

Identity switch for survival

From Chanda Bulaya to Samson Jackson,
a Black African in England, 1914–1935

Chanda Penda

Introduction

The Bemba-speaking people constitute one of the largest ethnic groups in Zambia and have been among the most influential groups in Central Africa north of the Zambezi River. Having conquered and settled among the various autochthons whom they found in north-eastern Zambia in about 1650, they built a centralised kingdom, incorporating the subjugated groups within the larger state which they later formed. (Roberts 1973) The Bemba kingdom broke away from the Luba Empire in present-day DRC, under the leadership of Chiti who crossed into Zambia and subdued smaller groups such as the Lungu, Tabwa, and Mambwe. The Luali chief position in Luwingu district, which fell under the Bemba kingdom, was abolished and given to Chief Chipalo in 1937 as one of the many chiefdoms which the colonial government got rid of in their endeavour to downsize their wage obligations to traditional rulers.¹ Earlier in 1913, the BSA company government coerced the Bemba's southern neighbours, the Bisa of Manda area, to relinquish the Kabayi, Chingwele and Mulima chief positions which they in turn added to either the Chiundaponde or Chimese chiefdoms. (Kingsley 1980: 107–110) These actions were not unique to Zambia as the neighbouring Belgian Congo also experienced a significant reduction of the number of their traditional chiefs, from 6095 in 1917 to a meagre 1212 in 1938. (Betts & Asiwaju 1985: 147) On the other hand, to achieve their own administrative ends such as effective tax collection and undertaking censuses, colonial authorities in some instances used

¹ NAZ NP1/12/1, 4837, Letter titled "Successors to Luali and Sunkutu", dated 8 December 1937, by the Kasama District Commissioner to the Northern Province Commissioner, 1937.

the means of instituting new African traditional authorities in places where they did not previously exist.²

Chanda Bulaya's father, Kakusa, was not a chief but an aide to Chief Luali in Luwingu. This was established when the BSA Company tried to ascertain the subject's family roots in 1923 by the office of the Kawambwa District Native Commissioner, which affirmed that Chief Luali confirmed his knowledge of Chanda. The chief further stated that Kakusa was his *capitao* (or part of his troops) who had been away in Mporokoso at the time of the government's inquiry.³ There is no adequate information about his mother in any of the correspondences, except a vague reference in one of Chanda's letters. Though he was born in Kasama, Chanda's family originally came from Chief Luali's chiefdom in Luwingu, westward from Kasama and to the north of Lake Bangweulu. Whilst still in his teens, he was recruited by Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart Gore-Browne, a British settler who had established the renowned Shiwa House, a British-styled country manor named after a nearby lake, *Ishiba Ngandu*⁴ ('lake of the royal crocodiles') within Bembaland. Among hundreds of his workers, Gore-Browne favoured Chanda and Kakumbi.

Identity switch was quite common among Bembas prior to the coming of missionaries. Traditionally, many Bemba people did not bear a fixed name for their entire lifetimes. Therefore, Chanda Bulaya's actions of changing his

² The British colonial government abolished some chiefdoms among different ethnic groups for administrative reasons, some of which were to reduce expenditure on non-performing royals, increase effectiveness of conducting censuses, and tax collection. Such abolition was more rampant during Belgian rule in the Democratic Republic of Congo, reducing the number of chiefdoms from 6095 in 1917 to 1212 in 1938. However, colonial governments also created chieftainships which had hitherto been non-existent or accorded them authority which they did not previously exercise. Examples of these were among the Tonga-speaking people of southern Zambia, Igbo of Nigeria, Kikuyu of Kenya and the Teso of Uganda. (Betts & Asiwaju 1985: 147; Kingsley 1980: 108)

³ NAZ RC/597, Official note by the office of the Native Commissioner, Kawambwa district, upward communication to the BSA company via the Kasama District Commissioner, 21 June 1923.

⁴ The lake had originally been named by the Bisa people as *Mutambe*. When the Bemba arrived in the area and conquered the Bisa, the former renamed the lake as *Ishiba Ngandu* in honour of their ruling Crocodile Clan. Colonial authorities corrupted the Bemba name *Ishiba Ngandu* as *Shiwa Ngandu*. The BSA company government renamed it as *Lake Young* in honour of the first British District Commissioner of Mpika district. The name of the lake has since reverted to *Shiwa Ngandu* and an eponymous new administrative district was recently established in the area by the Zambian government in 2013.

personal name were not unique to him. Until the coming of the missionaries and the colonial government, many Bemba people did not bear a fixed name for their entire lifespans. As was practised in other cultures, the use of bynames, nicknames, praise names, teknonyms and titles distinguished people who bore a common name.

