

CHAPTER THREE

GROWTH AND DIVERSIFICATION OF ASIAN BUSINESSES, 1935-64.

Introduction

Whilst the period from 1905 to 1935 can best be described as a 'period of stress and struggle' for the Asian trading community in Livingstone owing to the numerous difficulties it faced as observed in the last chapter, the period 1935 to 1964 can best be described as a 'period of glory' as it saw the proliferation and consolidation of trading business as well as the formation of big business enterprises by Asians. This chapter focuses on the growth and diversification of Asian business from 1935 to 1964. It is divided into three sections. The first examines the growth of Asian business. It argues that Asian trading business grew because of factors such as the Asian ability to cut down expenses through frugal living, formation of business partnerships, the reinvestment of excess Southern Rhodesia Asian capital through their relatives, pioneer Asian traders' establishment of branches of their Livingstone business in the main trading areas along the railway line and Great North Road and the former Asian employees' establishment of trading enterprises of their own in the 1940s and 1950s.

The second section looks at the diversification of Asian business in the period 1935 and 1964. It shows that most successful Asian traders diversified into other business areas such as large-scale farming, wholesaling, white trade, manufacturing factories such as tailoring, biscuit and candle factories. The third section explores the responses of Europeans and Africans to the development of Asian trading business from 1935 to 1964. It argues that whereas before 1935 European settlers were an obstacle to the smooth development of Asian trading businesses, after 1935 it was the colonial government authority and the Africans who were an obstacle.

Growth of Asian Business, 1935-64

In the 1930s, Asian business was transformed from that of mainly vegetable and fruit hawkers, coupled with hair dressing and shoemaking, to that of storeowners. This was achieved through the formation of partnerships. Most Asian informants observed that during this period, the population of Asian settlers was joined by their relatives and friends who they called in after establishing themselves. Most of the Asians also made a considerable amount of money from their earlier activities but not substantial enough for each Asian to stand on his own. Asian traders then pooled their resources together by forming partnerships in which each member contributed an agreed amount of money towards the initial capital which they used to procure trading merchandise and either to rent or buy shops and stores from the collapsing European traders in African trade. As a result, a lot of Asian owned shops and stores sprang up on Queensway, hence completely overshadowing the white traders in the area. In fact, the formation of partnerships started in the early 1930s.¹ For example Naik Manganlal Manibheni who came in the early 1920s formed a company called V.N. Das and Company in partnership with Naik Vasanje Kikabhai, while Ranchhod Gandoo Nana who was in Zimbabwe before coming to Livingstone in 1933 formed the Pioneer Trading Company with his father Ranchhod Nana who arrived in Livingstone in the early 1920s. Gandoo later started a business company called R. Nana and Sons in Partnership with his brother Chhinabhai.²

In 1935, S.H. Nayee who migrated to Livingstone in 1926 formed a Company called Nayee Brothers with his cousin R.V. Nayee who migrated to the area in 1931. Bhana Rama, a market gardener, opened up a greengrocery shop called B. Rama and Company in partnership with Paragji Naranji, also a market gardener, who came in the early 1930s while Jagabhai Govindji Patel and Nanubhai Kasanji Patel both of whom

came in the 1930s became partners and formed a company called Bombay Trading in the early 1930s. In 1934 Chhaganlal C. Patel formed a partnership with D.K. Patel, V.B. Patel and H.J. Patel called Chhaganlal and Company. This was a wholesale and retail trading company. Manganlal A. Patel who came in 1934 opened up a retail shop in 1937 which was transformed into a big wholesale and retail business called M.A. Patel and Company when his brother Manibhai A. Patel joined him in 1942.³ By 1938 there were 15 licenced Asian traders in Livingstone.⁴

Most Asian informants have observed that business trading partnerships worked very well for the Asian traders. This was because partnerships formed were usually between members who were either relatives or very close friends. There was a lot of trust and good will amongst the members who were all trying to eke out a living in a society in which they were a resented minority. In Livingstone, jobs in the civil service and in the main employing companies like the Rhodesia Railways and the Zambezi Sawmills were closed to Asians. Trade was the only area open to them in which they could make a living.⁵

As a result of this combined financial force, the European traders failed to match the Asian competition in African trade. Consequently, most of them became bankrupt and either rented out or sold their premises on Queensway trading area to Asian traders. The European traders who were left concentrated on European trade on Mainway.

Some of the rich Asian traders in Southern Rhodesia also contributed to the growth of the Asian trading businesses in Livingstone. Because Asian immigration was closed in Southern Rhodesia through the Southern Rhodesia 1924 proclamation on Asian immigration, rich Asian traders who wanted to expand their business in Southern Rhodesia by bringing in their relatives or friends to open up new branches could not do so. Livingstone in Northern Rhodesia, which had an open door policy to Asian

immigration and was in proximity to Southern Rhodesia was seen as an area where Southern Rhodesian Asian excess capital could be invested. It was in this respect that Harishchandra Oza and Bhimsih Bimsinh Devalia came to Livingstone to open up a business. Both had lived in East Africa. Devalia lived in Kenya before coming to Livingstone in 1939 while Oza lived in Tanzania. Oza came to Livingstone in 1941. The two were married to sisters whose father was a prosperous businessman in Umtali, Southern Rhodesia. They opened up a partnership business in Livingstone called Silk Bazaar under the suggestion and sponsorship of their father-in-law in Southern Rhodesia.⁶ Kurji Kanji Vara and Premji Kanji Vara who were cousins lived in East Africa before coming to Livingstone in 1947. Here they started a business in partnership called Vara Brothers. They also started their business through Asian capital from Southern Rhodesia. Just like Devalia and Oza, the two cousins were also married to sisters whose father was a wealthy businessman in Southern Rhodesia. It was through the financial help of their father-in-law that they started their business in Livingstone. Gordhanbhai Javerbhai Desai who had a Bachelor of Commerce degree also started his company called Colonial Trading in the mid-1940s through the Southern Rhodesia Asian capital connection. Desai was sent by his uncle Nararebhai Patel who was also a wealthy businessman in Southern Rhodesia, after making arrangements with some local Asians in Livingstone to start his business.⁷ The closure of Asian immigration in Southern Rhodesia was therefore a stimulant to the growth of the Asian trading community in Livingstone as it allowed excess Asian capital there to be reinvested in Livingstone as noted above.

The partnerships often came to an end after the partners made a substantial amount of money, enough to stand on their own. This resulted in the proliferation of Asian trading businesses as each former partner formed his own business. This was

particularly the case in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s. For instance in 1945, the partnership between Devalia and Oza came to an end. Oza formed a company called Northern Distributors while Devalia formed his called Colonial Photo Company. The company was run in partnership with his brothers. These were Bimji Arjan Devalia, whom he called from East Africa in about 1945 and Kanji Arjan Devalia and Madhavji Arjan Devalia, both of whom came to Livingstone in about 1946. The Company was involved in book-selling, wireless dealing, refrigerator, electrical goods, jewellery, stationery, cycle dealing and in many other things.⁸ In 1949, the partnership between the Nayee Brothers was dissolved. Thereafter, R.V. Nayee formed a trading company called Rhino Stores while S.H. Nayee continued running his own company under the old name, Nayee Brothers.⁹

The Asian trading community in Livingstone grew also because established traders ventured into establishing branches in the main trading areas along the line of rail and the Great North Road such as Zimba, Kalomo, Choma and Mazabuka. For instance in the late 1940s, R.V. Nayee opened a general dealer shop called Elvina in Kalomo. He later branched out into the rural areas of Kalomo such as Luyala, Mukwela, Chilumbwe, Chileshe, Mapatizya and Kabanga where he opened up several shops. Most Asian informants have indicated that Kalomo became the trading domain of R.V. Nayee. By the close of the 1950s, R.V. Nayee had about 21 shops in the area.¹⁰ Harischandra Oza opened a shop in the 1950s at Kasilya in Namwala¹¹ while C.R. Trading owned by C.M. Patel and R.K. Patel opened a subsidiary of their Livingstone branch at Senkobo in the late 1950s.¹²

In the main, the general sequence was that after an established trader in Livingstone had set up a chain of stores in the main trading area he would then begin importing relatives and friends who would serve as shop assistants in the newly

established branches. Because the established traders had external business contacts and enough capital, it was easy for them to procure goods for their shops.

The new immigrants came through the permit system arrangement in which the established trader obtained a permit from the government which he sent to either a friend or relative he wanted to come and work for him. The permit was used by the migrant to prove to the authorities that he had secured employment and therefore would not be an economic burden to the government.¹³

Because of the need for Indian shop assistants coupled with the end of the Second World War in 1945, Indian immigration in Northern Rhodesia increased tremendously. From 1935 to 1944 there was a total of 710 Indian immigrants in Northern Rhodesia, most of whom were described as traders and store assistants.¹⁴ The number of Indian immigrants from 1945 to 1948 was 823 out of which 511 were adult males. Of these 463 were store assistants.¹⁵ The population of Asians in Livingstone increased as shown in Table I.

TABLE I
Growth of Asian Population in Livingstone, 1931 – 1961

CENSUS YEAR	POPULATION
1931	20 (17 males and 3 females)
1946	186 (135 males and 51 females)
1951	364 (233 males and 131 females)
1956	548 (Break down not available)
1961	644 (Break down not available)

Source : **Northern Rhodesia Reports of the Director of Census, 1931, 1946, 1951 and 1961**, University of Zambia (UNZA) Library Special Collections, Gov.ZAM/02/1931/2, 1931 Census Report, p. 28; Gov. ZAM/02/1949/17, 1946 Census Report, pp. 64-5; Gov.ZAM/02/54/10, p.42; 1956 and 1961 figures obtained from Gov.ZAM/02/1965/20, 1961 Census Report, pp.42-3.

Nearly all census reports indicate that the new immigrants were store assistants. Because of the large number of shop assistants in Livingstone, on November 5, 1950, they formed a union called Livingstone Indian Shop Assistants Union which at the time of its formation had 94 members. The general aim of this Union was to safeguard the interests of the shop assistants, improve their efficiency and create good will among its members and shop owners.¹⁶ The Union also solicited the co-operation of the local Indian bodies such as the India Chambers of Commerce formed in 1948¹⁷ and the British India Association. Strangely, the shop owners or employers were also members of the executive body. Though the policy of the Union was changed in 1953 so that only employees could be members, by 1954, both employees and employers were still members of the same Union, despite being opposing forces.¹⁸ The employers were allowed to be members of the Union most probably because generally shop assistants aspired to and frequently did establish their own business within a comparatively short time after entering the country. They were therefore looking forward to safeguarding their interests as shop owners in the near future. In fact, by 1957, of the original shop assistants C.D. Patel, secretary of the Union was the only one functioning as a shop assistant. The others were either managers or business proprietors.¹⁹ Besides, in 1952 the wages and conditions of service for Indian shop assistants were improved by employers owing to new government regulations on minimum wages and conditions of service for shop assistants. The minimum wage for a shop assistant with one year's experience was put at £25 per month while one with two years was £27 and £30 for the third and subsequent years of experience.²⁰ There was therefore no cause for complaints and so the Union was dissolved in 1957.²¹

Asian shop assistants in Livingstone were devoted to their work and served their masters very well. H.V. Merani and H.L. Van der Laan in their study on Indian traders in Sierra Leone made similar observations. They noted that this was because most employees were recruited on the basis of kinship so that they felt a moral obligation to look after the interests of their employers. Secondly, there was a legal contract between the employer and the employee, even if they were close relatives. The contract dealt with salary, duration of service and obligation of the employer in the provision of lodging, medical attention and passages at the beginning and at the end of the contract. Thirdly, each employee expected a *longhi Pothi* or bonus at the end of his service. This acted as an incentive as the employees often planned to have their own businesses after getting the bonus.²² The same applied to Livingstone. The duration of service was usually three years. Chhotobhai Mahthurbhai Patel received a *Longhi Pothi* amounting to £4000 in 1950 after working for three years for his sponsor or employer.²³

However, some employers were hard on their employees. A classical example is provided by G. Parbhoo who was running a business for his son, H.G. Parbhoo, in Livingstone. Parbhoo never allowed his employees to chat with each other nor to move around freely whilst on duty. He provided un-nourishing food and made his employees work like slaves, thus forcing them to report his cruel activities to the authority through anonymous letters.²⁴ C.M. Patel noted that when he came to Livingstone in 1947, some of the sponsors took advantage of the desperate situation of the people they called in as they could not go back because of lack of money for transport. Some sponsors did not give their employees proper food and were made to work like slaves. Because they had no other alternative for earning a living as the civil service jobs were closed to them, they were forced to stick to their cruel employers.²⁵ Arising from the above, the Asian

trading business grew partly because of the exploitation of the labour of their desperately poor kinsmen.

Some Asian traders in Livingstone were involved in illegal business practices such as cheating on their income tax returns so as to maximise profit margins. This is exemplified by Bavjibhai Chhotabhai Patel of Bridgelal and Company who made a false statement on his income tax return by allowing an invoice of goods amounting to £203 6s. 2d. purchased from the Central Supply Stores on April 20, 1955 to be shown on the return as goods purchased on 20 February, 1955.²⁶ Patel was found guilty of the offence and sentenced to a three months imprisonment with hard labour on 8 April, 1958.²⁷ This practice was not only found in Livingstone. Bates noted that the Indian traders in Natal had a highly developed flair for profitable trading 'no less remarkable than his dexterous handling of his accounts which makes the Income Tax Authorities suspicious and uncomplimentary to Indian business ethics and his European competitors dislike him.'²⁸ However, such cases were isolated and cannot be used to make a blanket conclusion that Asians were dishonest businessmen. As D.P. Ghai and Y. Ghai observed in their study on Asian traders in East Africa "this charge of alleged dishonesty and exploitation is unfair as the business of other races cannot claim entire freedom."²⁹

The growth of Asian business was further enhanced by the fact that in the 1940s and 1950s nearly all Asian employees started setting up trading enterprises of their own. Just like the pioneer Asian traders, trading businesses set up by former employees were usually partnerships. These were usually manned by family labour provided by partners. Partnerships were usually dissolved when each partner had earned enough money to start his own business after sharing the assets. It was then that each member formed a family business.³⁰

Some of the former employees who formed their own trading enterprises were Jivanji Dullabhai Patel who was called by Chhaganlal in 1939 to work for him. He formed his own company called J. Master and Company in the 1940s. Vallabhai Bhulabhai Patel who also worked for Chhaganlal Company formed his company called V. Bulla and Company in the late 1950s. The Sharma brothers, Shankerlal Motiram Sharma and Sombhai Joilaran Sharma who were both called by R.V. Nayee in the late 1940s formed a company called Sharma Brothers which traded in Mukuni.

Others were Vallabhai Patel who came in 1929 to work for Rama and formed his own company V.B. Patel and Company in the early 1960s. Another one was R. K. Patel who came in 1950 to Livingstone and worked for J. Master and Company formed C.R. Trading in partnership with C.M. Patel who worked for Bridgelal and Company established in 1942. C.M. Patel came to Livingstone in 1947. The company dissolved in 1957. Thereafter C.M. Patel started a tea-room while R.K. Patel continued the business alone still in the name C.R. Trading. C.R. Trading opened branches in the rural areas of Livingstone such as Nyawa, Mayoba, Senkobo and Zimba. Rachhobhai Morarji Patel who came in 1949 and worked for K.C. Patel and Company started his own shop in partnership with his brother Ambrabhai called Koshiya Brothers in 1956 while Parbhoo Harkishary Govind who came in Livingstone in 1946 at the age of 18 and worked for R.V. Nayee formed his own trading company, H.G. Parbhoo in 1950.

Undoubtedly, arising from the above, the growth of Asian business was hastened by the progression of former storekeepers into traders. In addition to the formation of partnerships, the progression of former shop assistants into traders was enhanced by factors such as experience, the credit system, intra-community assistance and the racially stratified economic structure obtaining in the racial colonial society.

