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# The 'Wild' and 'Lazy' Lamba: Ethnic Stereotypes on the Central African Copperbelt

BY BRIAN SIEGEL

LAMBA. A group of people who speak *uwulamba* (a language related to that of the Bemba) and who live south and west of the Congo Pedicle in the Copperbelt... They have never been happy with the miners coming from all over the country to work on the Copperbelt mines. They feel that parts of their country have been alienated to others. In 1968-69 they alleged that they were being treated with economic neglect, as their territory tends to be rural and underdeveloped.<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

Nearly every ethnographic account of the Northern Rhodesian copper towns makes passing mention of the indigenous rural Lamba and of how the African townfolk in the 1950s scorned them as a people of little consequence. Little had changed by the late 1970s, for the Lamba of the rural Zambian Copperbelt, then, were still considered backward, weak and lazy country bumpkins, and their consequent resentment fuelled much of the reciprocal misunderstanding and invidious ethnic stereotyping between the area's immigrant, Shona-speaking 'Mazezuru' farmers and their local Lamba hosts. Curiously, such stereotypes first appeared in virtually identical forms and during the same historical period on both sides of the Congolese and Northern Rhodesian frontier. Whereas the Belgians saw the Katangan Lamba as 'wild' and 'shy' (*farouche*), mistrustful (*mefiant*) and independent, the British termed their southern brethren in Northern Rhodesia as 'timid', 'lazy' and 'backward'. These same stigmatizing, ascriptive stereotypes are still in wide circulation in Zaire and Zambia today and, as they are presumably grounded in historical fact, they must be taken seriously.

Yet contemporary scholars rarely take seriously particular stereotypes such as these. And this, according to Joshua Fishman, is because we habitually tend to associate this term with 'those classes of "pictures in our heads" that are essentially incorrect, inaccurate, contrary to fact, and, therefore undesirable'. Given this concept's pejorative connotations, the general tendency has been for scholars to focus upon the psychological traits of the holders of stereotypes — upon social prejudice, projective scapegoating, and 'authoritarian personality' types — rather than to examine the contents of particular stereotypes and what they have to say about the social relations between groups of stereotypers and those they have stereotyped.<sup>2</sup>

I shall argue that while these ascriptive stereotypes of the Lamba — and the resentment they generate — have a factual basis, they also reflect the salient affective sentiments and material concerns of those groups which have interacted with the Lamba. I hope to convince my readers that, while both the external-stigmatized and internal-resentful dimensions of Lamba identity are best seen as unbalanced and one-sided, they are nonetheless relatively accurate representations of how the Lamba in general responded to the new relations established when, at the turn of the century, the lands and peoples of the Central African Copperbelt were incorporated into the new colonial industrial order.

## The Lamba, Slave Raiding and the Advent of Colonial Rule

According to 1969 and 1970 census figures, there are approximately 190,000 Lamba and related peoples living in Ilamba (Lambaland) — one half in Zaire's Shaba Province (formerly Katanga), and the rest in Zambia's Copperbelt and the northeastern tip of the Northwestern Province. The 125,000 Lamba are the largest of these groups, but they are culturally so like their Seba, Temba, Lemba and Lima neighbours that, in Doke's words, 'they scarcely constitute a separate tribe'.<sup>3</sup>

These groups are all matrilineal in descent, use slash-and-burn cultivation methods, and dwell in small, dispersed villages. They share common myths of origin and ancestral legends, a common pattern of social organization, similar witchcraft and religious beliefs, virtually indistinguishable languages, and a common Lamba Bible. And it seems that all, for at least the past three hundred years, have lived, married, visited and traded with one another across the Zambezi-Zaire rivers' watershed which comprises the contemporary international frontier. Thus they regard each other as common, closely related peoples living under separate chiefs and having separate political administrations.

Of these peoples, however, only the 125,000 Lamba (and 13,000 Seba) acknowledge the chiefs of the Mishishi ('Human Hair') clan — six of these in Zaire and six in Zambia — as customary 'owners' or stewards (*abene cialo*) over much of these Copperbelt lands. It is their chiefly clan and its lore, its perpetual kinship relations, and these chieftaincies' own local histories which serve as the distinctive markers of Lamba identity. It is to these histories that we now turn.

Little is known of Ilamba's pre-colonial history before the cumulative disasters of the late nineteenth century. The first direct mention of the Lamba appears in the Portuguese explorer Lacerda's journal entry for 21 September 1798, by which time the Lamba and their neighbours were apparently trading copper and ivory to Chief Kazembe's Lunda, and to the middlemen of Nsenga country near Zumbo, the Portuguese trading post on the Zambezi.<sup>4</sup> When Silva Porto and his *pombeiros* passed through Katanga fifty years later, itinerant Mbundu, Luvale, Bisa and Swahili traders were exchanging calicos, flintlocks and powder for Lamba slaves. Soon thereafter the Sumbwa-Nyamwezi established their Yeke trade empire in northern Katanga. They, along with Chikunda and Swahili slave and ivory traders, began the disastrous cycle of depopulating wars, famines and pestilence which mark the final phase of Ilamba's pre-colonial history.<sup>5</sup>

Slave raiding here was only ended after Cecil Rhodes decided to challenge Portuguese and Belgian claims to Katangan Ilamba and its reputed mineral wealth. In 1890 he sent three treaty-signing expeditions to bring Chief Mwenda Msiri's Yeke empire into the sphere of influence of the British South Africa Company (BSAC). And while only one actually reached Msiri, Rhodes's challenge forced the Belgians to take over the unravelling Yeke empire in 1891 and to wrest remaining Katangan territory from the control of well armed bands of Swahili traders. Thus a Belgian punitive expedition, armed with cannon, finally drove Chiwala's band of 200 Swahili traders from their stockade on the Luapula River and into Rhodesian Ilamba in 1897.<sup>6</sup> By this time, mineral prospecting parties were already at work in the Kafue Hook and along the Katangan border north of Mkushi; within two years, they were operating in both Katangan and Rhodesian Ilamba.

Rhodes's other two expeditions mainly affected the southern (or Rhodesian) Lamba and their Seba and Lima neighbours. The first, Joseph Thomson's smallpox-carrying safari, never reached the Yeke capital, but turned back after signing a vaguely worded treaty in November 1890 with Mwenda Msiri's tribute-paying namesake, 'the important Iramba chief Mshiri', Lamba chief Kabalu Mushili I. The BSAC originally staked its claim to Ilamba's mineral wealth on Thomson's treaty, but later, when the Foreign Office refused to recognize it, the Company had to fall back upon Lochner's agreements with the Lozi king Lewanika, which accepted his brazenly fantastic claims to tributary sovereignty over all of Ilamba.<sup>7</sup>

These were desperate times throughout Ilamba. In 1884-85 Capello and Ivens found northern Ilamba deserted, as the villagers had fled into the bush or to isolated stockades (*amalinga*) from the threat of Yeke, Mbundu and Swahili slave raiders. Later, still others fled to Lenje or Ushi country further south or east. Sorghum gardens were abandoned during the warfare following Mwenda Msiri's murder, and consecutive plagues of locusts caused such severe food shortages that Delcommune's and Bia's expeditions, in 1891, ate locusts and boiled grasses. Thomson's expedition triggered a smallpox epidemic in 1890, while rinderpest, in 1892-94, killed off the large game animals.<sup>8</sup> It is little wonder, then, that the Lamba do not romanticize their pre-colonial past. Depopulation is not the stuff of which Golden Pasts are made.

Rhodes's treaty expeditions, however, had two long-term consequences for the peoples of Ilamba, both of which figure prominently in forming the internal-resentful dimension of contemporary Lamba identity. First, in the south, the Belgian occupation of Katanga forced Chiwala's Swahili traders to resume their operations from the centre of Lamba chief Mushili's territory, near modern Ndola's railway depot. Slave raiding ended only around 1910, and the Lamba still resent the special favouritism shown these fearsome Swahili 'strangers' (*abensu*) by the BSAC administration.

