressure to settle the population in large, stable villages.³⁹³ Nevertheless, efforts to establish large villages were vehemently resisted and the ten taxpayer rule remained an ideal, rather than becoming the norm:

Before the arrival of Europeans to this corner of the Territory the Lunda were accustomed to live in small family settlements of often only three or four men with their wives and families. The Government however has always encouraged larger villages but they have never been popular here: big villages would lead to factions and quarrelling.³⁹⁴

By the end of the 1920s it was recorded that the largest village in Mwinilunga District contained 105 people, yet villages with less than 40 people appeared more common.³⁹⁵ Although the colonial

³⁸⁷ (NAZ) HM6CO3/3/1, Edward Arden Copeman Papers.

³⁸⁸ (NAZ) KSE6/3/1, Mwinilunga Sub-District Report Indaba, October 1916; (NAZ) KSE6/6/2, G. Hughes-Chamberlain, Mwinilunga Sub-District Tour Report, November 1928.

³⁸⁹ S.S. Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring: Indirect rule and access to agricultural land', *Africa* 62:3 (1992), 327-55; G. Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping in Zambia' (University of Hull, 1967), describes colonial settlement patterns in Northern Rhodesia as the outcome of the struggle towards colonial administrative control against 'traditional' and shifting residential patterns.

³⁹⁰ H.L. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting down trees: Gender, nutrition, and agricultural change in the Northern Province of Zambia 1890-1990* (London etc., 1994), for the Northern Province of Zambia.

³⁹¹ (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

³⁹² (NAZ) BS2/199 IN2/1/3, G.A. MacGregor, Monthly Report Balunda District, January 1909.

³⁹³ Scott, *The art of not being governed*.

³⁹⁴ (NAZ) SEC2/955, H.B. Waugh, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 11 October 1940.

³⁹⁵ (NAZ) KSE6/3/2, Mwinilunga Sub-District Indaba, 30 August 1927.

administration attempted to make alterations in residential structures and settlement patterns, such efforts did not meet success. Changes in settlement patterns were part and parcel of the process of negotiating and appropriating colonialism. Previous settlement patterns were not simply abandoned, but were adjusted to the context of colonial rule.

Colonial rule envisaged headmen and chiefs as the leaders of villages in terms of political authority. The administration relied heavily on the mediation of village heads for implementing the policies and laws under 'indirect rule'.³⁹⁶ Headmen and chiefs occupied a brokering position, being the speaking drum for the desires and grievances of the village population and shrewdly negotiating with the colonial administration. Village heads would be called upon to organise the supply of food and labour for administrative requirements, as well as to maintain village paths.³⁹⁷ Because of their crucial importance, the colonial administration sought to encourage the establishment of village heads which would be loyal and cooperative. Correspondence regarding Chief Kanongesha is revealing. Due to boundary demarcations the area of Chief Kanongesha had been bisected between Angola and Northern Rhodesia. Consequently the British administration tried to tempt and attract this 'intelligent looking man' and 'important Chief' to settle on their side of the international boundary:

[Kanongesha] has complained that this administration does so little for him (...) He is supported in every way possible by us (...) I shall endeavour to show him that the Government is willing and able to support him in any reasonable demands that he may make.³⁹⁸

Because of their own lack of resources and control, the colonial administration was dependent on the performance of headmen and chiefs for successfully administering the area.³⁹⁹ Village heads could use this dependence to their advantage, by negotiating autonomy and a degree of power.⁴⁰⁰

In some cases, the colonial government could bolster the position of village heads by codifying their rule and assigning them various tasks and responsibilities.⁴⁰¹ Whereas previously village heads had ruled by means of ritual authority, during the colonial period chiefs and headmen became responsible for enacting law and order in a more formal manner.⁴⁰² Some proved particularly successful brokers with the colonial government:

Good chiefs will always be respected and good work will make a chief important. All his good work will be considered when his subsidy is paid to him. Chiefs who merely sit down in their villages will on NO ACCOUNT EVER GET BIGGER SUBSIDIES [*sic*].⁴⁰³

Cooperation with the colonial administration could provide tangible benefits, in the form of material wealth and official recognition. The colonial state sought to organise headmen and chiefs into fixed hierarchies, quite different from the shifting, loose relationships of authority which had prevailed during the pre-colonial period.⁴⁰⁴ Under colonial rule distinct territorial boundaries and hierarchies of authority between headmen, chiefs and senior chiefs were drawn up, reserving recognition and government subsidies to a limited number of titleholders.⁴⁰⁵ As some titleholders purposefully refused association with the colonial government, their claims to authority could be made illegitimate. An example is ex-Chief Ntambu Sachitolu, who objected to the payment of taxation and subsequently returned his *ndondu*, a sceptre handed out as a symbol of chiefly recognition by colonial officials. Due

³⁹⁶ Berry, 'Hegemony on a shoestring'; M.L. Chanock, *Law, custom and social order: The colonial experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge etc., 1985).

³⁹⁷ Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*; (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

³⁹⁸ (NAZ) KSE6/1/4, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Annual Report Mwinilunga Sub-District, 31 March 1922.

³⁹⁹ Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development*.

⁴⁰⁰ For a case study of a chief in colonial Malawi see: M.E. Davies, 'The locality of chieftainship: Chiefly authority in colonial Malawi, 1932-1974' (PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2014).

⁴⁰¹ Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The invention of tradition*.

⁴⁰² Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

⁴⁰³ (NAZ) KSE1/2/1, G. Hughes Chamberlain to Provincial Commissioner Kasempa, 26 April 1930.

⁴⁰⁴ (NAZ) H. Vaux, Sailunga Kindred and Dening Reassessment.