In colonial Northern Rhodesia there were newer dynamics which influenced people to change their names, such as deserting abusive white employers and seeking employment elsewhere using a different name and avoiding punishment for crimes. For instance, some Northern Rhodesian Africans who quit their jobs from one farm belonging to an abusive European went on to seek employment at another nearby farm and were not traced because they changed their names, while others changed their names after committing crimes. Deserting an employer was punishable in Northern Rhodesia.⁵ When he migrated to the United Kingdom, therefore, Chanda Bulaya might have changed his names to position himself for opportunities which would otherwise have been harder to exploit under a certain identity. These included seeking employment in the hospitality industry and in the army, marrying into a white family at a time of high levels of racism and distinguishing himself as a showman who performed in amusement parks. In an endeavour to discuss the various aspects of Bulaya's life in line with relevant literature, the next section briefly examines literature on WWI, migration and identity, and show business.

Selected literature on WWI, migration and identity, and show business

Firstly, WWI has been exclusively viewed as a white man's war and perfunctory attention has been accorded to non-whites. G. B. Meredith points out the presence of exclusionary racism in creation of national memory in the UK, especially popular cultural memory. He refers to a wider survey of seven countries by the British Council in which the majority of the 1081 participants from the UK were unaware that other regions were involved and less than a quarter were aware of Africa's and Asia's involvement in the war. (British Council 2014) Meredith further highlights the 1.4 million Indian soldiers who fought for the British Army and refers to the role of hundreds of

⁵ NAZ RC/391, Extract from the Report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 16 December 1926.

thousands of Africans in the war as labourers for the British and the French. (Meredith 2021) This work is important for shedding light on the lack of public awareness of the roles played by non-whites in WWI. However, it does not acknowledge the presence of continental black African combatants on the Western Front, a gap which this study fills.

Scholars have extensively written on the decolonisation of WWI discourse by incorporating African narratives in the war. For instance, Anne Samson and Mutale Mazimba focus on Southern, Central and East African campaigns. (Samson 2005, 2013; Mazimba 2023b, 2023a, 2023c) They highlight the role played by hundreds of thousands of African *askaris* (soldiers) and porters under the command of European military leaders. Samson draws attention to the roles played by powerful white military men in the war, generals Jan Christian Smuts and Paul Emil von Lettow-Vorbeck, who led African war efforts on the sides of Britain and Germany respectively.

Black African soldiers who fought in WWI have remained nameless and faceless, thus erasing their histories by simply recognising them through numbers. George Njung's study highlights Cameroonians who participated in the Great War, why, how and where they fought. (Njung 2016) He points out that Cameroonians fought in Africa on the sides of both Germany and the Central Powers on one hand and the Allied Powers on the other. The current study contributes new insights to this discussion by highlighting an ordinary African who fought in Europe on the side of Britain and the Allied Powers.

Njung laments that, important as the Cameroon campaign was in terms of scale and numbers of people involved, little attention was paid to it mainly because it involved Africans on the side of Germany fighting against Africans on the side of Britain. The lives of Africans lost mattered less in the eyes of the Europeans who controlled the narratives about the Great War. (Njung 2016) Given the perceived importance of the Western Front (Wrigley 1918, 44), therefore, and how readily noticeable the presence of few Africans would have been, this study on Samson Jackson, one of only few African combatants in Europe, contributes significantly to this discussion.

The above cited African scholarship plays a key role in drawing our attention to the important role played by African soldiers in WWI within the continent and on Asian and Middle Eastern battlefields. This study contributes to the foregoing discourse by bringing to light the role a black African soldier from Northern Rhodesia played on the European Front.

Secondly, the study contributes to migration studies by highlighting why Africans, historically and at present, have been unwilling to come back to Africa for many reasons which might have pushed Bulaya to evade the return. For instance, Bulaya's newly acquired identity was one of the main reasons for his inability to return to Northern Rhodesia for fear of possible failure to fit in either as a black African villager or a lowly paid black urban dweller married to a white woman. The phenomenon of change in identity experienced as a result of migration is supported by a study on illegal migrants conducted by Dimitri Papadopoulos, Niamh Stephenson and Vassilis Tsianos. They contend that the latter identity of immigrants is different from their initial identity. (Papadopoulos, Stephenson & Tsianos 2008: 211)

Ellen Bramwell's insightful study provides a good example of naming patterns as a product of the societies in which they are given or used. (Bramwell 2012) In doing so, she combines approaches from anthropology and linguistic research to show the relationship between social change and personal names. While Bramwell focuses on several naming systems and diverse communities of migrants across Scotland, this study focuses on a case study of an individual's adaptation of historical Bemba naming practices to both Bemba and English names in England. The case study gives insights into the influences of social changes on personal identity and naming.