Former employees generally possessed sufficient experience and skill in African trade which they acquired whilst working for their sponsor. Experience gave them knowledge of the technicalities of trade and commerce, competence and charm needed in persuading customers to buy as well as to win the good will of the customers. It also gave them the practical intricacies of book keeping and the consumption patterns of the Africans in the area. Besides, Asian traders employed appropriate business methods so as to win the good will of African customers. This was particularly the case when there were a lot of goods and competition was stiff. In such times Asian traders showed a benign attitude to the African customers by selling goods to them on credit. Nonetheless, the credit system operated by Asian traders was not always so innocent as it often kept African customers in perpetual debt. They also often gave a small gift called *mbasela* in the form of a head-dress, a small packet of salt, a sewing needle or cotton to customers after buying either a costly item or a number of small items. This was quite common on Queensway during the late 1950s and early 1960s when Asian enterprises had proliferated greatly, resulting in stiff competition amongst the Asian traders.³¹ Mkunga also observed the same trend among Asian traders in Chipata.³²

Moreover, former Asian employees were able to get credit from their rich former employers and sponsors. R.M. Patel observed that even if one did not have the capital, he could be helped to set up his own business by getting credit from his rich former employer in the form of goods. R.V. Nayee who is credited with having brought a lot of Asians to Livingstone, assisted most of his employees to begin their own business in this way.³³ Oza noted that there was much intra-community co-operation amongst Asians in Livingstone. This was enhanced by the fact that most Asians had close family ties as most storekeepers were sent permits to come to Northern Rhodesia by their well established relatives.³⁴ In fact, a few European and

Asian informants who opted to remain anonymous pointed out that from the late 1940s rich Asian traders through the Livingstone Hindu Association and the Livingstone branch of the Northern Rhodesia British Indian Association embarked on a programme in which they were buying shops from the white traders who were either becoming bankrupt or leaving the area for various reasons. These were later rented to upcoming Asian traders on favourable terms.

Furthermore, most sponsors were eager to assist their former employees in their endeavour to start new business as the practice enhanced their prestige and social standing in their community. B. Rama, R.V. Nayee, S.H. Nayee, B. Devalia, H. Oza, D.K. Patel and A. Bhukhan had a very high social standing in the Livingstone Asian community because of the many people they brought into the country who they later assisted to become traders.³⁵ Besides, the practice was also economically beneficial as the proliferation of small traders increased the wholesale business of the sponsor through the maintenance of a business connection with the former employee.

Additionally, the economic structure in Northern Rhodesia, which was racially stratified as observed earlier, was also an important factor in the progression of shop assistants to traders. The fact that Asians were not employed in the civil service or other employing agencies in Livingstone such as Rhodesia Railways, and the Zambezi Sawmills meant that Asians in Livingstone, like those in other parts of the country such as Fort Jameson had no choice but to take up trading as a career. As a result of the above factors there was massive proliferation of Asian trading enterprises through the progression of shop assistants into traders.

Though to the public the Asian trading community in Livingstone seemed to be quite united, competition for trading activities sometimes brought to the surface the trade rivalry that existed among the Asian traders. This came to light in October 1953

at the Livingstone Management Board Meeting that met to consider applicants for bottle store licences. Two Asian applicants B. Rama and B.J. Devalia had applied for a bottle store licence in respect of premises that had been left by J.L. Milne who had left the country in 1951 owing to bad business, leaving only three bottle stores in Livingstone.

In the meeting, a solicitor J.C. Craylin stood for B. Rama and Company while I.M. Evans represented B.J. Devalia. Evans objected to issuing of the licence to Rama arguing that it was not suitable for a greengrocery and grocery business to run in conjunction with a bottle liquor business. He further argued that Rama should not be issued with a licence because the town was adequately served and that Milne had gone out of business because of lack of trade. On the other hand Craylin who represented Rama argued that it was advantageous to supply liquor with groceries as was done in other departmental stores. Craylin further stated that competition was desirable and that though there were already three licensees providing ample service, the competition was on service as the manufacturers controlled prices to a great extent. His client was a businessman and only wanted a liquor licence so as to increase his business. He therefore asked for the application for a licence to Devalia to be denied, but that it should be granted to Rama, his client. When the Board met in committee, both applications were rejected on the ground that three bottle store licences were sufficient for local requirements and that it had been an error to grant such a licence to Milne in 1949.³⁶

The aforementioned incident, though insignificant compared to the trade rivalry among the Indian traders in Fort Jameson, which even led to a murder in a Mosque Court Yard in 1942, also shows the existence of trade rivalry among Asians in Livingstone during the colonial period. Thus, this study subscribes to Phiri's

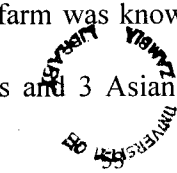
observation in his study on Indians in Chipata, that the view held by several scholars that Indian traders in Africa worked in harmony and were devoid of conflict in their trading activities is a myth.³⁷

Diversification of Asian Business, 1940-1964

Asian business was not only in simple retail trading enterprises in African trade. Like the white traders before, most successful Asian traders started diversifying into other business areas like large scale farming, wholesaling, different types of manufacturing business such as tailoring, biscuit and candle factories, hardware and construction businesses.

Though Asians made their initial capital through market gardening, a form of farming, it was only in the late 1940s that they ventured into large scale farming. Farming was considered a preserve of the white people since the beginning of colonial rule. Asians were only to be retail traders in African trade. Besides, unlike market gardening, large scale farming needed huge capital investment which Asian pioneer settlers did not have. By the late 1930s some Asians had acquired sufficient capital. For example Bhana Rama, who began as a market gardener, had by the late 1930s acquired enough capital. He began acquiring more and more land. By the early 1950s, he had two large farms, one situated in the Maramba area while the other was along the Zambezi River. The two farms had a total labour force of 64 Africans and 10 Asians.

Paragji Naranji who also started as a market gardener ventured into large scale farming. He founded his farm called Livingstone Dairy Company also known as Naranji and Sons in the 1940s, on which by 1953 he had a labour force of 20 Africans and 6 Asians. Natubhai Rambai Patel and Ramabhai Dahyabhai Patel diversified into farming in the late 1940s. Their farm was known as the Patel's Farm and by 1953 he had a labour force of 21 Africans and 3 Asians. Hiramabhai Patel and Dahyabhai J.



Patel who were in partnership also diversified into farming. They founded a farm called Rhodesian Dairy Company also known as Irena Farm in the late 1930s, which by 1953 had a labour force of 20 Africans and two Asians.

These farms were mechanised and grew a variety of crops such as chilli, garlic and Indian beans for Indians as well as different kinds of vegetables that were sold to African marketeers. They also grew kaffir corn (sorghum), maize and citrus fruits. Further, they also kept cattle. For example Bhana Rama had 30 animals in 1953 and 35 in 1954.³⁸ The number of Asian farmers was small. By 1953 there were only four large farms owned by Asians out of a total of more than 40 in the area.³⁹ This was because Asians were discriminated against by colonial local authorities in selling land to them. Asians acquired land bought from Europeans who had found farming difficult or were moving to a different area of settlement.⁴⁰

Even though there were few Asians involved in farming, they employed a considerable number of African workers. In 1953, for instance 122 out of 518 African farm workers were employed on the Asian farms. Despite the fact that generally the wages paid by Asian farmers tended to be slightly lower than those paid by Europeans, they did not face many labour problems like European farmers.⁴¹ This was mainly because European farmers were boorish and made a lot of derogatory racial remarks towards their African workers. Africans were thus more comfortable to work for Asian employers who were more tolerant and accommodating.⁴²

Some of the Livingstone Asian traders diversified their agricultural enterprises in areas outside Livingstone. For instance, R.V. Nayee ventured into agriculture in Kalomo where he bought a farm in the mid-1940s from a European farmer. Nayee grew tobacco on his farm and employed a European, Colonel Broadhurst, as a farm manager. Nayee employed a European manager for two reasons. Firstly, tobacco

growing, especially Virginia flue cured which was an export crop, required specialised management which most Asians did not have, as they specialised in African trade. On the other hand Europeans started growing tobacco right from the pioneering days of European settlement. The second reason was that the Salisbury tobacco market in Southern Rhodesia on which he sold his tobacco was not buying tobacco grown by non-whites in the 1940s.⁴³ Through the European farm manager, Nayee was therefore able to sell his tobacco on the lucrative Salisbury tobacco market.

Nayee also diversified into soap manufacturing in the late 1940s and malt processing in the late 1950s. He used to buy sorghum from the local peasant farmers and Southern Rhodesia, which he processed in his factory. The main customer for Nayee's malt was the Livingstone Municipal Management, which used it for brewing an opaque beer for Africans. Further, Nayee had diversified into opaque beer brewing. He had an opaque beer plant in Kalulushi in the late 1950s, which he owned in partnership with an African called Robinson Puta and another partner who was a white man.⁴⁴

Some of the Asian traders diversified into tailoring. Jivan Bhukhan, came in 1929 when Bhana Rama brought him in and was the first tailor in Livingstone. He started a small bespoke tailoring shop, which made clothes according to special needs of particular customers. He moved from door to door for orders. In 1932 J. Bhukhan called his brother Ambaram Bhukhan and together they ran a tailoring business under the name Bhukan Brothers till J. Bhukhan returned to India after retiring from the business in 1947. In 1950, A. Bhukhan diversified into a specialised men's wear outfitters which he ran together with tailoring. He was the first Asian to specialise in men's wear outfitting business.⁴⁵ A number of Asian informants noted that A. Bhukhan

was credited with having called about 70 per cent of the Asians who became prominent tailoring factory owners in post colonial Northern Rhodesia.

In 1939, K.C. Patel, who came to Livingstone in 1924, formed Star Clothing Factory in partnership with C.C. Patel, D.K. Patel, V.B. Patel and H.J Patel. The partnership was dissolved in 1957. D.K. Patel became the sole owner while the rest founded their own businesses. Star Clothing was the first factory in Livingstone.⁴⁶ Oza explained that during the First World War, Southern Rhodesia imported its cloth requirements directly from the United Kingdom (U.K.) and then exported some to Northern Rhodesia. During the war, all production was limited to manufacturing war related materials such as uniforms for soldiers, therefore, the British Government decided to give a special quota of cloth to Northern Rhodesia so that people could make their own clothes. It was in such circumstances that Star Clothing Factory came into being.⁴⁷ Besides, government policy at this time was directed towards the encouragement of the creation of industries such as manufacturing in order to promote the industrial development of the country following the recommendations of the Pim Report.⁴⁸

In view of the aforesaid, cloth material became abundant in the country. Consequently nearly all Indian retail shops had a tailor who made garments for customers according to their own design and taste after buying the material. Sometimes sewing was made free of charge as a way of attracting customers particularly during periods of stiff competition.⁴⁹ Because of the rising economic prosperity among Africans in the country as a whole, tailoring became a lucrative business venture.

In the late 1940s G.H. Vaghela also established a tailoring factory, Imperial Tailoring Factory⁵⁰ while in 1959 P.H. Govind began his Partex Industries Tailoring Factory. Govind also branched into laundry business in 1957 forming a company

called Victoria Steam Laundry and in 1963 diversified into liquor trading when he established Victoria Bar. R.V. Nayee also formed a tailoring factory called United Manufacturing Wholesalers which he opened in the late 1940s.⁵¹

Other Indian traders diversified into the construction and hardware business. For instance, Shah founded Shah Construction in 1954 and later on went into the hardware business. Others like Chhanabhai, Shambhu Nayee's grandson went into the garage business after buying one from Kierstead, a white man, in the late 1950s.⁵² Bhaghabhai Patel who opened a farm in 1957 along the Katombora road later entered the entertainment business when he bought the Capitol Theatre which specialised in film shows. He also opened a night club in the early 1960s.⁵³

From the late 1940s, Asians penetrated and diversified into the white trade; for example in 1946 Bimsinh Jiwa Devalia opened a self service supermarket called Devalia Emporium, which catered for white people. Because customers were whites, Devalia also employed white ladies as shop assistants. Devalia also opened a restaurant, Britannica Restaurant which dealt in liquor and was among the first to offer service to Africans in the early 1960s.⁵⁴ He also opened a mineral factory in 1954 and diversified into the bakery business when he opened the Victoria Bakery in 1956. Oza, who owned a tea-room called Frestcart, opened a self service supermarket on Mainway in the late 1950s in which were five white ladies who were employed as store assistants. He also diversified into the hardware business, which was managed by a white man, Macdonald, whose wife worked in the drapery section of Oza's supermarket. R.V. Nayee's Rhino Stores also catered for the white community and so did Associated Stores, which was opened by the Vara brothers in 1947 on Mainway. The Vara Brothers also employed white ladies as shop assistants.⁵⁵

On 2 July 1960, two brothers, Maganlal A. Patel and Manibhai A. Patel opened a candle factory, which was able to turn out 8,000 candles per day and had the capacity of eventually making 12,000 candles per day with a quicker cooling system. This was the first candle factory in Northern Rhodesia. It also manufactured brilliantine and hair oil. The ingredients for these and for the candles came from many different parts of the world while all the papers and packing materials came from Southern Rhodesia.⁵⁶

In January 1963, the two brothers opened a biscuit factory whose work had begun in 1962 with an investment of £45,000. The factory was opened by Kenneth Kaunda who was then Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare. It was the first of its kind in Northern Rhodesia. The biscuits were sold in packets of six, twelve or more and were known as Victoria Biscuits. These catered for the African trade.⁵⁷ The Patel Brothers' business success story is an indication of how hardworking and enterprising Asian traders were. In the mid-1950s, Oza also diversified into the export of raw and partially processed ivory through his company, Northern Distributors, which he formed in the mid-1940s. By 1964, Asian traders had diversified into almost all sectors of commercial business activities. This diversification continued into the post-colonial period.

The replacement of Europeans of mainly Jewish origin by Asians in African retail trade by the 1930s and the more dynamic sectors of the economy such as wholesale trading, European oriented department stores and specialised businesses such as office equipment, and hardware business by the late 1950s in Livingstone is an example of what the Dotsons called 'ethnic succession' which is the tendency for ethnic groups to replace each other in specialised commercial activities.⁵⁸

Whereas most of the Asian settlers in Fort Jameson were Moslems, those in Livingstone were predominantly Hindus. This was because the pioneer Asian settlers

in Fort Jameson, most of whom came through Nyasaland, were Moslems. These called in their relatives and friends who were also Moslems. Similarly, the pioneer Asian settlers in Livingstone, most of whom came through Southern Rhodesia and were Hindus, also called in their relatives and friends. Over a period of time, a Moslem community developed in Fort Jameson, whereas a Hindu one developed in Livingstone. This remained so throughout the colonial period. However, both groups came mainly from Gujarati State in India and were all Gujarati speakers.⁵⁹

Though Hinduism is known for its rigid caste system, Oza noted that this did not affect Asian trading activities in any negative way. All Asian settlers regarded each other as brothers and sisters. They assisted each other regardless of the caste each belonged to. It was only in matrimonial issues where caste mattered as people tended to marry those of their own kind.⁶⁰ The Livingstone situation therefore conforms to the observation and conclusion made by some scholars that the comprehensive idea of caste is not very important in Overseas Indian communities: "... castes do not form important units, nor are inter-caste relations significant in the community structure of overseas Indians."⁶¹ In fact, Hindu religion enhanced Asian business through its philosophy of ascetic living that enabled Asians to save money which they later invested in business. The Dotsons during their fieldwork in 1959 for their sociological study of Indians in Central Africa were struck by the large degree to which this traditional asceticism was put into practice.⁶²

The Response of Europeans and Africans to the Development of Asian Trading Businesses, 1935-1964.

Though Asian trading businesses grew tremendously by 1964 as shown above, they passed through a lot of obstacles. Whilst before 1935, obstacles to Asian businesses were mainly from white settlers as noted in the last chapter, after 1935 it was

mainly the colonial government authority and the Africans who were a major obstacle to the smooth development of Asian business. By this time European settlers in Northern Rhodesia concentrated on the lucrative European trade rather than on African retail trade to which most Asians were confined. The two groups were therefore no longer in direct competition. Further, there was prosperity for everyone in the country during the post World War II period. The prosperity was due to the growth of the construction industry in Europe which embarked on the reconstruction of its destroyed infrastructure. This stimulated the expansion of the copper industry in Northern Rhodesia, thus boosting its economy. Because of this, the influx of Asians was tolerated if not exactly welcomed (See Table II).

TABLE II
Comparative Growth of Asian Population in Northern Rhodesia and Livingstone Between 1911 and 1961

YEAR	NUMBER OF ASIANS IN NORTHERN RHODESIA	NUMBER OF ASIANS IN LIVINGSTONE
1911	39	11
1921	56	11
1931	176	20
1946	1,117	186
1951	2,524	364
1956	2,450	548
1961	7,790	644

Source: **Northern Rhodesia Reports of the Director of Census; 1911, 1931, 1946, 1951 and 1961.** For 1911, see NAZ Ad/1/1-2, Information Regarding British Indians desired by the Census Commission for India, p.2; for 1921 and 1931 see Census Report 1931, p.28; for 1946, see Census Report 1946, pp 64-5; for 1951, see Census Report 1951, p.42; for 1956 and 1961, see Census Report 1961, pp.42-3.