⁴⁰⁵ Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

to non-cooperation his chiefly title was revoked and he was degraded to the rank of headman.⁴⁰⁶ Contrastingly, compliant leaders would be hailed and supported by the colonial administration in case disputes arose:

Nyakaseya's Chieftainship has always seemed to me to be more important. Economically on account of better land and a large river it is capable of supporting a larger population than Mwinimilamba's. Nyakaseya has taken a Chief's course at Lusaka and the Mission states that he is far more enlightened and helpful in regard to most matters, and education, than Mwinimilamba.⁴⁰⁷

Association with the colonial administration could thus prove beneficial. Through negotiation different parties gradually crafted a balance of authority and power under colonialism.⁴⁰⁸ In the process, the local population and the colonial administration became increasingly interdependent.

The colonial government could not boast a base of power and authority in Mwinilunga District from the outset. In the initial stages of colonial rule the administration appeared vulnerable, rather than strong. Its feeble hold was still regretted in 1915:

To visit them once, or in some cases twice, during the year is almost labour in vain. One arrives at a village, collects the inhabitants, talks for an hour or so, and occasionally one thinks a slight impression has been made – that a little of what has been said has penetrated their wooden heads – only to learn in about a month's time that they have drifted back to their old life (...) Some progress has, of course, been made. For example, the great majority are now living in quite respectable huts; small family communities have been collected and built together under one headman; hoed paths are being made between villages; larger gardens are being made, and the natives now are not definitely hostile to the Administration.⁴⁰⁹

Due to the frail command of the colonial state individuals could default taxation, flee administrative presence and maintain trade contacts with Angola and Congo, despite boundary demarcations. Colonial policies could not be violently or unilaterally imposed, but had to be negotiated, leaving the population of Mwinilunga District considerable leverage. Officials were dependent on local assistance, collaboration and approval. Passive resistance, dissidence and flight were merely some of the tools used to ward off the negative effects of colonial encroachment.⁴¹⁰ Gradually, however, it became apparent that active involvement with the colonial administration could prove advantageous, most notably to headmen and chiefs whose position could be bolstered.⁴¹¹ Some, therefore, sought to engage the colonial state on favourable terms, especially from the 1930s onwards. For instance by selling crops to touring officials, seeking employment at the mines, or by establishing large villages under government sanctioned headmen, the population of Mwinilunga District increased its interaction with the colonial administration.⁴¹² The terms of this interdependence were not dictated by administrative aims alone, but were equally influenced by local interests. Colonial rule did not constitute a breach with the past, as important continuities with the pre-colonial period persisted. Nevertheless, a balance of power had to be negotiated to accommodate the presence of the colonial

⁴⁰⁶ Interviews with Headman Kachacha, 27 July 2010, Kanongesha; Ex-Chief Ntambu Lukonkesha, 11 August 2010, Kanongesha; and confirmed by a reading of archival sources (NAZ).

⁴⁰⁷ (NAZ) SEC2/222, Provincial Commissioner Kaonde-Lunda Province to Secretary for Native Affairs, 5 March 1947.

⁴⁰⁸ See: Piot, *Remotely global*; Crehan, *The fractured community*.

⁴⁰⁹ (NAZ) KSE6/1/3, F.V. Bruce-Miller, Annual Report Mwinilunga Sub-District, 31 March 1915.

⁴¹⁰ For the 'exit option' see: J.C. Scott, *The moral economy of the peasant: Rebellion and subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven and London, 1976); G. Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an uncaptured peasantry* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1980).

⁴¹¹ An example of a Zambian chief whose authority was bolstered by colonial presence is the Lozi chief Lewanika of Barotseland: L.S. Flint, 'State building in Central Southern Africa: Citizenship and subjectivity in Barotseland and Caprivi', *The international journal of African historical studies* 36:2 (2003), 393-428.

⁴¹² Much RLI work has interpreted labour migration, cash crop production and involvement with the state in terms of 'disruption' and negative 'social change'. See: N. Long, *Social change and the individual: A study of the social and religious responses to innovation in a Zambian rural community* (Manchester, 1968).

government. The outcome of this process of negotiation profoundly influenced social, economic and political relationships in the area.

'Cinderella gets the ball at her feet': Food, labour and roads

The area of Mwinilunga enjoyed a variety of natural resources, such as game, sylvan produce and patches of fertile land. These resources have historically been deployed to generate livelihoods, trade opportunities and to create affluence. Nevertheless, from the perspective of the colonial state Mwinilunga District appeared of only marginal importance. The area held potential for neither mining nor large-scale agricultural development. Furthermore, the area was remote from and poorly connected to colonial centres on the Copperbelt and along the line of rail. Mwinilunga District was regarded as a periphery, as a labour reserve which might be exploited through labour migration and a limited degree of agricultural production.⁴¹³ Nonetheless, starting in the 1930s and increasing in scope and intensity after 1945, colonial involvement with Mwinilunga increased.⁴¹⁴ As a result of metropolitan scarcity and reconstruction after the Second World War and, most importantly, because of the production boom on the Copperbelt, demands for labour and produce from remote rural areas such as Mwinilunga were raised.⁴¹⁵ This affected the productive sphere of society and brought about increased government involvement with the area. How did these developments impact on the socio-economic and political organisation of Mwinilunga District? According to Turner capitalism and colonial involvement would lead to village breakup, yet established patterns of production, consumption and social relationships might have proven more resilient.⁴¹⁶

Influenced by the ongoing concern to make colonial rule a profitable enterprise, officials and traders made attempts to open up the district, in order to tap the potential of the area. From the 1930s onwards more staff and money was deployed, especially for road construction and schemes of 'development'. Agricultural, stock rearing and fishing schemes were initiated, schools were built and clinics staffed.⁴¹⁷ The population of Mwinilunga District was encouraged to broaden the base of their livelihood strategies, especially through cash crop production and labour migration, in order to secure monetary access for the payment of taxes as well as for consumer goods, such as clothing, pots and bicycles.⁴¹⁸ None of these developments were new as such. Many cash crops, such as cassava or beans, had long been cultivated in the area, and their sale constituted an extension of scale more than anything else. The bartering of cassava to long-distance trade caravans and the sale of meal to the touring District Commissioner had been common practices.⁴¹⁹ Similarly, labour migration to the Congolese mines had started in the early 1900s, preceded by the employment of porters in trade caravans heading to the Angolan coast. Likewise, development schemes built on and sought to expand a pre-existing base, rather than initiating schemes from scratch.⁴²⁰

⁴¹³ See: Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; A. Von Oppen, 'Cinderella province: Discourses of locality and nation state in a Zambian periphery (1950s to 1990s)', *Sociologist* 52 (2002), 11-46.

