

AFRICAN IMMIGRATION TO RHODESIA,

1890 TO 1945

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PREFACE

The occupation of Rhodesia by the British South Africa Company in 1890 and the subsequent European immigration and the opening up of gold and base metals mining attracted thousands of Africans from South Africa, the British Protectorates of Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zambia, and Malawi as early as 1893. By the turn of the twentieth century, Africans were coming from as far north as Somalia, Arabia, East Africa, the Belgian Congo, and Portuguese Angola. All this massive migration to Rhodesia was caused by both economic developments within Rhodesia itself and the sheer individual spirit of adventure on the part of the Africans. Those Africans who came from Zambia and Malawi were pressured by several forms of taxes levied on them by the British South Africa Company. However, subsequent emigration to Rhodesia was motivated by more personal reasons than mere official inducement.

This study sets out to examine the general and particular causes of this human avalanche on Rhodesia. It then explores the immigration trends and the character of population movement, whether recruited, independent, or clandestine in form. By use of statistics and other data, it demonstrates the genuine existence of African immigration to Rhodesia, which has often been ignored, and explains its significance.

The documentation for this study is mainly from material found in the Rhodesia National Archives. Since the material is contained in many files and documents, care and patience were required to double-check and

triple-check the accuracy of some statistics, policies, and laws which affected African immigration. However, it should be pointed out here that statistics affecting African population and immigration was not compiled in any standard form until after about 1907. Even then, indigenous African population records were based upon estimates and do not reflect an accurate count. Only those Africans who migrated to mines were fairly recorded; clandestine immigrants were not.

Employed Africans, alien and indigenous, were enumerated either biennially or annually, and there was often no definite pattern followed. Alien blacks were called either "Colonial natives", "Colonial Boys", "Natives from British Territories", "Natives of Central and South African Origin", or given other such general geographical names as "Cape Boys", "Blantyre Boys", "Portuguese Bantus", and "Natives from north of the Zambesi". These terms obviously convey little meaning. In view of these difficulties, the writer has taken much care to differentiate the immigrants by using more modern names.

The territories covered herein were the Union of South Africa, the British Protectorates of Southern Africa, Northern Rhodesia (Northwest and Northeast), Nyasaland, and Portuguese East Africa. Except in special circumstances, these states are referred to as South Africa, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique respectively. Rhodesia was also called Southern Rhodesia and was divided into administrative provinces of Matebeleland and Mashonaland.

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CHAPTER I

AFRICAN IMMIGRANT AVALANCHE: THE CASE

1. Introduction

When Lord Acton, the noted English historian, urged students of history not only to analyze their sources but also to proceed to sit in judgement on the deeds of the past, he, like many of his contemporaries, challenged historians of all creeds to the task of searching for "What is": the "When", and "Why" of human action.¹ Immigration is one of such human actions that dominate the dark pages of history.

The subject of immigration has intrigued scholars of all fields: psychologists, sociologists, economists, political scientists, and historians. All have advanced what they believe to be the answer to the question "What is immigration and emigration?". However, in studying this subject, historians need to be specific with their terminology, and so we attempt here to examine the meanings of the terms migration, emigration, and especially immigration in the context of this dissertation.

First, the term "migration" denotes a continuous purposeless as well as purposeful change of localities after a brief period, while "immigration" refers to those individuals who leave their countries of domicile with fixed intention of settling in another rather permanently. Presently, we seem to make a sharp distinction between these two meanings and interpretations. That is correct in a narrow historical

sense. In the same light, biologists speak of "migratory" animals; some historians write of "migrant" laborers. Both denote temporary settlement; it is only human emigration that connotes permanent change of residence and entrance into an alien society.

The change of residence makes possible the admission of one to new and primary relations whose development may breed mutual appreciation and understanding on the one hand or mutual alienation and disfavor on the other. In some societies immigrants are assimilated; that is, they take a new "one-way street" into the group relation and have to forego their own culture and all those values they may have cherished in the past society. In others, immigrants are integrated, meaning that a reciprocal process takes place in which the two peoples coming together weave their two cultures into a new one mutually acceptable to both. The United States of America and Brazil are good examples of cultural integration, even though in both cases one parent culture still dominates other incoming ones.²

In the discussion thus far, the word "immigration" has been used in a general sense without a precise definition. The use of the word "immigration" for the purpose of this study reflects the nuances enunciated by S. N. Eisenstadt, A. MacBeath, and accepted international usage. In his book, The Absorption of Immigrants, Eisenstadt defines immigration as "the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another . . . [which] involves abandoning one social setting and entering another and different one."³ According to this view, the act of abandoning one's society entails physical and psychological factors. An emigrant may be motivated by special goals resulting from social, political, geographical, or economic needs. A. MacBeath

puts it rather similarly but in different words. He describes the abandonment of one's society and home as a "conduct [which] is consciously purposive behaviour . . . [since] the agent has an idea before his mind of what he is going to do"4

A second rather closely related definition is that used in modern international relations which describes immigration as a change of residence with a declared intention of settling in the country of entry for at least one calendar year or permanently. However, world renowned statisticians argue that due to the elusive nature of the term "permanence" as a criterion, the change of residence and the declaration to settle in a given country of entry by a prospective immigrant for more than a year is not the safest way to define immigration.⁵ The weakness of this definition lies in the fact that it seems to omit migrant workers who enter a country and settle there for a period running into years, during which they own land and homes, pay taxes, and even marry and raise families in that country. However, it serves our purpose in this study in so far as it embraces the concept of change of residence for at least one calendar year settlement period.

For the purpose of this dissertation, "immigration" and "immigrant" should be taken to mean those alien blacks who left their native countries--Botswana, South Africa, Mozambique, Malawi, and Zambia and entered Rhodesia and settled for any considerable period ranging from less than one calendar year to permanence for any reason acceptable and deemed beneficial to them. As might be apparent to the reader, this definition covers all those people who have been referred to by several historians of Central Africa and demographers as "migrant laborers."⁶

The definition just given above agrees logically with the official terminology in the first comprehensive regulations of Rhodesian immigration, the British South Africa Company (B.S.A. Co.), Immigration Ordinance, 1901-1902. In the document's preamble, "immigrant" is defined as "any unskilled labourer, and includes any [black] person introduced into Southern Rhodesia under this Ordinance."⁷ The definition demonstrates also that in terms of legal status all those blacks who entered Rhodesia in search of work, whether temporary or not during the period in question, were immigrants and not mere migrants. That is, all those thousands of blacks who emigrated into Rhodesia under labor contracts were genuine immigrants whose presence has documentary proof and legal recognition. Even though many of them were repatriated after the termination of their work contracts, many more thousands either remained and made permanent residence in Rhodesia or returned independently at a later date and settled. The question which arises is why so many men, boys, and women decided to leave their homes and families to go so far away? To answer the question, we should examine the general causes of migration and then look at the particular ones affecting Central African blacks.

2. Causes of Emigration

Except for the commonly known compulsory migration, what is it that motivates people to leave their homes and to set out to settle in a strange land? Such forces must of necessity be overpowering; any explanation of the nature of the human migration process remains incomplete as long as it does not genuinely say why people change or desire to change their residences. Several schools of historical thought have

been advanced, and an attempt to summarize them will be made here. They range from such conservative and naive claims as "man migrates because he is by nature mobile", to the more modern and more sophisticated Marxist dictum that economic factors alone cause human migration, whether temporary or otherwise. Man changes habitat when and only when economic conditions either deteriorate or are unbearable.

Historians of an older tradition have argued that migration occurred throughout human history and that people migrated because of factors external to the economic order. Such observers would not include drought, weather disasters, or crop failure as economic phenomena. In Central African tribal areas migration was often regarded as an individual manly feat; he was a real man if at least once some time before marriage he could leave his home for a distant and strange land. One who did that was believed to have reached manhood. This was a generally accepted practice in precolonial times. The International Labor Organization accepted this view in 1960, when it concluded about African migrant workers that "it is only after a man left his tribal surroundings to seek outside employment that he is considered to have been initiated into manhood."⁸ In short, the habit of human migration is indigenous and prestigious to the African.

Such factors as prestige, security, and the individual's dignity are more akin to man's craving for material needs for himself and his family. Man, being materialistic by upbringing and nomadic by nature, often seeks new pastures, the search of which puts him on the path to emigration. The home of his dream envisions fertile lands, a brighter and better future for his descendants, and a sure fulfillment of a long cherished Eldorado. Because he needs to own land, a house, adequate

food for his family and stock, he migrates to a country where he envisions positive opportunities of achieving these.⁹

Geographical considerations may also be paramount. This is closely related to man's need for material security. When changes in climate occur, when the nature of the soil deteriorates, and the quality of available land diminishes, as in eighteenth-century England and nineteenth-century Ireland, man immediately moves in search of greener pastures. For instance, the land tenure system in Ireland caused unbearable upheavals which resulted in massive Irish emigration to the United States between the 1840s and the 1860s.¹⁰ This only illustrates the fact that land shortage, depletion of natural resources, and a population explosion augmented by political problems cause emigration, although these were not the motivating factors in Southern and Central African black migration between 1890 and 1945.

Then there is what is referred to as forced emigration. This is a result of several factors which are common throughout history. In forced emigration, people leave involuntarily because they may be victims of war, political oppression, suppression, or religious and racial persecution. The emigration pattern here is sudden and at times lacks direction; it is en masse. Refugees such as Cubans in the United States, Angolans in Zambia, and the Palestinians in Lebanon are just a few examples of modern forced emigrants who left their homelands for political reasons or owing to war. There are some, like Jews, the German Mennonites, and the Pilgrim Fathers who emigrated to America for religious reasons, who serve as examples of forced migration. Except for war and political pressures, none of the rest of the causes discussed above influenced black emigration to Rhodesia, as will be pointed

out in later chapters. Force emigration was not characteristic of Central Africa even though there were isolated cases of clandestine compulsion.

The Marxist school of interpretation argues that economic motives are solely responsible for most if not all types of emigration and immigration. According to this view, all other causes referred to above are mere shades of the economic factor. Influences such as unemployment and under-employment, lack of land, social insecurity, lack of opportunities for advancement, dissatisfaction, low returns for their physical efforts, and land infertility are in reality economic factors. As Harry Jerome, a Marxist oriented historian puts it, "Whatever may be [claimed] the basic causes of migration, there is a close relation between the cyclical oscillations of employment and those of immigration and emigration" ¹¹ Many contend that man migrates at a time when economic trends are unfavorable; that the greater the emigration and immigration, the worse is the economic situation in the country of emigration and the better it is in that of immigration. The weaknesses and merits of such an argument require no elaboration at this point.

In line with the same assertion, some historians claim that man emigrates with a hope to increase his real income despite the fact that he may have to accept a temporary low economic status. Eventually his descendants, if not himself as well, will enjoy the fruits of their immigration. In short, this school regards man as an economic animal whose behavior is determined by either adverse or favorable prevailing economic conditions. ¹²

The line of interpretation to consider next is that which may be referred to here as the "middle of the road" position represented by

scholars like William C. Smith and the delegates to the 1961 World Council of Churches Conference. These argue that emigration and immigration are motivated by both economic and socio-psychological factors. Speaking of massive migration to the United States, Smith says,

The causes were complex and usually no one factor impelled the migrant to leave his country. In this mass movement certain general or fundamental causes operated, but there were also many personal elements peculiar to individuals. A son or daughter left because of friction with unsympathetic parents; a girl went away to avoid marriage with the man her parents had chosen.¹³

The claim here is that external forces may compel man to change his residence but interwoven with that are intrinsic personal influences which put him on the go. The World Council of Churches came to the same conclusion in 1961 when the delegates met in Switzerland to discuss the problem of international human migration. They argued that emigration is influenced "to a considerable degree" by relatives and friends who either already reside in the country of immigration or who have once been there. The tales by such people of wealth, fortunes, security, freedom and a host of other advantages motivate emigration.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, this was one of the greatest influences in black immigration to Rhodesia between 1890 and 1945.

In addition to the causes mentioned above, one should examine the particular driving forces in Central Africa which lay behind such human diaspora. These range from voluntary to involuntary reasons such as the pressures of masters over their servants, postwar difficulties, the administrative measures of the B.S.A. Company, economic forces, and the effects of the First World War.

3. Background and Immigration Causes

Having examined the general nature of immigration as a social phenomenon, it is necessary at this point to survey briefly the patterns of migration into Rhodesia. We should at this stage attempt to obtain an overall view of some of the motives and factors involved in this exodus. The first missionaries and hunters from South Africa entered the territory of the Mashona which is now Rhodesia in the 1850s. They brought many blacks with them as domestic servants, wagon drivers, preachers, and teachers as well as translators. Although these were wage earners, they also had promises of land for themselves and their families. As long as they were employed, they had to follow their masters on the north-bound Christian and commercial march. Authentic examples of these pioneer immigrants were those who accompanied the London Missionary Society group led by the family of the fabled Robert Moffat, which established their center at Inyathi in 1859. The Dutch Reformed Church also started a mission station among the VaNyai in 1865 with a team of South African black evangelists, men like Gabriel Buys, Isaac Khumalo, and Lukas Mokwile. Others were brought by other missionaries to Morgenster Mission on October 9, 1891.¹⁵ In many instances the majority of the South African and Botswana blacks brought in by such missionary groups never returned to their homelands but infiltrated local communities and settled there. This type of immigration associated with missionary activity continued until the advent of Rhodesian internal self-government in 1923.

Those servants who returned to South Africa gave reports of a new and glorious home and encouraged friends and relatives to join the columns of whites who were then marching north. At this time, between

1860 and 1890, the southern part of Rhodesia was dominated by King Lobengula of the Matebele. Various whites coming into the area negotiated treaties with the King. John S. Moffat, a missionary and translator, and his colleagues negotiated the Anglo-Matebele Treaty of February 11, 1888, with King Lobengula. On their journeys to Lobengula's kingdom, these groups of mining prospectors and hunters brought with them blacks in their columns.¹⁶ On March 19, 1890, the first group of white settlers officially dispatched by Rhodes' B.S.A. Co., the Pioneer Column, left Kimberley in the Cape Province, South Africa, for Mashonaland. Within the company was a group of "skilled and semi-skilled Africans from the Cape, cooks, drivers, general servants and so on, who were attracted by the relatively good conditions of service offered them there."¹⁷ The blacks numbered 200 Ndwandwe and "Cape Colonial blacks." Such a figure was substantial in immigration terms.¹⁸

A third and one of the largest waves of black immigration from South Africa began about 1897 or 1898 as a result of the Matebele and Mashona Uprisings of 1896 against white settlement in Rhodesia. At the end of these bitterly and ferociously fought racial wars, the British imperial settlers became intensively and extensively suspicious of the indigenous blacks. The blacks in turn loathed and rightly distrusted the invaders and robbers of their land and cattle. Not only did the 1896-97 Wars of Resistance largely determine the course of race relations in Rhodesia to the present time, but more significant for our purposes, they inaugurated the practice of the importation of foreign black labor. For this reason, it is necessary to deal a bit more extensively with this central event in Rhodesian history.

Shortly after the Matebele War of 1893, the administration of the B.S.A. Co. forged a Blacks Police Force whose responsibility was to carry out measures of a newly conceived policy. This force of some two hundred men, most of whom were alien, were picked from the scum of the African society. They were trained and led by ruthless whites for the purpose of pacifying local Africans and for "maintaining law and order", as the Imperial Government in London was made to believe. However, the original and true reasons for the formation of this unit were clandestinely to procure forced labor for the settlers and to aid the Company in confiscating African cattle for itself. The B.S.A. Co. administration literally drafted indigenous blacks into disguised slavery. As John H. Harris, a contemporary British writer and representative of the Aborigines Protection Society based in Rhodesia wrote, Africans

were robbed of their land; they were robbed of their cattle; they were then subjected to a labour system synonymous with slavery imposed upon them by the worst elements of their tribes the black police, who had been hired by the very officials . . . who, but a year before had robbed them of their land and cattle. The situation was aggravated by the cruel and oppressive acts of the Native police, now so thoroughly out of hand that they robbed and looted the unfortunate tribes and generally subjected them to the most brutal treatment.¹⁹

That sort of oppression bred hostilities which resulted in the 1896 insurrections and subsequent strained race relations. After the Uprising, when the settlers attempted to draft Africans for work, they met with resistance. Several methods to bring them into a labor force for the whites were proposed from all directions. Ideas came from missionaries, who were regarded as the best students of African affairs, settlers, and Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, the B.S.A. Co. Administrator, as well. It is necessary to point out here that all these people who

as well. It is necessary to point out here that all these people who demanded cheap African labor cherished the typical middle- and upper-class Victorian notion that they required servants to cook for them, launder for them, toil in their gardens, hew firewood for them, and at times bathe them, because they were a carefully selected superior caste. Thus, whites in Britain and settlers in Rhodesia sought to drag Rhodesian blacks into forced labor.

One such example of the missionary proponents of forced labor was the Reverend Isaac Shimmins, a Wesleyan Methodist clergyman, who proposed that indigenes should be put into steady compulsory work for a few months each year because that would be a discipline of the "highest moral benefit" to them.²⁰ The settlers, led by the B.S.A. Co. Administrator, supported the proposal. However, the use of compulsory African labor was rejected outright by the Imperial Government in London. Joseph Chamberlain, then Colonial Secretary, half-heartedly rejected the idea because, as he reasoned, he could not defend the policy in the British Parliament.²¹

The B.S.A. Co. administration then resorted to other methods to force the Africans to work: the imposition of the Hut Tax and the importation of alien black laborers. The Company believed that indirect compulsion, coupled with the use of foreign workers, would make the indigenes envy the newcomer and ultimately turn to work for the settlers. That was the easiest way out. The Hut and Poll Taxes on the indigenous Africans were tightened; each adult black male had to pay £2 plus 10 shillings for each wife he had beyond the first one. This measure was believed to discourage polygamy, and it was reasoned also that the tax would compel local Africans to seek employment in European-operated

mines and on the farms. But the results were disappointing; though there was a trickle of workers coming in, they did not stay long on the job.²²

To encourage more local black workers, the mining companies raised monthly wages for blacks in 1898 from an average of 5 to 10 shillings per month to between 15 and 30 shillings, hoping that many more would turn to the money economy for long periods. But very few came forward for work; those who remained did so for only a month or two (in some cases for but a few days) before they returned to their rich lands which gave them more subsistence than they earned on the mines and farms. The final efforts to force blacks were the imposition of new regulations under the Hut and the Poll Taxes (amendments) Ordinances of 1902-03. The Hut Tax in particular was an enriching economic exercise for the Company, as it raised a total annual income of more than £250,000 by the end of 1898 and an even higher figure for 1903.²³ Still the indigenous blacks refused to be integrated into the money economy by force, and the settlers were forced to rely increasingly upon imported labor.

A further factor which favored the importation of black labor into Rhodesia as opposed to the employment of the indigenous population were the whites' attitudes toward the local blacks which prevailed. Several myths about the indigenes were propagated by settlers in a bid to discredit local blacks in favor of imported labor. One was that upheld by L. Levy-Bruhl, who wrote in 1910 that "mystic emotions blinded the African's reasoning powers and African thought was rigidly controlled by a mystic symbiosis, impervious to the evidence of experience."²⁴ This kind of idea certainly shows that the Rhodesian white settler believed that such a person would not see reason in the dignity of labor

under a white alien ruler.

A second view of the African generally shared was that they were "children". This myth even penetrated the higher echelons of the B.S.A. Co. administration, which reported in a Chief Native Commissioner's (C.N.C.) Report in 1923 that

Europeans are by law allowed to chastise and correct their minor children and train them to live good and honourable lives. The unsophisticated native on the contrary who has less logic or intelligence than the average European of eight years of age, is allowed to live in debauched and indolent life without correction.²⁵

Such were the prevailing white man's concepts which were due to their lack of genuine understanding of the indigenous blacks. These attitudes contributed to racial disharmony from the beginning of modern Rhodesian history.

Another white attitude about black Rhodesians current as early as the first decade of this century was that voiced by the Bikita District Native Commissioner (N.C.). To him and other whites, blacks in Rhodesia were lazy barbarians who should have remained so because "his muscular energy should be devoted to the hewing of wood and the carrying of water" for white settlers.²⁶

What the Europeans in the country failed to realize was that to the blacks, wage earning was but a meagre supplement to the produce from their land, and so mine or farm employment was a luxury they could do without. On the other hand, the white settlers strove to plunge the indigenes into both a money economy and slavery, which the latter were not readily interested in accepting. Only a few officials like the Hartley Native Commissioner saw the African resistance objectively and from its true perspective. He argued in 1895 that "10s a month is a

ridiculously low wage for a Native at the present price of food and I am not at all surprised at them being unwilling to work for it."²⁷

Despite such isolated perceptions of the true situation, the myths prevailed that local labor was unreliable and useless.

Given such prejudices, it should come as no surprise that the then Rhodesian Administration adopted at a very early date the policy of importing labor from outside the country. For example, Cecil John Rhodes himself had gone ahead recruiting the first official black immigrants from the Cape Province, a group of forty Fingo families, in March, 1898. By October of the same year the Administration expected a total of 3,000 Fingoes, Sothos, and Shanganis who were to be settled on government lands.²⁸

One major factor behind massive African immigration to Rhodesia was the economic developments within the territory. These included an expansion in the mining industry after 1897 when Rhodesia became the "Second Rand"--the great gold mining zone of Southern Africa. Mining was slowly followed by the agricultural industry which required much more cheap labor than mining. The more these two industries expanded, the more whites flocked into the country and the more they required domestic and outside labor. That also resulted in a rapid introduction of a Western life-style which called for a plentiful food supply.²⁹ In addition to this industrial expansion was the continuing competition with the Transvaal gold mining and the diamond extraction at Kimberley in South Africa. This rivalry for labor led to the formation in 1898 of the Matebele Native Labor Board based in Bulawayo to compete with these and other South African black labor recruiting and importing organizations.³⁰

The last important cause of black immigration was the general

economic conditions brought about by the First World War. Although many Rhodesians, both black and white, saw action in the war, the country itself remained untouched by its destruction. It was the postwar depression that forced thousands of black Zambians, Malawians, and Mozambiqueans to converge on Rhodesia in search of higher wages, food rations, and the promise of a higher standard of living.

All these factors discussed above are summed up quite adequately in the 1938 report on labor conditions in the then Northern Rhodesia Protectorate. The report puts forward the following motives for black migration to Rhodesia and South Africa: (a) Africans migrated to Rhodesia and South Africa in search of the higher wages which would enable them to pay taxes owed to the white administrations of their territories, and so they went to countries where wages were higher than at home. (b) Africans had developed a taste for all sorts of Western items such as clothing, beads, bicycles, and a host of other articles which demanded higher prices. (c) The migration was a search for enough money to cover each man's dowery (robora), the payment of which was not only a tribal obligation but a personal accomplishment as well. (d) The rise in the standard of living in the African context, especially in the cost of farming tools and children's education, forced many to search for work. (e) The desire to see the world outside their own territory, to see distant places, peoples and other curiosities prompted many to take the road. (f) Many more migrated to Rhodesia in response to the reports given by friends or relatives already working there and by the exaggerated reports of the labor recruiters.³¹

4. The Significance of Immigration to African Population

The subject of black immigration to Rhodesia is very important for many reasons to those scholars and politicians interested in the population composition of this state. It is an intriguing question, because in solving it we are better able to discover the heterogeneous nature of the black population from the tribal as well as the cultural points of view.

While all observers agree that the most significant black influx into Rhodesia occurred between about 1898 and about 1945, the magnitude of earlier immigration is a matter of some dispute. Some historians, among them Basil Davidson and R. G. Douglas, assert that black immigration began much earlier than the twelfth century and continued sporadically even after the advent of the white man and into the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The former, using archeological evidence, speaks of a "Southward March" by blacks from Central Africa. The latter, in an article for the National Archives of Rhodesia, contends that the history of immigration to Rhodesia predates the white man's occupation of the region.³²

Although this interpretation of the antiquity of immigration has merit, it rests upon a confusion between simple nomadic movements and true immigration. True immigration occurred only after the creation of white man's boundaries at the end of the nineteenth century. From that time to the present day, immigration has been a matter of utmost significance. Even King Lobengula saw its significance when as far back as the 1840s he inaugurated some form of immigration controls. For instance, in 1870, he employed a white man, John Lee of Mangwe, to act

as an immigration official for his kingdom's southern border.³³ The Charles Rudd Concession, signed between Lobengula and Rudd, an emissary of Rhodes, in October, 1888, reiterated the maintenance of the then existing immigration regulations. Regrettably, Lobengula's conscientious efforts to restrict and control immigration were violated by the ruthless white frontiersmen and co-signers of the Concession.³⁴ When the B.S.A. Co. usurped administrative powers from Lobengula and the Mashona rulers in 1893 and 1897 respectively, the entry of whites was stepped up while black immigration went on, sometimes unheeded, sometimes controlled, and in many instances, privately encouraged by officials. Suffice it to say there apparently were no stipulated restrictions for certain classes of Africans, as evidenced by the entrance of the "Cape boys" into Rhodesia as "skilled miners". Among them were the Fingo and Tswana.³⁵

The question of black immigration did not really arise, since it was said to belong to the field of imported labor. However, hundreds of blacks continued to enter the country clandestinely, especially from Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) and South Africa. The Native Prohibition Regulations of 1898, Section 4, provided that African chiefs throughout Rhodesia should report to their N.C.s the arrival of any "colonial natives" who entered the country and sought settlement among Africans. The regulations proved ineffective, since the black chiefs did not co-operate with the administrative officials.³⁶

Blacks from neighboring territories continued to come in until they caused a number of serious administrative, health, and economic problems which eventually prompted the C.N.C. for Matebeleland to report to the Administration in 1901 that there was a steady emigration especially

from the Cape Colony of undesirables "entering without any encouragement at the hands of the Government."³⁷ The answer to that complaint was the promulgation of the first Immigration Ordinance, 1901 by the Administration. In order to further prove that true immigration was taking place, we should examine the Ordinance in greater detail.

In its preamble, the Ordinance defines "immigrants" as any "unskilled labourer and includes any person introduced into Southern Rhodesia under this Ordinance." In Clause 2, Sections 1, 2, and 3, the Ordinance permitted black emigrants from "British and Portuguese possessions in Africa, south of Latitude twelve degrees South" to enter Rhodesia without restriction.³⁸ Blacks from India, the West Indies, the United States of America, and Chinese "coolies" were prohibited outright. In Part II the Ordinance lists conditions under which black laborers would be admitted into the territory and how they would either be repatriated or granted permanent settlement.³⁹ The Ordinance was amended in 1903 and additional and more stringent penalties for illegal entry by other people than Africans, and for desertion on arrival in Rhodesia were inserted.⁴⁰ This Ordinance and its subsequent amendments were the foundation of Rhodesian immigration law; broader legislation came into effect in 1914. Further examination of the official records demonstrates fully that black immigration to Rhodesia is a historical reality in the development of the territory.