It was because of this that the colonial government now became alarmed at the potential threat of the increasing number of Asians upon the future welfare of Africans rather than Europeans. Besides, the Passfield Memorandum on Native policy in East Africa declared by Lord Passfield in 1930 and later extended to Northern Rhodesia and

Nyasaland affirmed the doctrine of trusteeship and the paramountcy of African interests. The Memorandum declared that "African interests should prevail should they and those of the immigrant races conflict".⁶³ The colonial Government therefore had to prefer Africans to immigrant races. Consequently, the colonial policy and practice on trade was racially discriminating against Asians as government pursued a policy of Africanisation of trade in the Native Reserves and the African Locations. This measure, though it encouraged the growth of African traders, had the effect of restricting Asian expansion into the Native Reserves and African Locations in Livingstone.

The Trades and Licensing Ordinance Number 24, 1930 which regulated trading activities in Northern Rhodesia as already noted was repealed by the Trades and Business Ordinance 45, 1947 which was amended in 1958.⁶⁴ The statute did not carry any clause that embodied outright discrimination. The Trades and Business Ordinance however carried one discriminatory clause that reserved trade in rural areas and African Locations for Africans in order to promote its policy of Africanisation (African Paramountcy) of trade in rural areas and African locations. Though there was only one discriminatory clause on trade, the implementation of trading policies by the white settler controlled Livingstone Town Council which became a Municipal Council in 1928 was guided by racial prejudice. Hence the white settler authority in Livingstone applied racially conceived administrative measures to prevent Asian competition in European trade on Mainway whilst at the same time preventing them from trading in the Native Reserves of Livingstone as well as the African Locations. Asians therefore could not diversify their trading business in the European trade area and in the Native Reserves as well as the African Locations.

As far back as the early 1930s, all Provincial Commissioners, except the Barotse Province Commissioner, whose area, Asian traders had not penetrated, had recommended that Asian traders should not be allowed in the Native Reserves as they would drive all Africans and Europeans out of business in African trade.⁶⁵ As a result of this and many other complaints in colonial reports that the nascent African trader needed to be nurtured because of his inability to compete with the Asian and European traders in the same vicinity owing to his lack of capital, business experience and credit facilities from wholesalers, discriminatory trading regulations in favour of Africans were put in place. A good example was the Village Store Licence which was introduced in 1935.⁶⁶ The Village Store Licence in the Native Reserves was cheaper, going at £2 10s. instead of the General Dealer Licence which was going at £7 10s.⁶⁷ Further, in 1939 the Provincial Commissioner's Conference adopted a regulation which excluded European and Asian traders from Native Authorities by restricting them to trading centres which were determined by the Provincial Commissioner in consultation with respective Native Authorities.⁶⁸

Moreover, in 1945, the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council enacted a trading regulation which empowered Native Authorities to be responsible for approving applications for non-Africans wishing to trade in their respective Native Authorities.⁶⁹ This was done so as to encourage the emergence of African entrepreneurs in the territory. The impact of this was the curtailing of Asian business in Native Reserves as the Native Authorities could veto Asian applicants who were perceived to be detrimental to the prosperity of African business in the Reserves. Further, under Section 8 of the Trades and Business Ordinance of 1947, which came into force in 1948, the Local Authority was appointed the Licensing authority in each area.⁷⁰

At a Conference of Location Superintendents held in Lusaka in February 1946, which focussed on African traders in Locations, all agreed to assist and encourage Africans to be the exclusive traders in Locations. At this conference, emphasis was also made to give more help to returned ex-Askari (former African soldiers who had fought in the Second World War) who were of good character and had sufficient capital by providing an opportunity to start a business career as a reward for service in the war. At this meeting Livingstone was represented by R.A. Beaton who was the Location Superintendent of the area.⁷¹

The Livingstone Municipal Council implemented these regulations as evidenced by the reasons given when the Nayee Brothers and B. Rama and Company's applications made in 1946 for plot number 322 and 412 respectively in the Maramba Location area were rejected. The applications were rejected on the ground that the trading area was reserved for African traders.⁷²

Further, the colonial authority adopted price control regulations, which were meant to curtail profiteering which was rampant during the First World War as observed earlier on. The government expected the same to happen during the Second World War. Mkunga observed that the shortage was created by a sudden fall in overseas imports during the war forcing the territory to be dependant on South African imports.⁷³ Since imports from South Africa were not adequate to satisfy demand for trade goods in Northern Rhodesia, the government in 1942 established the Price Control Authority which determined prices that traders had to adhere to so as to keep prices of essential goods to affordable levels.⁷⁴ This trend continued throughout the war. These regulations impinged on Asian business as Asians were not free to determine prices within the structure of profit control regulations. As was the case in Chipata,⁷⁵ in Livingstone also, European officials enforced price control regulations on Asian traders

who in most cases were proficient in procuring trade goods in spite of the shortage of goods. An Asian informant said that those found contravening the regulation were often prosecuted.⁷⁶ The customs and tariffs of Northern Rhodesia as well as the creation of the Federation of Central Africa also affected Asian business. According to Oza, goods originating from the British Empire enjoyed preferential rates whereas locally produced goods from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa were not subjected to customs duty because of the Customs Tariff Agreement that existed between Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. However, when the Federation was created in 1953, it formed its own single customs area, thus subjecting traders in the Federation to tariffs on imports from South Africa.⁷⁷ Mkunga observed that in 1947 customs duty on essential goods such as foodstuffs, blankets clothing and foot wear were suspended in order to provide relief against the rising cost of living. However, in 1954 the Federal Government introduced 10 per cent tariffs on the United Kingdom and South African goods and 20 per cent on others whilst cloth from India had the highest duty at 50 per cent.⁷⁸

In view of the above, the price of some goods which were consumed by Africans became exorbitant, thus impinging on the development of Asian business. Nevertheless, the Asian trading community in Livingstone flourished despite all the above impediments.

Prior to the beginning of the Second World War, the response of Africans to the development of Asian trading businesses was non-overt. In fact Asian traders were welcome because they played an important role in serving African needs in Livingstone. Africans were able to deal with Asian traders without being subjected to abusive racial remarks or buying their needs through the hatch as was the case with European traders. In view of that Asian traders were seen as allies especially since Europeans considered both Africans and Asians to belong to inferior races. However,

during the Second World War and thereafter, Africans in the Southern Province in general and Livingstone in particular developed anti-Asian attitudes. This was because during the 1940s, Africans had entered African trade in which Asian traders were well established. This was mainly because of the deliberate policy of Africanisation of trade in Native Reserves and African Locations that the colonial government adopted as pointed out already. Asian traders were therefore seen as economic rivals in African trade.

As in most parts of the territory, such as Eastern and Central Provinces, where Asian traders were operating successfully whilst Africans were struggling to emerge in African trade,⁷⁹ in Livingstone a lot of accusations championed by leaders of the Livingstone African Welfare Association, founded in 1930 such as Nelson Nalumango, Chief Musokotwane and Headman Makumba were made against Asian traders. Asian traders were accused of being useless to the country as they allegedly did not provide employment to the local people and never bought native products like cattle, fowls, baskets, curios and mats. They did not sell over the scale, gave wrong measures of what they sold, did not reinvest the money made in the territory but took it to India, overcharged their customers, and their prices were continually changing at short notice. Africans therefore called for the banning of Asian trading in Native Reserves and the restriction of entry of Asians into the country, arguing that if allowed, Asians would take all the land leaving nothing to Africans.⁸⁰ Mkunga in his study of Asian traders in Chipata noted that the ex-Askari strata of African traders exacerbated anti-Asian attitudes due to their political re-awakening resulting from their war experiences. Besides, ex-Askari who had fought in Asian territories such as Burma were angry about Asian prosperity, having seen the Asian was as poor as the African in his original home.

The economic rivalry therefore assumed a racial dimension.⁸¹ The same seems to have applied to the Livingstone situation.⁸²

As a result of the policy of Africanisation of trade in Native Reserves and African locations adopted by the colonial authority after 1935, there were numerous applications from Africans to open butcheries, general dealer shops and tea rooms in the Native Reserves and African Location areas of Livingstone. This is evidenced in the rapid increase of village and compound licences that were issued in Livingstone District from 1946 to 1951 as shown in Table III.

TABLE III

Growth of Village and Compound Licences Issued to African Traders in Livingstone District Between 1946 and 1951

YEAR	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
NUMBER OF LICENCES ISSUED	147	178	180	No record	332	455

Source: NAZ, SEC 2/139, Southern Province Annual Reports, 1951-53, Annual Reports on African Affairs, Livingstone District, 1952.

By 1953, the only African Stores in Livingstone were the five Municipality shops and tea-rooms at Libuyu constructed in 1952. The bulk of the African trading was in the hands of hawkers. In Livingstone alone, 46 Hawkers' Licences were issued during the year.⁸³ In 1954, the Livingstone Municipality erected 6 more stores for leasing to Africans in the Municipal housing areas of Maramba and Linda.⁸⁴ Regrettably however, nearly all annual reports on African Affairs reported that African lessees of stores were providing a shoddy service to the African public living in these areas. The range of goods was small due to either lack of entrepreneurship or capital or a combination of both. Consequently, by 1955 out of the six African Lessees of stores, three had their leases terminated owing to inadequate service to the public.⁸⁵

As a result of the failure of African traders to measure up to expectations even when colonial authority regulations on trade were in their favour, in 1955, the Tonga Native Authority was not averse to the granting of licences to non-Africans though on the whole applications by Indian traders were not well received. Nonetheless, even earlier on in 1954 for instance, Kalomo district to which the Native Reserves of Livingstone area had been transferred in 1950 had 15 general dealer licences issued to Indians and Europeans in the Reserves and Trust lands. There were also 22 European and Indian stores and 11 farm stores.⁸⁶ By 1958, much of African trade in Southern Province in general and Livingstone in particular was in the hands of Indians.⁸⁷

Because of this Asian success in the control of African trade, Africans came to resent them just as was the case in East Africa as revealed by Y.P. Ghai's study.⁸⁸ Like the African traders during the colonial period in Chipata and Kenya,⁸⁹ African traders in Livingstone externalised their failure in African trade and explained it in relation to the immediate external enemy, who was the Asian. Asians were therefore seen by Africans as having conspired to keep them down. However, some Zambian scholars like Ngalaba Y. Seleti, Chiwomba Mkunga and Bizeck J. Phiri have attributed the failure of African business during the colonial period to lack of a wider social network required in the business sphere.⁹⁰ Jewish and Indian traders flourished because of such networks. Unlike Jewish and Indian traders as Phiri observes:

Africans were too individualistic to pool resources together to effectively compete with Indians. Africans lacked the ability to employ persons 'who understood business but preferred to employ relatives who often knew little about trading [and] most traders could not break away from traditional family ties and obligations that tended to exert pressure on traders' resources'.⁹¹

The above observation was particularly true for Livingstone. This is because the only successful African owned stores and businesses in Livingstone were operated

by people whose origin was out of Livingstone.⁹² For example Zakeyo Phiri, from Eastern Province had a successful one acre garden plot along the Nansanzu river where he grew vegetables which he sold to Livingstone residents. He also kept dairy cattle which gave him milk that he sold to the locals.⁹³ Akebu Lubinda from Western Province ran a successful grocery store in the location of Maramba in the 1950s,⁹⁴ whereas Adam Mwale from Eastern Province also ran a successful one in Libuyu location.⁹⁵ Stephen Mponda, also believed to have hailed from out of Livingstone area, ran a successful tea-room in Maramba.⁹⁶ These African traders were relatively successful because they had little pressure on their resources from extended family members, Livingstone not being their area of origin.

In the light of the above, the African resentment of Asian traders in Livingstone was unrealistic as it overlooked the networks, skills, experience and hard work that are needed in order to succeed in retail trade, which Asians had. As observed earlier, Asian traders in Livingstone lived on meagre profit margins, worked long hours, got the whole family to serve in the shop, lived a life of austerity (frugal life) and denied themselves the amenities of modern life. The image that Asians were useless, exploitative and unscrupulous people bent on retarding African development in trade ignored the real sacrifice and contribution of the Asian minority to the economic development of the area.

Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that during the period 1935 to 1964, Asian business grew from that of simple general dealer stores to big business enterprises such as factories. Asian business grew because of factors such as the Asian ability to cut down on expenses through frugal living as the money saved was reinvested into their businesses, pooling of financial resources through the formation of partnerships which

often dissolved when partners had accumulated capital, enough for each to form a family business. Excess Asian capital from Southern Rhodesia that was reinvested in Livingstone also contributed to the growth of Asian business. Asian trading business grew also because established pioneer Asian traders ventured into establishing branches of their Livingstone enterprises in the main trading areas along the line of rail and the Great North Road. The former Asian employees' establishment of trading enterprises of their own, especially in the 1940s and 1950s was another important factor in the growth of Asian business. Growth of Asian business was further enhanced by factors such as experience and skill possessed by Asian traders, the credit system, intra community assistance and the racially stratified economic structure which was obtaining in the racial colonial society.

The chapter has also shown that between 1940 and 1964, the most successful Asian traders had diversified into other businesses such as large scale farming, wholesaling, white trade and manufacturing factories. The chapter has also shown that some Asian traders, though few, used irregular methods in their trading activities such as cheating on Tax Returns and exploitation of the labour of their desperately poor kinsmen so as to maximise profit margins. The chapter has further shown that trade rivalry existed among Asian traders in Livingstone, thus demolishing the myth held by several scholars that all Indian traders worked in harmony and were devoid of conflict in their trading activities. It has also demonstrated that whereas before 1935 European settlers were an obstacle to the smooth development of Asian trading, after 1935 it was the colonial government authority and the Africans who were an obstacle. This was because after 1935 European settlers were no longer dealing in African trade to which most Asians were confined. The two were thus no longer in direct competition. On the other hand Asians were in direct competition in African trade with emergent African

traders who the colonial government authority was promoting through its policy of Africanisation of trade in Native Reserves and African Locations. Therefore there was a clash of interests between the colonial government and emergent African traders on one hand and Asian traders on the other.

ENDNOTES

¹ Interview, Harishchandra Oza, Lusaka Businessman resident in Britain, Lusaka, 22 January 2000.

² Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

³ Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000; Different adverts for trading licences put up in the *Livingstone Mail* by Asian traders during this period confirm Oza's testimony.

⁴ Kristin Ese, *An Historical Guide to Livingstone Town* (Harare: CBC Publisher, 1996), p. 23.

⁵ Interview, Chhotabhai Mahthurbhai Patel, Trader, Livingstone, 9 June, 1999 and Aravin Devalia, son to Bhimsih B. Devalia, Livingstone, 7 September, 1999.

⁶ Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

⁷ Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January 2000.

⁸ Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000, and Devalia, Livingstone, 7 September, 1999.

⁹ Interview, J. R. Nayee, Businessman and Son to R.V. Nayee, Livingstone, 7 July 1999 and R.S. Nayee, Businessman and Son to S.H. Nayee, 12 July, 1999.

¹⁰ Interview, J. R. Nayee, Livingstonw, 7 July, 1999.

¹¹ Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

¹² Interview, R.K. Patel, Trader, Livingstone, 13 July, 1999.

¹³ Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

¹⁴ NAZ, SEC 3/51, Asiatic Immigration, 1931-48, Indians, Volume two: Admission of Asiatics in Northern Rhodesia, Minute No. Policy 3/1, From Chief Immigration Officer to Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 15 April, 1945.

¹⁵ *Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates, First Session (Resumed) of the 9th Council, 16 March to 1 April, 1949, No. 63* Col. 187-8.

¹⁶ NAZ, SP2/3/2, Indian shop Assistants Trade Union 5 November, 1950-23 April, 1957; Minute No. Ja/4-/50, From J.E. Carter, Labour Officer, Livingstone to N.R.L. Trades Union Labour Officer, 6 November 1950, also see *Livingstone Mail*, 17 November, 1950. p. 7.

¹⁷ *Livingstone Mail*, 2 April 1948, p. 4.

¹⁸NAZ, SP2/3/2, Minute No. Ja/4-12. From P.S. Hunt, Labour Officer, Livingstone to Senior Labour Officer, Lusaka, 26 November, 1954.

¹⁹NAZ, SP2/3/2, Livingstone India Shop Assistants Trade Union, Minute No. Ja/4-18/LMN/JM. From L.M. Mitchell, Labour Officer, Livingstone to Labour Commissioner, Lusaka, 7 February, 1957.

²⁰NAZ, SP2/3/2, General Notice No. 306 of 1952, The Minimum Wages and Conditions of Employment Ordinance. Minute No. Ja/4-0/7-88, Circular Letter, C.E. Cousins, Senior Labour Officer, Lusaka, 5 March 1952.

²¹AZ,SP2/3/2, Minute No. Ja/4-18/ LMM/JM, 7 February, 1957.

