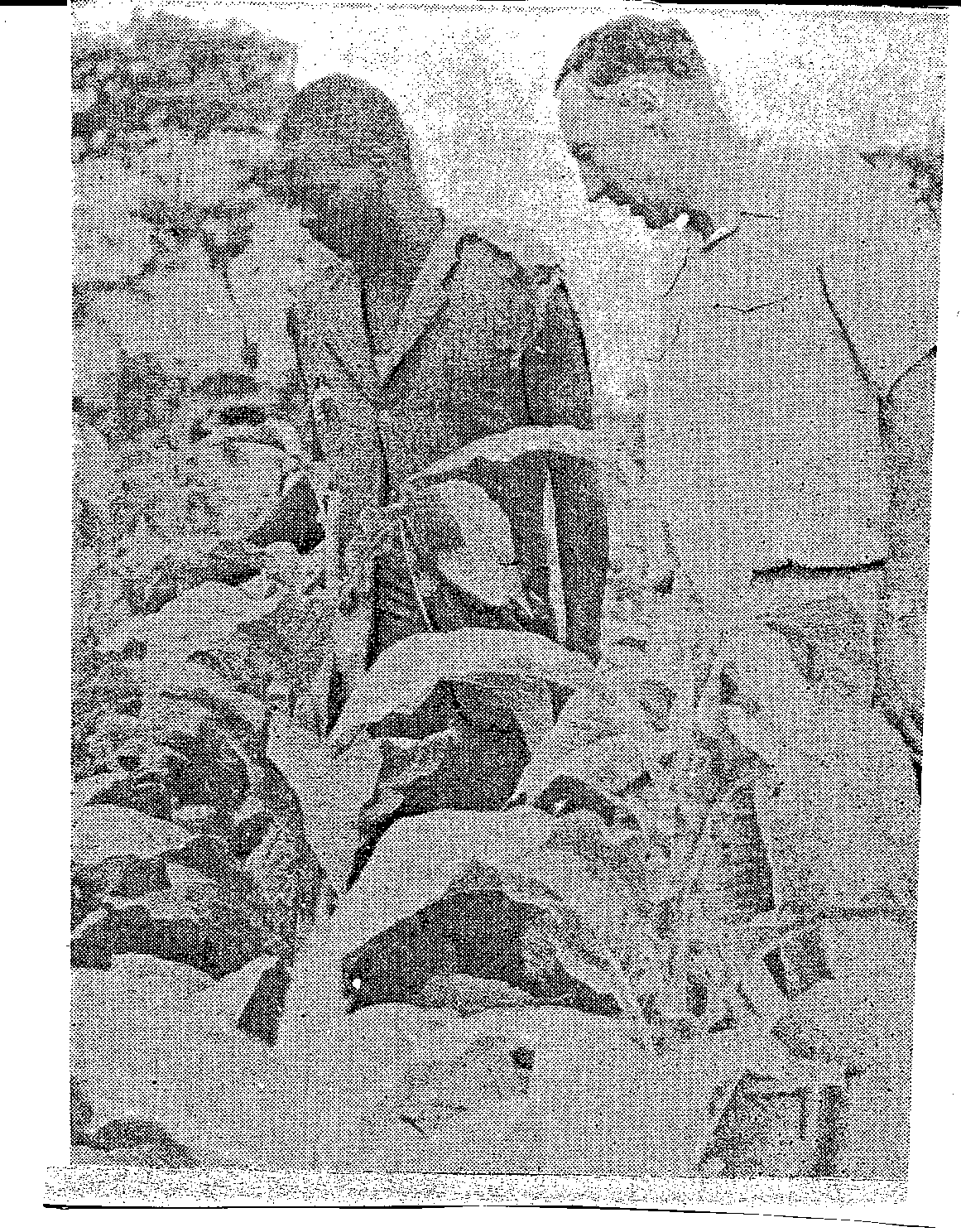
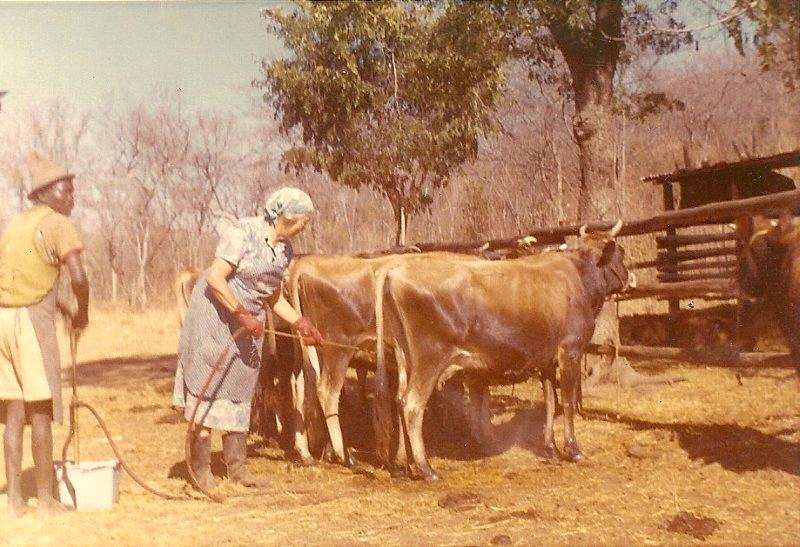
**African Labour on the White-owned farms along the line of rail in Northern Rhodesia 1900 to 1964.**







**by**

**Mwelwa C. Musambachime**

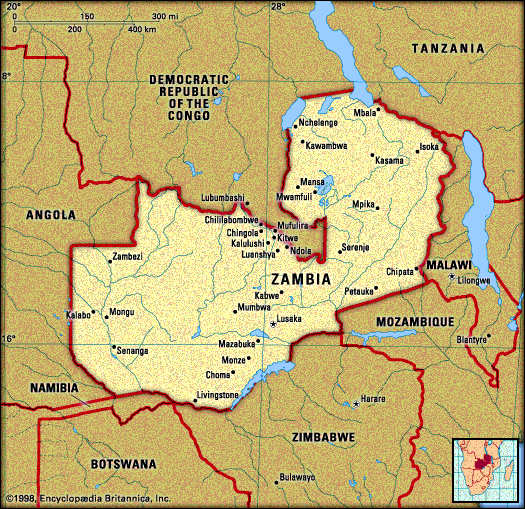
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Mwelwa C. Musambachime

**Abstract**

In 1997, Alan H. Jeeves and Jonathan Crush published an edited book entitled *White Farms , African Labor: The State and Agrarian Change in Southern Africa, 1910- 1950*, covering the southern African region. The focus of this book was on the role of the State in supporting the promotion of agriculture by white farmers. Varieties of other issues were also discussed including the role of African labour in the success or failure of the white farming enterprise. European settler farmers demanded the establishment of colonial institutions which protected their property rights and encouraged investments, helped to mobilise cheap labour and formulate ordinances to retain it on the farms. Taking a similar vein, this paper focuses on the African labour on the farms along the line of rail in Northern Rhodesia, from Kalomo to Broken Hill. It looks at the kinds of labour employed, the stratification among them, the problems of communication between the workers and the farmers and their families, and how these were tackled. The few studies that have appeared on African labour have not discussed these issues in detail to highlight the plight of the workers. Farmers spaced one from the other, Each had its own organisation and a set of rules that were followed .Some farm owners were kind and able to attract labour freely. Others were not, They struggled to recruit and retain labour. Farm labour was one of the worst form of paid labour. It was labour-intensive, hazardous and least protected by the Administration, law or as well as by the workers themselves because of the isolation of the farms. In my view,. this is one area still waiting for extensive research and analysis. This study of African labour on the settler farms on settler farms is a general study of what was going on in most farms. Much of the data used in this study is drawn from oral, written and archival sources.



**Introduction**

"*The native should be trained not so much as a competitor with the white man in the business of life, but as a useful auxiliary to help in the progress of the country*".

**Quoted in V. Machingaidze, unpublished paper, no date, p.51**

*The main characteristics we tend to associate with farm workers are those of vulnerability, of isolation, of relative powerlessness and - above all - of invisibility*.

**Robin Palmer, “Off the Map- Farm workers in Southern Africa: Some Partly Historical Thoughts on their Invisibility and Vulnerability” Southern Africa Regional Conference on Farm Workers’ Human Rights and Security Harare 10-14 September 2001, page 3.**

*Valued only as cheap labour, the local population was the object of control through a number of measures such as poor wages and conditions of service, pass laws, and through residential segregation.*

**Lubono Hiichondwe** , Mbeza, Monze..

Although settler agriculture in Northern Rhodesia has been touched upon by historians, none of their works address themselves specifically to the development of settler agriculture The European farmers who came to Northern Rhodesia to farm or run ranches as economic ventures, called themselves “planters” first, but later, changed this term to “settlers”. Not much is known about their background, settlement and experiences in development of settler agriculture. Unlike the settler farmers of Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, settler farmers wrote nothing or very little if any, about their experiences. That so few written reminiscences have been left by the early and even later settler farmers is hardly a surprise. Many were modest, poorly educated or not educated at all. They were undercapitalized and unassuming people who were naturally averse to writing anecdotes which might be interpreted as an effort on their part to blow their own trumpets. Unlike their colleagues in Southern Rhodesia and Kenya, the settlers in Northern Rhodesia, did not include numbers of great literary men and women -writers, great diarists, novelists or newspaper correspondents -to jot down their daily happenings and experiences they wrote nothing! As a result, we know very little about them. The beginning, development and growth of the farming enterprises, recruitment, control and management of African labour employed on the farms. This paper focuses on African labour employed on the settler farms located along the lined of rail from Kalomo to Broken Hill. It is largely based on secondary, archival and some oral sources... Very little is known about this subject.

From the outset of Occupation in 1890, African rights to land were written

Off and the land was regarded as the Company’s commercial asset, to be sold to white

Settlers on easy terms. Thus the policy of using settlers as the main agent for

Development and the Company's fiscal and labour policies are central to a coherent understanding of the development of settler agriculture in Northern Rhodesia, from the beginning of colonial rule the settler enterprise was precarious. They lived very simple lives. Slept in simple grass huts, ate “African” food and drunk African sweet or fermented beer. They dressed in simple clothing and walked many distances or were carried in hammocks. Game were being slaughtered indiscriminately; Many survived by poaching game for skins or meat the exaction of labour in lieu of tax had been practised 'owing to the very limited amounts of cash which were then in circulation. Many hunted lions and leopards for skins and elephants for ivory. Some engaged themselves as touts, recruiting labour for the small mines in East Luangwa, Broken Hill, Kafue Hook, Bwana Mkubwa and Kansanshi, and the settler farms, mines and farms in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. They also required abundant and cheap labour to work of their farms.

Generally speaking, , issues relating to African labour on white settler farms in Northern Rhodesia, now Zambia, have been neglected by scholars. Little is known about the settler farmers, their education and experience, how much capital they had, how they recruited labour, controlled and managed it, how it was housed, fed. And treated when sick, and levels of wages paid. Yet the success or failure of the settler farmers was hugely depended on the availability of African labour. The produce of these farms went to feed the mine workers in Katanga, the Kafue Hook, Broken Hill, Bwana Mkubwa, and later the emerging Copperbelt. Whilst this contribution has been noted and appreciated, few studies have emerged on the production processes on the farms. The role of the State was, like in Kenya, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South West Africa, to support the white settler farmer and to ensure that he met minimum competition from the African farmer. This paper is an attempt to survey these issues.

**Estasblishment of Colonial Rule**

The formal establishment of colonial rule as an economic and social system by the British

South Africa Company (BSAC) on behalf of the British Government, involved the

Deliberate transformation of the socio-economic organization of the colony to meet the needs

and expectations of the mother country, Great Britain. The dominant theme in the colonial

history of Northern Rhodesia, was the focussed on the triumph of the white settler farmers over

African farmers who located in East Luangwa, the line of rail from Kalomo to Broken Hill and a

small portion of south-east Abercorn and later, in the 1950s, at the Mkushi Farming Block. The

BSAC stated that ”The financial success of a pioneer [European settler] farmer must depend

upon the opening up of this territory [Northern Rhodesia] by an influx of new ]European]

settler farmers".. And Leopold Moore stated publicly stated that “the interests of the [European

settler ([farmer] will be achieved by an all white policy ". Against this background, the issue of

African labour became central The dominant colonial ideology maintained that the role of the

colony was to assist the emergence of a settler-dominated economy dependent o the availability

of cheap African labour.1

Initially, the BSAC had little interest in Northern Rhodesia. Despite the company’s interest and encouragement to settle white farmers in the territory, it was never envisaged that Northern Rhodesia would develop into a white colony in the same way as in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia where European settlement was adopted as an official colonial policy as early as 1902. Nonetheless, from 1902, British- speaking settler farmers arrived from Britain and South Africa to take up land and engage in farming. Many had no agricultural backgrounds. The settler community was dominated by settlers of the lower middle and working class origins. There were no graduates from reputable schools like Eton or other famous private or public secondary schools, no alumni from Oxford, Cambridge, London or any other highly regarded university. They were followed by Afrikaners (Boers) looking for new lands to settle, Greeks and Jews from Eastern Europe who combined trading with farming. After 1906, a number of European nationalities entered in the trade. Greeks, Jews, Irish, Italians and Afrikaners joined in. Some of these were Harry and Elia Susman of the Susman Brothers, H.C.Werner; Isidore Kolerrberg who were in the cattle trade in Barotseland from 1901. They became the country’s most well-known butchers and cattle dealers and became “fabulously rich”. Across the Kafue, the most prominent farmers were General F. Joubert Pienaar in Lusaka’s Makeni area and Landless located in Chisamba

Over half of the farms located in North West Rhodesia were located on the Batoka (Tonga) Plateau around Kalomo,Choma Pemba and Magoye stretching to the Kafue River. Some of the farms were kept for a short period and failure rate was extremely high. So many farms changed hands many times. Many farmers had more than one farm scattered over short or long distances, By the early 1910, some 60 to 75 farms were occupied in by settler farmers in North West Rhodesia, occupying 240,000 to 280,000 acres, giving an average of 4,000 acres per farmer. One farm in Choma, owned by Horton, was 50,000 acres. In 1908, there were 68 farms in NWR. Of these, 58 were occupied – 30 of these by well capitalised farmers, especially around Kalomo, Choma and Pemba. A number of farmers came into these districts from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. A few had capital to make their farming actively worthwhile. The majority of these from Southern Rhodesia were attracted by the comparatively liberal land policy which the BSAC was operating in NWR at a time when the practice of attracting settlers to Southern Rhodesia through free grants of land had come to an end. In 1911 to 1912, Magoye had the largest number of settler farmers, numbering 61. It continued to increase in the period between 1919 and 1924.These farms were located close to adequate and ample water supplies along the main rivers, natural springs –some of which were hot, and streams. Where water was inadequate, dams were dug to ensure that there was adequate supply for the farmer, the animals and in some cases, for irrigation. . In1911 a total of 159 farms varying in size and productivity, were established between Kalomo in the south and Broken Hill (Kabwe) in the north. The amount of land granted to individual settlers for farming or trading purposes varied with their means but on the whole, land grants tended to be quite large. In 1919, the smallest farm awarded for settlement was about 12,980 acres, with the largest being 10,000acres. The numbers increased after the First World War. Settler farms were quite large from the start of the alienation in 1902. The amount of land granted to individual settlers for farming or trading purposes varied with their means but on the whole, land grants tended to be quite large. In this exercise, African land owners were uprooted and resettled in less fertile areas. In 1919, the smallest farm awarded for settlement was about 12,980 acres, with the largest being 10,000acres. Yet, Northern Rhodesia’s original role was to serve as a labour reserve for the developing white areas of Southern Rhodesia and South Africa at least up to the mid-1950s..The white settler society were never large, but were divided by nationality, financial status and more importantly, by language. Those who spoke English considered themselves superior to the *bywoners* who spoke Afrikaans. The community was differentiated between those who grew maize, cotton and tobacco.2

After the Boer War of 1899 to 1902 when more settlers took up farming in North East Rhodesia and North West Rhodesia, the need and demand for farm workers and domestic servants increased. Information and statistics are difficult to come by as regarded farm labour. This is because the focus by the Administration was on the recruitment of labour employed by the mining companies in Katanga, German East Africa, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, in various industries, European Settler farms and plantations in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa; in the mining areas of the Kafue Hook, Kansanshi and Bwana Mkubwa; those employed in the urban areas along the line of rail, district centres and mission stations. Settlers were ambitious men and women. They were “fortune hunters” who hoped to strike it rich and then return to their original homes to settle and retire in comfort, leisure and splendour. Most arrived in the country undercapitalised and without the requisite agricultural skills or knowledge. but expected to become rich in a short period of time**.** However, the precarious climate, speculative capitalism of the BSAC and the nature of the colonial economy meant that only a few farmers achieved financial success. In respect of labour, that meant that no white

Man could be expected to do work which was 'being performed on the next farm by natives', which would be “degradation, a lowering of the prestige of the white

race”. This success depended heavily on the recruitment. . management and profitable use of African labour-popularly called “servants”. The need for African labour remained one of the biggest grievances of the settlers. The farmers blamed the BSAC for not coming up with policies that would ensure abundance flows of labour to their farms. The image of an African worker seated under the shade drinking lots of beer instead of working was common. This labour had to be tapped and used on the farms. Unskilled African labour was indispensable in the settler economy. It comprised the largest section of the labour force on the farm and comprised the largest group of Africans (apart from those they met at Church gatherings) with whom the settler farmers came into contact. The employment of workers structured the composition of workers on the farms separated from the surrounding neighbouring villages...

A.M. Chagrin who served as Secretary of the London Missionary Society and led a deputation to visit their missions in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia summed up some of the lessons he and his delegation learned on the trip. One of these was an important observation that “after land, perhaps the thorniest problem in Africa today is labour. It would seem that two policies are being pursued. One is the policy of trusteeship, the other is exploitation [of African labour]” which he saw as “a legacy from the slave –holding days. In his view, the White settler farmers in South Africa and Central Africa came to “rely on cheap and plentiful black labour”. White farmers needed State intervention to limit competition from the African peasants, gain the best land and recruit a lot of cheap labour for them... These observations noted in the late 1920s, were candid and a true reflection of what was going on in areas where White settlers were located, especially, along the line of rail stretching from Kalomo to Capri Mposhi.**3** .

