



**AFRICAN RESPONSE TO COLONIAL POLICIES AND CONDITION IN NORTH-EASTERN
RHODESIA, 1905-1964**

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the African responses to the colonial policies in North Eastern Rhodesia of Northern Rhodesia between 1905-1964. The article argues that while Africans were acquiescent, they were not biddable passive victims of colonial policies and the colonial administration did not always attain the desired outcomes from its African policies. The imposition of discriminatory and punitive policies for Africans by the colonial administrators was met with strong resistance from some of the elite Africans, who influenced others to rise against the injustices perpetuated by the colonial regime in Northern Rhodesia. The hut tax, land policy and the establishment of Native Courts were among the policies that brought agitation among the Africans in Northern Rhodesia to react and emancipate for their freedom.

Key terms: Africans, Colonial Administrators, Colonial policies on Africans, Northern Rhodesia, Reactions



Introduction

Northern Rhodesia was colonized as two detached territories of North western and North Eastern Rhodesia, both by the British South African Company (BSACo) under a royal charter granted by the queen of Great Britain.¹ In 1905 the boundary between the territories came to be an approximately north-south line across the hundred mile 'waist' of the territory but later the cape to Cairo railway route became the tenuous boundary. The respective capital was at Kalomo and Fort Jameson in North Eastern Rhodesia. Following the defeat of Chief Mpezeni's forces led by his heir apparent Nsingo, by the British South Africa Company forces in 1898, and an administrative centre was established at Fort Jameson. For the Ngoni, the assertion of British rule was perhaps more brutal.² Despite pleas for no direct conflict, an expressed willingness to take the British flag and an attempt to flee across the border to Nyasaland, Mpezeni of the Ngoni was intentionally drawn into conflict with the BSAC. While the Ngoni across the border in Nyasaland managed to accept British rule without bloodshed, those in Charter land faced a violent transition to British rule. Using the pretext of a prospecting party claiming it was in peril, the BSAC dispatched a military force to attack the Ngoni in 1899.³ By the time the BSAC attacked, Mpezeni was all but isolated in the region and responded to the line advancing on his capital with force. The BSAC party was vastly outnumbered, but Ngoni's military tactics – previously so effective against African opponents made them easy targets for the BSAC's modern weaponry and the result was a rout.⁴ The believed presence of gold-bearing minerals and the absence of missionaries such as the Dutch Reformed Church and Catholics to act as intermediaries spelled doom for Mpezeni's kingdom as the BSAC refused to tolerate alternative strong political structures in Northern Rhodesia. The defeat of Mpezeni, after the conquest of the

¹ E.K Chipiya, 'The theory and Practice of Imprisonment in Northern Rhodesia 1907-1964', M.A Thesis, UNZA, 2011. PP. 4-6

² H. R. Strack, *Sanctions: The Case of Rhodesia* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1978), p.1.

³ A.W. Pim and S. Milligan, *Report of the Commission Appointed to Enquire into the Financial and Economic Position of Northern Rhodesia* (London: HMSO, 1938), (hereafter, Pim Report), p. 111.

⁴ N.A.Z., BSCA1/4/2/7, BSA Company and Administrator regarding Native Affairs Administrator; collection of Hut Tax, 1902 - 1907.

Bemba, signaled the beginning of a new era of British rule in the region.⁵ The BSAC then began the process of colonial administration, establishing a network of administrative stations across the territory.⁶ Though effective administration of North Eastern Rhodesia was only achieved by the end of 1899 when the BSAC moved its head office from Blantyre in Nyasaland (Malawi) to Fort Jameson. There rule was perhaps more brutal despite pleas for no direct conflict, an expressed willingness to take the British flag and an attempt to flee across the border to Nyasaland, Mpezeni of the Ngoni was intentionally drawn into conflict with the BSAC.⁷

Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study are;

- To discuss the colonial policies and condition of Africans in North Eastern Rhodesia
- To find out the reasons as to why Africans reacted to colonial policies and conditions in North Eastern Rhodesia
- To assess the impact of African reaction to colonial rule.

METHODOLOGY

This study used qualitative methods in which research on the African response to colonial policies in North Eastern Rhodesia 1905-1964. This approach was chosen because it was able to analyse economic, social and political issues that manifested themselves during the period under review. Data for this study was collected from both primary as well as secondary sources. The bulk of primary sources included materials obtained from the Archives, the National Archives of Zambia (NAZ) and the University of Zambia (UNZA) Repository, Special Collection website. Primary sources included documents such reports, letters, and other correspondences. Secondary sources included books, journals, thesis and dissertations, periodicals such as Africa Research Bulletin, Africa Digest and Africa Contemporary Record. Other secondary sources included unpublished documents such as conference papers. Finally, qualitative methods were used to organize, interpret and analyze data collected from primary and secondary sources.