Besides, some studies show changes of names of migrants over a course of two or more generations. For instance, Eeva Sippola studies the historical shift from Nordic to Hispanic given names among Northern European migrant families to Argentina, whereas Michelle Waldispühl gives an overview of the effects of multilingual contact on name choices among migrants. (Sippola 2023; Waldispühl 2024) The works, therefore, show changes in naming practices across generations. These studies are important in showing the influence of migration on naming practices. However, they span across generations, focus on group level, and on given names while this study focuses on a relatively shorter period, on an individual and highlights changes in both first and last names.

Furthermore, Mike, a migrant and subject of study by Papadopoulos et al., said he did not recall how many names he had previously used on the several occasions he was arrested. (Papadopoulos, Stephenson & Tsianos 2008: 187–88) Though the foregoing example, similar to the current subject of study, shows multiple name changes within a generation, the examples are more

recent and occurred under different circumstances. Chanda Bulaya's case stands out for multiple changes of personal names by the same subject within a relatively short period of time, thereby enhancing our understanding of how some African migrants negotiated their personal identities to ensure their economic survival during the First World War and in the interwar period.

The study also departs from Zambian works on labour migration which typically focus on migrants leaving rural areas for work on the Belgian Congolese and Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, or Tanganyika, Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in the mines and on farms. (Meebelo 1986; Posner 2005) As discussed by some scholars, this movement of labourers was necessitated by the introduction of taxes by colonial authorities. (Chondoka 2007; Fraser 2010; Samungole 2020; Larmer 2021) Karen Hansen briefly mentions Bulaya only as a domestic servant and does not cover most aspects of the subject's life. (Hansen 1989) The current study also contributes to this discussion on labour migration by addressing the various economic activities in which the subject involved himself in Europe.

Thirdly, the final and most visible aspect of Chanda Bulaya's life was his role as a showman and a show businessman in Britain's amusement parks. Available literature on this multifaceted aspect of popular culture explores the historical development of the sector, social, business and design aspects.

For instance, in the *Fairest of the Fairs*, Jackie Botterill evaluates Disney's theme park model and explores the history of fairs from their pre-modern forms to amusement parks and modern theme parks. She points out that theme parks, whose genesis she traces to the Late Modern period, are the contemporary manifestation of fairs, carnivals, and amusement parks, and that their purpose across time and space, despite their overall changes due to the changing wider social relations, has included gathering masses to take part in "ritual, entertainment, amusements, and spectacles, while consuming and exchanging foods, goods and services." Botterill also identifies that these spaces also influenced other social practices. (Botterill 1997: 1–2) By providing a rich historical overview from the Premodern to the Modern and Late Modern periods, the study is vital to our understanding of how modern forms of mass entertainment in the show business have evolved from historical ones. She does not, however, zero-in to the dynamics of race of the producers and performers.

Further, Arwen Mohun and Josephine Kane explore the design aspects of amusement parks. (Mohun 2001; Kane 2016) While Kane focuses on the

historical, with special emphasis on architectural, development of the sector in Britain, Mohun highlights the gender aspects of designs in the amusement parks. These studies are key in drawing attention to the popular nature of show business during the period under study and the missing ingredient of gender sensitivity in the designs of the infrastructure. They, however, do not tackle the human and racial aspects of the producers and managers of entertainment packages.

In *Early African Entertainments Abroad*, furthermore, Bernth Lindfors highlights Africans with striking features or physical attributes who entertained patrons of the European circus. He presents the profiles of notable human exhibits in the European circus. For instance, Saartjie Baartman (1789–1815), an enslaved Khoikhoi woman, was exhibited to paying European audiences under the name Hottentot Venus in the 19th century. Saartjie, whose original African name was not recorded, had unusually large buttocks due to possible steatopygia. Another example, Mbye Otabenga (1883–1916), exhibited in the Bronx Zoo in the United States of America as Ota Benga, was a Batwa pygmy who was captured from the Congo Free State. His main distinguishing features were the short stature typical of Batwa and sharpened teeth which was a customary practice among the Batwa and other surrounding peoples in Central Africa. (Lindfors 2014) While most of these Africans had noticeable distinguishing features, Chanda Bulaya stands out for lack of such physical traits and, especially during the latter period of his career, for managing his own and other performers' work in the show business.