The Masters and Servants Ordinance borrowed from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia versions covered all aspects of the recruitment, retention and dismissal of African labour. Under its provisions the term “servant” included domestic workers and farm workers or labourers. The Ordinance provided the legal framework that bound the workers to employers and laid down a variety of penal provisions for failure to comply within the terms of a written or verbal contract. The Ordinance also specified about twelve varieties of misconduct, including failure to commence work at stipulated time, being absent from work without permission, being intoxicated, not performing work or performing carelessly, illicit use of the master’s property, disobeying an instruction or command, Under the Ordinance, there was no escape from a cruel employer. Truancy was a punishable offence while desertion was sailable crime for six months with hard labour. On completion of the punishment, the worker was required to return to his employer. To complete the terms of the contract. Servants used a wide range of strategies to protect themselves against employers. Resistance took the form of desertion, petty theft involving food, clothes, beddings, , sabotage of farm tools. Glimpses of those employed on the farms are found in some reminiscences by missionaries which were discussed at their General Missionary Conferences first held in Livingstone in 1914 under the Chairmanship of Edwin Smith, with subsequent meetings being held in Livingstone (1919 and 1927), and Kafue in 1922 and 1924; some farmers like Rangeley around Fort Jameson, described, in passing, by Winfried Tapson, an employee of the NCEC, from the post -First World War period to 1932 ,of farms around Fort Jameson, by Dick Hobson on the farms around Lusaka, between 1933 and 1940, of Shiwa Ng’andu, owned by Sir Stewart Gore-Browne discussed by Eileen Langland, Lamb and Robert I. Rotberg; in the novel entitled *The Grass is Singing* by Doris Lessing set in rural Southern Rhodesia and by W.T. Blake who visited a farm in Choma in the late 1950s. **A**ccording to John Wood, the main interest of the European settlers had in some parts of Africa where they settled, was “the supply of cheap African labour and servants to make life easy, nice, enjoyable, comfortable rich, for them”. In his study of the *Native Problems in Africa*, R.L. Buell concluded that for the first fifteen years of White settlement, no effective standards for labour existed in Northern Rhodesia. Under the umbrella of colonial control, “the employer was nearly left to do as he liked”. **4**

Being white and a *Bwana* (or Master), the State helped to gratify their egos of the settler class. According to Rotberg, to the farmers, servants were “more than so many machines. His workers –especially those who had been with him for so many years –from whom social distance and reserve were natural. It occasioned no strain affection, strictness; scrumptious honesty and confident leadership. These are some of the attributes some farmers developed”. **5** From the onset of European farming, owing to lack of mechanization, clearing bushes and forests and establishing farms was done manually by African labour The White farmers depended heavily on local African labour to cut the trees, uproot the stumps and roots and leave them to dry. When they were sufficiently dried, some selected species were burned to produce charcoal used as fuel. Of the remainder, some were used as wood fuel while the rest of . the dried stumps were burned to ashes which were spread around the farm to serve as a natural fertiliser. To these ashes, some compost, cow dung and later chemical fertilisers were added.. Later African labour was used to develop and transform farms from virgin lands into productive areas. Humans and draught animal traction were the main sources of farm power for almost all operations on the farm... It required African labour to handle the draught animals and the ploughs and other machinery. Together they played significant roles within farming systems.

African labourers on the European farms were adversely exploited as clearly manifested in low wages, poor working conditions, arduous tasks, and worse still, the creation of labour reserves through which labour on European farms was easily forthcoming. Thus human power was a critical element within the production process, both in terms of its availability and productivity. However, both variables were compromised through poor nutrition, illness and death, lack of interest in subsistence agriculture, competing claims on time for intensive household tasks, and the drift away from the land in search of alternative livelihoods. Households which were reliant on human power were extremely vulnerable to the loss of labour. Where this was the case, farmers turned to the other districts to recruit their labour requirements. In many cases where local people were unwilling to offer their services, African workers were brought in from other areas such as Barotseland, Kasempa, Fort Rosebery, Ndola, East Luangwa, north and central Nyasaland and southern and northern Mozambique. The farmers claimed that migrant farm workers were of a robust constitution than the locals,. Consequently, they were suited for the physical requirements of farm labour. They were perceived to have reliability, loyalty and low levels of desertion. Settler farmers who were married, worked with their wives to supervise the African workers**. 6** Brelsford informs us that one woman, a Mrs. Jeromkjinsky, wife of one called “Jery” (or *Jeri*), ran a farm in the Fort Jameson area when her husband was away on elephant hunting trips. He added that Mrs. Jerominskiy “would stand over the natives working on the tobacco lands carrying a huge whip which she had no hesitation whatsoever in using. Brelsford informs us that in spite of this assumed or alleged cruelty and brutality to her workers, perhaps due to intimidation and threats, there was “no record of any native complaining to the Native Commissioner”. **7**

Work on the farms was labour- intensive, with poor employment conditions- long working hours, high turnover, poor wages, lack of .proper accommodation, rudimentary medical attention and high rates of poverty.. Labourers were provided with hoes , picks and axes to do their work. To ensure efficiency, many farmers employed blacksmiths with a number of helpers who used scrap metal to produce or repair the equipment.

The labour on the farm which was from a peasant background used to reckon their time by the position of the sun, had to be taught, trained and conditioned to reckon time by the twenty-four or the twelve hour clock. In order to acquaint the African worker to the new time frame, each farm devised a way using either a bell or a drum beaten at specific times to indicate the time of the day.. The process followed the following pattern: a drum was beaten or bell rung in the morning at Five O’clock (usually called Number one) in the morning to warn the workers that it was time to wake up and prepare for their shift. The second was at Six O’clock to inform the workers to get ready to report for work. The third (Number three) was beaten at Six thirty (to alert the workers to report for work). The fourth (Number four) was beaten at Seven O’clock was the beginning of the day shift at the farm. The next beating of the drum would be at either twelve or One O’clock for lunch break. It was followed with another one at Two O’clock to return from lunch. The next would be at Five or Six O’clock to knock off. The last would be at ten O’clock to signal the end of the day telling the workers to go to bed. The workers quickly adapted to these times. **8**

The initial poor response by Africans to wage labour was partly because of self-sufficiency of their traditional economies. This was, however, later reversed with land alienation. To add on that, save for taxation, merchandise cash economy had not yet taken deep root.. Local Africans willing to engage in wage labour preferred to work near their homes, because of social and economic obligations. This enabled them to attend to their own farms and livestock more closely. However, the situation changed with expansion of European farming which increased labour demands on European farms. They wanted to obtain enough labourers, retain them in employment, and ensure that they worked productively. Furthermore, the Master and Servants Ordinance of 1910 defined short-term or casual labourer as adult labour engaged on daily or monthly basis, 30 day tickets on 90 day contracts. Casual labour made it possible to combine wage labour with African agricultural work. Secondly, it enabled the labourers to remain within their home area to fulfil their cultural and other social obligations.

Despite the definition of casual labour as adult labour under the Master and Servants Ordinance of 1910, women as well as juveniles and smaller children were engaged as daily paid casual labourers in the settler farms. They were engaged in planting maize, weeding and harvesting. Men on the other hand, cooked for European settlers, tended European livestock, milked and took milk to the market for sale on behalf of their employer mainly because of proximity to European farms apart from a few. As earlier noted, the colonial government introduced the policy of land alienation and the creation of African reserves to induce Africans to seek wage labour on settler farms. Thus, from the European settler point of view, the ideal African reserve was a recruiting ground for labour, a place from which the able bodied went out to work, returning occasionally to rest and beget the next generation of labour. On the other hand, taxation was one of the direct mechanisms to induce Africans to enter wage labour. It was a source of revenue to the colonial administration but an economic burden on Africans, some of who sought wage labour to obtain cash for hut tax . All married adult males and females paid the hut tax However, taxation did not force all Africans into wage labour. Only poorer Africans entered wage labour because some could obtain cash through sale of surplus agricultural produce or trade. Lastly, it was a source of income to African labourers with no other means of earning a livelihood after the penetration of capitalism, but who were not tied to a particular employer. However, the casual labour system to the employer was characterized by high daily turnover since the labourers were not under full control of the employer. The principal causes of labour constraints arising in agriculture are threefold: the reliance on hand power arising from a limited use of alternative sources of power for farming; the reduction in the productivity of labour working in agriculture; and the reduction in the labour available in the household to undertake farm work.

Each farm was governed by a set of regulations drafted by the owner. Some farmers were harsh and hard with their labour. Others were considerate but took care not to appear weak and undermine discipline Many farmers blended being hard and being nice as situations presented themselves. This was extended to conditions of service. At some farms, these were better. And others, not so good. This variety, in some cases, helped the African worker to choose who to work for and avoid those that had bad reputations of handling their workers. From time to time. workers renegotiated their conditions of service depending on a number of circumstances- extension of farms, increased productivity in crops and sales, ,high tax rate, inflation and long hours of work. Workers were not well organised or represented in a combination or union. Sometimes, increments came in form of allowances for over time or as incentives.

African men worked on the farms when they needed money to pay their taxes and to meet other obligation such as *Lobola,* school fees, and court fees, payments for their medical treatment by herbalists and clinics run by missionaries. By selling their labour, Tonga, Soli and Lenje men were able to earn enough money to buy consumer goods- the three-legged big pots and cooking pots, plates, clothes; heads of cattle, goats, ploughs, bicycles and others goods that they considered essential and necessary. **9** A large number of them entered into tenancy agreements to ensure retention of their labour on the farms. The tenancy system was officially terminated in 1924. By this date, most settler farms had either improved their estates.. At this time, most settlers relied on wage labour to ensure continued production. **10**

Further, the alienation of 7.5 million acres of high-potential land for European settlements resulted in a growing shortage of land in the so-called African reserves in most parts of the country. 11This had serious implications for women as it elicited new tensions regarding the amount of time and energy that the women spent cultivating food and cash crops increased dramatically, yet they still had to perform their traditional reproductive tasks of rearing and educating children as well as cooking and caring for the young, the sick and the elderly members of the family. In addition, wives of migrant labourers had to undertake their husbands’ production activities, which involved cattle-rearing, herding and cash crop farming, in the absence of the male help. **12**

To most settler farmers, the local workers were, however, prone to chronic laziness, absenteeism and desertion. They were largely regarded by the farmers and the Colonial officials as being irresponsible, dishonest and unreliable. These kinds of behaviour were, in many cases, brought about by the brutality of some white farmers and the resentment of the local people over the loss of their land.**13** In order to offset this deficiency, farmers began to depend on migrant labour from other parts of the Territory and largely Nyasaland and Mozambique who, according to Edwin Smith, were “in great request”. He further adds that “Rhodesian natives” resented the coming of these men to do what if trained they would be capable of doing”. **14** In the termination of the Tenancy system, there was evidence of increased participation by Africans in wage labour. For example, in 1928, the DC for Mazabuka reported that “there was a class of labourers that prefer farm work and will accept no other”. **15** Large numbers of men from NER and NWR worked on the farms as labourers ( corrupted in the local languages as *amaleba ,or amalebala; sing. Leba or le balal)* established in East Luangwa, along the line of rail, the few farms in Abercorn; the mines in the Kafue Flats, Broken Hill, Bwana Mkubwa and Kansanshi, at district centres working for the Administration and traders and at mission stations that were being established and developed in various parts of the country. Reliance was on migrant workers, largely from Nyasaland and Mozambique, who were easy to control. These workers were not organised or unionised because of their isolation, threats and intimidation from the farmers. In some cases, there was some technological transfer in form of the handling of ploughs and other farm equipment. There were also a few who were recruited for their technical skills as blacksmiths to produce hoes, axes, spades, slashers, knives and iron items needed on the farm. Some were recruited to herd cattle and milk them, drive tractors; and manage the teams of oxen which pulled ploughs, ridges, carts and sledges.. There were also a large number of men and a few women who worked as domestic servants in European households in the urban areas as well as on the farms**.** Children were also employed on the farm in various jobs –slashing of grass, fetching water, herding of cows and so on**. 16**

This labour force had to be conditioned to a new routine to observe time reckoned by the clock rather than looking at the position of the sun. In order to acquaint the African worker to the new time frame, each farm devised a way using either a bell or a drum. The process followed the following pattern: a drum was beaten or bell rung in the morning at Five O’clock (usually called Number one) in the morning for workers to warn the workers that it was time to wake up. The second was at Six O’clock to inform the workers to get ready to report for work. The third (Number three) was beaten at Six thirty (to alert the workers to report for work). The fourth (Number four) was beaten at Seven O’clock was the beginning of the day shift at the farm. The next beating of the drum would be at either twelve or One O’clock for lunch break. It was followed with another one at Two O’clock to return from lunch. The next would be at Five or Six O’clock to knock off. The last would be at ten O’clock to signal the end of the day telling the workers to go to bed. The workers quickly adapted to these times and routine. **17**

The European settlers, all of whom felt and regarded themselves as racially superior to the Africans, deemed manual work in their newly acquired farms, to be beneath their dignity and very humiliating in a country that was inhabited by Africans. In order to prosper, they needed cheap labour, which they could only secure by strengthening their hold over the African population. Workers were, to settler farmers, more than machines clearing the farm, cultivating, protecting the crops from garden raiders, weeding and harvesting crops that required close and constant supervision. On some farms, there was social-distance between the farmer and his workers. Here the prevailing situation was for the farmer to be feared since he was the Lord and Master similar to the situation prevailing on the *Latifundia* of Latin America. On other farms, a close relation developed between the farmer and his workers- especially those that had worked for him for many years and those that he developed a close relationship with For a good example of the prevailing situations. According to Gore-Browne, the average and ordinary settler farmer “seemed [to be] afraid to really strict with his workers and afraid to be really kind, and in many cases, [he was] never consistent. Occasionally, he would lose his temper and flog some of the workers sending shivers in their spines. If this became frequent, it led to the loss of workers”.**18**

To achieve the easy release of labour, the colonial administration imposed taxation in all areas under its jurisdiction from 1901, consequently forcing the African men to work for wages in order to pay the taxes. This new move forced all able-bodied African males to leave their homes and go to work for wages on European settler farms as well as other colonial enterprises. Since the hut tax was levied on each hut, it had far reaching implications on polygamous men who had to pay the tax for each of their wives, who lived in separate huts. Later this was adjusted to be poll tax paid by all bodied men from the age of eighteen (or as soon as they grew beards on their chins and hairs in their armpits!). Such men had no choice but to work to respond to their tax burdens. In areas which were settled by settler farmers growing food and cash-crops, provided opportunities for employment. Some men sold their labour to earn money or sold their farm produce, eggs and poultry to pay the taxes.**19**

This taxation actually forced the men to abandon their traditional roles as subsistence farmers and heads of households to sell their labour in a way that they had not done before. The issue of taxation was disliked and condemned by all missionary groups working in Zambia in that it forced the young and middle-aged men to leave their home areas to travel hundreds or thousands of miles to employment centres leaving their wives and old parents in the villages.**20** Some elected to work on the farms in the NCEC area along the line of rail on the Batoka Plateau. Employment on the farms was governed, controlled and reinforced by the passing of the Masters and Servants Ordinance , patterned on the South African and Southern Rhodesian statutes, introduced in NER and NWR in 1908 and extended to the whole of Northern Rhodesians in 1912,and extended over the amalgamated territory of Northern Rhodesia, and its later amendments in 1913 and 1925 which bound Africans workers to serve the contract on the pain of imprisonment with hard labour for six months. It discouraged desertion. It also stipulated among other things that employers would provide accommodation to their employees, feed them within prescribed rations and assist them to have medical attention when they were sick**. 21**

In terms of the size of the workforce on the farm, most of the farms stood between the commercial farm and a plantation. An average farm employed around fifteen to thirty or forty permanent male and female workers coming from the nearby villages or from faraway places.. 22 These numbers doubled or trebled in the rainy season as the farms were cultivated, planted with seeds, weeded and later harvested. 23 Large farms, like the one visited by W.T. Blake in Choma employed as many as 120 Africans who were constantly supervised by the owner of the farm, his wife, children –depending on age, or by a trusted male foreman or two, called “*Capitao*” or “*batboy.*  A *Capitao* appointed by the farmer on the basis of loyalty, considered to be extremely reliable,. trust, long service and loyalty to the farmer... In most cases, *Capitaos* who directed labour and possessed supervisory as well as “police” authority over the farm hands were from Nyasaland or Mozambique. They were of immense value to the farmers because they were more amenable to discipline and to the druggery of farm work. They worked harder and longer hours and made few or no complaints than the local labourers recruited locally.. They were also the task makers, supervisors and overseers who ensured that all the workers put in a “good days’” work. Above all, they were the “blue-eyed boys” or “informers” of the farmers. They also acted as the “eyes” and “hears” of the white farmer and informed him on performance at work, malingering, theft, a crisis involving the workers and presence of welcomed visitors – especially white traders, missionaries or administrative officials; and unauthorized visitors – Africans looking for work. In most cases, this category of workers was disliked and “hated” by those they supervised .They were given a derogatory name such as *Muzungu Wanga* (My Boss) because they did everything possible to keep or save their jobs and did not hesitate to report on the transgressions of the other workers who were, in most cases, fired. 23

Recruitment of labour varied. Some were engaged directly from the nearby villages, by recruiting labour agencies, labour touts, or from the administration among those who defaulted on their taxes and were serving a sentence.. The major push and pull factors being the massive development that was taking place within the two countries which involved gold mining in several parts of the country followed by robust commercial agriculture by companies and farmers which required much more cheap labour than the mines.**24** Some of those employed to work on the settler farms were recruited on the recommendations of the District Commissioners, district officers and Magistrates; priests, pastors, missionaries, traders; chiefs, village headmen, church elders, influential villagers or a trusted workers. On some farms, there was a preference for those that had converted to Christianity of certain denominations. Some farmers looked for those with experience of having worked for some European household in other parts of the country or outside in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa or the Belgian Congo. Some workers chose to work for the settler farmers rather than migrate to South Rhodesia or South Africa. The major factor behind the massive migration to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa was the economic development within these countries -gold mining in both countries followed by commercial agriculture. The monthly wages which were offered were also far much better than those in Northern Rhodesia which included the expansion of the mining . Others used employment on the farms as a step to another job towards their intended direction going to Southern Rhodesia or some of the intermittent mines where the wages were better. Where this was not the case, all engagements were initially on probation for several months or years. Confirmation came after the farmer was satisfied that the employee was loyal, reliable, honest, and hardworking, had good behaviour and character, was “efficient” and had learned a skill that was increased his potential as an employee. In some cases, for those who earned the trust of the farmer, there were opportunities of upward mobility to the position of a supervisor (*Capitao).* This  steep  chain  of  command  affected  all  aspects  of  life,  because  workers  lived  on

-site.  They  came  to  the  farmers with  a  range  of  complaints,  including  marital  disputes  and  tales  of  weekend  violence.