⁵ L.H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1884–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 68. See for example, Lewis H. Gann, *A History of Southern Rhodesia: early Days to 1934* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1965), pp. 122 – 124.

⁶ K. Young, *Rhodesia and Independence: A Study in British Colonial Policy* (London: J.M Dent and Sons, 1969), p.25.

⁷ P. L. Moocraft, *A Short Thousand Years: The End of Rhodesia's Rebellion* (Salisbury: Galaxie Press, 1980), p.8.

Introduction of Colonial Policies and Conditions among Africans in Northern Rhodesia

In 1901, hut tax was introduced in North Eastern Rhodesia and every adult African male paid 33 shillings each year for his hut and those men who had grown up, and unmarried daughters, old male relatives or widowed mothers or other female relatives occupying their own huts paid for up to a maximum of six huts of such dependents.⁸ Many reasons have been advanced as to why tax was introduced, but what is clear is that tax was introduced in order to involve the people in meeting the financial costs of running the colonial government.⁹

Colonial taxation encountered stiff resistance in some African areas, such as Fort Jameson, Katete and Petauke in North Eastern Rhodesia.¹⁰ Opposition to taxes was partly a reaction to the manner of collection, which often tended to be high-handed and dehumanising as tax collectors sometimes resorted to corporal punishments and intimidation. Severe penalties were also imposed on defaulters. These ranged from burning of houses and cattle kraals, destruction of food-crops, forced conscription of defaulters into service as carriers, imprisonment for up to six months and indiscriminate use of the cruel sjambok, which fueled resentment.¹¹

The tax was meant to force the Africans to seek wage employment. This drew many Africans away from their homes and led to the transformation of the countryside and destroyed the African's traditional way of life. Reacting to taxation, Bishop Alston May, who was then in charge of the Anglican Church with its base in Fort Jameson noted that taxing the African was exploitative and therefore unjust? Gann's work while concentrating on how colonial rule was established and the effects it had on the society brings out that which caused resentment among the Africans. It is in this resentment that the Church had a role to play. Africans educated by missions or abroad sought social, economic and political advancement through voluntary associations, often called "Welfare Associations". Their protests were muted until the early

⁸ Lewis H. Gann, *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company, 1884-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958); Chipasha Luchembe, 'Financial Capital and Mine Labour: A Comparative Study of Copper mines in Zambia and Peru, 1870-1980', Ph.D Thesis, University of California, 1982; Colin Bundy, *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip, 1988), and Maud Muntamba, 'Rural Underdevelopment in Zambia, Kabwe Rural District. 1850 – 1970,' Ph.D Thesis, California University, 1970.

⁹ N.A.Z., BS2/22, Hut Tax, 1910; N.A.Z., KSB3/1, Chipata District Note Book, (1935/1954), p. 34 and Elizabeth Colson, *Marriage and the Family among the Plateau Tonga of Northern Rhodesia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958), p. 1.

¹⁰ Alfred Tembo, 'African Peasant Reaction to Colonial State Policies in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1895-1939,' *Journal of Humanities* Vol. 10 (2011), pp. 39 – 53.

¹¹ Mathew Forstater, 'Taxation and Primitive Accumulation: The Case of Colonial Africa,' *The Capitalist State and Its Economy: Democracy in Socialism Research in Political Economy*, Volume 22, (2005), pp. 51 – 65.

1930s, and concentrated on improving African education and agriculture, with political representation a distant aspiration.¹²

The colonial masters constructed prisons in North Eastern Rhodesia and other parts of Northern Rhodesia. The colonial regime also restricted tax only to be paid in cash form. Imprisonment or the tax default was used as a cohesive mechanism to force the African out of their traditional economy into the cash economy especially when tax became restricted to cash payment only.¹³ It greatly increased the cash business enjoyed by white's traders. As a result, the colonial office looked upon the use of force and the threat of force through imprisonment as the driving force behind the enforcement of successful tax labour and labour regimes. For that matter the more labour the European enterprises and the settlers needed the more repressive the tax system and its attracted penalty of imprisonment¹⁴. Therefore, imprisonment was the compulsive arm of the colonial government in North Eastern Rhodesia it was able to achieve most of what pacification had left unresolved, entrenching the colonial political economy.