Lindfors also laments the notable absence of the voices of African performers from historical archives, creating a significant void concerning their views about "the conditions of their employment, how they negotiated with their managers, and how they related to the spectators." More questions linger about the lessons they drew from their experiences abroad, what they thought of white people, and the stories they told their friends and family. (Lindfors 2014: 8)

Though not set out to answer all the foregoing questions, this study attempts to answer some of them by using archival sources to explore Chanda's notable changes in personal identity from the time he emigrated to England and joined the British Army in 1914 to his post WWI transition into show business. Thus, with a primary anchoring in historical studies, this study contributes to the field of social onomastics. It explores the dynamics which

influenced the successful identity negotiation in which the subject engaged to help him get conscripted into the army, marry into a white family and reinvent himself as a showman.

A note on the methodology

The research relied on archival materials which included over thirty letters between Chanda and his friends, family, employer and British South Africa (BSA) Company and government officials, including the Scotland Yard. These letters are in either Bemba or English; nearly all letters to or from friends and family were handwritten in his native language and took a relaxed casual tone, revealing his perspective, which has not been highlighted by research before. Other sources were photographs, medals from the army and administrative/legal records such as the certificate of registration for his theatre company, invoices and his marriage certificate (TNA). These primary sources were accessed in person and online from Zambia's and the United Kingdom's national archives, respectively.

While some sources which are available in the National Archive of Zambia are also found online in the UK's national archives, many documents are at present only available as hard copies in Zambia, making this study unique as these sources have yet to be used by other scholars. This applies to most of Bulaya's personal letters written in Bemba, to some official correspondences in English, and to some photographs of the younger Bulaya before his arrival in *Bulaya* (Europe). Likewise, some documents in the UK, which are also obtainable online, especially those which were recently obtained in 2023 by the National Archives from Bulaya's nonagenarian daughter, Joan Robson (nee Luale), are not available in Zambia. Therefore, the archives complement each other.

These were supplemented by newspaper articles obtained online from The British Newspaper Archive, which covered aspects of the Chanda's show business. Other important references to the subject were found in published works, which included a biography of Stewart Gore-Browne, his former employer who took him to England in 1914. The above sources, to a good extent, give the subject's and other people's perspectives on him.

Presenting and discussing Chanda Bulaya

Chanda Bulaya's case is unique in the sense that he had emigrated from Northern Rhodesia at a time when the use of surnames had not yet become commonplace, as is evidenced from available name lists from missionary, labour and government records. It is my considered view that the subject was originally known only as Chanda, his Bemba spirit/real name. This is based on the response his father's employer, Chief Luali of Luwingu, gave to colonial government officials when he confirmed his knowledge of the subject. He said he knew Chanda and acknowledged the subject's father Kakusa as his *capitão*.⁶ Also, after his several reinventions of personal identity and using various other names in his lifetime, Chanda was the only original name he kept when he later went back to a Bemba identity, as indicated in his 1934 company registration certificate and in a newspaper article announcing his death in 1935 – his name having been recorded as Chinaka Chanda Kaula Luale.⁷ This study shows that the reinventions of Chanda's names/identities, including his final return to Bemba identity, were motivated by a need for economic survival.

Further, while in Northern Rhodesia, Chanda is said to have been a good servant to his European master, Stewart Gore-Browne, a virtue which even earned him favourable treatment later in Europe, despite him having fallen out with Gore-Browne.⁸ It is this association with Gore-Browne which might have motivated the people around Chanda to address him by the byname Bulaya. The term or name Bulaya means Europe in Bemba. (Kapwepwe 2002; Penda 2013) It was common among the Bemba for one's identity to be attached to aspects or attributes of their lives which stood out. Given the subject's likely conspicuous boastful character, Chanda might also have initiated the use of the name, Bulaya, on himself as self-praise due to his close interactions with

⁶ NAZ RC/597, Official note by the office of the Native Commissioner, Kawambwa district, upward communication to the BSA company via the Kasama District Commissioner, 21 June 1923.

⁷ TNA Theatre company registration certificate; Death of Chief Luale.