The wages paid to the farm workers varied from one farm to another This was dictated by a number of factors. The first was the prevailing rate of payment set by the State or the farmers themselves.. Nobody wanted to pay too high a wage and cause agitation for more pay which would create problems for the other farmers.. .The second was the solvency of the farmer, his indebtedness, servicing of bank loans, the prevailing interest rates, cost inputs such as fertilisers and pesticides, transport and insurance costs. The third was the established price of the products produced by the farm. This was either set by Government or negotiated between the farmer and the buyers. Fourth included deductions effected from the wages of the worker for reporting late for work, theft, breaking of tools, death of livestock, feigning illness, and disorderly conduct such as, being drunk on duty, fighting other workers,, insubordination and causing disturbances.. Fifth was the inflation rate in the country. And sixth was the prevailing payment system –by set tasks (*chikongwan*i) which were completed; working overtime on weekends, number of hours worked during the week; weekly or fortnightly payments; and by ticket system which required completion of thirty working days verified and signed for by the farmer. If it was not, the ticket was not signed in spite of the work done, giving profit or a saving to the owner Farmers who did well, paid their workers well. Those who did not, struggled to raise the payroll cheque for their workers and found excuses to pay their workers.

. .Initially, workers were paid in kind- pieces of cloth ranging from a metre to four, amounts of salt, second- hand clothes or trinkets. Over the years, remuneration took the monetary form which changed gradually with inflation and increase in the circulation and use of money. Blake who visited one farm in Choma, found that the wages ranged from 30 to 50 shillings plus food rations given on a weekly or fortnightly basis. These wages were based on the verbal or written contractual agreement. In all cases, the dangers of abuse were extremely high. In some areas where employment was scarce, the rates of pay and conditions of work meant that the workers on the farms were a privileged sector of the working class. They were engaged on short or longer contracts. Shorter contracts made it easier for the workers to escape from or leave a bad employer. Farmers who were good tempered and showed some respect for their workers, housed them in good accommodation, treated their workers well, gave them a good wage and adequate rations which included meat, had a huge ready supply to recruit from. Those who were rough and stingy had difficulties in recruiting and meeting their labour requirements.**26** During the rainy season when a section of the farm was extended or cultivated, the number of workers doubled or trebled to include temporary workers. The numbers depended on the size of the farm, whether it was stumped or not, and the crop being grown. For example, cotton and tobacco were extremely labour -intensive and required huge amounts of labour. The turnover was also very high. **27**

There were many categories of workers on the farm,: general workers who worked in the farm or the surroundings of the farm and were usually given tasks (c*hikongwani*) for the day. If they completed the task, the “ticket” – a piece of paper indicating thirty days to duly completed and signed - would be signed by the owner of the farm.. Among these workers, the turnover was extremely high. There were also semi-skilled and skilled workers such as cultivators who worked with trained bulls which pulled the ploughs, wagon drivers, bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths who repaired or produced tools, cattle herders and domestic servants who worked in the house as cooks, garden boys and a pool of unskilled casual labour. Among the unskilled labour, the turnover was extremely high through dismissals or desertion. The control of workers by farmers over the space of the farm was never complete or absolute. There were many instances of resistance such as those involving truancy, malingering, damage to property, livestock, tools and crops which sometimes drew fines and other forms of punishment. Regular fines on workers, poor working conditions coupled with long working hours, use of corporal punishment and regular use of the whip, arbitrary and regular deductions, poor nutrition and accommodation, played a very important role in encouraging desertion and other forms of resistance on the white owned farms.

For a lot of settler farmers or ranchers, the problem of the retaining labour remained a continuing and vexing problem all the time. In the face of gruelling and backbreaking work demanded, usually from sunrise to sunset, with or without a break, the cruelty, the generally poor housing and feeding, the principal and commonest expression of worker consciousness was the individualized or group action of unannounced departures –or in short desertion from work. Desertions were serious problems for farmers which came with seasonal demands of labour. Because farm workers often deserted in groups, the impact production was very disruptive because the farmers lost valuable labour and sent a message on the poor conditions of work existing on the farms The inability of farmers to control desertion was yet another reason why some farmers who relied heavily on wage labour retained tenants on their land. While wage labourers and recruited workers were usually more vulnerable to charges under the Master and Servants Act, their mobility was far greater than that of the labour tenants. Where conditions were poor, single migrant farm workers easily broke their contracts and left the farms by simply deserting. Their ability to escape to escape prosecution for desertion encouraged others to follow suit... In spite of this, some workers stayed only for a season, less than a season or much longer. This depended on a number of circumstances such as the nature of work given; the length of the hours of work per day; work during weekends; ability to get leave to attend to family problems such as sicknesses, funerals, weddings and other demands; working relations between and among the workers; treatment by the *Capitao* or the owner of the farm; the amount of rations given to the workers- whether there was more meat given or not; entertainment or recreation given in form of locally brewed sweet or fermented beer, drunk during the weekend; allowing visitors – especially females; to visit the farm workers at allocated times, allowing families of the workers to stay on the farm; provision of medical, educational and/ or church services; or because of other attractions.. Workers who deserted but were caught, were returned to the farm were prosecuted and punished according to the prescriptions of the Master and Servants Ordinance **28**

To reduce the incidences of desertion, many farmers were forced develop an intelligence systems using a few selected workers to spy and report on their colleagues and report to the farmer. Some farmers were forced to provide better and sufficient food rations – better mealie meal, lots of meat, availability of fresh or sour milk; and being allowed to eat fruits and vegetables produced on the farm. Although farmers avoided following the government-prescribed rations or “menus”, many realized the importance of their workers and included meat in their rations. Some of the meat came from hunted game or was provided from the animals kept on the farm. Besides, many farmers were aware that those who had the reputation for securing the required labour needs had to treat their workers better and fed them on a good diet. Some farmers who did not appreciate this issue were faced with poor performance, disturbances and desertion. On some farms, in order to hold to their labour force, the workers were given portions of the farm for their own gardens and allowed to grow crops for their consumption, or cash crops which they sold to the farmer.

Ideally, it was better for the setller farmer to house all his workers on the farm. Workers who lived off the farm were difficult to control. Many resisted any form of discipline effected by the farmer. .And in cases where the farmer needed to have close supervision on their labour, a section of the farm located some distance from the settler farmers’ house was set aside and became a “workers’ compound” for the workers. Here, the workers were, either accommodated in already built houses (or huts) or in barrack-type of housing, or they built their own huts for themselves, wives and children... The compound” was supervised by a Compound Manager – who was trusted by the farmer and was, in many cases, one of the longest to be employed on the farm. Most of these were from Nyasaland who showed an s superior work ethic of the Nyasa. If these were not available, the farmers tended to select Nyasas and northern Mozambicans for farm work in preference to whatever local labour was available... Here the workers either accommodated in “huts” built by the farmer for that purpose. These were either square or round huts with no ventilation to accommodate a single worker or a married person with his wife and children, or built their own houses which consisted of simple huts covered by grass to accommodate one person as families were left behind in some cases, these accommodated married families. On few farms, accommodation was provided by the farmer in form of small tin huts to house married workers, barrack –type blocks with no privacy to house single male workers or married families. Sanitation was very poor –often everybody used the bush. Water was drawn from nearby ponds or streams. Those who were not accommodated, lived in nearby villages**. 29**

On some farms, African labour was given weekly, fortnightly or monthly rations of one or two pounds of mealier-meal processed on the farm or bought from outside. Many a time, this payment was in kind in form of pieces of cloth varying in from two to four arm-lengths, some ounces of salt. To buy food. In most cases, cooked food was given to the workers.tgo allow them to buy food from the neighbouring villages this was poorly prepared and inadequate. Most of the maize was bought from the African producers by the settler farmers who found it expedient to purchase cheap and bulky foodstuffs for their workers rather than grow it themselves. These foodstuffs wren short of in nutrients and therefore induced various deficiency diseases and intestinal illnesses. Gradually, food consumption preferences were influenced by the rations received. Diets were adapted as the workers and their families got used to the rations they consumed. Maize meal was often supplemented by sorghum meal. In some cases, workers were given pieces of cloth or certain amounts of salt to exchange or barter for food these forms of sales provided a market for the surplus maize grown in the villages. The workers also received poor parts of beef (termed boys’ meat), game meat (and fish when they were available), vegetables, cooking oil, salt, bathing and washing soap. In some cases, workers were enticed to work overtime for payments of extra portions of meat, tobacco, locally brewed -beer or to be in company of women. In some cases, these rations were inadequate and left the workers undernourished and diet –deficient. This situation. Compounded by long hours of ardours work, left them with little resistance against diseases such as Tuberculosis, Bilharzias and Malaria. In many cases, the workers were poorly fed. In some cases, the workers were given one or two pieces of cloth of about a metre or two which they used to barter for food. Some workers grew their own food top supplement rations. Many collected wild fruits, vegetables, edible roots and honey, fished in rivers, hunted for mice, gerbil and small game, kept poultry and kept small domestic animals (with the permission of the farmer).**.30**

A large number of settler farmers also became regular hunters of a variety of game to give to their workers as part of the rations. Others also hunted for sport or to remove vermin such as Lions, Leopards and Hyenas which were a cause of worry to ranchers. Others hunted garden raiders such as Buffalo and Wild pigs. Success in hunting lifted the ego of the hunter, enhanced his esteem, and gained him the respect and prestige from the workers. It also demonstrated to all sundry that the farmer was a” brave man “who deserved respect. This in itself attracted many workers who looked forward to receiving portions of game meat as part of their rations. **31**

Many workers were also enticed to work for overtime with offers of amounts of sugar or salt; large portions of game meat or beef; locally brewed beer; pieces of tobacco, dagga; old plates, cups; and discarded clothes. During weekends, beer drinking was not regulated but was encouraged by the farmers, who, in many cases, either invited brewers from the neighbouring villages to their farms or employed the brewers themselves and controlled the supply. Among the labour migrants, beer drinking alleviated personal boredom, home sickness, alienation and suffering particularly in the absence of an alternative...In a way, beer improved the overall health of the workers by providing vitamin nutrients that were deficient in the workers’poor rations and reduced incidences of scurvy. While heavy drinking was socially, economically disruptive and detrimental to labour productivity, its consumption had some positive outcomes for the employers. Provision of beer became a mechanism for stabilising labour through gifts of beer, credits to buy beer and used a magnet of attracting single women from the adjacent villages who also brought items to sale or were looking for a partner for a short period or a husband. In this, beer drinking became an important ancillary industry. It also became the means through which prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases were spread and carried on to the villages. It also increased opportunities for socialisation and meeting or temporary or even permanent partners. On some farms, no rations were given. Instead, workers were given some amounts of salt or pieces of cloth per week to barter for food. And on the others, workers were left to fend for themselves but were given pieces of land to grow their own food similar to sharecroppers in Kenya, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. In a number of cases, the workers paid part of their crops to the farmer as a form of rent.32

Most of the farmers were unable or reluctant to invest in the welfare of their employees. Medical facilities were meagre and basic. Employees who fell ill regularly or were considered to be lazy or troublesome, were easily replaced**.**  In their spare time, farmers were forced to consider other expedients in order to make agricultural; work more attractive. Tenancy agreements were drawn up between farmers and farm workers. In return for labour services at specific times of the year (most frequently, during planting and harvesting times of the main crop Maize), the farmers apportioned plots to their employees. On these plots, the workers built huts for their accommodation and dug their own water ponds. They used the remainder to grow much of their own food requirements –maize, beans, and ground nuts, varieties of vegetables, groundnuts and water melons. The workers also found time to hunt small game, dig for mice, fish in the streams to catch varieties of fish such as barbel or sardines, collect varieties of edible mushrooms, honey and wild fruits, beetles, caterpillars, edible wild leaves and roots when they were in season. And where possible or where they were allowed, they kept poultry and small domestic animals such as goats orb sheep. On special occasions such as Christmas, New Year or a special Christian date, workers were provided with rice and meat (and where [possible, bread), and allowed to consume local brews, smoke tobacco and even cannabis ( *dagga*). On these festive days and weekends, the workers were allowed organise sports and recreation such as dances. **33**

The settlement of settler farmers created the following developments:(I). Employment opportunities. and local spending consumption linkages. Most jobs created on the farms were labourer intensive:: general workers, builders, cattle herders, cooks and maids;(ii)Created .opportunity to gain experience in commercial agriculture;(iii).Stimulated local agriculture through technological transfers through the diffusion of ploughs, ridges and other farm implements; and (iv).Created impact on food security around the farm area or district.. 34,

* **Domestic workers**

In spite of their differences in status, all white missionaries, administrative officers,

settler farmers, traders, big game hunters and prospectors shared the same attitudes and

concerns with regard to the households. The households were, according to Kennedy,

“theheart”, “bastion” and “centre” of their social and cultural standards which recreated

a styleof living similar to South Africa or Europe, where they lived in style and some

comfort.Domestic workers were expected to carry out their tasks according to European

standads of punctuality, hygiene and order—skills that in my experience they acquired at

missio schools, from previous urban employers or as workers on white commercial

farms.any lived on the property and within the compound’s walls that enclosed the main

residence and staff quarters, the latter structure distinct from the main house. Employers

were gnerally hesitant to intrude upon an employee’s private space. Conversely, house

workes knew intimately the ins and outs, likes and dislikes of their employers’ domestic

domain.

These domestic arrangements rehearsed white authority and dominance. They were in

effect roductive of white identity. The presence of domestic help freed fathers, as heads of

househlds and primary breadwinners, to enjoy leisure activities on weekends. Mothers

had time to ferry children between school and other activities, pursue business or

sportin interests and shop. Most preferred to purchase goods locally or at Domestic help

played important role in making this pleasant, sociable lifestyle possible. Usually, there

was on worker in and one outside, but the number depended on the size of the family and the

Presence of young children. Outside staff deferred to those inside,

Writing on the situation in early Southern Rhodesia, Percy F. Hone recorded

that “the [White] population depends almost entirely upon [African] labour for

Domestic purpose and the servants or “house boys” as they are called”. He went on to add

That “there are a quantity of houseboys to be got, but the desired cleanliness is not always

Their greatest virtue and their knowledge of cookery and housework is sometimes crude,

Though not infrequently, natives can be trained into excellent servants”. **35** This was also

True of Northern Rhodesia. The White farmers were referred to as “*Bwana*” - Mister

(which applied to all White men) and the women-whether married or not were

“*Mad*”, but called *Donna (*from Portuguese), or Misses (corrupted to “*misuse*”. European

Women were extremely few. According to Winfried Tapson who gave the example

Obtaining in Fort Jameson, the imbalance between the sexes meant that, few women

escape marriage and with it, social advancement. Here, due to the isolation of the farms,

The differences in capitalization, the number of workers, marital status, loneliness, the

privations of pioneer life and nervous strain among the early and later farmers, there are

Few scholarly insights of how these were carried out on the farms. However from the

Recollections of a few who worked on the farms –Messrs Pudenda and Conga-

The chief burden of this task fell on the farmer’s wife..*.***36**

Most of the settler farmers were recruited from the middle and lower middle classes

Of Great Britain, South Africa and Southern Rhodesia and they brought with them well

Developed traditions of aspiring for middle class status and racial superhot. These

Include the ideal of “the great house –*casa Grande* in Spanish America” with its rigid

Divisions and hierarchies between masters, mistresses and their children and servants who

worked in the House. In Southern Africa, that ideal was so important to the self-image of

the setters that the employment of servants was crucial to the status of the family and was

maintained even in times of labour shortages. .African servants, exclusively male, were

Plentiful in each settler farmer’s household. According to Dorman, “to work in a

European household conferred a certain prestige and was a job general desired and

highly regarded among the Africans”.The presence of servants allowed their employers

to socialize and indulge in such avocations as gardening of flowers and fruits, and

paintin, the idea that settler women were more racist than men emerged from the nature

of theirrelationship with domestic workers. This theme was explored by Doris Lessing in

the novel *Grass is singing* and Ferdinand Oyono in a novel called *Houseboy* 37

The presence of domestic help freed fathers, as heads of households and primary

breadinners, to enjoy leisure activities on weekends. Mothers had time to ferry children

between school and other activities, pursue business or sporting interests and shop. Most

preferrd to purchase goods locally or at large suburban shopping shops.