The scourge of witchcraft was another factor that had been eliminated if colonial order was to be enforced from the colonial point of view. Colonial office used instant justice type of punishment. Harrington explains of how he endeavored to rid the Mweru Luapula area of witchcraft and witch finders by inflicting instant justice on the culprit. He shot one with pellet and trod with his hunting boots on another's toes and deported him. Later, in its quest to stamp out the rampant witchcraft beliefs and their disrupted effects, the colonial regime turned to imprisonment as a penalty for all witchcraft related offences. The Northern Rhodesia witchcraft ordinance, Chapter 30 of the principal Law (1914) profited: all accused of witchcraft, mistreatment of suspected witches and wizards witch- finding through divination, with all offender being thrown into goal short deplorable period of time of course ordinary criminals were also time to send to prison but number, compared with those of tax defaulters and labour deserters, were negligible.¹⁵

¹² N.A.Z., BSCA1/4/2/7, BSA Company and Administrator regarding Native Affairs Administrator; collection of Hut Tax, 1902 - 1907.

¹³ N.A.Z., BSA2/A2/1/4, Increases of the Native Tax in Kasempa, Ndola and Luangwa district, exodus of natives to under taxed areas, Lewanika, Order-in-Council for Administration of North Western and North Eastern Rhodesia, tax increases, 1910.

¹⁴ N.A.Z., BSCA1/4/2/7, BSA Company and Administrator regarding Native Affairs Administrator; collection of Hut Tax, 1902 - 1907.

¹⁵ N.A.Z., BS1/A2/2/1, Punishment Regulation, Firearms, Witchcraft Suppression, Trouble Cases, Orders, Marriage Regulations, 1909 - 1911.

Many of them usually got away with mere deportation to their home villages or districts such as Petauke, Katete, and Lundazi. For example as the BSACo prepared to surrender Northern Rhodesia to the colonial office in 1923, following summary obtained in relation to type of criminals in Livingstone sub district amounted to 2416 of which 1640 were tax default.¹⁶ In Fort Jameson District in 1917, 5204 out of a total 5416 conviction had been passed on tax default. The Mweru Lupaula commission reported 5404 tax conviction in 1921-22 and 8768 in 1922-23.¹⁷

At first Northern Rhodesia now Zambia was administered by the British South African Company (BSAC), which had its capital city in Livingstone near Victoria Falls. The main objective of the BSAC was mining. They regarded the country as a source of labour for the gold mines in Southern Rhodesia and for the Copper mines in Katanga in Belgian Congo. The company officials were posted to most of the parts of Northern Rhodesia and levied taxes in order to force Africans to source for jobs and it is such pressure that provoked violence and agitation for rebellion or resistance to some unjust policies by the company rule.¹⁸

In Northern Rhodesia, the British South Africa Company claimed ownership of all the unalienated land in the territory, and the right to alienate it. Europeans occupied land along the line of the railway and near the towns, but at first there was no land shortage, as the population density was low and the European population was small. However, reserves were created in 1928 and 1929 in North Eastern Rhodesia parts of the protectorate, and about half the land adjacent to the line of the main railway line was reserved for European settlement and farming. In 1938, it was reported that the Native Reserves were overcrowded, while much of the land reserved for Europeans was unoccupied and unused.¹⁹ The land policy was implemented after the country was handed over to the colonial office in London In 1924, the company found it difficult and costly to administer Northern Rhodesia and consequently handed it over to the colonial office in London, which soonest up the legislation council. This was not received well by Africans and

¹⁶ Giovanni Arrighi, 'Labour Supplies in Historical Perspective: A Study of the Proletarianisation of the African Peasantry in Rhodesia,' *The Journal of Development Studies* Vol. 6, No. 3 (April 1970), p. 208. Gardner, *Taxing Colonial Africa*, p.47.

⁷ N.A.Z., SEC2/337, Taxation: Tax Registers Vol. I, 1914.

⁸ National Archives of Zambia [hereafter N.A.Z.], BSA3/17, Hut Tax Vol. I, 1902.

¹⁸ Alfred Tembo, 'The Colonial State and African Agriculture in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia, 1895 – 1964,' MA Dissertation, The University of Zambia, 2010, p. 22

¹⁹ Mebbiens Chewe Chabatama, 'The Colonial State, The Mission and Peasant Farming in North Western Province of Zambia: A Case Study of Zambezi District, 1907 – 1964,' MA Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1990, p. 25;

started reacting due to the land issue implemented by the colonial government. Prime land near to the market and very fertile land was a preserve of the white settlers at the expense of the indigenous Africans.