⁸ Gore-Browne had expressed disappointment because of Chanda's desertion. However, he asked his aunt Ethel Locke-King to treat the African, if stranded and destitute, with kindness and not refuse him any help he needed in Europe citing the reason that he served him well when they were together in Rhodesia. (See: NAZ RC/597, Extract from letter from Dame Ethel Locke King, 29 March 1922; Rotberg 1977)

Name: JACKSON		Grade: 19- Road R		Rank: Pte		Regt. No. 5024	
Samsen		1st det R				208442	
Medal:	Roll:	Page:	Remarks:				
VICTORY	E/1/102	6916	Recd. civ. 74/3 d/28.4.28				
MURRAY			1VB 1/109 L d/9.8.28				
STAR							
Honorary of War Department:							
Date of entry service:			NW/2/19540				

Figure 1. Medal Card (TNA)

Europeans, a privilege which many of his fellow villagers did not have at the time. His master Gore-Browne's genuine interest in Bemba villagers was a trait which not many white people in the territory possessed. (Rotberg 1977) The byname, Bulaya, which came in his life later than the name Chanda, helped to distinguish him from others who bore the same name as he did.

He should, therefore, be rightly presented as Chanda Bulaya and not Bulaya Chanda as many colonial archival records present his name. Bulaya then naturally got attached to his identity, as a surname. Thus, it became convenient for his employment at Gore-Browne's estate as well as for his travel to Europe in 1914. At the time of his voyage to Europe in May/June 1914, he used the name Chanda Bulaya.⁹

Upon escaping from his master the night before he was scheduled to travel to Northern Rhodesia, Chanda is said to have found employment in the kitchen at the Strand Palace Hotel in London.¹⁰ By the time he was deployed as a World War 1 combatant on the Western Front in December of the same year, his name had changed to Samson Jackson (see Figure 1, which shows his wartime medical card from 1915 to 1916).

It should be noted that it was common among Africans, especially Bemba-speaking people, to change their names in different circumstances. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, many Africans did not typically have a fixed

⁹ TNA Letter from Bulaya; NAZ RC/597, Letter by Henry William Jackson [Chanda Bulaya], 18 March 1923.

¹⁰ However, the BSA Company Secretary G. Edwards stated that no records of Chanda Bulaya's employment at the Strand Palace Hotel were found (NAZ RC/597, Letter by G. Edwards, Secretary BSA Company to New Scotland Yard, 13 April 1922).

anthroponomical identity by which they were addressed throughout their lives. For instance, some common life transitions such as parenthood and grandparenthood permanently changed how one was addressed by others in the family and in the community.

Moreover, in Zambia in general and among the Bemba in particular, archival records show colonial authorities at different levels such as district and provincial administrators as well as the legislative council (henceforth Legco, precursor of today's parliament) and territorial administrators grappling with administrative challenges posed largely by inconsistencies in the names of African persons under their charge. One of the most common challenges was desertion of workers who left in search of more humane treatment by white employers and in pursuit of better conditions of service. Other challenges were crimes such as stealing, and to a lesser extent murder, which made Africans escape and change their names.¹¹ The resulting crises such as shortage of labour in Northern Rhodesian farms and industries owned by whites are recorded to have been discussed in the Legco in 1926 and 1927. The need to institute registration of residents, introduction of a pass (some kind of identity card) system and enforcement of policies to ensure that Africans carried passes during their movements were seen as counter measures.¹² It was hoped that these interventions would bring some permanence in the personal name identities of the people.¹³

That there were no stiff deed poll policies in the United Kingdom concerning regulating multiple name usage except for such official services as obtaining a driving license and a passport (TNA Bulaya Chanda) made it easier

¹¹ NAZ RC/388, Letter by Major H. F. Darling, D.S.O. at Inverue, Nega Nega addressed to the Administrator of Northern Rhodesia, titled 'Attitude and Conduct of Natives towards White Residents,' 17 July 1922; NAZ BSA A2/1/28, Tag: 771, Loc: 191, Chiefs and Headmen Meetings in Kasama, Chinsali and Nsumbu bomas, Registration of Dogs, 1919. C.R.B. Draper (Acting Magistrate and District Commissioner), addressing Bemba, Mambwe and Lungu chiefs and headmen and a Swahili at Abercorn, page 4 of the minutes, 13 May 1919.

¹² NAZ RC/391, Extract from the Report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 16 December 1926; NAZ RC/391, Extract from the Report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 15 July 1927.