The domestic workers were, like any other workers who sold their labour for agreed wages which varied from farm to farm, or some other form of payment which was in kind – used orsecond hand clothes, bicycle, ploughs, calves, cows, or cooking utensils. Male staffers were also uniformed, usually in white or beige, while gardeners were outfitted in brightly coloured blue, green or orange overalls and gumboots. Domestic help played an important role in making this pleasant, sociable lifestyle possible. Usually, there was one worker in and one outside, but the number depended on family size and the presence of young children Outside staff deferred to those inside. As farmers developed their farms, they, like administrative officials, prospectors for minerals and traders, all hired domestic servants varying in numbers but who, according to Doorman, included a cook, house boy, the kitchen boy, the garden boy and the milk boy who later became an indispensable part of the farmer’s household*.* Each knew his job and generally kept to his own domain. Doorman goes on to inform us that “Any encroachment led to a rather noisy altercation; any lapse led an equally ticking off from the cook” but. In general. Despite occasional changes of personnel . . . they were a happy lot”. Farmers and their families grew to depend on their workers, understand and like them. In the house, the farmer’s wife was a “director of operations” and whatever the African attitude to women might be, all servants recognised this role. In 1953, The Northern Rhodesia Information Department published a *Handbook on Northern Rhodesia* which informed the European reader on the average number of workers employed by each European household. It went on to state that “The ability, the willingness and great demeanour of African servants vary considerably, but most of them need constant supervision”. It was further added that “an African servant is normally good-natured and well-mannered”. **38** In Southern Rhodesia, Lawrence Vibe was extremely surprised by the dependence of settler families upon domestic labour. He later recalled that “Black servants were a necessity of life to every white person in his home . . . and in every sphere . . . Black servants worked in white bedrooms, kitchens, dining –rooms and gardens. Black nannies nursed, washed, clothed and fed white children and gave them the love and affection which their parents were reluctant to show them”. And Winfried Tapson recorded her “astonishment” at the quick adaptability of the African workers to the ways of the white people –Administrative staff, traders, missionaries and settler farmers. Another white person reported that the Africans employed as domestic workers were in many cases “very gentle and anxious to please “their employers”. **39**

Each white person, single or married employed a number of African workers mostly men as house boys –a term applied to men who worked inside the house irrespective of their age. Among the Africans, this employment was called Bukaboyi *or Buboyi (*corrupted from “boy” in English)*.* The workers were referred to as *Bakaboyi (boys* without reference to age*);* Sing*. Kaboyi or boyi; plural, maboyi. ,* The domestic servants were engaged in various ways with the help of local officials at Administrative centres, missionaries, Christian leaders among the African believers, through trusted workers, village headmen, important clan leaders, and chiefs or through personal effort others were recruited by the farmers themselves based on a number of reasons based on presentation, reputation or experience. Farmers who were not married, because there were too few white women around, bore the burden of supervising their worker themselves. In many cases, they came to depend heavily on a trusted senior worker who supervised the workers and ensured that all tasks were attended to. For those that were married, the burden fell on the wife to manage the households, raise families and supervise their “houseboys”. Each wife of the farmer made a contribution to the success or failure of the enterprise by supportng her husband in looking after his health and comfort, keeping the house and its surroundings neat and clean, providing company and sharing in the upkeep of the farm. To realize all these, each wife relied on a large number of African men servants to carry out the actual work, recruited from the local areas adjacent to the farm or from far away –Fort Jameson, Kasama, Mozambique or Nyasaland. On the farms, the presence of white women was absolutely necessary to run a proper farm household. She also helped to develop household arrangements and patterns of life styles in familiar ways. The quality of life varied from farm to farm depending on education, the amount of money invested, sophistication and social class of the settler household, the types of crops grown, types of machinery used, number and quality of livestock and the number of employees. In spite of their differences, the settler farming households shared the same concerns to recreate a familiar style of living that resembled that of United Kingdom or South Africa. The farms defined the local standards of “European civilization” which were to set examples for the servants and the neighbouring villages. The chief burden of this task fell on the wives, who in turn, relied on male servants to carry out the actual work fell. **40**

By employing vast numbers of domestic workers, who Winfried Tapson commended them for their “quick adaptability to the ways of the White man”, the settler famers indicated their level of “affluence” and freed their wives from domestic chores. **41** The numbers of domestic servants recruited reflected the economic climate of booms and depression in the farming economy of Northern Rhodesia. In Eastern Province, the domestic servants were given a type of uniform of “starch-white aprons called *Kangas*, which hang like a man’s night shirt almost to the ankles and their pudding-basin caps”. In NWR, they wore white or khaki shirts and shorts. On top was khaki, white or black apron. They were supervised by a “*Capitao*” or head houseboy. **42**

According to Hansen, domestic servants were second in terms of the numbers of Africans in employment in the country. The territorial figures of domestic servants almost doubled between 1929 and 1930 from 8, 832 to 122, and 470 to reflect the increase in the number of European employees on the Copperbelt. In 1933, the number of domestic servants stood at 9,335 and between 1933 and 1947, increased from 11,511 to 18,000, and to 20,000 at the end of the Second World War. A substantial number of these domestic servants worked for the settler farmers. In general terms, these workers were described in the negative terms as being “lazy, dirty, inefficient, incompetent, careless and rough”. **43**

Some wives found the supervision of male household workers taxing, cumbersome and irritating, especially where it was compounded by communication problems. Many settlers believed in the stereotyped stories of Africans being “lazy”, “ indolent”, “inefficient” , “immature”, “childish”; and that they pilfered food, beers or whiskey, were insubordinate and irresponsible. They also believed that the workers had a bad smell and spread diseases. Others believed that their workers were like “children in their behaviour” and supervised them closely to ensure that they got the best results out of them. Some farmers’wives were a terror, harsh and brutal to their servants because they believed in engendering fear in their servants who were insulted, assaulted and abused. This kind of attitude earned them bad nicknames characterizing their physical appearances, the way they talked, walked and the words they liked to use often. **44**

Despite these “assumed or perceived” difficulties, workers or servants offered some form of compensation for the hardship of farm life. Their presence allowed the farmers and their families to express their racial superiority in a setting where the African workers were disadvantaged through colour, culture, experience and gender. The presence of the African workers freed the farmers’ wives from heavy labour which was important if the white farmers and their households were to enjoy an elevated standard of life similar to that of the middle class in England. Servants also accorded the white settler farming population a sense of having bettered themselves similar to the middleclass in England, Some were very kind and tried to understand the minds, thinking and attitudes of their workers on a number of issues ranging from climate, cosmology, European and indigenous religions, cultural issues and relations between men and women. Among the wives of the settler farmers, there were fears that African men would disregard to carry out their orders. To avoid this, in many cases, some wives left the supervision of the domestic household workers to the Cook (usually from Nyasaland), or any other worker appointed as a *Capitao*. **45**

Employment of domestic servants gave the farmers and their wives a life in which they were their own masters. It gave time to relax, socialise with their neighbours, visit missionaries, traders and administrative officers, depending on the distance involved and in some cases, run small trading stores such as did Mary Turner, the main character in the novel by Doris Lessing, *The Grass is Singing*. It also allowed them to lead a life of leisure, instructing and supervising the servants who worked inside and outside the house... It also allowed them to indulge in a number of personal interests such as gardening to grow flowers, vegetables, and tropical fruits, trees and shrubs to enhance the aesthetic beauty of the surrounding. It also allowed them to keep goats or sheep, poultry, guinea fowls and ducks. It also allowed the wives time to sew dresses and clothes for the children, themselves and their husbands, and knitting sweaters, reading novels, serious academic studies and newspapers when they were available, painting or , drawing of a variety farm scenes and nature and indulging in lengthy correspondence with relatives in United Kingdom or South Africa. The routine was broken by supervising the preparation of meals, high tea, receiving visiting neighbours or going shopping at nearby shops if they were within a given manageable distances. A number of farmers’ wives ran small trading stores as did the heroine of Doris Lessing’s novel entitled The *Grass is singing* to sell groceries. This pattern established soon after the arrival of the settlers persisted throughout the colonial period. **46**

To run a proper settler household, a settler’s wife needed to be surrounded by a retinue of servants varying in number from five to nine or twelve because the wages were fairly low. Male staffers were also uniformed, usually in white or beige, while gardeners were outfitted in brightly coloured blue, green or orange overalls and gumboots. these domestic arrangements rehearsed white authority and dominance. They were in effect productive of white identity. The presence of domestic help freed fathers, as heads of households and primary breadwinners, to enjoy leisure activities on weekends. Mothers had time to ferry children between school and other activities, pursue business or sporting interests and shop. Wives had the task of turning peasants into workers skilled at the tasks that they were assigned as part of their employment. In some households, the turnover was very high because labour was considered to be inefficient, incompetent and unable to adapt to the work routine and carry out instructions, or were just too” raw” or plain rude. There were those who worked in the house- cooks (corrupted to *Kuki* or *Kuku*) who advanced through the ranks and were considered to be senior employees. At some farms these workers were given white or blue uniforms and aprons to distinguish their ranks. There were also sweepers who swept and cleaned the house and tended the bedrooms; the washers of pots, pans and dishes (locally called *Musukambale*), boys or men who waited at the table as the family ate, keeping the flies away; and those who did laundry and scullery. Domestic workers were expected to carry out their tasks according to European standards of punctuality, hygiene and order—skills that in my experience they acquired at mission schools, from previous urban employers or as workers on white commercial farms. Most lived on the property and within the compound’s walls that enclosed the main residence and staff quarters, the latter structure distinct from the main house. Employers were generally hesitant to intrude upon an employee’s private space. Outside workers who worked on ground surrounding the house were woodcutters, drawers of water and garden boys growing shrubs, a variety of flowers and European vegetables such as cabbages, lettuce, tomatoes, onions and herbs,; and on the grounds outside the house were herders of livestock, attendants who looked after poultry, and sweepers who kept the outside grounds and the surrounding area clean. There were also those who minded the bicycles as the farmer or his wife rode it along the paths to ensure that they did not fall. There were those who maintained the road, washed and cleaned the car/ cars or bicycles. There were those who served as security guards manning the gates to ensure that tools, produce or livestock were not stolen. And there were those who guarded the main house as the settler farmer and his family slept. Conversely, house workers knew intimately the ins and outs, likes and dislikes of their employers’ domestic domain. While their movement and that of goods—phones, irons, umbrellas and buckets—back and forth across the racial divide blurred somewhat the spatial division of living areas, these domestic arrangements rehearsed white authority and dominance. The composition of the number of servants depended on the success of the farmer, the locality of the farm,whether it was close to a village or Native Reserve or not, the amenities which were present and the number of children present in the household. Some of the workers like cooks were accommodated in the “servants’ quarters”. Others came from the nearby villages. The familiers of settler farmers became over- dependent upon African domestic labour, which was largely male but in some cases, included females as well.**47**

* **Female workers**

On some farm households, female workers were engaged through trusted workers, village headmen, important clan leaders, chiefs or through personal effort. Some of the girls were “freely given” to farmers by chiefs, headmen, uncles or parents to cement the social relationships. And in some areas, engagement of female workers was discouraged by parents, family members, District Officials and missionaries. Some missionaries like the Anglicans and Seventh Day Adventists trained African girls in domestic skills. They argued that their aim was not for domestic service in the farmers’ households to improve them for their own homes by making them better wives for their husbands, preferably teachers and evangelists, and better wives for their own children. Female domestic workers, known as maids, wore crisp cotton uniforms with *doek* (headscarf), a new style released each year. While some farmers clamoured for the employment of more female domesticity workers, others did not claiming that women employees were a distraction, far less competent and efficient when compared to the men or boys. Other farmers admitted that they found African women and girls to be hardworking, compliant and easy to control. In the view of Miss. Buck, who though settled in Southern Rhodesia and gave evidence to the Departmental Committee on Native Female Domestic Service in 1932, that “Northern Rhodesian girls were more disciplined than their male counterparts”. **48**

The white rulers of Central Africa had stereotyped assumptions and paranoid fantasies that were endlessly repeated - the uncontrollable sexual drive of the Africans and their limitless sexual indulgencies and activities. . Nineteenth Century theories abounded of the Africans about the fascination they had or imagined of having endless, illicit sex. The suspicion ran higher when they were observing ceremonies of annual prayers for rains, harvests,beginning or end of the mourning period for the dead, birth of a child or celebrating a successful hunt. Consequently, the sexuality of the African, both male and female, was seen as an icon of deviant sexuality. Africans were seen as having lascivious, ”uncontrolled and primitive ape-like sexual desires”. Seen in that light, black bodies came to embody evil and bestiality. In many farms, there were fears of the “black peril” of African workers wanting to sleep with the wives of the settler farmers, regarded as a danger to the white women and girls. There were many cases of this nature in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, but there was very little evidence of this in Northern Rhodesia... For that reason, African sexuality, and in particular male hyper sexuality was seen as a threat to white femininity to the point where it was deemed necessary to regulate it by Ordinances patterned on those from South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. [South Africa regulated sex between whites and non-whites through the Immorality and Indecency Suppression Act 1903, 1927, 1950 and 1957 while Southern Rhodesia did so through the Immorality and Indecency Suppression Act 1903]. At the same time, African women were stereotyped as slaves to the sexual desires of men, allaying any guilt or feelings of a white man might feel for taking advantage of a truly defenceless black woman. To the white man, African women represented all that was carnal - the embodiment of lust and animal sexuality. Colonial encounters and colonialism were always locked into the machine of desire. The sexual conquest of an African woman was an essential component of the colonial project.

Thus from the earliest encounters between Europeans and African women. right up to 1964 and beyond, sexual anxieties, and desires manifested themselves in an endless series of speculations, fears, myths, fantasies and crimes. Accordng to Choongwa, many settlers, married or not, were all too prone to enter into illicit unions with African women not because of the shortage of white women or even from the supposed burdens and expenses of marriage, but because of the sexual attractiveness in the African women they admired or saw. , Thus from the earliest encounters between European farmers and Africans women, sexual anxieties and desires manifested themselves in an “endless series of speculations, projections, fantasies and crimes”.While many of the anxieties whites had about blacks were of a sexual nature, patriarchy and racial power tended to complicate these issues and desires. The sexual conquest along with territorial conquest was an essential component of the colonial project. Some farmers abstained from flirtation with African women either from racial superiority, fastidiousness of taste, hygiene or from moral principles, or from combination of several reasons. . Therefore, the number of farmers who lived for long periods of time amongst the Africans without contracting such relationships was probably very small. Instead, , there were many white farmers who took African women as wives or concubines, not because of a shortage of white women, but from the sexual attractiveness they saw in such women and yet they were least prepared to go public about such relations. Sometimes, these .relationships were initiated by the African women. The exercise of patriarchy, colonial and racial power always worked in their favour. There was every attempt to pretend that such relations did not exist.

Given the desire to attract African women, miscegenation resulted in the birth of mixed children referred to as “coloureds” –those who belonged to neither the white or African race.”: -ultimately proved to be beyond the legitimate reach of legislation which could not deal with the strange magnetism of association. From the onset, white men were attracted into sexual arrangements with African women despite the condemnation by the white ;population and the public refusal to recognize such relations or unions.. They were largely covert although some because overt with the passage of time.

Sexual relations between white settler farmers and African women were common but marriages between them were rare. From a Government point of view, interracial relations were discouraged. The settler society was. In general, scornful of white men who lived with African concubines. Many wives of settler farmers objected to the employment of African women for fear that these women might entice or attract the attention of their husbands. In spite of these negative attitudes and objections, some households took into employment a number of women as nannies- although the children they raised despised them, sweepers and laundry women. In many cases, on a number of farms, there was evidence of discrete or open sexual relationships, cohabitations and miscegenation between settler farmers -especially those who were single but even those who were married-and the African women. This was openly regarded as “the Whiteman’s privilege” which exhibited their sexual virility – that they were sexually functional and active, in short, real men. Which earned them respect among the people they lived? They, therefore, benefitted sexually- because sex was a commodity of exchange, beneficial to the family of the woman, and in many cases, financially rewarding as well. **50**.