Africans lost the fertile lands from the colonial administration and that loss of fertile land per se undermined the production capacity of Ngoni, Chewa and Nsenga in North Eastern Rhodesia because it meant that only small plots of fertile land remained in the hands of the local people. Secondly the creation of native reserves were infertile and rock areas.²⁰ Ultimately, the native reserves became labour reservoir for labour-hungry institutions within and outside the territory. However, the created labour reservoir did not adequately satisfy the labour requirements of the commercial farms in the locality through the period 1898-1964. The endemic shortage of labour experienced by commercial farmers amidst abundant labour stemmed from the low wages and the appalling working conditions obtaining on their farms.²¹ This perpetual shortage of labour consequently, not retarded the tempo of commercial farming in North Eastern of Rhodesia, but also contributed greatly deal to high rate of labour migration the area experienced throughout the period.²² The high rate of labour migration further underdeveloped the region as major factor of production, labour was often drawn out of the tradition economic system.²³ The colonial government institutions and private companies such as African Lakes and the mines within the territory and other employing institutions outside the territory also expected their share of African labour from the region.²⁴

On commercial farms in North Eastern Rhodesia, annual government reports increasing lamented throughout the period that accommodation offered to the workers was appalling. Some officials even concluded that the perennial shortage of labour that the farmers experienced in the area was partly due to poor housing conditions that made farm work attractive. Even in the tobacco boom periods of 1914-1929 and during and after the Second World War when farmers

²⁰ N.A.Z., BS2/234, Harding to Imperial Secretary, 10/03/1905.

²¹ Fergus Macpherson, *An Anatomy of Conquest: The British Annexation of Northern Zambezia, 1884 – 1924* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1981), p. 286;

²² Yizenge Adorn Chondoka, 'Labour Migration and Rural Transformation in Chama District, North –Eastern Zambia, 1890 – 1964,' Ph.D Thesis, University of Toronto, 1992, p. 268.

²³ L.H. Zgambo, 'Farm Labour in the Eastern Province of Zambia', MA Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1983.

²⁴ J. Barber, *Rhodesia: The Road to Rebellion* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), B. V. Mtshali, *Rhodesia: Background to Conflict* (London: Leslie Frewin Publishers, 1967), A. Skeen, *Rhodesia: Prelude to Independence* (Cape Town: Nasionale Boekhandel, 1966), F. Clements, *Rhodesia: The Course to Collision* (London: Pall Mall, 1969) and M. Perham, "The Rhodesian Crisis: The Background" *International Affairs* 42 (1966), pp.1-16.

would have been in a position to improve their workers conditions, the poor housing conditions remained unimproved. In 1914, for instance, Annual Report in Petauke District recorded some complaints received from farm workers. It was observed that insufficient food accommodation and general bad treatment were frequent.²⁵ The Report also drew direct connection between poor housing and general bad treatment on the one hand and the local shortage of labour on the other. The Native Affairs Report of 1930 expressed a similar concern about poor housing on the farm in North Eastern Rhodesia.²⁶ The local conditions prevailing for local labour were poor housing and sanitation medical care and poor food. The poor state of housing exacerbated by economic depression which set 1931-1934. It sent many farmers out of business and made many employee redundancies resulting from the depression were not restricted to farm areas.

Europeans were generally paid many times the amount received by Africans for the same type of work whether private or public sector. Secondly the rate of Native tax ruling at a particular time became the basis of wage fixing in most parts of colonial Africa.²⁷ In 1940, when the starting wage for an African surface worker 12s 6d per month and 22s 0d for underground worker, the European average wage was more than £40 per month. African lorry driver on the mines was paid £3 per month while there European counterpart earned £ 30 per month.²⁸ The colour of the worker rather than his skills seems to have been the main determining factor in fixing the wage level in Northern Rhodesia. Literature on condition of workers in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia reveal similar situation.

The pre-tobacco period in North Eastern Rhodesia were largely paid in kind when ranching was dominant agricultural activity of the commercial farmer, head boys often received wage in kind which varied quality and quantity.²⁹ Also they depended on the benevolence of individual employer. Payments were made in the form of salt, soap, cloth or any western item of attraction to local people. In most cases the employer had the discretion of determining when the payments should be made. As such, employees after got their wages irregularly. To the farmer paying wages to the herdboys whose father lived on European land was considered a kind of favour.