²²H.V. Merani and H.L. Van der Laan, 'The Indian Traders in Sierra Leone' *African Affairs* 78, 311(April 1979), pp. 247.

²³Interview, Chhotabhai M. Patel, Livingstone, 9 June, 1999.

²⁴NAZ, SEC 3/51, 1931-48, Correspondence, From U.N. Patel, Livingstone to Chief Immigration Officer, Livingstone, 18 October, 1948; also see NAZ 3/51, 1931-48, Minute No. IM. 2645/47, From Moddie, Chief Immigration Officer, Livingstone to Attorney General, Lusaka, 26 November, 1947.

²⁵Interview, C.M. Patel, Livingstone, 9 June, 1999.

²⁶'Local Businessman Accused of False Income Tax Returns', *Livingstone Mail*, 28 March, 1958, P. 1.

²⁷'Livingstone Trader Sentenced to Three Months with Hard Labour', *Livingstone Mail*, 11 April, 1958, p.1.

²⁸Maclear H. Bates, *Report from the Rhodesias* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1953), pp. 197 and 203.

²⁹Dharam P. Ghai and Yash P. Ghai, 'Asians in East Africa: Problems and Prospects' in *Journal of Modern African Studies* 3, 1(1965), p. 40.

³⁰Interview, C.M. Patel, Livingstone, 9 June, 1999.

³¹Interview, Ranchhodbhai M. Patel, Retired businessman, Livingstone, 11 November, 1999.

³²Chiwomba T. M. Mkunga, 'The Development of the Asian Trading Class in Chipata, 1900-1964', M.A. Dissertation University of Zambia (1992), p. 96.

³³Interview, Ranchhodbhai M. Patel, Businessman, Livingstone, 11 October, 1999.

³⁴Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

- ³⁵Interview, Mangaldas N. Nayee, Businessman, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999.
- ³⁶'Bottle Store Licence refused to two Indians: Board considers existing facilities for purchasing liquor adequate' *Livingstone Mail*, 13 October, 1953, p. 5.
- ³⁷Bizeck J. Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia* (Lusaka: High Quality Printers, 2000), p. 37.
- ³⁸NAZ, SEC 2/1047, 1953 Livingstone Tour Reports; Livingstone District Tour Reports, Tour Report No 1, 1953; also see Sec2/1048, 1954-55 Livingstone Tour Reports; Livingstone District Tour Report No. 2. 1955.
- ³⁹NAZ, Sec 2/1047, Livingstone District Tour Report No. 1, 1953.
- ⁴⁰Interview Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.
- ⁴¹NAZ, Sec 2/1047, Livingstone Tour Report No. 1, 1953.
- ⁴²Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000; also Lameck Siambelele, Village Headman, Siambelele village, Livingstone, 20 October, 1999
- ⁴³Interview, J. R. Nayee, Livingstone, 7 July, 1999.
- ⁴⁴Interview, J. R. Nayee, Livingstone, 7 July, 1999.
- ⁴⁵Interview, Manharlal Ambaram Bhukhan, Businessman, Livingstone 3 May, 2000.
- ⁴⁶Interview, Manibhai K. Patel, Businessman, Livingstone, 12 October, 1999; D.D. Patel, Businessman, Livingstone, 5 May, 2000 and Oza.
- ⁴⁷Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.
- ⁴⁸UNZA Library Special Collections, Gov. G.B. ZAM./102/1938/1. *Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia* (London; His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1938).
- ⁴⁹Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.
- ⁵⁰Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000; also see *Livingstone Mail*, 2 December, 1949.
- ⁵¹Interview, J. R. Nayee, Livingstone, 7 July, 1999.
- ⁵²Denys Whitehead, 'The Story of Livingstone, Tourist Capital of Zambia', (Unpublished paper, n.d.) pp. 9 and 48.
- ⁵³Interview, Devalia, Livingstone, 7 September, 1999.

⁵⁴Interview, Devalia, Livingstone, 7 September, 1999; also see Ese, *An Historical Guide to Livingstone Town*, p. 11.

⁵⁵Interview, Johannes Tobias, Farmer, Livingstone, 15 October, 1999.

⁵⁶'Northern Rhodesia First Candle Factory opened in Livingstone', *Livingstone Mail*, 8 July 1960, p. 7; also see *Livingstone Mail*, 10 August 1962.

⁵⁷'First Biscuit Factory in Northern Rhodesia, Livingstone, Officially opened by Kaunda', *Livingstone Mail*, 25 January 1963; also see 'Kaunda opens Biscuit Factory at Livingstone', *Nshila*, 29 January, 1963.

⁵⁸F. Dotson and L. Dotson, 'The Economic Role of Non-indigenous ethnic Minorities in Colonial Africa' in P. Duignan and L.H. Gann, *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1969, Volume IV, The Economics of Colonialism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 592.

⁵⁹Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 1999.

⁶⁰Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 1999.

⁶¹H.H. Patel, 'Asian Political Activity in Rhodesia from the Second World War to 1972 in *Rhodesian History*, ix (1978), p. 64.

⁶²F. Dotson and L. Dotson, 'Cultural Values and Housing' in Raymond Apthorpe (ed) *Social Research and Community Development Based on the 15th Conference of Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research* (Lusaka: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, 1961), p. 63.

⁶³Robert I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: The Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 102.

⁶⁴UNZA Library Special Collections, Gov. ZAM/02/1946/4, *Northern Rhodesia Licensing Committee Report on Trades and Business Ordinance*, 1946; see also NAZ, SP 4/4/1/14, 1940-48: Mayor's Minute, Livingstone Municipality, p. 10; and *Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates No. 60*, 23 March 1948, Col. 407 and *Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into Business Ordinance* (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1959).

⁶⁵NAZ, SEC 3/51, 1931-48, Asiatic Immigration, Vol. 1- 2.

⁶⁶NAZ, SEC 3/328, 1930-48 Store Sites in Native Reserves, Northern Rhodesia, Minute No. 568-74/3/172, From Secretary for Native Affairs, Balovale Province to Acting Chief Secretary, Livingstone; also see SEC 3/328, Volume 2, Regulations in Northern Rhodesia Governing Control of European and Native traders, minute No. LAND/NR/B/2, From Ronald Storrs, Governor of Katanga, Elizabethville, Belgium Congo, 6 July, 1933.

⁶⁷Mkunga, 'The Development of the Asian Trading Class in Chipata, 1900-1964' pp. 115-6.

⁶⁸NAZ, SEC 2/1, District Circulars 1939-1954, Volume one, District Circular No. 31, From Chief Secretary to all Provincial Commissioners, 23 June, 1939.

⁶⁹NAZ, SEC 2/1, District Circulars 1939-54 volume two, District Circular 1945, from Chief Secretary to all Provincial Commissioners and Native Commissioners, 12 August, 1945.

⁷⁰NAZ, SP 4/4/1/14, 1940-48, Mayor's Minute, Livingstone Municipality, p. 10.

⁷¹NAZ, SP 4/1/30, 1947 Municipality of Livingstone, Minutes of Native Affairs, Sub-Committee Minutes of a Meeting of Native Affairs Sub-Committee held in the Council Chamber, 14 August, 1947; also see Minutes of Location Superintendents held in the Legislative Council Chamber, Lusaka, 25-27 February 1946.

⁷²NAZ, SP 4/1/25, 1946 Municipality of Livingstone Minutes, Minutes of Meeting of Council as a Committee held on 11 and 15 June, 1946.

⁷³Mkunga, 'The Development of the Asian trading Class in Chipata, 1900 – 1964' p. 79.

⁷⁴UNZA library Special Collections, Northern Rhodesia Colonial Annual Report, 1948 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948), p. 22.

⁷⁵Mkunga, 'The Development of the Asian Trading Class in Chipata, 1900-1964' pp. 78-81.

⁷⁶The informant opted to remain anonymous, as he felt the issue was sensitive since it would portray Asians as having developed their business enterprises through crooked means. He felt this would put him in problems with his colleagues if discovered.

⁷⁷Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

⁷⁸Mkunga, 'The Development of the Asian Trading Class in Chipata, 1900-1964;' p. 84.

⁷⁹For complaints against Asian traders in Eastern Province, see NAZ, SEC 3/328, 1930-48, Stores in Native Reserves, Volume Three, Eastern Province Second Annual Meeting, 24 and 25 July 1944; for Central Province see SEC 3/328, 1930-48, Central Province Annual Provincial Council Meeting, 1 and 2 July, 1947.

⁸⁰NAZ, SEC 3/328, 1930-48, Stores in Native Reserves, Volume one, Southern Province Annual Provincial Council Meeting Namwala, 14 and 15 June, 1945; also see SEC 2/228, Southern Province Regional Council Minutes of Meetings, 1944-48, Volume One, Southern Province Annual Council Meeting, Livingstone, 11 and 12 January, 1946.

⁸¹Mkunga, 'The Development of the Asian Trading Class in Chipata, 1900-1964' pp. 116-117.

⁸²The researcher remembers having come across an elderly man called Munungo in Sesheke in the early 1980s who claimed to have fought in the Second World War. Munungo was fond of telling stories about his stint in the Far East during the war and had no respect for Asians because whilst in the Far East he discovered that most of them lived a more miserable life due to poverty than most Africans in Northern Rhodesia during that time.

⁸³NAZ, SEC 2/139, *Annual Report on African Affairs*, Livingstone District 1953.

⁸⁴NAZ, SEC 2/140, *Southern Province Annual Reports*, 1954; *Annual Report on African Affairs*, Livingstone District, 1954.

⁸⁵NAZ, SEC 2/141, *Southern Province Annual Reports*, 1955-6; *Annual Report on African Affairs*, Livingstone District, 1955; also see SEC 2/140, *Annual Report on African Affairs*, 1954, p. 18.

⁸⁶NAZ, SEC 2/146, *Annual Reports on African Affairs*, Southern Province, 1959; *Annual Report on African Affairs*, Kalomo District, 1954, p. 9.

⁸⁷NAZ, SEC 2/146, *Annual Report on African Affairs*, Livingstone District, Southern Province, 1958, p. 2.

⁸⁸Yash Ghai, 'Prospects for Asians in East Africa', in *Contemporary African Monographs: Racial and Communal Tensions in East Africa* 3 (1966), p. 13.

⁸⁹Mkunga, 'The Development of the Asian Trading Class in Chipata, 1900-1964' p. 16; for Kenya see E.S. Atieno-Odhiambo, 'The Political Economy of the Asian Problem in Kenya, 1888-1939' in *Transafrican Journal of History* 5, 1 and 2 (1974), p. 138.

⁹⁰Yona N. Seleti, 'Entrepreneurship in Colonial Zambia' in Chipungu, N. Samuel (ed) *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambia Under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964* (London: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 173-74; Mkunga, 'The development of the Asian trading class in Chipata, 1900-1964', p. 117 and Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia*, pp. 67-8.

⁹¹Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia*, pp. 67-8.

⁹²NAZ, SEC 2/141, *Southern Province Annual Reports*, Livingstone District, 1954-55.

⁹³NAZ, SEC 2/146, *Annual Reports on African Affairs*, Southern Province, Livingstone District, 1959.

⁹⁴*Livingstone Mail*, 9 October, 1959.

⁹⁵*Livingstone Mail*, 19 February, 1959.

⁹⁶Vernon J. Mwaanga, *An Extraordinary Life* (Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1982), pp. 7-8.

CHAPTER FOUR

ASIAN TRADERS' PARTICIPATION IN THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF LIVINGSTONE, 1940-64.

Introduction

This chapter examines Asian traders' participation in the political and social development of Livingstone from 1940 to 1964. It is divided into three sections. The first section examines the extent of Asian participation in the political activities of the area. It argues that Asian participation in politics was driven by the desire to ameliorate any disabilities suffered by their community. Consequently, they worked within the framework of the colonial government in order to safeguard their interests; an act which was perceived as 'Asian collaboration' with the colonial government in suppressing and frustrating the attainment of African self government. The section further argues that when the issue of the Federation of Central Africa arose, Asians in Livingstone opposed it as it was perceived to be detrimental to their interests. However, when the Federation became a reality, they decided to work within its framework because of the economic benefits accruing from it due to an expanded market. They only rejected it in support of African nationalism when it became clear that the formation of an African government was evident. Nevertheless, some Asian traders identified themselves with African nationalism right from its nascent stage.

The second section examines the effects of Asian participation in African nationalist politics on Asian business. It argues that the businesses of Asian traders who identified themselves openly with African nationalist politics were affected negatively. The third section examines the extent of Asian participation in the social activities of Livingstone. It suggests that Asian participation in the social development of Livingstone was not much pronounced because of the British colonial policy of

compartmentalisation of society into racial groups as well as the structure of the Asian community itself, which was highly endogamous.

Asian Participation in Politics

Asian traders pursued their political activities mainly through the Northern Rhodesia British Indian Association, which was formed in the early years of Asian settlement following the British colonisation of the area. The association had branches wherever there was a substantial population of Asians in the territory such as in Fort Jameson, Livingstone and in later years, Lusaka, Broken Hill and Copperbelt towns. Writing about Asian traders in Southern Rhodesia during the colonial period, who like those in Northern Rhodesia had a lot of similar problems and so had formed a similar organisation to look into their interests, H.H. Patel observed that:

Had it not been for 'disabilities' suffered by the community as a whole one wonders whether the Asian organisation would have started in Rhodesia. More than anything else, it was their 'second-hand class' status with all the disadvantages that went with the status which prompted Asians to form organisations to look after their interest.¹

Patel's observation also applied to Northern Rhodesia. The Northern Rhodesia British Indian Association, was formed in order to look into matters that concerned the Asian community as a whole in Northern Rhodesia. It was generally concerned with Asian immigration difficulties, problems over trade licences, general discrimination faced by Asians and the welfare of the community as a whole.²

The Livingstone British India Association, a branch of Northern Rhodesia British India Association, was quite active in the fight for the rights of its members. This is seen in a strongly worded petition sent to the Government in 1927 in which it complained about the racially discriminatory practices in trading to which local administrators in Livingstone were subjecting Asians who were also British subjects and were law abiding and faithful to the British Imperial Government.³ It is most likely

that the petition played a role in influencing the colonial officers to open up Mainway trading area to Asian traders in the 1940s .

The effectiveness of this association could also be seen in the courteousness which the Livingstone Management Board had to take when they were recommending to the Acting Chief Secretary, the allocation of a residential area for Asians and Coloureds owing to the fact that Queensway area on which Asians were residing behind their shops was congested. The Secretary of the Management Board in his letter wrote that “care must be taken not to give the impression that Government is forcing the Indian community to segregate themselves.”⁴ The Acting Chief Secretary was equally careful when dealing with the Asian community as seen when he wrote that “I would be glad if you would inform me whether the Indian community have made any representation to you in regard to residing in a special street.”⁵ The issue of allocating the Asian community a residential area of their own dragged on throughout the 1920s and 1930s despite the fact that Queensway was overcrowded.⁶ Asians refused to move to the area allocated to them as they felt that this was demeaning as British citizens. At a full Municipal Council meeting held on 15th May 1939, the Mayor, R.H. Orr, reported that the Indian community was opposed to the setting aside of an area for their residential purposes, instead they demanded “to purchase property in the white residential area” and also “demanded the right to be treated in the same way as white British subjects.”⁷

Ranchhobhai Patel explained that Asians refused to move to their allocated place because of two main reasons. The first was that, generally Asians in Livingstone were quite sensitive to any move by the authority that appeared racially inclined. They therefore declined to move, partly as a silent protest against what they saw as an idea motivated by the desire to compartmentalise Livingstone society into racial groups; that

of Europeans, Asians and Africans. The second reason was that they did not have money to build houses during this period as most of them were still poor. This is seen in the fact that a few of them, late in the 1940s when a number of Asians were relatively rich, moved to the place allocated to them.⁸ Among the first were the Nayee Brothers, R.V. Nayee and H.S. Nayee who in 1943 occupied stand 457 which they divided into two, one for R.V. Nayee and the other for S.H. Nayee on the Leffler-Dennis road. Others who were also on the same road were D.K. Patel who occupied stands 455 and 456 in 1944, C.R. Nana who took stand 456 on lease in 1949 and Devalia who took stand 455 from Patel in 1950. On Syringa Street were R.V. Nayee who took stand 449 and 450 in 1944 and Devalia who took stands 459 and 462 in 1949.⁹ The majority however, only moved when the white residential areas were made open to them.¹⁰

The Asian community's refusal to move to the area allocated to them was therefore both political and economic. Though the political reason was put in the forefront, the economic one was overriding. This is because when the white residential areas were made open to them only few like Devalia and R.V. Nayee moved there while the majority moved to the area reserved for their housing facilities.¹¹ The political reason was therefore advanced so as to 'buy time' in which they could accumulate enough money which could allow them build their own houses without jeopardising their businesses. Moreover the allocation of a residential area for the exclusive use of the Asian community suited their endogamous nature, thus their move to this area when they had the money, a situation which continued even when the white residential area was made open to them.