⁴¹⁴ D.A. Low and J. Lonsdale, 'Introduction', in: D.A. Low and A. Smith (eds.), *Oxford history of East Africa, Vol. 3* (Oxford, 1976), 1-63, coined the term 'second colonial occupation' for the period after 1945; J.M. Hodge, *Triumph of the expert: Agrarian doctrines of development and the legacies of British colonialism* (Ohio, 2007); E. Green, 'A lasting story: Conservation and agricultural extension services in colonial Malawi', *Journal of African history* 50:2 (2009), 247-67.

⁴¹⁵ Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; K.P. Vickery, 'Saving settlers: Maize control in Northern Rhodesia', *Journal of Southern African studies* 11:2 (1985), 212-34.

⁴¹⁶ Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

⁴¹⁷ Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

⁴¹⁸ E.L.B. Turner and V.W. Turner, 'Money economy among the Mwinilunga Ndembu: A study of some individual cash budgets', *Rhodes-Livingstone journal* 18 (1955), 19-37.

⁴¹⁹ See Chapter 2.

⁴²⁰ These points will be elaborated in more detail throughout the following chapters.

Even if Mwinilunga District had remained rather marginal throughout the colonial period,⁴²¹ the area seemed to hold potential, for instance for cattle ranching, forestry or for the cultivation of crops such as rice and pineapples. Yet opportunities were poorly utilised. This was not only due to long transport hauls, but also due to a degree of government neglect.⁴²² During the 1950s, nevertheless, the intensification of cash crop production and labour migration enticed the District Commissioner to state that: 'the 'Cinderella Province' is at last beginning to get the ball at its feet.'⁴²³ By means of agricultural productivity, marketing and increased administrative presence, the links between Mwinilunga and the national economy were strengthened.

Road construction was especially significant in this respect. One missionary described the changes she witnessed between the 1920s and the 1950s:

There were no roads then [1920s], only narrow footpaths (...) indeed the term road was only a courtesy title for the rough track through the bush (...) Today motor roads run like great ribbons (white, red or grey, according to the changing soil) through the Central African bush in all directions, and cars can be used to get quickly from place to place.⁴²⁴

Access to economic opportunities was profoundly influenced by the transport and communications network.⁴²⁵ In the area of Mwinilunga travel by foot and bicycle had been the main modes of transport, as tsetse fly and irregular water flows had limited the possibility of travel by water or animal traction.⁴²⁶ In 1930 the first motor car reached Mwinilunga Boma and consequently new roads were built and existing paths expanded.⁴²⁷ Previously, headmen and chiefs had been held responsible by the colonial administration for the construction and upkeep of inter-village paths. These paths had sufficed for communication purposes and in order to transport high-value, low-weight goods, such as ivory, rubber or cloth, in large caravans. However, for quick communication and for the transport and marketing of more bulky low-value commodities, including most agricultural produce, footpaths proved inadequate.⁴²⁸ During the 1930s roads suitable for motorised transport were built, one from Solwezi, via the Boma in Mwinilunga to Hillwood Farm in the northwest of the district, one from Kalene Hill over the Jimbe Bridge to Caianda in Angola and one from Hillwood Farm to Mutshatsha in Congo.⁴²⁹ These connections proved economically salient, as they linked the district to the Benguela railway and the Congolese railway system, as well as to the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt.⁴³⁰ After 1945 expansion of the road network continued, when the Boma was linked to the various chiefly capitals in the district.

By facilitating access to markets and providing an outlet for local production, roads had the potential to 'revolutionise' agriculture: 'All road extensions and improvements in this district have so far lead to increased production.'⁴³¹ European and African traders, using bicycle carts or lorries for

⁴²¹ J.I. Herbst, *States and power in Africa: Comparative lessons in authority and control* (Princeton etc., 2000); C. Boone, *Political topographies of the African state: Territorial authority and institutional choice* (Cambridge, 2003); Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development*; Crehan, *The fractured community*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

⁴²² The term 'Cinderella Province' – holding vast, yet underutilised, potential – has been used to describe Mwinilunga District and the North-Western Province.

⁴²³ (NAZ) SEC2/135, W.G. Reeves, North-Western Province Annual Report, 1952.

⁴²⁴ E. Burr, *Kalene memories: Annals of an old hill* (London, 1956), 8, 10, 122.

⁴²⁵ E.J. Taaffe, R.L. Morrill and P.B. Gould, 'Transport expansion in underdeveloped countries: A comparative analysis', *Geographical review* 53:4 (1963), 503. See: J-B. Gewald, 'People, mines and cars: Towards a revision of Zambian history, 1890-1930', in: J-B. Gewald, S. Luning and K. van Walraven (eds.), *The speed of change: Motor vehicles and people in Africa 1890-2000* (Leiden, 2009), 21-47.

⁴²⁶ (NAZ) SEC2/41, Native Affairs Development of Mwinilunga: Benguela Railway, March 1937.

⁴²⁷ (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

⁴²⁸ Von Oppen, *Terms of trade*.

⁴²⁹ (NAZ) KSE4/1, Mwinilunga District Notebooks.

⁴³⁰ See: Piot, *Remotely global*, on the function of the road as a connective node.

