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STRIKE ACTION AND SELF-HELP ASSOCIATIONS: PROTEST AND CULTURE OF AFRICAN WORKERS AFTER WORLD WAR I, ZIMBABWE

by Tsuneo Yoshikuni

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STRIKE ACTION AND SELF-HELP ASSOCIATIONS: PROTEST AND CULTURE OF AFRICAN WORKERS AFTER WORLD WAR I, ZIMBABWE

Tsuneo Yoshikuni

The years immediately following the armistice of the First World War witnessed the rapid growth of labour movements throughout the world. In sub-Saharan Africa, despite the region's relative weakness of capitalist penetration, the period was punctuated by stirrings of industrial discontent among African workers, apart from a contemporary spate of strikes by European workers in settler-dominated southern Africa. The places affected ranged from Freetown to Cape Town, from Lagos to Lourenço Marques, from Nairobi to Johannesburg and many other industrial centres. Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, was no exception. In the period from 1918 to 1921 African workers are known to have mounted several work stoppages in major towns, railways, mines, etc. throughout the colony. None of these disputes was more than a 'skirmish', lasting only a short while, but together they constituted a militant strike movement or movements. The first part of this essay is an attempt to describe this upsurge of labour protest. The protest on such a scale was perhaps the earliest of its kind in the colony's history and much of it has so far remained in obscurity; as such, it deserves to be accounted in detail.[1]

The image of the African worker that can be obtained from the first part is, insofar as its concern is restricted to the protest scenes, inescapably a very much simplified and abridged one: he is to be depicted as a man rationally and militantly responding to economic realities of an industrial society. In order to probe more deeply into the character of the African worker, the labour protest of 1918-21 needs to be placed on a wider historical canvass. For this purpose, the second part of this essay addresses itself to a case study of the Tonga or Zambesi municipal workers in Salisbury (Harare) who staged a strike in August 1919. Its emphasis is upon penetrating the interior of the world which African migrants created in the face of everyday problems--a world, made of intimate human ties, where people found natural and effective forms of self-protection and self-assertion in the industrial situation.

The subject has received a great amount of attention in sociological and anthropological circles, indeed, but has seldom been confronted in the writing of history. One of the reasons for this neglect on the part of historians is perhaps because such a theme does not pose a great academic challenge to them. It has, in their notion, little to do with the drama of popular resistence, much less with dynamic social change. Certainly, the subject essentially concerns a highly circumscribed, hardly belligerent universe, revolving around the people's day-to-day concerns. But the protest theme--or any other themes of popular behaviour--does not drop from the sky. Much of the thrust of African industrial protest germinated from hidden recesses of their daily life. As the following 'idyllic scene' at a street corner of the early Salisbury township vividly illustrates:

> Though Salisbury possesses [wrote *The Rhodesia Herald* in 1895] no voluntary or any other band, street music is being well provided for by the parties of Mashona labourers on the public works. The voices are equal to any number of drums and fifes. The massive refrain of their chant, englished, is generally
>
> "we are hungry and tired,
> we will work for the white men no longer".[2]

I

Among a complex of socio-economic changes that converged during and after the First World War to give rise to a wave of industrial protest, two changes are worth noting as the point of departure. One was a sharp increase in the cost of living from the outbreak of the war in 1914, combined with stagnant wages during the same period. The result was perhaps the most drastic drop in real wages in the history of the country. During the period between 1914 and 1921 African real wages declined to less than a half of the pre-war level, a level to which they did not return until a few decades later.[3] The consequential impoverishment of African workers and peasants was so manifest that it prompted Native Department officials to comment: 'Natives can no longer afford to buy blankets and clothing as they used to, and are resorting to the wearing of skins and other primitive garments' and 'the majority of boys working on mines and farms are clad in sacks'.[4]

With this combination of biting inflation and stagnant wages there developed new circumstances favourable to industrial action. As for the European workers, their bargaining power was considerably strengthened, when White Rhodesia was so heavily involved in the war that the economy felt a keen shortage of skilled manpower. Particularly after the war almost all categories of White labour, including railway and mine employees, artisans, shop assistants, civil servants and even the police attempted to recover their lost ground and to secure the institutional protection of the White wage

earners. They organized strikes and deputations and formed trade unions and a Labour party.[5]