John .Edward Stephenson, also known as *Chirupula*, a former official who served in the early BSAC administration in Serenje, Mkushi and Ndola, freely admitted that in those days,

*There were no* [*or very few] European women. But there were lots of women-ladies if you like-of a different complexion: there was no scarcity at all”. Most of Stephenson’s neighbours also “kept African concubine. [Because] it was good for the heart “. Although they kept concubines, his own observation was that no white man apart from himself, “ever became emotionally involved with a native girl, Only as long as [the white society remained strictly masculine, but as soon as the white women appeared . . . they sent the African girls back to their villages, their golden- skinned babies were either farmed out to some sympathetic missionary or left to wander in the wilderness..* ***51***

. Unlike other white settlers like Bloomfield who despised and demeaned African women during the day but freely slept with them at night, Stephenson openly acknowledged their beauty, loyalty and faithfulness and reproached the colonial society for their harsh criticisms of men such as himself and many others in Northern Rhodesia who had open relationships with African women. He also disclosed his “open marriages” to a number of African princesses among the Lala and Swaka. Some administrative officials who cohabitated with African women openly were fired from their jobs.. This was the fate of Patrick MacNamara, Native Commissioner at Gwembe. He was forced to resign when it was revealed that he had been living with an African woman. An affidavit obtained from Chief Chintanda (sic.Chitanda), stating that Clark had produced a letter from Salisbury.'I signed as such', the chief stated, 'knowing that myterritories were under British influence'. In addition to collecting hut tax, 'he took by force one of my wives

••• When Clark sees a girl he fancies, he takes her as his mistress for a few days and when tired of her sends her home'. Therefore 'I resolved to go straight to Mzwiti (H.M. Taberer, Chief Native Commissioner) who was in Salisbury'. 52

In Northern East Rhodesia and North West Rhodesia, marriage between Africans and whites was not sanctioned by law. Some of these unions, though. Conducted under customary law in full view of the public, they were publicly condemned, distrusted and looked down upon by the white communities, but secretly tolerated. Most of the whites who entered into these marriages were Jews, Greeks and “low-class” whites such as poor Boer farmers who doubled being farmers and itinerant traders. There were also a number of administrative officers who cohabited freely or discreetly with African women in consensual or forced relations. Although they increased in numbers, they did not fit the picture of an ideal relationship pertaining to a family in a “civilised” society. And some of these relationships tended to reflect political alliances borne of patriarchy as both sides offered alliance with a woman as the content of a bargain between political positions. The African woman became .a commodity to both parties. Thus while there cases where white men decided to marry according to African custom may not properly qualify to be described as part of the sexual fantasies and desires, but they still demonstrate how white men flirted with African. The white society frowned at whites who fraternized and tended to live ‘cheek and jowl’ with blacks, seeing them as ‘disorderly whites’ who were letting down other whites by associating in a familiar manner with ‘natives’, let alone publicly marrying black. 53

These unions resulted in miscegenation. .Many of those whites who married by African custom, and had many ‘half-caste’ children, never wanted it known that they had African women or coloured children. Every attempt was made to keep them secret as such unions were regarded as undesirable, but it was not possible to keep such unions completely secret. Despite attempts by white settlers and colonialists to “whitewash the history of miscegenation, genuine relationships did constitute the basis of a number of inter-racial unions before the full assertion of settler colonialism”. There were also several white women who were also driven into sexual relations with black men for purposes of satisfying their desire and curiosity despite the fact that such relations were prohibited by law. Such white women were seen by the Rhodesian authorities, particularly the patriarchal white male society, as being driven into such “illicit satisfaction of sexual desire due to the unbalanced curiosity and hysterical wish to experience comparative sexual relationship”. As the theory of inter sectionality demonstrates, these women used their privileged positions and racial power to sexually exploit. 55

Aaron Milner, a former Minister in the Zambian Government, who was himself a “coloured” recalled that children born out of the white and black relationship were regarded as being “illegitimate” and ‘unauthentic” children of white men who had no rights or claims to the inheritance of their fathers’ properties. The stigma of illegitimacy greatly impacted on these children. Some European fathers did look after their children and had them registered buy the Native Commissioners under their surnames. .In many cases, these children were not acknowledged by the father or/and the father’s relative. The prevailing attitude was one of contempt for the coloured children who were called “bastards”. This attitude forced a settler farmer in Fort Jameson called A.W. Edwards-Jordan to complain to the administration of NER suggesting that they be recognised as British citizens. . A few kept or supported their children. But these children remained anonymous without a history or accounts of their social, political and economic experiences of their lives... In a poem entitled “The Man Who couldn’t go home”, Cullen Gouldsbury, the co-author of the all-important ethnological study, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, gave us a glimpse of the life on some settlers on the early farms in the following;

*His wife was a heathen beauty*

*Frican Bought with an ancient gun,*

*Who reckoned, no doubt, she had done her duty,*

*Once she’d borne him a son. . . .*

*He wasn’t a nice example,*

*His morals, I grant were few,*

*But there were many rottener sample* . . . . 56

Life for the settler farmers was physically demanding, lonely and strenuous. Many farmers, including Afrikaner, Greek and Jewish traders who were described as being of “a low type”, took to heavy drinking of whisky and other imported liquors. This was especially the case by those farmers and traders operating in the remote farmland districts or and in some cases, these were close to the urban centres. In areas far from the district centres and close to the Reserves, many farmers’ drunk local brews of opaque beers and Nubian Gin (*Kachasu)* brewed and served by African women who looked after them when they were in a drunken stupor and also became concubines when there was a need. These situations allowed for miscegenation to take place freely with little or no inihibition. This tended to be less frequent with the arrival of European women in significant numbers, **58**

Tapson informs us that in the early days, the BSAC demanded celibacy among white farmers so as not bring their standing and reputation among the African communities into disrepute. Some, based on their beliefs, standing and disposition observed it. Many others did not. This included a good number of farmers, traders and even Company officials who directed their energies towards entangling African women into some form of short (discreet) or long term (open) relationships. Miscegenation was a frequent occurrence in the relations between white farmers and African women. Some of these praised African women. Chirupula Stephenson noted that many of them were the “plumpest and most luscious black morsel[s]” were given to white farmers by headmen, clan leaders, uncles and fathers. For some, it was a one night fling, or a semblance of a relationship, even marriage out of which sprung “half –caste” children.

Some white farmers left records of their pursuits which have survived them and have become part of oral traditions. For example, Harrison Clark, a prospector, miner, hunter and farmer, popularly known among Africans as *Changa*, and had at least eight or nine wives in the Feira area and left thirty-six (36) coloured or half-caste children. Informed a BSAC officials in Salisbury that whenever he saw “a girl he [fancied or liked], her [took] her as his mistress for a few days, and when he was tired of her, he [sent] her home”. At one time, he took a chief’s wife, a case he would have paid for a heavy fine. Another, Bloomfield,a big game hunter and colourful figure and notorious for his sexual\l exploits with African women in the early period of the BSAC company rule in NER, widely known as *Kacholola* among the Africans, married up to eight or nine wives in Feira (now Luangwa) District and fathered up to thirty-six children!. Other Government officials H.S. Thorncroft and E.H. Lane Poole, big game hunters, traders, construction workers on the railway line from Livingstone to Elisabethville and farmers did not live alone. They lived with African women as companions. Being white, African women were easy to get because there was fear of retribution and punishment for the individual and her family; and they were also easy to discard and get another one... That African women were fine looking, had charm, were considered to be very good in bed, caring and were very loyal was openly acknowledged by white farmers... Some lived in open relationships which were known by everybody. Among these was MacNamara, NC for Gwembe “who lived openly with an African woman”. He was forced to resign when this relationship was reported to the Colonial Office. Some of the women were freely given to the farmers by their fathers, clan leaders or chiefs to cement and strengthen the relationships between them , secure favours and earn high status in their societies/ Some were given to Whiteman by African chiefs or families in order to get concessions from chiefs and important leaders. Some Europeans like Edmund Sharpe the first son of Alfred Sharpe, who worked in the administration of North East Rhodesia, married Veronica Chulu, a daughter of Chief Jumbe in an open marriages sanctioned by the chief. They had five sons who fathered offspring’s who settled in Northern Rhodesia and beyond. Another was Chirupula Stephenson who married royalty among the Lala, had steady relations with wives or concubines; others changed their partners frequently numbering between six and a dozen or more who scattered throughout Northern Rhodesia. One of these was the famous Dr. Alan Kinghorn, an expert on tsetse flies who carried out very valuable research in the Luangwa Valley from 1907 to 1915or 1916, married a Namwanga woman with whom he had several children. After many years of working in the Luangwa Valley, Kinghorn found employment in Livingstone but did not inform his African wife. He dumped his wife and four children at a farm in Isoka. In Livingstone, he married a European woman with whom he had a daughter. Many lonely District Commissioners such as Morton in Chienge indulged in long term sexual relations and acted openly and freely, resulting in the births of coloured children who were, in most cases, disowned by their fathers and were raised by their African mothers and their families. A few of these were adopted, cared for and supported by missionaries such as Mabel Shaw at Mbereshi Mission... . **59**

White farmers could, at little or no cost, indulged in sexual relations with African women. It would appear that most sexual relations or affairs between the settlers and black women were just as exploitative as were other aspects on the farm. Mutual relations were rare if not impossible, these relations were conducted in the interest and service of the settler farmer. Occasionally intimidation and force were regularly used to obtain sexual favours. It is not possible to give an accurate estimate of the extent of these relations between settler farmers and African women, due to lack of information, statistics, the rural distribution of the farms and ranches and the desire by the workers to keep secrets sand their jobs and avoid involving themselves in the affairs of the their employers. However, it is important to note that such relations often produced “miscegenation” –birth of racially-mixed children referred to as “coloureds”...L.H. Gann recorded that “miscegenation” –the cohabiting between white men and African women “certainly occurred.[freely but] its full extent [was] difficult to gauge”. He goes on to state that “documentary and verbal evidence “makes it seem likely that the intermingling occurred more often “ and that “enumerations failed to keep count of a number of coloured children living with their mothers in villages” received cultural training in the mothers ethnic group”. Coloured children came into existence due to a moral failure rather than economic circumstances.  **60** Although there was official censure, .sexual relations between white farmers and African women were common. In some cases, these were encouraged by parents, uncles, headmen and chiefs because of the perceived benefits. . It also occurred with a certain amount of frequency on the farms judging from the numbers of “Coloured” children found in these places. Many farmers were secretive relationships. Others were open and known to the farming communities **61**

Karen Hansen brings out the case of Charles Venables, an administrative official in East Luangwa, who admitted to having engaged in many sexual relations with African women. In a letter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he admitted that concubinage was common and accused many white people-administrative officials, traders and farmers of engaging in “as practice of cohabiting indiscrimately with native women. There scattered through these territories half caste children and families of half-caste children the off-springs of [white men]”. He was fired from service by the BSAC and he relocated to a farm where his constant companions were African women**! 62**

L.P. Beaufort, the Judge of East Luangwa who also served as Acting Administrator defended these relationships between African women and whites in general. In a letter to the High Commissioner in South Africa, he opined as follows:

*Concubinage of a European with a single native woman, maintained with constancy and decently veiled, stands on a footing so different (from promiscuity, libertine and general incontinence) that it would be of a very*

*doubtful justice or expediency to condemn it before it had given rise to a scandal or trouble . . . Such concubinage is often defended on many grounds, e.g. Health, b. the acquirement of a native language, c. ideas and mode of thought, d and the warning of projected crimes and risings. It has been e. material comfort and advantage to many lonely European. It is not the least degrading to the women of neither this country nor the least likely in it to give rise to native trouble, if it does not enhance the [Whiteman’s] status in the native eye. It at least saves him from contempt of many among them and from suspicion of the worst moral state they are apt to impute to a man living by himself. 63*

In short. The Judge, supported by Cartmel-Robinson was arguing that by flirting with African women, the single white males were proving to everybody that they were virile (and therefore “normal” individuals rather that those who were impotent). Virility was a sign of manhood and earned respect of men and women. Avoidance of contact with women created a lot of rumours and in some instances, led to lack of respect and low status. So long as the relationship did not extend beyond the physical level, it entailed no more than a social embarrassment to the individual. For farmers scattered in rural farms and ranches who were mostly lonely, these relations did not have emotional attachment and were regarded as a source of “relief” for the sexually –starved males.in the absence of white women. This conduct was accepted and took place frequently and repeatedly with many African women who saw in these relationships a sign of beauty, superiority and high social status...**64**

The issue of miscegenation received close attention from the Administration. Members of the Legislative Council were also involved. In a debate on the issue, they observed that “These children lived with their mothers and were brought up with the “manner of the Africans” and recognised it as the “unfortunate practices leading to the production of half-castes . . . in the early [and later] days”. Many of these “half-caste children” were seen on the farms, totally ignored by their fathers who were not keen to accept them as their children in order to save and maintain their racial status. The social pressures that helped to keep miscegenation in check represented a network of sanctions that restrained the aberrant behaviour and conduct by the settler farmers. These sanctions were generally enforced wives of other farmers, friends, neighbours, administrative officers and missionaries. To these included gentle advice, threats of by the law, ostracization and general condemnation... In some cases, white women exhibited open hostility to African women.**65**

In most cases, male servants were the only part of African labour that was allowed to enter the household and were dressed in uniforms of Khaki or white trousers, shirts and aprons, and wore no shoes in the house. They were not allowed to sit on the sofas or other furniture, or use any facilities in the house. Some areas were off limits to workers such as liquor cabinets, to prevent pilfering or unauthorized consumption of liquor and beer which were proscribed by the law, gun cabinets, and bathrooms to prevent “peeping” on the farmers’ wives as they bathed or showered. In engaging farm labour, many settler farmers preferred non-local men... On a number of farms, smoking of cigarettes or any form of tobacco or dagga, by workers- especially those working in the house, was not allowed. Among the farm workers, these servants, generally, appeared to be favoured in that they were better fed on the left-overs of the family meals, and better clothed because they got the castoffs from the employers’ households. **66**

A large number of the male Africans employed as domestic servants working indoors came from Nyasaland (now Malawi) and a few from Portuguese East Africa, referred to as “the Chinde [Mozambican] boys”, and were favoured over the local ethnic groups who were generally as “bad workers” because they were regarded as being better suited for such work. These workers had a fine reputation as diligent and good workers, and very loyal, obedient, humble, reliable and “honest” and not prone to pilfering, stealing or desertion as was the cases with locals. These workers were, also, in high demand in other employments such as construction. If they were not from Nyasaland, then they came from East Luangwa (now Eastern Province), bordering Nyasaland. Or in some cases, Bemba speakers who did not show their truant streak. **67**

Marshall Hole, an employee of the BSAC in Southern Rhodesia from 1898 to 1923, made a description of the kind of African employee that most settler farmers yearned and looked for:

*The acquisition of an experienced house-boy not only meant an immense increase in one’s comfort, but also carried indirect advantages of social character. When people took to giving dinner parties I am sure that I frequently owed hospitality –not to any endearing qualities of my own, but to the fact that I was the happy possessor of a “butler” whose manners were the envy of my friends. Many a time a letter inviting me to a dinner party has contained a postscript such as this:”Would you be so kind to bring Alfred with you to help our boys”- a request that I cheerfully complied with as it meant that I, at all events, would be well looked after. 68*

Lawrence Vambe gives us a graphic description on the situation as it obtained in Southern Rhodesia. He noted that “black servants were a necessity of life to every [settler household] . . . Black servants worked in the bedrooms, kitchens, dining -rooms and gardens. Black nannies, nursed, washed, clothed, sewed clothes for the children, fed white children and also gave them the love and affection their parents were reluctant to show them”. Bradley informs us that many cooks were very versatile. They cooked and served all the savoury meals with little or no supervision.**69** Bradley’s cook, for example, was able to serve” five course dinners without any instructions and can make Devil’s food cake”. In addition, they prepared and served English breakfast which included bacon, eggs and sausages li8ke any English home. They also served the afternoon tea with home- made biscuits or scones. Some cooks turned out to be best chefs able to prepare the best meals under difficult circumstances. Some farmers have been honest in praising the skills of their cooks and their cooking varieties of meals: breakfast, lunch, dinner and also prepared parties. They were able to turn out good dishes of game meat, fish, eggs, mushrooms in season, pickles, chutney from local fruits and a variety of vegetables grown on the farm –carrots, lettuce, spinach, cabbage, water melons, cucumbers and green beans.. **70**

The workers also did the laundry of clothes and beddings, spread the beds, cleaned the bedrooms, swept the houses and prepared hot water for the family members to bath and clean the tubs. Because servants ministered to the daily needs and comforts of their employers, they came into regular contacts with them than the other workers. As such, they became a source of valuable information to the farmers on their employees, and on the farmers and their families for the other workers on the conduct of their employers, manners, behaviour and conduct, customs of dress, relationship between husband and wife and their children. They were the first to know if there was an infidelity, wife battery, deteriorating relations, disputes and impending divorces. Nevertheless, in the eyes of the employers, servants, as Hansen puts it, “remained . . . part of the inventory and distant companions”. They served at parties, watched their employers dancing ballroom and other kinds of dances and noted the patterns and styles of movements they copied. .In their private time, especially during weekends, they practised and mastered these dances and became very good dancers. They danced to impress their wives and friends. Some domestic servants who showed keenness and intuition were taught ballroom steps and other dances by the farmer. They were, however, not allowed to touch the farmers’ wives. Many later participated in and won ballroom competitions held between themselves in a given locality. Whatever the servants did as individuals was of little consequence to their employers as long as it did not interfere with the execution of their work. **71**

At some farms, settler farmers employed small children as workers mainly to collect water for watering the fruit trees, vegetable gardens and flowers. Some also collected firewood to heat the water for bathing or for cooking. They also played with the farmers’ children where these were available. There were also African maids, younger girls or adult women, to look after the children, do laundry –especially washing and other chores which were difficult. Within the African population, there was strong opposition to the employment of African women and girls in domestic service. They were needed to help in domestic chores, agriculture and preparation of food and were, in general, married off as an early age of fifteen or slightly older and raise families of their own. Furthermore, domestic service was the mostly poorly paid, intensely supervised with long hours. If African women needed cash, they usually chose to work independently, brewing and selling sweet unfermented beer ( *Thobwa, Munkoyo* or *Chibwantu*), or fermented beer (*Mooba, Bwalwa, Bukoko*), producing Nubian gin (*Kachasu*) or hawking maize, eggs, poultry, or vegetables, activities that accommodated their child -care and house-keeping responsibilities which were much more lucrative than the excruciating domestic work. **72**. In some cases, those settler farmers who had their farms within easy reach of the reserves found it easy to employ women by day or piece work to ease the situation when labour was scarce.**73**

Entering the work force, women and children were in most cases paid in kind in

Form of mealie-meal, maize grains or pieces of beef, game or goat meat or pork per

Day or week; old and discarded clothes, or amounts of salt, bathing and washing soap. In

Very rare cases they were paid in money based on extremely low rates. **74** As Lawrence

Vambe recalled for Southern Rhodesia, the women and children worked in the “boiling

Sun . . . . to get rid of quantities of weeds, which grew in profusion between the maize

Plants”. They had no breaks to rest and if they did and were noticed by the farmer, that