²⁵ Annual Report, Department of Native Affairs, 1929 (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1930). 15.

²⁶ Annual Reports, Northern Rhodesia, Social and Economic Progress, 1933 (Livingstone: Government Printers, 1932).

²⁷ N.A.Z., BS2A/3/17, Hut Tax Vol. I, 1902.

²⁸ NAZ, NE/A2/5/5, Administration North-Eastern Rhodesia to Secretary N.C.E Company, 1st April 1904.

²⁹ Francis Carpenter, The introduction of Commercial Farming into Zambia and its effects to 1940' in Robin Palmer (ed) Zambia Land and Labour Studies. Volume 1 (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 1973). 7.

That the herdboys family live on and used the settlers land with rent was seen as enough payment for the services rendered by the head boy. Adults farm labour which was employed alongside herdboys to work on cotton plantations were partly paid in kind and partly hard cash. Each adult worker received 3s od for thirty working days in dry season and 4s od in wet season.³⁰ The workers as a rule were not supplied with food rations but received 1s od with which to buy food for the whole month. The 4s od monthly wage offered in wet season was meant to attract more people needed the labour in their own field.³¹ The inadequacy of that shun wage employment on the farm of North Eastern Rhodesia remained repulsive for instance the average wage for farm worker in the 1920s did not go beyond 10s od per month. The farmers did very little to make farm wages attractive to job seekers.³²

From Africans in North Eastern Rhodesia it appeared the major factor that determined the wages was the rate of poll tax the African was required to pay to government. Take for instance when the farmers paid their workers 3s od to 4s od per month the annual poll tax was 3s per person. Each time a suggestion was made to raise Native tax the farmers objected because of the fear that such a move might lead to demand for higher wages. In 1914, when a suggestion was made to raise the Native tax from 3s d to 5s od, the farmer only accepted the move on condition that farm wage remained low.³³

As case of accommodation and wages, the quantity and quality of food or payment in rations offered to workers on the farm were poor. The paucity or non-provisions of food ratios further discouraged people from local employment. The farm workers in the eastern of Luangwa were not given food rations unlike their counter parts on the Orange Free State farms in South Africa were farm workers were given food rations besides an average of 13s, 10d per month. The period early 1930s the farmers in North Eastern Rhodesia did not give their workers food rations but merely paid them 'Poso' in cash.³⁴ The Poso was very inadequate in that it would not even obtain a worker one month mealie meal. For instance in late 1920s the minimum monthly ration per work a 50 lb bag of mealie meal cost 3s a ration of meal and vegetable per month would cost

³⁰ L .H. Zgambo, 'Farm Labour in the Eastern Province of Zambia', MA Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1983.

³¹ Zgambo, Farm Labour in the Eastern Province of Zambia. P. 43.

³² Marilyn Jones, 'The Politics of the Whites Agrarian Settlement in Northern Rhodesia 1898-1928', MA, Thesis. University of Sussex, 1974.

³³ Zgambo, Farm Labour in the Eastern Province of Zambia. P. 43-51.

³⁴ Zgambo, Farm Labour in the Eastern Province of Zambia. P. 43.

about 4d around and a bottle of milk just for a day consumption would cost 4d and small urban area like Fort Jameson.³⁵ Evidently, the total cost of the above food necessities even when an important ingredients like salt is left out, exceeded the amount of the 1s to 2s Poso given to a farm worker. The worker was thus forced to use most of his already meager wage on food expenses. Consequently, for the poor worker to raise money for tax and for other family requirements was compelled to stay and work a little longer on farm.³⁶

Medical provisions to Africans in North Eastern Rhodesia were virtually non-existence on nearly all the area both in the colonial administration and private institutions throughout the period. Medical provisions and other health requirements were met as best they could be, in the workers traditional community.³⁷ The Africans complained that local prices of drugs were high and would contribute a considerable burden for the employer. The welfare of workers was given little importance. The issue of vital importance to Africans was to minimize production cost and thereby maximizing profits. The Africans who fell sick were sent to their home town for treatment.

Education facilities such schools were left to institutions like the missionaries and government in the area. In other areas of the situations was the same. Schools to both settler's children's and Africans were provided by missionaries and the government. For example in 1946, it was reported that African education was still largely provided by missionaries Africans in the whole of Northern Rhodesia were known to have played no part in the provision of education facilities to the workers. On the other hand, the child of a mine worker on the Copperbelt was able at least by 1950s to learn at a mine school were his father also attended evening classes.³⁸

African Response to Colonial Rule in North Eastern Rhodesia

The quantity of the economic and social facilities offered to African workers in North Eastern Rhodesia created a situation reminiscent of equilibrium of poverty. This situation that does not allow for economic growth to take place. This kind of working conditions prevalent on colonial

³⁵ Tachaona B. Jokonya, 'East Luangwa 1895-1947: A Study of Colonial Land Policy in the Eastern Province of Zambia', PhD, Thesis. University of London, 1968. P. 56.