The administrative records show that thousands of black immigrants entered the country through official channels; many more came in unrecorded. One in fact may make a distinction between "open" and "clandestine" immigrants. Open immigrants consisted of all those migrant laborers who entered the country in the bands of recruiters

under contracts which required them to return to their homelands as well as those who came of their own volition but registered at the border upon entry. Clandestine immigrants included all those Africans who illegally crossed the borders and secretly merged within the local communities. Most of these came from Mozambique and crossed the border to join their kinsmen in Rhodesia or at least used this pretext for settling there.

The numerous reports of the Native Commissioners from all the administrative districts in existence during the period under consideration attest to the fact that many alien blacks entered Rhodesia between 1890 and 1945. The Under-Secretary for Native Affairs of the Rhodesian Administration reported in his annual report for 1899 that a group of three hundred Fingo males from the Cape Colony came into Rhodesia to work in the mines in return for land grants. Those who later accompanied Mpefu, the Fingo Chief, included some 3,000 men, women and children.⁴¹ The Commissioner of Mines enumerated many immigrants who came during the same year to be workers in the mines and included some of these Fingoes. Most of these mine workers for 1890 included the Gazaland Shangani, a black tribe whose population spreads across the border from southern Mozambique into Rhodesia, some trans-Zambezi Mozambiqueans, a few Zulus, "Cape boys", and the Fingo.⁴² In the same year, the Mazoe N.C. reported that over three hundred blacks had entered his district as permanent labor force from Mozambique and recommended that more should be "encouraged to migrate to Rhodesia because they are better labourers."⁴³

Police reports also give added evidence of black immigration. The B.S.A. Police report for the 1898-1899 administrative year records the

number of black immigrants who came into Rhodesia as its recruits. In 1898 it enrolled 336 Angonis from Malawi as police. From September of the same year to March, 1899, the department lost only forty-six of these people by either death, discharge or desertion. When counting both its new and old alien black police members, there were by March 31, 1899, 350 men in Rhodesia, excluding 285 of the old guard who were discharged on account of age. The report is silent about the destination of these men. Taking into account the fact that all of them had served in the Rhodesian police force since 1896 during the Uprising, they possibly sought homes among the indigenes or settled in the urban areas and the African farming areas.⁴⁴

After the turn of the present century, black immigration increased enormously. In their annual reports for 1910, the Native Commissioners for Lomagundi, Darwin, Mtoko, Mazoe, and Goromonzi, to name a few, record statistics of blacks who either passed through their districts or entered them and settled there. The Lomagundi N.C. reports that 3,072 new black aliens entered the district for work. The majority of these new entrants came from Malawi. The Africans from Mozambique also substantially increased due to the stepped-up recruitment by the Rhodesian Native Labor Board (R.N.L.B.). Independent jobseekers entering the same region totalled 10,511, compared to 1,560 brought in by the R.N.L.B. Almost three quarters of both entrants passed through the district en route to the interior in search of work. Two alien blacks domiciled in the area and six hundred others were employed in the region in jobs other than mining. Significantly enough, independent immigrants exceeded legal entrants, according to the N.C.; twice the number of official immigrants entered the country without registration.⁴⁵

A similar account is given by the N.C. for Darwin, an adjacent district. His report notes the presence of some 3,106 new black aliens in his region, excluding over 3,000 others who had either been issued work permits prior to the period of compiling the report or had gone past the district in search of work elsewhere in the country. Six men known to have married local women established homes in the region. Two alien women also settled there and married local men; forty-nine bachelors sought and received permission to settle permanently in the area. Many more, as the N.C. states it, sought to remain longer in the region.⁴⁶

From the northeastern district of Mtoko, similar immigration trends occurred. The N.C. there reported that 2,131 Africans from Malawi and Mozambique entered the region in 1910 and received work passes. This figure amounted to 373 more newcomers than in the previous year. Over 1,000 blacks slipped into the district unofficially and dispersed to other areas. Six aliens sought and received permanent settlement and became subject to Poll and Hut Taxes.⁴⁷

Looking at the immigration picture in a few interior districts also demonstrates the magnitude of the subject. The N.C. for Mazoe reported in 1910 that of the many blacks who entered his region, some 755 left due to fear of paying taxes. The majority left for unknown districts within Rhodesia. However, 380 settled permanently in the area and worked on farms and in the mines. All paid taxes levied on all blacks. There were also another 5,500 men, women, and children immigrants who received work passes to work in the area indefinitely.⁴⁸

The Native Commissioner for Goromonzi reported what is perhaps the largest number of aliens taking up permanent residence in one district. In this region, twenty-four aliens received work permits but "250

domiciled in the district and 220 of them paid hut tax."⁴⁹ In the Hartley district, an area of many more gold mines than others, there were 10,000 aliens working in the mines, townships, and farms. The N.C. notes that the majority of them did not want to be repatriated and so they resorted to one of the most common ways then used to attain residence. They solicited local girls for marriage through these young women's parents by either paying robora (a form of dowry), or offered their labor to the parents for a period of two to five years in exchange for the girls in marriage. To put it in the N.C.'s own words,

From time to time girls appear before me complaining that their fathers wish to force them into living with men whom they do not wish to live with but who have observed native custom as far as the robora is concerned. The favoured suitor in these cases usually turns out to be an alien native who either cannot pay robora or from whom the girl's father refused to accept robora.⁵⁰

The basic reason for seeking such marriages to local women was to gain permanent residence. Most of the alien men were married already in their native lands but knew that the law allowed them settlement on the grounds of marriage to local women; they also were aware that their new wives would refuse to accompany them to foreign and distant countries where they knew no one and were unlikely to return home.

There are many such cases in this pattern of immigration and settlement. The N.C.s for Marandellas, Chibi, and Chilimanzi record similar incidents in their own regions. Fifty-two alien blacks settled in the Marandellas District in the period 1909 to 1910; sixty-two in Chibi, and over eighty-one in the Chilimanzi District.⁵¹ The evidence for massive black immigration is endless when one scrupulously examines the reports of the various Native Commissioners.

5. Labor Recruitment and Immigration

Elsewhere in the discussion above we referred to the Rhodesian Native Labor Board (later Bureau) and also to the labor recruitment practices in Rhodesia. It is necessary here to examine briefly the history of this mode of black immigration to Rhodesia in particular and its relevance and importance to the total immigration question. The writer contends that the subject of black migrant labor is not divorced from immigration; the former is part and parcel of the latter.

The white settlers' imbedded distrust of the black indigenes of Rhodesia did not stem from the Uprisings alone but started even earlier. As early as 1895 the Rhodesian Chamber of Mines organized a Labor Fund for recruiting and importing blacks to Rhodesia. The plans did not materialize immediately due to the outbreak of the Wars of Resistance in 1896, which perhaps confirmed white mistrust of the local blacks. However, labor recruitment by industry, in co-operation with the Administration, was renewed in 1897 when these organizations began recruitment from inside Rhodesia, Gazaland, and Northwestern Rhodesia (the present Barotse Province in Zambia). A year later, the Chamber of Mines and the Administration set up a commission to investigate better methods of labor recruitment, paying particular attention to the most conducive wages likely to keep blacks on their jobs. The Matebele Native Labor Board was formed in Bulawayo in 1899 by the Chamber of Mines as a result of the new efforts. Like its predecessor, it made little progress in recruiting black laborers because its target was the local blacks.

Frustrated by their efforts to recruit local labor, industry and the Administration looked elsewhere for labor supply. In 1900, a

Southern Rhodesia Native Labor Board was formed; its first recruits were Arabs and Indians who proved useless and costly. This disappointment forced the B.S.A. Co. administration to pass an Ordinance in 1901 granting permission to recruiters to sponsor "the immigration of foreign unskilled indentured labourers."⁵² Despite the legalization of labor recruitment, both the Matebele Native Labor Board and the Southern Rhodesia Native Labor Board were still unable to secure a sufficient number of laborers. Most local blacks who required work did so for a very short time; many aliens who were available preferred not to work under contracts. So, for the time being at least, the Administration's efforts to foster this disguised slavery were foiled.

In August, 1903, a new labor board, the Rhodesian Native Labor Bureau, sponsored and financed by the B.S.A. Co., the farmers' associations, and the Chamber of Mines came into being. During its infancy, the bureau suffered failures in 1904 and 1905 but later succeeded in its aims. It was recognized under the Labour Fees Ordinance of 1906, which specifically fixed the laborer's conditions of recruitment and service and the employer's conditions for recruiting and contracting workers. Despite a few setbacks during the first decade of its operation, the R.N.L.B. became responsible for the greatest expansion yet known in black immigration. Table I below demonstrates the sharp increase during the first five years of its operation in importing workers for the mining industry only.

TABLE I
BLACK LABOR RECRUITS 1906-1910

Year	Indigenous Recruits	Alien Recruits
1906	6,345	11,359
1907	7,673	17,937
1908	10,368	20,563
1909	10,689	21,948
1910	12,739	25,086

Source: Southern Rhodesia Native Affairs' Committee Report, 1910-11
(Government Printers, Salisbury, 1911), pp. 28-29.

The statistics in the table above reveal that the alien black workers made up sixty-four percent of the total African work force in the mines in 1906. A year later, they made up seventy percent. During the entire half-decade, they composed over two-thirds of the labor force in the mines, while a mere one-third consisted of the indigenes. In view of such evidence, the importance of black immigration to the Rhodesian employment trends, population growth, political development, social composition, and culture must not be underestimated. The whole social and economic fabric of Rhodesia was affected.

Even though the data above refers to the mining industry alone, there were many other hundreds of black aliens who entered other industries such as farming, factories, railways, other transport sections, and the domestic service. For instance, in 1909 and 1910, there were

11,425 and 13,548 black immigrants respectively employed in those industries other than mining.⁵³

Despite stiff competition with the well-organized and wealthier Witwatersrand labor recruiting organizations in South Africa, the R.N.L.B.'s efforts demonstrated its worth in 1919 when it recruited and distributed 32,720 blacks into the Rhodesian industries. Of the total, 6,116 came from Mozambique; 9,290 from Zambia; 5,074 from Malawi, and 1,551 from other unspecified countries. The remainder, 10,689, were Rhodesian. According to this record, the black immigrants comprised a consistent two-thirds of the African labor force between 1906 and 1919. Even though many of the recruits were on one-year contracts, the majority either renewed their contracts or deserted and vanished in the local African society. Some were repatriated to their homelands.⁵⁴

Although repatriation was the official policy of the Rhodesian Administration, a large proportion of the alien blacks never returned to their countries. For instance, in 1902-1903, the R.N.L.B. recruited some 603 blacks from the British territories in Northeast Africa. Of these, twenty-eight deserted between Aden and Beira; another eighty-three deserted between Beira and Salisbury; an exceptionally high number of 342 people deserted within Rhodesia itself. Apart from the forty-two who died, only 108 were repatriated. Those who deserted within the country vanished into the local black population and settled permanently.⁵⁵ It thus can be concluded that repatriation was not as useful a safety valve to prevent an excess of black influx as it was hoped and claimed to be. The deserters added to the local African population.

However, the officials did not realize the magnitude of this immigration at the time. The Administrator of Southern Rhodesia, Sir

William H. Milton, reported in his annual report for 1903-1904, that the total estimated black population of Rhodesia by March 31, 1904, inclusive of immigrants, was 582,000. The indigenes totalled 364,000, and the remainder were aliens. The black population had increased by fifteen and a half percent since 1901, when it was estimated at 487,000. The obvious point is that Milton underestimated the importance of black immigration when he said, "A small proportion of this increase may be regarded as due to immigration."⁵⁶ The statistics simply do not sustain his conclusion, since very few accurate data on immigration came to his attention. A more comprehensive use of statistical information in Table II below should shed light on the impact of black immigration on the Rhodesian African population, culture, and development.

TABLE II

RHODESIAN BLACK POPULATION FIGURES
1910 - 1943 (in half decades)

Year	Total ⁵⁷	Indigenes	Aliens
1910	860,000	826,000	33,740
1915	970,000	932,000	37,993
1920	1,090,000	1,043,572	46,428
1925	1,220,000	1,181,898	38,102
1930	1,380,000	1,331,381	48,619
1935	1,610,000	1,538,137	71,863
1940	1,870,000	1,804,001	65,999
1943	2,060,000	1,987,599	72,401

The most significant fact to be derived from this table is the impact of so many thousands of aliens on the general and particular growth of African population. To take two examples only from the figures above, aliens made up more than 3.92 percent of the black population in the 1910-1911 period, and in 1943, they made up over 3.51 percent of the total African population. Even though these demographical figures cannot be fully relied on, they demonstrate the impact of immigration on the Rhodesian African population. Later on in this study its total impact on local culture shall be discussed more fully.

It is imperative that we examine first the country into which those thousands of black aliens moved and the indigenous blacks among whom they settled, worked, married, and raised families. Most of these people cherished quite different cultures and customs from those of the newcomers. The treatment rendered to the aliens varied in degree from area to area and depended on how akin were their traditional and cultural systems. Marriage and kinship practices, more than other influences, determined the kind of relationships that developed between tribally different peoples.

NOTES

¹John E. E. Acton, "Inaugural Lectures on the Study of History," Lectures on Modern History (New York: Random House, 1906), pp. 15-16, 26-28.

²In A Strange Land: Report of A World Conference on Problem of International Migration and the Responsibilities of Churches (Leysin, Switzerland: World Council of Churches 1961), p. 12.

³S. N. Eisenstadt, The Absorption of Immigrants: A Comparative Study Based Mainly on the Jewish Community in Palestine and the State of Israel (London: Rutledge & Kegan Paul, 1954), p. 1.

⁴A. MacBeath, "The Study of Tribal Ethics," Rhodes Livingstone Journal, XXIV (1959), pp. 38-50.

⁵This definition is a very brief summary of the International Law as recorded in the United Nations Charter and very simplified in the Micropaedic article on "Migration," Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1974), VI, p. 881. The writer believes that this definition is designed for international convenience and as such would not suitably apply to the Rhodesian and South Central African situation of the period under consideration.

⁶Michael Gelfand, "Migration of African Labourers in Rhodesia and Nyasaland: 1890-1914," Central African Journal of Medicine, VII, 8 (August, 1961), pp. 293-300; George Kay, Rhodesia: Human Geography (New York: Africana Publications, 1970), pp. 95-102.

⁷Immigration Ordinance, Sec. 1, subsec. 7, Statutory Law of Southern Rhodesia, 1902 (Salisbury: Argus Printing and Publishing Co., 1903), V, p. 9, in National Archives of Rhodesia (hereinafter cited as NAR), File L O 4/1/10. Hereafter the British South Africa Company shall be referred to as the B.S.A. Co.

⁸International Labor Organization, First African Regional Conference, 1960, Report of the Director General (n.p., n.d.), p. 38.

⁹Brewton Berry, Race and Ethnic Relations (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), pp. 81-84.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 82; T. W. Freeman, Pre-Famine Ireland: A Study in Historical Geography (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1957), p. 15; William F. Adams, Ireland and Irish Emigration to the New World: From 1815 to the Famine (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), pp. 14-16.

- ¹¹ Harry Jerome, Migration and the Business Cycles (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926), p. 24.
- ¹² This argument has been upheld by several historians among whom predominate E. J. Hobsbawm, B. Semel, G. D. H. Cole & R. Postgate, R. C. Tucker, and E. P. Thompson.
- ¹³ William C. Smith, Americans in the Making (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939), pp. 3-4.
- ¹⁴ In A Strange Land, p. 14.
- ¹⁵ Paul S. King (compiler), Missions in Southern Rhodesia: Inyati Centenary Trust (Cape Town: Citadel Press, 1959), p. 20; Lewis H. Gann, A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934 (London: Chatto & Windus, 1965), pp. 43-44.
- ¹⁶ It is unnecessary to go into details of these treaties because they are largely irrelevant to the question under examination.
- ¹⁷ Gann, History of Southern Rhodesia, p. 92.
- ¹⁸ B.S.A. Co. Reports, 1896-97, NAR, PI 2/6/2 and LB 4/1/1.
- ¹⁹ John H. Harris, The Chartered Millions (London: Swarthmore Press, 1920), pp. 127-128.
- ²⁰ Letter, Rev. I. Shimmins to Administrator, n.p., November 14, 1898, as quoted in "B.S.A. Co.," Africa (South) [sic], No. 559; R. E. R. Martin, Report, Commission of Inquiry on African Administration (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1896), pp. 3, 5, NAR.
- ²¹ Letter, Joseph Chamberlain to Lord Milner, n.p., January 14, 1898, as quoted in Africa (South), No. 559, NAR.
- ²² Letter, Administrator to High Commissioner, n.p., May 28, 1903, Annex 13 to B.S.A. Co. Minutes of July 1, 1903, NAR, File L 0 1/2/24; B.S.A. Co. Administrator's Report, 1898-1899 (n.p., n.d.), NAR, File A 1/1.
- ²³ B.S.A. Co. Administrator's Report, 1898-1899, NAR, File A 1/1. Hut Tax revenues are recorded in the B.S.A. Co. Administrator's Reports, from 1890-1910. See NAR, Files L 0 4/1/1-L 0 4/1/30.
- ²⁴ L. Levy-Bruhl, "How Natives Think," Native Affairs Department Annual (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1926), IV, p. 126 (hereafter cited as NADA).
- ²⁵ "African as Children," NADA, 1923, I, p. 126; MS Report, 1923, NAR, File N 9/1/23.
- ²⁶ Annual Report, 1920, NAR, N 9/1/23.
- ²⁷ Half-Yearly Report, December 29, 1895, NAR, File N 1/1/3.

- ²⁸ Annual Report, March 31, 1898, NAR, File L O 4/1/1.
- ²⁹ The subject of economic growth in Rhodesia is discussed in a later chapter.
- ³⁰ B.S.A. Co. Reports, 1890-1910, NAR, Files L O 4/1/1-30.
- ³¹ Major G. St. J. Orde Browne, Report: Labour Conditions in Northern Rhodesia (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1938), pp. 1-11.
- ³² R. G. S. Douglas, The Development of the Department of Immigration to 1953 (hereafter cited as Department of Immigration) (Salisbury: National Archives of Rhodesia, 1972), pp. 1-29.
- ³³ *Ibid.*; E. C. Tabler, Pioneers of Rhodesia (London: Chatto & Windus, 1966), p. 24.
- ³⁴ Harris, "The Rudd Concession," The Chartered Millions, pp. 1-45; Tabler, Pioneers of Rhodesia, p. 159; B.S.A. Co. Charter, 1889 (London: H. M. Stationery, 1889), Clause 24, sec. vii.
- ³⁵ Administrator's Report, 1898-1899, NAR, File A 1/1.
- ³⁶ Chief Native Commissioners' Reports [Matebeleland and Mashonaland], June 1899, NAR, File A 3/21/49. (Hereafter Chief Native Commissioner's Report is cited as C.N.C. Report).
- ³⁷ C.N.C. Report, [Matebeleland], 1901, NAR, File L O 4/1/11.
- ³⁸ Statutory Law of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury: Argus Printing & Publishing Co., 1901), V, Part I, p. 9.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, Part II, pp. 9-15.
- ⁴⁰ C.N.C. Report [Matebeleland], 1902-1903, NAR, L O 4/1/11.
- ⁴¹ C.N.C. Report [Matebeleland], 1899, NAR, File L O 4/1/4, pp. 9-10.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ⁴³ MS, Mazoe Native Commissioner's Annual Report in C.N.C. Report, 1899; *Ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁴⁴ Department of Defense: Rhodesia, British South Africa Police (hereafter cited as Defense, B.S.A.P.), Mashonaland and Matebeleland, March 31, 1899, NAR, File L O 4/1/5.
- ⁴⁵ C.N.C. Report, [Mashonaland], 1910 (Lomagundi N.C.'s Report, NAR, File 4/1/30, pp. 69-70.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 122-128.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 101-102.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 47-49.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 59-60.

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 70-100, 128-130, and 163.

⁵²Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Native Affairs, 1910-1911 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1911), pp. 28-29. Note also that much of the following discussion centers on this document.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 30ff.

⁵⁴B.S.A. Co. Reports, 1919, NAR, File R G 3.

⁵⁵Immigration Department Report, March 31, 1903, NAR, pp. 10-15.

⁵⁶William H. Milton, Administrator's Report, 1903-1904 (Salisbury: Argus Printing & Publishing Co., 1904), p. 15.

⁵⁷"Comparative Statistics," C.N.C. Report, 1928-1929 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1929), Table III, p. 13. The total statistics of indigenes is arrived at after deducting the total of aliens from the total population. The official records do not show this difference when recording African population figures in this respect. This is one of the problems with B.S.A. Co. records on Africans. The other one is that figures given are rough "estimates" of the African population as well as some of the aliens except for those who registered on entry.

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY AND ITS AFRICAN PEOPLE

As we know it today, Rhodesia, or Zimbabwe, is 150,333 square miles in area--about the size of Montana. This saucer-shaped country varies in elevation from 1,000 feet above sea level to over 6,000 feet in other areas. More than five-eighths of this southern African plateau lies above 2,000 feet, comprising a central highland which stretches from the northeastern rim to the southwestern border with Botswana.

The eastern border follows a range of mountains which stretch from the southeastern Chimanimani Ranges to the Vhumba and the northeastern Inyangani group, which also forms part of the central watershed. The range continues to the Zambezi valley, where it is sliced by a series of broad plain-like troughs running from the southwest to the east into the Mozambiquean undulating plateau. The northern edge of the territory follows the course of the Zambezi River, which flows from north of the Victoria Falls in a southeasterly direction to the Indian Ocean through Mozambique. The major western frontier is a long stretch of low dry land, an extension of the semi-desert region of Botswana. In the south, the narrowest edge of the saucer is marked by the Limpopo River, which separates Rhodesia from the Republic of South Africa.

The central watershed enjoys moderately cool winters and hot summers. The hottest parts of the country are the low valleys of the Limpopo, the Sabi, and the Zambezi trough. The eastern highlands are

rainy and cool with luxuriant evergreen vegetation. The tropical nature of the climate of the region enables its people to have two distinct seasons, the wet and dry, rather than four, as is the case in the United States. The variation of rainfall between the low regions, the central high plateau, and the mountainous eastern highlands results in three marked vegetation types: the evergreen forests of the eastern highlands, the savanna or open woody-grassland of the middle high veld, and the low-lying outer rim valleys blanketed by the baob and mopani trees. The climate and vegetation are very suitable for the varied types of economic and industrial activities that utilize its abundant natural resources.

Rhodesia, unlike its neighbors to the north, east, and west, is rich in minerals, vast fertile farming lands, and forests. The minerals include all the known southern African minerals except petroleum. Among the most important are gold, chromite, copper, asbestos, mica, tin, and zinc. Coal, one of the most plentiful and useful minerals, is mined at Wankie. The minerals are found primarily along the main watershed, though some are present in the low valleys.

Of equal importance with mineral wealth is the farming industry. Rhodesia's rich sandy loam is most suitable for the tillage of a variety of both cash and consumption crops. The former includes tobacco, the main cash crop throughout the last seven decades of her history. This crop is raised mainly in the Mashonaland and Manicaland provinces, where it finds its outlet to world markets in the Salisbury Tobacco Auction floors. Maize (corn) is also one of the major crops for both the market and local consumption. These two crops occupy the largest portion of farming land in the territory. The tillage of the land for the production of these crops takes more unskilled workers than any

other crop grown in Rhodesia except the recently introduced cotton. Throughout the history of Rhodesia, the growth of tobacco and maize required the employment of many African laborers, and so aliens were attracted into the country. The development of the mining and farming industries was largely responsible for the influx of black immigrants as well as Asian and European settlers during the period under consideration. However, for us to have a clear picture of immigration to Rhodesia, the fabled golden jewel of Southern Africa, we must first look at its indigenous people.

1. The Shona

The indigenous Africans of Rhodesia include two major tribes--the Shona and the Ndebele. The latter might be considered "early immigrants," since they came into the region between 1837 and 1840. The Rhodesian indigenes referred to as 'Shona' or 'Mashona' consist of four major clans, which are further subdivided into minor language groups. The term "Shona" is not an accurate description of these people. It derives its historical and tribal origin from two possible sources. First, the Ndebele word ntshonalanga, meaning "the sunset" could have been coined to describe those Africans whom the people of Mzilikazi found living in the west of the territory which they eventually occupied. It is believed in Ndebele oral history that when King Mzilikazi met the British Missionary Robert Moffatt about 1830, he was advised to settle in the northwest region near Bulawayo among the "Amatshona", or "westerners".¹ An alternative to this view is one that asserts that the Ndebele found the indigenes of this country so peaceful, unsuspecting of strangers, and naive that they seemed an easy prey to

Mzilikazi's armies. One who went there alone among them tshonaed, i.e. "disappeared", and so the Ndebele derogatorily dubbed their hosts "Amatshona", or "those who never returned strangers." However, this view attracts little historical credence and rests entirely upon tribal lore.²

The Shona comprise four clans: the Karanga, the Korekore, the Manyika, and the Zezuru. There are Tonga also in the north and north-west part of the country who have relations with the Zambian Tonga because they have the same culture and customs which are very different from those of the Shona. In this study all clans referred to above except the Tonga will be called Shona. The Shona society has three distinct arial structures: the Nyika, or country chiefdom; the Dunhu, meaning ward, district or canton; and the Mana (village), which is the smallest unit in the structure other than a family.³ A Shona chiefdom comprises as many as forty to one hundred wards, each of which may consist of as many as six to thirty villages. In turn, each village would have as many as four to twenty families (misha).⁴

The nucleus of a Shona country or nyika, is the village. The mana consists of several family homes scattered in a given geographical area without necessarily having a specific plan; the distances between houses may vary from several hundreds of yards to even miles. The land surrounding the village belongs to all its inhabitants in common for tillage and animal grazing purposes. Though there are no specific boundaries between individual holdings, each village cannot infringe upon the grazing and farming zone of another village. Most villages are made up of kinship units of various extended families.

The most significant factor about the mana is that it is based on a

land tenure system which is very flexible for the inhabitants. Each individual or family moves around within a large area without having to sell or buy any piece of land. As the Mangwende Reserve Commission pointed out,

There was . . . in principle no fixed boundary marking the limits of a kraal's [village's] landed interests unless there was an impending conflict with similarly expanding interests of other kraals.⁵

This principle keeps not only the village system intact but also that of the dunhu and the nyika, even though the nyika boundaries are usually well defined by natural features such as rivers, mountains, trees, or hills. But these boundaries are not regarded as permanent because as long as the population of the nyika increases and there are no other chiefdoms surrounding it, its frontiers steadily change as desired and approved by the king.

The structure of the society also explains the Shona land tenure system and the political structure. According to traditional Shona law, each individual has a right to a piece of land as long as he is in active occupation of it and asserts a positive interest in it for a reasonable time in the future. There is no such concept as the rights of absent landlords. The law protects the rights of an individual to land even though technically the land does not belong to him. The entire land in a nyika, dunhu or mana belongs to the nation as a whole, and so each head of a family holds what land he has in trust from the nation. The samana (village head), sadunhu (district chief), and the sanyika (king) respectively hold the land on behalf of their people. Theirs is a political as well as a legal jurisdiction.