¹³ However, the implementation of these suggestions took long due to opposition among members of the Legco who argued that Africans would be opposed to such a programme as an infringement on their freedoms. Another important reason for delayed full implementation of national registration until around the period after independence was the lack of financial resources by the government.

for Chanda to import the historical practice of changing names which many were used to in Bembaland. He, however, changed his identity too frequently and too many times within the relatively short period of about 21 years during which he lived in England. For example, in his letters to or from family, friends and officials dated between 1914 and 1917, he usually signed off or was addressed as Samson Bulaya. In addition, some official BSA company correspondences also refer to him as Samson Bulaya.¹⁴

In a letter to a girlfriend, Melanya Kabuswe, on 29 March 1915, Chanda claimed he did not know his father.¹⁵ Some two weeks earlier, on 9 March, he wrote a letter addressed to *Ba tata ba Chikuanda* ('My father, Mr. Chikwanda').¹⁶ However, the contents of the letter and the tone of the conversation suggests that the recipient might have been an uncle of his or a *Shibukombe* (a Go-between).¹⁷ This is because he informed the recipient of his intention to marry Melanya and asked him if he had relayed some gifts of his to the lady. He went on to castigate the recipient and the people in Northern Rhodesia for not caring enough about him and his affairs in his absence.

In his emotional handwritten letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs on 2 February 1925, Chanda claimed that the Paramount Chief Chitimukulu of the Bemba people was his grandfather, that Chief Luale was his father and went on to add Chief Mporokoso and other prominent people in Bembaland to this list as his family members. He also listed Kakusa under the title 'Chief General Kakusa'¹⁸ as one of his relatives, subtly hiding the man's status as Chanda's father, in order to maintain the lies he kept 'spewing' in Europe, one of which was that he was a son of a Central African potentate. He pled with the Secretary for Native Affairs to trace these relations of his and ask

¹⁴ NAZ RC/597, Handwritten letter to Chanda from his friend who signs off as John Pen Clay, Chinsali, 24 October 1914; NAZ RC/597, The Assistant Magistrate's letter, Ndola district to the Native Commissioner, Northern Rhodesia Administration, Livingstone, 23 January 1917; NAZ RC/597, The Treasurer's letter to the Native Commissioner, Northern Rhodesia Administration, Livingstone, 9 March 1925.

¹⁵ NAZ RC/597, Chanda's letter to Melanya Kabuswe, 29 March 1915.

¹⁶ It was common in Bemba culture, as it still is today, to address elderly men as Ba Tata or 'father' and elderly women as Ba Mayo or 'mother'.

¹⁷ NAZ RC/597, Chanda's letter to a Mr. Chikuanda [Chikwanda], 12 March 1915. A *Shibukombe* or 'Go-between' is a man, usually a family friend, who is entrusted by the groom and the groom's family to negotiate bride price with the bride's family.

¹⁸ Army general, in the Bemba tribal army, correctly corresponds with Kakusa's role as the chief's capitao, but not 'chief'.

them to organise some money which he could use for transport to return to Northern Rhodesia.¹⁹

At several times, when Chanda faced economic difficulties in his life, he tried to apply for assistance to be repatriated to Northern Rhodesia. Chanda highlights that he served in the 2nd-19th London Regiment, in the 1st Battalion Duke of Cambridge Middlesex Regiment and in the Gordon Highlanders. He referred to the passage to Rhodesia which he was given two years earlier by the Rhodesia Building and London Wall. He went on to argue that "the reason I did not go was because they would not give me any money and also I was to be sent to Livingstone without any means of a situation (sic.) or anyone to receive me."²⁰ This may be an indication that he was not fully compensated for his service in the British Army during WWI.

In his confidential letter to the BSA on 28 March 1922, Scotland Yard Assistant Secretary, G.C. Chandler wrote that if Samson Jackson had applied by January 1921, he would have been eligible for repatriation owing to his service in the British Army in WWI.²¹ However, a response to the same letter by BSA Company Secretary, G. Edwards, dated 13 April 1922 showed that Jackson served in the army from December 1914 to August 1921.²²

While it was typical at the time for brides to change their names during marriage, Chanda's marriage on 20 September 1922 to an English white woman, May Louisa Gilliss, changed three people's names – the bride, the groom and the groom's father, although the latter might not have been aware that his name had been changed. Going by the names on the wedding certificate (see Figure 2), the wife became Messrs Jackson and Chanda became known as Henry William Jackson. To further strengthen his claim on the European name, Chanda falsified his father's name on this nuptial document as Watson Jackson, and the latter's rank/profession as "Chief (tribe leader)." This reveals a fundamental aspect of Samson Jackson's character as someone

¹⁹ NAZ RC/597, Chanda's letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, 02 February 1925.