The Livingstone Asian community's political allegiance was first and foremost to the colonial government. This comes out clearly in a congratulatory letter the Livingstone British India Association wrote to Sir Herbert Winthorp Young on his

appointment as Governor and Commander in Chief of Northern Rhodesia. The Secretary for the association in his letter of March 20, 1934 wrote in part:

The Indians of Livingstone acknowledge with gratitude that they have enjoyed happiness and contentment in Northern Rhodesia and venture humbly to express the request that the favours which hitherto have been extended to Indians in this territory be continued ... In conclusion I beg sincerely to affirm our strong and devoted loyalty to His Most Gracious Majesty the King and our respectful duty and obedience to your Excellency.¹²

Though the Asians, as British citizens did not enjoy all the rights accruing to such a citizen as they were regarded as second rate citizens in colonial society which was stratified in three main racial groups in which stratification was reinforced by economic, social and political discrimination and segregation, on the whole, they were satisfied with the colonial set up. This was because Asians occupied a position which was roughly commensurate with their economic, political and social status, which was half-way between European and African communities. Whatever their disabilities, they knew that life in colonial Northern Rhodesia held more hope of prosperity than it did in India. As a result of the above mention, Asians endeavoured to support the colonial government as an expedient way of preserving their economic and social privileges.

In the 1940s as the number of Asian children grew due to an increased Asian population, the political activity in Livingstone turned to the exertion of pressure on the administration to erect a school for their children. Prior to that, Asians used to send their children to Southern Rhodesia or India for their education. Those with a lot of money could send their children to Britain.¹³ In view of this pressure, in 1946, the old Government House stable for horses and donkeys was converted into a school for Asian children.¹⁴ Asian pressure reached maximum fruition with the building of Coronation school for the Indian children by the Government with the financial support from the Indian community. The school was opened in 1953, on the day Queen Elizabeth the

Second was crowned.¹⁵ This signified the Livingstone Asian community's attachment to the British Imperial Government.

The Asian community in Livingstone also involved themselves in politics at the local government level. This started in the 1940s when they lobbied to have a member on the Rate Payers' Association which was instrumental in the selection and election of members who were to sit on the local Municipality Management Board. In fact, in the early 1950s, the Asians threatened to form their own association.¹⁶ The threat bore fruit because shortly afterwards the Indian community was admitted to membership of the Rate Payers Association.¹⁷ Asian traders were forced to lobby for a seat on the Municipal Council because they wanted to influence its activities due to African xenophobia and the colonial government's policy of Africanisation of trade in the Native Reserves and African Locations. They also wanted to check government's administrative practices and trading regulations that were not in their favour. The Asian economic grievances were thus translated into political activism. Further, Asians in Livingstone wanted equality of opportunities with Europeans as British citizens. By having a seat on the Municipal Council, they hoped to influence the European politicians in the area by voting for politicians who were in their favour.¹⁸ In fact, because franchise during the colonial period was based on income and property qualifications and many Asians were involved in trading businesses, there were many Asians who appeared on the certified register of voters who were qualified to vote for a member of Legislative Council (LEGCO). In the register, only Europeans and Asians appeared as Africans were not allowed to vote for a member of the LEGCO since they were British Protected Persons unlike the Europeans and Asians who were British citizens. In 1950, for instance there were 61 eligible Asian voters and 416 European voters while in 1952 there were 87 Asian voters and 772 European voters.¹⁹ It would

appear that it was because of this Asian pressure and influence on the Livingstone Municipal Council Rate Payer's Association and the Livingstone Legislative Council Electoral Area through their votes that the European trading area on Mainway and European residential areas were opened to Asians after the mid-1940s. It was also because of this pressure that Asians were also allowed to trade in liquor after the mid-1940s. Prior to that only Europeans were allowed to trade in liquor.

Asian political pressure gained a remarkable achievement in 1954 when the Indian community was allowed to nominate a member to contest a seat on the Municipal Council. Though he lost, Harischandra B. Oza became the first Asian to contest elections as a councillor on the Livingstone Municipal Council elections in 1954.²⁰ R.V. Nayee followed later in 1955.²¹ He too lost in the elections for Councillorship in 1955. In 1956, having first been nominated by the Rate Payers' Association to stand for Municipal elections, he won,²² becoming the first Asian to be elected as a Councillor on the Livingstone Municipal Council. Nayee, thereafter continued recontesting and winning the seat throughout the remaining years of colonial rule in Northern Rhodesia. This indicates that the Asian community in Livingstone had confidence in R.V. Nayee and were more united than the Asian traders in Chipata who grouped themselves in two opposing camps and so could not decide on who to represent them on the politics of local government having successfully lobbied to have an Indian seat in the local Town Management Board in 1940.²³

Asian politics in Livingstone also manifested itself on the issue of the creation of the Federation of Central Africa, which encompassed Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Mkunga in his work on Asian traders in Chipata observed that whilst Africans opposed the creation of the Federation, Asians on the other hand supported it as they saw major economic opportunities from it which would result from

the expanded market.²⁴ The Dotsons on the other hand have noted that Asian reaction to Federation underwent a cycle of first passionate and futile opposition, then a period of fair accommodation and finally reluctant rejection under the pressure of African nationalism.²⁵ The Asian reaction in Livingstone on the issue of the Federation seems to have followed the pattern noted by the Dotsons. The Asians in Livingstone strongly opposed the Federation up to about 1954, a year after its creation. An Asian informant observed that generally Asians along the line of rail opposed the creation of the Federation unlike those in Chipata.²⁶ This was mainly because Asians along the line of rail were fairly well educated, well informed and possessed a high degree of political consciousness unlike those in Chipata. The Asians feared that with Federation, they would lose the protection of the Colonial Office under white settler rule. They were particularly concerned with restrictions on Asian immigration, fearing that with local autonomy for the Europeans, the Southern Rhodesia Asian Restriction Regulations on immigration would be extended to Northern Rhodesia.

In view of that, Asians in Livingstone held meetings, issued resolutions and made numerous appeals to liberal European politicians who sympathised with their situation. For instance in August 1952, when Henry Hopkinson, Minister for the Colonies visited Livingstone, the Indian Community through its leaders sent a memorandum to him seeking assurance that should Federation come, if they were not to be protected in the way Africans were, "they should not be placed under any disability in enjoying the same privileges and rights as Europeans in the matters of immigration, citizenship and inter-territorial movements."²⁷

As a matter of fact, most Asians in Central Africa did not like Federation. This was because as Patel observed, they feared that:

... the immigration laws of Southern Rhodesia under which Asians were at a disadvantage would become part of the Federal Law, that Rhodesia type discrimination would affect Asians in the two Northern Territories, that freedom of movement of Asians across territories would be restricted and in general that the Federation would go the way of South Africa.²⁸

Consequently, an organisation called Central African Asian Conference (CAAC) was formed in Limbe, Nyasaland in July 1952²⁹ in which Livingstone Asian leaders such as R.V. Nayee actively participated. Nayee was a leader of the delegation of Northern Rhodesia India Association at the Conference of the CAAC held in Lusaka in 1954.³⁰ Besides, in the early 1960s, he was the president of Northern Rhodesia Asian Association formed in the late 1950s.³¹

The Conference's aim was to halt the Federation. When Federation became a reality, on its eve, at the August 1953 Conference of CAAC held in Bulawayo, at which Shri Apa Pant, Commissioner for India in East and Central Africa was a distinguished guest, the Conference resolved to work within the framework of the Federation and to do the best they could on behalf of the Asian community. This is evidenced in the declaration it made and has been cited by H.H. Patel, which in part read as follows:

The Federation of the three territories, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is an accomplished fact. We have to think of the part we are going to play in the progress and development of those territories, and at the same time we have to consider, frankly and seriously, the difficulties that lie ahead of us.³²

It is against this background that Asian political activity in Livingstone, especially with regard to the creation of the Federation, must be understood. Asians in Livingstone therefore did not support Federation, on the contrary they opposed it. This continued up to the early years of the creation of the Federation. For instance, before the Southern

Rhodesia's Immigration Act and the Southern Rhodesia's Inter-Territorial Movement of Persons (Control) Act was made into law, the Indian community through the Livingstone Indian Chamber of Commerce and the Livingstone British India Association sent petitions to the Federal Prime Minister, Godfrey Huggins in protest against its enactment arguing that the proposed Immigration Bill as it stood would adversely affect economic and social life of the Asian community in the country.³³

When the Inter-Territorial Movement of Persons Control Bill was passed by the Southern Rhodesia Parliament in September 1954, the Livingstone British Indian Association at a general meeting passed a resolution protesting against it. In part the resolution read:

This Bill ... is the most unjust, ill conceived and discriminatory document which appears to be aimed at the Indian community only in that only Indians and criminals are precluded from entering Southern Rhodesia from the other territories of the Federation except by special permission ... It has created a very bitter feeling amongst our members and reflect most incredibly on the Federation as a whole ... we beg that His Excellence refuse to sign this Bill and stop it from becoming a law.³⁴

When the Federal law came into effect on 1 November, 1954, all Asian businesses in Livingstone came to a stand still. It was a day of 'mourning and protest' against the Federal Immigration Act and Southern Rhodesia's Inter-Territorial Movement of Persons (Control) Act. All Asians in Livingstone closed their businesses for the whole day, and members of the Indian community wore black armbands as a symbol of mourning. They also held prayers and meditations. The usual evening cinema for Indians was cancelled.³⁵ The Livingstone Asian community's opposition to the Federation is further seen in their resentment of the introduction of a reserved seat for Asians in the Legislative Council by the 1962 Constitution. The Livingstone British

Indian Association deplored the provision of a special seat for Asians because they felt it gave them an inferior status and cut out their voting rights.³⁶

As demonstrated above, Asians in Livingstone did not support Federation. Like the Africans, they were against it though for different reasons. Whilst Africans opposed the Federation because it was seen as an obstacle to the achievement of African self rule, Asians on the other hand opposed it mainly because they feared the implantation of the Southern Rhodesian Immigration law on Asian immigration into Northern Rhodesia as a member of the Federation. Besides, political involvement for Asians in Livingstone never came naturally but they were simply driven into the area in order to safeguard their interests as they were essentially business people because other fields were closed to them.

In view of the above, as the Federation unfolded, Asian traders were able to accommodate themselves within its framework due to the economic benefits that accrued from it as a result of a wide and expanded market. This was because, though the Federation and especially Southern Rhodesia had discriminatory laws, trade goods were moving freely through European businessmen who were not affected by these regulations. Trade goods, especially from Southern Rhodesia, which had a well developed economy, therefore became abundant and Asian traders could procure their requirements easily from European wholesale traders. Moreover, the Interterritorial Movement of Persons Act which barred the settlement in Southern Rhodesia of Asians from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was repealed shortly after 1959.³⁷ Thereafter, Asians enjoyed complete freedom of movement within the territory thus, widening the area of their business operations thereby making the Federation a boon to their trading activities despite their fierce opposition to its introduction.

The African nationalists were determined to achieve self rule despite the setback posed by the Federation, therefore, Asians who were benefiting from it were seen to be collaborating with the colonial government, aiding it in suppressing and delaying African independence. It is for this reason that their shops from the mid-1950s and early 1960s were targeted in politically motivated boycotts. The boycotts were economically damaging to Asian trading businesses. For example, during such a boycott in Livingstone, which started on 1 June, 1956, having been declared by the African National Congress, Asian shop owners on Queensway lost between £2,000 and £3,000 in sales during the first four days of the boycott. There were between 25 and 30 Asian shops on Queensway at the time.³⁸ It is important to point out that the boycotts targeted both Europeans and Asian shops. Asians were however hurt most because African trade was mainly in their hands.

Although there is lack of adequate information except as mentioned in passing, it would appear that the Indian community in Northern Rhodesia in the mid-1940s had an all Indian party called Northern Rhodesia Indian Congress in which the Indian community in Livingstone was actively involved as its headquarters was in Livingstone and its Chairman in 1947 was B.J. Devalia, a Livingstone resident.³⁹ When the British Royal family comprising of Queen Elizabeth and her father, King George IV paid a royal state visit to Northern Rhodesia in 1947, Devalia was invited to meet the Royal family in his capacity as the national chairman of the Indian National Congress. Despite being a great honour to meet the Royal family, Devalia declined the invitation.⁴⁰ This shows that some Asians were highly hostile and greatly opposed to British colonialism.

It however appears that the Indian National Congress Party was short lived as records at the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) do not show its existence or records.

Besides, Asians interviewed denied its existence. It was therefore difficult to assess its aims, objectives and activities. Nevertheless, the party was a reality. It would appear the party was short lived because shortly after its formation, in 1947 an African nationalist party, the African National Congress (ANC) was formed. The continued existence of the Indian Congress Party would therefore have conflicted with the African aspirations of African majority rule. As a minority group, Asians abandoned their party so as to identify themselves with the Africans who were set to achieve independence. This was especially so when it became clear that the Federation would be dismantled and that African nationalists would take over the mantle of power in the country. At this stage, most Asians, the majority of whom were members of the United Federal Party switched sides and began to support the nationalist struggle.

Though the majority of Asians in Livingstone identified themselves with African nationalists after it became apparent that Africans would take over the governance of the territory, some of the Asians identified themselves with African nationalism right from its nascent stage. In an interview in Lusaka, Oza, a long time resident of Livingstone, now settled in Britain noted:

We had a clear mind about nationalist struggle. We believed that emancipation of people from colonial bondage could only come through struggle. Most of us at that time were focussed at the struggle for independence in India. Freedom was equated to development of people and country. Therefore, right from the beginning, nationalist rights were supported. The first thing was the right for freedom. Support was first given to African National Congress (ANC) and then United National Independence Party (UNIP).⁴¹

For instance, B.J. Devalia was a member of ANC right from its formative stage. Because of his commitment to the African struggle for independence, Devalia did not accept the offer of Member of the British Empire (MBE) in 1947 during the Royal

family visit to Northern Rhodesia.⁴² In an interview carried out by Dean Shakumbila in 1976, when asked why he refused such a prestigious honour Devalia retorted:

The colonialists knew that I was helping the ANC and wanted to get me out of my desirable activities. I refused because I did not want to work for the colonialist government nor become its puppet. I wanted to fight for social justice and not to play the British puppet.⁴³

Phiri in his work on Indians in Eastern Province noted that “several Indians became associated members of ANC in the 1950s and gave both material and moral support to the nationalist struggle”.⁴⁴ This observation was particularly true for the Asians in Livingstone. However the Asians in Livingstone, in addition to the overt support they gave to the nationalist struggle also supported it covertly. This is evidenced in Devalia’s description of how the nationalist struggle was carried out as quoted by Shakumbila. Devalia noted:

What we used to do was send five people at a time into the bush to carry out party propaganda among the villagers by distributing pamphlets. But it was difficult because some of our people were being arrested by chiefs’ *Kapasos*. Among the pamphlets which party workers distributed to people were reproductions of articles by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru of India. Thousands of copies were reproduced in local languages. But because of their effectiveness, the colonial government banned the pamphlets because they were regarded as subversive literature. Anyone found with them was jailed while foreigners were deported.⁴⁵

Wamulwange Siyambango and William Chipango both of whom were African nationalists during the colonial era and former mayors in Livingstone confirmed Devalia’s claim.⁴⁶ Kapasa Makasa noted that some Asians took a leading role in the struggle for independence. Amongst these were Rambhai D. Patel who was popularly known as ‘Kanjombe’ by the African populace. Among the treasured items ‘Kanjombe’ donated was a small book that was highly militant. The book was about the struggle against imperialism in China.⁴⁷ Such literature was proscribed by the colonial government. In fact, in May 1959, an Asian trader in Livingstone, Bhanabhai

Govanbhai Nana appeared in the High Court on a charge of being in possession without lawful excuse of an extract of a prohibited publication. Although Nana was acquitted, this episode underscores the point that Asian traders in Livingstone played an important role in the struggle for independence by raising the political consciousness of the African people through the reproduction and dissemination of militant and political literature.⁴⁸

R.V. Nayee was another Asian in Livingstone who supported African nationalism openly. He supported ANC when it was formed and shifted to UNIP when it was formed in 1959 as it was more popular. Nayee attended political meetings when he was in ANC and later on in UNIP. He supported UNIP by supplying mealie meal and money to freedom fighters and their family members. Since UNIP did not have adequate transport during the period of the struggle for independence, Nayee often ran errands on behalf of UNIP using his vehicle. Further, some of his shops in Kalomo, Zimba and Livingstone had been given to UNIP to be used as offices. His house in Livingstone was frequented by nationalist leaders such as Kenneth Kaunda, Mainza Chona, Reuben Kamanga, Mungoni Liso, Sikota Wina and others. Though R.V. Nayee supported African nationalism openly, in 1959, he was an executive member of the Livingstone branch of the United Federal Party (U.F.P.).⁴⁹ This demonstrates that in a state of political uncertainty, Asians tended to have 'one leg' in the ruling party and the other in the party that seemed likely to take over. Once there was a change of government, they shifted their allegiance completely to the new ruling party in order to safeguard their interests.