The political format of a nyika follows the social structure described above. Unlike the Ndebele, the Shona governmental system is

decentralized except in times of war. Its functions depend on a collateral pattern of succession rather than on primogeniture. The kingship rotates to members of the royal family but can also go to other families by rotation on the basis of merit. The very nature of this loose structure discourages the forming of a monopoly of political and military power by members of one family and eliminates dictatorship, but it is also susceptible to revolts and secessions by some strong sadunhus who desire to create their own kingdoms.⁶

Within this political framework, the king acts on the advice and consent of both the sadunhus and the samanas or their representatives; he is responsible to all married males in the kingdom as well. Council meetings (dare) are held at the mana and dunhu levels. Decisions at the dares are made by majority vote and are transmitted to the king, who eventually summons a Great Dare comprising all sadunhus and samanas plus the king's own counsellors. The decisions arrived at the Great Dare by a majority vote of those present are then implemented by the king as the laws of the nation. Minor disputes are settled at local levels, and only serious cases of both civil and criminal nature come to the great council. All matters relating to war are dealt with at the Great Dare. However, on rare occasions, the king may impose his decision when a majority agreement is impossible, provided he has the support of the greater counsellors and princes. Such impositions usually result in either rebellions or secessions by those sadunhus and samanas opposed to the measures decreed by the king. In view of this, the kings are always reluctant to use this prerogative except during a war or unless they are sure that the majority of the sadunhus in particular and the chief counsellors in general support their actions. Generally speaking, once the

sadunhus accept a measure, the king's council accepts it with little or no change. Diagram I shows the general format of both the societal and political structure.

In order to understand the impact of the black immigrants upon this Shona society, it is necessary to examine the social organization in some greater detail. The village consists of groups of kinsmen under the authority of a headman who is generally appointed by the king with the advice of the majority of the married men in the village and that of the dunhu counsellors. The membership of the village is based on kinship, although it may consist of many kinship groups and at times unrelated individuals from distant clans. New entrants are welcomed from time to time as long as they pledge to live peacefully under the established rules and regulations of the village. At times they are required to be related to some member of the village who may or may not still reside in that village. Such entrants may come individually or as family groups.⁷

There are several ways by which a group of kinsmen can become a village. A mana that expands quickly may break up into two or more new villages as directed and approved by the king in council. One village may consist of one man and his entire extended family members who desire to be a separate village, though still paying allegiance to the king and the sadunhu. Such a man should be married and the number of his family members or followers should warrant the creation of such a village.

Another village may start when a man and his entire family members move into a new kingdom or country and their number warrants the formation of such a village. Such manas, generally fall under close supervision by host authorities until such time that they can prove themselves

to be friendly and useful immigrants. The leader first settles under the control of a local sadunhu before he can attain sadunhu status himself.

Some villages emerge as a result of a split within the parent village at the death of a father or a samana, or when certain family members decide to break away and establish their own village instead of remaining under their elder brother's jurisdiction. However, all would still remain under the authority of the sadunhu, and the creation of this new village remains subject to the king's approval. With advice from the sadunhu, he formally allocates grazing and farming land to the new samana.⁸

As we noted above, the dunhu is a distinct political unit with well-defined boundaries and political organization. The borders are generally marked by natural features such as rivers, mountains, hills, or specifically marked trees, anthills and hilltops. This political unit includes varying numbers of manas whose headmen pay political and social allegiance to a sadunhu who yields wide political powers. Although kinship remains important, a sadunhu may not necessarily belong to the largest extended family; he must, however, command the support of the king and of all other headmen of his country. His responsibilities include the upholding of communal land rights, the protection of the rights and interests of the community, the arbitration of land and social disputes between villages and villagers, and the adjudication of all legal conflicts within his sphere of influence. In all cases he works with some kind of an inner court consisting of his chosen advisors and all the headmen within his dunhu. He leaves major cases such as murder and witchcraft to the king's council, of which he is a member.⁹

It is these two administrative divisions of the Shona into which many black aliens settled.

The Shona kinship organization is basically an exogamous patrilineal system based on totemic clan origins. Each person belonging to a given totem cannot and should not marry a person of the same totem (mutupo and chidawo). The descendants of a family get the mutupo and chidawo of their legal father and rarely that of their mother. Thus, when one addresses a man or his descendant by his totem, one demonstrates utmost respect and reverence to him and is said to be well mannered.

The genealogy of the kinship bond ranges from forefather to great-grand parents, grand-parents, parents, children, and children's offspring, which becomes the chizvarwa (generation) of a family. The genealogical framework of both the rank system and the respect practice puts emphasis on the patrilineal bond.¹⁰

By basing the ranking on patrilineage, a definite order of precedence and succession becomes possible, and a particular family can trace its genealogy easily. In order to enlarge itself, such a family should marry women from other families; these eventually form extended inter-lineages without each losing its identity. The female lineage becomes the flexible bond representing the potential reproductive capacity of the inter-lineage. Women married within such a family group help increase its size without changing drastically its identity. The family hierarchy remains intact as each male member marries from other lineages.¹¹

Marital customs within the Shona society are strict and vigorously adhered to. Although no specific age limit is set, a girl to be taken

into marriage should be physically capable of producing healthy children. She must be a virgo intacto upon marriage and should have no sexual relations with any man other than her husband unless and until they have divorced. The boy as well should have a man's strength to do hard work and maintain a family. Like the girls, he should reach puberty before marriage. He should also not have had any previous sexual knowledge. Prior to marriage, a girl must be examined by elderly women from both her own family and that of her prospective husband. A boy is also examined for premarital sex and is tested for possible impotence by his relatives, especially the grandparents.¹²

The question of whom to marry is surrounded by a number of restrictions. A man cannot marry a girl related to him by mutupo and chidawo. He cannot also marry any direct relative of either his father or mother. That would be incest, a worse taboo. Parents and other close relatives can choose a girl for him and vice versa. However, a boy may also choose a girl of his liking but uses an intermediary to approach the girl on his behalf. Once that is done, he completes the courting alone but must seek the approval of his aunt or uncle to marry the girl. When he gets it, marriage arrangements are made by elders without necessarily consulting the betrothed, who are only given the final arrangements. After love tokens are exchanged, it becomes illegal for either partner to refuse to enter into the marriage contract.

The participation of elders in the marriage arrangements and its consummation introduces a very important and unique Shona law. According to this unwritten law, marriage is the joining together of two different families into a new extended family. Its members become relations; it is not merely the two who are married. In the same

context, the bride-wealth (robora) paid to the bridegroom's parents is a token of appreciation. This same fact explains why there is great insistence on purity on the part of the boy and the girl. Gelfand puts it neatly when he writes:

Purity in the eyes of the Shona is virginity, even if there should be African tribes to the north or south of Rhodesia, where sexual relations are permitted before marriage. Such is virginity regarded as a sign of a fine woman that after the first night a man has relations with his wife, he is asked by his father if all is well. Generally he declares that his wife is pure, where upon all in the village are happy. She is accepted in their midst. She becomes one of the family.¹³

The emphasis on purity is accompanied by the insistence on good manners and behavior. Among the Shona, a man is judged by his respect and courtesy accorded to others. One shakes hands when greeting another of his own age and claps his hands first when receiving anything from others. Children and youths greet adults first without shaking hands, but the minor must clap his hands while crouching. Girls must curtsey and clap hands when greeting adults. Minors refer to all unrelated adults as baba or amai (father or mother) or "grandfather" or "grandmother" respectively when greeting or talking to them. These manners apply when receiving articles, at table, and when speaking to and answering all adults during conversations. All parents' abilities to train children are judged by the manners and behavior of their children. Each person's unhu (goodness, personality) is judged by his behavior in both public and private life. Among the Shona, a good person is one who tells the truth all the time, shows respect to all older people, maintains good relations with one's neighbors, and upholds the brotherhood concept at all times.

Gelfand notes that "A good man exhibits good behavior (tsika)

towards others and he is liked by people. Unhu is derived from the distant past. The parents teach their children unhu."¹⁴ In short, a good man among the Shona is one who shows good manners, generosity, truth, and exemplary behavior; one who is a good neighbor and pays proper respect to all and especially to the king and all counsellors. It is that person who is not greedy and not a witch or wizard, but one who pays due respect to God and the ancestral spirits of his people.

In a rather descriptive way, the Shona religious practices and beliefs may be divided into four broad categories which are closely related: the Mwari, the spirit, the diviner-herbalist, and the sorcerer realms. The first category recognizes belief in a single supreme God named Mwari. The second category refers to the realm of ancestral spirits in relation to the supreme Mwari. The third classification covers divinatory and magical practices cherished mainly by the diviners and herbalists. This group deals purely with negative and destructive forces. A fourth group, that of sorcery, deals with spirits of revenge which are alien to the Shona.

The Shona Mwari is not polytheistic; he is the "One Creator", the ultimate masculine authority above all human action. Unlike the Judeo-Christian God, Mwari is less directly involved in each individual's life than are his ancestral spirits, and so the two do not only know each other but communicate with each other. The ancestral spirits are the intermediaries between the Shona and Mwari and can in turn easily communicate with the people, because they know each other. Each Shona family communicates its needs, problems and worries to its family ancestral spirit, who in turn speaks to Mwari on behalf of the family, and Mwari responds through the same channel. Thus, the family spirits

play the intercessory role in family spiritual needs.

One other important spiritual realm within the Shona faith is that of the alien spirits generally referred to by most true Shona clans as mashave, to use a Shona word. These spirits are those of people from other lands or from under the ground or water, or any remote and unknown place. They are introduced by aliens (mabvakure: those who come from afar), and so tend to be named by the tribal name of the person it represents. One often hears sayings such as "Une shave reZenda, kana re Nyanja", meaning, "One is possessed by the evil or alien spirit of a Malawian or Nyanja person".¹⁵

Most, if not all, alien spirits are characterized by acts of destruction, poisoning, healing, or divination. The hosts of such spirits practice their mysterious actions only when such spirits take hold of them and put them in hysterical trances. They are said to render a person insane, especially if that person killed an alien whose spirit eventually returned and entered the murderer for revenge. Such mashave are feared the most, since they require a doctor from the alien's country to come and remove them from the host. When they avenge, the Shona call them ngozi (danger). The shave may attack the actual wrongdoer or his descendants and any other member of his family. In view of this, the Shona took special care to treat aliens well unless directed otherwise by their own national mediators. In the course of history, both black and white immigrants took advantage of this generous attitude to intimidate and exploit their hosts. The impact of the immigrant on these Shona religious practices will be examined later.

In summary, Shona religion could be said to be based neither upon naturism, fetishism, animism nor totemism, but upon a belief in a

Supreme Being who is the Bearer and the Creator, Mwari. He is not the deified spirit of some human progenitor or some remote ancestor. To the Shona, Mwari has all the attributes of eternity, invisibility, and power to control the universe. He is the God of experience; as Charles Bullock puts it vividly, "In the beginning he [Mwari] was here, that is somewhere above the Earth of which he is the Unseen Owner. He provides the feast of Nature, and gives the fruits of the Earth, and yet he is not of it, nor bound to it."¹⁶

2. The Ndebele

A second Rhodesian tribe among whom aliens entered is the Ndebele, or AmaNdebele, who occupy a stretch of land running from the extreme northwest to the southern tip of Rhodesia. These people speak an Nguni or Zulu dialect, because they were at one time part of the Zulu nation in South Africa before migrating to Rhodesia in the 1840s.¹⁷ In this dissertation, the name Ndebele or AmaNdebele should then be understood to mean only those blacks who settled in Rhodesia under King Mzilikazi and not the other Ndebele of northern Transvaal. We refer to those Rhodesian Africans who formed a political state; according to tradition, they were of the Khumalo clan.

The definition of the Ndebele given above implies that these people are a homogeneous group of Africans. To suggest so is to be in error. The Ndebele as known in Rhodesia today are a heterogeneous, war-like tribe which marched from Zululand into Rhodesia and who conquered other tribes and assimilated them into their society on their northward trek. As a result of this tribal intermixture, the Ndebele king resorted to a type of caste system in which all those who came from Zululand

belonged to the higher caste.

The new nation forged by and under King Mzilikazi consisted of people varied in cultural and traditional practices which produced a caste system in their society. The rulers had to maintain their identity if they were to rule longer and more effectively. The ruling class and the descendants of the original Khumalo clan formed the upper class which was called the AbeZansi, i.e., "those of the chieftaincy," who came from Natal. They were the most important and the most respected. They often kept themselves exclusive in housing as well as in social activities. They married only those men and women of the Zansi totem rank such as the Khumalo, Dlodlo, or Mlotshwa families. It was both illegal and taboo for any of them to marry from any of the lower castes.

Lower in rank than the Zansi were the abeNtsha, meaning the "new-comers" into their society. The group included all those Africans whom the Zansi had conquered in northern Transvaal, among whom were the Sotho, Tswana, and some Venda. Once captured, the men were absorbed into Mzilikazi's army, and the women were given to lower ranking soldiers; all remained slaves within the Ndebele society.

The third level within the Ndebele caste structure was that of the AmaHoli, meaning the "dirty, inferior, degenerate outcasts." At times they were called amaSwina, especially those who were slaves of the Shona clans. These amaHoli comprised the lowest social strata and consisted of the captives and their descendants. Depending on the occasion, they were also called Abetshabi, "the filthy scum of society." However, at times the Ndebele respected these people and called them by their tribal or clan names.

As captives and slaves, these people were extremely segregated and

discriminated against. The men in particular were at the lowest end of the caste system and suffered the most. They were deprived of any political rights, even though they participated in all battles on the side of the Ndebele. Significantly, with a gradual increase in inter-caste marriages, such discrimination steadily diminished, especially between the Zansi, the abeNtsha, and the abeNtsha and the Tshabi women. The ruling families remained intact and in full control, however, and their men and women remained sacrosanct.¹⁸

The Ndebele political structure follows roughly the social pattern just described above. However, the governmental system should be understood in the context of a warring people. To the old Ndebele, war was a vocation, and all his energies were geared toward it. Whenever and wherever men gathered, the discourse centered on war and the methods of warfare. Two general philosophies explain this attitude. First and foremost, fighting in war was man's highest duty to his king; secondly, most men benefitted from the spoils of war, and it was only in war that each man demonstrated his courage, strength, and military acumen. Cowards were humiliated, laughed at, and barred from the king's ceremonies. The king was the source of all military action.

Kings like Mzilikazi or Lobengula had supreme power and authority inherited from the royal Khumalo clan on a patrilineal basis. He was an absolute monarch who wielded his power despotically, and allegiance to him was a requirement; he centralized all governmental activities and deprived every subject of the right to choose. However, such a despotic system was understandable, taking into consideration the fact that his nation consisted of people from many different clans who would be prone

to either deny his lordship or rebel and secede with their own kinship leaders.

To help the king run the kingdom was a division of the army commanders called indunas. These consisted of two groups. The Chief Induna held powers similar to those of a prime minister in a Western system. He had the right to sign treaties in the absence of the king. An example of this was Mncumbata, who signed a treaty in 1836 with the Cape Province Government on behalf of King Mzilikazi. The second group of indunas who made up the king's council were mainly the military commanders of the highest rank who were members of the royal family and those most trusted and closest to him.¹⁹

The third political as well as military division of the Ndebele government was the Umphakathi, an inner council which consisted of leading chiefs of the kingdom. They formed a permanent body to help the king with his judicial deliberations. Generally, no member of the inner council was allowed to express dissent; the king's wishes enforced inevitable unanimity in all council meetings. Opposition to the council's decisions was outright treason, punishable by death. Membership to the chiefs' council, the army command, and the king's council was reserved for the king's closest blood relations. In short, the king ruled in council. The army itself consisted of four divisions composed of males of sixteen years of age and older. The four divisions were situated in four areas of the country where they maintained law and order.²⁰

The Ndebele kinship begins with a family that is formed by a marriage between a male and female who belong to two unrelated families. This exogamous nature of kinship makes it agnatic, assuming that those

who marry do not have a common isibongo (totem). It means that James Ndlovu, for example, can marry Jane Dube because their isibongos, Ndlovu and Dube respectively, are not common clan names.²¹ Just as patrilineage is important in political organization, so is it in the kinship lineages. Rank and sex within the lineage is very important; males are rendered greater respect than women, but the latter of more advanced age receive more and greater respect than unmarried men. The kinships are wider than among the Shona, and a Ndebele would be said to have, by classificatory nomenclature, a number of fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters. Like the Shona, the Ndebele regard incest a taboo punishable by either death, heavy fine, or total ostracism.

Ndebele kinship system embraces another cultural concept common to the Shona also: this element is the art of respect or honor particularly associated with the ubuntu ideal. To them, a really good person is one who respects and honors others--someone with good manners. A woman is a good mother if she respects her husband, her father-in-law, and mother-in-law, and if she teaches her children to do likewise. She should not address her in-laws by their names but by their totem; the man should do the same.

Closely related to kinship is the marriage practice among the Ndebele. Like the Shona, they prohibit marriage between related persons. They, however, go further and require that people of certain clans and even tribes should not marry. This applies particularly to the Zansi families among whom the practice is still very alive, especially in the rural areas of Matebeleland.²² However, with the passage of time, interclan marriages have become common among the lower castes of society. Virginity is still regarded the highest goal of a "good future wife"

even though the social restrictions that ensured it have since gone by the board, and young people indulge in sexual intercourse at very early ages due to the influence of urbanization.

The Ndebele believe in a Supreme Being, Nkulunkulu, who is concerned with the general and particular welfare of the nation. Their belief in Nkulunkulu began in Zululand. He is believed to have taught the ancestors of the Ndebele all the arts of medicine and divination, and is assumed to have come from a bed of reeds.²³ The Supreme Being, also called Somandla, "all powerful", is approached through the ancestral spirits of the royal family and the king's religious adviser, who are His earthly representatives. The king can invoke his royal ancestors to intercede with Somandla to send the people rain or end a plague. Within Rhodesia, Somandla worship seems to have been superceded by the Shona worship of Mwari, which is probably the result of the increase of the Shona Tshabe among the Ndebele. The Ndebele have thus more recently called their God uMwali and appear to have conferred on Mwari all the powers, prestige, and rituals once reserved for Somandla. Contrary to the Shona belief, the Ndebele never associate Mwari (Mlimo) with the outbreak of disease, plague, locusts, or national disasters.²⁴ Mwari has become a national God for whom they make pilgrimages to the Matopo Hills to ask him for rain. However, the majority still worship Somandla, whom they approach through ancestral spirits who intercede for them to Him. In short, the religion of the Shona and the Ndebele is similar in many ways; the influence of the immigrants on their ways of worship was similar as well.

3. The Tonga

Many historians have offered various theories about the origins of the Rhodesian Tonga. Some suggest that they came from the southwestern part of Rhodesia and moved north to settle in the Zambezi valley. Others argue that the Tonga migrated from the Bunyai and Kafue regions of Zambia, crossed the Zambezi River and settled on the Rhodesian side of the valley. This assertion is substantiated by David Livingstone's reports which claim that he found the Tonga in the Kafue valley in 1860. Furthermore, the linguistic and cultural similarities and ties of the Tonga on both sides of the Zambezi suggest that the northern side was more than likely the original home of the Tonga.²⁵ However, the Tonga on the Rhodesian side have changed so much that they have lost a great deal of their original cultural and linguistic traits.

The Tonga of Rhodesia call the region they occupy Butonga. They occupy three districts in north and northwest Rhodesia, namely Wankie, Hurungwe, and Sebungwe, though these districts do not correspond to the commonly cherished cultural divisions of the Tonga. Among them live a sizeable number of Shona clans, especially the Korekore, the Shangwe, and some Budya. At present, a few Zezuru and Ndebele live among them as well.

The Tonga claim that there are two major customs that distinguish them from other Rhodesian blacks: their custom of extracting the upper incisors and canine teeth, and the tradition of the ingoma dance, which consists of a team of drummers and flute players who play to the accompaniment of a female chorus. The girls' noses are pierced and decorated with beautiful beadwork and reeds, while men and boys have no incisors and canines.

Despite these two customs, the Tonga also have many other social institutions characteristic of their tribe. For instance, all Tongas practice matrilineal inheritance and succession; they have exogamous family groupings subdivided into small lineages. Religiously, they believe and practice that the mizimu (ancestral spirit) is inherited in the form of a shade. This cult of shades dominates their kinship and local organization; local shrines to the mizimu concerned with rain and fertility of the land are common.

Even though they all speak the same Tonga language, each community or region has its own dialect and institutions. Socially, they vary in organization in minor areas but have basic commonalities. The clans are exogamous with different clan groups; some clans have joking patterns while others do not have them. In many instances the people are related to each other by clanship rather than by family lineages. Along this line of relationship, male members of a clan are referred to as "fathers" and female members as "mothers or grandmothers" without parent lineages.

The majority of the Tonga arrange marriage by paying robora, and like other Rhodesian indigenes, they forbid incest and render heavy punishment for any incestuous activities. The Tonga also practice infant betrothal and follow a systematic method of working for one's bride-to-be. Where bridal wealth is directly paid, some families share it between in-laws of the married couple, but with others, the bride's kinfolk share it among themselves. In short, the Tonga are generous, resolute people in their approach to life. They are straightforward, simple, and unceremonious. They take each day's concerns of life with "an ebullient and rude humour disconcerting to the outsider."²⁶

The Africans discussed above were the major indigenous tribes who

came in contact with the alien immigrants who are the subject of this study. It was essential that we examine the culture, political systems, and kinship patterns of these groups so that we can understand the impact of the immigrants.

NOTES

¹Charles Bullock, The Mashona: Indigenous Natives of Southern Rhodesia (Cape Town: Juta & Co. Ltd., 1927), pp. 1-60.

²Ibid., pp. 5-8.

³Southern Rhodesia, Report of the Mangwende Reserve Commission of Inquiry (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1961), pp. 11-12.

⁴Ibid., p. 13.

⁵Ibid., pp. 14-18.

⁶J. F. Holleman, Shona Customary Law (Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1952), pp. 3-5.

⁷Ibid., p. 6.

⁸Ibid., pp. 11-14.

⁹Ibid., pp. 23-71; Michael Gelfand, The Genuine Shona (Gwelo: Mambo Press, 1973), pp. 101-109.

¹⁰Holleman, Shona Customary Law, p. 33.

¹¹These ideas represent the customary ideals of Shona marriage practice. At the present time (1978), most of the demands have fallen away due to the introduction of Western Christian practices and the effects of urbanization.

¹²A boy's semen is put in water. If it sinks, it is regarded as strong and capable of reproduction. If it floats, he is advised to consult an African doctor for treatment because he is assumed sterile.

¹³Gelfand, Genuine Shona, p. 68.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁵This idea is a common saying among the Shona who use it to describe a person who may be possessed by an evil spirit which they regard as alien to their culture and society.

¹⁶Bullock, The Mashona: Indigenous Natives of S. Rhodesia, p. 121.

¹⁷ Hilda Kuper, A. J. B. Hughes and J. Van Velsen, The Shona and Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia (London: International African Institute, 1954), Part IV, pp. 40-42.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 44; 71.

¹⁹ Harold Child, The AmaNdebele (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1968), pp. 17-18.

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 64-65.

²² H. M. G. Jackson, "AmaNdebele Marriage Laws," NADA, Vol. III, 1925, pp. 35-38.

²³ Child, History of the AmaNdebele, p. 72.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 73-74.

²⁵ W. Hogg, "Mission Station Sojabas, Zambesi Mission," Records of Mission Work (London: Rhodes Livingstone Institute, 1903), pp. 30-33; E. Colson, Social Organization of the Gwembe Valley Tonga (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1960), p. 25.

²⁶ Colson, Social Organization of the Gwembe Valley Tonga, p. 24.

CHAPTER III

THE EUROPEAN ADVENT AND BLACK IMMIGRATION

After describing the people of Rhodesia among whom the immigrants settled, we now examine the role of the European on alien immigration to this territory during the period from 1890 to 1945. We shall examine European industry, noting mining, railways, other forms of transport, agriculture, and urban industries. The first three are discussed comprehensively and the last ones very briefly, because it is the first three which played a greater role in the immigration process.

The first whites to settle in Rhodesia were a group of carefully selected Britons who hoped to establish a "little Britain" in Rhodesia. Over ninety percent of them came from middle and upper middle-class families, and most had some military or colonial experience. The aim of the B.S.A. Co. was to create a typical British society. The major economic reason was to mine gold and precious stones and to provide the settlers with as much opportunity as possible to get rich. To Rhodes, occupation of Rhodesia was an economic as well as a diplomatic move to fulfill his dream to have the British occupy the Cape-to-Cairo belt of Africa. To the settler, it was wealth through gold mining that was important. The Company, too, aimed at obtaining riches from the country's natural resources through mining.

1. Mining and Immigration

The history of mining in Southern Rhodesia began centuries before the arrival of the white man. The first gold miners in the area were aboriginal blacks who must have had extensive contact with the Arab world. Both oral and archeological evidence points to the fact that identification of Rhodesia with the Biblical land or Ophir is not a far-fetched theory; no other credible explanation has so far been advanced to discredit it. Gold, copper, iron ore, and silver were mined and worked in what is now Mashonaland and Manicaland prior to both the Portuguese expeditions in the area in the sixteenth century and the English occupation in 1890.

Before the nineteenth century, gold mining took two forms: rock-quarry mining (extracting gold from quartz reefs) and alluvial gold mining. Rock-quarry mining was practiced as early as 1400, before the Portuguese visited the area. The black mining engineers split rocks through creaves and extracted gold from the rock. At times underground mining was undertaken, but when they reached sections with water below the surface, mining was abandoned. In some areas mining continued because the miners used stone and timber pillars to prop up walls. Mines of this kind were discovered by the early whites; some such mines still exist today, such as the working at Pickstone Mine in Gatooma, which is still operating. The miners generally used fire to break rocks before extracting gold. African goldsmiths were seen also by an early British prospector, Thomas Baines, who visited the Lomagundi region in 1870.¹

Alluvial gold mining appears to have been practiced for over two thousand years before the coming of the Portuguese and continued until

the arrival of the British prospectors and settlers during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Gold washers followed river banks, scooped up sands and rocks, and washed them in search of gold. How much gold was obtained by this method is impossible to guess. Other minerals mined were copper, iron ore, and silver. Copper and iron ore were extensively mined when the Portuguese arrived and when the British invaded the territory. Mining in Rhodesia could be said to have undergone through four phases: the age of the black miners; the Portuguese era up to 1890; the British era beginning about 1890; and the twentieth-century epoch. The third and fourth periods are the concern of this discussion.