Would mean less maize-meal given at the end of the day or they would be whipped. Or fired

on the spot.**75**

Because of the difficulty of handling African names, many workers were given derisive and derogatory nicknames that made it easier for the farmers to call them. It was a common practice to name each African domestic workers with a novel name. Among male African labour, these were “Tickie”,”Bottle” “Sixpence”, “Shilling”, “Football”, “Whisky”, “Gin”, “Orange”, “Cabbage”, “Spoon”, “Fork”, “Johnny”, “Biscuit”, “Tall Boy”, “Short boy”, “Fat Boy”, Motor Car”or any other name liked by the employer to replaced their indigenous names and indicate their inferior status. As the local Africans did not understand what some of the names meant, some of these names were accepted by the workers and rendered in the local languages as “*Tik”.”Botolo”, “Skispence or Susu,” “Shilini*.” ”*Futubolo”*, “*Wiski*”, “*Jin*” “*Oringi or “Olingi”*”, ”*Kabichi*”, *“Supuni*”, “*Foloko*”, “*Choni* or *Joni*”, “*Bishket”, “Toloboi”, ” Shotiboi” “Fatiboi”, or “Motoka* . Others were given regular English names such as “Harry”, “Henry” “James”, “Peter”, “Joseph” or some biblical name and so on. Maids were similarly given names that were easy for the white settlers: “Mary”, “Jane” “Judith” and so on. In some cases,these names were a novelty. They were .accepted, liked and welcomed by some.. Others were resented and .regarded as offensive and demeaning. The settler employers and their wives did not bother to know the names of their employers and pronounce then correctly. Anyway, some of the workers accepted Christianity and had European Christian names as a sign of being “saved”. In a similar manner, in many cases, Africans did not know the meaning of European names. Some were difficult to pronounce. Some names were localised. Where this was not possible, usually, they concocted vernacular nicknames based on the character of the individual, his physical appearance, type of a walk, the depth of the voice, and the way they spoke –smattering, rapid or slow, r facial expressions, body –build whether they were thin, fat, medium-built or fat, the way walked, ability to use a whip, ability to interact or not to, with African workers, or the manner of his dress. Similarly wives were given nicknames based on the same observations. Some of these stuck and employers came to know them. Some liked them like Gore-Browned popularly known as *Chipembele* –the rhino-because of his temper. Some of the names changed from time to time depending on a variety of circumstances. **78** .. In this atmosphere, the farmers produced varieties of crops, produced cattle, beef, milk and hides. Some farmers prospered. Others struggled. And others gave up.

iii. **African Cooks**

Domestic workers who worked as cooks and cleaners were, collectively, regarded as “the black aristocracy” on the farm, a class above the ordinary farm labourers who did not do menial work Their rate of pay and conditions of work meant that they were a privileged group earning more than the other workers,. Some of these were relatively older and had given longer service to the farmer and his family or were recruited on recommendation of another farmer or missionary and put on a longer contract. Apart from cooking and baking, their duties included waiting at the table- standing at attention as the meal was eaten. Work started quite early at around 5.00 to prepare breakfast, morning tea, lunch, afternoon tea, supper, and each time wash the dishes, and bake until 22.00 on a normal day. When the family was entertaining, the schedule went on to midnight or well after. For this reason, a large number of cooks and other house boys, were accommodated in small houses behind or a short distance from the main house The only time off was either Saturday or Sunday afternoon or any day given for religious or other reasons.. Few of these workers were allowed to live with their families in these little houses. In many cases; these workers lived in a compound reserved for the workers

On some farms, there was a preference for those that had converted to Christianity. On other farms, religion was not a factor. Some farmers looked for or preferred workers with experience of having worked for some European household in other parts of the country or outside in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa or the Belgian Congo so that the period of training would be shorter or unnecessary. The cooks were privy to the intimate details about the settler households in which they worked. This knowledge helped them to shape opinions on the settlers and their families and to be sources of information on their employers. Gore –Browne recorded that “we have wives to eat at the table with us and make the natives wait upon us, we let them bring tea in bed”. 79 Many of the cooks were praised for their loyalty, hard work and culinary skills and introducing some African foods to their employers such sweet potatoes, cassava-roasted, cooked or raw, varieties of beans and some wild fruits. Winifred Watson heighted the praise she showered on her cook with the following words: On dinner party days, . . .the cook boy would verify the menu, borrow crockery and cutlery from the neighbours, dress the dinner table in the finest silver, giving the blessing to it with [ flowers**]”.** And Tap son praised her cook named Mali who was “something rather precious”. **80**

Reverend Butt who visited Newalla around 1907, praised his cook who, even on a journey, was able to bake and produce bread, prepare a good breakfast which included porridge, a good dinner which included soup, vegetables, meat and sometimes fruit. At times he could produce sumptuous meals of sweet potatoes, Chicken, birds, eggs and venison hunted for the pot. 81 Kenneth Bradley recorded his praise for his cook named Nathan, a Bemba. He was proud and reserved and “like any African was quite unscrupulous on his own and on my behalf”. He was described as a very good cook who could “turn out a five course dinner without instruction; and [could] make devil’s food cake”. 82, And Winfried Tapson recorded with glee, the skills of her cook who used to serve five courses at a dinner party. **83**

White women often complained that their servants were “lazy and inefficient, that they pilfered food, stole clothes, liqour and beer, and that they were rude , obdurate and insubordinate. They also complained that the servants spread diseases. Despite such complaints and grievances, servants offered some compensation for the hardships of colonial life. Their presence freed the farmer’s wife from engaging hard labour, which was important if the settler families were to enjoy a high standard of living. Servants also afforded settler families a sense of having bettered themselves, allowed them to express their superiority in a setting in which African males and females where this was the case, were disadvantaged because of their race. Male houseboys performed work which was supposed to be performed by women. Domestic servants used a wide range of strategies to protect themselves against their employer4s. Resistance took the form of malingering, feinting illness, desertion, theft, sabotage, hurling of insults, showing of a threatening behaviour, or beating up the settler’s wife which was very uncommon**84**

Domestic servants were expected to possess a wide range of skills and a good knowledge of domestic work. Their tasks included cooking, child care, cleaning the house, washing of clothes, gardening and waiting on the table. The work load was heavy. It began at around 5.30 or 6.00 AM and went on until 21.00 or later with a short or no break. The only time servants were given half a day off would be either Saturday or Sunday. They were punished for being late, burning of food, clothes when ironing, failing to set the table correctly or when they showed some form of rudeness. The average wages varied from employer to employer depending on the length of service, loyalty and reliability. Blake found that in Choma the average wages varied between £4 and £6 a month in addition to food rations. And uniforms of Khaki or white drill.. Domestic service also gave domestic workers to extra food – the left-over’s which they carried home to their families. They were also the first to have access to the discards of European clothes –shirts, dresses, skirts, trousers, jackets and even worn out suits which they also distributed among relatives and friends. Size did not matter. These clothes gave them some respectability among the other workers and in their own societies..**85**

Each settler farmer did little or no manual work but spent their time supervising their the labour of his African workers consisting of a number of African domestic workers -nannies, maids, houseboys, garden boys and cooks who did all the domestic chores and labourers. Many of these labourers worked in the farms to cultivate plant crops, weed and harvest the crops. When they had time to spare, they took their rifles and/or t guns and went hunting game to feed their workers or to make biltong – dried game meat..**86**

African and European circles were identical in that both needed labour at the same time during cultivation, planting, weeding and reaping (or harvesting) seasons. European farmers were often not willing or able to obtain sufficient labour during the times of peak demand. Although some farmers complained of labour shortages, there were periods of labour scarcity and others of relative abundance in labour. Extensive shortages occurred after the First World War when farmers who had gone to fight returned from the war and the influx of new settlers created additional demand. **87** This shortage on the farms occurred because of the exodus of African labour to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in excess of 1,000. Africans preferred to go south because they earned three times as much as was offered in Northern Rhodesia which varied between 10 to 25 Shillings; 25 to 30 shillings per month for workers who had served for more than three years. As usual, the farmers claimed the first priority in exploiting Native labour. **88**

Thee settler farmers who came to NER or NWR in search of land expected to make quick returns of their venture. However, if they were to succeed in any way, depended on an abundant supply of cheap labour. Without cheap labour. European enterprise was bound to fail. The supply of labour varied from one farm to the next. This depended on a number of factors: the push and pull factors exhibited in the pressure to work and earn money to pay tax and meet other obligations; treatment during work, the number of hours worked per day and the demand of the tasks given, the farmer’s attitude towards the workers, the amount of rations given, the wages paid, security on the farm, presence of relatives already employed and closeness to the village, and more importantly, the intelligence assessment of the farmer and his wife by the African workers. **89** A large number of African men elected to look for employment in Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and German East Africa where the conditions of work and pay were considered to be better. Those went for local farm work was generally the “less progressive and less robust types”, in other words, not a first choice. Competition for African labour increased their bargaining power, choice of the employer based on his reputation, working conditions – size of rations and whether it included a lot of meat, beer and other incentives, treatment of the workers and relationship with the African workers. Good employers did not have any problems in obtaining labour. Those who were not, were shunned by local labour. Most of their labour came from Barotseland and Nyasaland. 90

**iv. Communication on the farms**

Language, how it transforms and functions is a basic building block in the study and understanding of the relations that developed between a settler farmer and his workers. Probably, the most remarkable problem encountered by the settler farmer and his workers was to find an acceptable medium of communication between them. This was noted by Kennedy in his study of settler farmers in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia and wrote that **“**Perhaps the most remarkable manifestation of the barrier that European [settler] community constructed between itself and the African population was language”. It was difficult for the two races to carry out a meaningful conversation. **91** Naturally, communication was a difficult, cumbersome and haphazard affair. Language expertise in African local languages among whites was very limited. The task of having to handle men whose languages the settler farmers or ranchers did not understand was very taxing and formidable. Neither the settler nor the African possessed familiarity with the language of the other.Sign language was widely used. On the African side, were workers who spoke Chibemba, Nyanja, Tonga, ILA, Lozi, Soli, Tumbuka and a few other languages? None or very few could speak English which was not encouraged because the settlers regarded it as a sign of disrespect for the Africans to speak to the farmers in English. In any case, there were few schools or facilities for them to learn English. In some cases, some settlers like Afrikaners did not understand English. And on the settlers’ side, the problem was compounded by the great variety of languages the settler farmers encountered. On the African side, he found out that the settlers spoke different languages: English, Afrikaans, Jewish (Yiddish) \_, or Greek. The opportunities for misunderstanding each other were many. Initially gestures and signs were used. This did not help due to the many interpretations that could be given to each sign. **92**   Clearly, there was an urgent need for some common medium of communication. Mowbray informs us that “the language question was “an interesting one”. **93** Given the importance and the indispensable role of African labour on the farm, it was important that a defined and acceptable form of communication be adopted which would be “acceptable” to all. Winifred Tapson informs us that in the Fort Jameson and Petauke Districts, communication between the farmer and his employees was *Chi Nyanja* –a variant of *Chi Chewa* spoken in Nyasaland and as bit of broken and smattering English. **94**

On the Batoka Plateau and the line of rail, the use of Nyanja was not considered as it was not spoken by the locals. The use local languages such as Tonga were not favoured by the settlers. In some cases, some farmers picked a smattering of a local language or languages to be able to give instructions, carry out simple conversations or crack a joke! Some farmers followed the example of the local missionaries who carried little pocket books with them in which they wrote down any word that was new and its meaning, anything that appeared idiomatic or new phrase or phraseology. Once learned, the framers or their wives tried it on the workers. In this way, some settlers and missionaries were able to pick some or sufficient vocabulary to enable them to follow conversations among their workers without showing that they had some proficiency lest they would give away their advantage eavesdropping on their workers. .**95**

The medium which was not standardise. English-speaking farmers spoke among themselves. The Afrikaaner farmers spoke Afrikaans among themselves while the African employees spoke various languages. Gradually farmers and their employees on the Batoka Plateau accepted “Kitchen kaffir”, also called *Fanakalo, Chilapalapa or Chikabanga.*.This was a “polyglot” or *patois* and pidgin language of South African origin which included a version of African languages, Afrikaans and some English words which was used as *a lingua franca* for communication between employers and employees and among employees from different language groups.. It functioned without the benefit of standard grammar, laden with a narrow range of words and was not laden with niceties. The African and European settlers did not possess a natural facility for the idiom nor was any sort of formal instruction available to the two races. Both had to learn to speak and understand “Kitchen Kaffir”, the use *Chikabanga* from friends or picked it as they worked.**96** In the use of “Kitchen Kaffir”, Maugham observed that “whatever of sorrow or tribulation your people (the settler farmers) may suffer as a result of having adopted it [kitchen kaffir] , they have certainly succeeded in elaborating in this part of Africa a classic upon which might be written, and papers reads, and which will doubtless stand out, in the centuries to be the most amazing flight of bastard vernacular the world has ever seen”. And Richard Hall later observed that along the line of rail, “the majority of white . . . farmers considered that they were in a province of South Africa and acted accordingly.. . in their contacts with the local Africans employed, a master servant patois of South African origin whose slang title is “Kitchen Kaffir” was used , **97** Throughout the Nineteenth Century, in South Africa*,* a language developed through the collection of words from the African languages, chiefly Zulu, spoken in Zululand and Natal, which were mixed with Afrikaans (a variant of Dutch spoken by the first settlers at the Cape and later moved inland) and a few English words to form a basis of communication later known as Kitchen –Kaffir *or Fanagalo.*The name "*Fanagalo*" comes from strung-together Nguni forms *fana-ga-lo* meaning "like that" and has the meaning "do it like this", reflecting its use as a language of instruction*.* This language had no grammar whatever but developed into as *lingua franca* which served as the means of communication between Europeans especially Afrikaaners and Africans. It was a language of instruction from the master the boss or madam to the servant calked boy or girl called mufazi to do this or that rather than hold a conservation between the two.It was readily learned because of its brevity and since Europeans did not learn to speak or had no interest in African dialects, and Africans did not learn English, it served both group sufficiently and mutually..

Overtime, this language expanded to various parts of South Africa and blended in some words from Sesotho, Xhosa, English and Afrikaans. It then spread northwards into Central Africa with the colonisation of Southern Rhodesia which attracted a large number of Afrikaners who settled as farmers in various parts of the country. It was also facilitated by the advance and construction of the railway line in which vast numbers of Afrikaaners were employee. Fanagalo was used extensively in gold and diamond mines because the South African mining industry employed workers on fixed contracts from across southern and central Africa. In Southern Rhodesia, F*anakalo* was blended with words from Si-Ndebele and Shona and used extensively on the newly opened mines and newly established farms and plantation. It came to be accepted gradually and over a period of time as a *lingua franca* by both Africans and white settlers. Percy F. Hone wrote very good observations on the use of this language in Southern Rhodesia as follows:

*The language talked to the [Africans] by almost the whole of the white population is a mixture of English and Kaffir with Dutch words thrown in here and there. Naturally, on either side much is often said that is not understood, the language being a mere jumble of words strung together in whatever form best suits the artistic mind of the talker and without any consideration for tense, mood, construction or grammar of any sort.*

*Owing to the numerous races which come to Southern Rhodesia from*

*all parts of Central and Eastern Africa, it is impossible to adopt one form of native language entirely while English is not made the medium of conversation because a number of white people, particularly those engaged in work outside towns consider it a sign of disrespect for the [Africans] to speak to them in English and many [Africans] in consequence, though they may be able to talk their master’s language fluently, only address them in the mongrel dialect. It is therefore likely that this method of communication between whites and black races will continue for some time to come. [African] from whatever part of Africa . . ,. are drawn very quickly to learn Kitchen Kaffir and this becomes the most useful means of communication between tribes when they congregate together as they are in mine compounds.* ***98***

From Southern Rhodesia, Kitchen Kaffir was brought to North West Rhodesia where mines were established in the Kafue Hook, Bwana Mkubwa and Kansanshi. These were followed by the construction of the railway line from Livingstone to Broken Hill which employed a lot of Afrikaaners as construction workers, transporters and labour recruiters. On the completion of the construction of the railway line, many of the Afrikaaners settled on farms close to the railway line. This was later followed by an influx of Afrikaaner looking for cheap land. Most of these settled in Lusaka, Chisamba and Broken Hill. The new settlers employed a lot of African workers. In the process of communicating with their workers, *Chikabanga* or *Chilapalapa* was used. It was largely drawn from *Isi-Zulu* gradually which was blended with words from English, Chi- Nyanja and Chi-Bemba. It was largely spoken by locally recruited migrant workers from various parts of Northern Rhodesia and returned migrants who had been to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. From NWR, it was extended to the developing copper mines in Katanga where it was used by Afrikaners employed on the mines or by contractors.**99** It consisted mainly of commands and obey expressions. According to Karen T. Hansen, this hybrid referred to as *Fanagalo,* “provided a language of subordination [of the Africans by Europeans]**”.100**

The vocabulary of *Fanagalo* or *Chikabanga* was quite limited and its syntax undeveloped. It was primarily a collection of declarative statements and responses suitable for the master-servant relationship characterised by command and obedience. It was also filled with derogatory and vulgar words which were picked by the African workers and used against their own children or those who annoyed them in their communities. Its use created difficulties in communication for both the farmer and his employees. In some cases, there were employees who had been employed for some time in Southern Rhodesia or South Africa who were conversant with the language who. Acted as interpreters These were not many. In some cases, as a result rendering long service and developing some closeness to their employers, some workers with aptitude picked some words in English or Afrikaans or learned as much as they could to attain a low or medium level of proficiency and be able to communicate with some degree of difficulty or efficiency. These were very. very few.**101**

The inadequacies of *Fanagalo,* however, contributed to an era of fluid identity, ethnic de-emphasis or termed as “detribalization” by later Anthropologists and colonial administrators. Unrelated to the local languages, the *lingua franca* was not understood by the Northern Rhodesians - except those who had worked in Southern Rhodesia or South Africa. Devoid of local cultural markers and easily mastered, *Fanagalo* opened the door to farm and mining employment to all eligible Africans. Europeans and Africans got along “with a few hundred words or so of “*Kitchen Kaffir*”. There was, however, a great advantage in knowing and speaking well this “hybrid” language. The use of *Fanagalo,* in many cases, led to a “deterioration of relations between black and white”. **102**

Many African workers were flogged for failing to understand an order or instructions in *Fanagalo*. Some Europeans, especially when drunk, were abusive and fond of shouting abusive words such as “get out” or “*Futsak*“ . Tracy has informed us that, at many a time, troubles often arose from misunderstanding what was said on either side. An order or instruction given in “kitchen Kaffir” was often too ambiguous to the African worker or the settler farmer**. 13/103**This is confirmed by R.R. Sharp, a European employee of the *UnionMiniere du Haut Katang*a in Katanga, who recalled in 1956, that in the early 1900s,the use of Fanagalo or *Fanakalo* reached Katanga where the copper mines were being developed. It became a source of a lot of misunderstandings between the white supervisors, some Afrikaaners, and the unskilled African workers. He gives the following example which the African workers experienced on the mines in Katanga which was also common on the farms:

Native : “This *Bwana* hit me”.

