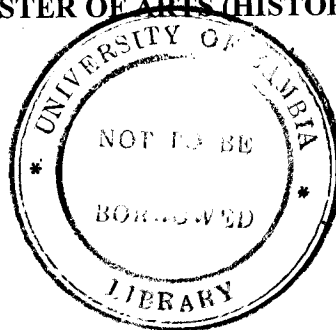


**A HISTORY OF THE ASIAN TRADING
COMMUNITY IN LIVINGSTONE, 1905-1964**

by

FRIDAY MUFUZI

**DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS (HISTORY)**



THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA

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M.A.
HIST
2002
201

DECLARATION

I FRIDAY MUFUZI, hereby declare that this dissertation represents my own research work and that it has not been previously submitted for a degree at this or any other University.

Signed:.....*Friday Mufuzi*.....

Date:.....*16th August 2002*.....

APPROVAL

This dissertation of FRIDAY MUFUZI is approved as fulfilling part of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in History at the University of Zambia.

EXAMINER

DATE _____

1. Amfandura 12 April 2002.
2. R. R. 16.08.02
3. J. M. L. 16/08/02
4.

ABSTRACT

Livingstone was founded in 1905. In its early period of development trade was in the hands of Europeans of mainly Jewish origin. During the 1910s, Asian trade developed and by the end of the Second World War trade had shifted into Asian hands. Trading became the main occupation of the Asians even though agriculture was the predominant economic activity of the area.

This study examines the evolution of the Asian trading community in Livingstone from 1905 to 1964. It offers a historical explanation for the Asian occupation of a dominant position in the wholesale and retail trade of Livingstone during the colonial period. The study also examines the nature of Asian political and social participation during the colonial period and shows the role played by Asian traders during the period of African struggle for Independence. It also assesses the impact of the Asian trading community in the economic, political and social development of the area.

This study examines the role of different races in a socially stratified colonial society in which placement was based on race. It demonstrates that in colonial society a racist social structure is inseparable from capitalist economic development, for race is inextricably linked with class exploitation and struggles. Therefore, in a colonial society power structure, capitalist exploitation and race oppression were complimentary to each other and influenced the class struggles.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Generally, at the end of any major academic research work, the author feels indebted to several people who rendered assistance during the different stages of its execution. Even the mooted of the idea for a research work and later on data collection and the threading of data collected to make sense out of it is normally a collective effort. Similarly, for this work to come to this stage several people, too numerous to mention by name, have rendered assistance of one kind or the other. To these I acknowledge the assistance rendered and sincerely appreciate their contribution.

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In Livingstone, I also express my gratitude to Mr. J. R. Nayee, Dr. A. Devalia, Canon Denys Whitehead and his wife Margaret for their hospitality and thought provoking discussions I had with them. Special thanks goes to Dr. Devalia in providing me with information that enabled me to locate my major informants. Messrs. William Chipango and Wamulwange Siyambango, former African

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Although I had outstanding advise and assistance from many people, the responsibility for any mistakes that may be found in this dissertation is solely mine.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife Carol Mendai Nyambe and children Nakanje and Mufuzi (Junior) for their unfailing love, understanding, encouragement, support and trust. Dedications are also extended to my parents, Edward Mufuzi and Agnes Nakanje Nalubanga for their sweat and sacrifice in raising me without complaints. Though they have never been to school, they have seen me to it.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	-	African National Congress
BSAC	-	British South Africa Company
CAAC	-	Central African Asian Conference
LEGCO	-	Legislative Council
MBE	-	Member of the British Empire
NAZ	-	National Archives of Zambia
R. N. L. A.	-	Rhodesia Native Labour Association
U. F. P.	-	United Federal Party
UNIP	-	United National Independence Party
WENELA	-	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association.

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GLOSSARY

The study focuses on the colonial period, therefore it uses names that applied during that time rather than contemporary ones. The aim is to try to reconstruct the situation as it existed then. The following is a list of old and contemporary names of countries, provinces, towns and roads/streets.

a) **Names of Countries**

Old Name

Contemporary Name

Northern Rhodesia

Zambia

Nyasaland

Malawi

Southern Rhodesia

Zimbabwe

b) **Names of Provinces and Towns**

Old Name

Contemporary Name

Barotseland

Western Province

Broken Hill

Kabwe

Fort Jameson

Chipata

c) **Names of Roads/Streets in Livingstone**

Old Name

Contemporary Name

Empire Street

Zambezi Street

Kingsway

John Hunt Way

Mainway

Mosi-o-tunya Road

Queensway

Kuta Way

Leffler-Dennis Road

Senanga Road

Syringa Street

Nyerere Road

A NOTE ON CURRENCY

This study has used the British Imperial Pound (£), Shillings (s) and Pence (d) for the currency because it focuses on the colonial period, during which, Zambia was using the British Colonial currency. It changed to the Kwacha and Ngwee currency in 1968. In the colonial currency denominations, 12 pence (12d.) was equal to one Shilling (1s.), while 20 shillings (20s.) was equal to one Pound (£1). In the Zambian currency 100 ngwee (100n.) is equal to one Kwacha (K1).

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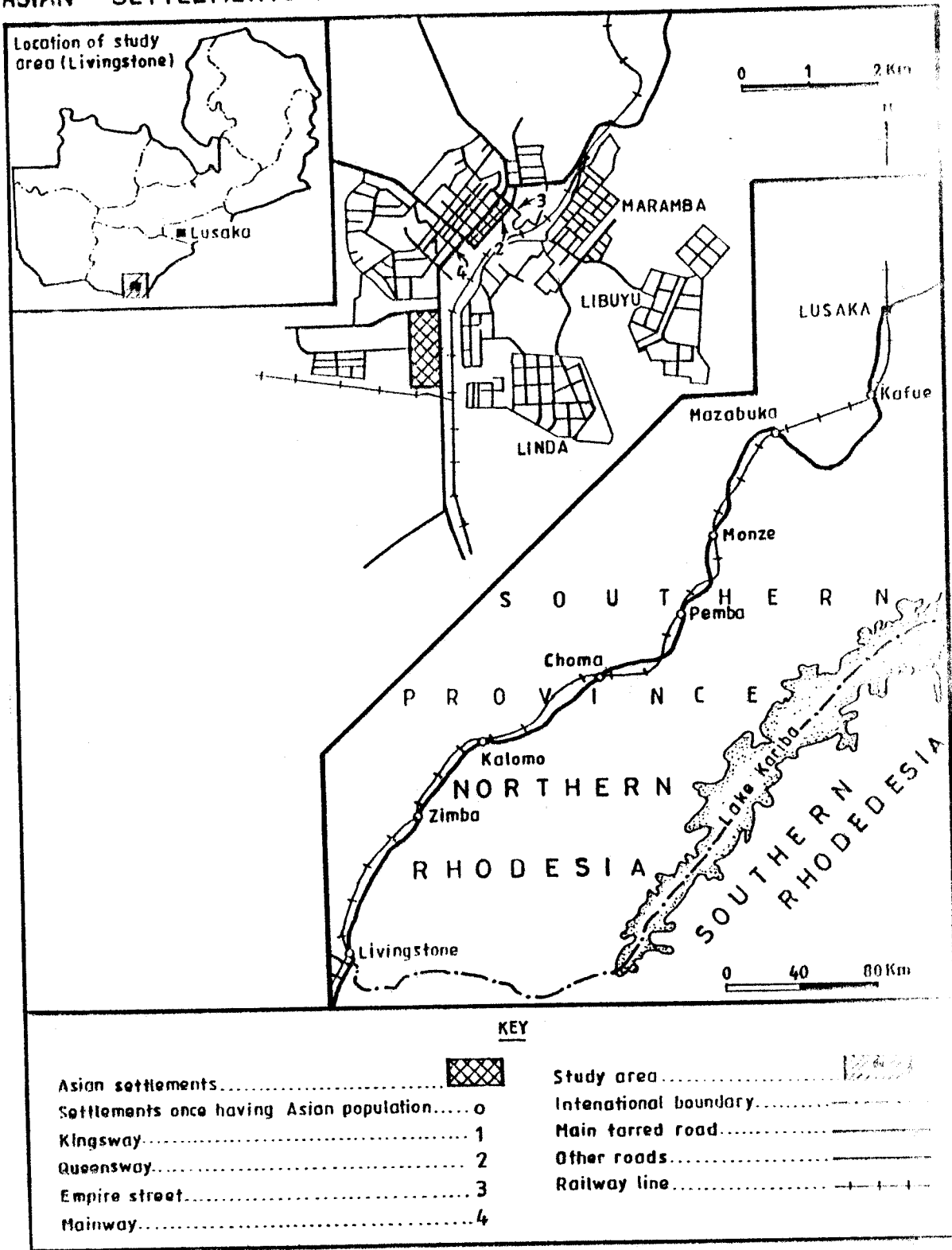
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ASIAN SETTLEMENTS IN LIVINGSTONE AND ITS SURROUNDING