Most Asians became members of U.F.P. in the late 1950s. This was due to an agreement which the ruling U.F.P. had made with Asians in Northern Rhodesia in 1958. In this pact, Asians agreed to support U.F.P. in the 1958 Federal election in

exchange for government pushing in the construction of a secondary school in the territory for Asian children. The agreement materialised for shortly after the election, construction of what later became Prince Phillip High School in Lusaka began.⁵⁰ However in the 1962 three tier system of elections in which 15 seats were reserved for the “upper” roll for which by virtue of education and income Europeans would qualify but a few Africans; another 15 seats in the “middle” roll or “national” seats to be filled by votes from both the upper and lower rolls (most Asians and a few Africans qualified to vote on this roll) and lastly another 15 seats for the “lower” roll on which Africans in large numbers would qualify, Nayee stood as a UNIP candidate in the “middle” roll when he was requested to do so by UNIP national leaders. Nayee lost the election as most voters in the middle role were Europeans.⁵¹ Though he lost, this demonstrates that Asian traders in Livingstone were committed to the struggle for African independence.

Others who participated openly in the struggle for independence were H. Oza and P.H. Govind. Govind was a member of the UNIP Treasury Committee in Livingstone in the early 1960s. He became a UNIP Councillor in 1963. The majority of the Asian traders however, supported the nationalist struggle quietly because they feared victimisation from the white settler authorities.⁵² Nonetheless, in 1964, the year Northern Rhodesia became independent under the new name, Zambia, an Asian, R.V. Nayee became the first non-white mayor in Livingstone.⁵³ Undoubtedly, this was in recognition of the contribution the Asian community in Livingstone made to the African struggle for independence.

Effects of Asian Participation in African Nationalist Politics on Asian Businesses

Asian participation in African nationalist politics had little effect on Asian businesses as a whole. This was because in the main, their participation was not openly done. Though Asians contributed to the nationalist cause through moral, material and

financial support, this was done quietly. As a result, their contribution remained unnoticed by the colonial authorities. Consequently, the colonial authorities saw most members of the Asian community as sympathisers of the colonial government. They were therefore left alone to transact their businesses unimpeded.

Nonetheless, the businesses of the Asians who openly supported the nationalist cause were affected negatively. For instance, when Europeans came to know that R.V. Nayee was contesting as a UNIP candidate in the three tier electoral system of 1962, European clients of his white trade business on Mainway boycotted his shop. Nayee lost about 600 to 700 European customers. As a result he lost a lot of money. Though UNIP leaders offered to mobilise Africans to support him by purchasing their requirements from Rhino shop, one of Nayee's shops that specialised in African trade, he declined the offer. This was because, the act would put him in antagonism with fellow Asian traders, most of whom relied on African trade. In fact, most Asians had already sidelined him because of his open involvement in African nationalist politics, arguing that, this was endangering the well being of the Asian community and their businesses as a whole. Besides, it was in European trade that Nayee was getting much of his money as some of the goods like high heeled shoes, dresses and suits were costing as much as £25 each while most Africans earned a monthly salary of £2. African customers could therefore do very little to redeem his business.⁵⁴

As a result of his open involvement in African nationalist politics, Nayee also lost his Victoria Falls shop in Victoria Falls Town, Southern Rhodesia. Further the Livingstone Municipal Management Board cancelled the contract they had with Nayee for the supply of malt to the Council. Consequently, the business was closed. He hence moved to his Rhino store on Queensway.⁵⁵ B.J. Devalia, who also openly supported African nationalist struggle suffered a similar fate. His liquor trading licence

was cancelled for at least five times. Devalia was notorious for disobeying the colonial segregationist regulations.⁵⁶

Besides having their businesses affected negatively, the Asians who identified themselves openly with the African nationalist struggle were also harassed by the police. B.J. Devalia, R.V. Nayee and H. Oza who were in the fore-front in this regard were on several occasions harassed by the police. Their homes were constantly searched by the police on the allegation that they were keeping prohibited literature and harbouring African fugitives and nationalist leaders in their homes.⁵⁷ This was exacerbated by the European belief at the time that Asians being the first to challenge European political dominance in India and British occupied Africa were responsible for African nationalism when it first appeared. The white settler authorities believed that organising a political movement was beyond Africans' capabilities. Thus, Asians who were known to possess such capabilities were believed to have been behind African nationalism.⁵⁸

Arising from the above, though several Asians in Livingstone participated in the African nationalist struggle for independence through moral, material and financial support (though difficult to quantify as they often gave quietly), it was only the businesses of those Asian traders who identified themselves openly with African nationalism which were effected negatively through victimisation by the colonial authority. Victimisation curtailed businesses of such Asian traders.

Asian Participation in Social Activities

Asian participation in social activities in Livingstone was not much pronounced. This was mainly because of the British colonial policy of social stratification that compartmentalised society into three racial groups of Europeans, Asians and Africans and was reinforced by economic, political and social discrimination as observed earlier.

This meant that different races had to go to different schools, live in different localities and were thus unable to share social and cultural amenities. The British colonial system therefore bred racial suspicion, misunderstanding and antagonism between people of different races instead of promoting co-operation. In this situation, Asians found it difficult to participate fully in the social aspect of the growth of Livingstone. This difficulty was further reinforced by the cultural structure of the Asian community which was strongly communal minded and intensely endogamous.⁵⁹

In view of the above, the African-Asian relationship was at the “shopkeeper-customer” or “master-servant” level. At the “shopkeeper-customer” level, there was very little informal chatting between African customers and Asian shopkeepers though Africans with high status were treated with cordiality if the Asian shopkeeper knew who they were.⁶⁰ If a European customer appeared in a shop where there were African customers, as a practice, the Asian shopkeeper made an approach to meet him, ignoring the waiting African customers even if they were many in order to attend to him.⁶¹ Asian shopkeepers gave first preference to European customers because in the racially stratified society, Europeans belonged to the first class race.

Just like the European masters, Asian masters often called their domestic African servants “boys” regardless of their age. Those who worked inside their houses were called “house-boys” while those outside were called “garden-boys”. At the shop, “store-boys” were often employed to carry customers’ purchases to their cars, to sweep and to fetch items from the store room when demanded. Some were employed as “call-boys” to entice window shoppers inside. Africans were rarely employed as store assistants in Asian shops as they were mistrusted. Store assistants were usually relatives of the shop owner called from India.⁶² In this respect Asian traders in Livingstone did little to promote African trading entrepreneurship during the colonial

period. This was most probably because they feared creating a rival group in the trading area that would put them at a disadvantage being a minority group. However, a few Asian traders tried to help Africans open up trading businesses of their own. For example, R.V. Nayee assisted Africans such as Gibson Ndopu, Sikopo Munalula and Maimbolwa Sakubita who later became a Minister of State when Northern Rhodesia became independent in 1964. Stephen Mponda, a promising African businessman, who later became bankrupt because of poor business skills and social orientation which was incompatible with business enterprise was often recapitalised and given advice by R.V. Nayee on how to run a business successfully.⁶³

Further, individual Africans were assisted in their studies. For example, the Asian community in Livingstone, like the rest of the Asian community in the territory played a major role in collecting money that financed the sending of Godwin Mbikusita Lewanika for studies in India in 1947. Indians gave donations to the Livingstone African Welfare Society, trade unions and political parties in existence, that is ANC and UNIP. In fact, the main financiers of political parties in the formative years were Asians. This was however done quietly for fear of persecution from the colonial government.⁶⁴

As observed in the first chapter, the pioneer Asians came as young men without their families. Most of them remained unmarried up to about the mid-1940s. The Dotsons have also observed the same in their sociological study of Asians in Central Africa. Under such conditions, the Dotsons noted that, in the Fort Victoria region in Southern Rhodesia, the sexually deprived Muslim Indian cattle and grain traders resorted to cohabiting with the abundantly available African women. This led to the springing up of a race of coloureds which the government was wary of as it would later be a source of trouble and inconvenience.⁶⁵ Mkunga also observed the same on the

Asian traders in Chipata, who were predominantly Moslems. Because of the cohabitation between Asian men and African women a lot of Coloured children who Asian men were not prepared to take custody of came into existence. This led to the African Provincial Council to call “upon the government to legislate against interracial intercourse.”⁶⁶

On the other hand, in Livingstone, there seems to be no evidence either in the National Archives of Zambia or the field that suggests that the above situation occurred. The only intimate relationship between an Asian man and an African woman was that of Jack Marajah and an Ila woman called Mala. The relationship was, however, a steady one as the two were married. Marajah was a Hindu and one of the earliest Asian pioneers. He was settled along the Nansanzu River, on a smallholding where he was growing vegetables for sale. The small holding was seven miles from Livingstone and Mala continued looking after it even after Marajah’s death.⁶⁷ According to one informant, Inamukanyemba, Marajah had two children with Mala.⁶⁸ Merran McCulloh in her *A Social Survey of the African People of Livingstone* wrote: “One African woman in our sample had been married to an Indian and had a son who was working in town.”⁶⁹ Most likely, the Indian referred to could be Marajah. All Asian informants expressed ignorance on the issue.

An Asian informant explained that Livingstone, which had a Hindu population unlike Chipata whose Indian population was predominantly Moslem had no problem of illegitimate children born between Asian men and African women because the Hindu code forbids sex before marriage and only monogamous marriages are permitted. The code was rigidly enforced and those found abrogating it faced stiff punishment such as ostracism from the community. On the other hand, the Islamic law and custom allowed a Moslem to have up to four wives. However, Asian men who sired children with

African women neither married them nor took custody of their children because they feared ostracism from their community. This was due to the fact that whether Hindu or Moslem, Indian exclusiveness did not permit marriage between Indians and members of any other race, more so, Africans, who were considered to be social inferiors.⁷⁰

Asians also participated in the social services sector of health and education. However, this was mainly concerned with their well being rather than that of the rest of the Livingstone community. For example in early 1941 the Asian community raised a total amount of £220 7s. 0d. towards a fund called Livingstone Indians Ambulance Fund for the purchase of an ambulance for their exclusive use.⁷¹ Though both Asians and Europeans attended the same hospital when sick, ambulance services were not promptly made available to Asians when required due to intense racial attitude that Europeans had against them. This prompted the Asian community to organise the purchase of an ambulance which they could control and use without any hurdle when necessary.⁷²

When the government was building a school for Indian children following its acceptance of the responsibility for Indian education in 1952, the Asian community made a substantial financial contribution. The school was called Coronation Indian School. The Asian community contributed £81 6s. 6d. towards the celebration of the opening of the school which coincided with the coronation of Queen Elizabeth the Second in 1953.⁷³

Sport was also one social activity in which Asians in Livingstone were actively involved. They were not only playing and competing amongst themselves but also with Europeans. Sport was actually one area in which Asians and Europeans got on very well. According to Oza, sport was the main area that helped foster understanding between Asians and Europeans. It was actually an important link between the Asian

and European communities. The Asians in Livingstone had a sports club called Bharat Sports Club, which was quite active. The club organised tournaments in sports activities like cricket, hockey, basketball, volleyball and tennis not only amongst the Asian community but also between the Asian and European communities, both within and outside Livingstone.⁷⁴ The Bharat Sports Club was renowned, particularly, for its outstanding performance in cricket. For instance, in 1955 the Bharat "A" cricket team was the champion in Livingstone. It won both the Sossy Cup and the Castle Shield. At a ceremony held at Windsor Hotel at which the Sossy Cup and Shield were presented to the team, members of both the Asian and European communities attended.⁷⁵ As a result of such activities, there was a substantial intimacy and enduring ties between the two communities, thus minimising racial suspicions and antagonism between the two races. There were however no such activities between the Asian and African communities. Consequently, the relationship between the two races was to a great extent business like with very little informal chatting.⁷⁶

Summary

A number of points can be raised regarding the Asian participation in the political and social development of Livingstone. Firstly, Asian participation in the political development of Livingstone was driven by their desire to ameliorate any disabilities suffered by the community. Consequently, they worked within the framework of the colonial government so as to safeguard their interests, thereby drawing the wrath of African nationalists as they thought that this was intended to delay and frustrate the African aspiration for self government. Secondly, when the issue of Federation came, they first opposed it as they feared that the Southern Rhodesian Restrictive laws on Asian immigration would be part of Federal Laws, and hence affect Asian immigration in Northern Rhodesia. When Federation became a reality, Asians

fairly accommodated it, and reluctantly rejected it when it became clear that African self rule was evident. Thirdly, during the politics of independence, Asians contributed morally, materially and financially to the cause of African nationalism. This was however done secretly for fear of persecution from the colonial government authority. A few Asians however, identified themselves openly with African nationalism and these had their businesses impeded by the colonial authority. Fourthly, Asians failed to participate fully in the social sector of Livingstone because of the British colonial policy of compartmentalisation of society into races coupled with the structure of the Asian society itself, which was highly endogamous. Where Asians participated, it was mainly for their own benefit as a community.

ENDNOTES

¹H.H. Patel, 'Asian Political Activity in Rhodesia from the Second World War to 1972' *Rhodesian History*, 9(1928), p. 67.

²Interview, Harishchandra Oza, Lusaka businessman resident in Britain, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

³NAZ, RC/240, British Indian Association at Livingstone: Petition for Grant of Trading Licences and plots for Indians to Governor, 22 November, 1927.

⁴NAZ, RC/300, sale or lease of stands to Indians and Coloured Persons for Residential Purposes only, Correspondence, Secretary of Livingstone Management Board to Acting Secretary, 21 May 1926.

⁵NAZ/300, Correspondence, from Acting Chief Secretary, Livingstone Management Board, 31 May, 1926.

⁶'Indian Housing in Town, Council Responsible for Position' *Livingstone Mail*, 8 April, 1939, p.5.

⁷'Indian Problem referred to Government; Europeans Against Indians Buying Property in Residential Areas' *Livingstone Mail*, 27 May, 1939.

⁸Interview, Ranchhodbhai M. Patel, Businessman, Livingstone, 11 November, 1999.

⁹Denys Whitehead, a retired Anglican Priest; he is in possession of a document which shows the first Asians to move to the residential area allocated to them. The document also shows the plots they occupied. The document was shown to the researcher on 16 June 2000 at Denys' residence in Livingstone.

¹⁰Interview, R.M. Patel, Livingstone, 11 November, 1999.

¹¹Eminent Livingstone former African nationalist and politician who asked for anonymity.

¹²A photocopy of the congratulatory letter was given to the researcher by Flexon M. Mizinga, Chief Historian of the Rhodes Livingstone Museum, Livingstone. The letter has no file number as according to Mr. Mizinga, it was found lying in one of the cabinets in the Museum. The photocopy of the letter was given to the researcher on 14 December, 1998.

¹³Interview, H. Oza, Lusaka, 15 January, 2000.

¹⁴Denys Whitehead, 'The Story of Livingstone, Tourist capital of Zambia' (Unpublished paper, n.d.), p. 48; see also UNZA Library, Special Collections, *Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates* No. 71, 2 July, 1951, Col. 436.

¹⁵'Seven Hundred Attend Opening of Coronation of School by P.C.,'

Livingstone Mail, 5 June, 1953, p. 7.

¹⁶‘Why a separate Association’, *Livingstone Mail*, 9 February 1954, p. 4.

¹⁷‘Rate Payers’ Association in Livingstone to enhance interests of both European and Indian communities,’ , *Livingstone Mail*, 16 February, 1954, p. 5.

¹⁸Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

¹⁹UNZA Library, Special Collections, Gov, ZAM 02/1950/14 *Northern Rhodesia Certified Register of Voters Qualified to vote at Election of a Member of Legislative Council 1950* (Lusaka. Government Printer 1950), pp. 11-17; Gov. ZAM. (02) 1952/5 *Northern Rhodesia Revised Register of Voters Qualified to Vote at Elections of a Member of the Legislative Council 1952*. (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1952), pp. 14-26.

²⁰‘Slutzkin tops Livingstone Poll’ *Livingstone Mail*, 22 April, 1954.