³⁶ NAZ, KDG/1, Fort Jameson District Note Book Vol. 1. 1924.

³⁷ Kenneth Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Zambia: the Tonga Economy and British Imperialism, 1890 - 1939* (Connecticut: Green Press, 1986), p. 73.

³⁸ Henry S. Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism: A prelude to the Politics of Independence in Northern Zambia 1893-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p. 97

government and other private institutions in North Eastern Rhodesia by 1920s indicates that the workers operated with the frame work of equilibrium of poverty. The local labour force shunned from work and wage labour in general to retain their labour within the traditional economies. Those who took up employment on the farm reacted towards poor conditions by frequent dissertation. The people's main and most consistent escape-mechanism was through emigration to other labour markets with comparatively more appealing wages and working conditions.³⁹

In North Eastern Rhodesia, failure to identify the root cause of desertion resulted into applying half-baked solutions. Among the measures taken to solve the problem of desertion was the employment of more juveniles.⁴⁰ This solution faltered because juveniles would not carry out heavier tasks such as clearing bush and weeding. They were most suited for harvesting task. Besides, juveniles were also hard to obtain because at the time when commercial farmers required their family labour units too needed their assistances in the traditional economic activities.⁴¹ The Africans appeared to have noticed the limitation of the above solutions to the problem and instituted another measure. This introduced the ticket system of payment in 1917 where by the planter would get 30 days' work instead of the usual day in the calendar.

In response to the imposition of taxation, the Africans came up with sustainable 'creative responses' which included, but were not limited to, resistance and proactive engagement through increased agricultural production.⁴² The colonial state did not always get the outcomes it desired from its taxation policies, such as the exodus of African labour from the traditional sector to the capitalist sector.⁴³ African agricultural production as a response, and this clearly demonstrates, constituted a dialogue between Africans and the colonial masters who sought to dominate them, where Africans successfully talked back to the regime in defiance of colonial orthodoxy.⁴⁴

³⁹ Samuel N. Chipungu, *The State, Technology and Peasant Differentiation in Zambia: A Case Study of the Southern Province, 1930-1986* (Lusaka: Historical Association of Zambia, 1988), p. 41

⁴⁰ Euston K. Chiputa, 'The Theory and Practice of Imprisonment in Northern Rhodesia, 1907-1964,' MA Dissertation, University of Zambia, 1993, p. 21.

⁴¹ N.A.Z., BS3/68, Hughes to Secretary, Administration, 04/02/14.

⁴² E. Phiri, 'Aspects of African Responses to Colonial Taxation in Colonial Zambia: The Case of Mazabuka District, 1904-1964', MA, Dissertation, University of Zambia, 2020.p.

⁴³ N.A.Z., BS2/14/2, Reports on Native Labour, 1907/1911, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Ian Henderson, 'The Limits of Colonial Power: Race and Labour Problems in Colonial Zambia, 1900-1953,' *The Journal of Imperial Commonwealth History*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (May 1974), p. 296.

African societies reacted to colonial rule and acknowledges that some missionaries were not agents of colonialism in all the African colonised states.⁴⁵ An example of how White Fathers missionaries complained about how Africans were ill-treated. The missionaries sided with the Africans in the first popular demonstration of African resentment to forced labour in North Eastern Rhodesia. This happened in 1896 among the Namwanga people of Ilendela village near Ikowa Boma, of which John Bell (colonial official) was operating. When Bell sent out a few of his Makua Police and some Ikowa villagers to recruit labour, the headman refused to give them any men and his people took up guns, bows and arrows and fired at the colonial party, who fired back though hurting no one.⁴⁶

The colonial party then withdrew, but in retaliation as they left, they drove the goats and sheep of the village to Ikowa boma, which was about seven miles away. This was the first violent African reaction. This Ilendela incident revealed the hidden fundamental differences of attitude of the administration on one hand and the local white missionaries on the other towards Africans.⁴⁷

Annual reports indicates that a villager went to Mwenzo mission of the Free Church of Scotland and complained to Rev Alexander Dewar about the goats and sheep that had been taken away by the colonial Police.⁴⁸ The missionary urged the colonial administration to pay compensation to the Africans and heavily condemned the incident. If these missionaries were serving the interests of the colonialists, a demand for compensation would not have been made. This shows that the early missionaries, in this case, the Church of Scotland missionaries sided with the Africans, hence cannot be seen as supporting colonial rule. It is therefore important to see the role of missionaries Reaction to Colonialism in colonial Northern Rhodesia as going beyond speaking for the Africans.