SOURCE : Prithvish Nag, 'Asian Settlement in Zambia' *African quarterly*, 18, 4 (1979), P.66 (Modified).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Historical Background

Before the imposition of colonial rule, trade was an important aspect of the economic life of the people of Northern Rhodesia. Items like "salt, metals, beads and ornaments, cloth, tools and other goods were exchanged in a set of trade links that extended from both the Atlantic and Indian oceans into the interior chiefdoms and kingdoms".¹ With the onset of colonial rule which introduced mass produced factory goods such as hoes, salt and blankets, and the use of money as the medium of exchange, traditional African or pre-capitalist trade was replaced by the newly introduced modern or capitalist trade. The destruction of pre-capitalist trade was accelerated by the introduction of taxation and land alienation which forced Africans to render their labour on European enterprises so as to earn money for the payment of tax and the meeting of other social obligations which had become increasingly centred on the money economy. In order to earn cash, some Africans began to sell indigenous products such as handicrafts while subsistence farmers began to grow cash crops. As a result a trading community emerged and set up stores that provided for African needs as well as European needs.

In the early days of the development of Livingstone most of the trading activities were in the hands of individual European traders. Trading activities by Asians gradually developed. In 1905 Asians were involved in the hawking of fruit and vegetables and by 1913 Asian stores in which they were selling fruit and vegetables were already opened.² In the 1930s the Asians had taken over much of the African trade giving stiff competition to European traders. By 1938 there were 15 Asian traders in

Livingstone.³ Towards the end of the Second World War, Asians had ousted European traders from the African trade.⁴

This study is primarily concerned with the development of the Asian trading community from 1905 when the town of Livingstone was moved from the Old Drift to the present site to 1964 when Northern Rhodesia became independent. The study is therefore about the growth of the Asian trading activities during the colonial period.

A Brief History of Livingstone

Livingstone is found in the Southernmost part of Southern Province of Zambia, which was called Northern Rhodesia during the colonial period (See map on Page xiii). It was named after the Scottish missionary explorer, Dr. David Livingstone, who was the first European to see the Victoria Falls in November 1855. In the early days of European settlement, the area was called Victoria Falls region.⁵

When European settlers entered the area, they found three main African groups under traditional chieftaincies inhabiting it. These were the Leya under the Mukuni Chieftaincy to the east of the Falls. Mukuni's people were the first Bantu group to arrive in the area, displacing the Bushmen who were the earliest traditionally recorded inhabitants.⁶ The second group was the Leya under the Sekute Chieftaincy to the north-west of the Falls. These acquired the Leyahood after settling in the area. The third group was the Toka under the Musokotwane Chieftaincy north-east of the Falls.⁷ Apart from the above, there were also other small chieftaincies or sub-chiefs in the region. These were the Siakasipa Chieftaincy, which belonged to the Toka main group, and the Katapazi chieftaincy, which belonged to the Masubia and were the same as those of Sekute.⁸ In the north corner of Livingstone was the Momba chieftaincy of the Mankoya people who originated from Barotseland.⁹ The Katapazi and Siakasipa

chieftaincies were reduced or demoted to sub-chiefs by the colonial administration in the 1930s.¹⁰

There were also a number of small chiefs who claimed sovereignty status before the onset of colonial rule. These became subordinate to one or the other of the above main chiefs. For example, "Linda who ruled where the town of Livingstone is situated today fell under Chief Mukuni, Mujala in the north-east of Livingstone fell under Musokotwane and Katombora in the south-west fell under Sekute."¹¹ Though there were also people from other regions of the territory, it was on the above that African trade depended when the area came under effective European colonial rule.

The existence and development of Livingstone is closely connected with the British colonial history in general and the scramble for Africa in particular. From the close of the nineteenth Century until 1924 when it came under the sovereignty of the British Government, the territory was administered by the British South Africa Company (BSAC), a commercial enterprise founded by Cecil Rhodes, one of the wealthiest men in Southern Africa at the time. The BSAC was granted a Charter by Queen Victoria in 1889 for the administration of what became Northern and Southern Rhodesia. Cecil Rhodes financed British expansion into the area in the belief that there were gold and other mineral deposits both north and south of the Zambezi river.¹²

Livingstone had its origin at the Old Drift settlement established in 1898 on the north bank of the Zambezi river, 8 miles (14 kilometres) above the Falls. A ferry crossing started business at this settlement. All stores for Tanganyika Concessions, the Northern Copper Company, the BSAC administration and the traders bound for Barotseland were unloaded here.¹³ Frederick J. Clark was the first white man to settle in the area in 1898. He worked as a Forwarding Agent and ran a transport service across the river. He also opened a General Dealer Shop with a liquor licence and a Hotel. By

1902 there were three General Dealer Stores at the Old drift. By 1903 the European population had grown to 70.¹⁴

The Old Drift settlement was heavily infested with mosquitoes owing to its flat and marshy terrain. The death toll from malaria and blackwater fever was therefore extraordinarily high. When the railway line reached the Victoria Falls in September 1904 and the construction of the Victoria Falls bridge was completed in September 1905, it meant that all goods would from then onwards be transported by rail. Because of the above two factors, the BSAC moved the establishment of the town of Livingstone to a new site on the Sandbelt, the present site of Livingstone, which became known as Constitution Hill where the administration was already settled.¹⁵ All white settlers were forced to leave the Old Drift and move to the new area amidst protest in 1905.¹⁶

As a result of a relatively larger European settlement in comparison with other places in North Western Rhodesia, Livingstone was chosen the capital of North Western Rhodesia in 1907. It became the capital of Northern Rhodesia after the amalgamation of North- Eastern and North Western Rhodesia in 1911 and remained so until 1935 when the capital was moved to Lusaka.

In Livingstone, a multiracial population developed. This "comprised of the Africans, by far the largest group, the Europeans, Asians and a tiny group of Coloureds."¹⁷ Asians were predominantly traders.

Statement of the Problem

Asian trading enterprises expanded in Livingstone during the colonial period and yet not much historical study has been done on the subject. Further, the fact that Asian trading enterprises had been growing suggests that there were economic, social and political factors that enabled them (Asian trading enterprises) to thrive. It is

therefore the purpose of this study to reconstruct the history of the Asian Community in Livingstone during the colonial period and in the process unveil the factors behind its development. The study also attempts to show and explain the Asian traders' participation in the economic, political and social development of the area during the colonial period . Further, the study will examine the view that Asians do not contribute to the economic growth of the country in which they are engaged.

Definitions of Some Terms Used

In this study the term Asian refers to the trading community of Indo-Pakistan origin in Livingstone during the colonial period. It is interchangeably used without change of meaning with the term Indian. The term European is interchangeably used with White while African and Black are interchangeably used without change of meaning. African, Native or Kaffir trade refers to retail and wholesale trade that catered specifically for Africans during the colonial period while European or white trade refers to retail and wholesale trade that catered specifically for Europeans.

Literature Review

A survey of literature on Asian traders in general and Livingstone in particular reveals that a history of Asian traders has not been studied in detail. While they provided an important service in the retail and wholesale trade in the town, it is curious that Asians have escaped the attention of scholars. Nonetheless, there are a few references in some studies which mention Asian traders in passing. This is true of Gann's *The Birth of a Plural Society* and *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, both of which contain useful material on the genesis of Asian trading community in Northern Rhodesia.

In *The Birth of a Plural Society*, he demonstrated that settlement of the Asian traders in Northern Rhodesia first occurred at the behest of the BSAC administration.