⁴³¹ (NAZ) SEC2/957, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, August 1949.

transport, would tour the district in order to buy up produce for sale at markets within the district, on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt or in Congo. In return these traders would distribute a variety of consumer goods through the district. The colonial administration welcomed such developments: 'Local people are only beginning to realise that being near a road and European traders' stores makes it possible for them to have access to a market where they had none before.'⁴³² The road acted as a magnetic focus towards which villages gravitated, in an attempt to take advantage of rising economic opportunities.⁴³³

Similarly, the expansion of mining enterprise on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt had a profound impact on the area of Mwinilunga. Although the mines on the Katangese Copperbelt had attracted labour and crops from Mwinilunga District since the 1900s and continued to do so throughout the twentieth century, international boundary demarcations and colonial legislation had attempted to limit the Congolese attraction.⁴³⁴ This goal was only achieved, to an extent, with the heightened exploitation of mines within Northern Rhodesia. For the area of Mwinilunga Kansanshi mine had provided a labour and food outlet close to home for a brief period after 1908, yet activity only really took off from the 1930s onwards, when the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt was developed.⁴³⁵ The number of African employees on the mines increased from 5,000 in 1925 to 30,000 in 1930 and rose to 38,000 in 1964.⁴³⁶ Large numbers of migrant labourers were attracted from Mwinilunga District, and in the 1960s 50% of the taxable adult male population was reportedly away 'at work'.⁴³⁷ Next to labour, the mines also needed food for workers rations. Demand came to outstrip supply, especially in the years 1939-53, and the call for food resonated as far as Mwinilunga, in spite of the distance and ensuing transport costs.⁴³⁸ Consequently sale of food, not only to the Copperbelt, but also to neighbouring areas of Angola, Congo and other parts of Northern Rhodesia, skyrocketed. In 1955, for example, 610 tons of cassava, 104 tons of beans, 132 tons of rice, 66 tons of sorghum and millet, 57 tons of maize and 14 tons of groundnuts were marketed from Mwinilunga District.⁴³⁹ Food sales brought about prosperity in the area and enabled individuals with cash in their pockets to buy coveted consumer goods or build brick houses with iron sheet roofs. High rates of labour migration could go hand in hand with high levels of agricultural production.⁴⁴⁰ During this period colonial officials described the atmosphere in the area in jubilant terms. 1953 was depicted as 'a year of progress and prosperity', with 'abundant harvests and incentives to be employed.'⁴⁴¹ Through the interaction of

⁴³² (NAZ) SEC2/958, D.G. Clough, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, November 1950.

⁴³³ Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development*.

⁴³⁴ J-L. Vellut, 'Mining in the Belgian Congo', in: D. Birmingham and P.M. Martin (eds.), *History of Central Africa II* (London etc., 1998), 126-62.

⁴³⁵ A.D. Roberts, 'Notes towards a financial history of copper mining in Northern Rhodesia', *Canadian journal of African studies* 16:2 (1982), 347-59. See: D.S. Johnson (ed.), *Handbook to the North-Western Province* (Lusaka, 1980), 191-9 for the history of Kansanshi mine.

⁴³⁶ Vickery, 'Saving settlers', 215; J. Ferguson, 'Mobile workers, modernist narratives: A critique of the historiography of transition on the Zambian Copperbelt, Part one & two', *Journal of southern African studies* 16:3-4, (1990), 395, 604.

⁴³⁷ (NAZ) NWP1/2/101, Loc.4919, E.L. Button, North-Western Province Annual Report on African Affairs, 1960.

⁴³⁸ J. Lukanty and A.P. Wood, 'Agricultural policy in the colonial period', in: A.P. Wood et al (eds.), *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform in Zambia* (Ames, Iowa, 1990), 3-18; Vickery, 'Saving settlers', 231.

⁴³⁹ (NAZ) SEC2/137, P.L.N. Hannaford, Mwinilunga District Annual Report on African Affairs, 1955. In 1955 the total population of Mwinilunga District was 45,000.

⁴⁴⁰ According to the RLI, labour migration would lead to 'rural decay', because of the loss of male labour force in agricultural production, which would upset village cohesion. See: S.S. Berry, 'The food crisis and agrarian change in Africa: A review essay', *African studies review* 27:2 (1984), 59-112; J.A. Hellen, *Rural economic development in Zambia, 1890-1964* (München, 1968), 94-106; Pritchett, *The Lunda-Ndembu*, 184. Amin has argued that 'Africa of the labour reserves' would inevitably become impoverished due to exploitation from mining centres: S. Amin, 'Underdevelopment and dependence in black Africa: Origins and contemporary forms', *Journal of peace research* 9:105 (1972), 105-19.

⁴⁴¹ (NAZ) SEC2/136, M. Mitchell-Heggs, North-Western Province Annual Report on African Affairs, 1953.

local, regional, national and even global influences, the area of Mwinilunga experienced a bout of prosperity.

Settlement patterns equally changed. Whereas villages had previously remained spread out across the landscape, people moved towards the roadside en masse during the 1940s and 1950s.⁴⁴² This movement was incited by road construction, a desire to access markets and cash-earning opportunities, but equally by colonial prodding and legislation.⁴⁴³ Villages started to form 'long almost uninterrupted ribbons' along the roadside, and officials noted 'a universal movement to the vicinity of the roads.'⁴⁴⁴ The colonial government associated this movement with 'progress', as: 'the best villages were always to be found near a motor road, and the more remote a village the worse it becomes.'⁴⁴⁵ Concomitantly, houses would be constructed of more permanent materials and some villages would remain settled in one place for longer periods of time. Reports mentioned cassava gardens which had been under continuous cultivation for 20 years, before moving on to new land.⁴⁴⁶ Nevertheless, shifting remained the norm:

The general tendency to replace pole and dagga houses with Kimberley brick structures which has been noted in the past two years, is becoming increasingly pronounced in all areas (...) It is logical to expect a greater degree of more or less permanent settlement with the advent of more permanent housing (...) [but] even the building of Kimberley brick houses has failed to compete with Lunda instability and one can see whole villages of abandoned Kimberley brick houses whose occupants have split up and moved on (...) I found no land which had been used by the same owner for more than about ten years.⁴⁴⁷

In spite of changes, previous patterns of settlement and residential organisation remained dominant. Individuals would move towards the roadside to take advantage of new opportunities, but this did not necessarily involve abandoning existing forms of social organisation, patterns of livelihood procurement or modes of thought. The movement towards the roadside was not necessarily a step towards government control or capitalist involvement, as colonial observers had perhaps imagined or hoped.⁴⁴⁸