When the British South Africa Company occupied Mashonaland in 1890, it promulgated mining ordinances which required mining companies to mine for gold and to give fifty percent of their mining royalties to the B.S.A. Co. These regulations insured that the Company received its profits; heavy penalties were prescribed for violations, and individual miners were prohibited. Because of the high rate of royalties, mining companies resented the regulations and fought a long legal battle. By the close of the century, they had won a lower levy of thirty percent. The Company's earlier measures were certainly of a profiteering nature designed to enrich shareholders quickly.

Despite the strict mining regulations imposed by the Company, the gold mining industry continued to expand and contributed greatly to the black immigration trends in the territory. Between 1902 and 1918, the Company amended many of its mining regulations and allowed independent individual miners to mine gold for profit. As a result of this relaxation of mining rules, the number of gold mining claims more than tripled.

A brief examination of gold mining and the system of claims demonstrates how the industry attracted thousands of immigrants of all colors from all over the globe.

In 1892, in the Umfuli District, there were 3,106 claims made above the 28 mines which were already in operation. Altogether, the mines in the region yielded over 779 ounces of pure gold for that year.² During the same year, three other gold mining districts showed some appreciable growth. In the Mazoe District, there were 1,230 registered claims, and 280 of them had been inspected for operation. Thirty syndicates and thirty private diggers together employed 1,400 Africans in their mines.

In the Victoria Province, the claims totalled 2,047, of which only 558 were certified for business. The major mining companies in the area were the Hippo, the Cambrian, the Texas, an American company, and the Tokwe. These employed Africans mainly from South Africa and Mozambique. In the Manika District, gold claims lay along a six-mile wide gold reef south of Umtali town; the rest of the claims and mines belonged to mining giants like the Cam and Motor, Agency Reef, the Champion Day Dawn, the Dunn's Grand Extension East, the Grand Manica, the Little Chief, the New Eldorado, the Penhalonga, the Quagga, the Rezende, and the Revue companies. Like the mines in the Victoria District, these also attracted many Shanganis, the Venda and Hlengwe from northern Transvaal.

The period 1902-1903 showed an increase in the mining profits for both the Company and the mining syndicates. The revenue from all forms of mining totalled £80,891, 17s in these two years, while gold production was 201,107 ounces. There were more than one hundred thousand

claims for surface gold mining, and 108 alluvial claims. Nearly 3,230 other mineral claims, including coal, copper, silver, zinc, and iron ore were also made in the area. In comparison with the figures for 1892, totals for 1902-03 show a greater increase in mining. The progress in the mining industry for 1904 can be summed up in the following figures:³

Total number of claims	2,383
Weight of gold mined	236,570
Total value of gold	£845,359
Weight of silver mined	28,208 oz.
Weight of lead	225 tons, 913 lb.

The increase in mining operations continued until the advent of World War I. There were well over four hundred gold mines in the country, 14 of which produced over 388,544 ounces of gold; 80 others produced 230,896 ounces, and some 394 small mines yielded 70,514 ounces in 1913. By 1914 the number of small mines had decreased and that of giant companies increased by over thirty-five percent. The ten years after 1904 were definitely years of a gold mining boom for both the B.S.A. Co. and the mining companies, as demonstrated below in Table III.⁴

Several significant facts emerge from the information in Table III. First, the increase in the value of gold mined was caused by the availability of cheap labor, the introduction of machinery, an increase in gold prospecting, and the rise in the value of gold on the international market. Second, the rise in the net value of gold in 1914 to approximately three and one-half million pounds was due to an increase in production, since a record of 854,480 ounces of gold were mined in Rhodesia during that year. Third, the B.S.A. Co. and the mining companies had resolved to make as much profit with as little expenditure as possible.

TABLE III
 VALUE OF MINED GOLD, 1910 to 1914

Year	Value of Gold in £
1910	2,568,198
1911	2,647,896
1912	2,707,369
1913	2,903,269
1914	3,580,209

Source: N. H. Wilson (compiler), Notes on the Mining Industry of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury: S.R. Geological Survey, 1930), p. 16.

The constant rise in gold production confirmed the company officials' belief about the presence of abundant mineral wealth in Rhodesia. Encouraged by the quality and quantity of gold available, they intensified their search for other precious metals than gold.

The production of other minerals showed a similar upward trend during the next ten years. The silver yield reached a record high of 150,793 ounces which was valued at £14,277. Other minerals with high yields were coal, 349,459 ounces, chrome, 48,207 ounces, and diamonds

valued at £3,985 for the one mining year. Such expansion in mining attracted thousands of people into Rhodesia. The country experienced another "Gold rush" like that of California in 1849 and that of the Witwatersrand after 1885. The Africans of Central Africa were no exceptions to this pull of gold and its economic advantages.

The period between 1914 and 1923 saw international and local upheavals which affected the mining industry considerably. The outbreak of World War I resulted in a drop in production, especially at the close of the war when gold production dropped from about 855,000 ounces per year in 1914 to less than 594,000 ounces in 1919.⁵ The Blacks who immigrated were mainly the skilled Shangani miners who took over jobs previously reserved for whites. The political scene was one of turmoil, as the relations between Rhodesian whites and the British Government deteriorated. The settlers demanded self-government, and in a referendum they voted against unification with South Africa. That constitutional act certainly tipped the mining and immigration scales in favor of the Rhodesian white settler.

As a result of the political change of 1923, the mining industry immediately experienced a second boom, led by the Southern Rhodesian mining giants, the fabled Globe and Phoenix, Cam and Motor Co., the Shamva Mining Co., the Lonely Co., the Old Rezende, the Falcon Co., the Chicago Black Bess, and the Acturus Syndicate. Each produced an average of over 10,000 ounces of gold per year in 1924 and thereafter.⁶

When Rhodesia received responsible government in 1923, the net value of minerals had reached £4,300,652 per annum. It showed an even higher record in 1924: £4,478,499. Both African indigenes and aliens contributed in the production of minerals which yielded that revenue.

By 1934, many developments in the mining industry had taken place. Many of the small companies were out of business, having either shut down or been bought out by the larger ones. The Big Eleven mentioned earlier remained in business, out-competing each other. Cam and Motor Co. still led the group in production; the Chicago-Gaika Co. had dropped to the last position in the production bracket. In the same year, the Big Eleven produced 302,329 ounces of gold among themselves--forty-three percent of the total gold output for that year. The statistics do not compare favorably with those of the two previous years when they produced over sixty percent in 1932, and nearly fifty-three percent in 1933. But the total annual output declared was a record high since the period 1915-1917, when gold output was 915,029 ounces on the average.⁷ Accompanying a drop in mineral production during the period between 1934 and 1945, there was a slight drop in the number of African immigrants employed in the Rhodesian mines. For instance, there were 78,339 local and alien Blacks in the mines in 1943 compared with an estimated 141,822 in the agricultural industry during the same year.⁸ It was becoming clear that gold was not as inexhaustible as the early settlers thought.

Still, the expansion in mining had ushered in vigorous economic development in Rhodesia which was largely responsible for the massive black immigration to the territory. Wages in Rhodesia were higher than elsewhere in Central Africa except in South Africa, and so the road to Rhodesia seemed to lead to a glorious economic future for the African laborer ready to exchange his labor for money. Conditions of service in Rhodesian mines were comparatively attractive. Food, the main concern of all, was provided in addition to the very attractive wages paid

to alien workers; free housing was also available. But once the work contracts for the immigrants expired, it was either return home to lower wages and inferior standards of living, or stay in Rhodesia permanently where the immigrants were given preference over the indigenous blacks. The full impact of mining on African immigration is demonstrated in Table XI.

The statistics demonstrate some important conclusions that can be drawn about black immigration and the employment trends in the Rhodesian mining industry during the twenty-two years. Immigrant employment increased between 1923 and 1934 while that of indigenes lagged behind. Considering that alien workers were expatriates, it remains clear that immigration increased beyond the numbers of those repatriated. In 1935, there were over 12,000 aliens more than those who came in 1934, compared with less than 3,000 local Africans who entered the mining employment. That is, four times as many alien immigrants as local Africans took up jobs in the mines. Although this trend continued to rise, there was a minimal drop in 1937. From 1938 to 1945 the total number of black immigrant workers in the mining industry rose from an annual average of over 86,000 to over 169,000 workers. Local Africans in mining rose from 76,000 to an average of 100,000 workers per year.

In conclusion, the mining industry was responsible for the early increase in African immigration because the alien blacks were given preference over the indigenous peoples. The decline in the mining sector diverted immigrants to the transport and railroad systems and to farming.

2. Transport Systems and Immigration

One other major factor responsible for black immigration was the development of the transport and communication system, which included railways, roads, and bridge construction, and the telegraphic industry. Of all these, railroad construction was responsible for bringing the most alien blacks. The occupation of Mashonaland in 1890 by the B.S.A. Co. settlers necessitated the construction of better and more reliable transport systems than the ox-wagon trails. Railways were necessary for bringing in machinery for the mining industry and for taking gold out of the country. Good all-weather roads were also needed, since the ox-wagon system had become too slow, very costly, and inadequate for a rapidly growing economy.

The need for a better and faster transport network compelled Cecil Rhodes to put his own fortune into the railway construction project. First he hoped that this would be part of his Cape-to-Cairo railway dream, and so he began to extend the Cape Colony railway through Transvaal and Botswana to Rhodesia. Second, Rhodes signed a treaty on June 11, 1891, with the Portuguese Government on behalf of the B.S.A. Co. which provided for building a railway from Beira to Salisbury via Umtali. A British royal decree soon granted the then newly formed Mozambique Company the right to construct the line and to form a consortium with other British or Portuguese companies.

Rhodes took a personal interest in the project and visited Beira in September, 1891, to assess for himself the feasibility of the railroad. Meanwhile, the Mozambique Company sold its concession to Henry T. van Lau, an Afrikaner who was also involved in the railroad construction business. However, a newly established British Railway Chartered

Company bought the Beira Railway Concession from van Lau on July 12, 1892. The emerging company became the Beira Railway Company, which began the construction once the surveying was complete. With the help of Rhodes and his closest friends and allies, it began to import first Indians and then blacks from South Africa, Malawi and Mozambique to work on the line. Some Africans came from as far as Tanzania, Somalia, and Arabia. The Shangani of both Mozambique and Rhodesia became more useful as skilled railroad construction workers. By mid-June, 1894, the company had employed over 2,000 Africans from all territories, many of whom were alien to Mozambique and Rhodesia.⁹

The construction of the Beira-Umtali line was fraught with many hazards and disasters. Many people died from malaria and accidents during construction. Due to malaria, high mountains, extensive marshy plains, and excessively long rainy seasons, the line took longer to complete than the south-to-north line from the Cape Province. Construction on the Beira line began in 1892 and did not reach Umtali until May, 1899. Once this railroad was completed, blacks from Malawi and Mozambique began to stream into Rhodesia along the line as work-seekers in Rhodesian mines and railway construction projects.

The south-to-north line was quickly constructed due to the favorable climate and terrain and easy access to materials. This was an extension of the Cape Province line to Mafeking en route to Botswana. It was extended from Mafeking beginning in May, 1893, and by October, 1895, the line had reached the border of Botswana. When the War of Resistance broke out in 1896, Rhodes encouraged the construction companies to speed up work so that the B.S.A. Co. police fighting the Ndebele and the Shona could be efficiently reinforced. By November 4,

1897, the line reached Bulawayo, some six months before the Beira-Umtali line reached Rhodesia. The railway company from South Africa brought with it a large gang of black workers, among whom were Fingoes, Tswanas, Vendas, and the Batswana. The majority of these did not return to South Africa but were required to serve as skilled railway workers supervising the other African workers from the north and within Rhodesia.

The Bulawayo-Gwelo line met the Salisbury-Gwelo section in Gwelo on December 1, 1902. Thus, by 1902 Rhodesia had been linked with both the Atlantic and the Indian Oceans and the outside world. The railroads had been completed at a time of great expansion. The Rhodesia Railways Company owned 1,396 miles of railroad, while the Mashonaland Railway Company possessed 607 miles. The Beira Railway Company owned and operated 168 miles; the Beira Junction Railway Company also owned 35 miles. The Shabani Railway Company Ltd. operated the 63-mile rail line from Shabani to the main line running south to Capetown. One other major company owning railroads and employing Africans was the Blinkwater Railway, which operated the 123-mile line between Fort Victoria and Gwelo. Each of these companies employed more black aliens whom they regarded more skilled than local ones.¹⁰

The completion of the railways made it easier for the African aliens to enter the country illegally. They walked along the tracks until they reached the border and then crossed the boundary through the forests. Such immigrants were insultingly called matevera njanji (railway trekkers) by the indigenous blacks. The completion of railways also made it possible for recruiting agencies to import large numbers of African aliens at a lower cost than by bringing them in on lorries or ox-wagons, as was the practice in the beginning. The proper maintenance

of the railways required alien black workers who were content with lower wages. Table IV below illustrates how the railway system contributed to black immigration between 1921 and 1946.

TABLE IV
ALIENS EMPLOYED IN RAILWAYS, 1921 to 1946

Period	Number of Alien Employees
1921	5,452
1926	7,436
1931	14,857
1936	5,778
1941	6,891
1946	8,161

Source: S.R.GI, Government Census Reports for the years 1921-1946.

Other sectors of the transport industry which contributed to black immigration were road, bridge, and telegraph construction which developed parallel with the railways. During the same period, 1921 to 1946, for instance, road building employed 879 black aliens in 1921; 4,577 in 1931; 11,819 in 1936; some 5,000 people in 1941 and about 4,300 in 1946. None of these aliens was reported to have returned to his home country.¹¹ In summary, both the railways and the roads were responsible for African

immigration as much as was the mining industry.

3. Agriculture and Immigration

The Rhodesian agricultural industry had its significant share of black immigration to the country. This industry began very modestly in 1897 as a small section of the Land Department, designed primarily to promote the interests of a small farming community. It continued under the control of this department until 1901, when a Secretary for Agriculture and Lands was first established by the Rhodesian Administration to promote research in farming and forestry. Shortly thereafter, hundreds of farmers and fortune seekers organized themselves into farmers' associations such as the Matebeleland Landowners and Farmers' Association and the Mashonaland Farmers' Association.¹² The associations began to pressure the Administration for more cheap African labor.

The farmers demanded that indigenous Africans be forced to work on their farms; many of them regarded the African in Rhodesia as part of the spoils of their victory in the wars of 1896-1897. As Robin H. Palmer observes,

For the fortune hunters of Rhodesia, therefore, Africans were simply part of the spoils of victory; their labour, their cattle, their land and their women could be taken with impunity, without fear of retribution.¹³

The Company and farmers believed in this strongly, and so resorted to pressuring the Administration to adopt compulsory African labor. The indigenous Africans resisted the measures and appealed to the British Government, which took the allegations seriously and appointed a commission of inquiry into the treatment of Africans in 1897.¹⁴

The commission arrived at very significant conclusions on the subject after a thorough investigation. It concluded: (1) that

compulsory labor undoubtedly existed in both Mashonaland and Matebeleland; (2) that the various Native Commissioners enforced this labor for the different requirements of the Government and the mining industry, both companies and private persons; (3) that the N.C.s tried to recruit the Africans by requiring each chief to provide them with Africans collected by force. When these findings became known in Britain, the practice was outlawed and the Rhodesian Administration and farmers turned outside the territory for a labor supply.

Each year more acreage was put under the plow and the demand for cheap labor increased. The first crop grown widely was maize (corn). From 1913 to 1923 the acreage under maize increased from 93,950 to 166,019 acres. An average of over 133,000 acres of land per year was put to maize growing during those ten years.¹⁵ In addition to corn growing, tobacco was introduced at the turn of the century. This crop had a brighter future on the international market, and its growth in Rhodesia would ease the economic problems of the territory's farmers. Once introduced, it became very clear that the crop required even more plentiful cheap labor; therefore, concentration on tobacco growing ushered in a period of unprecedented African immigration from Zambia and Malawi.

In 1900, there were only two acres of tobacco in the whole country outside the Melsetter experiment stations. But between 1903 and 1904, well over a hundred local farmers had turned to tobacco growing. Three years later, 610 farmers were growing tobacco and employing in the process an estimated African labor force of 73,076; this was four times as many Africans as those employed in 1904. The expansion in tobacco growing and the subsequent increase in African immigration was due to

a greater demand for Rhodesian Turkish tobacco on the London market.¹⁶

In 1910, the farmers introduced Virginia tobacco from the United States and expanded its growth throughout the country. In co-operation with the Government, farmers' associations built auction floors in Salisbury, and the Administration built processing factories. The availability of these facilities also encouraged an increase in the growing and production of both Turkish and Virginia tobacco. For instance, during the 1911-1912 growing season, tobacco farmers produced over one million pounds of tobacco and employed some 13,511 alien African workers.¹⁷ When World War I broke out in 1914, tobacco growing decreased because many farmers went to fight, and tobacco acreage dropped from about 6,000 acres in the 1913-1914 growing season to 1,310 acres in 1915-1916. Acreage began to pick up again about 1918, and by the 1921-1922 growing season, tobacco acreage had more than doubled. However, the war had very little effect on immigration, as many Africans from the north continued to come into Rhodesia.¹⁸

The impact of the agricultural industry on African immigration continued to increase during the period from 1923 to 1946 as more land was devoted to tobacco growing, and the labor force expanded. For example, while there were 58,542 alien Africans employed in farming in 1922, four years later there were 72,118. While in 1931 the number fell to slightly over 67,000, the number of black immigrants in agriculture in 1936 reached 83,061. From 1941 to 1946 their numbers swelled from 88,000 to more than 150,000 persons.¹⁹ Agriculture played an important role in black immigration to Rhodesia. As the reader can observe, there were always more alien Africans in agriculture than indigenes, a consequence of the white Rhodesian farmer's preference for aliens.

One other interesting fact about the alien immigrants who worked in the agricultural industry were the sections within the industry into which they chose to work. In 1939, about 4,000 aliens worked in cattle ranching and in 1943, more than 4,000 others joined the same job. In 1944, slightly over 5,000 worked in similar jobs. The remainder of aliens employed in agriculture between 1939 and 1945 worked as farm hands and others as domestic servants.²⁰ Of all sectors in the economy, agriculture continued to employ most of the African immigrants. While in 1944 the mining industry employed 54,421 and railway transport another 7,000, the agricultural industry absorbed 70,000 aliens.

4. Urban Industries and Immigration

One other Rhodesian economic sector which absorbed many aliens was the urban industries, including private household services, commerce, manufacturing, and the central and local governments. Between 1890 and 1900, aliens employed in urban centers were officially called "Colonial Natives". Official records used the name to distinguish them from local blacks. Most of these worked as domestic servants and garden boys. Others served as horse and ox-wagon drivers. The majority of these aliens came from South Africa, Botswana, and Swaziland, and later from Malawi. The census report for the year ending March 31, 1901, shows that there were 829 such aliens working as domestic servants in all towns of the Mashonaland and Manicaland Provinces. In the Victoria, Midlands, and Matebeleland Provinces, they numbered an estimated 2,899 men, women, and children between the ages of 16 and 40 years. The majority of these were Fingoes, who numbered 1,215 men and women.²¹

Later in the decade, the records of black employment combined locals

and alien workers except a few who were referred to as "natives from British Territories south of the Zambezi." Among these were Swazis, Tswanas, Fingoes, Cape boys, Sothos, Somalis, "Blantyre boys" (Malawians), and Portuguese Africans. There were 18,632 such men and women in Rhodesia working in the urban industries in 1904.²² Seven years later, householders' reports showed the employment of over 21,000 alien blacks from Zambia, Malawi, Angola, and other territories in the south, in addition to the 3,000 blacks from Rhodesia. It is significant to note that about forty percent of the domestic labor force in 1911 was alien.²³

By 1921, the alien blacks residing in Rhodesia had increased by 103.91 percent in a decade to 100,529 persons. Some 16,602 alien and indigenous blacks were employed in commerce, factories, administration, Christian mission centers, and other institutions. The domestic services absorbed another 14,824 men and women. The aliens had emigrated from South Africa, Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi, Kenya, Zambia, and other unspecified territories.²⁴

The employment situation for 1926 was different from that of the previous five years. A few new industries were added to the reports, and this helped spread the incidence of alien workers. An estimated 24,000 men were employed as domestic servants, well over 16,000 persons more than in 1921. Government institutions employed 3,000 African males of alien origins. The building and allied trades absorbed another 4,040 blacks. Most of them came from Rhodesia, Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, South Africa, and Botswana in ratios of 45.78 percent, 24.87 percent, 20.44 percent, 7.57 percent, and 1.34 percent respectively. Malawi and Zambia supplied the largest number of alien workers. Significant enough, however, foreign immigrant workers comprised more than

fifty-four percent of the urban labor force. Other sections of urban industry such as shops, stores, offices, and hotels employed some 6,460 men and women, as shown in Table V below.²⁵

TABLE V
IMMIGRANT WORKERS BY COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN, 1926

Country	Males	Females	Total
Malawi	43,020	149	43,169
Mozambique	13,068	67	13,135
Zambia	35,431	55	35,486
Others (unspecified)	2,218	112	2,330

Source: S. Rhodesia Report of Director of Census, May 4, 1926, Part III, (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1927), pp. 21-23.

In 1936, a more comprehensive census was conducted which revealed basic and useful information on black immigrant employment in Rhodesian industries. The statistics for both 1931 and 1936 were provided. While there were 24,538 blacks employed as domestic servants in 1931, there were nearly 31,000 in 1936. The manufacturing industry absorbed 10,034 and 12,339 respectively; the shops and offices took some 6,965 and 10,079 in the same periods. Alien employees numbered 102,908 in 1931 and over 144,901 five years later. During both periods, Malawi supplied the largest number: over 49,000 in 1931 and some 70,362 people in 1936.

An areal study of African alien employment reveals that in Matebeleland over fifty percent of the black workers were immigrants. In Mashonaland, where the majority of alien Africans worked in mines, farms, and in urban industries, well over sixty-five percent were aliens. Immigrants from the various countries were more numerous in those districts contiguous to their respective borders. Exceptions to this generalization were the Hartley and Mazoe districts because of the many mines and large farms in those areas.²⁶

In the last decade of the period under study, black immigration was influenced by a greater expansion in Rhodesian industry. The period between 1936 and 1941 was one of prosperity, which attracted many more thousands of alien blacks into the country. Out of an estimated African population of 1,378,000 in 1941, over 303,279 indigenes and aliens were employed in all industries other than mining. This number represented a more than nineteen percent increase over that of 1936. Aliens employed in urban industries, the police, and defense forces amounted to 168,106 men and women, of which 71,505 came from Malawi alone. About forty-six thousand came from Mozambique.²⁷ Slightly over sixty-four percent of these aliens were employed in Mashonaland and Manicaland provinces. The remainder, thirty-six percent, worked in Matebeleland. In terms of figures, 108,347 aliens worked in Mashonaland, and some 59,759 alien men, women, and children found employment in Matebeleland in 1941. Approximately 38,000 Mozambiqueans, over 19,000 Zambians, and well over 50,000 Malawians worked in Mashonaland, compared to 7,000 Mozambiqueans, 29,000 Zambians, 21,000 Malawians, and some 2,000 blacks from unidentified countries who settled and worked in Matebeleland.²⁸

As a result of significant economic changes between 1941 and 1946,

the Rhodesian Government desired to increase its labor supply and so initiated two programs. In 1942, it passed the Compulsory Native Labor Act, which forced all male African indigenes from the age of sixteen and above to work on road and bridge construction projects for minimum wages. The law was so hated by Africans that they dubbed it "chibharo", meaning "raping"; it was not very different from the Charter Law of 1897 which also imposed forced labor. Secondly, the government made special agreements with the administrations of Malawi and Zambia to import more black aliens under the Native Labor Regulations. The Zambian and Malawian administrations co-operated generally with the Rhodesian Government and recruiting agencies. A similar agreement was made with the Portuguese as well.

As a result of these measures, the African labor force increased. The urban industries and other recently opened ones employed some 363,344 men and nearly 14,000 women during the period ending May 31, 1946. Some 205,965 alien men and women of that number came to work in Rhodesian industries during the year; 19,781 were recruited and well over 137,598 came independently and registered on entry. Many hundreds more were presumed to have entered illegally and unregistered and settled among the local people.²⁹ These trends of African immigration continued for the next decade until the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

In summing up this section on the role of Europeans on black immigration, we should take cognizance of the impact of western industrial expansion in Rhodesia and the attitudes of the whites themselves. The white man's industries needed cheap African labor; the whites did not trust local Africans and did not pay them as well as they did the aliens.

Consequently, they preferred alien black laborers to indigenous workers. That choice was responsible for the massive African immigration. In addition to that, many others entered because of the excellent working conditions they heard about from friends; the majority of these came in clandestinely--some to make permanent homes and others to return to their native lands once they were wealthy enough. The European impact on black immigration would be incomplete without an explanation of labor contracts under which the many of the aliens came to Rhodesia during this period.

5. Labor Contracts

The importation of African laborers into Rhodesia was regulated by a series of agreements signed between the Rhodesian Government and the governments of neighboring territories: Malawi and Zambia (both territories of Britain) and Portuguese Mozambique. The regulations came into official operation as early as 1906 and were amended from time to time; but even before that date, some loose agreements had been reached on the basis of mutual understanding. The question of African migrant workers from "North Zambesia and Nyasaland" was a simple matter for the B.S.A. Co. and the administrations of these northern territories. That of Zambia was no problem since the B.S.A. Co. possessed that territory.

The importation of black Malawians raised a thorny issue which dragged on from 1899 to about 1930. The whole controversy centered on the fact that the B.S.A. Co. believed it had the right to recruit African workers from Nyasaland because that area was a British Protectorate. The administration of Nyasaland did not share this view, however. While they accepted the idea of allowing a few Africans to emigrate to

Rhodesia, they were opposed to the departure of vast numbers. The first Malawians who came into Rhodesia in 1897 and 1899 had come under the Rhodes-Johnson Agreement of 1897, which was purely an understanding between friends rather than between administrations. The real quarrel over black employees surfaced in 1900, when the Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce petitioned the British Foreign Office to prohibit Rhodesia from recruiting Malawians for her industries.³⁰ The reason given was that the Rhodesians recruited skilled workers and so drained Malawi of useful labor.

In 1900, the B.S.A. Co. was financing a local Malawian Christian missionary, Dr. Law of the Free Church of Scotland, to train blacks at his school as personal servants, farm workers, clerks, and interpreters.³¹ These were to be brought to Rhodesia under the Native Labor Regulations (Amendment) Ordinance. In 1911, the regulations were again amended to stipulate conditions for labor recruitment. It laid down that Africans from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and other recruits were to be provided with food, transport, clothing, and bedding when en route to Rhodesia. The workers would, in return, contract to work for at least two years for the same employer or company and then decide on their own whether or not to be repatriated. Independent workers would be encouraged to register with authorities on entry.³² Their wages were sent back to their respective governments, which deducted their Hut and Poll Taxes first before saving the remainder for them.