The Administration held the view that Asian traders would develop native trade in wax, grains and oil seeds which European traders found troublesome and also protect Africans from harsh European dealings.¹⁸ In *A History of Northern Rhodesia*, he traced the development of the Asian traders pointing out that they often came as young men engaging themselves in the stores of their countrymen who had already established themselves. At the end of their contract, they often started a business of their own.¹⁹ Gann's works however did not have much that was relevant to the work on Asian traders in Livingstone because they focused on other themes. The main weakness of these works lies in the limitations of the methodology used. He did not correlate the archival sources used with information from insiders through testimonies. More satisfactory in this regard is the Dotsons' sociological ethnological study, *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi*. The Dotsons also traced the origin of the Asian traders and went further by examining Asian capital formation and nature of Asian politics during the colonial period. They noted that pioneer Asian traders earned their capital through working arduously. They moved from door to door mending shoes of European customers, doing market gardening and later using the small amounts of money generated as capital to start trading business in African trade. In this trade they competed with pioneer white settlers and therefore invoked hostility from them.²⁰ This study has benefited from Gann's and the Dotsons' observations in examining the genesis of the Asian trading business in Livingstone.

In their examination of the nature of Asian politics, the Dotsons observed that Asian reaction to federation “underwent a cycle of passionate and futile opposition, a period of fairly comfortable accommodation and finally reluctant rejection under the pressure of African nationalism”.²¹ This study has attempted to find out whether or not the Dotsons' observation applied to the Asian traders in Livingstone.

Chiwomba Mkunga noted that the BSAC introduced Asian traders in Chipata so that they would develop African trade to facilitate the integration of the traditional African trade into the money economy of North Eastern Rhodesia. He argued that on the whole by providing consumer goods and wholesale facilities to African traders, Asian traders indirectly enhanced the integration of the consumer into the capitalist economy. He also noted that Asians pursued the politics of collaboration with the ruling government as the most expedient way of preserving their privileged positions and that Asians supported African nationalism quite late.²² Bizeck Phiri's study gives an insight into the intra-Asian trading community relations. He argued that the view held by several scholars that Indian traders in Africa worked in harmony and were devoid of any conflict in their trading activities is a myth as trade rivalry among Indian traders was rife in Eastern Province during the colonial period in Northern Rhodesia.²³ This study has investigated Mkunga and Phiri's arguments to find out whether or not they also applied to Asian traders in Livingstone.

Wood and Keith in their respective works highlighted the nature of social, economic and political participation of Asian traders in Northern Rhodesia. Wood noted that Asian traders reinvested the wealth generated instead of exporting it to India. Therefore, they contributed to the economic development of Northern Rhodesia.²⁴ On the other hand, Keith argued that Asians did not contribute to the cultural or social and economic development of their adopted countries.²⁵ On the political aspect, Wood argued that Asian traders in Lusaka supported the colonial government in order to safeguard their trading activities.²⁶ In times of economic and political crisis, Keith observed that both Europeans and Africans used Asian traders as scapegoats.²⁷ This study has used Wood and Keith's observations so as to find out the extent to which

Asian traders participated in the social, economic and political development of our study area.

Yona Seleti highlighted entrepreneurship in Northern Rhodesia. He observed that though pioneer Asian traders were resented by pioneer White settler traders, the colonial policy was not to discriminate against Asians in business. He also noted that despite such a policy in practice business in urban areas was a preserve of white first, Asians second whilst Africans were only allowed to trade in native reserves till much later. Seleti further argued that "Asian traders were discriminated against in regard to admission into the native reserves on the pretext of protecting Africans".²⁸ Our study has examined the arguments advanced by Seleti to find out whether or not they also applied to our study area.

Though mentioned in passing Kristin Ese, Merran McCulloch and J. F. MacDonald have valuable information in their respective works on Asians in Livingstone during the colonial period. Ese noted that during the early settlement of the area, trade was in the hands of Europeans of mainly Jewish origin and that Asian immigrants were very poor. In order to make a living they resorted to trading.²⁹ McCulloch pointed out that although the Asian population was small it played an important role in the economic life of Livingstone, especially the retail trade. He further observed that Asians were engaged in market gardening.³⁰ MacDonald highlighted the relationship between Asians and Europeans during the early settlement. He noted that Europeans were prejudiced against Asian traders and argued that their prejudice was due to their inability to compete with them in trade.³¹ Ese, McCulloch and MacDonald's works are significant to our study as they have provided us with additional background information.

There are also some scholars who have conducted studies on Asian traders outside Zambia. Some of them have suggested the factors that made Asian traders successful during the colonial period. For example, D. P. Ghai and Y. P. Ghai argued that Asian traders in East Africa were generally successful because they were imbued with traits of hard work, business acumen and frugality.³² H. V. Merran and H. L. Van der Laan argued that the success of Asian traders in Sierra Leone was due to internal organisation in which employees were recruited on the basis of kinship which gave them the obligation to look after the interests of their employers. Further, the legal contract between employee and employer, which carried the employer's right to repudiate the contract if not satisfied forced employees to work hard. They also argued that the incentive in the form of a bonus that was given at the end of the contract made the employee work hard so that he could earn his bonus and possibly start his own business.³³ H. M. Bates, writing on Asian traders in Natal, South Africa, gave unorthodox trading business practices as one of the factors.³⁴ The above studies are important to this study as they have provided it with the basis for researching into the factors that made Asian traders in Livingstone successful during the colonial period.

Kaniki's study on the Lebanese immigrant traders (who were a minority group just like the Asian traders in Livingstone) in West Africa argued that the main factor for their success was due to their ethnic solidarity, protection and support they received from the colonial government which was bent on squeezing African traders.³⁵ This study has examined Kaniki's arguments to find out whether or not they applied to Asian traders in Livingstone.

Gregory's study on Asians in East Africa, Grewal's on Indians in Tanganyika and that of Makambe on Asians in colonial Zimbabwe shed light on the reasons for Asian involvement in politics, Asian grievances against British colonial administration

and the main purpose of maintaining racism during the colonial period respectively. Gregory observed that Asian involvement in politics was primarily concerned with the removal of inequalities between themselves and Europeans. He further noted that most of the Asians assumed a neutral position during the African struggle for independence.³⁶ Grewal observed that the grievances of Indians against the British colonial administration centred on legislation that concerned trade and commerce, more so the regulations that made it difficult for them to obtain trading licences.³⁷ Makambe argued that racism was maintained so as to institutionalise economic inequalities in a colonial economy that placed Europeans first, Asians second and Africans last.³⁸ This study has attempted to find out whether or not Gregory, Grewal and Makambe's observations also applied to the Livingstone situation.

The review of literature above clearly shows that the subject of Asian traders in Livingstone has just been glossed over. There is therefore a gap in the historiography of Asian traders in Livingstone in particular and Zambia in general since no detailed historical study exists on the subject in the area. This study has attempted to address the situation.

Objectives of the study

This study has three objectives. The first object is to explain the evolution of the Asian trading community in Livingstone from 1905 to 1964. The second objective is to find out the factors that led to the growth of the Asian business. The third objective is to examine the extent of the Asian traders' participation in the economic, social and political development of the area from 1905 to 1964.

Significance of the Study/Rationale

The study is justified on the following grounds. Firstly it is the first comprehensive historical study of Asian traders in Livingstone and will contribute to

the literature on the Asian traders in Zambia's historiography. Secondly the study makes a contribution to the study of minorities in particular and business history in general during the colonial period in the historiography of Zambia. Thirdly it is hoped that the study will stimulate interest for further research on the subject among the scholars in Zambia.

Methodology

The data used in this study was obtained from written and oral sources and was analysed qualitatively using the historical method. Material from unpublished and published primary and secondary sources was collected from various places. These were the University of Zambia Library which was used on a continuous basis till the conclusion of the research, the Livingstone Museum Library and the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ).

Though NAZ proved useful, some files that indicated they contained useful material for the study proved to the contrary. For example file SEC1/1582 which indicated that it contained information on Indian licences for the years 1945-47 was found unhelpful as it contained information on health. Similarly file RC/72 which should have had information on the registration of Asians resident in Northern Rhodesia actually contained material on agriculture. The gaps left as a result of the non-location of the aforementioned files were filled in by material from the *Livingstone Mail* which was published from 1905 to 1968. Even though the *Livingstone Mail* was a mouthpiece of white settlers of Livingstone it contained useful information on the study. For example, from applications for trading licences made by Asian traders which appeared in the *Livingstone Mail*, I was able to get material on Asian trading licences. Consultation of the written sources before proceeding on the field research helped me to formulate some of the basic questions that I asked my informants.