Second, and even more fundamentally, the peoples of Ilamba on both sides of the border still resent their removal to Native Reserves when their lands were appropriated for projected mining and farming developments. While the advent of colonial rule and industrial capitalism probably saved the residents of Ilamba from near extinction at the hands of intrusive slave and ivory raiders, the overall injustices of the early colonial period, including the loss of lands and chiefly authority, remain central focuses in the internal-resentful dimension of Lamba ethnic self-identity. In similar fashion, the stigmatizing, ascriptive stereotypes of the 'backward', 'wild' and 'lazy' Lamba are also rooted in history.

### Early Colonialism and Ethnic Stigmatization

There is little recent ethnographic literature on the Lamba or their neighbours. The two more recent accounts, with their emphasis upon acculturation, social development and the traditional obstacles to modernity, accurately capture the anthropological preoccupation of the 1960s. Yet they contain valuable comparative information. Bourgeois, for example, describes the Lamba (together with the Seba, Lima and Swaka) as far more 'wild' and 'shy' (*farouche*), 'mistrustful' (*mefiant*), 'independent', and historically reluctant to seek urban employment than the other Katangan ethnic groups. He even mentions that the Luba of Lubumbashi consider the Lamba to be 'dirty' (*sale*), 'ignorant' and 'lazy' (*faineant*).<sup>9</sup> Van Waelvelde's study of Chief Kaponda's Seba is in much the same vein, focusing upon their suspicious mistrust of 'strangers,' regardless of their race:

*For the Lamba, the civil authority is a force which tries to interfere in their own affairs. It never brings about anything good. . . This being the case, the Lamba often dream of living in some lost valley without roads or passage. There they live very primitively, but they are fond of this liberty, this tranquillity, one might say, their own sense of independence.*

*All development programmes clash with this desire for liberty and mistrust of authority. If one wants to build a social hall, erect a public service building, etc., one need not expect an enthusiastic reception. Psychologically, when the beni [strangers to the clan, in other words, the civil authority, townfolk, whether white or natives] appear, it is when they have designs upon the residents, and they are never to the residents' advantage.<sup>10</sup>*

While these similar accounts of Lamba character are interesting in themselves, it is even more interesting to note that Europeans have described the Zairean and Zambian Lamba in remarkably similar, derogatory terms for the last 80 years or more: those in old Katanga as shy or wild, mistrustful and independent; and those in Northern Rhodesia as timid, lazy and backward. Furthermore, these stigmatizing Lamba stereotypes have not been confined to Europeans alone. African townfolk on both sides of the Copperbelt have shared essentially similar invidious stereotypes about the Lamba for at least the last 40 years. Assuming that the Lamba neither were nor are inherently 'wild' or 'lazy', how were these stereotypes first established?

Given the circumstances in Ilamba around the turn of the century and their experiences of raids and attacks, it is not surprising that the early European traders, prospectors, colonial officers and labour recruiters came to regard the Lamba and their neighbours as wild, timid or mistrustful. They had every reason to behave in such a manner and very probably did. Villagers simply fled whenever 'strangers' came their way, and this, according to Captain Verdick's account of the 1897-98 campaign against Chiwala's Swahili, seems to have been the typical Lamba response:

*There are several reasons why the [Lamba] natives leave their villages so precipitously: the fact of their disrupted way of life; the caravan men having become too demanding; the headmen or his subjects having committed some misdeeds; the diviner perhaps predicting some calamity should they remain in the village during the sojourn of the Whites; the fear of having their women kidnapped, etc.*

*But generally one finds the villages deserted, or else a few men to supply you with some misinformation and to guide you further. But in no case do the women remain in the villages if there is any suspicion. It will take a long while to instil in them an absolute confidence in the representatives of the administration.<sup>11</sup>*

The demands of these new administrations, however, were hardly designed to inspire villagers' confidence. Plagued by smallpox and food shortages, they could ill afford to provide the colonial officers, wild rubber collectors, sorghum traders or labour recruiters with the food, portorage or labourers they desired. Nor could they have been particularly willing to do so, given the strong-arm methods used to secure these demands.

Such methods were probably more common in Katanga, where a 1913 report on labour desertions claims that overly zealous labour recruiters resorted to kidnappings, involuntary conscriptions and even murder. Caught between mutually contradictory demands for food and labourers, the peoples of Katanga Ilamba suffered a continuous cycle of seasonal food shortages up until the mid-1930s.<sup>12</sup> Similar strong-arm methods were, however, also employed in the enforcement of Northern Rhodesian hut, gun and dog taxes. Larger villages broke up into smaller fragments during this time, and the Lamba chief Kabalu Mushili I even fled to Katanga for a time to escape the *corvée* road-building projects of the BSAC's officer, J.E. 'Chirupula' (The Flogger) Stephenson. While an outspoken, if eccentric, advocate of the Lamba and Lala chiefs' rights in later years, Bwana Chirupula, 'the Devil's own' (*mwana wa Satana*), is best remembered for the freewheeling brand of justice he administered with his hippo-hide whip.<sup>13</sup>

Tax-defaulters were one of Stephenson's biggest problems. Generally speaking, the peoples of Rhodesian Ilamba sought to avoid European tax and labour demands by every peaceful means. Their response of passive resistance best explains how the Lamba and their neighbours acquired their reputation for independence and indolence, as the 1903 BSAC administrative report so clearly suggests:

*The Kapopo [Rhodesian Copperbelt] division is inhabited by several tribes, by far the most important being the Walamba . . . . Labour for local work is always plentiful, but it is almost impossible to get these people, who are both indolent and timid, to go long journeys.*

*The tribes in the Kapopo division, and notably the Walamba, exhibit more criminal tendencies than any others in the portion of the Territory under report . . . . They are untrustworthy, abandoning loads which they have undertaken to carry, or work which they have agreed to do, without the slightest hesitation.<sup>14</sup>*

By the 1910s, however, European mining and farming interests were appropriating ever larger tracts of land, and the peoples of Ilamba had more serious grievances upon which to brood. In Katanga, for example, Seba and Temba chiefs Kaponda and Shindaika protested the loss of fallow garden sites to Elisabethville (Lubumbashi) farmers in 1916. So the Comité Spécial du Katanga, following the South African example, resolved the issue with separate native reserves in the early 1920s, and the lands near Elisabethville and all along the rail line from Ndola were vacated for an anticipated influx of *colons agriculteurs*.<sup>15</sup>

Northern Rhodesia soon followed suit. With little to show for the many Copperbelt mineral claims staked in the early 1900s, the BSAC in 1922 opened extensive tracts in southern Ilamba to large-scale mining corporations — but only after reserving to itself the sites which soon became Chingola, Nkana and Chambishi (near Kitwe), and Roan Antelope (Luanshya) copper mines. The British Colonial Office assumed the administration of Northern Rhodesia in 1924, and the Native Reserves Commission began formalizing these land appropriations two years later under the explicit charge ‘not to place “any avoidable difficulties in the way of the mineral development of the Territory”’.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, Chief Mushili’s Lamba had no bargaining leverage with the Reserves Commission. Their claims were all ignored. The Lamba lands near Bwana Mkubwa and the Ndola Boma and railway depot had already been appropriated by Chiwala’s Swahili, ‘the most expert [maize and rice marketing] agriculturalists in the country’. Thus, when the native reserves were instituted in 1928, old Chiwala’s successor, the newly recognized Swahili chief Chiwala II, received a separate Swahili Native Reserve and was promised £910 in land loss compensations, while Lamba chief Chamunda Mushili II’s people were removed from the mines and railway corridors and restricted to just 20 per cent of their former area.<sup>17</sup> To this day, memories of this loss of land and its attendant hardships are the principal focuses of the southern Lamba’s internalized sense of grievance and resentment.