A somewhat similar situation came into being for African labour as well. The wartime high prices of peasant produce, the decline of real wages, and the demand by the military for African manpower combined to militate against the supply of African labour. Still more importantly, the country, above all its densely populated industrial centres, was devastated by the Influenza Epidemic in October and November of 1918, which suddenly disrupted the established pattern of African labour supply; as it was reported: 'Apart from the temporary and local results of the epidemic such as the pell-mell flight from many labour centres and the natural reluctance to return to what were regarded as centres of infection, many natives coming to the Territory in search of work were induced by fear to turn back to their homes before they even crossed the border; this influence affected not only the stream of independent labourers, but also those proceeding under the aegis of the Rhodesian Native Labour Bureau'.[6] In understanding the implications of the new situation the African workers were hardly slower than their European counterparts. 'Since the recent influenza epidemic', wrote *The Rhodesia Herald* in December 1918, 'many natives have got the idea into their heads that there is a scarcity of natives and are consequently demanding higher wages'.[7]

The initial stirrings of discontent largely remained subterranean or rather isolated as in the two strikes on mines; one in which the miners employed on the Globe & Phoenix mine demanded increased wages in November 1918, and the other involving the sanitary workers at the Wankie (Hwange) colliery who opposed the introduction of a new procedure in their work in March 1919.[8]

But powerful undercurrents for change began to surface, when the African railway employees in Bulawayo came out on a strike on 14 July 1919. The cessation of work involved 570 workers, practically all the Africans employed at Bulawayo station and railway workshops, and continued for three days. In common with African strikes in South Africa in those days, it occurred in the wake of a European dispute--only a day after the end of a two-day nation-wide strike by the European railway employees, which won them higher war bonuses. On the first day of their strike the African workers refused negotiation of any kind, only sending a deputation to demand a wage increase. The matter quickly became serious enough to warrant the intervention of the Native Department, and the following day an 'indaba' was held on the initiative of the Superintendent of Natives, Bulawayo. The workers' attitude at the meeting was still far from conciliatory: 'To all their suggestions', reported *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 'the boys had one reply, that they wanted a wage of 5/- a day [the average wage was then 1*s.* 6*d.* per day] and that unless their demands were conceded they would at once leave for their "kyas"'; and 'The reason that 5/- a day or £7 10*s.* a month, had been fixed upon was--because it was "what the white men got"'. This hard attitude the management flatly answered by the summary 'discharge' of all the strikers.[9]

The strikers used pickets, held meetings and staged a demonstration 'in some sort of military order' in town,[10] their well-organized conduct impressing a newspaper reporter sufficiently to write: 'From the south end of the platform a view could be obtained of the native huts on the town side of the line and here it was evident that the main body of the dissatisfied ones were assembled, for hundreds of natives could be seen congregated in small and large groups, each of which appeared to have its speaker or speakers who could be seen gesticulating and haranguing their listeners'.[11] There was thus little disarray among the rank and file for the management to take advantage of. The position meanwhile became aggravated as the perishable goods were rapidly accumulated at the station, although the coaling of locomotives and other necessary work at the loco. sheds were kept going by European workers. On the third day of the work stoppage the authorities made a concession and managed to bring the workers to the table of negotiation with the promise of no victimization. The outcome was that 'the natives receive the same daily or monthly wage as at present, but that at each month end each man who has been employed for a year or more will receive an additional amount, which will vary according to the number of years he has served on the railway'.[12]

It may appear at a glance that these concessions were not particularly impressive, but such was not the case at all in view of the colony's labour record in which virtually any forms of African industrial action had been subjected to a criminal sanction or to an extrajudicial punishment. The news of the 'success story' of Bulawayo spread quickly. The first to follow suit was the 'loco. boys' at the Que Que (Kwekwe) railway station, who walked out about two weeks later. Now that both state and management were determined to nip the apparent strike fever in the bud, thirteen workers were promptly arrested for 'refusing to obey the employer's lawful commands' under the masters and servants laws. 'The sight of seven or eight policemen parading the loco. boys to the Court House', it was reported, 'had the desired effect of bringing the remainder of the boys employed in the other departments to their bearings'.[13]

Despite the quick reaction of the authorities, from the railway strikes ensued a militant upsurge of African labour protest, the most notable of which were a series of work stoppages by municipal employees in major urban centres in the latter half of 1919. On 6 August, only eight days after the incident at Que Que, the Salisbury muncipal workers struck work. On the previous day the capital town had celebrated the British victory in the war. As part of peace celebrations, the Town Council arranged a big feast at the town location 'in order to impress upon the natives' the importance of the occasion.'[14] So were the virtues of obedience and how good it was 'to be in Rhodesia' and 'to belong to the British empire' preached by the Mayor and a missionary before a crowd of more than 2,000 Africans.'[15] The feast was started with three cheers for town officials and the King. Thus, not surprisingly, in the words of *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'something of a sensation occurred in Municipal circles' the following morning, when the municipal workers dared to

test 'how good it was to be in Rhodesia'. That morning a crowd of between 300 and 400 in total marched to the town house to intimate that work would not recommence unless a higher rate of pay was granted. The Town Engineer, then acting as a compound manager, met the strikers, following which workers were somewhat mollified. But upon finding there were still 'obstinate' labourers, the police were called in and thirteen leaders arrested. The rest were eventually persuaded to work in the afternoon, when the Town Clerk promised an investigation into their grievances. The apparent 'ringleaders' were dismissed, and those arrested convicted at the magistrate's court for 'refusing to obey', each with the sentence of a fine of £2 or a month's imprisonment with hard labour.[16] Yet discontent among the Salisbury municipal workers rumbled into the following year.[17]