²¹*Livingstone Mail*, 18 March 1955, p. 1.

²²*Livingstone Mail*, 16 March, 1956.

²³Bizeck J. Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia* (Lusaka: High Quality Printers, 2000), p. 46.

²⁴Mkunga, ‘The Development of the Asian Trading class, 1900-64’, p. 155.

²⁵Floyd Dotson and Lilian Dotson, *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 309.

²⁶The informant opted to remain anonymous as he felt the information would cause antagonism between the descendants of Asians in Chipata and those along the line of rail. This was because the information presupposes that pioneer Asians in Chipata were of an inferior type as compared to those along the line of rail. This could be interpreted on religious lines, since Asians in Chipata are mostly Moslems, while those in Livingstone and along the line of rail are mostly Hindus.

²⁷‘Indian Residents Seeks Assurance’, *Livingstone Mail*, 8 August, 1952, p. 9.

²⁸Patel, ‘Asian Political Activity in Rhodesia from the Second World War to 1972’, p. 69.

²⁹Patel, ‘Asian Political Activity in Rhodesia from the Second World War to 1972’, p. 70.

³⁰*Livingstone Mail*, 18 March 1955 and 9 March, 1962.

³¹*Livingstone Mail*, 20 March 1959 and 10 April, 1964, p. 1.

³² Papers of the CAAC Minutes of the Proceedings, 26 August, 1953 as cited by Patel, 'Asian Political Activity in Rhodesia from the Second World War to 1972', p. 70.

³³ 'Indians Attack Restrictions on Immigration – Petition to Federal Prime Minister', *Livingstone Mail*, 29 June, 1954, p. 1., also see 'Livingstone Indians Protest', *Livingstone Mail*, 30 July, 1954, p.1.

³⁴ 'Livingstone Indians Protest Against Southern Rhodesia Bill,' *Livingstone Mail*, 10 September, 1954, p. 7.

³⁵ 'Livingstone Indians Hold Day Mourning and Protest', *Livingstone Mail* 2 November, 1954: see also letter to Editor; 'Todd's Reply to Asians Disgusting', by Harish, Livingstone, *Livingstone Mail*, 2 November, 1954.

³⁶ 'A shocked community', *Livingstone Mail*, 26 October, 1962; also see *Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates Hansard No. 105, 19 June to 7 September 1962*, cols. 944 and 998.

³⁷ F. Dotson and L. Dotson, *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi*, p. 316.

³⁸ 'Indian Traders in Town felt the Boycott pinch for four days – African National Congress relaxing', *Livingstone Mail*, 15 June, 1956, p. 1

³⁹ Kristin Ese, *An Historical Guide to Livingstone Town* (Harare: CBC Publishers, 1996), p. 11 also see Dean Shakumbila, 'Devalia – a fighter for social justice' *Times of Zambia*, 6 January, 1976, p.6.

⁴⁰ Ese, *An Historical Guide to Livingstone Town*, p. 11; see also Shakumbila, 'Devalia – a fighter for social justice', *Times of Zambia*, 9 January, 1976.

⁴¹ Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 15 January, 2000.

⁴² Interview, Aravin Devalia, Son to B.J. Devalia, Livingstone, 7 September, 1999.

⁴³ Shakumbila, 'Devalia – a fighter for social justices', *Times of Zambia*, 9 January, 1976.

⁴⁴ Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia*, p. 49.

⁴⁵ Shakumbila, 'Devalia – a fighter for social justice', *Times of Zambia*, 9 January, 1976.

⁴⁶ Interview, Wamulwange Siyambango, former African nationalist and Mayor of Livingstone, 1966-75' Livingstone, 2 October, 1999 and William M. Chipango, former African nationalist and Mayor of Livingstone, 1965-66, Livingstone, 21 October, 1999.

⁴⁷ Interview, Robert Kapasa Makasa, former African nationalist and founder member of ANC (1951) and later on UNIP (1959) Lusaka, 1 February, 2000.

⁴⁸.'Indian Trader Acquitted of charge of possessing Prohibited Publication,' *Livingstone Mail*, 22 May, 1959, p. 7.

⁴⁹.*Livingstone Mail*, 20 March, 1959, p. 7.

⁵⁰.Dotson and Dotson, *The Indian Minority of Zambia Rhodesia and Malawi*, p. 320.

⁵¹.Interviews, W. Siyambango, Livingstone, 2 October, 1999; W.M. Chipango, Livingstone, 21 October, 1999 and G.R. Nayee, Businessman and Son to R.V. Nayee, Livingstone, 4 May, 2000.

⁵².Interviews, W. Siyambango, Livingstone, 2 October, 1999, Parbhoo Harkishan Govind, Businessman, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999 and W.M. Chipango, Livingstone, 21 October, 1999.

⁵³.'Councillor R.V. Nayee, Newly elected Mayor of Livingstone', *Livingstone Mail*, 10 April, 1964.

⁵⁴.Interview, J.R. Nayee, Livingstone, 7 July, 1999; in separate interviews noted that R.V. Nayee his trading enterprises suffered because of his involvement in African nationalism, as Europeans boycotted his shop specialised in goods meant for Europeans.

⁵⁵.Interview, Harikrishna R. Nayee, Businessman and Son to the late R.V. Nayee, Lusaka, 21 February, 2000; W. Siyambango, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999 and W.M. Chipango, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999.

⁵⁶.Shakumbila, 'Devalia – a fighter for social justice,' *Times of Zambia* 9 January 1976.

⁵⁷.Interviews, A. Devalia, Livingstone, 7 September, 1999; P.H. Govind, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999; H. Oza, Lusaka, 15 January 2000 and J.R. Nayee, Livingstone, 4 May, 2000.

⁵⁸.Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 22 January, 2000.

⁵⁹.Interview, A. Devalia, Livingstone, 9 September, 1999.

⁶⁰.Interview, Nakanje Nalubanga, Regular customer of Asian shops during the colonial period in Livingstone, Livingstone, 11 July, 1999; J N Muyangi, retired worker at an Asian owned farm and shop, Livingstone, 7 October, 1999.

⁶¹.Interviews, N. Nalubanga, Livingstone, 11 July, 1999 and Richard Chiluti retired shop-worker and tailor for an Asian master, Livingstone, 9 October, 1999; J N Muzungu, retired worker for an Asian trader, Livingstone, 19 September, 1999.

⁶².Interviews, N. Nalubanga, Livingstone, 11 July, 1999 and W. Siyambango, 2 October, 1999.

⁶³Interviews, J.R. Nayee, Livingstone, 7 July, 1999; W. Siyambango, Livingstone, 2 October, 1999; W.M. Chipango, Livingstone, 22 October, 1999, and G. Ndopu, former trader, Livingstone, 23 October, 1999.

⁶⁴Interview, A. Devalia, Livingstone, 9 September, 1999.

⁶⁵F. Dotson and L. Dotson, *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi*, p. 281.

⁶⁶Mkunga, 'The Development of the Asian Trading Class, 1900-64,' pp. 126-7.

⁶⁷NAZ, KDB 6/4/3/3, Livingstone Tours: 1935-35; Livingstone Tour Report No. 7. of 1936. Also see NAZ, RC/280, Jack Marajah: Store Licence, 27 May – 30 December 1927, Correspondence, Jack Marajah to Acting chief.Secretary, Livingstone, 8 June, 1927 and Jack Marajah to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, n.d.

⁶⁸Interview, Inamukanyemba Siambelele, Villager of Siambelele village, Livingstone, 12 December, 1999.

⁶⁹Merran McCulloh, *A Social Survey of the African People of Livingstone* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1956), p. 4.

⁷⁰The informant asked for anonymity because he feared that being a Hindu, Moslems would consider him to have a low opinion of their religion, thus antagonising the relationship between the two religious groups.

⁷¹'Livingstone Indians' Ambulance fund,' *Livingstone Mail*, 4 April 1941 p. 2.

⁷²The informant requested anonymity.

⁷³Interview, Oza, Lusaka, 15 February, 2000; also see 'Strong Indian Support for Coronation Fund' *Livingstone Mail* 29 May, 1953, p. 12 and Seven Hundred Attend Opening of Coronation School by P.C., *Livingstone Mail*, 5 June, 1953, p. 7.

⁷⁴Interviews, Govind, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999 and Oza, Lusaka, 15 February, 2000.

⁷⁵*Livingstone Mail*, 22 April, 1955.

⁷⁶Interview, Govind, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the development of the Asian trading community in Livingstone from 1905 to 1964. It has shown that the establishment of Livingstone led to the development of three main racial groups in the area consisting of Europeans, Asians and Africans. Society was stratified according to racial categories: Europeans at the top, Asians in the middle and Africans at the bottom.

The study has shown that Asians came to Livingstone following the British colonisation of the area. Trading activities in the area were pioneered by individual European settler traders, most of whom were of Jewish origin. In Fort Jameson, another early settlement of Asian traders in Northern Rhodesia, Asians came at the behest of the BSAC administration so that they could hasten the integration of Africans into the capitalist money economy. In Livingstone unlike Fort Jameson pioneer Asian traders came in trickles and on their own initiative. Nearly all pioneer Asian traders emigrated from India because of poverty and lack of opportunities for economic development there at the time. The pioneer Asian traders came to Livingstone as young men and were generally ambitious, adventurous and enterprising.

Because of being poor, pioneer Asian traders first engaged in market gardening and the hawking of their produce to the white community. They then moved into the hawking of other goods such as soap, salt, paraffin and cheap blankets in Livingstone and the surrounding area. Thereafter, they opened general dealer stores. Asians became traders because this was the only economic area in which they could make a living. Other areas such as employment in the civil service were closed to them. These were considered preserves of members of the European community.

The study has also shown that the period 1935 to 1964 saw a massive growth of Asian businesses. This was achieved through a number of factors such as the Asian ability to live frugally, the formation of business partnerships, investment of excess Asian capital from Southern Rhodesia, and established Asian traders' opening of branches of their established businesses along the line of rail and Great North Road. Further, the Asian population in this period increased tremendously, for example it grew from 21 in 1931 to 644 in 1961. This was because established Asian traders began to import relatives and friends through the permit system to work as store-assistants in their established branches. This enhanced the growth of Asian businesses as nearly all Asian employees in the 1940s and 1950s formed their own businesses, usually in partnerships just like the pioneer Asian traders. Labour was provided by family members and later each member partner formed a family business that was tied to the sponsor and former business partner. Kinship ties in business relations helped Asians to preserve their dominance in African trade. The progression of former employees into traders was further enhanced by factors such as experience, the credit system, intra-community assistance and the racially stratified economic structure obtaining in colonial society. This entailed that leading Asian traders had to recruit and train fellow Asians rather than Africans, thus hastening the growth of Asian trading businesses.

Prosperous Asian traders also started diversifying into other business areas such as farming, wholesaling, different manufacturing businesses such as tailoring, biscuit and candle factories, malt manufacturing, specialised European trade, entertainment, hardware and construction businesses. By 1964 the Asian trading community had not only taken over the African trade but was also involved in nearly all trading activities in the area. Asian trade therefore grew through a process of 'fusion' and 'fission'.

The study has further shown that in order to hasten the development of their businesses through the maximisation of profits, some Asian traders, though few, resorted to undesirable trading practices such as evasion of tax and the exploitation of the labour of their desperately poor kinsmen. This practice forced Asian shop-assistants to form a union, Livingstone Indian Shop Assistants Union, whose aim was to safeguard the interests of its members. The study has further shown that as a social class, Asian traders experienced a lot of competition and social differentiation within their segment of colonial society. This led to trade rivalry that existed as evidenced in the Devalia-Rama issue, thus, this study does not subscribe to the myth held by several scholars that Asian traders in Africa worked in harmony and were devoid of conflict in their trading activities.

Before 1935, pioneer Asian traders met hostility from pioneer European traders because the two racial groups were competing for economic rewards in trade. This economic competition generated racial consciousness, which was reinforced by the social stratification of colonial society that allocated economic, political and social roles, and rewards based on racial lines. The above, coupled with European settler dominance in economic, political and social rewards, resulted in the institutionalisation of racism in Livingstone. The view that Asian traders had insanitary habits and were unscrupulous and their competition was responsible for the failure of Europeans in African trade was therefore influenced by racism, which was underlined by European desire for perpetual economic dominance.

After 1935 the hostility between European and Asian traders eased because Europeans concentrated on the more specialised and lucrative European trade instead of African trade, to which Asians and nascent African traders had confined themselves. Nascent African traders hence developed hostility against Asian traders whose

economic position they had desired since the European one was too remote. They therefore saw the Asian traders as a hindrance to their advancement in African trade rather than admit their own weaknesses such as lack of experience, business connections and extended family obligations.

The study shows that despite the intra-racial antagonism, Europeans, Asians and Africans depended on each other in the transaction of their trading and commercial activities. For example, European settlers traded with Asians while Asian traders whose business was mainly African trade, depended on African customers for their business.

The study has also shown that Asian traders participated in the political development of Livingstone. However, their participation was primarily concerned with the removal of inequality between them and Europeans since they were also British subjects rather than Protected Persons as was the case with Africans. They wanted to enjoy the same rights and privileges enjoyed by Europeans. In view of that, they worked within the framework of the colonial government, thus invoking the wrath of African nationalists during the period of African nationalism. Asians were seen as collaborators with the colonial government in suppressing and frustrating African aspirations of self government. Therefore their businesses became targets of politically motivated boycotts in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

When the issue of Federation came, Asian traders in Livingstone vehemently opposed it as they feared that the Southern Rhodesian restrictive law on Asian immigration would be part of Federal law, thereby hampering Asian immigration into Northern Rhodesia. This study therefore does not subscribe to the myth espoused by most scholars on the subject that all Asians in Central Africa welcomed the Federation because they stood to benefit from it as a result of an expanded market. Asians in Livingstone never welcomed it but rather accommodated it when it became a reality

after trying all they could to stop it. However, with the passage of time, as Asians saw more and more economic benefits from the expanded Federal market, they became reluctant to abandon it. They did so only when it became clear that African rule was evident.

During the politics of independence, Asians in Livingstone contributed morally, materially and financially to the cause of African nationalism. However, this was done secretly because they feared persecution from the colonial government. Even so, a few Asian traders like R.V. Nayee and B.J. Devalia identified themselves openly with African nationalism and these had their businesses curtailed by the colonial authority. The Livingstone case therefore does not subscribe to the generalisation held by some scholars that all Asians were opposed to African nationalism because they were not sure of Africans' ability to rule effectively due to lack of education.

The study has also shown that though Asians participated in the social sector of Livingstone, the participation was in the areas where they themselves benefited as a community rather than for the benefit of the whole Livingstone community. Asians therefore did not participate fully in the social sector of Livingstone. This was because of the British colonial policy of social stratification, which compartmentalised society into racial classes. This made it difficult for members of different racial classes to mix and share social amenities together. The structure of the Asian society itself was also a factor as it was highly endogamous and therefore promoted Asian exclusiveness. Consequently, social relationships between Asians and Africans were formal and business like, mostly at the shopkeeper-customer or master-servant level, neither of which inspired a sense of good feelings between the two races. The social relationship between Asians and Europeans was however eased owing to sports activities, which used to be held between members of the two racial groups. Sports activities enabled

members of the two to find time to chat informally with each other, thus reducing tension between the two races.

The Asian trading community contributed in the establishment of capitalism in the area. This is because the African trade which Asian traders developed stimulated cash earning economic activities among Africans in Livingstone and the surrounding rural areas so as to earn cash which they needed in order to purchase consumer goods such as soap, salt, paraffin and clothes which had become a necessity. Asian traders were therefore agents of social change because such factory manufactured goods brought changes in the culture of the African people as they came to depend on them.

Further, the existence and involvement of Asians in trade encouraged enterprising Africans to start their own trading businesses. In fact, a few Asians like R.V. Nayee took deliberate steps to encourage and assist upcoming African traders by giving them credit in the form of goods on manageable terms. On the other hand, Asian traders impeded the development of African trading enterprises by jealously guarding the opportunities they had carved out for themselves. They did this through their system of recruiting family members and friends whom they later on assisted to become traders, rather than assisting upcoming African traders to succeed. With regard to African entrepreneurship, Asian traders therefore had a dual opposing impact. Their presence did not only encourage African entrepreneurship in trade but also impeded it.

On the whole, Asian traders contributed immensely to the economic development of Livingstone through shops, farms, factories and other enterprises they opened in which many African people and even a few Europeans later on in the 1950s and onwards were employed. This study therefore does not subscribe to the view held by some scholars that Asians do not contribute to the economic growth of the country in which they are engaged.