The dominant concern in the establishment of the Lamba-Lima Native Reserve was the welfare of the Northern Rhodesian mining industry, the greatest problems of which were shortages of local food and labourers. And these shortages were attributed to the existence of the Lamba village produce trade. Beginning in the 1920s, the Lamba and their neighbours on both sides of the border were beginning to grow and sell substantial amounts of garden produce: sorghum, cassava and sweet potatoes in the main, but also, in the areas nearest the towns, European garden vegetables. Villagers were making new and larger gardens, and those in Northern Rhodesia had been moving their homes and gardens closer to the markets that developed around mines and railway sidings.<sup>18</sup> Yet these produce supplies were necessarily sporadic and seasonal, and never offered the mines the opportunity to reduce their dependence upon imported southern African maize, the staple food. Yet there is little doubt that this local Lamba produce trade generated sufficient cash to permit those involved in it to avoid farm and mine employment in the earlier phases of the colonial era.

While some of Ilamba’s people did seek occasional wage labour, neither the Katangan nor the Rhodesian groups showed enthusiasm for farm or mine employment.<sup>19</sup> Their reasons for avoiding such employment were complex, and merit mention. The mines and white farmers, first of all, faced the common problem of luring labourers from small and scattered populations to unfavourable working conditions. The work on white farms was undoubtedly more onerous than that required on villagers’ own slash-and-burn gardens, and the Katangan Lamba objected to the farms’ three-year labour contracts.<sup>20</sup> All the mines had problems with labour desertions in these early years. But those at Roan Antelope, where the average length of service in 1927 was just three months, were complicated by its high mortality rate and the fact that the local Lamba attributed these deaths to the *funkwe*, the monstrous water snake of Lamba legend. Roan Antelope, like Mufulira mine, was built on a malarial swamp. Until this swamp was drained in 1929, illness and death were so common that waggish Cape Town railway clerks discouraged European labourers travelling there from buying round-trip tickets. The local Lamba avoided the mines, especially underground work, so most African miners had to be drawn from far more distant areas.<sup>21</sup>

As in Katanga, Northern Rhodesia’s Lamba-Lima Native Reserve was designed to transform this situation by removing the Africans from the lands near the mines and railway corridors. It was meant to leave the Lamba ‘undisturbed’ while making room for future white farmers. Given the Reserves Commission’s recognition of the large body of evidence that the native having his home up against a centre of employment tends to become a producer rather than a labourer’, it appears as though the Reserve was designed to make produce marketing so difficult that Lamba villagers would be forced to abandon their gardens for farm or mine employment.<sup>22</sup> The Commission recognized that the colonial demands for Lamba food and labourers, in the final analysis, were mutually contradictory.

The evidence given before the Commission vividly demonstrates how frustrated Europeans had fallen into the habit of blaming the Lamba for their own disappointments. As seen earlier, the Lamba had long been peaceful

but never particularly cooperative colonial wards, so this example of Lamba scapegoating was not entirely new. Its tone is perhaps best illustrated by the unhappy testimony of the South African Baptists at Kafulafuta Mission in Chief Mushili's area. With only a dozen or so converts after twenty years of work, these missionaries were bitterly disappointed in the 'lazy,' 'degenerate' Lamba, and their 'lethargic apathy in all things save the grossest sensualism'. The accounts of the Lamba peoples in the Reserves Commission Report are a bit more charitable, but the Lamba nevertheless are viewed as 'backward', 'stupid' and wasteful of land.<sup>23</sup>

These and other equally subjective judgments on the Lamba cannot be taken at face value. But they do demonstrate that the stigmatizing, ascriptive stereotypes of the 'wild' and 'lazy' Lamba were determined by the unreasonable demands of the colonial social and economic order. This point is best summarized by the perceptive remarks of a Northern Rhodesian colonial officer in 1926:

*The local [Lamba] native is not very popular with a number of employers of labour who consider him particularly stupid and dislike his tendency to work only for a month or two at a time. Agricultural products have a ready market in an area with so much mining activity and the local man naturally prefers to get his money in this way by which he can live at home.*<sup>24</sup>

### Poverty, Prestige and African Stigmatization 1930-1960

It is easy to understand how frustrated Belgians and British arrived at their derogatory stereotypes of the Lamba. The real puzzle, to my way of thinking, is to explain how urban Africans acquired similar prejudices. For like their predecessors in the 1950s and 1960s, the townfolk of modern Ndola and Luanshya still belittle the Lamba language and provincial Lamba greeting customs, and look down upon them as weak and backward country bumpkins.

Similar prejudices still prevail in modern Lubumbashi. Most recently, for example, Schoepf reports that Zairean personnel with an ill-conceived UNESCO 'Man and Biosphere' development programme hold 'negative stereotypes of [these] Shaba peoples as hard to deal with, uncooperative and against progress: "people who have always been against State authority"'. Bourgeois states that the Luba townfolk of the 1960s regarded the Lamba as 'dirty' (*sale*), 'ignorant' and 'lazy'. And Lambo, writing in the 1940s, claimed that the Lala were far 'sharper' (*eveille*) and more 'civilized' (*evolve*) than the lower ranking Lamba.<sup>25</sup> So again, these contemporary African prejudices have some historical depth.

The classic study of ethnic prestige and 'tribalism' on the urban Copperbelt is Clyde Mitchell's *The Kalela Dance*. Mitchell suggests that such widely established ethnic stereotypes have two possible foundations: either an ethnic group's pre-colonial military reputation, as in the case of the Copperbelt's numerically dominant Bemba and Ngoni groups; and/or its occupational reputation in the colonial industrial order, as in the case of the Luvale who, as night-soil removers during the Great Depression, were stigmatized as *nyamazai* (scavengers).<sup>26</sup> Mitchell has little to say about the Lamba who, by the early 1950s, still represented fewer than 7 per cent of the African males in Luanshya and Ndola, and just 3.4 per cent of the mine workers at Nkana, Nchanga, Mufulira and Roan Antelope mines.<sup>27</sup> But his work is nonetheless helpful in understanding the Lamba's lowly reputation. First, none of the Lamba groups could stake much pride in their historic roles as slavers' bait. They had no tradition of pre-colonial conquests, and had not been successful in resisting such conquests.

Second, and more importantly, the Lamba were seen as remaining largely apart from the colonial industrial order, from the African townfolk's 'struggle for prestige' and its well documented emblems of the apparently superior 'European way-of-life': smart clothes and stylish demeanour.<sup>28</sup> Some of the Lamba, as participants in the Central African millenarian tradition and Jeremiah Gondwe's Lamba-based African Watchtower Movement, apparently rejected urban life itself as part of the colonial order.<sup>29</sup> Far more, however, had chosen to remain peripheral village cultivators, financing their tax obligations and purchases of manufactured goods through their occasional sales of bush and garden produce.

This, I believe, best explains how the Lamba acquired their low reputation among the African townfolk on the Copperbelt. If present circumstances are any guide to the past, the tattered and dusty Lamba villager, creaking his sweet potatoes or cabbages to market on his dilapidated, overlaid bicycle, served to dramatize the townfolk's invidious contrast between the very real difficulties of village life and the urbane ideals of Mitchell's 'European way-of-life'. Thus the Ndola Africans of the 1950s denigrated villagers (in Bemba) as *batuutu*, 'bumpkins', and *beno tulo*, 'sleeping ones'.<sup>30</sup> The nearest villagers at hand were and are the Lamba, and they are still occasionally derided in these same terms today.

These inferences presumably apply to the northern Lamba as well. They too were late to seek urban employment, maintained the same suspicious mistrust of 'strangers', suffered the same invidious stereotypes

and, according to Crawford Young, Bogumil Jewsiewicki, and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, share much the same sense of grievance and resentment today. This brand of stereotyping, however, is not unique to the Lamba. Robert LeVine and Donald Campbell suggest that urbanites in general tend to view their rural neighbours as backward and ignorant rustics, and that they, in turn, are stereotyped as shrewd and dishonest sophisticates.<sup>31</sup>

These are the same reciprocal stereotypes found along the Zambian Copperbelt today. Lamba villagers, particularly the elderly, consider the towns to be 'bad' (*abipile*) and beguiling places, townsfolk insufferably 'proud'; and they take personal pride in never having had to work there, or pride in not having been corrupted by the experience if they have. There is every reason to believe, then, that the Lamba on both sides of the border have been historically stereotyped as weak and backward because they remained predominantly rural peoples throughout most of the colonial period, and conditions in rural Ilamba, as elsewhere in much of rural Northern Rhodesia, could only have contributed to the genesis of invidious stereotypes. Ilamba's impoverishing integration into the colonial industrial order only confirmed the African town-dwellers in their prejudices.