During this period the appearance of 'farms' was first noted by officials. These small settlements, generally comprising several houses, would be built at a distance from the main village.⁴⁴⁹ The establishment of farms evoked ambiguous responses from the colonial government. Whereas these settlements were viewed as an administrative nuisance, the underlying motives for their establishment could also be judged more positively:

"Farms" mean that the more enterprising men will bring bits of good new ground under cultivation, bits that would not otherwise be used (...) It is much more easy for good houses to be built in these small settlements as a single family can practice shifting cultivation over a comparatively small area. Consequently the need to move to new lands is absent and the house can be built with the knowledge that it can be in use for a long time (...) Also of course, an enterprising man living by himself is not "sponged on" by his relatives to quite the same extent as would be the case if he were living among them.⁴⁵⁰

Officials linked the establishment of farms to capitalism, to the prosperity brought about by the sale of agricultural produce and to labour migration. Turner equally noted that:

⁴⁴² Jaeger, *Settlement patterns and rural development*; M. Silberfein, *Rural settlement structure and African development* (Boulder etc., 1998).

⁴⁴³ Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Turner, *Schism and continuity*.

⁴⁴⁴ (NAZ) NWP1/2/40, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, September 1952.

⁴⁴⁵ (NAZ) SEC2/963, R.S. Thompson, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 31 January 1955.

⁴⁴⁶ (NAZ) MAG 1/10/1 Loc.76, C.E. Johnson, Agricultural Programme of Work North-Western Province, 29 June 1960.

⁴⁴⁷ (NAZ) NWP1/2/33, K.Duff-White, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 5 October 1950; (NAZ) NWP1/2/83 Loc.4914, Land Tenure Report North-Western Province, 1958.

⁴⁴⁸ See Chapter 4 & 5.

⁴⁴⁹ See: Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

⁴⁵⁰ (NAZ) SEC2/957, R.N. Lines, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 10 January 1949; SEC2/959, K.J. Forder, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 5 November 1951.

Most true farms are situated beside the motor roads, for the typical farm-head is a man who has earned money, often on the line-of-rail, and who intends to earn more locally. He may be a petty trader, a tailor with his own sewing-machine, a 'tea-room' proprietor, a 'beer-hall' owner, or a peasant producer raising cash crops. For all these purposes easy access to motor roads is necessary and propinquity to administrative and trading centres advantageous.⁴⁵¹

Capitalist competition and the desire to earn money would cause a distinct individualism, as well as disrespect for the authority of headmen and chiefs. Generational tensions, between wealthy youths and elder figures holding village authority, would give rise to farms.⁴⁵² Colonial officials described an impulse: 'which seems to be felt by many of the younger generation to break away from their headmen and village discipline to establish their so-called "farms"'.⁴⁵³

Concerns were voiced about fading customs and the crumbling of 'tribal authority', but such concerns appeared unwarranted.⁴⁵⁴ The tendency towards village fissure had been long-established, and was already noted during the early years of colonial rule:

Every man wants to be his own headman, and in defiance of instructions often builds a mile or two from his acknowledged headman or chief (...) This alone makes it very difficult to hold a headman responsible for the good behaviour of his people (...) They [chiefs and headmen] frankly admit, however, that they have but little control over the younger members of their tribe.⁴⁵⁵

Rather than being altogether new, the appearance of farms therefore seemed to be a variation on an established pattern. The following chapters will explore the causes for village fissure in more detail – whether farms resulted from ecological factors, kinship or indeed from interactions with markets and the state – and will examine the influence of social contestation and power struggles on hierarchies of authority in the village.⁴⁵⁶ The locally aspired ideal continued to be a large village, headed by a leader who could boast a prestigious genealogy.⁴⁵⁷ Nevertheless, small roadside farms might appear attractive alternatives. Through mobility, farming or by other means, individuals sought to take advantage of economic opportunities in both familiar and new ways.

The birth of a nation? Independence and beyond

Throughout the colonial period the paramount grievance of the population of Mwinilunga District had been the relative neglect of the area and the lack of government effort in domains such as education, medicine or agriculture:

It is a sad thing to us to see that our Province (...) is entirely neglected by the Government in many things like education (...) As this Province is the only backward area in the colony, the Government should pay great attention to it in order that it may develop and be on the same measure with other Provinces in the colony.⁴⁵⁸

The marginality of Mwinilunga District, however, created a certain degree of independence, enabling the evasion of unfavourable policies or state influence.⁴⁵⁹ The continuation of illicit cross-border trade with Angola and Congo, undeterred hunting in spite of restrictive game and firearm laws, as well as the cultivation of cassava instead of officially propagated maize, are but some expressions of this latitude.⁴⁶⁰ When political expectations of independence mounted in Mwinilunga during the 1950s and

⁴⁵¹ Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 36-7.

⁴⁵² Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 10, 36, 43, 133-5.

⁴⁵³ (NAZ) NWP1/2/78 Loc.4913, F.R.G. Phillips, North-Western Province Annual Report on African affairs, 1957.

⁴⁵⁴ Turner, *Schism and continuity*, 43.

⁴⁵⁵ (NAZ) KSE6/2/1, Quarterly Report Lunda Sub-District, 31 December 1913 and 31 December 1914.

⁴⁵⁶ See: Chapter 4 and Chapter 5.

⁴⁵⁷ Turner, *Schism and continuity*; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Kadansonu Mukeya, 7 October 2010, Ntambu.

⁴⁵⁸ (NAZ) SEC2/46, Kaonde-Lunda Native Authorities to the Governor, Lusaka, 3 September 1946.

⁴⁵⁹ Herbst, *States and power*; Boone, *Political topographies*; Scott, *Moral economy*; Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*.

⁴⁶⁰ Bakewell, 'Refugees repatriating'; Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*.

1960s, the opportunity was seized to express lingering grievances and design plans for an alternative future.