Africans in North Eastern Rhodesia reacted to colonial rule by way of fighting for independence. This fight for independence was partly precipitated by the need for land. In instances where Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia failed to politically over-rule colonial they

⁴⁵ Fergus Macpherson, *An Anatomy of Conquest: The British Annexation of Northern Zambezia, 1884–1924* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1981), p. 286; Henry S. Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism: A prelude to the Politics of Independence in Northern Zambia 1893-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), p. 97 and Jones E. Stephenson, *Chirupula's Tale: A Bye Way in African History* (London: Unwin Brothers Limited 1937), p. 227.

⁴⁶ Mwelwa C. Musambachime, 'Northern Rhodesia Tax Stamps as an Aid to Chronology,' *History in Africa Vol.14* (1987), p. 365.

⁴⁷ Kenneth Vickery, *Black and White in Southern Zambia: the Tonga Economy and British Imperialism, 1890 - 1939* (Connecticut: Green Press, 1986), p. 73.

⁴⁸ N.A.Z., KDB6/6/1, Fort Jameson Sub-District Annual Report, 1911 - 1912.

resorted to religious protests. He reports how the missionaries condemned the plan by the BSA Co to create Native reserves where Africans were going to reside. In a bid to attract more settlers, the colonial state drew elaborate plans for reserves that would confine Africans to lands away from the railway line.⁴⁹ These were created in 1928/29 in the Northern Eastern Rhodesia where the best half of land was reserved to European settlement. In 1938, the Pim Commission (the commission of inquiry led by Sir Alan Pim who was a British colonial official and a visiting financial expert) reported that almost 90 percent of the land grabbed from Africans was still unoccupied including 1/3 of the Ndola district and two fifths of the Mkushi district.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, in the newly demarcated reserves to which Africans had been sent, overcrowding and the resultant destruction timber and soil resources presented further problems. The fact that Africans were drawn away from the lines of communication meant that the development of the Africans' participation in the cash economy dwindled.

The Anglican missionaries in North Eastern Rhodesia protested on behalf of the Africans. Though the BSA Co suspended the project in the territory, it was effected all the same in 1929 by the colonial government.⁵¹ The missionaries confronted the scheme again and in 1947, the colonial state pre-designated Crown land as Trust Land in a bid to allow Africans to occupy better land and to ease congestion in the reserves.⁵² The political protests which were recorded in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia and bringing out what brought about the rise of nationalism is helpful and it explains Africans' discontent.⁵³

Impact of Colonial policies on Africans

Colonialism in Northern Eastern Rhodesia, was characterized by racial segregation as the Africans did not have the equal opportunities with the Europeans. This was seen in the housing, health, education and employment sectors.⁵⁴ It was a period characterised by the rule of a horse and the rider where the European was the rider, and the African, the horse.⁵⁵ The situation in Northern Rhodesia after colonialism, Africans had no political and economic rights as they were

⁴⁹ Richard Hall, *Zambia: 1890 to 1964* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965) p.270.

⁵⁰ National Archives of Zambia, (hereafter N.A.Z.), ZP5/3, Government Notice No. 101 of 1938.

⁵¹ Alfred Tembo, 'African Peasant Reaction to Colonial State Policies in Chipata District of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), 1895-1939,' *Journal of Humanities* Vol. 10 (2011), pp. 39 – 53.

⁵² Northern Rhodesia Colonial Report, 1956 (Lusaka: Government Printers, 1958).

⁵³ A.J Hanna, *The beginning of Nyasaland Rhodesia: Early Days to 1953* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1964). P. 93.

⁵⁴ H.S Meebelo, *Reaction to Colonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971).

⁵⁵ Vickery, Black and White, p. 72..

servants of the colonial masters. Africans also suffered a lot with the tax obligation they had to meet and this slowed down the development of the rural areas as the strong men left the villages and migrated to the towns in search of employment.⁵⁶ Families were broken as the men who went to the towns soon married women in the towns, those in the villages were left to take up new roles of survival which led to famine and death as the old, young and women could not fully provide for their families.⁵⁷ Even in towns when industrialisation was under way, families were broken as some women opted to marry men who were living in big houses.