The Lamba chose to remain peripheral rural cultivators through the 1930s, but this was not because they derived greater wealth from their produce sales than they could have found in urban wage labour. In Northern Rhodesia, for example, with higher producers' prices than those in Katanga, a villager selling one or two 200 lb. bags of sorghum received the same price per bag in 1932 — 12s 6d — as an unskilled labourer earned in the month, not counting the labourer's rations.<sup>32</sup> And given the recurrent reports of irregular rains, locusts, smallpox, influenza and the attendant food shortages in Rhodesian Ilamba, there is no reason to believe that the Lamba villagers were ever particularly prosperous.<sup>33</sup>

Such is certainly the impression Commissaire de District Vermuelen conveyed about the Lamba peoples of Elisabethville Territoire in 1933:

*What do we find in the majority of these [Lamba] chiefdoms? Villages composed of a few miserable huts, a population of poor devils with few necessities, owning little or nothing, working just long enough to secure a meagre and often still insufficient nourishment, to obtain a few francs for paying taxes and, perhaps, a few rare calicos for clothing themselves.*<sup>34</sup>

Conditions in Rhodesian Ilamba were similar, as suggested in J.L. Keith's 1935 'Human Geography Report' to the Chief Secretary for Native Affairs:

*Physically the Lamba-Lima people are good looking and well built but not particularly strong. They are intelligent, outspoken and good humoured but unenterprising and have no business instincts and lack ambition. In spite of their proximity to the Copper Mines and opportunities for money making, they remain poor and except for their gardens, huts, a few primitive agricultural implements, a spear and, rarely, a muzzle loading gun, they are without possessions. They have a decided inferiority complex probably owing to their past experiences when their country was a happy hunting ground of the slave trader from both East and West. They are today easily exploited by Natives from other tribes and have been willing victims of the Watch Tower movement which today is to some extent kept alive among them by natives of other and more cunning tribes. They are, however, strangely resistant to external influences on their daily habits of life, and village life has, as far as one can tell, been little influenced by the neighbouring industrial development and the near presence of a mass of natives of other tribes.*<sup>35</sup>

There was, to be sure, more cash in rural circulation during the 1930s than ever before. But as in Northern Rhodesia, the improvident demand for cash and calicos actually compounded village food shortages — again suggesting that the Lamba market gardeners were not entirely rational, profit-seeking calculators of material advantage. Thus in the Pedicle area of Elisabethville Territoire in 1935,

*. . . there has never been so much cash in the natives' hands than at the present. The crops were abundant and they sold it all to the point of not having enough to feed themselves. A few weeks ago, the natives were even selling the little sorghum remaining to them in order to buy calicos. They need to be taught some prudence because by not properly feeding themselves, they expose themselves to all the epidemics.*<sup>36</sup>

The Belgian administration tried to arrest this process of rural impoverishment by introducing compulsory village regrouping and forced cultivation of food crops such as cassava, maize, groundnuts and haricot beans. These were abandoned, however, once it was realized that these measures, combined with higher taxes, had led substantial numbers of able-bodied males and their families — over 500 people from Lamba chief Katala's area — to emigrate into Northern Rhodesia between 1935 and 1938.<sup>37</sup>

Lured by better produce prices, more convenient markets and the alleged '*liberalisme du regime anglais*', these Katangan Lamba immigrants only worsened the overcrowded conditions on the Lamba-Lima Native Reserve. Most of the Reserve was thinly populated, but nearly half of its 26,000 residents were concentrated on the fragile, sandy soils of Chief Mushili's and Chief Nkambo's areas — those closest to the produce markets in Ndola and Luanshya. William Allan, Northern Rhodesia's Assistant Director of Agriculture, toured Lamba Chief Mushili's area in October 1940. While he estimated the land's carrying capacity at about 18 persons per square mile, he found that the mean population density then was more like 44 persons per square mile. Thus Allan concluded, 'It may therefore be stated with considerable certainty that the country at present occupied by Mushiri's people is greatly over-populated in relation to the land requirements of their agricultural system.'<sup>38</sup>

This was during the Great Depression, when substantial numbers of laid-off miners and unemployed Africans were willing to work for rations alone. This cheap labour supply provided the Rhodesian Lamba, like their Katangan brethren near Lubumbashi and Mufulira, with a brief but wretched success in beer sales and prostitution.

*In some villages [near Kitwe, Ndola and Luanshya] the population has been almost entirely occupied in brewing beer for sale at the week ends, with the result that village life has been at a standstill: [unemployed] natives are hired to cultivate the gardens and huts fall into disrepair, while the villagers themselves indulge in an almost continual orgy.*<sup>39</sup>

Although the Lamba had by now been blackballed from the mines themselves as undisciplined and unreliable labourers of an inferior physical type, these peripheral village cultivators were, in the 1930s, finally being fully integrated into the colonial industrial order.<sup>40</sup> Lamba women played the leading role in their movement into the towns:

*The [labour] exodus in the main districts of Ndola and Broken Hill is small, most of the local natives being employed in agriculture and fishing in their own native reserves. Contact with the urbanised native is, however, considerable and demoralising influences are sometimes observed. The villages near the industrial areas are apt to become centres for beer drinking and prostitution unless closely watched, and the temptation to women to go to the towns for the purpose of finding temporary or irregular unions with employees is strong.*

*This restlessness and laxity on the part of the local women . . . has caused considerable concern to the Native Authorities and all thinking natives and Europeans . . . . It is hoped . . . that women who go to the industrial areas simply for the purpose of obtaining money and clothes for their temporary services will come under some means of control, as would happen in the purely native areas . . . . No doubt an increase in prosperity in the rural areas would play an important part in the solution of this difficult problem.*<sup>41</sup>

But prosperity never materialized and this problem was never resolved, for the unusually heavy 1939-40 rains — after ruining three-quarters of the sorghum crop in Chief Mushili's area alone — brought on the devastating 1940-41 Lamba famine. The South African Baptist mission initiated a modestly successful vegetable purchase and marketing scheme that operated between 1943 and 1956 to aid the villagers' recovery. But the administration's own Ndola District Resettlement Scheme (1943-52) — with its onerous cultivation requirements and compulsory village resettlement — was such a dismal failure that, in 1953, the administration decided to import African peasant farming families from Southern Rhodesia to show the 'apathetic' Lamba, 'by demonstration, the possibility of advancement in agriculture'.<sup>42</sup>

There is no doubt that the Rhodesian Lamba's mistrust of the administration and its 'clever' (*cenjela*) schemes to steal more land slowed their recovery from the 1940 famine. In 1938 the administration had deposed the embittered and uncooperative Lamba paramount chief, Chamunda Mushili II, and its meddling in the affairs of legitimate chiefly authority was greatly resented. Recovery from the famine was also slowed by the growing exodus of able-bodied labourers. Thus while nearly half of the taxable males remaining at home in the early 1950s were involved in the market gardening trade, some 50 to 60 per cent of those from the Reserve's northern chieftaincies — as well as unknown numbers of unattached women — were off in the towns.<sup>43</sup> Those remaining behind in the villages, the very old and the very young, were barely able to feed themselves in good years. The Lamba-Lima Native Authority was persuaded, therefore, to set regulations on rural produce sales in a futile attempt to stave off further food shortages.