Oral interviews were conducted in Livingstone and a few in Lusaka. Oral testimonies were obtained through informal oral interviews of Africans, Europeans and Asians who had lived in Livingstone during the colonial period. Questions for my interviews took an open-ended form. The interviews with Asians and Europeans were conducted in English while those with Africans were either in English or in Chitonga, Silozi or Chinyanja, which most people in Livingstone understand. I conducted all the interviews myself because I speak all the above languages. Interviews conducted with Asians and Europeans were done at their business places at an agreed day and time. A few were done at their homes. Some Asian informants were interviewed more than once. The interviews with African informants were conducted at their homes, also at an appointed day and time.

The study centred on Asian traders, therefore oral interviews focussed much on Asian traders and businessmen who operated in Livingstone during the colonial period. Where this was not possible their descendants were interviewed. The age limit of Asians interviewed ranged from 45 to 82 at the time of interviews. The average was 63. Most Asian informants were reluctant to talk on political issues, intra-Asian relations and African-Asian relations. Whenever I sensed such reluctance, I did not pursue the topic. However a few Asians like H. Oza who was the oldest member interviewed and migrated to Livingstone in 1941, Mr. J. R. Nayee, Mr. H. R. Nayee, Dr. A. Devalia and Mr. H. P. Govind were very helpful in shedding light on those issues.

African informants in my interviews included customers for Asian traders during the colonial period, one pioneer African trader and political activists. Although I had intended to interview many Africans who had worked as sales agents, store assistants or store keepers for Asian traders and pioneer African traders during the colonial period, I failed to locate such people or their descendants. I was only able to

locate and interview one African who once worked as a storeboy (storehand) and later owned a shop. However, not much useful information was obtained from him because of his inability to think clearly and recall past events due to old age. The failure to locate more pioneer African traders could probably be due to the fact that, as the study reveals, pioneer African traders in Livingstone came from other regions such as Barotseland and Eastern Province. Most of them could therefore have later gone back to their home regions.

Four Europeans were interviewed. Africans and European informants gave very useful information on Asian business practices during the colonial period. Oral sources were used to corroborate the written sources. To write this dissertation, data collected was analysed qualitatively using the historical method which explains change over time past as the study is a historical one.

ENDNOTES

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CHAPTER TWO

THE EVOLUTION OF THE ASIAN TRADING COMMUNITY IN LIVINGSTONE, 1905 – 1935.

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the development of European and Asian trading businesses in Livingstone from 1905 to 1935. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section briefly examines the development of European business in order to provide a framework for the study of the evolution of the Asian trading community. It shows that trading activities were pioneered by European individual traders, most of whom were of Jewish origin. The second section briefly looks at the trading policies of the Northern Rhodesia Government. It argues that though Colonial Government trading policies were not restrictive in wording, they were applied in a racially discriminatory manner so as to maintain a racially stratified colonial society in which Europeans were to be at the top, Asians in the middle and Africans at the bottom. The third centres on the background to Asian settlement from 1905 to 1911. It demonstrates that Asian immigrants came to Livingstone because of lack of opportunities for economic advancement in India. The fourth section examines the development of the Asian trading community from 1912 to 1935. It argues that Asian traders began mainly as market gardeners, growing vegetables and fruit which they hawked to the white community. Because of a number of factors such as the general growth of the town which stimulated economic activities in the area and the surrounding villages and the First World War from which Asian traders benefited through profiteering on scarce goods, by 1935, Asian traders had ousted European traders in the African trade.

Development of European Business in Livingstone, 1905– 1935.

When the present site of Livingstone was opened in 1905, among the first people to move from the Old Drift to the new town were Freddie Mills and his wife, Frederick J. ‘Mopani’ Clarke and Leopold F. Moore.¹ At the new town, two types of businesses, the white trade and African trade (which was also called ‘Kaffir Trade’ or ‘Native Trade’) developed. White trade catered for the needs of white people and was conducted on Mainway which was called the first class trading area while the African trade catered for the needs of African people and was conducted on Queensway which was called the second class trading area. Trading in both places was conducted by white traders during the initial settlement of the area.²

The pioneer white settler traders were of different nationalities and were mainly of the poor class. Most of them started as itinerant traders and later participated in a variety of business varying from general dealer to native trade, bakeries, butcheries, hotels, chemist shops and contractors. For example at the new town ‘Mopani’ Clarke opened a shop and a bar and later in 1909 built a hotel, the North-Western Hotel which offered accommodation to families of government workers, and tourists visiting the Falls.³ ‘Mopani’ later branched into ranching business on the Kafue Flats where he settled whilst his family maintained control of his trading business in Livingstone until 1950.

Freddie Mills and his wife opened the first hotel in the territory in 1906 called Livingstone Hotel which did a roaring business with the railway construction workers.⁴ L.F. Moore who later became a settler politician and the first leader of the Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council opened a chemist, “L.F. Moore Chemist,” and founded a newspaper, the *Livingstone Mail* in 1906.⁵ On Queensway, George Smith and James James opened a butchery while Smith opened another one called Pioneer

Butchery on Mainway.⁶ Taking advantage of the growing business enterprises in the town as a result of the transfer of the administrative capital of North-Western Rhodesia from Kalomo to Livingstone in 1907, the Standard Bank of South Africa opened a branch in September of the same year.⁷

More European businesses were opened in Livingstone when it became the capital of Northern Rhodesia following the amalgamation of North Eastern and North Western Rhodesia in 1911 to form a unified territory, Northern Rhodesia. As a result by 1927 a glut developed in the native trade, precipitating stiff competition for customers.⁸

Although trading in Livingstone was carried out by whites of different nationalities, Jews from Russia, especially Lithuania, were the main traders in the African trade. As early as 1906, there were many Jewish traders, for example, Isadore Aberman described as a general merchant by the *Livingstone Mail*, Berger and Cohen, retail merchants; R.T. Bernstein, builders, the Peimer Brothers, Jacobson and Kiel, general merchants. In fact, as many as two thirds of the general dealer licences issued in the town were held by a small number of the Jewish community which numbered 28 persons in 1909.⁹

The Susman Brothers, Elie and Haries, who made their fortune in the Barotseland cattle trade and arrived in Livingstone in 1909 were the largest Jewish traders and played a key role in the development of the area as a distributing centre, bringing in many people as relatives, friends and employees who themselves became eminent traders. Some of the people who were brought by the Susman Brothers and became eminent traders in Livingstone were Marcus Grill and his family, Max Shapiro and his family and the Kopelowitz brothers, Paul and Elias.¹⁰

The dominance of European traders in African trade gave way to Asian traders in the 1930s. Whereas in 1913 there were only a few Asian hawkers in the town, by 1937 nearly all trade in African goods was done by Asian traders on Queensway.¹¹

On the whole, European business collapsed because of the 1928-1933 economic depression. This depression was so severe in Livingstone that by 1932 nearly all Africans were out of employment.¹² Because of this, the *Livingstone Mail* in 1933 reported great distress amongst the unemployed people in Maramba, the town's African location.¹³ Undoubtedly, reduced economic activities following economic depression resulted in most European traders becoming bankrupt.

Additionally, Livingstone suffered two other severe blows to its status during the 1930s. The first was the transfer of the headquarters of Rhodesia Railways from Livingstone to Broken Hill in 1932 while the second was the transfer of the capital city of Northern Rhodesia from Livingstone to Lusaka in 1935. As a result, the white population of the area on which European traders depended that had reached 1,600 in 1931 was reduced to 1,300 in 1946. The African population, which was approximately 10,000 in 1931, increased to 13,000 in 1946.¹⁴ Africans were the main customers of Asian traders. Thus, Asian trade thrived as will be shown later.

Trading Policies of Northern Rhodesia Colonial Governments, 1905-1935.