Politically, Asian traders also had an impact. It was because of their political activities that Asian traders were able to win the liberties that were once closed to them by the European settler authorities: for example the right to obtain trading licenses. Further, the material and financial support that Asian traders gave to the nationalist struggle, though difficult to know its extent due to the secret nature in which this was done, eased the African struggle for independence. Arguably therefore, Asians hastened the achievement of African self rule. Asian traders however had very little impact on the social development of the area owing to the British colonial system of social stratification based on race as well as the structure of the Asian community, which promoted Asian exclusiveness. Consequently, despite the long period of Asian presence in Livingstone, they did not transmit their culture in the area. Nonetheless, Asian culture increased and enriched the diversity of the culture of the area.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

1. NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF ZAMBIA (NAZ)

1.1 A SERIES

A3/1/1-2, Northern Rhodesia Census, 1911: Information regarding British Indians desired by the Census Commissioner for India.

1.2 RECORDS OF THE BSAC (BS) SERIES

BS/1/3, Johannesburg, High Commissioner to Acting Administrator: Census, Diseases, 1909 -1911.

BS/32, Issuing, Introduction and Granting Trading Rights to Indian Traders, 1905.

BS 3/182, Native Credit Sales Proclamation, 1911.

BS3/221, Immigration Proclamation, 1914 - 1919.

BS3/237, Land Transfers, Stamp Duties, Licences and Amending Ordinances, 1919 -1924.

1.3 KDB SERIES

KDB 1/5/10, Unemployed natives in Livingstone, January - February, 1933.

KDB 4/3/1, Livingstone Tours, 1911 - 1929.

KDB 6/4/1, Livingstone Annual Reports, 1911 – 1928.

KDB 6/4/2, Livingstone Quarterly Reports, December, 1924 to March, 1932.

KDB 6/4/3/1, Livingstone Tours, 1913 - 29.

KDB 6/4/3/2, Livingstone Tours, 1930 – 1934.

KDB 6/4/3/3, Livingstone Tours, 1935 - 1936.

KDB 6/4/3/4, Livingstone Tours, 1937 – 1940.

1.4 RECORDS OF THE CROWN COLONY (RC) SERIES.

RC/21, Asians Admission into Northern Rhodesia and Immigration Regulations, 1924 – 27.

- RC/240, British Indian Association at Livingstone: Petition for Grant of Trading Licences and Plots for Indians, 1923 - 27.
- RC/279, Trading Licences, Queensway, Livingstone, 30th March - 30th December 1926.
- RC/280, Application for a General Dealer's Licence on Queensway: Jack Marajah, 23rd May to 30th December, 1927.
- RC/281, Application for a General Dealer Licence: Ranchandra Hakuntra Desui (Desai), Indian Trader, 28th December, 1925 to 22nd October 1927.
- RC/299, Issue of Recruiting Licence to Livingstone Storekeepers, 1926-27.
- RC/300, Land and Stands for Business Purposes in Livingstone Township, 20th May to 25th November, 1926.

1.5 SECRETARIAT (SEC) SERIES

- SEC 1/1575, General Dealers, Trading in Native Reserves, 1935-49.
- SEC 1/1576, General Dealers, Asians Trading in Barotseland, 1933 - 1939.
- SEC 2/1, District Circulars, Volumes I-II, 1939-54.
- SEC 2/129, Livingstone Sub-District Annual Report, 1911-12.
- SEC 2/139, Southern Province Annual Reports, 1951-53.
- SEC 2/140, Southern Province Annual Reports, 1954.
- SEC 2/141, Southern Province Annual Reports, 1955-6.
- SEC 2/146, Annual Reports on African Affairs, Southern Province, 1959.
- SEC 2/192, Livingstone Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 March, 1920.
- SEC 2/208, African Representation, 1944-47.
- SEC 2/209, Native Policy - General, 1940-48.
- SEC 2/228, Southern Province Minutes of African Provincial Council Meetings, Volumes I-II, 1944-48.
- SEC 2/243, Race Relations, Paramountcy 1945-48.
- SEC 2/1047, Livingstone Tour Reports, 1953.
- SEC 2/1048, Livingstone Tour Reports, 1955-56.

- SEC 3/48, Immigration, Organisation and Control of Immigration-General 1929-49.
- SEC 3/50, Application to enter Northern Rhodesia, General Policy, 1947-48.
- SEC 3/51, Asian Immigration, Indians, Volume I - II, 1931-48.

1.6 SP. SERIES

- SP1/4/17, Livingstone Race Relations Committee minutes, 11 November, 1951 to 8 March, 1963.
- SP2/3/2, Indian Shop Assistants Trade Union, 5 November, 1950 to 23 April, 1957.
- SP4/1/14, Mayor's Minutes, Livingstone Municipality, 1940-48.
- SP4/1/25, Municipality of Livingstone Minutes, 1946.
- SP4/1/30, Municipality of Livingstone Minutes of native Affairs Sub-Committee, 1947.

2. HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS

- Mukuni (Chief). 'Handbook of the Leya History,' Manuscript in Livingstone Museum, 1957.
- Sekwaswa (Ex-Head Messenger). 'History of the Livingstone District,' Manuscript in Livingstone Museum, n.d.

3. PRIVATE PAPERS

- Whitehead, D. 'The Story of Livingstone, Tourist Capital of Zambia.' n.d.

4. ORAL EVIDENCE

- Bhukhan, A. M. Businessman, Livingstone, 3 May, 2000.
- Chiluti, R. Retired Tailor, Livingstone, 9 October, 1999.
- Chipango, M. W. Former African Nationalist and mayor of Livingstone (1965-66), Livingstone, 21 October, 1999.
- Devalia, A. son to B. J. Devalia, Livingstone, 7 and 9 September 1999.
- Govind, A. P. Businessman, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999.

Hitchins, M. Businessman, Livingstone, 13 October, 1999.

Makasa, R. K. Former African Nationalist and Founder Member of ANC and later UNIP, Lusaka , 1 February, 2000.

McKillop, D. Businesswoman, Livingstone, 11 October, 1999.

Muyangi, G. Former worker in an Asian owned farm and later Asian owned shop, Livingstone, 7 October, 1999.

Muzungu, J. N. Former worker for an Asian trader, Livingstone, 19 September, 1999.

Nayee, H. R. Businessman, Lusaka, 21 February, 1999.

Nayee, J. R. Businessman, Livingstone, 7 July, 1999 and 4 May, 2000.

Nayee,N. M. Businessman, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999.

Nayee, R. S. Businessman, Livingstone, 12 July, 1999.

Ndopu, G. Former trader, Livingstone, 23 October, 1999.

Oza, H. Retired Businessman, Lusaka, 15 and 22 January, 2000.

Patel, D. D. Businessman, Livingstone, 5 May, 2000.

Patel, K. M. Businessman, Livingstone, 12 October, 1999.

Patel, L. J. Businessman, Livingstone, 9 October, 1999.

Patel, M. B. Greengrocer and Market Gardener, Livingstone, 7 October, 1999.

Patel, M. C. Trader, Livingstone, 9 June, 1999.

Patel, M. M. 'Trader, Livingstone, 15 October, 1999.

Patel, M. R. Retired Businessman, Livingstone, 11 October and 11 November, 1999.

Patel, R. K. Trader, Livingstone, 13 July, 1999.

Rama, S. S. Trader, Livingstone, 13 October, 1999.

Siambelele, I. Peasant, Livingstone, 12 December, 1999.

Siambelele, L. Village Headman (Siambelele Village), Livingstone, 20 October, 1999.

Siankondo, J. Retired Tailor, Livingstone, 21 October, 1999.

Siyambango, W. Former African Nationalist and Mayor of Livingstone (1966-77).

Tobias, J. Farmer, Livingstone, 15 October, 1999.

Whitehead, D. Retired Anglican Priest, Livingstone, 12 October, 1999.

II PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

1. NORTHERN RHODESIA GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Supplementary to the Northern Rhodesia Government Gazette of 14 December, 1918, Summary of the Proceedings of the Advisory Council, First Meeting, 25 December, 1918. Livingstone: Government Printers, 1918.

Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council Debates Hansard Nos. 60, 63, 71 and 105. Lusaka: Government Printer, 1948, 1949, 1951, and 1962.

Northern Rhodesia Licensing Committee Report on Trades and Business Ordinance, 1946. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1946.

Northern Rhodesia Report of the Director of Census Regarding the Census taken in 1946, 1951 and 1961. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1949, 1954, and 1965.

Supplementary Report of the Trades Licensing Committee, 1948, Lusaka: Government Printers, 1948.

Northern Rhodesia Certified Register of Voters qualified to vote at Election of a member of the Legislative Council, 1950, Lusaka: Government Printers, 1950.

Northern Rhodesia Revised Register of Voters qualified to vote at Election of a member of the Legislative Council, 1952, Lusaka: Government Printers, 1952.

Report of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into Business Ordinance. Lusaka: Government Printers, 1959.

2. COLONIAL OFFICE GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

Northern Rhodesia Report on the Director of Census Regarding the Census taken on 5 May, 1931. London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1931.

Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1938.

Northern Rhodesia Colonial Annual Report, 1948. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1948.

III NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Livingstone Mail, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1911, 1913, 1914, 1933, 1939, 1941, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1960, 1963 and 1964.

Nshila , 1963.

Times of Zambia, 1976.

IV DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

Mkunga, Chiwomba, T. M. 'The Development of the Asian Trading Class in Chipata, Zambia, 1900 - 1964.' M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1992.

Muvwanga, Gabriel, M. 'Housing in Livingstone: Government Policy and Practice, 1946-1976.' M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1985.

Tembo, Vincent, M. 'African Adaptation to the Colonial Law Enforcement Systems in Livingstone and Kalomo, 1890-1945.' M. A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1984.

V SECONDARY SOURCES

1. BOOKS

Apthorpe, R. (ed.), *Social Research and Community Development based on the 15th Conference of Rhodes – Livingstone Institute for Social Research*. Lusaka: Rhodes - Livingstone Institute, 1961.

Bates, H. M. *Report from the Rhodesia*. London: Andrew Melrose, 1953.

Beveridge, A. A. and Obserchall, A. R. *African Businessmen and Development in Zambia*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979.

Bhatia, P. *Indian Ordeal in Africa*. Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1973.

Chipungu, S. N. (ed.), *Guardians in Their Time: Experiences of Zambians Under the Colonial Rule, 1890-1964*. London: Macmillan, 1992.

Clark, P. M. *Autobiography of an Old Drifter*. London: George G. Harrap, 1936.

Delf, G. *Asians in East Africa*. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Dotson, F. and Dotson, L. *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968.

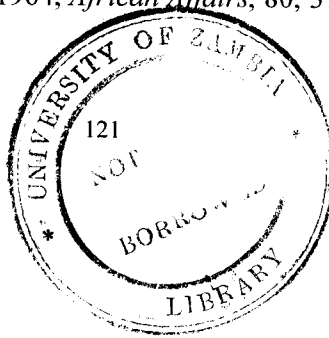
Duignan, P. and Gann, L. H. *Colonialism in Africa, 1870-1969. Volume IV: The Economics of Colonialism*. Cambridge University Press, 1975.

- Ese, K. *An Historical Guide to Livingstone Town*. Harare: CBC Publishers, 1996.
- Fagan, B. *The Victoria Falls*. Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1963.
- Gann, L. H. *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1964.
- _____. *Northern Rhodesia, 1894-1914: The Birth of a Plural Society*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1968.
- Gelfand, M. *Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter, 1892-1924*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961.
- Ghai, Y. P. (ed.) *Portrait of a Minority : Asians in the East Africa*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Ghai Y. P. and Ghai, D. *The Asian Minority of East and Central Africa up to 1971: Minority Rights Group No. 4*. London: Expedite Multiprint, 1971.
- Hanna, A. J. *The Beginning of Nyasaland and North-Eastern Rhodesia, 1859-1895*. Oxford :Clarendon Press, 1958.
- _____. *The Story of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland*. London: Faber and Faber, 1965.
- Huttenburg, R. A. *Gandhi in South Africa, British Imperialism and the Indian Question, 1860-1914*. London: Cornwell University Press, 1971.
- Johnson, H. H. *British Central Africa*. London: Methuen and Company, 1897.
- Keith, G. *The Fading Colour Bar*. London: Robert and Hall, 1966.
- Kuper, H. *Indian People in Natal*. Natal: Natal University Press, 1960.
- Kuper, L. *Race, Class and Power*. London: Duckworth and Company, 1974.
- Mac Donald, J. F. *Zambezi River*. London: Macmillan, 1955.
- Macmillan, H. and Shapiro, F. *Zion in Africa: The Jews of Zambia*. London: I. B.Tauris in Association with the Council for Zambia Jewry, 1999.
- Mangat, J. S. *A History of Asians in East Africa c. 1886 to 1945*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969.
- Manifold Charlotte *Via Rhodesia* . London; Stanley Paul, n.d.
- McCulloch, M. *A Sociological Survey of the African Population of Livingstone*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956.

- Morris , H. S. *The Indians of Uganda*. London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1968.
- Moulbray, J. M. *In South-Central Africa*. London: Constable and Company, 1912.
- Mulford, D. C. *Zambia: The Politics of Independence, 1954-1964*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Munger, S. E. *African Field Report: 1952-1961*. Cape Town: C. Struik, 1961.
- Mwaanga, V. J. *An Extraordinary Life*. Lusaka: Multimedia Publications, 1982.
- Phillipson, D. W. (ed.) *Musi-o-tunya: A Handbook to the Victoria Falls Region*. London: Longman, 1975.
- Phiri, B. J. *A History of Indians in Eastern Province of Zambia*. Lusaka: High Quality Printers, 2000.
- Rotberg, I. R. *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa: the Making of Malawi and Zambia, 1873-1964*. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Sampson, R. *They Came to Northern Rhodesia* . Lusaka: Northern Rhodesia Commission for the Preservation of National and Historical Monuments and Relics, 1956.
- Stone, C. *A Guide to the Administrative Boundaries of Northern Rhodesia*. O' Dell Memorial Monograph No. 7 Department of Geography, University of Aberdeen, 1979.
- Wood, J. A. *Northern Rhodesia: The Human Background*. London: Pall Mall, 1961.

2. ARTICLES

- Atieno - Odhiambo, E. S. 'The Political Economy of the Asian Problem in Kenya, 1898-1939.' *Transafrican Journal of History*, 5, 1, 1974, 135-49.
- Gersh, M. ' The Susman Saga', *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 6, 3, 1965, 266-74.
- Ghai, D. P. and Ghai, Y. P. 'Asians in East Africa: problem and Prospects' *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 3, 1, 1965, 35-51.
- Ghai Y. 'Prospects for Asians in East Africa', *Contemporary African Monographs: Racial and Communal Tensions in East Africa*, 3, 1966, 9-26.
- Gregory, G. R. 'Co-operation and collaboration in Colonial East Africa: The Asians' Political Role 1890-1964, *African Affairs*, 80, 319, 1981, 259-73.



- Grewal, N. S. 'Indians in Tanganyika : The Decade of Discontentment, 1923-1932', *Journal of African and Asian Studies*, 4, 1, 1971, 1-30.
- Kabwegyere, T. B. 'The Asian Question in Uganda , 1894-1972', *Kenya Historical Review: The Journal of the Historical Association of Kenya*, 2, 2, 1974, 189-204.
- Kaniki, M. H. Y. 'The Psychology of Early Lebanese Immigrants in West Africa', *Transafrican Journal of History*, 5, 2, 1978, 139-47.
- Kosmin, B.A. 'Freedom, Justice and Commerce: Some factors Affecting Asian Trading Patterns in Southern Rhodesia, 1897-1942', *Rhodesian History*, 6, 1975, 15-32.
- 'Ethnic Group and Qualified Franchise in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1922', *Rhodesian History*, 8, 1977, 35-70.
- Makambe, E. P. 'The Asian Labour Solution in Zimbabwe, 1898-1904: Labour, Politics and Racial Attitudes in Colonial Society', *Transafrican Journal of History*, 13, 1984, 110-45.
- Merani, H. V. and Van Der Laan, L. H. 'The Indian Traders in Sierra Leone', *African Affairs*, 78, 311, 1979, 240-50.
- Muntemba, M. 'The Political and Ritual Sovereignty Among the Mukuni Leya of Zambia', *Museums Journal*, 2, 1971, 28-39.
- Nag, P. 'Asian Settlement in Zambia', *African Quarterly*, 18, 4, 1979, 59-77.
- Patel, H. H. 'Asian Political Activity in Rhodesia from the Second World War to 1972', *Rhodesian History*, 9, 1978, 63-82.
- Vogel, O. J. 'Discussions and Criticisms on the Peoples of the Zambezi: Historical Notes', *Current Anthropology*, 4, 4, 1969, 465-6.