The years between 1930 and 1960 were bitterly frustrating ones for the Rhodesian Lamba, but also for the administration which, by 1951, 'realized that there were economic and social forces at work [in this district of "demoralized subsistence producers"] which it was difficult, if not impossible, to control'.<sup>44</sup> This was particularly true in the early 1950s, when, as the Federation era (1953-63) approached, rumours about European sorcery and cannibalism were in general circulation among the Africans on the Copperbelt. Sugar sold to Africans was



supposedly salted with medicines causing sterility and stillbirths, and I, fifteen years after Federation had ended, was shown the house in Luanshya where a European doctor was alleged to have drunk the blood of kidnapped Africans, then sold their flesh to the manufacturers of tinned meat.<sup>45</sup>

These frustrations, I believe, informed the grim conclusion to William Allan's study of the agricultural situation among Chief Mushili's Lamba:

*For the more distant future one can only see a degraded people on a degraded soil, a race of 'hangers-on' inhabiting the midden of the mines, hawkers of minor produce, vice and the virtue of their women, such as it is.*<sup>46</sup>

This accelerating impoverishment of Ilamba did not escape the attention of the African townfolk in Northern Rhodesia nor, I suspect, those in Katanga either. By the 1950s the townfolk of Luanshya and Ndola were calling the Lamba *bapwapwa* (lung people), a derogatory nickname alluding to their reputed habit of purchasing cattle lungs and other inexpensive cuts of butchery meat.<sup>47</sup>

This same acknowledgement of Ilamba's rural poverty is implicit in the reports of Lamba marriage and bridewealth expenses during the 1950s. Mitchell's collection of Kalela dance lyrics, for example, includes a set about the lucky butchery worker who pays his bridewealth with the stolen head from a slaughtered cow. These lyrics undoubtedly refer to actual circumstances in the Lamba countryside. There, according to my village informants, a cow's head was an acceptable payment for a Lamba bride, though the standard fee in those days was repeatedly said to have been two shillings and the shinbone of a cow — the latter being used to prepare a marrow relish. In Luanshya, however, the standard payment for a Lamba bride — five shillings — was the same price charged by the 'Kasai' prostitutes from the Congo.<sup>48</sup> Lamba bridewealth expenses, in fact, have never been very high — ten to twenty shillings in the 1920s, and US \$12 to \$25 in 1983 — but these recurrent references to cattle heads and shinbones reflect the desperate rural conditions in Ilamba during the 1950s.

Thus the Lamba's relative immiseration only served to confirm the townfolk's stereotypes about rustic villagers in general. Given urban-dwellers' attachment to the ideals of smart attire, stylish demeanour, and Mitchell's 'civilized way-of-life', all seen as emblems of successful adaptation to the challenges of colonialism, the Lamba undoubtedly appeared to be a weak and backward people. There was certainly little prestige attached to their impoverished rural lives. But neither was there much prestige attached to the Lamba roles in the Northern Rhodesian towns.

### The Lamba in the Northern Rhodesian Towns

Like other late arrivals to the towns, most of the Lamba — 75 per cent according to Mitchell's Copperbelt social survey — worked as unskilled labourers. But far more of the Lamba — 35 per cent — worked as domestic servants (wash boys, garden boys, house boys or cooks) than any of the other seventeen ethnic groups enumerated. The Ndemba and Ngoni came closest, each with 31 per cent of their males employed in domestic service.<sup>49</sup>

This Lamba occupational niche in unskilled labour has to be considered in terms of the limited educational opportunities then available from rival rural mission schools. Six and eight year programmes (Standards IV to VI) did not exist until the late 1940s, and they were initiated by the Franciscan Fathers, the last of the major mission churches to work amongst the Lamba. Thus in my own casual survey of local farm and village residents near Masaiti *boma*, just 7 per cent of the 60 women born before 1930, and 39 per cent of the 92 men, had had more than two years' schooling; 62 per cent of the women and 50 per cent of the men had had none at all. For this generation, higher education meant a sixth or seventh year teacher training course, either at Musofu (Seventh Day Adventist) Mission, beginning in the late 1920s, or at Ndola Central School, beginning in the late 1930s. And neither of these were in the rural Copperbelt.

The district's dominant mission was that of the South African Baptists who, in 1932, were joined by the Scandinavian Baptists at Mpongwe. The former opened the district's first boys' boarding school at Kafulafuta Mission in 1907 and, thereafter, the 'native evangelists' affiliated with these two groups ran a network of more than a dozen village 'outschools', using Lamba pamphlets printed at Kafulafuta. But until the mid-1930s, the boarding school remained a two-year programme distinguished by a blend of religious and basic Lamba literacy instruction, together with 'industrial' training in brick, plank and furniture making, cattle tending, and fruit and vegetable growing. It is little wonder that some Lamba in every generation now critically regard this very first schooling system as having been little more than a training programme in domestic service (*ubukaboi*).<sup>50</sup>

Through the early 1940s, the wages paid to these *bakaboi* ('boys') — nearly one-third of the African urban labour force — were competitive with those paid to other African employees. There were, in addition, certain informal benefits attached to such work. *Bakaboi* were fed on the job. They often had first choice of their employers' castoff clothes, and some received on-site lodging in backyard servants' quarters. And judging from the photographic memorabilia of former Lamba cooks and house boys, domestic servants were able to adopt the same standards of sartorial elegance as the other African townsfolk.

Yet these *bakaboi* did not enjoy much respect among other urban Africans, at least when measured against the occupational ranking standards of Mitchell's and Epstein's sample of 653 African secondary, teachers' training and technical school students in Lusaka. Domestic servants, like messengers, hotel waiters and hotel boys, had low occupational prestige as compared with secondary teachers, headmasters or police inspectors (very high prestige), senior clerks, primary teachers or artisans (high), or boss boys and lorry drivers (neither high nor low). In their evaluation of thirty-one African occupations, these students ranked domestic servants in twenty-fifth place, and garden boys and scavengers (very low prestige) at the bottom of the scale.<sup>51</sup>

Thus the Lamba *bakaboi* — with such colourful occupational names as *Kapu* (Cup), *Foloko* (Fork) and *Sigaletti* (Cigarette) — may have had considerable familiarity with English and the European way of life, but they could never claim this style of life themselves. Nor could they bask in the prestige that the underground miners — mostly Northern or Luapula Province 'Bembas' — claimed for themselves by virtue of their hazardous work, more secure conditions and numerical dominance in the towns. Male occupational preferences may have been instrumental in determining the Lamba's low prestige ranking.

A much stronger case, however, can be made for women's role in establishing the Lamba's low esteem. As George Chauncey has shown, one cannot write a social history of the copper towns without discussing the role that Lamba women played in supplying the townsmen with sexual and other wifely services. It was no accident that Lamba women were renowned, first, for marrying outside their own ethnic group, and second, for not taking such marriages very seriously.<sup>52</sup>

As indicated earlier, Lamba women were quick to take advantage of the shortage of women among the men in the towns. Unattached women from all over Central Africa eventually made their way to the Copperbelt towns, but in Northern Rhodesia the Lamba women — like the Lenje women at Broken Hill mine — were there from the beginning. There were, by the early 1950s, Native Authority Orders limiting the movements of unmarried women to the towns, but these were of little consequence, particularly since the mines and the administration refused to assist their repatriation. Chauncey's interview with a company policeman at Nkana during the 1940s probably describes the typical pattern:

*We were not strict about girlfriends, because everybody had them and if we arrested a man's girlfriend it would lead to trouble between people. Most of these were Lamba girls . . . Sometimes they'd cook a bit, sometimes they'd spend a night in the single quarters.*<sup>53</sup>

The urban authorities could afford to ignore these Lamba women, but this was not the case in the countryside where the women, by leaving for town before the November rains and garden work began and then returning after the harvest in early June, only worsened villagers' prospects of self-sufficient subsistence.<sup>54</sup>

Unlike the Congolese 'Kasai', however, these Lamba women were temporary town wives rather than professional prostitutes. As such, they can be identified with that category of townswomen known as *bakapenta* — the beer and dance-hall girls who helped to 'make a business' out of marriage.<sup>55</sup> And it was this reputation for casual marriages that won these women the ridicule of the Bisa-recruited dance team reported in Clyde Mitchell's *The Kalela Dance*:

*Mothers, I have been to many Courts,  
To listen to the cases that they settle:  
They settle divorce cases,  
They talk about witchcraft cases,  
They talk about thefts,  
They talk about tax-defaulting,  
Ana refusing to do tribute labour.  
But the things I saw at Mushili's court,  
These things I wondered at.  
From nine o'clock in the morning,  
To four o'clock in the afternoon,*

*The cases were only adultery.  
Then I asked the court messenger:  
'Do you have any different matters to settle?'  
The court messenger said: [sung in Lamba] 'No,  
There are no other matters,  
It is just like this in Lambaland —  
There are no theft cases,  
There are no assault cases:  
These are the cases in the courts of Lambaland.'<sup>56</sup>*

The African townfolk's stereotypes of the weak and backward Lamba country bumpkin are not so difficult to understand after all. While these undoubtedly reflect generalized urban-rural prejudices, as discussed by LeVine and Campbell,<sup>57</sup> this externally ascribed and stigmatized dimension of the Lamba ethnic identity is best explained in terms of the African Townfolk's own struggle for economic betterment and social esteem. To the extent that the Lamba's rural isolation, impoverishment, and humble roles in the colonial industrial order tended to confirm these townfolk's general prejudices, it is no surprise that the Lamba and their neighbours were looked down upon as people of little consequence.