The control of trading activities was exercised through colonial authority proclamations on trade and commerce which provided for the issuing of trading licences. Though trading regulations, particularly those pertaining to the issuing of trading licences were not racially restrictive in wording, in practice they were applied in a racially discriminatory manner. For example, the Proclamation by the High Commissioner used up to 1907 in North Western Rhodesia gave arbitrary powers to the British South Africa Company (BSAC) administrator allowing him to grant, cancel or

uphold licences to trade. It did not contain any racially restrictive regulation.¹⁵ The North-Western Rhodesia Regulation 3 of 1905 whose provisions were consolidated in Northern Rhodesia Proclamation 3 of 1920 and later repealed and replaced by the Trade and Licensing Ordinance Number 24 of 1930 also did not embody any racially restrictive regulation in the issuing of trading licences¹⁶.

Though these regulations on trade were not racially worded, they all had a clause that provided for trading licences to be given only to people of approved character. Because of this they were sometimes applied against certain elements of white traders especially of the poor class who it was thought had low moral standards and so would undermine white prestige and personal social standing, as trading, particularly in the African market, involved close intercourse and relations with the subordinate African people.¹⁷

Though the above shows that trade regulations were not used on racial lines but on a class basis where the class of rich whites were protected by the authority who also belonged to this class, from the class of poor white traders, on the whole they were applied in a racial manner. This was particularly so when the white race as a whole felt that its grip on the economy and thus its supremacy was being threatened. This was because the colonial authority was following Sir Harry Johnson's dictum that "Africa which is within the tropics must be ruled by the whites, developed by Indians and worked by Blacks."¹⁸ In line with this philosophy, the social and political structure of Northern Rhodesia was tailored in such a way that economic benefits of development went first to the white settlers. The economic advancement of Africans in Northern Rhodesia was not regarded to be an issue because whites were generally given the first priority, followed by Asians, and lastly Africans, who were to be labourers. As a result of this general policy, towns and administrative centres which had high trading business

opportunities were made a preserve for whites. Africans who were not in European or Asian employment were not allowed to settle there, let alone set up trading businesses as they were supposed to be labourers.

The colonial government policy on trade especially with regard to the position of Asian traders was not decisive but the BSAC and the Town Management Boards were guided by circumstances of the time, that is the wishes of the white settlers in different regions of the territory depending on the trading circumstances prevailing there. As a result conditions of Asian traders were different from region to region. For instance in Chipata, despite the fact that Asian traders were vehemently resented during the early years of their settlement, they were later accepted. Consequently they penetrated the hinterlands of the area going as far as Lundazi and Petake. Some white settlers and colonial officials were of the view that African business was not yet capable of catering for African goods and that Asian retail traders would boost white settler wholesale business. Furthermore, Asian traders would service the hinterlands where European traders and the African Lakes Corporation was finding it difficult to supervise stores situated throughout the province.¹⁹

On the other hand, in Livingstone they were only allowed to trade on Queensway and another area called 217 which was opened in the early 1920s. This remained so up to about 1940. These were called second class trading areas. There were no Asian traders in the reserves of Livingstone District though European traders were operating there.²⁰ In Barotseland, Asians were not allowed to trade whereas European traders, for instance the Susman Brothers, could trade freely.²¹ Undoubtedly, arising from the above as Seleti observes, “the European trader enjoyed numerous privileges which were denied to others.”²² However, unlike the Africans, Asians enjoyed the benevolence of colonial authority so that competition against their position

in the commercial sector was minimal. As a result, they thrived despite white settler opposition.

Background to Asian Settlement, 1905-1911

The Asians who migrated to Livingstone came from India, which was a British colony at that time and part of the British Empire. They therefore came to Livingstone, another part of the British Empire following its colonisation in the early twentieth Century, as British subjects. The British generally used Asian labour to develop their colonies. For example in East Africa, Indian labour recruited on indenture conditions was used as railway construction workers, surveyors, clerks and accountants. Similarly in South Africa, Indian labour was recruited to work on the sugar plantations of Natal in the 1860s.²³

Both in East Africa and South Africa, Indians came much earlier and in large numbers than in Northern Rhodesia. Dotson and Dotson observed that “indentured labourers were without exception miserably poor”.²⁴ In both East and South Africa indentured labourers were followed by a group of Indian immigrants of a commercial type who came to take advantage of the commercial potentialities created by the inherent needs of their countrymen, Mangat called them ‘free’ or ‘passenger’ immigrants.²⁵ These were therefore economically better off than the Indians who came as indentured labourers. Most of the Asian settlers in Livingstone came via Southern Rhodesia and were mainly from Gujarat State situated in the western part of India.

In Chipata, North Eastern Rhodesia, pioneer Asian settlers came in 1905 at the behest of Codrington, the Administrator of North Eastern Rhodesia. Codrington was adopting Johnson’s Nyasaland policy of using Asian traders as intermediaries between the European trading firm, the African Lakes Corporation (Mandala), and the African consumers.²⁶ Johnson held the view that white settlers should concentrate on farming

rather than trading, which should be the domain of the European firm and the Asian traders.²⁷

Unlike the early Asians in East or South Africa who came as indentured labourers or those in Chipata who came under the auspices of the administration, the pioneer Asian settlers in Livingstone came of their own accord. Also unlike the 'passenger' or 'free' Asian immigrants, the pioneer Asian settlers in Livingstone were quite poor. Nearly all pioneer Asian immigrants in Livingstone emigrated from India because of poverty and lack of opportunities for economic advancement in India which was very poor and backward at the time.²⁸ The graphic description given by Hilda Kuper about village life in India in the nineteenth Century best summarises the state of affairs given by most informants about life in India at the time pioneer migrants were leaving India for Livingstone. Kuper observed that:

In the nineteenth Century village life in parts of India was harsh and hard; the country was underdeveloped, stricken periodically by famine and ravaged by disease. Home industries had decayed with the importation of British goods and cloth, peasants were in need of land, a few wealthy landowners batted on misery of many tenants.²⁹

Without doubt, this sombre situation in India and a desire to improve one's economic position was the main motivating factor for migrating. This factor is evident even much later, as seen in B.B. Lulla's application letter to migrate to Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia. Lulla wrote: "A desire to improve my condition ... induces me to write this letter."³⁰

The pioneer Asian immigrants in Livingstone came as young men and were generally ambitious, adventurous and enterprising. The general pattern of the Asians who migrated to Livingstone was that after the would-be immigrant had saved enough money for transport fares and the mandatory 50 British pounds required (which was changed from time to time), in the early years by the colonial authorities before one

could be allowed to settle, he would then migrate. Once settled successfully he would call his relatives or friends to join him.³¹

Jack Marajah who came to Livingstone at the time the area was being colonised is believed to be the first Asian settler in Livingstone. He was the only pioneer Asian settler in Livingstone who came through peculiar circumstances. He came as a serviceman in the BSAC.³² All other pioneer Asian settlers came on their own initiative in search of opportunities for personal economic advancement as observed earlier. One such person who left India because of poverty was Shambhu Nayee who arrived in Livingstone in 1905.³³ Nayee was a barber by profession. After arriving at his port of entry in Dar-es-Salaam he walked overland to Livingstone. In Livingstone he did some menial work for a European couple before settling down to the business of hair cutting. Nayee lived in a corrugated iron hut with mud floor on Queensway. He lived by cutting hair for the European people wherever he was wanted including the Victoria Falls. After seeing that there were good business opportunities in Livingstone, Nayee in 1918 called in his son Shombhai who was 18 years by then to take over his hair cutting business. Shortly after the arrival of his son, he went back to India to take care of his family, having accumulated a substantial amount of money whilst in Livingstone.³⁴

Bhana Rama was another Asian who left India because of the sombre economic situation there. He came from a family of farmers. Rama arrived in Livingstone in 1908.³⁵ However, before coming to Livingstone he first stayed in Southern Rhodesia, Umtali for two years where he had travelled by train after arriving at Beira, his port of entry in 1906.³⁶ Rama could not settle in Southern Rhodesia most probably because he was not allowed to do so by the colonial authorities there. This is because the year he left the country, 1908, was also the year in which an ordinance, the Southern Rhodesia

Ordinance 4 of 1908 which restricted the immigration of Asians in the territory was passed.³⁷

In Livingstone, Rama first worked at one of the local hotels as a cook for a while, and thereafter acquired a piece of land along Maramba river where he grew vegetables. Rama lived by selling vegetables to the white population of Livingstone. Seeing that Livingstone offered a good business opportunity for his trade, two years later in 1910 Rama invited his younger brother Malji Rama from India to join him and together they worked on his small piece of land growing vegetables. By 1911 the population of Asian settlers in Livingstone, all males had grown to 6 out of the total population of 39 in the whole of Northern Rhodesia.³⁸ Though small, this was the nucleus of the Asian trading community in Livingstone, the development of which the next section will consider.