The labor recruiting law of 1927 established what was called the Free Migrant Labor Transport, which the Malawians called Ulele, meaning "free". The scheme was operated by the Rhodesian Government in co-operation with the mining and farming industries importing blacks from

Malawi, Zambia, Angola, and Portuguese East Africa. Under the scheme, lorries ran between given points carrying workers into Rhodesia free and returning repatriates after their work contracts expired if such workers wished to return.³³

Under Rhodesian law, each recruit had to sign a contract which bound him, the recruiter, and the employer to certain work conditions. For Zambians and Malawians, the conditions were not strictly adhered to, but for Mozambiqueans, they were strictly observed.

Under the Tete Agreement of 1934, between the Portuguese and the British, the latter agreed not to recruit and import more than 15,000 Mozambique Africans per year; the men would be returned by the same authority that recruited them. Further, fifty percent of the money paid to each laborer had to be sent to the Portuguese Government. Each worker would be recruited once only in his lifetime. Each recruiter and company had to pay the Mozambique Government £140 for a license. Since the regulations were so strict, many recruiters encouraged African workers to merely walk across the border in order to take advantage of higher wages which they did not have to share with the Mozambique Government. Independent African immigrants took the opportunity to enter the country and seek either permanent residence or independent employment. In doing so, they changed their native names for those which were locally common. The apportionment of an immigrant's wages between him and his government applied to Zambian and Malawian immigrant workers as well as those from Mozambique.

At the end of this chain of "civilized slavery" was the African worker. He had to travel a long and hazardous journey hoping to work for a white man he did not know and did not choose. He was promised

employment for a wage of something between five shillings and £6 a month depending on the type of work; he never received half of that sum. What he was sure of was a one-and-a-half pounds of mealie meal daily and two pounds of beans, two-and-a-half pounds of meat, two pounds of vegetables, and one pound of peanuts per week. Under Rhodesian law, the employer payed his workers on a weekly basis. He would send half of it to the Government of Rhodesia which in turn would remit the appropriate sums to the various governments. The immigrant worker would use part of the remainder to buy himself clothing or to meet the expenses of marriage and pay the Rhodesian Hut Tax. Ill treatment, accidents, and diseases took a toll of hundreds of those workers.³⁴

Briefly then, those immigrants who came to Rhodesia under labor contracts suffered under numerous disadvantages in terms of working conditions and provisions for health. Still, even those who were repatriated at the end of their contracts generally returned clandestinely in large numbers, sought independent work, and settled permanently in Rhodesia despite strict regulations. Labor contracts were largely responsible for the African immigration from Zambia, Mozambique, Malawi, and South African territories.

NOTES

¹N. H. Wilson (compiler), Notes on The Mining Industry of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury: S. R. Geological Survey, 1930), p. 12.

²Mining Department Records, 1892-1923: The Growth of the Mining Industry in Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1924), pp. 1-10, NAR, File S R G 3. The following discussion also uses some evidence from this same document.

³Ibid., Report, 1902-1903, pp. 11-14.

⁴Mining Department Records, 1914, NAR, File S R G 3.

⁵N. H. Wilson, Notes on the Mining Industry, p. 16. The writer has rounded the figures off to the nearest thousand.

⁶Mining Report, 1924, p. 3. NAR, File S R G 3.

⁷Ibid., Report for 1934.

⁸Ibid., Report for 1944.

⁹Anthony H. Croxton, Railways of Rhodesia (Newton Abbot, England: David Charles, Ltd., 1973), p. 22.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 28ff.; The Role of Private Enterprise in a Developing Economy, No. 13 (Salisbury: Ministry of Information, 1971), pp. 6-7.

¹¹Government Census Reports, 1921-1946, NAR, File S R G I/CE 6.

¹²For an in-depth study of land distribution by whites in Rhodesia, see Robin H. Palmer's "The Making and Implementation of Land Policy in Rhodesia, 1890-1936" (University of London, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1968), NAR.

¹³Robin H. Palmer, Aspects of Rhodesian Land Policy, 1890-1936 (Salisbury: Central African Historical Association, 1968), Local Series, No. 22, p. 12.

¹⁴R. E. R. Martin, Report on the Native Administration of the British South Africa Company (hereafter referred to as the Martin Report), (London: H. M. Stationery Office, July, 1897), p. 459.

¹⁵H. Weinmann, Agricultural Research and Development in Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1923: Occasional Papers, No. 3 (Salisbury: University of Rhodesia, Department of Agriculture, 1972), pp. 1-41; Percy F. Hone, Southern Rhodesia (London: George Bell & Sons, 1909), pp. 193-199.

¹⁶C. N. C. Report, 1909-1923, Native Labor Immigration, NAR, Files N 3/22/1-11 and N 9/1/1-12. Several files in this list are closed to the public and so the statistics herein given are official rough estimates which the writer was unable to double-check.

¹⁷B.S.A. Co., Report, 1901-1936, NAR, Files SG I and C/E 6.

¹⁸H. Weinmann, Agricultural Research, Occasional Papers, No. 4, 1972, Table 21.

¹⁹S.R., Report on the Agricultural and Pastoral Production of Southern Rhodesia (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1946/47), Tables III and IV, pp. 2-3.

²⁰Ibid., p. 3.

²¹S.R., Census Report, 1901 (Salisbury: Argus Publishing Co., 1901), pp. 1-6. These statistics are estimates because the B.S.A. Co. Administration did not receive co-operation from householders who in many cases did not send in the Household Returns Forms.

²²S.R., Census Returns, April, 1904 (Salisbury: Argus Publishing Co., 1904), Tables I & III, pp. 4-10 (hereafter referred to as Census Returns).

²³S.R., Census Returns, 1911, Tables 1(a), 1(b), pp. 1-4; Table CC, pp. 23 and 30-31.

²⁴S.R., Census Returns, 1921, pp. 6-8.

²⁵S.R., Census Returns, 1926, pp. 20-24.

²⁶S.R., Census Returns, 1936, pp. 100-109; NAR, File RG I/C E 6.

²⁷S.R., Census Returns, 1941, diagram, p. 7.

²⁸Ibid., Table VIII, p. 15.

²⁹S.R., Census Returns, 1946, Part I, Table LXIV, p. 327; Part VII, Table III, p. 21; Table IX, p. 27.

³⁰For a detailed discussion on the controversy over the recruitment and exportation of Malawian blacks to Rhodesia, see John M. Mackenzie, "African Labour in South Central Africa, 1890-1914 and the 19th Century Colonial Labour Theory" (University of Columbia, Canada, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1969).

³¹Letter, Lord Codrington to Sharpe, n.p., June 25, 1904, annexure to Board Minutes of October 4, 1904 in NAR, File C O 417/401.

³²NAR, File S 235/429.

³³S.R., Native Labor Regulations Act, 1938, NAR, File S 235/431, Sections 1, 2, 3, pp. 4-5.

³⁴For an examination of detailed conditions binding the black immigrant in Southern Rhodesia, see: 1) The Employment of Young Persons Act, 1926; 2) Southern Rhodesia Workmen's Compensation Act, 1941 and 1948; 3) The Native Forced Labor Act, 1942; 4) The Native Labor Regulations Act (Ch. 86); 5) The Native Labor Contracts Registration Act, (Ch. 87); 6) The Migrant Workers Act, Nos. 1-9; and 7) G. St. J. Orde Browne, Report on Labor Conditions in Northern Rhodesia (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1938).

CHAPTER IV

IMMIGRANT TRIBES AND THEIR CULTURES

The blacks who entered Rhodesia during the period under consideration came from four major areas: those territories presently comprising the states of Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and territories south of the Limpopo River. Before examining the sources and destinations of these various peoples, we should examine briefly the cultures of the tribes involved, especially distinguishing those aspects of their cultures which differ significantly from that of the indigenous Rhodesian Africans. Let us first consider the tribes from Zambia and Malawi and then those of territories south of the Limpopo River.

1. The Barotse (Lozi) Tribe

Among the main tribes of Zambia, the Barotse, the Bemba, the Ngoni, and the Tonga supplied significant numbers of immigrants to Rhodesia. The Barotse, or as they are sometimes called by their neighbors, Lozi, occupy the northwestern region of Zambia and extend southwards along the low plains of the upper Zambezi River toward Southwest Africa. They once dominated the entire Zambezi valley as far as the Victoria Falls region. Formerly called the Aluyana or Aluyi, they apparently became known as the Rotse or Lozi about 1830. The Lozi claim to be akin to the Lunda of northern Zambia and southern Zaire and had been in contact with the Arabs, Portuguese, and Western slave traders since very early in

the nineteenth century.

Between 1890 and 1900, their King, Lewanika, was influenced by French missionaries working in Basutoland to accept British protection through the B.S.A. Co. under treaties which were completed in 1899. Responsibility for the Lozi's defense went to the B.S.A. Co., and thus the British were given control of the migrants' great highway to the southern mines of Rhodesia and South Africa. Many of the emigrants came from Angola, Zaire, and northeastern Rhodesia into lands of more abundant opportunity in Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa.¹ Thus when the B.S.A. Co. occupied Barotseland, it also came into possession of the black labor market from the north.

The Lozi society was divided into classes, the first of which was that of the royal family and all its descendants. The freeman class was that of the original Lozi who had been with their king from the beginning; they were members of some dozen clans. The other class was that of captured slaves and immigrants; mainly, these were of the Wiko clan. Despite the practice of a caste system, the Lozi called themselves "one people of the king", meaning that every person in their community was a subject of the king.

Unlike the Ndebele, the Lozi did not impose their laws and culture on any conquered tribes but instead left them to accept or reject Lozi institutions as they saw fit. Exceptions were in criminal matters that violated state law and peace. The Lozi followed a policy of gradual assimilation based on rational grounds satisfactory to both peoples and their king. The newcomers owed allegiance to the Lozi king and paid tribute and taxes to him in the form of cattle or labor once a year. The chiefs who ruled various tribal areas collected and dispatched the

taxes to the king.²

To the Lozi, the concepts nation, land, and kingship were indistinguishable. Each had meaning only in reference to the others: the nation belonged to the land, the land to the nation, and the nation and land to the king. The king was Mbuwa-wa-Litunga, i.e., "the great one of the earth." They strongly emphasized the concept that the king was identical with the land and the people: the people were the Malози; the king was the Malози; the councilors were the Malози; the nation and the land were the Malози. This was perhaps the strongest system of national unity of all the tribes in British Central Africa.

One other aspect of the kingship system among the Lozi was the way succession to the throne was defined. As in many other dynastic governmental systems, the successors had to come from a legitimately agnatic line of the Lozi kings. Once he became a king, he owned all the people and the land, and they in turn owned him. Each Lozi was entitled to claim the king's help and protection. When the king died, all fires in the nation had to be extinguished until the successor took office; then the nation and the king were brought together once more.

Knit together with this king-and-nation tie was the social organization of the Lozi. All were grouped into neighborhoods centered in royal villages, even though they might be residing elsewhere within the kingdom. For administrative purposes, the king divided the entire society into districts which were placed under a head who held a senior office as well as a title at the king's capital. He did not have to be a member of the royal family. He commanded a small team of local officials who ran the day-to-day affairs of his district and was ultimately responsible to the king for the security, taxes, and labor from his area.

The district ruler made sure that every Lozi had adequate land for building his home and for grazing his stock. Those were the rights of every Lozi; not even the king could deprive a man of those rights.

The Lozi kinship system was knit together by a network of relationships which included marriage, blood kinship, maternal, and in some clans, paternal ties. Among these clans, a child belonged to both sides of the marriage and had a right to inherit any possessions available from either side. A Lozi man could marry any woman who had the same descent as his as long as her genealogical relationship could not be traced to his third, second, or first generations. At times, some men married near relatives, and such individuals were not permitted to divorce for any reason. Such marriages would be considered incest among the major tribes of Rhodesia. Among the Lozi, every woman on the side of their mother was regarded as "mother", and each man on the father's side was "father". The pattern of behavior toward those people was the same as that appropriate for real mothers and fathers; every taboo observed toward mother and father extended to those more distant relations as well. Thousands of these Lozi people with a very different culture went to Rhodesia to work, stay, and raise families or to obtain a wife there and bring her home.

2. The Bemba Tribe

The Bemba of Zambia are an offshoot of the Luba Tribe of Zaire who roamed this area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among them were small clans who were kinfolk of the Luba and Bemba, but they did not participate in emigration to the south like the Ngoni, Tonga, and Lozi.

The Bemba first came in contact with the British South Africa Company in 1897 after a few decades of skirmishes with the Portuguese explorers and traders. As a result of this Anglo-Bemba contact, the latter became the B.S.A. Co.'s labor reservoir for the industrial and mining growth of Rhodesia. Audrey Richards estimated that by 1951, "forty to sixty percent of adult Bemba males are away from villages at work at different periods during the year."³ Richards' estimate shows how these people emigrated to Rhodesia and South Africa and also carried their culture with them.

The social system of these Bemba started with a governmental structure which was centralized under a hereditary king who stood at the head of the nation. The Bemba king was the center of the society, government, and religion; he was responsible for national unity but had little direct responsibility over the ordinary citizen. That was the work of his subordinates. When he died, his spirit had to be worshipped, because it was believed that the king was the people's protector even after his death. When alive, he ran an administration which consisted of his own appointees who were responsible for peace and order in those areas under their jurisdiction. These chiefs were always matrilineally related to him. That means that often female relatives--sisters, mother, and uterine nieces--became chiefs of districts and made up the national council that deliberated on national crises. The king's duties consisted of religious affairs, military organization, and protection of the wealth of the entire nation. He wielded unquestioned political power which required every citizen to protect the king at all cost. Like the Ndebele system, the Bemba nation evolved and revolved round the king and his family.

Unlike other kinships discussed above, the Bemba kinship was matrilineal and also matrilocal. Every descendant followed the matrilineal lineage when considering his descent, inheritance, succession, and authority within the family. Each man took his mother's clan and traced his ancestry through that line. Though in ordinary family affairs the father was known as the head of the house, he had no real authority. He did not train his own children because that was the responsibility of the matrilineal grandmothers and grandfathers once those children reached the age of three. The matrilineal uncle had the right to dispose of the children's services and could even offer them as slaves in compensation for crimes he might have committed or were committed by the family. The father's rights were recognized only in relation to the marriage of the sons. Then he had to be consulted. He could not distribute the bride wealth of his daughters without the approval of his wife's maternal relations. As can be appreciated, when men and women who believed in these practices went to Rhodesia and married there, a clash of cultures was bound to occur.

Like the Shona and the Ndebele, the Bemba also practiced ancestral worship. This was based on the worship of the king and of the territorial chiefs rather than on the individual's own ancestors, as is the case among the Shona. While the Shona worship Mwari through the medium of their ancestral spirits, the Bemba worshipped the spirit of the king, whom they regarded as the giver of rain, fertility, land, and animals, and the source of a good life. Such Bemba spirits were worshipped annually at harvest festivals or at times of disasters. Other deities, such as Lesá, their god of medicine, was unconnected with the worship of the spirits of the king and his chiefs. How these Bemba religious

concepts reacted with the indigenous religions of Rhodesia shall be considered below.

3. The Ngoni Tribe

The Ngoni are found throughout Malawi, but chiefly inhabit the northern region. Generally they are called by several clan nicknames, such as the Gomani, the Mpeseni, and the Mbelwa. In a majority of cases, those who immigrated to Rhodesia called themselves by any of these names and so confused their real tribal identity. Thousands of members of this tribe migrated to Rhodesia; Margaret Read proved that a "dispersion from the main Ngoni concentration in Nyasaland to Southern Rhodesia . . ." took place during the period under consideration.⁴

According to oral tradition, the Ngoni of Malawi and Zambia came from Swaziland sometime during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in flight from Tshaka's armies. The traditional practices, myths, and social taboos are not very different from those of other more indigenous tribes, such as the Yao, the Chewa, and the Nyanja. The Ngoni political system was laid on a powerful hereditary king who commanded universal and unlimited power. The king, like the Zulu monarch, reigned as an autocrat whose regulations were carried out by members of the royal family who served as military leaders, king's council members and advisors. The entire society was stratified into a caste system which grouped citizens into the "Big Houses" and "Small Houses". All members of the "small houses" were vassals of the king. Every man belonged to the army and so was a part of the political structure even though he had no political rights as such. He was required by the law to furnish himself with arms of war and to reside in military training

camps far away from home. To the Ngoni, therefore, going away from home at the age of fourteen was a tribal practice associated with the coming of age. This was extended symbolically to the emigration of young men to the south.

Just as the king was the center of the nation, so was his home the center of the entire society. His house was built in the center of all houses and the position of one's house from the king's determined his status in the society. The farther away it was from the king's, the lower down the caste line one was. All houses however, were built in a semicircular form extending outward from the king's. Women played a relatively insignificant role in the society, but were responsible for child care, training, and discipline for all young people under the age of fourteen. Distinctions in social roles according to age were strictly adhered to. All illicit sexual activity was punishable by death; only the king enjoyed immunity from this proscription. Incest was also punishable by death or some extreme physical torture. These views were very different from those of the Shona and Ndebele. Many of the marriages were matrilineal rather than patrilineal; perhaps the Ngoni copied this practice from the early indigenous Malawians. People could marry near relatives of their husbands, including those who would fall within a prohibited range of consanguinity in the Shona or Ndebele societies.

The Ngoni practiced a form of ancestor worship which was centered on the king, who was regarded the representative of the spirits. To approach the spirits, they either went through the king or through cattle, which they believed showed them whether or not the spirits accepted their requests. If a cow or ox urinated after they told it

their needs, they believed, then the spirits had accepted the people's requests; if not, then the spirits rejected the prayers. At the head of all the spirits were those of dead kings of the Ngoni in a hierarchical order. The first king's spirit was believed to communicate with the Great Spirit, whom they did not identify.⁵

4. The Yao of Malawi

The Yao are primarily located in three major areas in the south of Malawi. Historically, they are believed to have come in contact with Arabs in this area some two hundred years before the advent of Europeans in Central Africa. They traded with the Arabs, especially in slaves and base metals.

The Yao consist of three main clans: the Achisi, Amasaninga, and the Amachinga, all scattered throughout Malawi, with the largest concentrations in the south. The British South Africa Company's acting Commissioner described them in 1897 as the cruellest of all African tribes and "the chief slave raiders for Arabs."⁶ Back in 1893, the Company had had to impose very stern measures to suppress this warlike tribe and the witchcraft for which it is still notorious. Many of its social institutions were destroyed by the B.S.A. Co.'s Witchcraft Ordinance of 1911, which decreed that all social practices of the Yao alien to "civilized standards" be punishable by death; other minor social taboos were also stopped by the imposition of a heavy tax system.

The Yao society hinged on a clan system based on matrilineal inheritance. Descent was reckoned through the mother and rarely through the father. They conceived of their genealogy as a tree of which the maternal ancestor was the trunk from which all branches spread; each Yao

could then trace his or her lineage matrilineally back to that first ancestor. This kinship system influenced marriages, in that they were always matrilocal. Matriarchal villages were thus formed from these groups of uterine sisters. Though an unmarried brother might serve as a figurehead and focus for the village organization, the real authority remained with the sisters.⁷

The marriages were usually contracted between separate villages, but some married partners had lived in the same village. In each case, the man left his home and took residence close to the house of his mother-in-law so that the matrilineal warden watched the development of the marriage and trained the children of the marriage. While he stayed there, he was subjected to hard work for the kinfolks. He had to undergo educational training concerning the customs of the family he joined. Many of the Yao who emigrated to Rhodesia carried this practice with them and practiced it when they married Shona or Ndebele women. But each time the Shona and Ndebele rejected it, and usually that resulted in divorce.

The Yao political structure, like that of many Central African tribes, evolved around a king who wielded autocratic powers which he exercised throughout the territory through a group of headmen and sub-chiefs who had to be members of the matrilineal founder of that district or village respectively. Each headman was responsible for organizing the army in his area, maintaining peace, and presiding over all minor judicial matters. Political matters were the king's business, carried out with the help of his central council. The kingship was also matrilineal like all institutions in the Yao Kingdom. Thus, one inherited the kingship from the mother's side; in order to become a headman or sub-chief, the same applied.

5. South African Tribes

The culture of Africans migrating from territories south of the Limpopo River was not very different from that of the Ndebele; neither are there great differences among the tribes themselves. However, there were some peculiar features which distinguish each group, and these should be briefly surveyed. The Zulu, for example, were controlled by a very autocratic ruler whose actions were unquestioned by his subjects. He was the center of the entire nation and society; he controlled military as well as judiciary powers. Every man above the age of fourteen belonged to the army and had to learn the art of wielding the spear and fighting guerrilla warfare. Zulu wealth was counted by the number of cattle one owned and at times by the number of women and children in the family as well. Families were extended in structure, but members of the family married only from outside their own family and usually from those families designated to be the "right" ones. The king and his counsellors could take any woman captured in war and produce children with her, but such descendants could not have the same privileges as those born within the clan lines.

Such practices were also common among the Swazi, Sotho, Tswana, and Fingo. The Venda and the Hlengwe possessed a mixture of Shona and Zulu cultural traits and also had their own unique differences which we need not go into here. The Shangani of Transvaal practiced the same culture as the Zulu, while the Shangani of Mozambique were culturally the same as those residing in Rhodesia, where they mixed Shona and Zulu cultures. Many of the South African tribes did not give up most of their practices once they settled in Rhodesia. An example of this resistance to cultural change are the Fingo, who have largely remained in their

distinctive colony and retained their own cultural traditions, such as folk dances, adulthood initiations, and circumcision ceremonies even until today.

It was these people with their unique cultures who entered Rhodesia and mingled with the indigenes. Their different cultural practices clashed in many ways; in some cases the tribal and cultural differences forced the mining, farming, and government officials to keep these people in separate quarters, since fighting in compounds was common and marriages between indigenous women and alien men often resulted in complicated cases going before the law courts.

NOTES

¹Max Gluckman, "The Lozi of Barotseland in Northwestern Rhodesia," in E. Colson and M. Gluckman (eds.), Seven Tribes of British Central Africa (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1951), p. 6.

²Ibid., pp. 14-17.

³Audrey Richards, "The Bemba of Northeastern Rhodesia," in Colson and Gluckman, Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, p. 165.

⁴Margaret Read, The Angoni of Nyasaland (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 4.

⁵Ibid., pp. 6-10.

⁶B.S.A. Co., Annual Report, 1896, NAR, File C 8438, p. 12.

⁷J. C. Mitchell, "The Yao of Southern Nyasaland," in Colson and Gluckman, Seven Tribes of British Central Africa, pp. 293-297. See bibliography for more works on the tribes discussed in this dissertation.

CHAPTER V

IMMIGRATION FROM NEIGHBORING TERRITORIES

African immigrants to Rhodesia during the period under consideration entered under three general categories: they were brought in by private individual settlers, missionary groups, and the Pioneer Column; they came under the auspices of organized official recruiting agencies; and there were those who came independently. Those immigrants who came between 1890 and 1897 entered under the first category of immigration. The majority of immigrants examined in this study came under official recruiting and importation programs organized by the mining and agricultural industries and the government of Rhodesia which also got the assistance of governments in the neighboring countries. The independent immigrants, who later became the majority, came on their own volition. All of them were influenced by economic developments in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa. However, those from the British Central African territories of Zambia and Malawi migrated under official pressure from the local British South African Company authorities, who cherished the same African labor policy as the administrators in Rhodesia.

The African labor and independent immigration avalanche went through five stages of development: the beginning of the avalanche, 1890 to 1899; the growing stage, 1900 to 1914; the diaspora of 1915 to 1923; the continuing momentum of 1924 to 1927; and the deluge of 1928 to 1945 which, in actual fact, did not stop until the advent of the Federation

of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953. The immigration trends during these periods will be examined here with appropriate reference to the annual statistics to illustrate the demographic trends.

1. The Beginning of the Avalanche,

1890-1899

African immigration to Rhodesia during the first eight years of the British occupation followed three trends. First, Africans came in as members of missionary groups. Religious denominations such as the Dutch Reformed Church, the London Missionary Society, the Roman Catholic Church, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Brethren in Christ Church brought scores of Africans from South Africa with them. These blacks served as domestic servants, teachers, and evangelists. The majority of them did not return to South Africa since they had found new homes and opportunities in Rhodesia. Second, each European wagon train that came to Rhodesia included Africans who worked as domestic servants, interpreters, and wagon drivers. A good example of such entrants and the largest single group of its kind was that of the two hundred Ngwatos and Cape Boys who accompanied the Pioneer Column on its way to Mashonaland in 1890. The third type was an officially supported and financed wave of Fingo immigrants who began entering Rhodesia in large numbers as early as 1893. At the outbreak of the Uprisings in 1896, several hundred Fingoes, Sothos, Zulus, and Ngwatos were brought into the country as African mercenaries on promise of land grants after the war. When the war ended in 1897, Ngonis from Malawi were also introduced to man the African constabulary.

The largest scheme of officially imported Africans began early in

1898. Late in 1897, Rhodes, then in South Africa, negotiated with a group of ten Fingo chiefs about migrating to Rhodesia with their people to serve the B.S.A. Company as skilled workers. In return for their services, they would receive land grants. The chiefs came to Rhodesia in March, 1898 and surveyed the land they would occupy. They were apparently satisfied with the deal, as the C.N.C. for Matabeleland recalled: "They were shown over a considerable portion of the country and expressed themselves well pleased." He went further to express the hope that the Fingo immigration plan would be valuable politically and commercially to the B.S.A. Co., because "they are the most industrious and most loyal race of natives in South Africa; their presence amongst the Matabele will considerably advance the progress of civilization."¹ Late the same year, 3,000 Fingoes came into Rhodesia and occupied 30,000 acres in the Bulawayo District which became the present Fingo Location at Mbembesi. Thereafter, the Fingoes continued to enter Rhodesia.

In mid-1898, the mining companies in the territory formed the Labour Supply Bureau for recruiting and importing African workers especially from north of the Zambezi River. This Bureau and the Rhodesian Administration together recruited 2,260 men from "North of the Zambezi" between February 1897 and February 1898. "An increasing number of Fingo immigrants" were expected to arrive by September of 1898, to occupy the remainder of the land reserved for the Fingo near Ntabazinduna.² Others also expected were the Sothos, and the Shangani from Transvaal. In all, over 13,000 Africans came into the country from South Africa alone and settled on "government lands", as the later "Crown Land" was called. Officials believed that this land would be "capable of accommodating many hundreds of thousands . . . of Fingoes and others" without

taking land from the indigenes.³ This proved to be an erroneous assumption.

Relations between the Ndebele and the immigrant Fingo were soon strained due to a land shortage. Similar incidents occurred in Mashonaland before the end of the year, and the B.S.A. Co. Administration had to promulgate the Native Affairs Prohibition Regulations barring known African immigrants from settling in indigenous African reservations.⁴ Meanwhile, immigration to Mashonaland was poorly controlled because the Administration dealt with long borders between Zambia and Rhodesia on the one hand, and between Mozambique and Rhodesia on the other. Moreover, the Mozambique-Rhodesian boundary had not been completely and clearly defined, and African emigrants freely crossed it into Rhodesia unrecorded.