### Lamba Resentment

So far this essay has been preoccupied with historical explanations for the invidious, externally ascribed dimension of the Lamba ethnic identity, and little attention has been given to their view of, or their response to, these stereotypes. The time has come to shift our perspective to the internal-resentful dimension of Lamba identity.

Two notes of caution are in order here. First, the available historical materials were written by Europeans, and rarely reflect the Lamba point of view. Most, instead, make repeated allusions to a mistrust of 'strangers' or, as in J.L. Keith's report, to such 'tribal' character traits as an imputed inferiority complex. Though Rev. Bobo Litana, Sr., near Fiwale Hill Mission, is preparing his memoirs for publication, there are to my knowledge no written accounts of Copperbelt history from a Lamba perspective. This, again, probably reflects the relatively recent introduction of comprehensive primary schools into this area.

Second, much of what I have to offer rests upon the oral recollections collected during my 1977-78 field investigation of ethnic 'stranger'-'host' relations between the local Lamba and 'Mazuru' communities of the rural Zambian Copperbelt. Though then not aware of the remarkable parallels in the social and historical experiences of the northern and southern Lamba, the reciprocal ethnic stereotypes that I noted do recall the events of the early twentieth century as central elements in an enduring legacy of Lamba grievance and resentment. One must keep in mind that the advent of colonial rule was, at most, one or two generations removed from the experience of Lamba adults, and that the Lamba-Lima Native Reserve was instituted during the lifetimes of those who are now grandparents and great-grandparents. It would be mistaken to construe these memories as newly coined, eminently instrumental devices in the competition for Zambian governmental and social services.

This resentful dimension of Lamba identity focuses upon the belief that they — having been systematically 'cheated' of their lands and its mineral wealth, and of their dignity and integrity as an autonomous people — have uniquely 'suffered' (*ukuciula*) the costs of the Copperbelt's mineral development. Nearly every village headman south of Luanshya, for example, can recount the tale of how his people were 'chased' (*ukutamfia*) to the Reserve, or fled there from the Congo, or moved to accommodate incoming villages while the lands outside the Reserve remained vacant and uncultivated.<sup>58</sup> They and others will tell how the British in 1938 deposed their legitimate, but uncooperative and allegedly corrupt chief, Chamunda Mushili II, as well as how his extra-legal court and capital rivalled that of the officially appointed Regent for a dozen years thereafter. And some will even draw historical parallels between the removal of Chief Mushili II and the temporary suspension in 1967 of Sr. Chief Mushili IV over the repeated allegations of Lamba economic neglect.

This dimension of Lamba identity has considerable — and reasonably accurate — historical depth. The Lamba resent the townfolk's ridicule of their customs and language, and of their attempts to reintroduce Lamba as the medium of instruction in the rural primary schools. They also resent their being stereotyped as weak and backward country bumpkins. Yet their response to these urban stereotypes has not been uniform. Townfolk, on the one hand, are generally stereotyped as being shrewd, dishonestly 'clever', and arrogantly 'proud'. But the Lamba have also internalized some of the townfolk's stereotypes, and sometimes employ them in self-deprecating commentaries on present circumstances.

One rainy January afternoon, for example, I was surprised to find one of my Lamba informants drinking and

dancing with a barmaid at the local bottle store. Ploughing season was nearly over, but he, for lack of a tractor transmission gasket, had hardly begun. I said something about the shortage of spare parts holding him back, but he admitted that he really hadn't gone to look more than once. Then he shrugged and said, by way of explanation, 'You know how we Lamba are; we only like to drink and dance.' He winked and laughed, then returned to his companion. On yet other occasions, a Baptist church deacon invited me to join him in a Sunday morning beer (*cipumbu*) drink, or the same men who complained that Lamba women 'just prostitute themselves' by marrying a succession of husbands jokingly offered their help to me in finding a Lamba wife or girl friend. Prominent local Lamba farmers, however, are less likely to joke about such things, and take a dim view of the leisurely work pace, the neighbourly beer drinks, and the petty jealousies and marital instability which are so much a part of Lamba village life. There is, in other words, some recognition that the townsfolk's stereotypes about the Lamba represent more than uninformed, projective fictions.

Lamba resentment is more often expressed in a generalized mistrust of intrusive *abensu* (strangers, foreigners), including school teachers or agricultural assistants. The rural Zambian Copperbelt is one of the few rural districts with annual population increases, and given its proximity to the towns, it has become home to a wide variety of such 'strangers'. But these tend to be accepted so long as they interact with the indigenous Lamba as social equals, respect the conventions of Lamba life, and acknowledge the authority of the Lamba chiefs, chiefs' councillors and the local village headmen.

The Swahili community near Ndola, as the historical target for Lamba resentment, is a notable exception to this pattern of ethnic accommodation. Elderly Lamba still resent the special favouritism shown these former slavers during the early colonial period, and a small but popular Lamba political faction continues to contest the legitimacy of the Swahili chieftainship. According to their argument, Swahili and Islam are not indigenous Zambian culture traits so, their reasoning goes, this small core of nominally Muslim Swahili-speakers must be 'foreigners'. And if, as the Swahili community claims, this is not the case, then they are bound to recognize their subordination to their area's original African chief, Lamba Chief Mushili.

Today, however, the most common focus of resentment for the Zambian Lamba is the prosperous and ethnically encapsulated community of polygynous 'Mazezuru' farmers — most of them Karanga Shona. The Federation Administration brought in the first of these Southern Rhodesian 'strangers' in the early 1950s to teach the Lamba proper peasant farming. They met with little success, for the Lamba then saw this as just another 'clever' European scheme to steal more land.

The 'Mazezuru' living south of Luanshya all arrived in the early 1970s, following bitter land disputes with the Lenje and their neighbours in Mumbwa and Kabwe Rural Districts.<sup>59</sup> These hundred farms have markedly raised the rural Copperbelt's agricultural productivity. But few Lamba derive any material benefit — such as tractor-plough services — from this 'Mazezuru' presence, and given their historically conditioned sensitivity to ethnic slights, they resent the 'Mazezuru's' disregard for the welfare of those whose land they presently occupy. Members of the two communities participate in the same social system, but rarely meet as social equals. So for all intents and purposes, they inhabit separate social worlds. Such instrumental relations as do exist between them only accentuate their genuine differences in material interests and affective sentiments, and confirm the reciprocally invidious ethnic stereotyping between the 'proud' and 'selfish' 'Mazezuru' and their 'jealous' and 'lazy' Lamba hosts.<sup>60</sup>

These Lamba stereotypes about the 'Mazezuru', and theirs about the Lamba clearly refer to the patterned inter-ethnic relations on the rural Zambian Copperbelt today. But the cultural sentiments which inform the Lamba view of these 'stranger'-host antagonisms feed upon the enduring sense of grievance and resentment that underlies Lamba self-perceptions, and derives from their historical experience.