Development of the Asian Trading Community, 1912-1935.

Bhana Rama who came in 1908 is believed to be the first Asian trader in Livingstone. Being poor, pioneer Asian settlers were mainly engaged in market gardening, growing vegetables and fruit, as this did not require much capital. They peddled their produce which they carried in baskets on their heads or shoulders to the white community, moving from house to house. In those days the fruit and vegetables that white settlers ate came from South Africa and these arrived in a stale state because of the many days they spent on the way. As a result the Asian fruit and vegetable business was lucrative due to the fact that their produce was sold whilst fresh.³⁹

Most informants have observed that pioneer Asian settlers had very little time to rest. After their produce had been sold, the money realised was often used to buy items like salt, soap, paraffin, matches, candles, beads, sewing needles, cheap cotton blankets, basins, calico cloths, cups, plates and in later years the three legged pots

which they sold to nearby villages like Mukuni, Makunka, Senkobo and Katombora which had a high concentration of Africans. These items were very popular among the Africans. Because of the little money circulating in the villages, the items were in most cases bartered for village produce like groundnuts, sorghum, millet, maize and chickens. These were later peddled to Africans working on European enterprises associated with the growth of the town, for example, the building industry. Some of the African people in Livingstone came from other areas such as Barotseland. Others even came from as far as North Eastern Rhodesia. As a result, by 1917 there were 1,700 able bodied African men in Livingstone.⁴⁰ The high population of Africans in employment resulted in the increase of cash flow in the hands of Africans. These were the main customers for Asians. Some of the Asian market gardeners even employed Africans in their gardens, some of whom particularly the trusted ones, were sent to hawk on their behalf in the surrounding villages where they procured village commodities which were later hawked to Africans in town.⁴¹ Thus, market gardening and hawking was the initial source of capital for the Asian trading community in Livingstone. However, some like the Nayee family made their capital through barbering while others like Naran Bhaga who came to the area in the early 1920s made their capital through shoe repairing.

The First World War stimulated economic activities in the surrounding areas as a result of the growth of Livingstone and the use of Livingstone as a labour recruiting centre for the Southern Rhodesia and South African labour markets and enhanced the development of the Asian trading community in Livingstone. The First World War played a role in the development of the Asian trading community through profiteering on goods that were in short supply due to the war. Sureshbhai S. Rama whose grandfather came in 1908 noted that the First World War created a severe shortage of goods like soap, salt, paraffin, candles, blankets and hoes in Livingstone. Asian traders

who managed to get these items from the local white wholesale traders and Southern Rhodesia through friends and relatives made a lot of money by selling the goods at exorbitant prices to Africans who had no choice due to scarcity. Though European traders were also involved in profiteering, Asian traders benefited most because they hawked these goods either by themselves or through their trusted African agents to nearby villages. European traders were too proud to do that particularly after 1910 when most of them became economically well off.⁴²

The general growth of the town induced economic activities in the surrounding villages such as Makunka, Katombora, Sikute, Musokotwane, Katapazi and Mukuni. In addition to the staple food crops, the African people in these areas started growing market gardening crops such as vegetables and fruit which they sold to the African inhabitants of Livingstone. Some like the inhabitants of Mukuni whose population had grown to 450 by 1932 were realising money through the brewing of beer which they sold to the African inhabitants of Livingstone. Others were making articles such as mats, baskets, chairs, and curios which they sold to tourists visiting the Victoria Falls.⁴³ The money realised from such activities was spent in paying tax and the purchasing of consumer goods mainly from Asian traders, thus enhancing the development of the Asian trading community in Livingstone.

Livingstone was used as a labour recruiting centre for the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WENELA) and the Rhodesia Labour Association (R.N.L.A) as well as a lay-by for the migrant labour coming from work in the South African and Southern Rhodesia labour markets. By 1920 the Labour Office in Livingstone recorded 6,596 passes issued to Africans going south in search of work.⁴⁴ Govind observed that Asians often hawked their merchandise to the Africans at the migrant labour camp after obtaining a permit from the District Commissioner. White traders did not venture there

due to their contempt of Africans, hence Asians made a lot of money because workers at the labour camp received money regularly. They ploughed this money back into their businesses.⁴⁵

Though the Asian population was small, it offered stiff competition to the white traders most of whom at this time were also poor, mere market gardeners and petty traders. As a result they developed a strong anti-Asian sentiment and opposition to Asian immigration; remarking adversely about their role in the country. Just as in Kenya, Uganda, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia,⁴⁶ the white campaign against Asians in Livingstone revolved around the picture of an Asian as a 'crafty' trader who lived on what they termed 'the smell of an oiled rag'. As a result, this led to the dislocation of certain branches of trade such as the African trade by cutting down prices to the detriment of the legitimate trader without the spending capacity to level matters up. He was also described as an undesirable neighbour owing to his insanitary habits and in the argument that Asians showed no interests in becoming permanent settlers but only thought of India with their savings. Consequently, they demanded government protection as a "higher race" from what they termed "Asiatic invasion" by withdrawing support from a "political and health point of view."⁴⁷

The colonial authorities succumbed to the white settler anti-Asian sentiments and campaign against Asian immigration. In 1915, the Northern Rhodesia Proclamation 15 of 1915 requiring would be immigrants to be able to read and write a European language to the satisfaction of an immigration officer was passed.⁴⁸ This Proclamation was an obstacle to Asian immigration as most Asians up to the early decades of the twentieth Century were illiterate owing to inadequate educational facilities in India. As a result of this proclamation, coupled with the First World War,

no Asian migrated till after 1921. This is because in 1921 the population of Asians in Livingstone was 6, just as it was in 1911.⁴⁹

Nonetheless, on the whole Asians in Livingstone enjoyed government tolerance. The European community in Livingstone was self centred, consequently the majority of newly developing businesses and amenities were reserved for their exclusive use. For example, Messrs Jacobson and Kiet when they were opening up their new store in 1908 put up an advert which in part read:

“... an up to date ... a full and complete range of everything in a white community will be carried ... None but white trade. Ladies will not be required to rub shoulders with a crowd of clamorous and odorous natives.”⁵⁰

Since most white traders especially in latter years did not feel comfortable to serve Africans in their stores due to strong racial prejudice, the white settlers developed hostility towards Africans. But the authorities tolerated Asian traders. This is because, just like their counterparts in Chipata as observed earlier, they were expected to play the role of serving the labouring Africans with their needs which most well established white traders were not prepared to do. Nonetheless, African consumers felt more comfortable buying from Asian traders than white traders because Asian traders allowed them to enter shops and choose whatever they wanted unlike in shops owned by white traders where they were forced to buy through small windows or hatches.⁵¹ The practice stimulated Asian trade.

As a result of this tolerance, by 1926 there was a considerable number of Asians on Queensway involved in a variety of trading activities on premises leased from European traders whose business in African trade had collapsed.⁵² Despite the relative increase in the number of Asian traders, by 1927 only three had trading licences.⁵³ This was because it was only in the early 1920s that trading licences for shops were given to

Asian traders. Before then, Asian traders conducted their businesses by entering into agreements with white traders particularly those who were folding up due to stiff competition so that they could use their premises on lease terms.⁵⁴

Even when trading licences were made open to Asians, they were not easy to obtain. For example Ramchandra Hakunitrai Desai who applied for a general dealer trading licence in 1925, Jack Marajah in 1926 and Ranchhod Nana who already had one licence but wanted to have one more in 1927 were not issued with the licences applied for.⁵⁵ This denial of trading licences to Asians triggered apprehension in their community. In view of that in November 1927 the Livingstone British India Association sent a strongly worded petition to the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir James Crawford Maxwell complaining bitterly about the discriminatory manner in which trading licences were issued. They noted that whilst white settlers were issued trading licences with ease, Asians were not, yet they were also British subjects who were law abiding. They therefore implored the Governor to consider their grievances as trading was the only way open to them where they could make a living.⁵⁶

Asian settlers were denied trading licences because white settlers feared that Asian enterprises would threaten the creation of a viable white population. The white settlers knew that they would not compete successfully with the Asian traders who had the ability to cut down expenses through frugal living. Most of the white population in Livingstone came either from or through South Africa where anti-Asian prejudice was common at the time. Nearly all white settlers therefore came to Livingstone with such prejudices. Consequently, white traders in Livingstone made appeals to the wider European community. They lobbied for government support arguing that it was the white people who had won the country and therefore should get the benefits of it. They also claimed that Asians had lower business ethics. They further argued that in contrast

to the Asians, who in the main were single and whose money left the country, if the European who stayed with his family was hurt he would leave the country, thus reducing the white population and so destroying the social fabric of the white community.⁵⁷ The European fear of Asian competition in African trade was therefore fused with racism since the Asian rivals were distinct in colour, ethnicity and culture so as to maintain their predominance in African trade.