Two political parties, the African National Congress (ANC) under the leadership of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula and the United National Independence Party (UNIP) under Kenneth Kaunda, contested for the vote.⁴⁶¹ Throughout Mwinilunga District politicians attempted to attract voters by tangible means, promising schools, hospitals, vehicles and improved transport, as well as direct material rewards.⁴⁶² Next to mundane issues, matters of ideology played a role. A balance between local, regional, national and international factors and interests had to be negotiated, as personal desires were adapted to rhyme with national policies.⁴⁶³ The appeal of ANC candidate Rhodes Mangangu was attributed to his distinct ability to manoeuvre between these different levels. He was able to effectively mediate between specific local concerns and the broader setting of (inter)national politics: 'His influence is due to his powers of oratory, his Europeanised manners and dress, and especially it is due to his visit to England.'⁴⁶⁴ Mangangu and other ANC members treated chiefs with particular respect, regarding them as the representatives of local interests. Chiefs, in turn, became enmeshed in the power play of national politics:

Chief Kanongesha has allowed his political leanings towards ANC to influence his actions in his capacity as Senior Chief, and indeed the strength of this organisation is directly attributable to his "official" support. S. Tapa and John Njapau succeeded by "judicial flattery" of the conceited old man in gaining his ear and today ANC is his main and only source of advice.⁴⁶⁵

In the run up towards independence local, regional and national factors became increasingly intertwined, as individuals in Mwinilunga made sense of (inter)national political struggles through a local lens.

Rather than rally for the dominant UNIP, voters in Mwinilunga overwhelmingly chose to support the underdog ANC.⁴⁶⁶ What contributed to this decision was that ANC enjoyed direct links to the Katangese politician Moïse Tshombe, a relative of the Lunda Paramount Chief Mwantianvwa. This connection caused plans of resurrecting the 'Lunda Empire' to surface.⁴⁶⁷ Such ideas were not new, as the District Commissioner noted in the 1950s: 'the Lunda have long cherished a hope that Lundaland, now arbitrarily divided between three European powers, would one day be reunited.'⁴⁶⁸ Although but few politicians or other individuals were prepared to actively pursue this goal, the fact that allegiances in Mwinilunga were more easily stirred by playing on connections with Angola and Congo, than by reference to a national Zambian state with the remote Copperbelt and line of rail areas as its centre, is significant. The lack of confidence that UNIP would be able, or willing, to alter the marginal future which awaited Mwinilunga District within the Zambian state, caused their candidate Peter Matoka to

⁴⁶¹ G. Macola, *Liberal nationalism in Central Africa: A biography of Harry Mwaanga Nkumbula* (Basingstoke, 2010); M. Larmer, *Rethinking African politics: A history of opposition in Zambia* (Farnham and Burlington, 2011); A. Sardanis, *Africa, another side of the coin: Northern Rhodesia's final years and Zambia's nationhood* (London, 2003); W.D. Grant, *Zambia then and now: Colonial rulers and their African successors* (London etc., 2008); R. Short, *African sunset* (London, 1973); G. Keverne, *A man cannot cry: The towering saga of passion, violence and love* (London, 1985).

⁴⁶² (NAZ) and (UNIPA) archives.

⁴⁶³ Interview with Peter Matoka, 9 January 2010, Lusaka. A. von Oppen, 'A place in the world: Markers of the local along the upper Zambezi', in: P. Probst and G. Spittler (eds.), *Between resistance and expansion: Explorations of local vitality in Africa* (Münster, 2004), 190, describes: 'how local intellectuals and political activists who fight for local self-sufficiency do so by presenting themselves as spokespeople of global ideas and norms (...) these struggles may be seen as a form of striving to take part in global modernity.'

⁴⁶⁴ (NAZ) LGH5/4/5 Loc. 3616, Chiefs Mwinilunga, April 1961.

⁴⁶⁵ (NAZ) LGH5/4/5 Loc. 3616, Chiefs Mwinilunga, 6 May 1961.

⁴⁶⁶ M. Larmer and G. Macola, 'The origins, context, and political significance of the Mushala rebellion against the Zambian one-party state', *The international journal of African historical studies* 40:3 (2007), 471-96; P.M. Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion: The untold story* (Lusaka, 1987).

⁴⁶⁷ Bustin, *Lunda under Belgian rule*, Chapter Seven.

⁴⁶⁸ (NAZ) SEC2/961, R.C. Dening, Mwinilunga District Tour Report, 21 November 1952.

be defeated by the ANC candidate Ronald John Japau by 9,379 to 6,593 votes at the 1964 elections.⁴⁶⁹ Although UNIP booked a national victory, their defeat in Mwinilunga remained a sore spot.⁴⁷⁰ Foreboding messages were spread, before as well as after the elections:

It was apparent that the present aim of UNIP was to spread a feeling of despondency by pursuing the line that UNIP would shortly be assuming control of government and those who opposed or failed to support its cause would suffer reprisals thereafter.⁴⁷¹

Even though violence was instigated by both ANC and UNIP, causing general feelings of insecurity, serious clashes remained isolated occurrences.⁴⁷² A climax was reached when Chief Kanongesha Ndembi, due to recurrent non-cooperation with the UNIP government and blatant ANC support, was deposed from office by government decree in 1966. His subsequent flight across the Angolan border and his mysterious death demonstrated the extent of the ANC-UNIP cleavage.⁴⁷³ What proved more significant in the long run, however, was that Mwinilunga came to suffer from both latent and outright policies of retribution. Because the area had failed to support UNIP during the elections, agricultural loans, development funds and political appointments would be granted far less copiously than in other areas.⁴⁷⁴