## Conclusion

Modern scholars usually dismiss stereotypes as inherently irrational and fallacious bits of self-serving gossip about a given social group. Those working within this tradition are often more disposed to search out the psychological character flaws in the individuals who believe and perpetuate such forms of social gossip than to examine the contents of a particular set of stereotypes, and what these may reveal about the patterned social relationships between an entire group of stereotypers and the group they have stereotyped. More often than not, those within this dominant scholarly tradition seldom pause to ask how particular stereotypes were selected, what their significance might be for those who use them, or whether a given set has any factual basis.

While suspecting that most stereotypes, however misleading or exaggerated, have some factual basis, I do not assume that stereotypes are false by definition. As Michael Banton has suggested, they generally reflect the salient concerns of interacting social groups. Stereotypes 'have critical emotional significance for those who hold

them and they fit together in a twisted but ordered pattern of social relations'.<sup>61</sup>

I have argued that the remarkably similar Belgian and British stereotypes about the northern (Katangan) and southern (Northern Rhodesian) Lamba were no coincidence, but instead represent common European perceptions of the Lamba's response to their incorporation into a common colonial industrial order. Similarly, African stereotypes about the weak and backward Lamba country bumpkins — stereotypes found on both sides of the border — represent generalized urban prejudices against rural folk, these townfolk's common 'struggle for prestige' in the European-dominated colonial order, and their common perception of the genuine and gradually worsening economic and social conditions among the Lamba villagers.

I do not suggest that all stereotypes at all times and in all places are rational or factually informed bits of social gossip. Stereotypes, as self-perpetuating, ascriptive mental constructs, are probably used by all peoples everywhere to order and interpret the complexities of social life. As such, they can be either true or false. Here, however, I have demonstrated that there are sound historical reasons why the Lamba acquired their stigmatized reputation and, in the final section of this paper, I have suggested how their enduring sense of grievance and resentment over the circumstances which generated this reputation both informed their relationships with others in the past, and continues to inform social relations on the Zambian Copperbelt today.

## NOTES

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  19. The Seba and Temba peoples of Katanga, living nearest Elisabethville and the mines, became domestic servants, market gardeners and labourers for private urban firms. The Katanga Lamba worked instead as woodcutters, porters or labourers for the railway, prospecting parties or private firms in Sakania. The Rhodesian Lamba worked with mineral prospecting and railway construction teams, served as porters during the German East African campaign of World War I, and as gardeners and domestic servants thereafter.
  20. *Compte-Rendu, Comite Regional du Katanga*, March 1938, pp.35-37,50-51.
  21. Roan Consolidated Mines, *Zambia's Mining Industry*, p.32; P. Harries-Jones, 'The tribes in the towns' in W.V. Brelsford, *The Tribes of Zambia* (Lusaka, 1965), p.125. Also Doke, *Lamba Folk-Lore*, pp.246-69; Doke, *The Lambas*, pp.318-19, 352-3; A. C. Fisher, '40 Years of medicine on the Copperbelt', *Horizon* (Salisbury), 11 (1969), p.4-9; L.M. Rodger, 'The development of medical and health services at Roan Antelope (Part 1)', *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 5 (1962), pp.135-41; F. Spearpoint, 'The African native and the Rhodesian copper mines'. *Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Africa Society*, 36 (1937), pp.3-4; J.E. Stephenson, 'The Luanshya snake', *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 6 (1965), pp.13-16; Sir M. Watson, *African Highway: The Battle for Health in Central Africa* (London, 1953), pp.13-14, 92-3.
  22. PRO C.O. 795/17-18, Reserves Commission, Vol. 1, pp.75-80, 312; Vol. 2, pp.33, 82-3.
  23. A.J. Cross, *Twenty Years in Lambaland* (London & Edinburgh, 1925), p.6; H. Masters and W. Masters, *In Wild Rhodesia: A Story of Missionary Enterprise and Adventure* (London, 1920), pp.121, 181, 214, 224; J.M. Springer, *The Heart of Central Africa: Mineral Wealth and Missionary Opportunity* (Cincinnati and New York, 1909), pp.81-5; PRO C.O. 795/17-18, Reserves Commission, Vol. 1, pp.45, 149; Vol. 2, pp.9, 40, 53-4, 76.  
Rev. and Mrs John M. Springer (above), Methodist Episcopal missionaries from America, visited the South African Baptists at Kafulafuta Mission in 1907 while on their way from Bulawayo to Benguela. Springer captured much of his hosts' disappointment with the Lamba, writing of them, 'A more degenerate, hopeless lot of people it would be hard to find' (p.82). Clement Doke, to his credit, was the first Baptist at Kafulafuta Mission to challenge this view of the 'degenerate' Lamba: 'From the moral point of view I do not consider the Lambas to be degraded as a people. Their standard of morality certainly differs from that which we have inherited from centuries of Christian precept, but the standard which they have is not low, nor is its observance by the people lax' (*The Lambas*, p.30).
  24. ZNA KSN 3/1/2, Ndola Sub-District Annual Report, Year Ending 31 Dec. 1926, pp. 12-13. It is, I think, no accident that these remarks so closely parallel 'Chirupula' Stephenson's August 1926 testimony to the Native Reserves Commission (PRO C.O. 795/17-18, Vol. 2, pp.117-18).
  25. M.C. Young and B. Jewsiewicki, personal communications; B.G. Schoepf, 'Unintended consequences and structural predictability: man and biosphere in Zaire's Lufira valley', *Human Organization*, 42 (1983), p.364; B. Siegel, 'Comments on Schoepfs "Unintended consequences and structural predictability"', *Human Organization*, 43 (1984), pp. 185-7; Bourgeois, *La Promotion d'un Pays*, p.23; Lambo, 'Etude sur les Balala', pp.239, 326.
  26. J.C. Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance*, Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 27 (Manchester, 1956), esp. p.27; A.L. Epstein, 'The network and urban social organization' (1961) in J.C. Mitchell, ed., *Social Networks and Urban Situations* (Manchester, 1969), p.102; A.L. Epstein, *Ethos and Identity: Three Studies in Ethnicity* (London, 1978), pp.25, 158n.
  27. J.C. Mitchell, 'Distance, transportation and urban involvement in Zambia', in A. Southall, ed., *Urban Anthropology* (London, 1973), p.295; J.C. Mitchell, 'The distribution of African labour by area of origin on the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia', *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 15 (1954), pp.30, 32.
  28. Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance*, pp.11-14; A.L. Epstein, 'Linguistic innovation and culture on the Copperbelt', *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 15 (1959), pp.235-53; A.L. Epstein, *Urbanization and Kinship: The Domestic Domain on the Copperbelt of Zambia, 1950-1956* (London & New York, 1981), pp.56-7, 259-60.
  29. A.E. Beech, 'Early days around the Copperbelt', *Northern Rhodesia Journal*, 2 (1953), pp.47-8; S.J. Chibanza, *Kaonde History, Central Bantu Historical Texts*, I, Part II, Rhodes-Livingstone Communication No. 22 (Lusaka, 1961), pp.78-81; E.A.M. Harris, 'A harvest to be reaped: Chisalala Mission Station, Northern Rhodesia', *Pioneer* (South Africa General Mission), 27 (1914), pp.149-51; W.M.J. van Binsbergen, 'Religious change and the problem of evil in Western Zambia [long version]' in his *Religious Change in Zambia: Exploratory Studies* (London & Boston, 1981), pp. 147-50; Doke, *Lamba Folk-Lore*, pp.276-7; Doke, *The Lambas*, pp.30-31, 180, 276; Stephenson, *Chirupula's Tale*, pp.11-15.