In 1899, the Rhodesian Administration imported another three hundred Fingo males, not counting the three thousand Shangani and Fingo men, women and children recruited and imported by the mining companies during the same year. The Shangani came from Gazaland and Transvaal; a few Zulus, "Cape Boys", and "trans-Zambezi" Africans also entered the country. The majority of the newcomers settled in Matebeleland while a few proceeded to Mashonaland. Several hundred African job-seekers entered Mashonaland in 1899 from Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. Three hundred Mozambique indigenes came independently; the 336 Zambian Ngonis, and 350 Angolans had been brought in by the B.S.A. Police as new recruits to the Force to replace some 285 members of the old police guard. The discharged men and their families settled in Rhodesia where they had served since 1893.

During the administrative year from March 31, 1899 to March 31, 1900, many more Africans had come from several countries surrounding

Rhodesia. The Rhodesian Chamber of Commerce was responsible for the majority of the immigrants as it brought in over 4,691 people from Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, and South Africa, distributed as follows: 888 Mozambiqueans; 669 Malawians, and the remainder from South Africa and Zambia. A few of the workers were Rhodesians returned from the Johannesburg gold mines.

In Matebeleland, 6,587 Africans entered the province for work in the mines from Mozambique, Gazaland, Zambia, and Transvaal; six to seven percent of them deserted once they entered Rhodesia and perhaps proceeded to South Africa.⁵ In addition to these, there were several hundreds others who entered either secretly or were brought in by private individuals. The Rhodesian Civil Commissioner in Mashonaland complained that there were "several private individuals who brought into the country gangs of black workers from Trans-Zambesi" without permits.⁶

African immigration between 1890 and 1899 started very slowly and in the form of servant and master trips into a new land. Gradually, the white settlers began to need more African labor especially when they found the indigenous blacks resistant to this form of 'civilized slavery'. First, Cecil Rhodes himself took the lead in this trade in human beings. Second, the mining companies of Rhodesia, assisted by the B.S.A. Co. Administration, accelerated the trade until it reached the high import figures we have examined above.

2. The Avalanche of 1900 to 1914

Industrial and political decisions made in Rhodesia in 1899 and 1900 were responsible for the increased level of immigration that took place between 1900 and 1914. The mining companies in Matebeleland

formed the Matabele Native Labour Board in 1899 for recruiting African workers from both within Rhodesia and neighboring territories. After a year of serious efforts to recruit workers, the board found the program too expensive and unprofitable without government support. So, in 1900, industry and the Rhodesian Administration joined forces and formed the Southern Rhodesia Native Labour Board whose activities were legalized by the new Native Labour Regulations Ordinance, 1901. The two moves by the Rhodesian officials were responsible for the overwhelming increase in African immigration which characterized this period.

African immigration trends during the first fifteen years of this century comprise three significant stages of development. First, between 1900 and 1904, the five-year average immigration figure was about 12,511 people from South Africa, Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique. South Africa and Zambia supplied the majority. From 1904 to 1907, the five-year average immigration stood at 37,314 persons while that of repatriates was 5,641 per year. During the next five years, immigration was still on the increase when more than 37,600 Africans entered Rhodesia annually, mainly from the northern British territories of Zambia and Malawi. These numbers show only those who registered on entry, whether they settled to work, or proceeded to South African gold mines. There were probably fewer than those who settled to work in Rhodesian industries, but they made up a constant two-thirds of the African labor force in the country during these fifteen years. Also characteristic of the immigrants during the entire short period was the increase in the number of women, juveniles and children among immigrants. Many men brought their families with them since they planned to remain in Rhodesia permanently; those with families from South Africa were mainly refugees

from the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902.

From 1900 to 1914, the entry of Africans to Rhodesia became very brisk and increased each year as a result of the work of the Labour Bureau, and the great demand for cheap labor by the British ex-servicemen from the Anglo-Boer War, who had just received their free land grants for fighting in the war. Many of them had intentions of becoming mining and agricultural capitalists, and they did not intend to remain poor farmers as they had been in England. They wanted to get rich quickly and with a minimum of expense. They pressured the B.S.A. Co. for a dependable supply of labor and went as far as demanding the conscription of indigenous Africans into compulsory labor.

Between March 31, 1900, and March 31, 1901, mixed groups of Africans entered Rhodesia. Some 4,259 'regular' immigrant Africans and 5,389 labor recruits entered the country while an estimated 1,500 persons entered illegally especially from Mozambique and Zambia. More than one-third of the regular immigrants were women and children.⁷ The majority of the recruited workers came from Mozambique, Zambia, and South Africa in that order of the largest suppliers. Over fifty percent of them worked in Matebeleland Province and the remainder in Mashonaland.⁸

African immigrants who came between March, 1901, and March, 1902, entered in several ways. The British South Africa Police (B.S.A.P.) imported several hundred Zulus whom the Force "settled in the country near Abercorn and M'Rewa".⁹ The Inspector of Native Compounds (mines), H. A. Elliot, reported the entrance of 4,765 African miners who included Shanganis, Mozambiqueans, Zambians, Barotses, Sothos, and North East African Coast blacks.¹⁰ Over fifty percent of these came from Mozambique Gazaland. The total number of immigrants for the year exceeded seven

and a half thousand people excluding about three thousand regular immigrants.

The 1902-1903 immigrants came mainly from Mozambique and Zambia, and the majority entered the Mashonaland mining industry. Two to three thousand men, women and children settled in Chibi District, which they entered after walking across the border illegally from Mozambique. Once in Rhodesia, they reported to the local Native Commissioner in the area, who said of them that "These Natives inform me that they experience great difficulty in getting away from their kraals to the mines in this country." He recommended that many be encouraged to come illegally and be assisted once they crossed the border.¹¹ An unspecified number of Zambians also entered the Hartley District, where they made up two-fifths of the labor force in the region. Many of them entered via Sinoia, Darwin, and Mtoko districts.

In Matebeleland Province, black immigrants from South African territories came as refugees fleeing from the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902. Hundreds of these were Vendas of King Mpefu who had at one time settled in the Belingwe area of Rhodesia in 1898. They totalled 773 men, women and children. At the end of the war, over fifty percent of them returned to Transvaal and the rest settled permanently in Rhodesia. In the Matebeleland mining industry, sixty-seven percent of the workers were new black aliens, and fifty-five percent of the mine labor force in the province were the Mozambiquean Shanganis. The remainder came from Zambia and South Africa. Those from the south included the Transvaal Shangani and the Basuthos. The majority brought their families with them, and this influenced the Rhodesian Administration to grant them "land on which to sow crops" and settle.¹² Some Zambian Barotse also

entered and worked in the Wankie region. Six hundred Tembus from Transkei were expected to come and be granted permanent land settlements between the Gwai and Khami Rivers, but they failed to arrive due to the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War.

The Inspector of Native Compounds reported in 1902 the presence of 642 "trans-Zambesi" Africans in Matebeleland mines, over 1,979 Mozambiqueans, and another 176 alien people in the country. Many others entered without registering at the border posts. Once their presence in the mines was known, they deserted in large numbers into local African communities. Many of these immigrants were Shanganis, Zulus, Sothos, Swazis, Xosas, and Barotses. Those who brought families were allowed permanent residence on government lands.¹³

The immigration picture for 1903 shows the same increasing rate that marked the first years of this period and added a significant increase to the local African population. For instance, of the estimated total African population of 582,000 in March, 1904, 3.1 percent were immigrants, a percentage which the C.N.C. regarded as "a small proportion of increase."¹⁴ In Mashonaland Province, many of the newcomers entered through Lomagundi, Darwin, Mtoko, and Inyanga districts (Appendix H on routes of entry) from Zambia and Mozambique, while the remainder came from other territories around Rhodesia. In Matebeleland, blacks immigrated from Portuguese territories, Zambia, and South Africa in the proportions of thirty-eight percent, thirty percent, and six percent respectively. This computation excluded the Fingo, whose population had reached 1,113 by March, 1904.

At the Mashonaland mines, there arrived 16,235 Mozambiqueans, 19,652 Africans from "north of Zambesi" River, and some 2,751 mine

workers who collectively emigrated from South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Transkei, and Swaziland in 1904. In the Matebeleland mines new aliens numbered 30,367 from Mozambique alone, and some 19,012 who emigrated from territories north of the Zambezi. Nearly eight thousand others came from unnamed countries. Thus, for the whole country, the mining industry absorbed about ninety-six thousand alien Africans compared with forty-five thousand indigenes in the same industry in 1904.¹⁵ The figures for 1904 and early 1905 demonstrate the great increase in African immigration which was the result of the work of the R.N.L.B. and the influence of the new regulations of 1901. However, at the end of the administrative year, 5,161 of the earlier arrivals had been repatriated while others had sought and got permits to settle in Rhodesia permanently.

In 1905, the African immigration trends were somewhat different. There were 36,311 registered aliens in Mashonaland mines who emigrated from Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and territories south of the Limpopo River. Other than the 16,932 who received work passes to enter specific Rhodesian industries, and the 407 repatriates, the remainder was not accounted for by the end of the year. Some Shanganis were allowed to remain in the country permanently. Because the Rhodesian Administration regarded them as more useful than others, they were permitted to buy land and settle. Some South Africans were also encouraged to marry local women and take up citizenship. The N.C. for the Salisbury District appreciated the fact that these aliens were "marrying and settling on farms, and the reserves, and I think this should be encouraged as in most cases these natives are a class that works the whole year round."¹⁶

In Matebeleland, there were 16,324 newly registered alien Africans; about 3,722 of the earlier entrants returned to their native countries

on account of poor health, and others had completed their work contracts and wished to return home. The alien Africans granted work permits in the region more than doubled the number of the previous year in the same Province. Other than a very few blacks from Angola and East Africa, the majority came from the usual supplying countries.

During the 1906-1907 administrative year, a record 48,894 African immigrants were registered in Mashonaland alone and consisted of males over fourteen years old. Other than the nearly nine thousand who returned to their native countries, and the 20,917 who received passes to work in Rhodesia, the location of the remainder was unaccounted for since employers deliberately refused or neglected to report the whereabouts of their workers. Of the 18,078 Zambians, Mozambiquean Shanganis and South Africans in Matebeleland in 1906-1907, nearly four thousand were repatriated on account of ill health. Some proceeded to South Africa. The rate of immigrant supply by Rhodesia's neighbors to March, 1907, was as follows: Mozambique supplied workers at an average of 31.1 percent; Zambia, 20.83 percent; other territories supplied together 8.21 on the average, while Rhodesia supplied an average of about 38.22 percent during the same three years. As is clear from the statistics, the average rate of supply by each country was significantly high for the short period of three years.¹⁷

For the remaining nine months of 1907, a total number of 85,221 aliens was registered in Rhodesia and that included some of those who entered the previous year. Of the total, only 23,146 were issued with work permits. The rest did not register to have either returned to their countries or proceeded to South Africa. It is more than certain that a good number sought alternative employment in Rhodesia and the others

proceeded to South Africa illegally since they were always welcome there once they had crossed the Rhodesian-South African border.¹⁸ Certainly the procession of the avalanche had not slowed down by any means.

From the end of 1907, the Rhodesian Administration began to issue immigration reports in December of each year covering the migrant workers only. Those records were simpler to collect from the mining industry, than from the farming community. Thus at the end of 1908, there were 78,189 alien Africans registered in Mashonaland as either newcomers or re-entrants. Only 17,732 received permits to work in the province and the rest were let alone to seek work elsewhere; others sought independent work with farmers while some still went to South Africa. A similar situation occurred in Matebeleland where more than 27,407 alien job-seekers registered on entry and yet only 3,578 persons received work permits. In comparison, the statistics are much higher than those of 1907 and this was due to two reasons. First, many of those who came earlier stayed and worked longer in Rhodesia, and some had even decided to remain in the country permanently and so worked continuously. Second and more important, there was an extensive immigration of independent workers who streamed into the country monthly after walking long distances which took them between one month and forty-five days before reaching the Rhodesian border. On arrival in Rhodesia, many of them were too unhealthy to be accepted for either mining or farming employment.¹⁹ In 1909, of the registered 32,260, about 3,951 were newcomers from Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique; by this time very few came from South Africa and Botswana.

In 1910, African immigration continued to climb higher; some 19,483 aliens entered Rhodesia, registered, and received passes to seek work in

Mashonaland during the year. That total was an 83.5 percent increase over that of the previous year. Of that total, 9,210 contracted to work on farms in the province, but the actual number was possibly higher than this because many farmers did not send in their labor returns as they should have done, partly because they employed independent immigrants and did not want to reveal their servants' presence to the government, and partly because they were not allowed to employ more than forty alien Africans in any one given year. By 1910, alien Africans were required by law to carry work passes and "green certificates" which they were given after working in Rhodesia for two continuous years. In many instances aliens changed or destroyed these certificates for white ones which were reserved for indigenes. This practice was carried out most often by the young immigrants. However, many were often arrested and repatriated; for instance, 2,249 such violators were returned to their native countries in 1910 alone.²⁰

There were 3,452 alien blacks who got work passes in Matebeleland during 1910, and 8,900 had just been repatriated from the group of the previous year to "North Eastern Rhodesia, North Western Rhodesia, Portuguese Territory, Transvaal, Cape Colony, Bechuanaland, Natal" and other unspecified destinations. Of the new recruits, 2,789 came from North Eastern Rhodesia, 8,018 from Barotseland, 4,474 from Malawi, and 1,517 from other areas; 229 emigrated from Botswana. The actual total alien population in Matebeleland was more than 19,000 during the whole year. About 3,474 Malawians worked on farms; 1,357 Zambians also joined the farming industry, where they contracted themselves for one to two-year periods. The 3,946 who remained after massive repatriation stayed for indefinite periods which varied from one to five years or even longer.²¹

The immigration trends remained constant in 1911. More Africans entered Rhodesia in still greater numbers than in previous years and from the same traditional supplying countries. Their influence began to be felt by local Africans. Out of the total estimated black population of 744,559 people in Rhodesia that year, 49,860 of them were aliens who were described as "natives of Bantu origin and other origins." They consisted of 17,000 Zambians, 12,600 Malawians, and Mozambiqueans, Angolans, South Africans, and some 243 American blacks. Others included Portuguese half-breeds, creoles, Arabs, Somalis, and Abyssinians (Ethiopians). Zambians made up forty percent of the total immigrants; there were 13,700 Angolans. Thirty percent came from Malawi and two hundred others from Mozambique. The remainder came from other areas in varying proportions. Apparently people labelled as blacks from "North of Zambesi" included Angolans and Zambians.²²

Estimates made then showed that forty percent of all alien Africans were employed in outdoor work and as domestic servants; slightly over fifty percent worked in mines. Judging from the employment distribution for the year, more Zambians preferred mining to domestic and farming work but more Malawians opted for the latter two fields of occupation. While indigenes employed in all industries increased by three percent per year between 1904 and 1911 inclusive, Zambians increased by about thirty-four percent per annum during the same period.²³

African influx for the next three years showed a continued brisk flow of emigration, especially from Zambia, Malawi, and Mozambique. For instance, there was a slight drop in the number of immigrants from that of 1911 to that of 1912 when a total of 19,890 alien Africans registered on entry into Rhodesia compared with 49,860 in the previous year. In

1913, the picture reversed and 41,827 new entrants were registered in the country, many of whom came independently. Some were returning for the second or third time to Rhodesian industries.²⁴ In fact, the increased illegal immigrants were so numerous that the Commissioner of Police, A. H. M. Edwards, complained about the difficulty of detecting them and said,

The weakness of the immigration laws, the absence of any legal power to obtain finger prints of detained suspects, and finally the fact that finger prints of alien natives registered in the territory, who are responsible for the large percentage of crime, are not taken, greatly handicap their [police] efforts.²⁵

In 1914, the Commissioner reported an increase in illegal immigration and in the crimes committed by aliens. Especially troublesome was the raping of African women, which he claimed was "due to the presence of a large number of alien natives, who commit this crime upon indigenous native women."²⁶

In summary, the number of African immigrants in Rhodesia between 1904 and 1914, increased by about 236 percent while that of employed indigenes rose by a mere twenty-two percent in the same ten-year period. The next period experienced slightly greater increases than these but because of different causes and reasons.

3. The Deluge, 1915-1923

It would be assumed that the outbreak of World War I would have had an adverse effect on the level of African immigration into Rhodesia. In fact, however, the level of immigration remained fairly stable despite the fact that many white farmers went into military service. The farms, frequently operated by women, continued to offer attractive employment opportunities. After the War, a brisk increase in immigration

occurred, the result of postwar agricultural expansion.

A factor of great significance which occurred during this period was the political development within Rhodesia itself and in South Africa. The formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 raised the question of the security and sovereignty of Southern Rhodesia. Even though Rhodesia was represented at the talks on the formation of the Union, she had remained politically aloof from the developments there. The debate on the security of Rhodesia included also the security of Northern Rhodesia, which the B.S.A. Co. had often regarded as an extension of Southern Rhodesia. However, the Company Administration and settlers decided to remain outside the Union for a while at least. Meanwhile, negotiations between the Company officials and administrators in Rhodesia, and the British Government were underway on the question of self-government for Rhodesia. In October, 1922, Rhodesian white settlers decided in referendum to have internal self-government. By the Letters Patent of 1923, Rhodesia was granted responsible internal government but was not responsible for indigenous African affairs. Thus, as of September 1, 1923, Rhodesia became an autonomous member of the British Empire. After the B.S.A. Co. was paid for the expenses it incurred in running the territory since 1890, the Company closed its political administrative files and concentrated on commercial matters. The change in Rhodesia's political status was very important to African immigration since the action gave the new administration a free hand to adopt a labor policy suitable to its internal needs.

The immigration trends during this period show three distinct phases. In 1915 there is a continuous trend from that of the previous period. The impact of the War was felt slightly in 1916 when 22,125

African aliens were registered in Rhodesia and a mere 1,598 of them were newcomers. From the following year, immigration kept soaring until it reached 46,428 registered aliens in 1920 and then it leveled off to between 34,000 and 35,000 registered immigrants while the number of new annual entrants averaged 2,141 people (See Table VI below). The majority of the immigrants during this period came from Zambia, Malawi, South Africa and Mozambique.²⁷

TABLE VI
ALIEN IMMIGRATION TRENDS, 1915 to 1923

Year	Registered	New Immigrants
1915	37,993	1,536
1916	22,125	1,598
1917	28,503	1,680
1918	24,545	1,836
1919	37,700	2,542
1920	46,428	4,093
1921	34,625	3,343
1922	26,220	1,944
1923	33,534	1,446

Source: C.N.C. Reports, 1911-1926 (Salisbury: Argus Publishing & Printing, 1926), Schedules for each year.

Sometime in October, 1917, there was a sudden influx of Africans from the northwestern Mozambique border with Rhodesia. These men, women and children were refugees fleeing from the war between King Makombe and Portuguese authorities. King Makombe, a Shona ruler in the Tete-Barwe region of Mozambique had revolted against Portuguese rule and the revolt soon spread to Rhodesia where the local Africans soon took sides with Makombe's people whom they gave protection. The Rhodesian Administration also supported the refugees and gave them shelter.

However, relations between Rhodesia and Mozambique deteriorated and the problem of refugees reached a crisis by mid-1917. The Rhodesian government clandestinely gave active support to the revolt and went ahead to accept the refugees and not to return them to Mozambique if they did not wish to go. The Superintendent for Natives in Mashonaland, W. S. Taberer, ordered his Native Commissioners in the districts affected to find out the wishes of the refugees, count them and feed them. By July 6, 1917, there were over three thousand black Mozambique refugees living in the Sinoia and Darwin districts.²⁸ All males were immediately given work passes and allowed to seek work or settle elsewhere in the country indefinitely. By 1919, the Rhodesian Government had settled more than five thousand Portuguese Africans permanently in the Inyanga, Mtoko, Mrewa, Darwin, Melsetter, and Makaha districts.²⁹ These refugees were not included in the figures of immigrants given above.

Two other immigration high marks in this period are shown in the statistics for 1920 and 1921. Immigration for the two years was exceptionally high and can be characterized by few significant data. Out of the total registered in 1920, over four thousand people were newcomers; sixty-seven aliens married local women, and 806 aliens died in the

country. In 1921, there were nearly thirty-five thousand immigrant Africans; 3,343 of them were new to Rhodesia. There was also a record high number of women and children who entered Rhodesia.³⁰ A greater number of the immigrants were independent job-seekers from Malawi, Mozambique, and Zambia who entered through the several ports of entry in the north, east and southeast of the Rhodesian borders.³¹ In short, the period 1915 to 1923 show a constant growth in African immigration. The effects of the political measures taken in 1923 were still to be seen in the future.

4. Gathering Momentum, 1924-1927

The significant trends of African immigration between 1924 and 1927 were set forth by three major industrial and official measures taken during this period. Early in 1925, the William Morris Carter Commission published its report on the size of land given to Africans. In 1926, the Supervisor of Facilities for the Passage of Northern Natives, Arthur L. Holland, issued a report on the welfare of African immigrants. The findings and recommendations of this report became very important in the labor importation business, and resulted in the introduction of the "free ferry" program by Rhodesian industrialists early in 1926 and the implementation of the "Free Transport" (u-le-le) scheme in early 1927, for bringing alien African workers into the country. These three actions had a profound impact on the entire African immigration trends immediately and thereafter.

The Carter Commission revealed that immigration produced in population pressure, especially on land reserved for Africans. According to government policy, the then 39,000 Europeans were allocated thirty-one

million acres of land, while an estimated 835,000 Africans were allocated only about twenty-two million acres. The Commission pointed out that African immigrants, especially from South Africa, were being allowed to buy land in Rhodesia and feared that the alien influx would eventually bring about friction between the aliens and the indigenes. It recommended a reduction in the re-settlement of aliens and an increase in importing only those who worked for shorter periods and then returned to homelands. It also recommended that those aliens who needed to buy land and reside in the country should first work as temporary immigrants for periods of between five and ten years before they could buy land.³²

In his annual report, the Supervisor of Facilities for the Passage of Northern Natives pointed out that there was an excess in the number of African immigrants from north of the Zambezi, especially Malawians who he claimed emigrated to Rhodesia at an average of two hundred people per day. He also pointed out the difficulties faced by the immigrant workers--particularly those who walked through Mozambique territory. In light of the difficulties, he recommended that free transport be provided for independent immigrants on the southern side of Zambezi in Mozambique. Ferries would take them across the river and then trucks would bring them to registration and distribution centers. He also recommended leveling off recruited laborers and encouraging independent immigration. Meanwhile, the Labor Bureau had gone ahead early in 1926 and provided free ferries for immigrants who crossed from Zambia and Malawi. The Rhodesian Government then legalized ulele in 1927 to operate on specific routes with well marked depots where the immigrants received food and clothing on arrival and were then taken to Rhodesia where farmers and miners hired them at a public auction.³³

As a result of these developments, immigration trends for this period fell into two categories; first, during 1924 and 1925, immigration rates continually increased. Second, there was a sharp increase in both 1926 and 1927 of new immigrants who averaged over fifty thousand per year. The number of repatriates also increased during those last two years (see Table VII below). The immigrants came from Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and South African territories who are called "others" in the table.³⁴ For the period, the alien workers made up more than fifty-four percent of the total labor force in the country, and demographically they made up ten percent of the 1926 African population. Quite a large proportion of those who had come in the previous period had been repatriated to their native countries. The real positive effects of the ulele became apparent during the period between 1928 and 1945 when there occurred a human deluge whose major bad effects were avoided by careful planning and massive compulsory repatriation.³⁵

TABLE VII
ALIEN IMMIGRATION TRENDS FOR 1924-1927

Type/Country	1924	1925	1926	1927
Registered	36,216	38,102	42,859	43,050
Newcomers	1,647	43,205	50,116	51,189
Repatriates	19,923	23,384	25,046	28,565
Zambians	---	19,803	23,312	21,757
Malawians	---	16,974	16,738	19,884
Mozambiqueans	---	5,576	9,542	8,839
Other countries	---	852	524	709

Source: S.R. Census Reports of the C.N.C., 1926-1946 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1946), pp. 5-12.

5. The Immigration Deluge, 1928-1945

African immigration between 1928 and 1945 was actually a result of the intensive enforcement of the "free transport". Gross immigration, intercensal statistics, and net immigration figures were all much higher than in any period in the past. For instance, the gross alien African immigration for the five-year period, 1931 to 1936, was 310,000 people despite an estimated repatriation figure of more than 268,000. The net immigration was then some 42,000 persons of alien birth living in Rhodesia. The trends for the next ten years were higher and more alarming. Table VIII below helps explain the trends and also shows how many immigrants each country supplied in the period 1931 to 1946.

TABLE VIII
IMMIGRATION TRENDS AND EACH NATION'S
CONTRIBUTION, 1931-1946

Period	Gross Alien Immigration	Intercensal Increase	Repatriation Estimates	Net Immigration
1931-1936	310,000	190,000	268,000	42,000
1936-1941	378,000	159,000	355,000	23,000
1941-1946	379,000	315,000	345,000	34,000

TABLE VIII (Continued)

Country	1931	1936	1941	1946
Malawi	49,487	70,362	71,505	80,480
Zambia	35,542	46,884	48,163	45,413
Mozambique	14,896	25,215	45,970	72,120
Others	2,983	2,440	2,468	4,399

Source: S.R. Census Report of the C.N.C. (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1951), NAR, S R G 3, Table II, p. 5; also quoted in William J. Barber, The Economy of British Central Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 210. See Appendix on tall immigrants.

In 1928, some 63,579 alien blacks were employed in Rhodesian industries other than mining. The mines employed another 31,034, bringing the total of aliens working in the country to nearly ninety-five thousand people. 58,095 of these entered the colony that year, while slightly over one-third of the total were repatriated. Many died in Rhodesia, and over two hundred married local and alien women. Of the newcomers, nearly fifty percent came from Malawi, and less than a third came from Zambia. The remainder came from Mozambique and other unspecified countries. Approximately fourteen percent of the newcomers were juveniles, the majority of whom came from Zambia and Mozambique. 40,704 of the new entrants were original immigrants and another 9,330 were re-entering Rhodesia.³⁶

During 1929, more than 59,000 new black aliens entered the country

and Malawi supplied the majority of these. Zambia provided slightly less than half and Mozambique supplied about a quarter; the remainder came from other unnamed territories. From the total of new entrants, 40,451 came in for the first time and about one-quarter of these came from each of the countries of origin except new Malawians who numbered 16,267. Juveniles made up one-sixth of the total immigrant population, and their increase became very characteristic of all immigrants from that year. Some thirty thousand aliens returned to their countries of origin at the end of the year. Those returning to Rhodesia for a second or third time numbered 9,707 by the end of the year.³⁷

For the whole of 1930, there were 88,484 aliens employed and residing in Rhodesia at one time or another. New immigrant workers were 57,908 of whom 40,220 of them came for the first time to the country. Over eight thousand were returnees. Although the number of juveniles dropped, it still was over the nine thousand mark. Less than fifty percent of the aliens were repatriated. Malawi and Zambia were the biggest suppliers of the new entrants. 42,529 other immigrants were added to the previous total during 1931. Of the 1931 new immigrants, about twenty-eight percent were Zambians; Malawi supplied nearly forty percent, while Mozambique provided more than twenty-eight percent. Other territories supplied the remainder. There was also reference to the presence of blacks from "Belgian Congo". Nevertheless, more than fifty percent of the total alien population in Rhodesia that year returned to their original countries at the end of their work contracts. Something significant about 1931 migrants was a drop in the number of juvenile aliens who entered Rhodesia. The figure fell from the nine thousand mark set previously, to a little more than seven thousand. More than three hundred received

automatic citizenship. To sum up, the alien immigrant made up nearly one- to two-thirds of all Africans employed in Rhodesia in 1931 and the majority of them worked in Mashonaland, especially in the Hartley, Mazoe, and Salisbury districts. Even though the immigration trends showed a decline in 1926, that of 1927 to 1931 generally demonstrated an upward steady annual swing.