Kaunda's philosophy of Humanism, executed through five-year national development plans, aimed at reaching ambitious goals such as setting up medical facilities in remote areas, providing universal primary education, developing transport networks and providing marketing services.⁴⁷⁵ A desire was professed to close the gap between the Copperbelt and line of rail areas on the one hand, and impoverished rural areas such as Mwinilunga, on the other.⁴⁷⁶ Various policies attempted to stimulate 'development'. These included government loan schemes, the formation of co-operatives, the set up of national marketing boards, price control and eventually the Zambianisation of enterprises.⁴⁷⁷ National aims were defined as: 'firstly bridging the gap between urban and rural areas and secondly, trying to gradually achieve a balanced level of development between the Provinces.'⁴⁷⁸ In Mwinilunga this development effort found expression in the rapid expansion of medical and educational facilities, as well as the construction of roads and the extension of other services. The First National Development Plan (FNDP 1966-70) devised the opening of schools, the digging of wells, the building of improved housing and the construction of fish ponds.⁴⁷⁹ The summit was the pineapple canning factory, erected under the parastatal G.M. Rucom Industries in 1969. Although the factory processed thousands of pineapples a year, to the benefit of local cultivators, problems soon cropped up and closure followed.⁴⁸⁰ Difficulties were equally experienced with agricultural loan schemes, as the meagre funds which were released in Mwinilunga would be distributed in a biased manner. Loans for

⁴⁶⁹ Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion*, 62.

⁴⁷⁰ All these issues will be further explored in: I. Peša, "We have killed this animal together, may I also have a share?": Local-national political dynamics in Mwinilunga District, Zambia, 1950s-1970s', *Journal of Southern African studies* (2014), forthcoming.

⁴⁷¹ (NAZ) LGH5/2/2 Loc. 3611, District Commissioners Conference North-Western Province, 8 February 1962.

⁴⁷² Fights erupted in Ntambu between ANC and UNIP supporters and led to the death of one UNIP youth.

⁴⁷³ Interviews in Kanongesha area, especially with Mr Jesman Sambaulu, 10 August 2010, Kanongesha. This event is also noted in passing by Wele, *Kaunda and Mushala rebellion*; Larmer and Macola, 'The origins'.

⁴⁷⁴ This view is based on a reading of UNIP and ANC archives (UNIPA); See Macola, *Liberal nationalism*, for similar examples from Zambia's Southern Province.

⁴⁷⁵ (NAZ) A New Strategy for Rural Development in Zambia, 1972; (UNIPA) UNIP5/9/6, Tour Report North-Western Province, 1970.

⁴⁷⁶ A.P. Wood et al (ed.), *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform in Zambia* (Ames, Iowa, 1990), 21-58.

⁴⁷⁷ (NAZ) Programme for the Nation – Rural Development Seminar, 19 September 1974.

⁴⁷⁸ (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/2/2/8, 1969 Annual Progress Report North-Western Province, 23 February 1970.

⁴⁷⁹ (UNIPA) First National Development Plan.

⁴⁸⁰ (NAZ) Rural Development Seminar: Programme for the Nation, 19 September 1974; For a more detailed account of the history of the canning factory, see Chapter 2.

seeds, fertiliser and tractors would be used as political baits, rewarding loyalty to UNIP, as the Credit Organisation of Zambia representative Mr Chindefu explained:

The way we use for granting loans here is a little bit different from our friends whose districts have only one party. We use our propaganda for one party system in speaking to the people about loans. And indeed we are achieving, we do not get challenges from the people (...) we do not find people losing confidence in Government. All loans so far are given to only UNIP.⁴⁸¹

Political dissent translated into the paucity of loans, grants and development effort afforded to Mwinilunga. Similarly, the area only poorly profited from marketing schemes. National marketing boards placed a primacy on maize production and marketing, privileging maize over the locally favoured cassava crop, which was not even accepted at marketing depots.⁴⁸² Compared to other parts of the territory, crop sales from Mwinilunga District remained low. Still, some producers did take advantage of marketing opportunities. In the 1969-70 season the National Agricultural Marketing Board purchased 180 tons of maize, 9.6 tons of groundnuts, 5 tons of beans, 24 tons of rice, 10 tons of vegetables and 480 tons of pineapples from Mwinilunga District. In addition, unrecorded amounts of produce found their way through individual traders to local markets or crossed the border to Congo and Angola.⁴⁸³ By pursuing higher education, moving to booming urban centres or through pineapple cultivation, people in Mwinilunga sought to realise existing opportunities within the shifting (inter)national context.

In line with colonial policies, the UNIP government advocated the concentration of village settlements.⁴⁸⁴

In the areas which are sparsely populated some re-grouping of the villages will be necessary with intensive development zones, i.e. areas where the natural conditions allow a rapid expansion of economic activities, e.g. good soils, availability of water, roads, etc., and where the density of population warrants the provision of services, and the establishment of non-agricultural enterprises.⁴⁸⁵

It was argued that concentrated settlements, preferably along the roadside, would facilitate the provision of social services, such as schools, hospitals and water supplies.⁴⁸⁶ Permanent roadside villages became the ideal, though never a universal practice. After independence, concentrated clusters of settlement did increasingly develop in the vicinity of social amenities. Close to markets, schools or hospitals, large and increasingly permanent settlements would spring up.⁴⁸⁷ Next to the various chiefly capitals, Mwinilunga Boma developed into a large township, where government services were centred and individuals would come to trade, access education or medical care.⁴⁸⁸ Yet such large, permanent settlements remained the exception. Headmen and chiefs feared that labour migration, cash crop production and other developments would challenge the exercise of their authority and would question established hierarchies: 'Many chiefs feel that they have little part to play in the day to day running of their areas and that they are ignored and unwanted by their own people.'⁴⁸⁹ Relationships of power had to be renegotiated as young wealthy men contested the authority of elder lineage heads. Nevertheless, the position of headmen and chiefs was not seriously threatened, as even at present youths aspire to become respected headmen, rather than seeking wealth in towns.⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁸¹ (NAZ) LGH5/2/7 Loc.3612, J. Chindefu to H. Kikombe, 23 February 1966.

⁴⁸² Wood, *The dynamics of agricultural policy and reform*.

⁴⁸³ (NAZ) LGH5/5/12, Marketing of Produce North-Western Province, 23 July 1970.