Sharp :“Why did he hit you?”

Native :“I don’t know. I didn’t understand what he said”.

Sharp to the white :“Why did you hit him?”

Whiteman :“Because I told him to bring the hammer and he refused”.

Sharp :“What did you say to him?”

Whiteman :“I told him in his language”.

Sharp :“But in what words?”.

Whiteman :“I said, “*Bwisa lo bloody hammer*”(Bring the bloody hammer)”..

. This example shows how ignorant some whites were. F*anagalo* was not spoken by any Northern Rhodesian groups, or in this case Southern Congolese, and therefore, could not be termed a local language. Sharp went on to observe that as far as Afrikaaners were concerned , “it was a waste of breath to try and make some of those men understand that it was too much to expect [Northern Rhodesian workers] to grasp and order in a language spoken 1,000 miles away to the South”. The use of *Fanagalo* led to a “deterioration of relations between black and white”.104

Many African workers working in the European households in the urban areas and on the farms, mines and farms were flogged for failing to understand an order in *Fanagalo.***105** One big –game hunter James Durbar –Brunton who hunted in various parts on NER between 1909 and 1912, advised that “Natives should not be knocked about if they do not always understand what you want”. This advice was, in most cases, ignored. **106 .** Fanakalo continued to be used on the farms well after 1964. The departure of many farmers reduced its usage and gradual replacement by English and Chitonga, and other languages.107.

**Conclusions**

Working on the farms was just like a\née other work in the mines, industries, at administrative stations, trading posts or mission centres. The push or pull factor was to find money to pay taxes and fines, buy European merchandise, and clothes, save money to marry, buy cows, ploughs, build better houses or send children to school. the reasons for engaging in farm labour varied from one person to other.. .Some wanted to work nearer home to be able to attend to family problems. Others were influenced other personal reasons such as the relationship between the worker and the farmer, belonging to the same denomination, or the desire to raise funds to clear a persistent or urgent problem. For some others, this was a temporary job as they planned to move on to better paying jobs. Farm work was largely labour intensive, exhausting, tiring and poorly remunerated. Some liked or loved it and found it rewarding in gaining farming experience and expertise in growing a variety of crops, learning to use the plough and other farming implements, crop rotation and the application of fertilisers..Some became cooks, house boys or foremen and got closer to the farmer. Others found it tedious, exhausting, taxing or unpleasant., Some took farm jobs because there was nothing else on offer.

Farm labour was important to the economy.It produced food eaten by miners and other urban dwellers. It also produced cash crops that were exploited locally or exported to bring in foreign exchange, Like on the mines, communication was a large problem for the farmer and his workers. Some farmers learned to speak the local language. Others did not. In this case,a lingua franca.- this in many farms was Chikabanga which was also used in the mining of copper on the Copperbelt. Farm labour was extremely important to the economic success or failure of the farmer and the agricultural economy as a whole.. It is important that, as a country, we have a better understanding of the dynamics of this sector including the use of farm labour.

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Companions : Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900-1985 ( Ithaca, Cornell University Press,

1989), Hansen, Distant Companions, 2, 50-51, 62,108,265; Mudenda.

15. NER, Statutory Laws of North East Rhodesia, 1908 -1911;NWR, Statutory Laws of North west Rhodesia, 1908 -1911; Northern Rhodesia, Statutory Laws of Northern Rhodesia, 1911 -1924; NAZ/NR 373: Northern Rhodesia, The Employment of Natives Ordinance: Amendments; . Smith, The Way of the White Fields: 132;.Whereas the local wages tended to fluctuate sharply from time to time, the wages offered by the RNLB were relatively stable. In 1914, local wages for a labourer who worked in the settler’ s house, garden or farm wetter between 10/- and 30/- a month. In 1916, most employers were offering something between 5/- and 7s 6d per month. In 1919, the rate was between 7s 6d and 10/- and only artisans were able to make between £2 and £3 per month. At the same time, the RNLB was paying 18/- per month to adults; 12s 6d to adolescents and 8/- to young boys consistently up to 1927./. NAZ /SEC2/1062 : Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), to Administrator, 11 September, 1911; 4.

15..NAZ/BS2/145: SNA, Annual Report for the year ending 31 March 1928;.Choongwa; Mudenda, Hansen, Distant Companions, 2, 50-51, 62,108,265.

16. Dispossessed Africans who worked on settler farms on former Crown land inorder to earn cash wages for hut tax were very negatively disposed towards their work and their masters. A white farmer at Nega in the Mazabuka District vividly reflected this when he wrote to the Chief Secretary of Northern Rhodesia that

*“the attitude of the natives towards the white man is unpleasant and menacing, and their labour less efficient than formerly and very untrustworthy, and in the writer’s opinion steadily getting worse. A native possibly suffering from the effects of smoking Indian hemp may become threatening and abusive in his manner at any time, offering to fight white men causing a general disturbance”*.

NAZ/ZA7/1/2/3: Report for Magoye Sub District for the Year ending 31 March 1926.Mudenda.

17.Rotberg, Black Heart, 41-44; Bigland, Crocodile Lake. Lamb, The African House, 196.

18.Rotberg, Black Heart, 41-44; Bigland, Crocodile Lake. Lamb, The African House, 196.

19.Statutory Laws of North East Rhodesia, 1908 -1911;Statutory Laws of North West Rhodesia, 1908

-1911; Statutory Laws of Northern Rhodesia, 1911 -1924; NAZ/NR 373: The Employment of Natives

Ordinance: Amendments; ending 1910.; NAZ/ZA2./1/13; NAZ/ZA1/3/3; NAZ/ZA2/1/4/2;

NAZ/ZA1/1/918/4/1; NAZ/ZA7/1/1/3; NAZ/ZA7/1/2/3: Report for Magoye Sub District for the Year

ending 31 **March 1915;** Hansen, Distant Companions, , 50-51,

20.. Buell, The Native Problem in Africa, Volume 1, 351;.Mudenda.

21. NER, Statutory Laws of North East Rhodesia, 1908 -1911;NWR, Statutory Laws of North

West Rhodesia; NAZ/BS2/145: SNA, Annual report on North West Rhodesia for the Year

22.NAZ/ZA7/1/2/3: Report for Magoye Sub District for the Year ending 31 March

1915;

23. W.T Blake,.. Central African Survey; Facts and Figures of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland

(London, Alvin Red marsh, 1964), 27; Habulungu

24.. NAZ/ZA/7/1/1/3.Major A St. Orde-Browne, Report on Labour. Conditions in Northern Rhodesia (London, HMSO, 1938) 40. Sere also his earlier paper, “The African Labourer”, Africa, Vol. 3, Number 1 (January 1930); NAZ /SEC2/1062 : Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), to Administrator, 11 September, 1911; SNA, Annual Report for the year ending 31 March 1910; See also Michael Gelfand, Northern Rhodesia in the Days of the Charter (London, Blackwell 1960), 133; Rotberg, Black Heart, 95, 113; Vickery, Black and White, 101; LM, 23 December, 1911, 6. For Kenya see R.M.A. Zwanenberg, Capitalism and Labour in Kenya 1919-1939 (Nairobi, East African Publishing House 1975) 285, 288. Labour shortage was attributed to labour migration to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. The phenomenon was attacked at each general meeting of the North East Rhodesia Agricultural and Commercial Association; NAZ /BS2/256: Report on the Annual General Meeting of the Northern Rhodesia Agricultural and Commercial Association 3 February 1912; Secretary, the North East Rhodesia Agricultural and Commercial Association, Fort Jameson to L.A. Wallace, Administrative of Northern Rhodesia. 20 February 1912; Administrator to Secretary, British South Africa Company, London, 1 May 1912Momba, The State, 95;Choongwa

24 . Blake, Central African Survey;, 27; For a picture of the use of labour, sees Christina Lamb, African House, Doris Lessing, Grass is Singing, (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950). Lessing was born in Iran, then known as Persia, on Oct 22, 1919, to Captain Alfred Taylor and Emily. *Grass is Singing* was her the first novel. It takes place in Southern Rhodesia, during the late 1940s and deals with the racial politics between whites and blacks in that country; Mudenda.

25. Mudenda

26. Discussing this issue for South Africa, J.C. Noon observed that in recruiting labour, the farmers, like other employers who were progressive “found that by offering more attractive terms of employment than their competitors they could enlarge their potential labour pool. From this number, they could select the most efficient workers and thereby procure a labour force which more than re-imbursed the concerns for its added outlay by increased production”. Quoted by Jones in the review of Noon’s book, 79

27.Blake, Central African Survey; 27;Mudenda 28. Choongwa

29..Mudenda.

30. Mudenda; Choongwa.

31..Mudenda.

32.. Mudenda

33. Lesley Doyal,, The Political Economy of Health (,London, Pluto Press, 1979),114 -116; Choongwa; Mudenda

34. Rebecca Smalley, “Plantations, Contract Farming and Commercial Farming Areas in Africa: A Comparative View. Land and Agricultural Commercialisation in Africa Project working” unpublished Paper, April 2013.

35. Winfreid Tapson,. Old Timer (Cape Town, Howard Timmings, 1957.). 32 -33;Bigland, The Lake of the Royal Crocodiles, 135

36. Winfield Tap son informs us that her cook came from Nyasaland. He could serve five

courses at a dinner party including Horse d’ oeuvres, soup, an entrée (out of the tin), a

sirloin and a cold sweet”. Tapson, Old Timer,36, 47;Choongwa; Mudenda., 93; Shula MacDonald, Marty and Others in Rhodesia (London, Cassel and Company Limited, 1910?), 57**.**Fort a detailed insight of these issues, see Emily Bradley’s Dearest Priscilla: Letters to the wife of a Colonial Civil Servant (London, Max Parish, 1950), 84 -110, 112, 160-169; Tap son, Old Timer, 43 -48; Emily Bradley, A Household book for Africa (London, Oxford University Press, 1939); Emily Bradley, A Household book for Tropical Colonies (London, Oxford University Press, 1948). But for a detailed study on domestic service, see Karen T. Hansen, Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900 -1985 (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989),.41-42, 45..On foods introduced to Settler families, this came through discussions with Pudenda.

37. , R G E Butt. My Travels in North Western Rhodesia as a Missionary: Journey of 16 000 Miles (London, E Dalton, 1987)., 72, 74-75.

38 . Kenneth Bradley Diary of a District Officer, (London, Macmillan, 1943); J.B.Thornhill,

Adventures in Africa (London, Constable and Company, 1918), 11-12; Percy Hone. Southern Rhodesia (London, George Bell and Son, 1909), 17; Tapson, Old Timer, 36. 47; K. Nakushowa, “The Cook and an Egg”,Munali Number 2 (December 1948), 16.

5.Shyeila MacDonald, Sally in Rhodesia (Bulawayo, Books on Rhodesia, 1970) Mudenda; Habulungu.

48.. NRID, The Northern Rhodesia Handbook, 93; Chama; Mudenda

49...Choongwa; Mudenda.

50.. Dixon-Fyle, M.R..“Agricultural Improvement and Political Protest on the

Tonga Plateau, Northern Rhodesia”, Journal of African History, Vol. 18, Number 4, (1977)

579 – 596;Dixon-Fyle, M.R. 1977 “Mild Batonga Reconsidered: A Note on Tonga Responses to

Certain Aspects of Colonial Policy, 1899 -1940”, African Research Bulletin, Vol., 7,

Number 3, 21 – 51; Dixon-Fyle. M.R. 1983 “Reflections on the Economic and Social Change

Among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia c 1890 – 1935”, International Journal

of African Historical Studies, Vol., 16, Number 3 (, 423 -439;;Choongwa.

51..Choongwa

52. Lawley to HC, 4/7/99. Underlining *is* mine.: Lawley to HC, affidavit of Castino Francisco LubinoChintanda, 25/4/99, attached to Lawley's letter; Choongwa

of 4/7/99. Choongwa

53...Choongwa;Chama; Mudenda54.. Kennedy, A Tale of Two Colonies, 152. In Southern Rhodesia most of the houseboys were “drawn [partly from the local tribes] but chiefly from the tribes of Portuguese East Africa now Mozambique and Central Africa ( later called Nyasaland), the last two providing better domestic servants than the natives of the country”, Hone, Southern Rhodesia., 17. For a picture of the use of this labour, see Christina Lamb**,** African House**,** Rotberg, Black Heart, 41 -47; Doris Lessing, Grass is Singing, (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950),24, 27, 150-158, 158,163, 165, 170,197. Lessing was born in Iran, then known as Persia, on Oct 22, 1919, to Captain Alfred Tayler and Emily Maude Tayler (née McVeagh), who were both English and of British nationality. *The Grass Is Singing* was her the first novel. It takes place in Southern Rhodesia, during the late 1940s and deals with the racial politics between whites and blacks in that country..NRG, Blue Books, (Livingstone and Lusaka, Government Printers,1927 to 1948) see column for domestic servants; Mudenda. NAZ /SEC2/1062: Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), to Administrator, 11 September, 1911; Northern Rhodesia Information Department (NRID), The Northern Rhodesia Handbook (Lusaka, Government Printers, 1953), 93; Shula MacDonald, Martie and Others in Rhodesia (London, Cassel and Company Limited, 1910?), 57**.**For a detailed insight of these issues, see Emily Bradley’s Dearest Priscilla: Letters to the wife of a Colonial Civil Servant (London, Max Parish, 1950), 84 -110, 112, 160-169; Tapson, Old Timer, 43 -48; Emily Bradley, A Household book for Africa (London, Oxford University Press, 1939); Emily Bradley, A Household book for Tropical Colonies (London, Oxford University Press, 1948). But for a detailed study on domestic service, see . Hansen, Distant Companions:,.342; Munyaradzi Mushonga, “ White power, white desire: Miscegenation in Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe” African Journal of History and Culture (AJHC) Vol. 5(1)

, pp. 1-12, January 2013 ;Kaletso. Atkins,The Moon is Dead. Give Us Our Money.The Cultural Originsof an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843 -1900 (London, 1993).

54. Choongwa. For a good discussion on the treatment of workers on an estate or farm, see the

studies of Stewart Gore-Browne by Robert I. Rotberg, Black Heart, Gore Browne and the

Politics of Multi Racial Zambia (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1977); Christina

Lamb, The African House: The Story of an English Gentleman and His African Dream

(London, Penguin Books,1999).

55. .T.E.Dorman,. African Experience:An Education Officer in Northern Rhodesia

(Zambia), (London and New York Radcliffe Press, 1979) , 59

56..Terernce Ranger, “The invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa”, in E.J. Hobsbawn and

Terence Ranger (eds.), The Invention of Tradition (London, Cambridge University Press,

1982), 223; Doris Lessing, Grass is Singing; Ferdinand Oyono, Houseboy,(London,

Heinemann, 1970) .

57..Dorman, African Experience, 61 NRG, Blue Books, (Livingstone and Lusaka,

Government Printers,1927 to 1948) see column for domestic servants; Mudenda. NAZ /SEC2/1062: Secretary for Native Affairs (SNA), to Administrator, 11 September, 1911; NRID, The Northern Rhodesia Handbook , 93; Shula MacDonald, Martie and Others in Rhodesia (London, Cassel and Company Limited, 1910?), 57**.**For a detailed insight of these issues, see Emily Bradley’s Dearest Priscilla: Letters to the wife of a Colonial Civil Servant (London, Max Parish, 1950), 84 -110, 112, 160-169; Tapson, Old Timer, 43 -48; Emily Bradley, A Household book for Africa (London, Oxford University Press, 1939); Emily Bradley, A Household book for Tropical Colonies (London, Oxford University Press, 1948). But for a detailed study on domestic service, see Karen T.Hansen, Distant Companions: Servants and Employers in Zambia, 1900 -1985 (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1989),.342.

58. Tapson, Old Timer,46; Lawrence Vambe, From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe (London, Heinemann,

1976), 33;Jock MucCullock, Black Peril, White Peril: Sexual Crime in Southern Rhodesia, 1902

=1915 (Bloomington and Indianapolis, University of Indiana Press, 2000),111-112; Bradley,

Company Days”, 447;Hansen, Distant Companions,39,

47;;Musambachime, Development of the Fishing Industry; J.B. Thornhill, Adventures in

Africa: Under the British, Belgian and Portuguese Flag (London, John Murray,

1915), 10; Schmidt, Peasants, Traders, 74;.NRID, The Northern Rhodesia Handbook ,93,483;

. Tracey, Approach to Farming, 349;Tapson, Old Timer,43;. My own grandfather on my

mother’s side, Henry Chama worked as a domestic servant in the early 1920s in Fort

Roseberry (now Mansa). He was a highly respected person for his neatness and smart outlook.

In later years, this was his reference point. Personal communication, Henry Chama Chula,

Kunda’s Village, Mansa, 17 July, 1972.

59. Barbara Carr, Not for me the Wilds (Cape Town, Howard Timings, 1963), 106; Emile Bradley, Dearest Priscilla: Letters to the Wife of a Colonial Civil Servant (London, Max Parrish, 1950), 59, 84 -110,112, 168 -169; Tapson, Old Timer, 43 -46;Hansen, Distant Companions, 39 -40, 57, 156 -157; Chama; Choongwa. For classical novel on working as a houseboy, see the novel by Oyono, Houseboy ; S. Samkange The Mourned One. London: Heinemann, (1975).

60. Hansen, Distant Companions, 2, 41-42, 50, 62,108,265; Tapson, Old Timer,46; , Kenneth

Bradley.. Diary of a District Officer, (London, Macmillan, 1943)

61.Kenneth Bradley, Africa Notwithstanding (London. Lovat Dickson Limited, 1932), 173 – 174;

Hansen,; Distant Companions, 42, 78 -79;

62.. Northern Rhodesia, Blue Books, 1927 -1948 (Lusaka, Government Printers, 1928 -1949)

Hansen, Distant Companions, 42, 78 -79; Chama

63.Tapson, Old Timer, 51; Doris Lessing, Grass is Singing (London,Michael Joseph, 1953)

64.. Tapson, Old Timer, 51;NAZ/ZA1/9: Department of Native Affairs: Licensing and Registration of Domestic Servants, 1929.Native Commissioner, Livingstone to Secretary for Native Affairs, Livingstone, 13 May, 1926; Choongwa; Mudenda; Chama.