From 1931, there was a sharper annual increase in immigration despite the fact that many more local Africans than ever before entered wage-earning employment. Malawi was the chief supplier of workers during the five-year period followed by Zambia. The two countries supplied an average of about thirty-six thousand workers each per five years, while Mozambique's supply averaged about ten thousand in the same period. Clandestine immigrants from Mozambique were not included in this total since they were not counted.³⁸ The closer relationship between the governments of Rhodesia, Zambia, and Malawi made it easier for such large numbers of people to leave for Rhodesia. The financial arrangements made between them facilitated the transportation of men to and from those territories. Yet the Rhodesian-Portuguese relations were often strained on the subject of exporting Africans from Mozambique. That explains also why clandestine emigration to Rhodesia was greater from that country.

In 1932, some aliens entered Rhodesia from the same sources but in a rather slow pace. 38,150 came in for work and joined other thousands who had been already there. The greatest bulk of the entrants came in the colony for the first time (see Table on p. 26). Over 253 of the earlier immigrants married Rhodesian women and were granted permanent settlement. However, those who remained in Rhodesia were a small part

of those who proceeded to South Africa.

In 1933, the number of immigrants almost doubled that of the previous year when 62,971 people entered; over one-third came from Malawi while Zambia, Mozambique, and other territories contributed the remainder. Of the total immigrants, 10,347 were male juveniles. The repatriates were 29,298; those who died in Rhodesia were 1,201, and the married were 279. At the end of the year, the R.N.L.B. dissolved, but the ulele continued, financed by the government and the industries concerned.

In 1934, over eighty-two thousand blacks entered Rhodesia in search of work; more than fifty-eight thousand had never been to the country before and more than eleven thousand of them were juveniles. However, by the end of the year, some thirty thousand or more people had been repatriated and twenty-five people received immediate citizenship while 284 married indigenous women. The total of immigrants for the year was the highest on record then, and this trend of migration continued into the next year when nearly eighty-four thousand immigrants entered Rhodesia; 62,032 of them were first-comers. About forty-three thousand were repatriated to Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique, and other countries during the year. The death rate was also staggering when 2,177 aliens died. Nearly thirty-six thousand Malawian men came in followed by Zambians, who numbered twenty-five thousand. Mozambiqueans numbered 21,174. The net immigration by the end of the year was about seventy-two thousand people, all employed in Rhodesian industries.³⁹

The information on African population and immigration in 1936 was gathered from the enumeration of Hut Tax forms and returns from the industries. The estimated African population of Rhodesia was 1,243,000 persons, an increase of 179,000 people over that of 1931. African

employment had increased by over two-and-a-half percent. Of the 252,482 Africans employed in all industries, alien immigrants made up more than fifty percent of the African labor force in the country. The largest number of immigrants came from Malawi and Zambia; over seventy thousand Malawians came in and nearly forty-seven thousand entered from Zambia. Very few people came from Mozambique and South Africa. One-fifth of all female employees in Rhodesia in 1936 were aliens. In Matebeleland, nearly seven hundred employees out of every 1,000 were alien. Zambian and Mozambiquean immigrants were more numerous in Matebeleland, and Malawians (71,505) exceeded the rest in Mashonaland. Repatriates numbered about forty-five thousand persons. Two hundred and sixty blacks married within Rhodesia; another 2,105 died within the country.⁴⁰

The period 1936 to 1941 was one of prosperity in Southern Africa despite the fact that all the countries there were involved in World War II during the first twenty months as members of the British Empire. The health of the economy was responsible for the continuous increase in African immigration to Rhodesia and South Africa in particular. 303,279 alien and indigenous Africans were employed in Rhodesian industries, a 19.3 percent increase over that for 1936; female employees more than doubled the previous total; recruited and independent laborers made up sixty percent of all employees during the five-year period. Other than those recruited from Rhodesia, there were 108,347 aliens working in the country from Mozambique (37,933), Zambia (19,093), Malawi (50,406), and the remainder were from other countries. All worked in Mashonaland alone during the five-year period. Another 38,686 worked in Matebeleland Province.

Computed on an annual basis, it turns out that there were over

eighty-one thousand registered alien workers in Rhodesia in 1937, and that 46,546 of them returned to their native lands. In 1938, nearly sixty-two thousand registered immigrants in the country and another 48,890 returned home. In the next year, the number dropped appreciably to 59,674 but shot up to nearly sixty-six thousand in 1940. The annual registration for 1941 was about seventy-eight thousand; over 45,000 returned home in 1939 and nearly 54,000 left in 1941 compared with only 35,178 who returned in 1942. In 1941 alone, aliens contributed taxes to the Rhodesian revenue valued at £130,738.

Taking the effects of war into consideration, one would have expected a sharp decline in African immigration to Rhodesia between 1936 and 1941, but the opposite was the case. The majority of the immigrants were independent immigrants who either walked, traveled by train, or came by road under the Ulele scheme. Clandestine immigrants did not return to their countries in as large numbers as recruited workers; instead, many stayed permanently. An example of such people was Berison (Solomon) Tsikurakufa, a Malawian Ngoni who came to Rhodesia independently in 1932 on foot and took thirty days from Limbe, Malawi, and entered Rhodesia at Pehnalonga. He went to Rhodesia married, but left his wife in Malawi whom he eventually divorced, and married a Manyika woman in Rhodesia. Tsikurakufa, interviewed in October, 1975, admitted that he had returned to Malawi only three times since he came to Rhodesia, and that in each case, it was for two or three weeks. Tsikurakufa still has a Malawian identity card, but his ten Rhodesian born children have Rhodesian and Malawian cards. This immigrant who called himself "Solomon" on arrival, feels that he is Rhodesian in every way. He is an example of hundreds of others still in Rhodesia at present.⁴¹

The last four years of the period under consideration saw vigorous economic changes in Rhodesia, especially in the mining and agricultural industries. World War II stimulated agrarian expansion in the colony, and the farmers found themselves having to double or triple their acreage in order to meet world demands for food and tobacco. To achieve such goals, they needed many more African laborers than they had to work the fields. Local supply of labor was inadequate and so importation, as the traditional source of supply, was the answer. African immigration and employment was stepped up to such a level that African immigrant employees in the industry rose from thirty-four percent of the total African labor force in 1941 to thirty-nine percent by March, 1946. This rise was matched with a sharp decline in the mining industry employment and production. Whereas mines employed 28.5 percent of African workers in 1941, they employed a mere 19.0 percent by 1946. The vast majority of alien agricultural workers were in Mashonaland alone which absorbed six times as many aliens as were in Matebeleland. The decline in mine employment was greater in Mashonaland where only sixteen percent mine laborers worked compared with twenty-one percent in Matebeleland.

In order to get an adequate labor force, two programs were initiated during the next five years. In 1942, the Rhodesian Government passed the Compulsory Native Labour Act which forced every indigenous African male adult in the colony to work on road and bridge projects as a training program for skills and for minimal wages. Labor recruitment was authorized under the Native Labour Regulations, 1942, which empowered the recruiters to import African workers from neighboring countries; this was to be done carefully with the co-operation of Zambian and Malawian authorities or any labor agents in those countries.

As a result of the new measures, 200,412 new alien laborers came to Rhodesian farms and mines. Agriculture absorbed the largest number of recruits who were distributed thus: 72,120 Mozambiqueans, 45,413 Zambians, 80,480 Malawians, and 3,399 from other countries including Rhodesia. As of May, 1946, there were 376,868 black employees in Rhodesian industries; 13,524 of them females both alien and indigenous. New recruits numbered 19,781, but there were 43,563 unrecruited independent aliens during the period.⁴²

There were 9,095 Mozambique recruits working in Mashonaland other than the 53,685 Mozambique independent immigrants already in Rhodesia. Some 1,103 recruited Zambians worked in Mashonaland other than 16,677 unrecruited workers of Zambian nationality. Recruits from Malawi, working in the same province, totalled 4,282, but independent entrants in the same area were 53,300 persons.

In Matebeleland the proportion of immigrants by countries of origins was different from that of Mashonaland. Out of 10,542 Mozambique recruits employed in Rhodesia, 1,447 worked in this province; 7,893 Mozambique independent immigrants also served there. About 268 Zambian recruits worked in and around the Matebeleland Province compared with 27,365 independent Zambian immigrants working there. Malawian contracted laborers were 287 in contrast with 22,611 unrecruited entrants. Unspecified countries supplied another 1,834 independent workers in Matebeleland.

From the evidence above it is apparent that independent immigration became more popular and was responsible for the majority of the African immigrants who had more opportunities of remaining in the country longer than recruited ones. In many instances, the practice allowed them to take up Rhodesian citizenship much earlier than would have been the case

if they had come as recruits. We should also note that the majority of independent immigrants were returnees who knew the geography of the country very well and who knew which 'masters' paid their laborers better and provided them with the best conditions of service. However, it should be pointed out that the statistics given about independent entrants is misleading in that it paints the picture of the employed independent workers only without telling us anything about those who clandestinely entered and settled quietly among the local Africans. Whether these black immigrants were work-seekers or not, their impact on the indigenous African society, politics, economy, and demography cannot be underestimated. It is also clear that if many of these immigrant workers had not been repatriated, Rhodesia would have turned into a racial and tribal melting pot.

The immigration situation may be summarized by referring to a few key facts. First, the importation of blacks to Rhodesia was a deliberate design by the successive governments of Rhodesia designed first to exclude the indigenous African, and to educate him indirectly of "the dignity of labour" as the whites viewed it. Second, from 1890 to 1926, African immigration fluctuated in numbers and the majority of those who entered came from South Africa until about 1911 or so. Thereafter the northern territories supplied more than any other country. One other factor which should be emphasized is that the introduction of the ulele scheme in 1926/27 inaugurated the biggest program of African immigration to Rhodesia, even though the same period witnessed a remarkable increase in the number of indigenous Africans who joined industrial employment. Also, because of the difficulty of determining the number of clandestine immigrants, the immigration picture remains fairly incomplete. The four

hundred persons interviewed during the field work for this study do prove that many more immigrants never returned to their home countries, and to classify them herein as simply "migrant workers" is to misrepresent a historical reality. Whether they came and left or whether they settled permanently, they still put an indelible mark on the character of the indigenous Rhodesian inhabitants.

NOTES

- ¹C.N.C., Report, 1898, NAR, File L O 4/1/1, pp. 1-4; See also NAR, File S 924/125/3.
- ²B.S.A. Co., Reports, 1890-1910, p. 3; NAR, Files L O 4/1/1-30.
- ³B.S.A. Co., Report, 1898, p. 5.
- ⁴C.N.C., Report, 1899, NAR, File L O 4/1/4, pp. 6-12.
- ⁵C.N.C., Report, 1899-1900, NAR, File L O 4/1/6, pp. 3-10; Chief Native Labour Agent, Report, March 31, 1900, NAR.
- ⁶"Labour and Wages," Report of the Labour Board of Southern Rhodesia, March 31, 1901 (Salisbury: Argus Printing and Publishing Co., 1901), NAR, L O 4/1/7, p. 883.
- ⁷Labour Board Statistics, S.R. Census Returns, 1901, NAR, File L O 4/1/8.
- ⁸Defense Report, 1902, NAR, File L O 4/1/10, p. 1.
- ⁹Ibid., p. 2.
- ¹⁰NAR, File L O 4/1/14; C.N.C., Report [Mashonaland] (Salisbury: Argus Printing and Publishing Co., 1903), pp. 3-7.
- ¹¹Ibid., p. 15, addendum, p. 11.
- ¹²C.N.C., Report [Matebeleland], 1903, NAR, File L O 4/1/14, p. 10.
- ¹³Ibid., "Inspector of Native Compounds Report," pp. 6-9.
- ¹⁴S.R. Administrator's Report, 1903-1904, NAR, File L O 4/1/16, p. 15.
- ¹⁵C.N.C., Report, 1904-1905, NAR, File 4/1/19-20, pp. 1-10.
- ¹⁶C.N.C., Report, 1905-1906, NAR, File L O 4/1/21, p. 100.
- ¹⁷C.N.C., Report, 1906-1907, NAR, File 4/1/23, Schedule V.
- ¹⁸C.N.C., Report, December 31, 1907 [Mashonaland and Matebeleland], Schedule II, NAR, File L O 4/1/26, p. 13.

¹⁹ C.N.C., Report, 1908 [Mashonaland and Matebeleland], File L O 4/1/27, Schedule II.

²⁰ C.N.C., Report, 1910 [Mashonaland], NAR, File L O 4/1/30, p. 18. Many Census Returns forms from farmers for 1910 and 1911 were closed to the public at the time of my research and so the statistics given in the C.N.C. report could not be cross-checked for accuracy.

²¹ Ibid., Schedule I; NAR, File L O 4/1/30, pp. 17-18.

²² Southern Rhodesia, Census Returns, 1911 (Salisbury: Argus Printing and Publishing Co., 1911), Tables I (a), p. 1; I (b), p. 2; Table "C C", pp. 30-31 (hereafter cited as S.R. Census Report).

²³ Ibid., pp. 23-25.

²⁴ C.N.C. Report, 1928/29 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1929), Table III, p. 13.

²⁵ B.S.A.P. Report, 1913 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1913), NAR, S R G 3, p. 3.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁷ C.N.C. Report, 1928 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1929), Table III, p. 13; R. G. S. Douglas, Immigration Development, Appendix B, p. 29.

²⁸ NAR, File A 3/18/38/2.

²⁹ NAR, File A 3/18/38/4. For a full story of boundaries and the Makombe Uprising, consult Professor Philip R. Warhurst's Rhodesia and Her Neighbours, 1900-1923 (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, 1968).

³⁰ S.R. Census Returns, 1921, pp. 6-8.

³¹ NAR, File S 235/431.

³² Report of the Land Commission, the Morris Carter Commission (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1925), NAR, S R G E, pp. 3; 334-339.

³³ Annual Report: Supervisor of Facilities for Passage of Northern Natives (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1927), NAR, S 235/431 (hereafter cited as SFPNN Report).

³⁴ C.N.C. Report, 1926, NAR, S R G 3, pp. 1-4.

³⁵ C.N.C. Report, 1927, pp. 4-12.

³⁶ SFPNN Report, 1927, NAR, S 235/431.

³⁷ C.N.C. Report, 1928, pp. 5-12; Table III in the same document gives 50,034 people as new immigrants contrary to the analysis of the report.

³⁸C.N.C. Report, 1929, Table III, p. 13.

³⁹Ibid., p. 13; S.R. Census Report, 1936, NAR, RG 1/CE 6, pp. 100-104.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 104-106.

⁴¹Interview, Berison (Solomon) Tsikurakufa, Harare African Township, Salisbury, October 6, 1975.

⁴²S.R. Census Report, 1941, NAR, SRGI, 1/CE 6, pp. 1-15.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

1. Impact of African Immigration

All the thousands of alien Africans who converged on Rhodesia between 1890 and 1945 exerted a very significant social impact on the indigenous African community in many ways. When so many people with varied cultures converged on a society with its own form of civilization, their impact on the host society affected its population, the land, and the culture. Such was the impact of African immigrants on the Rhodesian African society during this period.

As a result of the increased immigration, Rhodesian African population increased by remarkable leaps and bounds between 1890 and 1945. The table on African population and the graph on the growth of African population (Appendixes) show that African immigration increased faster than the black population as a whole. Aliens made up nearly four percent of the total African population in 1910; this proportion remained fairly constant for the next fifteen years. But, in 1930, the alien immigrants made up more than six percent of the total African population; between 1935 and 1945, they represented about seven percent. In 1945 alone, they made up more than 7.6 percent. This rate of population growth was bound to affect another sensitive area of human relations--the use of land.

Early in 1894, the B.S.A. Co. Administration set up provisional

African reserves at Shangani and Gwai regions in Matebeleland for the purpose of settling South African black immigrants. Four years later, the Administration set up the previously proposed Fingo Locations at Bembesi and Tuli. This action soon angered the Ndebele who began a series of attacks on the Fingo settlers and demanded the return of their land to them. But the B.S.A. Co. did not listen to the complaint immediately. Elsewhere in the colony, the problem of land shortage due to the presence of many South African and Basuto Africans became critical. The Administration responded to the crisis by creating "African Reserves", and "Crown or Government Lands" where the African "settlers" were allowed to buy land and encouraged to indulge in "open competition amongst yourself and the white man," by Thompson, Rhodes' negotiator with the Fingoes in 1898.¹ Indigenous African reservations had not been approved by the British Government, and so these were not established immediately. However, the land question reached a new crisis in 1920 when the Imperial government finally intervened and sanctioned the creation of indigenous African reserves.

Five years later, the new Rhodesian government set up a commission of inquiry, the Carter Commission, to look into the question of land distribution in Rhodesia. The evidence brought before the Commission demonstrated that alien Africans married indigenous women in order to receive "white certificates" legally reserved for indigenes, so that they would be "granted all the privileges of an indigenous native," including land claims.²

Since the land question was serious, the Commission recommended the immigration of "a limited number of more progressive and hardworking blacks, especially those from the north."³ This and other recommendations

were responsible for increased immigration and made the problem even more serious. Tribal fighting broke out in 1929 in Bulawayo between aliens and indigenes. Still the Rhodesian Government was unprepared to abandon its faithful allies in the suppression and exploitation of indigenous Africans.

During the 1930s, the Rhodesian officials resorted to the historic racist laws which parcelled the country into racial and tribal islands under the Land Apportionment Act. Under the Act, alien Africans were not allowed to own land in indigenous African areas, but were still permitted to buy land in certain tracts which were opened as African Purchase Areas. Conditions set up for buying land there meant that only the African immigrant elite, the alien retired government servants, former members of the police force, religious school teachers, and retired miners could buy the land. It was this group of African immigrants who became the first Africans to buy land, indulge in private business, and become the first Rhodesian middle-class Africans.

The increase in the number of immigrants each year did one good thing, however; it facilitated more mobility between the tribes represented within Rhodesia during the period and helped in the evolution of a heterogeneous African society in Rhodesia. Marriages were contracted between members of very different tribes. That encouraged the breakdown of some unnecessary tribal prejudices. However, other cultural and social problems were also in the offing.

The majority of African immigrants to Rhodesia were young people between the ages of fourteen and forty years, the majority of whom were single. Among earlier entrants, there were many more older and married men who left families in their native countries. Those married men

made up the greatest number of the repatriates. The young men who came later got themselves more involved in the local African communities. Many married local girls and became eligible for Rhodesian citizenship or double citizenship. Hundreds of such marriages occurred, but one example of citizenship attainment by marriage will suffice to illustrate the point. In 1933, in Sinoia District, an alien black man named Dingindawo Joni, a South African Zulu from Natal, resided in one of the villages where he eventually married a local Shona girl. Dingindawo applied to the N.C. for a Rhodesian citizenship and was granted it.⁴ However, many such families did not last long due to differences that arose in observing tribal customs and traditions. Native Commissioners in all districts handled hundreds of divorce cases between aliens and indigenes. Children of these marriages continued to reside in Rhodesia and have since raised their own "Rhodesian families".

One other significant result of African immigration was moral decadence in the mining compounds, townships, and farm villages. Prostitution became widespread between alien men and indigenous women living in the vicinity of these centers. Cases of venereal diseases multiplied. New diseases unheard of among the indigenous Africans broke out, ranging from new strains of pneumonia to syphilis which alone killed over 282 people in the mines in 1904.⁵ Michael Gelfand estimates that between 1906 and 1918, the death rate among aliens working in Rhodesia ranged between 75.94 and 113.38 per thousand per year due to the alien epidemic diseases.⁶

The increase in immigrants also resulted in an increase in crimes committed by aliens either on indigenes or within the entire Rhodesian society. The crimes committed by aliens ranged from theft, housebreaking,

raping, desertion, destruction of property, to thefts of or exchange of registration certificates, armed robberies, murder, and intertribal fightings. Cattle theft and slaughter was one of the most common crimes committed by aliens. The following record from the Criminal Investigation Department shows the picture of crimes committed by aliens as well as indigenes between 1924 and 1932. The information in Table IX below does not show, however, the total number of aliens arrested, tried, and deported as a result of the crimes they committed. Those who were too old to serve imprisonment were deported, and so were not reflected in the final tally. It is significant, however, to note that aliens convicted in Rhodesian courts totalled on the average between one-fourth and one-third of those convicted in the whole country.

TABLE IX
ALIEN AND INDIGENOUS AFRICAN CRIME
RECORD, 1924-1932

Year	Immigrant Convicts	Indigenous Convicts	Total
1924	50	150	200
1925	67	135	202
1926	65	140	205
1927	50	148	198
1928	77	204	281
1929	66	210	276
1930	61	157	218
1931	63	171	234
1932	80	166	246

Source: Criminal Investigation Department, Defense Report, 1924-1935 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1936), NAR, S R G 3, Schedules F, G, H, pp. 15-20.

One of the greatest influences of the immigrants was in the field of religion. The first aliens who came with the settlers were evangelists, lay Christians, and soldiers devoted to evangelizing and suppressing indigenes in all ways possible. Like their white settler allies, they were fully aware that religion was one of the strongest ties of nations, and destroying it weakened that nation. Driven by this religious fervor, African alien Africans took part in destroying the Mwari shrine in Matebeleland in 1893. During the wars of resistance, it was the African immigrants who headed patrols of black and white soldiers which devastated the Mwari prophets, Nehanda and Kagubi, who lived in Mashonaland.⁷ In retaliation, indigenous Africans slaughtered many of the alien African immigrants they knew who co-operated with the European settlers. In Mashonaland they murdered Bernard Mizeki, an evangelist from South Africa, and John Kapuya. In Matebeleland, similar murders occurred.⁸

However, to the immigrants, those killed were Christian martyrs who would win eventually--and win they did. Several Christian denominations were introduced in Rhodesia mainly by Africans who were supported and financed by European groups. After 1900, there was a new wave of African-led alien churches which preached religion mixed with politics. Such groups as the Church of Ethiopia and the Zionist movement were nothing more than political groups arousing and fostering negritude. For instance, the black American-led Church of Apostolic Faith of Central Africa, which began in Malawi and then spread to South Africa and returned to Rhodesia, was purely a political movement. It was never allowed to operate in Rhodesia until such a time when it got indigenous Africans as leaders. From 1906, black Americans were banned from Rhodesia.

In non-Christian circles, alien religious practices infringed upon the Shona and Ndebele ways of worship, especially in mining compounds where the aliens were in the majority. The few Shona and Ndebele who worked there found themselves learning the manner of alien worship, their language, and liturgy. Chewa words like "Mlungu" for God began to be used by the Shona and Ndebele to mean, erroneously, a white man. Gradually, some kind of syncretism began to spread among the African people when Nyanja, Bemba, Shona, Tonga, Yao, Zulu, and Ndebele ways of worship became so interwoven that it was difficult to differentiate between them.

The immigrants' religious activities were also tinged with political radicalism which frightened European settlers during the first two decades of the twentieth century. South African immigrants in particular were more vocal because when they first came to Rhodesia they had been promised equal opportunities with their European allies only to find themselves deprived of these political and economic privileges. They complained to the B.S.A. Co. that they had come to Rhodesia as equals with the Europeans and so deserved equal treatment, but without success. When that failed, they turned to political agitation initially through alien organizations and later pressure groups into which they invited and recruited local indigenes.

Early in 1900, the South African black immigrants formed the Union Natives Vigilance Organization which pressured the Company for a vote and land rights, but with little success. Many such organizations sprang up and with leaders like John N'gono, Garner Sojini, John Hlazo, Langalibalele Dube, and the first immigrant feminist, Martha Ngano, organized political and trade union groups which demanded land and

African parliamentary representation, but without success.⁹ The immigrant from the south had come with a political approach new to the indigenous African of Rhodesia.

The African immigrant from the northern territories also introduced their own forms of organizations such as burial societies, which were and are still today centers of maintaining their native cultures. In these societies, cultural practices are maintained and children are taught their real native way of life. Many of these societies do not admit indigenous blacks nor do they accept people who are not of their tribe. Many northerners were much more interested in political organizations which always started as African independent churches but became pure political parties. Sermons were political all throughout the services. The indigenous African observed all these movements with little interest--in many instances with ridicule of these "foreigners and matevera njanji" who were friends of their oppressors.¹⁰ In all fairness, aliens taught indigenes many new political and economic approaches to a lifestyle based on money.

African immigration played a very positive economic role. As demonstrated in earlier chapters, African aliens supplied an almost constant two-thirds of all the African labor force in Rhodesian industries between 1900 and 1945. Second, aliens have facilitated the ostracism of indigenes by the European settler since 1898, and as a result indigenous Africans entered the money economy slower and later than would have been the case if similar preferences had also been extended to them. The Rhodesian officials' and industrialists' reliance on immigrant blacks alienated the indigenes and forced some of them to migrate to South Africa in search of the same economic privileges they were denied at home.

It is a fact, no doubt, that the immigrant African taught the indigenous African by example that a money economy was possible and viable. As the aliens bought farms and developed them for commercial purposes, gradually retired indigenous ex-teachers, policemen, and ministers of religion began to do the same. Buying farms introduced a new concept of land ownership which gradually eroded the traditional communal system. The practice also created a new African middle class which has recently turned out to be a very influential political and economic bloc. More than this, African immigration also helped prevent the possibility of compulsory servitude into which the indigenous African was about to be plunged by 1900.

Finally, black immigration was economically profitable, first to the B.S.A. Co., and second, to the subsequent Rhodesian governments in form of Poll and Hut Taxes levied on all African immigrants. For instance, in 1927/28, the Rhodesian Government received £3,609 in taxes from alien Africans out of an expected £4,743.¹¹ Rhodesian industry also benefitted from the cheap labor the alien immigrant supplied. However, in the long run, labor importation became more expensive until the advent of the independent immigrant after 1927.