²⁰ NAZ RC/597, Chanda's letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, 02 February 1925.

²¹ NAZ RC/597, Letter by G. C. Chandler, Assistant Secretary at Scotland Yard to the BSA company titled "Samson Jackson, Native of Northern Rhodesia," 28 March 1922.

²² NAZ RC/597, Letter by G. Edwards, Secretary BSA Company to New Scotland Yard, 13 April 1922. Both letters between the BSA and Scotland Yard indicated his name as Samson Jackson alias Bulaya alias Chanda.


 CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF MARRIAGE
 GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE
 Application Number: 6305774-1

19.22. Marriage solemnized at <u>the Register Office</u> in the District of <u>Croydon</u> in the County of <u>Croydon Surrey Kent.</u>							
No.	When Married	Name and Surname	Age	Condition	Rank or Profession	Residence at the time of Marriage	Father's Name and Surname
26	26	Henry William Jackson	26	Bachelor	Showman	13 Anerley Grove Upper Norwood	Watson Jackson
33	33	May Louisa Gillies	26	Spinster	—	11 St. Hugh's Road Anerley	Richard Gillies

Married in the Register Office according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by Certificate type
 This Marriage was solemnized between us, H. W. Jackson in the presence of F. E. Revelock Thomas Driver Registrar
M. R. Gillies of us, Edward Odum A. Thorne Deputy Sup't Registrar

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a register of Marriages in the Registration District of Croydon
 Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, under the Seal of the said Office, the 25th day of February 2015
 MXG 469567
 CAUTION: THERE ARE OFFENCES RELATING TO FALSIFYING OR ALTERING A CERTIFICATE AND USING OR POSSESSING A FALSE CERTIFICATE. © CROWN COPYRIGHT
 WARNING: A CERTIFICATE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY.

Figure 2. TNA Marriage certificate

able and willing to go as far as altering his and his father's name and status in order to project a certain identity which he preferred. Perhaps this was only a reflection of his flawed personal character or may go further in giving us insight into how far some immigrants went to fit in and gain self-assurance of their acceptability into British society.

It does seem that he had already started using the stage name Chief Luale by 1924. In a 1924 brochure of the play *White Cargo*, he is listed on the crew as "Chief Luale"; he used this name or its variant 'Chief Luali'. It was perhaps by mistake that the *Lancashire Daily Post* of Saturday, 21 September 1929, referred to the subject as Keith Luale since the name 'Keith' sounds similar to 'Chief'.²³ The lack of corroborating evidence concerning Chanda's use of the name 'Keith' and the reference to him as 'Chief Luale' by two other newspapers articles²⁴ published around the same period after this date support the foregoing assumption.

²³ King Carnival's marriage.

²⁴ King Carnival's reign starts at the seaside.

Regarding the claim alluded to above that the Bemba Paramount Chief Chitimukulu was his grandfather and that the sub-chief, Chief Luali, was his father, Chanda had fed this misleading information to many unsuspecting members of the public to the extent that, on announcing his hospitalisation, a Skegness News newspaper article referred to him as "the well-known showman and son of a Central African potentate."²⁵ On his sending address in England, it shows that the sender was 'Chief Luale of 98 Anerley Rd, Upper Narwood S.E. 19' and he signs off as at the end as Luale.²⁶

In the latter period of his career, Chief Luale, like his contemporary, the African-American actor Ira Aldridge, whose performances promoted positive sentiments toward Africans, did not have a manager but managed his own acting engagements under the company he founded, Luale Limited Incorporated Company.

As a showman, his shows featured plays ranging from Zulu and Bemba warriors from Southern and Central Africa, respectively, as well as dancers from the Gold Coast. With his African Villages which were prominent attractions at Mr. W. Butlin's Amusement Parks in Skegness and Hunstanton, he had established himself as a prominent figure in the show business.²⁷ Chanda's plays were centred around the concept of the African village. This shows the strong influence exerted on his later life by the experiences in had while growing up in Bembaland in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The shows were enjoyed by both children and adults and were among those said to be "amusing, educational and intellectual" when the Essex Chronicle advertised the events at Felixstowe, "Britain's premier amusement park."²⁸

Importantly, just as he was earlier motivated to seek opportunities through Westernising his identity, by taking on the Bemba identity via renaming himself Chinaka Chanda Kaula Luale and Chief Luale as his official and stage names, respectively, he positioned himself as an authentic continental black African.²⁹ He went a step further by naming his plays as "Chief Luale and

²⁵ The Gables treat.