In fact, it was because of this fear that the Northern Rhodesia Proclamation 15 of 1915 which provided for a language test in which immigrants had to read and write a European language to the satisfaction of an immigration officer before they could be allowed into the country was introduced. This was intended to check Asian immigration into the territory to protect white traders from Asian competition. Further in 1924, there was an attempt by the white settler authority to introduce into Northern Rhodesia, the Southern Rhodesia 1924 Ordinance which imposed a complete ban on Asian immigration into the territory.⁵⁸ The Colonial Office rejected this because they did not want to be seen following measures which appeared racially inclined as it conflicted with their policy of treating all British subjects on equal terms. Additionally, the Colonial Office was worried about the reaction of India on the issue.⁵⁹

In spite of the above impediments, by 1931 the population of Asians in Livingstone grew to 20⁶⁰ and by the mid-1930s all the second class trading business was in the hands of Asian traders. The only prosperous European owned store was held by a European who had a labour recruiting business.⁶¹ Thus the Asian trading community which had a humble beginning in 1908 was fully entrenched and blossoming in Livingstone by 1935.

Summary

From the discourse in this chapter, several points can be highlighted. Firstly, there were two types of trading activities in Livingstone; white trade which catered for the needs of Europeans and African trade which catered for African needs. Both trading activities were pioneered by European traders who were mainly Jewish. This followed British colonisation of the area. Secondly, trading activities were regulated by colonial Government trading policies, which though not racially discriminatory in wording were applied in a racially discriminatory manner. This was because colonial society was organised on racial lines with Europeans at the top, Asians in the middle and Africans at the bottom. Though both the race and class a person belonged to, determined his success in the economic structure of colonial society, the racial factor was overriding. The class factor only operated when considering members belonging to the same race and not to different races. Therefore trading policies were applied on racial lines so as to maintain the status quo of the racially stratified colonial society. Thirdly, Asian immigrants came to Livingstone because of poverty resulting from lack of opportunities for economic advancement in India. Fourthly, Asian settlers engaged themselves in trading activities in Livingstone because that was the only area open to them where they could make a living as other areas such as employment in the civil service were reserved for Europeans only.

The common Asian pattern was to move into market gardening, growing vegetables and fruit which they hawked as this did not need much capital investment. They then moved to the hawking of other goods. When sufficient capital had been accumulated, they moved into general dealing after leasing or buying trading premises from unsuccessful European traders. Fifthly, despite impediments such as European settler opposition to Asian immigration and difficulties in obtaining trading licences, by

1935 the Asian trading community had developed and become fully entrenched, ousting European traders in African trade. The development was mainly due to factors such as the general growth of the town which stimulated economic activities in the area and the surrounding villages, the First World War from which Asian traders benefited much through profiteering on scarce goods which were in high demand, and the hatch system practised in European owned shops. This forced Africans to purchase their requirements from Asian owned shops where they were free to enter and choose whatever they wanted, thereby enhancing the growth of Asian trading business.

ENDNOTES

¹Michael Gelfand, *Northern Rhodesia in the days of the Charter: A Medical and Social Study 1878-1924* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), p. 228; also see Denys Whitehead, 'The Story of Livingstone, Tourist Capital of Zambia' (Unpublished paper, nd.), p.6; and 'History of Livingstone' *Livingstone Mail*, 19 August, 1960, p.1; Frederick J. Clarke was known by the nickname 'Mopani'. Brelsford noted that Clarke gained his nickname in his young days when he was negotiating with Lobengula in Southern Rhodesia. The Chief said that he was "tall and straight and had a hard heart" which was a tribute to Clarke's straight forward but tough bargaining power; see W.V. Brelsford, *Generation of Men: The European Pioneers of Northern Rhodesia* (Salisbury: Stuart Manning, 1965), p. x.

²Interview, Dilys (wife of Graham McKillop whose father was one of the earliest contractors in Livingstone), Livingstone, 11 October, 1999.

³'Christmas Number', *Livingstone Mail*, December 1908, p. 15.

⁴Kristin Ese, *A Historical Guide to Livingstone Town* (Harare: CBC Publishers 1996), p.8; J.M. Moubray, a traveller who visited Livingstone in its Pioneering days commented that the hotel was comfortable and many tourists stayed there. J. M. Moubray, *In South Central Africa* (London: Constable and Company, 1912), p. 224.

⁵Gelfand, *Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter*, p. 228.

⁶Whitehead, 'The Story of Livingstone: Tourist capital of Zambia', p. 6.

⁷D.W. Phillipson, 'The Early History of the Town of Livingstone' in Phillipson, D.W. (ed.) *A Handbook to the Victoria Falls* (London: Longman, 1975), p. 99.

⁸NAZ, RC/299, *Issue of Recruiting Licences to Livingstone Storekeepers: 1926-1927*, Petition of Livingstone Holders of General Dealer's Licence to the Chief Secretary, 29 September, 1927.

⁹Hugh Macmillan and Frank Shapiro, *Zion in Africa: The Jews of Zambia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1999), p. 42; Charlotte Mansfield in her travel book *Via Rhodesia* (London: Stanley Paul, n.d. but believed to have been written in 1910), p.146; which describes the situation as it was in about 1908 wrote after her visit to Livingstone "... I have no grudge against the Jew ... but I should like to see a few Englishmen make money. At present, the Jew ... seem to be collecting all the plums." This confirms the Jewish predominance of trade in the pioneering days of settlement in Livingstone.

¹⁰For more information on European businesses in Livingstone and Northern Rhodesia (Zambia during the colonial period) in general, see Macmillan and Shapiro, *Zion in Africa: The Jews of Zambia*.

¹¹NAZ, SEC3/51, *Asiatic immigration 1931-48: Indians*, Volume One, Correspondence, Southern Province Commissioner, Livingstone to Chief Secretary, 12 June, 1937.

¹²NAZ, KDB 6/4/3/2, *Livingstone Tours: 1930-1934*, Tour Report Number 3 of 1932. p. 1.

¹³*Livingstone Mail*, 6 December, 1933.

¹⁴Macmillan and Shapiro, *Zion in Africa: The Jews of Zambia*, p. 50.

¹⁵Christmas Number, *Livingstone Mail*, December, 1907.

¹⁶University of Zambia (UNZA) Library Special Collections, GOV. ZAM/02/1918, *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), p.11,

¹⁷L.H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1894-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1961), p. 153.

¹⁸Philip Mason, *The Birth of a Dilemma: the Conquest and Settlement of Rhodesia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 214.

¹⁹Chiwomba T. M. Mkunga, 'The development of the Asian Trading Class in Chipata, Zambia 1900-1964', M.A. Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1992, p. 40.

²⁰NAZ, SEC 3/51, 1931-48 *Asiatic Immigration: Indians* Volume I-II, Admission of Asiatics into Northern Rhodesia, Minute No. 1052/ 16.11, Southern Province Commissioner, Livingstone to Chief Secretary, 12 June 1937; See also NAZ, KDB 6/4/3/2, 1930-1934, Tour Reports: Livingstone District Tour Report No. 3 of 1932, p. 5.

²¹NAZ, SEC 1/1576, 1937-39, *General Dealer, Asians Trading in Barotseland*, Minute No. LIC/E/3/4, from E.A. Dutton, Chief Secretary to Provincial Commissioner, Mongu, 3 November 1937; see also Maurice Gersh, 'The Susman Saga' in *Northern Rhodesia Journal* 6, 3 (1965), p. 267.