2. Conclusion

The study has examined the question of African immigration to Rhodesia largely on economic, numerical, and social bases. We have traced the growth of African immigration to 1945. This approach was necessary to demonstrate the historical reality of such immigration, its causes and impact on the African society. African emigration and immigration to Rhodesia took place due to earlier economic development in

Rhodesia than in her neighboring states. This human avalanche was a result of an official policy adopted by the successive administrations which did not recognize this economic and human philosophy as the disguised slavery it was. This massive African influx to Rhodesia went through several stages of development.

Between 1890 and the turn of this century, African immigration was not expected to be a permanent part of the economic growth of Rhodesia and did not occur as rapidly as one might believe. Those who came were in many ways personal servants of the settlers until the introduction of the Fingo by Cecil Rhodes in 1898. After this year, immigration trends were determined by the new race relations which developed after the Wars of Resistance. More alien African workers became necessary, and so the industrialist and the Rhodesian Administration turned to labor importation. The success of the first labor recruiting organizations encouraged the officials to draw up new programs. The inauguration of native labor bureaus shortly before 1900 and early in the first decade of this century, and the official sanctioning of such programs, ushered in a period of massive immigration.

From the immigrant point of view, going to Rhodesia or South Africa was a temporary and optional exercise, and so was not as popular as it later turned out to be. For both the Chamber of Mines and the Rhodesian administrators, immigration was a way of humiliating the Rhodesian "Kaffir" as well as indirectly teaching him the dignity of labor. After labor recruitment became an official policy, immigrant workers would either return to their home country after the end of their work contracts, or they would opt to remain in Rhodesia indefinitely. African workers would be repatriated on account of ill health, conviction of a serious

crime, or failure to complete his work contract.

After World War I, African immigration increased because there were better methods of recruiting introduced and improved transport enabled Africans to go south in larger numbers than before. So the increase was steady throughout the period up to 1923. The change of government structure in Rhodesia in 1923 necessitated a revision of labor importation methods and the launching of new and more effective methods since immigration to Rhodesia for work had become more popular, especially with Africans from Zambia and Malawi. Independent immigrants had also increased by this time. In 1926 and 1927, the Rhodesian Government and industrialists launched the "free ferry" and the ulele schemes of labor importation. Thus, from 1923, African immigration took a new, accelerated trend which did not stop until the advent of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland three decades later. Compulsory repatriation also came into effect. So, for two and a half decades, from 1928 to 1945, African immigrants averaged over fifty-two thousand persons per each census year. African immigration did take place, and its effects are still felt within Rhodesia.

The thousands of alien Africans who entered Rhodesia had a significant demographical, social, political, and economic effect on the entire African society. The present Rhodesian society is more heterogeneous than it was before black immigration and than its members would dare to realize. As a result of immigration, Rhodesia also became the training ground for political leaders of the northern territories of Malawi and Zambia as is demonstrated by the fact that there are at least two Rhodesian-educated and trained government ministers in the governments of both states today.

Economically, alien blacks played an important role in the development of the Rhodesian mining, agricultural, and urban industries, while it is evident that they aided Europeans positively in their suppressive measures. This is supported by the fact that industry, local government, and central government officials did not employ indigenes in their offices or in highly paid positions until late into the third decade of this century. However, the easy availability of African immigrants was also prejudicial to the early training of indigenous Africans. The African immigrant, other things being equal, could be credited for introducing the Rhodesian indigenous African to all kinds of religious, social, and political organizations which later played significant roles in the struggle for freedom. Their social and political ghosts still live with the Rhodesian indigenous Africans.

NOTES

¹"Matabele," Thompson's speech to the Fingo People, 1898, NAR, File 3/18/24.

²Report of the Land Commission, 1925 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1925), NAR, SRGE, p. 31.

³Ibid., p. 31.

⁴Sinoia N.C. to C.N.C., May 15, 1933, NAR, File S 138/52.

⁵Michael Gelfand, "Migration of African Labourers in Rhodesia and Nyasaland, 1890-1914," Central African Journal of Medicine, VII, No. 8 (1961), Table II, p. 298.

⁶Ibid., Table III, p. 300.

⁷Terence O. Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), p. 45.

⁸Jean Farrant, Mashonaland Martyr: Bernard Mizeki and the Pioneer Church (Cape Town: Longmans, 1966), pp. 126-142.

⁹For a complete account, see T. O. Ranger, The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1970.

¹⁰Ranger, African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, pp. 223-235.

¹¹S.R. Census Report, 1927/28, Annexure B., n.p.

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- C 3/11ff: 1904; Census.
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 D B 5/5: 1903-1916; Registers: Native Labour Licenses.
 F 1/1/1-2: 1899-1906 to F 4/1/1-2; Letters and Reports.
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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

TABLE X

RHODESIAN AFRICAN POPULATION INCLUDING
ALIENS, 1910 to 1943

Year	Indigenes	Aliens	Total Population
1910	826,260	33,740	860,000
1915	932,007	37,993	970,000
1920	1,043,572	46,428	1,090,000
1925	1,181,898	38,102	1,220,000
1930	1,291,516	88,484	1,380,000
1935	1,499,046	120,954	1,610,000
1940	1,721,162	148,838	1,870,000
1945	2,031,394	168,606	2,200,000

Source: Southern Rhodesia, Census Reports, 1910-1943 (Salisbury: Government Printers, 1943) Appendix Tables; Monthly Digest of Statistics, April, 1977 (Salisbury: Central Statistics Office, 1977), Supplement, Table I, p. 1.

APPENDIX B

TABLE XI

ANNUALLY EMPLOYED BLACK IMMIGRANTS
IN MINES, 1923-1944

Year	Alien Employees	Indigenes
1923	27,800	10,300
1924	30,300	11,100
1925	29,072	10,572
1926	30,605	11,442
1927	29,984	12,062
1928	31,034	12,669
1929	34,287	12,694
1930	33,599	11,627
1931	26,897	8,305
1932	26,470	9,395
1933	38,200	15,300
1934	42,876	19,237
1935	54,624	22,759
1936	60,397	23,659
1937	66,700	23,800
1938	64,917	22,853
1939	61,232	22,358
1940	63,196	22,609
1941	61,625	22,474
1942	59,914	22,012
1943	59,074	19,516
1944	54,421	19,310

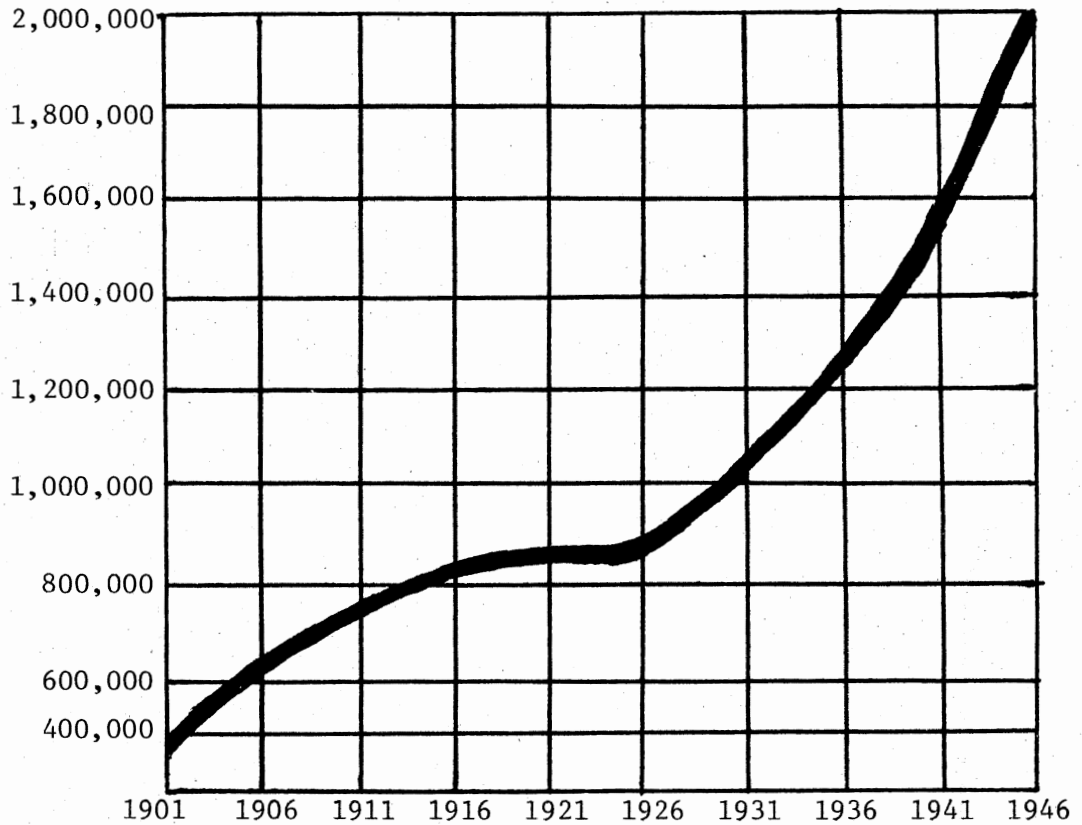
Source: Southern Rhodesia: Mining Report, 1944, NAR, File S R G 3.

APPENDIX C

GRAPH

RELATIVE GROWTH OF AFRICAN POPULATION

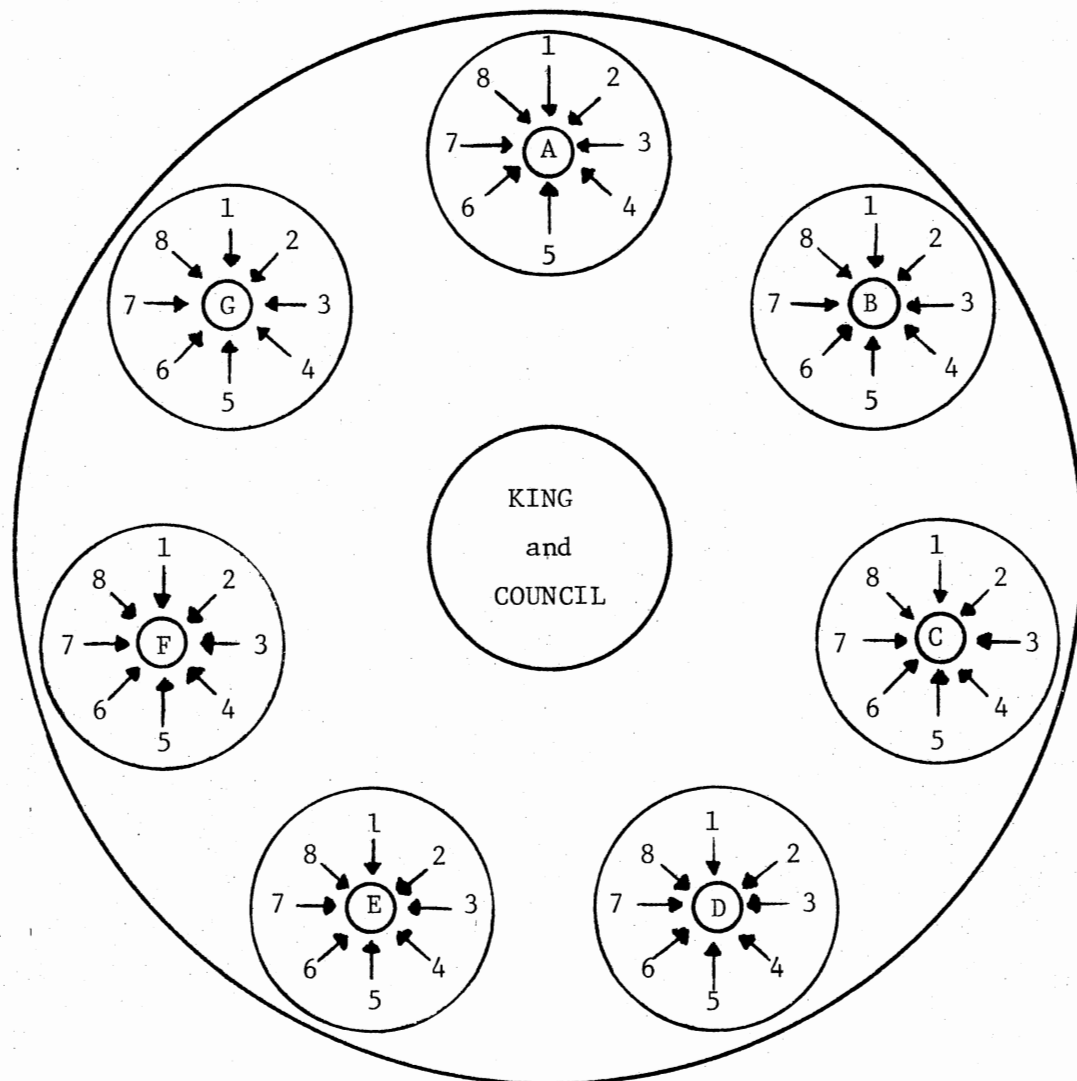
1901 to 1946



Source: Southern Rhodesia Government; Census of Population, 1951, p. 3 (data only).

APPENDIX D

SHONA POLITICAL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE



Key: NYIKA (KINGDOM)

A to G ---- DUNHUS (Districts)

1 to 8 ---- MANAS (Villages)

Source: Constructed by the writer from ideas collected in oral interviews during field research, 1975-1977.

APPENDIX E

ALIEN BLACKS IN URBAN INDUSTRIES, 1941

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>
Domestic Services	13,412
Manufacturing	9,532
Shopkeepers and E.T.C.	3,725
Construction	3,206
Shops and Offices	2,900
Central and Local Governments	2,288
Unidentified Industries	1,442
Police and Defense	806
Others	626
Professional Occupations	169
TOTAL	<u>38,106</u>

Source: Census Report, May, 1941, Part VIII, Table VI, p. 13.

APPENDIX F

ALIEN BLACKS IN URBAN INDUSTRIES, 1945

<u>Industry</u>	<u>Number of Employees</u>
Domestic Service	51,343
Manufacturing	33,783
Central and Local Governments	11,624
Building and Construction	11,364
Shops and Offices	9,830
Shopkeepers and E.T.C.	7,270
Police and Defense	3,937
Unidentified Industries	1,509
TOTAL	130,550

Source: Census Report, May, 1946, Part I, Table LXIII, p. 326; Part VII, Table II, p. 20.

APPENDIX G

A. INDIGENES AND ALIENS WAGES IN MINES, 1899

<u>County of Origin</u>	<u>Monthly Wages</u>
Mozambique Shangani	30s. to £2 plus food
Zulus of S. Africa	30s. to £2 plus food
Cape Boys and Fingoes	£3 to £6 plus food
Zambians (Trans-Zambesians)	30s. to £2 plus food
Malawians (Trans-Zambesians)	30s. to £2 plus food
Matebele (Ma Ndebele men)	20s. to £2 plus food
Shona	10s. plus food

Source: Commissioner of Mines, Annual Report, March, 1899, pp. 10-11, File L O 4/1/4.

B. ALIEN WAGES IN MINES, 1900

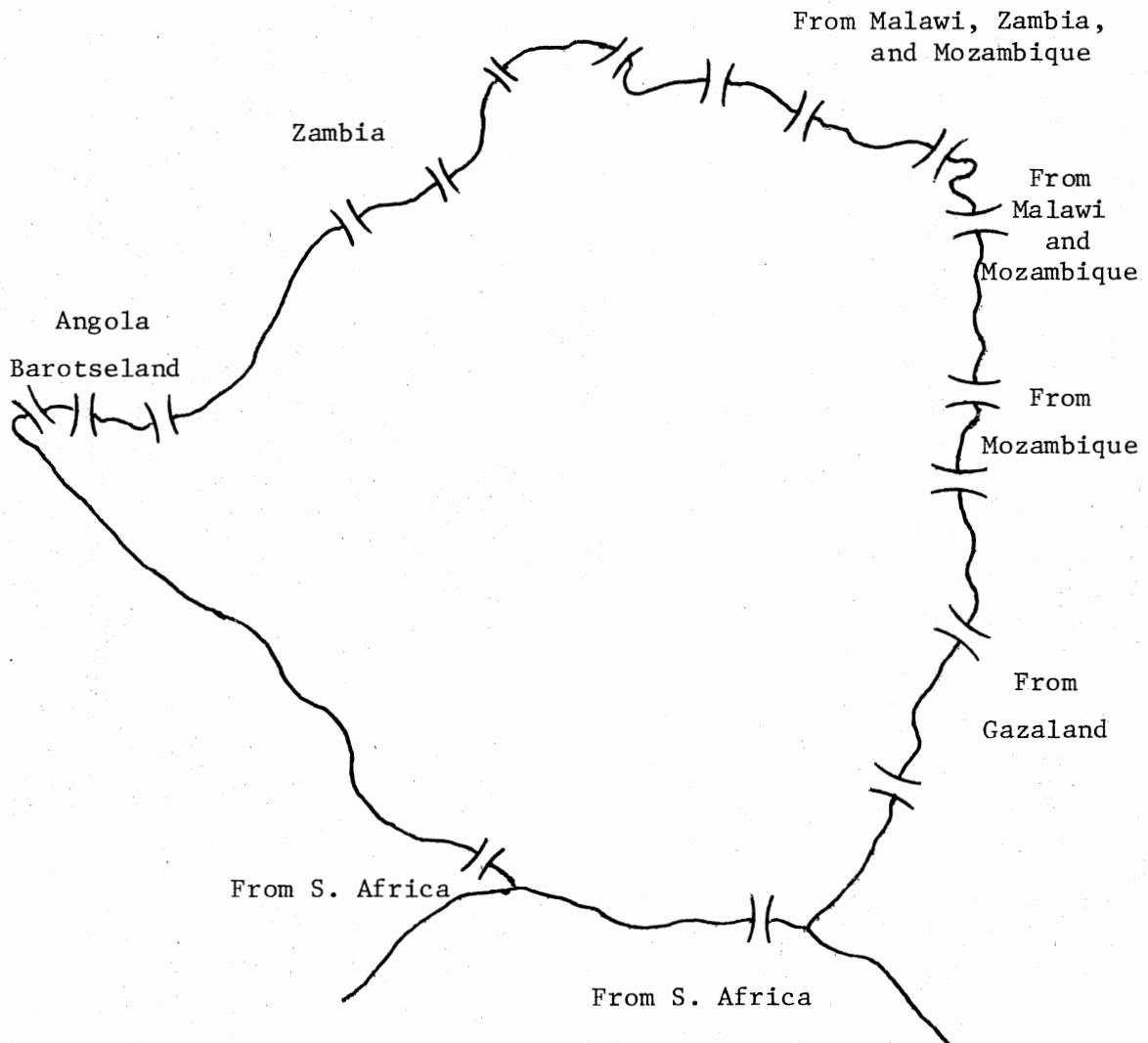
<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Monthly Wages</u>
"Good" Shanganis	£2 to £3 plus food
Zambians	£2 to £3 plus food
Zulus	£2 to £3 plus food
"Good" Matebele	£2 to £3 plus food
"Raw" Matebele	£1 to £2 plus food
Shona and Young Matebele	10s. to £2 plus food

Source: Mining Industry, Annual Report, March 31, 1901, p. 14, NAR, File L O 4/1/9.

APPENDIX H

MAP 1

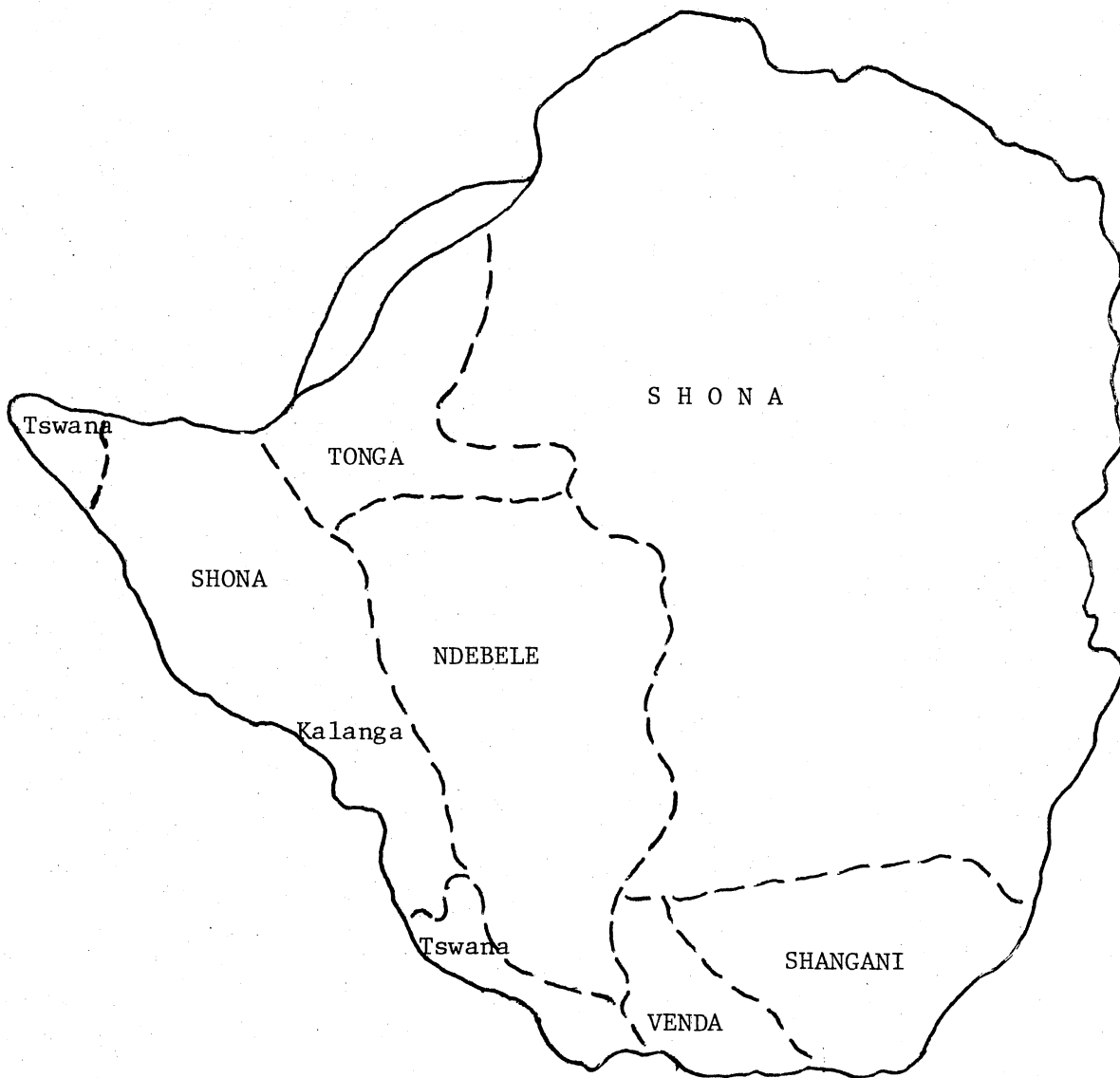
AFRICAN IMMIGRATION ROUTES, 1890-1945



APPENDIX I

MAP 2

INDIGENOUS AFRICANS OF RHODESIA

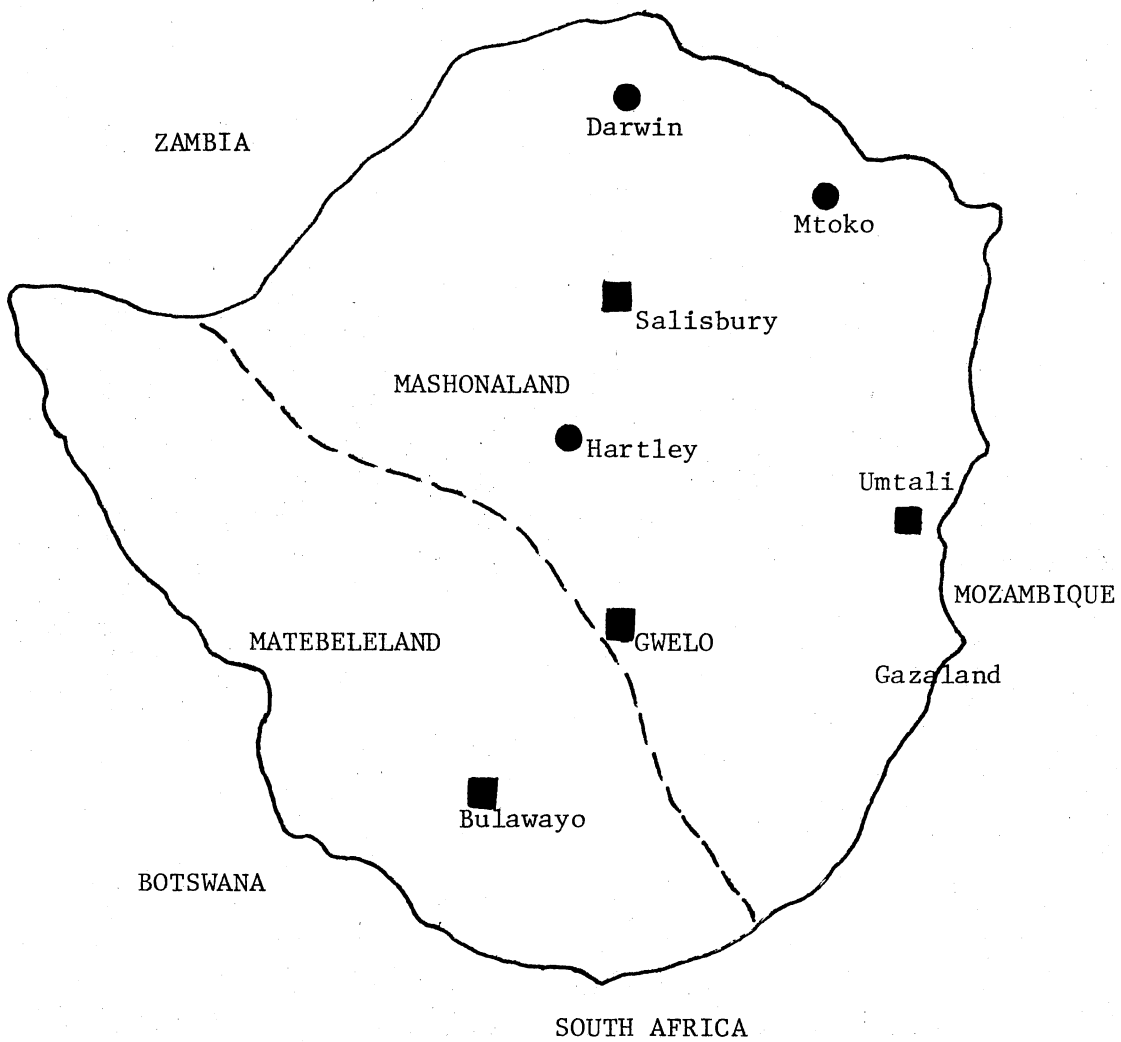


Source: Susan J. Pratt (ed.), The Environment of the Rhodesian People: The People (Salisbury: M. O. Collins (pvt) Ltd., 1976), Vol. I, p. 9.

APPENDIX J

MAP 3

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVINCES OF RHODESIA



VITA²

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