65.. John B. Thornhill, Adventures in Africa: Adventures Under the British, Belgian and Portuguese Flag (London, John Murray, 1915), 10; J.Allan Cairns, Prelude to Imperiaslism:British Reactions to Central African Society,1840-1890,(London, Rutledge and Kean Paul,1965)55-57, 96 -109; Hansen, Distant Companions, 39 -40; Cullen Gouldsbury, An African Year (London, Edward Arnold, 1912), 25, 106, 169; Cullen Gouldsbury and Hubert Sheane, Great Plateau of North East Rhodesia (London, Edward Arnold, 1911), 309, 323 -324; NAZ/KDC/6/1/6: Annual Reports Chilanga Sub District, Luangwa District,1917 – 1928, Annual Report for the Year ending 31 March 1918; Mudenda. Personal communication, Benson Choongwa, Masompe, Namwala, 10 October 1988; Chama; Mudenda; Choongwa.

66. NAZ/SEC1/581:T.S. Page to Secretary for Native Affairs,24 November 1940;. Tapson, Old

Timer; Lessing, Grass is Singing 46, 52;See a paper published by Juliette Milner-Taylor,

Absent White Fathers: Coloured Identity in Zambia”, BA Honours Paper, Griffith University,

Australia,2009; Ibo Mandaza, Race and Class in Southern Africa (Harare, Sapes Books,

1999); Samkange, The Mourned One; Frantz Fanon (1967). Black Skin, White Masks. New York:Grove Press. 1967)Mudenda; Chama.

67.. Tapson, Old Timer, 49; Bradley, Dairy of a District Officer,; Choongwa; Mudenda

68.. Tapson, Old Timer; Hansen, Distant Companions; Milner-Taylor, “Absent White

Fathers”

69. Hansen, Distant Companions; Milner-Taylor, “Absent White Fathers”;Juliette Bridgette Milner-Thornton, The Long Shadow of the British Empire: The Ongoing Legacies of Race and Class in Zambia (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

70. Katheleen Stevens Rakavina, Jungle Pathfinder: Central Africa’s most famous Adventurer

(New York, Exposition Press, 1950), 57 -67, 143 -147; J.E. Stephenson, Chirupula’s Tale: A Bye

Way in African History (London, Godfrey Bles, 1937), 29.

71. NAZ/ High Commissioner to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 11 April 1910 (telegram); Secretary of State for the Colonies to High Commissioner, Johannesburg, 16 April 1910.

72.. Rakavina, Jungle Pathfinder: Central Africa’s most famous , 57 -67, 143 -147;Stephenson,

Chirupula’s Tale: 29; Tapson, Old Timer, See Schmidt, African Women, 161-169; Lecher,

The Bonds, 9.See a paper Milner-Taylor, Absent White Fathers: see Jock McCulloch, Black

Peril, White Virtue For Southern Rhodesia, 1902 -1935 (Bloomington and Indianapolis,

University of Indiana Press,2000), 167 -184

73... Tapson, Old Timer, See Schmidt, African Women, 161-169

74.Tapson, Old Timer, 19-21; Hansen, Distant Companions,42, 90, 95 ; Brelsford,

Generations of Men, 24.70-71;S. Broomfield, “Kacholola or the Mighty Hunter”: The Early Life

and Adventures of Sydney Spencer Broomfield (New York, William Morrow, 1931);Milner-

Taylor, “Absent White Father” ), 167 -184;R. B. Border, “Sir Alfred Sharpe and The Imposition

Of Colonial Rule on the Northern Ngoni”, the Society of Malawi Journal, Vol. 32, No. 1(1979)

pp. 23−2;K Stahl, (2010). Some Notes on the Development of Zomba, The Society of Malawi

Journal, Vol. 63, No. 2, p. 43; Anonymous, “Alfred Sharpe” in Wikepeadia see section on

‘descendants left in Zambia”;. W.V. Brelsford, “Harrison Clark :King of Northern

Rhodesia”, NRJ, Volume 2, Number 4 (1954),13 -31;Ian Henderson, Labour and Politics in

Northern Rhodesia: 1900-1953: A Study in the Limits of Power. PhD thesis, Edniburgh

University, 1972.

75. Gann, A History, 184; Hansen, Distant Companions, 96;Milner-Taylor, “Absent White

Father” , 167 -184.

76. Northern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Number 33, 20 May to 6 June 1939,

Colums196 -197.

77.. Hansen, Distant Companions, 92 -93-94; Fergus McPherson, Anatomy of Conquest: The

British Occupation of Zambia (London, Longman, 1981), 123 -125; PRO/CO417/482: Telegram

from the High Commissioner, Johannesburg, Union of South Africa, to Acting Administrator,

North West Rhodesia,. Livingstone, 11April 1910; In the same file, see Letter from the Imperial

Secretary, C.H.Rodwell to N.B. Venables, 21 April, 1910; PRO/CO417/493:

PRO/CO417/485:Letter from Venables to the Imperial Secretary, 11May, 1910: Letter from

Imperial Secretary C.H. Rodwell to Harrison, 13 September, 1910; L.H. Gann and Peter Duignan,

The Rulers of British Affric, 1870 – 1914 (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1978), 241, 387-

footnote number56. This is a reference to the case involving R.A. Osbourne who had flogged and

fined his African cook he found sleeping with his “African wife”.

78. PRO/CO417/484: Confidential letter from Acting Administrator of North East Rhodesia, L.P.

Beaufort to High Commissioner to Union of South Africa, 4 October 1910. In the same file, see

Letter from Lord Gladstone to Beaufort, 14 November 1910. Hansen, Distant Companions, 95;

97 Tapson, Old Timer, The word miscegenation was invented in 1864 in an anonymous pamphlet

published in London and New York entitled “Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of

Races Applied to the American White Man and Negro”. Since 1864, miscegenation came to be

seen as a dilution of ‘pure racial stocks’ and the decline of white civilisation, resulting in

the production of polymorphously perverse people who are white but not quite, derogatorily

known as ‘hybrids’, ‘mongrels’, ‘Coloureds’, ‘half-castes’, ‘mulattos’, ‘creoles’ and others.

Miscegenation was therefore seen as a phenomenon of being degraded from a civilised condition

to a de-civilised condition, with South America being used as an example of degenerative results

of racial hybridization. For Southern Rhodesia , please see I.Mandaza I (1997). Race, Colour and

Class in Southern Africa: A Study of the Coloured Question in the Context of an Analysis of the

Colonial and White Settler Racial Ideology, and African Nationalism in Twentieth Century

Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Harare: SAPESBooks. 1997);. Munyaradzi Mushonga“White

power, white desire: Miscegenation in Southern Rhodesia, Zimbabwe” African Journal of History

and Culture (AJHC) Vol. 5(1)( January 2013), pp. 1-12; Mushonga M (2008). ‘The

Criminalisation of Sex Between ‘Black’ and ‘White’ and Miscegenation Hullabaloo in Rhodesia:

An Analysis of the Marriage of Patrick Matimba and Adriana von Hoorn, 1955-1959’. Lesotho

Law Journal,.18(2):435-456.

80.. Northern Rhodesia, Legislative Council Debates, Number 33, 20 May to 6 June 1939, Colums196 -197.

81..Tapson, Old Timer, ;Chama; Mudenda; Choongwa

82.. J.B. Thornhill, a big game hunter strongly recommended to other Europeans to have “Yao servants” from Mozambique because they were extremely hard working and reliable. Thornhill, Adventures in Africa, 11 -12. See also K. Kunoshowa, “The Cook and the Egg”, Munali, Number 2, (December 1948), 16; Moubrary, In South Central Africa, 34; NAZ/KDC6/1/6: Annual Reports, Chilanga Sub District, Luangwa District, 1917 -1928; ; In the same file see Annual Report for the Year ending 31 March, 1918; Hansen, Distant Companions, 38-39, 64; Chama; Mudenda; Choongwa.

83..H.C. Hole, Old Rhodesian Days (London, MacMillan, 1928), 46.

84..Lawrence Vambe, From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe (London, Heinemann, 1976), 33;

Lessing, Grass is Singing. Hansen, Distant Companions, 29 – 83; Rothman, African Urban

Development, 6 -7.

85.. Bradley, The Diary of a District Officer,

86.. Hansen, Distant Companions, 41-42.

87.. Bradley, Africa Notwithstanding, 174;Choongwa; Mudenda

88..Choongwa; Mudenda

89..Choongwa

90..Vambe, From Rhodesia to Zimbabwe,

91. Choongwa

**92**  Kennedy, Islands of White, 155**;**LM Number 718, 2 January 1920;Bradley, Once a District Officer, 61 -65; Mudenda; Aspects of the History of European Agriculture, 40; Mudenda; Habulungu; Choongwa**.** For Southern Rhodesia, Traders were a good source of language expertise. All across the continent, they used local languages, or at least local trading pidgins, well enough to carry out their business. Unlike occupying forces, they were often the weaker parties in their dealings with Africans, in no position to dictate the language in which bargaining was conducted."! Many of them had few qualifications, and found that their language abilities were their most marketable skill. In southern Zimbabwe and northern South Africa, this   divide   is characterised by constrained forms of communication.  The  farmers  address  most  residents  in  a  pidgin  called  *Tatelapa*.This  is  the  agricultural  equivalent  of  Fanakolo,  a  hybrid  language  developed  on  the  mines  largely as  a  means for  whites  to  direct  black  subordinates  and  lacking  much  range  of  expression.  But  even  when  issuing  commands,  the  farmers  speak  regularly  to  only  a  few  worker. Bolt,

93. Diana Jeater *“*Speaking like a Native: Vernacular Languages and the State in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1935 *“*Journal of African History, 42, 1 (2001), pp. 449±468.

**94.** J M Moubray In South Central Africa (London, Constable and Company,,. 1912);James A. Edward, Southern Rhodesia: The Response to Adversity, 1935 to 1939, PhD Thesis, University of London, 1978, 3; Mudenda. For the missionaries, the situation was different. One Father Superior for Lubwe recalled the following:

*The position of the missionaries is entirely different. We live in the country with the people themselves, we speak their languages. We soon come to realise that what they tell us is fragmentary and unreliable, for they often contradict themselves in their stories. The Natives trust us and they are also aware that they have nothing to gain by falsifying the historical facts. The point is that the Natives live in fear of the white people and are inclined to tell them what they think will please them. There is nothing like objective truth for them. The Natives will try to guess what the white man wants to know, what the white man believes is the truth, and they will answer accordingly. They answer to please, not to enlighten, the inquirer. That is, in any case, my experience with the Ba Bemba and the BaBisa, the only African tribes are really know*

95.Tapson, Old Timer,; Dick Hobson, and Gabriel Ellison,. Food and Good Fellowship: The Lusaka Lunch Club 1933 - 1983 (Lusaka, 1983), 17.Writing on the situation in Southern Rhodesia, Doris Lessing informs us that “most white people think it is “cheeky” if a native speaks English” to them. Lessing, The Grass is Singing, 134

96. Mudenda.. For a detailed discussion on the origins of Fanagalo, see Sharp Early Days in Katanga; Moubray, In South Central Africa, 36;Ralph Dandruff,“Fanakalo – a pidgin in South Africa", Language in South Africa, 2002; R Dendorff. "Fanakalo in South Africa" in R Mesthrie,. (ed.) Language and Social History: Studies in South African Sociolinguistics*.*( Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Philip,1995), 176-192;R.Dendorff, "Ethnographic evidence of the social meaning of Fanakalo in South Africa*."* Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages *Vol*. 8/1, (1993), 1-27.Rajend Mestrine, “Differentiating pidgin from early interlanguages –a comparison of Pidgin Nguni (Fanakalo) and interlanguage varieties of Xhosa and Zulu), Southern African Linguistics and Applied Languages Studies, Vol.25, Issue Number 1 (April 2007), 75 -89; S.E.A. Cade, “So! You want to learn the Language” An Amusing and Instructive Kitchen Kaffir Dictionary (Salisbury, Centrafrican Press, 1951); Phillip Strazny,”Fanakalo”, Encyclopaedia of Linguistics Vol., 1 Part 7 (December 2004), pp 203 -204; Desmond T. Cole, “Fanakalo and the Bantu Languages in South Africa”, African Studies, Volume 12, Number 1 (1953), 1 -9; Clement Doke, “European and African Languages in South Africa”, Africa, 12, (1939), 308 -319; Patrick Duncan, “Origins of Fanakalo” African Studies, 13 (1954), 454;Albert Leonard Epstein, “Linguistic Innovation and Culture on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia”, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 15,( 1959), 235 -253; B.G. Lloyd, A Kitchen-Kaffir grammar and Vocabulary (Johannesburg, Central News Agency, no date but probably 1944).

97..See alsoHone, Southern Rhodesia, 18; Richard Hall, The High Price of Principles: Kaunda and the White South (London, Penguin, 1969), 61.Originally, the concept of *Fanagolo* was derived from the idea of an evolved pidgin. The latter was considered an amalgam of languages basically the result of one language which emerged from borrowings from other languages. It was not considered the mother tongue of any of its speakers. It was viewed as a second language designed for a specific function such as control of labour on the farm. At the outset; pidgins were very simple in terms of both grammar and vocabulary due to limited purposes such as local or kinship communication. Over a period of time, however, a pidgin often became the first language of people who had lost their original language. Gradually, it developed a more complex grammatical structure. This language transformation process, sometimes called “Creolization”, takes place all over the globe. Quite often, the resultant language symbolized group's social or political status within a larger cultural/social order The best examples are Ki Swahili on the East Coast, which for instance, combined Bantu grammar and syntax with the Arabic alphabet to become a national language in several African countries today. It is now an official language in Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Overall, it is today spoken in nine central and Eastern African countries. Which spread into the hinterland? The other is Lingual which spread in the region covered by the middle Congo River, between Kisangani and Kinshasa as languages of commerce and is spoken in the Central African Republic, the Province of Equator in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and the Republic of Congo.

98. Percy Hone, Southern Rhodesia (London, George Bell and Son,1909), 18; Moubrary, In South Central Africa; Desmond T. Cole, “Fanakalo and the Bantu Languages in South Africa”, reprinted in Language and Society (New York, Harper and Row, 1964), 547 -554, quoted in Mubanga E. Kashoki, “ Migration and Language Change: The Interaction of Town and Country”, African Social Research, 19 (June 1975), 724; Mubanga E. Kashoki, “In which Language is Zambia’s Copper Produced?”, Enterprise (October 1973), 32 -35; Anon, Copper Industry Service Bureau, Glossary of Chikabanga, A Publication of the Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines (No date); Mubanga E. Kashoki, Factors of Language in Zambia, (Lusaka, Kenneth Kaunda Foundation, 1990), 132 -136; Sirarpi Ohannessian and Mubanga E. Kashoki (eds.), Language in Zambia, (London, International African Inbstitute,1978); A.L. Epstein, “Linguistic Innovation and Culture on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia”, Southwestern Journal of Anthropology (September 1959), 235 -253;Hansen, Distant Companions,

99...Hansen, Distant Companions, Mudenda; Chama

100.Hone, Southern Rhodesia, 18; Lloyd, A Kitchen-Kaffir grammar and Vocabulary;Mudenda. 101. Hansen, Distant Companions,, Tracey, Approach to Farming, 348 -349; Kennedy, Islands of White, 156 – 160;l Ladinos,   ‘Frontier  farm  labour:  a  study  of  neoliberal  restructuring  and  Zimbabwean   migrant   farm   workers   in   Limpopo   Province,   South   Africa’. Unpublished  MA  dissertation,  Carleton  University. 2006; M.Bolt,.  .  ‘Camaraderie  and  its  discontents:  class  consciousness,  ethnicity  and  divergent  masculinities  among  Zimbabwean  migrant  farmworkers  in  South  Africa’,  Journal  of  Southern  African  Studies,36, 2, (2010)  377-‐393.. 102.. Tracey, Approach to Farming, 348 -349; Kennedy, Islands of White, 156 – 160;Gann, Birth of a Plural Society, 131; See also an article by Kumbirayi Shoniwa **“**Doris Lessing on racial prejudice” in the Herald of Zimbabwe,December 9, 2013 Mudenda.12.. Sharp, Early Days, 154-5; Tracey, Approach to Farming, 348 -349; Kennedy, Islands of White, 156 – 160; NAZ/ZA1/9/18/21, Native Commissioner, Fort Rosebery, “Statements by Native Labour Migrants” dated 5 October 1926. 103..Tracey, Approach to Farming, 348 -349. 104..Marko Mwelwa, a former labour migrant recalled that workers [who did not speak or understand *Fanakalo*] sometimes “treated like slaves. They were beaten often”. Marko Mwelwa Kanswe’s village, interviewed by Raban Chanda, 20 April 1974; UNZAHRP, Man 38. See also Hortense Powdermaker, CopperTown:70. One of these was my father’s young brother, Cyril Musambachime 105. An American who visited Kenya observed and recorded that the settler farmers “did not understand the language [the workers spoke] and beat them for misunderstanding. . . Women are the worst”. Isak Dinesen*,*Letters from Africa, 1914 -1931 (Chicago, Random House, 1938). 2, quoted in Kennedy, Islands of Whites,158. See also footnote 47; Mudenda. 106**.** James Durbar-Brunton, Big Game Hunting in Central Africa (London, Andrew Melrose, 1912), 23, See also. Kennedy, Islands of Whites,158 107.For more discussion on the use of Fanakalo in Zambia, see Epstein, “Linguistic Innovation and Culture on the Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia”, , 235 -253; Kashoki, “ Migration and Language Change: The Interaction of Town and Country”, , 724;. Kashoki, “In which Language is Zambia’s Copper Produced?”, 32 -35; . Kashoki, Factors of Language in Zambia, , 132 -136 Anon, Copper Industry Service Bureau,);;



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