²²Yona N. Seleti, 'Entrepreneurship in Colonial Zambia' in Samuel N. Chipungu (ed.), *Guardians in Their Time: Experience of Zambians Under Colonial Rule, 1890-1964* (London: Macmillan, 1992), p. 161.

²³J.S. Mangat, *A History of the Asians in East Africa c. 1886 to 1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1969) pp. 32-39; also see Y. Ghai and D. Ghai, *The Asian Minorities of East and Central Africa up to 1971: Minority Rights Group Report No. 4* (London: Expedite Multiprint, 1971), p. 6; for Asian Indentured labourers in South Africa see Robert A. Huttenback, *Gandhi in South Africa, British Imperialism and the Indian Question, 1860-1914* (London: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 2-13.

²⁴Floyd Dotson and Lillian Dotson, *The Indian Minority of Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 27.

²⁵ Mangat, *A History of the Asians in East Africa c. 1886 to 1945*, p. 47.

²⁶ Harry H. Johnson, *British Central Africa* (London: Methuen and Company, 1897), p. 152; also see A.J. Hanna, *The Beginning of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, 1889-1895* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1969), pp. 226-227 and L.H. Gann, *A History of Northern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964), p. 146.

²⁷ Johnson, *British Central Africa*, p. 178.

²⁸ Interview, Ranchhodbhai M. Patel, Businessman, Livingstone, 11 November, 1999

²⁹ Hilda Kuper, *Indian People in Natal* (Natal: Natal University Press, 1960), p. 10.

³⁰ NAZ, SEC 3/51, 1931-48 *Asiatic Immigration*: Indians Volume I-II, Letter from B.B. Lulla, Beira to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 14 January, 1947.

³¹ Interview, Chhotabhai M. Patel, Trader, Livingstone, 9 June, 1999.

³² Richard Sampson in his *They came to Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka: Northern Rhodesia Commission for the Preservation of National and Historical Monuments and Relics, 1956), p. 25 alludes to Naiker, who entered Northern Rhodesia in 1900 as the first Asian to enter Livingstone. Since Jack Marajah was present when the Coryndon Treaty was being signed in October 1897 and when Captain Arthur Lawley was signing a fresh agreement with Lewanika on behalf of the BSAC in June 1898, he must have been the first to enter Livingstone. He later settled along the Nansanzu river seven miles from Livingstone. See NAZ, RC/280 Jack Marajah: Store licence 27 May – 30 December 1927, Correspondence Jack Marajah to Acting Chief Secretary, Livingstone, 8 June, 1927; Jack Marajah to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, n.d.

³³ Denys Whitehead, 'Livingstone: The Tourist capital of Zambia', p.48.

³⁴ Interview Denys Whitehead Retired Anglican Priest, Livingstone, 12 October, 1999. Whitehead told the researcher that he interviewed Chhanabhai, Shambhu Nayee's grandson.

³⁵ Interview, Sureshbhai S. Rama, Trader, Livingstone, 13 October, 1999. Rama is a grandson to Bhama Rama, the man believed to be the first Asian trader in Livingstone.

³⁶ Interview, Ranchhodbhai M. Patel, 11 October 1999 and Parbhoo H. Govind, Businessman, Livingstone, 14 October 1999. The above two gave an identical story on Rama.

³⁷ Huttenburg, *Gandhi in South Africa, British Imperialism and the Indian Question, 1860-1914*, p. 342.

³⁸ NAZ, A 3/1/1-2, Northern Rhodesia Census, 1911: Information Regarding British Indians desired by the Census Commissioner for India, p. 2.

³⁹Interview, Rama, Trader, 13 October, 1999; Manganbhai M. Patel, Businessman Livingstone, 15 October, 1999 and, Jinabhai L. Patel Businessman, Livingstone, 9 October, 1999.

⁴⁰NAZ, KDB 4/3/1 Livingstone Sub-District Tour Report, 1 April, 1925 to 31 March 1926, p. 7.

⁴¹Interview, Bharatkumar M. Patel, greengrocer and market gardener, 7 October, 1999.

⁴²Interview, Rama, Livingstone, 13 October, 1999.

⁴³NAZ, KDB 4/3/1, *Livingstone Tours: 1911-1929*, Livingstone Sub-District Annual Report, 31 March, 1917, p. 5; also see NAZ, KDB 6/4/3/2, 1930-1934 *Livingstone Tour Reports*: Tour Report No. 3 of 1932 by Native Commissioner, Livingstone District. p. 4.

⁴⁴NAZ, SEC 2/192, The Livingstone Annual Report for the Year Ending 31 March, 1920.

⁴⁵Interview, Govind, Livingstone, 14 October, 1999.

⁴⁶For the White settler anti-Asian sentiments in Kenya, see George Delf, *Asians in East Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 16-22; for Uganda, see Edwin S. Munger 'Two Kinds of Indians' in Edwin S. Munger (ed.), *African Field Reports 1952-1961* (Cape Town: C. Struik, 1961), p. 374; for South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, see Huttenburg, *Gandhi in South Africa: British Imperialism and the Indian Question, 1860-1914*, pp 27-44 and pp 337-348 respectively.

⁴⁷See *Livingstone Mail*, 'Justica, letter to the Editor: Our Indian Market Gardeners', 7 January, 1911; 12 December, 1913, p. 6 and 'Letter to the Editor: Indians in Livingstone', 24 April, 1914, p. 3.

⁴⁸NAZ, SEC 3/51, *Asiatic Immigration: 1931-48*, Indians into Northern Rhodesia, Correspondence, Chief Immigration Officer, Livingstone to The Chief Secretary, Lusaka, 15 April, 1945.

⁴⁹NAZ, A3/1/1-2, Northern Rhodesia Census, 1911, p. 2.

⁵⁰*Livingstone Mail*, 18 April, 1908.

⁵¹Interview, Lameck Siambelele, Village headman, Siambelele village, 20 October, 1999, Livingstone.

⁵²NAZ, RC/279, Trading Licences, Queensway, Livingstone, 30 March – 30 December 1926: Inspection of Stands Adjoining Queensway, Correspondence, Acting Principal Medical Officer, Livingstone to the Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, Livingstone, 30 March, 1926.

⁵³NAZ, RC/280, Correspondence, Jack Marajah to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 1927.

⁵⁴Macmillan and Shapiro, *Zion in Africa: The Jews of Zambia*, p. 51.

⁵⁵Interview, R.M. Patel, Livingstone, 11 November, 1999.

⁵⁶For Desai see NAZ RC/281, 28 December 1925 – October, 1927, Application for General Dealer Licence, Ranchandra Hakuntra Desai (Desai): Indian Trader Correspondence, Secretary, Livingstone Management Board to Desai, 20 February, 1926; for Marajah See NAZ, RC/280, Application for a General Dealer Licence in Queensway: Jack Marajah, 23 May to 30 December 1927, Correspondence, J. Hockly, Secretary, Livingstone Management Board to Assistant Magistrate, 7 December 1927; Assistant Magistrate to Chief Secretary, 8 December 1927; for Nana, See NAZ, RC/279, Application for Subsidiary Store Licence: R. Nana, Stand No. 139 Queensway, Correspondence, Acting Chief Secretary to Secretary, Livingstone Management Board, 11 March, 1927.

⁵⁷*Livingstone Mail*, 7 January, 1911, 12 December, 1913, p.6 and 24 April, 1914, p. 3.

⁵⁸NAZ, RC/240, British Indian Association at Livingstone: Petition for grant of Trading Licence and Plots for Indians to Governor, Northern Rhodesia, 22 November, 1927.

⁵⁹Bizeck J. Phiri, *A History of Indians in Eastern Province Zambia* (Lusaka: High Quality Printers, 2000), p. 17.

⁶⁰UNZA Library Special Collections, GOV. ZAM /02/1931/2, *Northern Rhodesia Report on the Director of Census Regarding the Census taken on the 5 May 1931* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1931), p. 28.

⁶¹NAZ, SEC 3/51, *Asiatic Immigration*: Summary of Livingstone District Commissioner's Report attached to Confidential Minute from Provincial Commissioner to Chief Secretary, 12 June, 1937.