²⁶ NAZ RC/597, Chanda's letter to the Secretary for Native Affairs, Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, 02 February 1925.

²⁷ Chief Luale's message to Skegness well-wishers; Chief Luale in road crash.

²⁸ The Rage of Olympia.

²⁹ The concept of "otherworldly" has been a common thread in the fair world across time and space (Botterill 1997: 2). Thus, it was more marketable for Chanda to sell himself to a Western audience by adopting a Bemba name than an English one.

the African Village” and sticking to such costumes as animal skins. He thus distinguished himself from black American entertainers and other competitors in the show business. Chanda Bulaya’s case is unique in the sense that he had emigrated from Northern Rhodesia at a time when the use of surnames had not yet become commonplace, as is evidenced from available name lists from missionary, labour and government records. He, therefore, invented a surname for himself by choosing a prestigious and chiefly name, Luali, which he transformed into Luale. Coincidentally, the Luali chieftainship in northern Zambia was abolished by the British colonial government in 1937 following the death of the last Chief Luali of Luwingu in 1936, a year after the ”staged” Chief Luale died in the United Kingdom.³⁰

Conclusion

By highlighting the profile of Chanda Bulaya, the study contributes to historical knowledge by enhancing our understanding of how African individuals renegotiated their personal names and identity to survive in oppressive systems in general and in white-dominated environments in particular. The study contributes to our understanding of the role played by continental black Africans in WWI and in both long- and short-term travel, otherwise known as migration and tourism, respectively, thus showing why some African migrants, historically and at present, have failed to return to Africa. More comprehensive biographical works that critically examine all available sources on the subject of this study and other related personalities will facilitate greater contribution to scholarship.

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Ellujäämise nimel tehtud identiteedivahetus

Chanda Bulayast Samson Jacksoniks – must Aafrika päritolu mees Inglismaal aastatel 1914–1935

Chanda Penda

Identiteedivahetus võib olla isikliku ellujäämise vahend. Käesolevas arhiiviuuringus näitan, kuidas Briti sõdur ja tuntud estraadikunstnik Chanda Bulaya kasutas seda strateegiat alates oma saabumisest Inglismaale 1914. aastal kuni surmani 1935. aastal. Chanda sündis Põhja-Rhodeesias Kasamas (tänapäeva Sambia) ning kuulus etniliselt bembade hulka. Elu jooksul vahetas ta vastavalt olukorrale ja oludele nime vähemalt seitse korda. Ta on olnud tuntud nimede all Chanda, Bulaya Chanda, Samson Jackson, Samson Bulaya, Henry William Jackson, Chinaka Chanda Kaula Luale ning Chief Luale/Luali – viimane oli tsirkuse lavanimi. Samson Jacksoni peetakse üheks vähestest mustanahalistest aafriklastest, kes võitlesid esimeses maailmasõjas läänerindel.

Arvestades, et seni on vähe tähelepanu pööratud sellele, kuidas Mandri-Aafrika mustanahalised inimesed valgenahaliste domineeritud keskkondades toime tulid, kasutatakse Henry William Jacksoni juhtumit selle silmatorkava lünga täitmiseks. Muutused sotsiaalses keskkonnas sundisid Chandat oma identiteeti ellujäämise nimel kohandama – see oli tollal bembakeelsete inimeste seas levinud käitumisviis. Uurimus eristub Sambia tööjõurännet käsitlevatest varasematest töödest, mis keskenduvad peamiselt kohalikule liikumisele Copperbelti piirkonda või teistesse Kesk- ja Lõuna-Aafrika aladele. Samuti vastandub see tavapärasele käsitlemisele, mille kohaselt sambialaste osalus esimeses maailmasõjas toimus peamiselt kohalike pealike kaudu värbamise või sundvärbamise teel.

Lisaks tõstab uurimus esile Chief Luale kui Mandri-Aafrika päritolu isiku, kes juhtis Euroopas iseseisvalt oma tööd tsirkuses ega paistnud eriti silma ebatavaliste isiklike tunnuste poolest. See juhtumiuuring aitab paremini mõista kolonialismi mõju aafriklaste identiteetidele, esimese maailmasõja ja sõdadevahelise perioodi ajal Euroopas kogetud majanduslikku ja sotsiaalset tõrjutust ning seda, kuidas Chanda oma identiteeti teadlikult kujundades suutis ellu jääda.