On Jeremiah Gondwe and his Watchtower Movement's role in Ilamba's millenarian tradition, see *Lambaland* (quarterly record of the South African Baptist Missionary Society, Kafulafuta Mission, 1916-56), 8 (July 1918), 37 (Oct. 1925), 76 (Oct. 1935), 88 (Oct. 1938), 114 (Jan. 1948), 133 (Jan. 1953); R.I. Rotberg, *The Rise of Nationalism in Central Africa* (Cambridge, Ma., 1965), pp. 140-43; S. Cross, 'A prophet not without

- honour: Jeremiah Gondwe' in C. Allen and R.W. Johnson, eds., *African Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 171-84; S. Cross, 'The Watchtower Movement in South Central Africa, 1908-1945', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 1973, pp.271-84.
30. Epstein, *Urbanization and Kinship*, pp. 158n, 256.
  31. LeVine and Campbell, *Ethnocentrism*, pp. 156-60.
  32. ZNA KSN 3/1/4, Ndola Sub-District Annual Report, Year Ending 31 Dec. 1932.
  33. A partial record of disease and food shortages among the Rhodesian Lamba runs as follows: 1901-02 smallpox; 1907 locusts; 1910 drought; 1917 'kaffirpox' (*akamabokoshi*); 1918-20 Spanish influenza and food shortages; 1922-23 drought and famine; 1926-27 'kaffirpox', influenza and famine; 1929-30 smallpox and food shortages; 1932 'kaffirpox', influenza and locusts; 1934-35 severe locusts; 1940-41 severe famine; 1945-46 smallpox and food shortages; 1948 drought; 1950 drought, sorghum rust and famine.  
The principal references here are *Lambaland*, 3-122 (Apr. 1917 - Apr. 1950); ZNA KS 3/1/1-4, Ndola Sub-District Annual Reports, Years Ending 31 Mar. 1920-26 and 31 Dec. 1926-32; KSN 3/1/5, Ndola District Annual Reports on Native Affairs, 1933-36; SEC 2/1101-1109, Ndola District Tour Reports, 1931-51.
  34. *Compte-Rendu, Comite Regional de la Province du Katanga*, Avr. 1933, p.148.
  35. J.L. Keith, 'Human geography report: Ndola District, Central Province, Northern Rhodesia', unpublished 1935 MS, British Association of Geographers, p.6.
  36. Province d'Elisabethville, Territoire d'Elisabethville, *Rapport Annuel, Service des Affaires Indigenes et de la Main-d'Oeuvre*, 1935, p.9.
  37. Letter from Mr. Ziegler de Ziegleck, Commissaire de District du Haut-Katanga to Chef de Province d'Elisabethville, 30 Sep. 1937, 'Main-d'Oeuvre en Territoire d'Elisabethville' (in Vellut, Documents, Fiche 1114C-E); Rapport de Route de PAdministrateur Territorial Joset G. en Chefferie de Katala, Mars-Avr. 1938, pp.25-27 (in Vellut, Documents, Fiche 953G-957C).
  38. Northern Rhodesia, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report for the Year 1943* (Lusaka, 1944), pp.5-6; Allan, *African Land Usage*, p.35.
  39. Grevisse, 'Lecentre extra-coutumier d'Elisabethville', pp. 159-64; Rapport, Joset G., pp.22-24; ZNA KSN 3/1/5, Ndola District, Native Affairs Annual Report for 1935, p.l.
  40. Northern Rhodesia, *Native Affairs Annual Report for 1933* (Livingstone, 1934), p.30; Spearpoint, 'The African native', pp.1-9.
  41. Northern Rhodesia, *Native Affairs Annual Report for 1935* (Lusaka, 1936), pp. 19-20.
  42. Northern Rhodesia, *African Affairs Annual Report for 1952* (Lusaka, 1953), pp.11-12.
  43. Census figures from the 1948-56 Ndola District Tour Reports record some 17 to 25 per cent of the taxable males in those Lamba-Lima Native Reserve chieftaincies nearest the towns (Lamba chiefs Nkana and Mushili, and Lima chiefs Malembeka and Kalunkumya) were engaged at home in either 'agricultural production other than subsistence' or 'other economic production or distribution'. The 1948-52 Tour Reports suggest that another 50 to 60 per cent of the taxable males from chiefs Nkana's, Mushili's and Malembeka's areas were away at work, as well as 40 to 50 per cent of the taxable males from Lima chiefs Kalunkumya's and Lesa's areas, further to the south. Percentages are calculated from the census records in ZNA SEC 2/1104-1114, Ndola District Tour Reports nos. 1 & 8 of 1948, 3, 8 & 10 of 1949, 9 & 12 of 1950, 1, 2, & 3 of 1951, 3, 5 & 8 of 1952, 1 of 1954, 1 of 1955, and 2 of 1956.
  44. District Commissioner's comments on the Lamba-Lima Native Authority in ZNA SEC 2/1109, Ndola District Tour Report No. 3 of 1951.
  45. A.L. Epstein, 'Unconscious factors in the response to social crisis: a case study from Central Africa', *The Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, 8 (1979), pp.4-5; Epstein, *Urbanization and Kinship*, pp.144n; Roberts, *History of Zambia*, pp. 208-11.
  46. Allan, *African Land Usage*, p.38.
  47. Epstein, 'The network and urban social organization', p.105; Epstein, *Urbanization and Kinship*, pp.269-70.
  48. Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance*, pp.6-7; Arnold L. Epstein, personal communication.
  49. Mitchell's survey data are cited in Epstein, *Ethos and Identity*, pp. 132-33.
  50. A. J. Cross, *Twenty Years in Lambaland*, pp. 12, 29-31; Masters and Masters, *In Wild Rhodesia*, pp. 199-208; ZNA KSN 3/1/2-3, Ndola Sub-District Annual Reports, Years Ending 31 Dec. 1926 and 31 Dec. 1929; ZNA KSN 2/1, *Ndola District Notebook*, Vol. 1, pp.215-20.
  51. Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance*, pp.14, 45; J. C. Mitchell and A. L. Epstein, 'Occupational prestige and social status among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia', *Africa*, 29 (1959), pp.22-39.
  52. G. Chauncey, 'The locus of reproduction: women's labour in the Zambian Copperbelt, 1927-1953', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 1 (1981), pp. 135-64; Epstein, *Urbanization and Kinship*, pp.264-70; Harries-Jones, 'The tribes in the towns', pp. 134-35.
  53. Chauncey, 'The locus of reproduction', p. 149.
  54. ZNA SEC 2/1109-1110, Ndola District Tour Reports Nos. 3 of 1951 and 3 of 1952.
  55. Epstein, *Ethos and Identity*, pp. 12-13, 158n; Epstein, *Urbanization and Kinship*, pp.126, 251, 259-60, 284-85, 311-12, 318, 322-23.
  56. Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance*, pp.7-8.
  57. LeVine and Campbell, *Ethnocentrism*, pp. 156-60.
  58. By 1939, the year before the Lamba famine, only 24 of 152 recognized lease holdings for European farmers were even occupied, while as late as 1954 at least 85 per cent of the lands under European farmers, thanks



- to termitaria, remained uncleared and unstumped. See A.T. Wilson, *et al.*. Department of Agriculture, *Report of a Soil and Land-Use Survey, Copperbelt, Northern Rhodesia* (Lusaka, 1956), pp.1-2, 42.
59. E. Colson, 'The assimilation of aliens among the Zambian Tonga' in R.Cohen and J. Middleton, eds., *From Tribe to Nation* (Scranton, Penn., 1970), pp.35-55; J.A. Hellen, *Rural Economic Development in Zambia, 1890-1964*, Afrika-Studien No. 32 (Munich, 1968), p. 164; R.J. Mutsau, 'The Shona and Ndebele settlements in Kabwe rural area, 1953-63' in R. Palmer, ed., *Zambian Land and Labour Studies*, Vol. 1 (Lusaka: National Archives of Zambia, 1973), pp.41-47; R.S. Canter, 'National and international events and the incidence of ethnic conflict: Lenje-Rhodesian relations in Zambia', *Working Papers in African Studies* No. 3 (Boston, Boston University, 1976).
60. These affective sentiments and material interests, the subjective-internal and objective- external dimensions of ethnicity, and these reciprocally invidious ethnic stereotypes are all examined at greater length in Brian V. Siegel's Ph.D. dissertation in anthropology, *Farms or Gardens: Ethnicity and Enterprise on the Rural Zambian Copperbelt* (Ann Arbor, 1984), pp.250-367.
61. Banton, *Race Relations*, p.300.