Other than this, the chiefs lost their powers and traditional society could never stand as it had done before as the colonial government introduced new and instead of the people giving tribute to the chiefs, they could not do that. There was no more connection and respect between the chiefs and the people. The chiefs who opposed colonial rule were deposed from their thrones. Some of the Paramount who were deposed were Chief Chitimukulu, Paramount Chief Mpezeni (Pontiano Gabriel Jere), and Chief Milambo (Lwando Chiliapa). Whatever the case, the fact is that the chiefs who seemed to oppose colonial rule were not liked by the colonial state. This shows that the chiefs were tampered with in the colonial era.⁵⁸

Colonial rule in Zambia was full of challenges for the Africans especially that their movements were limited many Africans were imprisoned in July 1955, in North Eastern Rhodesia and Copperbelt. This was because the Africans were not allowed to enter European shops and women without marriage certificates were not permitted to move about in the towns.⁵⁹ There was discrimination in public places in the middle 1950s as Africans could not enter a theatre or a cinema in Northern Rhodesia, they could not eat in an airport restaurant and in the grocery stores, and they had to wait their turn until all Europeans were served. This discrimination was also extended to working conditions and wages where Africans were lowly paid as compared to the Europeans despite having the qualifications. African opposition to colonial rule was also a feature of colonial rule in Zambia.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ L. W. Bowman, *Politics in Rhodesia: White Power in an African State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), M. Loney, *Rhodesia: White Racism and Imperial Response* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1975).

⁵⁷ K. Young, *Rhodesia and Independence: A study in British Colonial Policy* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1969), R. Blake, *A History of Rhodesia* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1977).

⁵⁸ N.A.Z., BSA2/A1/1/2, Vol. I, Administrator High Commissioner for South Africa, 1905.

⁵⁹ W.E. Haviland, 'Economic Development of Tobacco Industry in Northern Rhodesia' in *South African Journal of Economics*, Volume 22n. 4. 1954. P. 381.

⁶⁰ J. Fray, "The Zambian Economy" in W. Tordoff (ed) *Administration in Zambia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), pp.43-67, A. Seidman, "The Distorted Growth of Import Substitution: The Case of Zambia"

Some Africans who were educated by the missionaries and those from abroad led the fight for justice both economically and politically in Northern Eastern Rhodesia. The fight for an end to discriminatory policies and poor working conditions for Africans was the prime objective of the revolution movement mounted by Africans in Northern Eastern Rhodesia and this was more prominent on the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia. Africans formed associations and unions, which represented the interests and aspirations of the African mine workers on the copper belt and around the country. The unions and the associations did not work in isolation but rather both championed the desire of their fellow Africans. Due to pressure mounted by the associations and unions, monthly wages and conditions of service were improved though not much and not to the satisfaction of the African miners. It is this agitation by the African leaders in the unions and welfare associations that eventually led to the fight for freedom from colonial rule to independence because of the harsh policies and unbearable work conditions for Africans.

The other notable impact of the reactions by Africans to Colonial rule is that political freedom and emancipation was achieved and the down of the new government was very eminent to the delight of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia by the year 1963 to 1964.

Conclusion

The colonial administrators imposed a lot of restrictions on Africans in Northern Rhodesia as a way to suppress them and advance their dominance agenda. Among the policies that agitated the Africans were; Hut tax where Africans were supposed to pay by law; however this was an indirect way to force the Africans to seek for jobs more especially in the mines to provide cheap labor. The other policy was on land. Good land was a preserve for the white settlers and the natives (African) were pushed to areas where the land was very unproductive. Courts were also introduced to punish tax defaulters and those who were accused of witchcraft, including those who abrogated discriminated policies like Africans entering shops for Europeans. Finally, the impact of the said colonial policies on Africans brought about civil unrest more especially on the Copperbelt. Africans started reacting to the unjust treatment by the colonialists. These reactions

in B. Turok (ed) *Development in Zambia: A Reader* (London: Zed Books Ltd , 1979), pp.100-127 and R. Tangri, "Public Enterprise and Industrial Development: the Industrial Development Corporation of Zambia (INDECO)" in K. Woldring et al (ed) *Beyond Political Independence: Zambia's Development Predicament in the 1980's* (Berlin: Mouton, 1984), pp.113-127.

were in form of riots and protests. The end of all these reactions by Africans was the emancipation of freedom for Africans in Northern Rhodesia by the year 1964.

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