⁴⁸⁴ A. von Oppen, 'The village as territory: Enclosing locality in northwest Zambia, 1950s to 1990s', *Journal of African history* 47:1 (2006), 57-75.

⁴⁸⁵ (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/2/2/8, 1969 Annual Progress Report North-Western Province, 23 February 1970.

⁴⁸⁶ (UNIPA) UNIP5/3/2/2/5, Provincial Development Committee North-Western Province, 30 December 1971.

⁴⁸⁷ Kay, 'Social aspects of village regrouping'; Silberfein, *Rural settlement structure*.

⁴⁸⁸ Johnson, *Handbook to the North-Western Province*.

⁴⁸⁹ (NAZ) LGH5/2/7 Loc.3612, Mwinilunga Quarterly Newsletter, May 1967.

⁴⁹⁰ Pritchett, *Lunda-Ndembu*; Confirmed by numerous oral interviews, for example Headman Mwinilunga, 31 October 2010, Mwinilunga.

In spite of professed intentions and official efforts, the outlook of Mwinilunga District at the end of the 1970s did not seem to be much brighter than it had been during the colonial period:

In terms of Agricultural development, North-western Province is one of the least developed in Zambia. This in spite of the fact that the Province has ideal climatic conditions, abundant water resources and suitable soils for all types of cash crops that can be produced such as maize, tobacco, rice and most of the area is free from tsetse fly.⁴⁹¹

The potential of Mwinilunga District – its soils, rivers and forests – which had attracted the Lunda immigrants around 1750, still held sway in the 1970s. Nevertheless, obstacles and difficulties prevailed, transport and marketing being but some examples. Within this environment of opportunity and constraint, individuals sought ways to eke out their livelihoods, appropriating and domesticating change within existing patterns of thought, action and ways of life. Although Mwinilunga remained marginal from a national or global perspective, this marginality could be used to the advantage of the area.⁴⁹² When the economic crisis of the 1970s hit the national economy, Mwinilunga District proved distinctly able to cope with economic hardships. Exactly because of the limited incorporation of the area, individuals could fall back on existing coping strategies.⁴⁹³ Change was continuously incorporated within a flexible framework of past ideas and practices, modifying the social, economic and political organisation of Mwinilunga District whilst leaving foundations intact. By migrating to the mines, trading with relatives in Congo or Angola, or seeking local employment through association with the ruling political party, individuals connected themselves to the world whilst remaining locally grounded.

Conclusion

The long-term developments sketched throughout this chapter have defied any easy or rigid demarcation between pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.⁴⁹⁴ Although important shifts and changes did occur, long-term continuities have equally been salient. Continuity, nevertheless, should not be equated to changelessness.⁴⁹⁵ Continuity was rather a creative adaptation of change – both discursive and practical – within existing practices and modes of thought. The Lunda connection, originating in the sixteenth century yet remaining important to post-colonial political consciousness, is only one such example of continuity. A constant feature throughout the history of Mwinilunga was the interaction between individuals: Lunda immigrants, Mbwela, long-distance traders, the colonial administration and the UNIP government, which created a hybrid mix of people, ideas and associations. These interactions, encompassing local, regional and global levels, involved a process of negotiation within shifting constellations of power. Unfamiliar long-distance trade goods were incorporated into existing hierarchies of authority within the village, whereas during the colonial and post-colonial period familiar crops were produced for sale to engage with markets and the state. Settlement patterns were adjusted from small shifting settlements, to stockaded villages, to communities living along the roadside, as a response to changing socio-economic, political and ecological circumstances. By means of metaphor this chapter has explored various pathways through the past, assessing the long-term threads as well as the variations within the history of Mwinilunga District. The following chapters, by looking at aspects of production, consumption, mobility and social relationships, will analyse in more detail how people in Mwinilunga negotiated and made sense of social change.

⁴⁹¹ (UNIPA) UNIP1/2/21, Report of the North-Western Province to the National Council, 15 December 1977.

⁴⁹² More about marginality will be said in Chapter 3A.

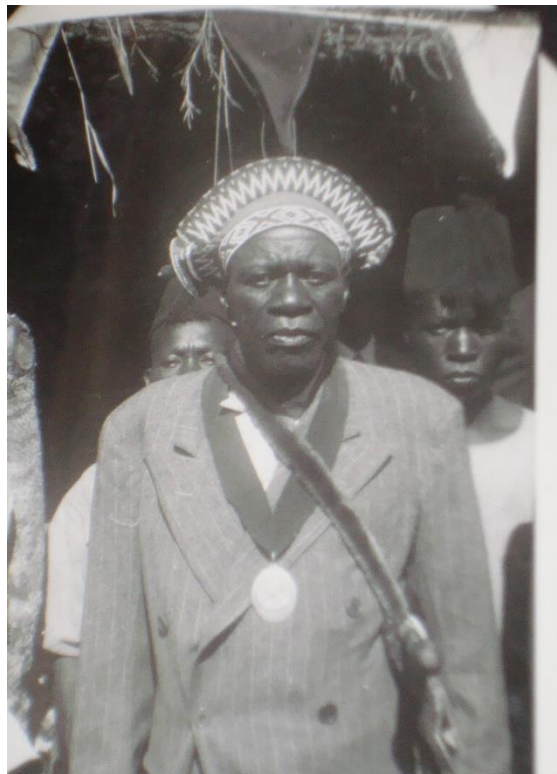
⁴⁹³ See: Scott, *Moral economy*; Hyden, *Beyond Ujamaa*; Based on numerous oral interviews, for example Mr Sokawuta, 22 & 23 April, Ikelenge.

⁴⁹⁴ S. Ellis, 'Writing histories of contemporary Africa', *Journal of African history* 43:1 (2002), 1-26.

⁴⁹⁵ Schoenbrun, 'Conjuring the modern'.



1.1: Messengers in front of the District Commissioner's office
Source: Betty Dening, Personal Collection



1.2: Chief Kanongesha
Source: Betty Dening, Personal Collection