The Bulawayo railway strike also had repercussions within the town itself. In his annual report for 1919, the Native Commissioner, Bulawayo, remarked that the strike was 'followed by a similar movement among the natives employed by the Municipal Council'.[18] The paucity of evidence does not enable us to discuss possible relations between the two disputes in Salisbury and Bulawayo. However, when two or three more strikes were staged or attempted by municipal workers in provincial towns in early December, it was evident that those were only part of an African strike wave, set in motion by, in the opinion of the press in reference to one of those strikes, 'the example of the Salisbury municipal native employees, or some other form of unrest'.[19]

On 1 December the local authorities of Umtali (Mutare) and Gatooma (Kadoma) were surprised to find their African employees refusing to work. In the case of Umtali the workers demanded wage increments and in the other case dissatisfaction centred around the adoption of a thirty days ticket system in place of the practice of paying wages by the calender month. In both cases events took a course similar to those in Salisbury. Meetings with management or a Native Department official were held, where investigation into the matter was promised; and upon some participants beginning to waver, the leaders or those still defiant were rounded up by the police. In Umtali thirty-four workers, and in Gatooma eleven, were taken before the magistrate, and all, except one, went to gaol.[20] In concurrence with these disputes, further unrest was found among the Gwelo (Gweru) municipal workers over the low wages and the adoption of the ticket system. In this case the existing wage scales seem to have been reconsidered, with the result that possible work stoppage was averted.[21]

At this point mention has to be made as to parallel developments in other industries. Very difficult as it is to find the postion of the domestic workers, their discontent, in Bulawayo at least, came to be more frequently evinced shortly after the July railway strikes (typically in the form of 'individual quarrel' with their employers). As a local newspaper reported in September: 'Numerous cases of troublesome and obstreperous servants have recently occupied the attention of the Magistrates ...'.[22] In January 1920, closely following upon the municipal strikes and unrest in Umtali,

Gatooma and Gwelo--and also a series of European mine employees' walkouts--two mines are known to have witnessed the incidence of African collective action. 'At the Bushtick gold mine ... the workers voiced their need for higher wages, and at least one worker corresponded with a Rand miner about the advantages of a trade union'.[23] The second case happened at the Shamva mine, where the workers successfully boycotted the mine stores which allegedly charged extortionate prices for goods. Their success was attributed to the 'thoroughness of organisation' by the Chief Native Commissioner, who was very much impressed by a high degree of sophistication of the workers' tactics. He remarked that 'The leaders influence and control the rest by means of harangues and debates, and by circularising them with notices, pamphlets and other propagandist literature'.[24]

As in the African labour protest after the Second World War, the epicentre of protest was apparently Bulawayo, then the largest town in the country. In May 1920 a local newspaper reported a new development: 'A movement among local native employes [*sic*] to secure increased wages in view of the high cost of living has been brought to notice of the municipal authorities'. 'The originators of the movement are', it continued, 'boys employed in offices and stores, builders' labourers, and labourers employed in the mechanical trade', residing at the town location. The workers, being employed at scattered places in relatively small numbers, organized themselves into a location community. They held several meetings at the location and tried by a 'constitutional' method to make their voice heard. Through the Location Superintendent the Town Council was approached, who then 'brought it [the workers' petition] to the notice of the public bodies, and large employers of native labour of the town'.[25]

The train of events in Bulawayo was crowned with yet another walkout by municipal workers several months later, which ended in probably the largest single prosecution of workers, no less than 103, in the period under review. On 24 January 1921 labourers employed at the Road Department of the Bulawayo Town Council stopped working at mid-day in protest against heavier work loads imposed by European overseers. Consequently, twenty-one workers were arrested for 'leaving work' under the masters and servants laws. The following morning their co-workers 'of many Tribes', living in a compound, went on strike. According to the court hearing held later, the workers' complaints were that 'whilst working they were not given enough time for rest'; that 'they had too much work to do'; that 'they objected being hit about and sworn at'; and also that 'they were not very much satisfied with the wages they were getting'. The arrest of eighty-two Africans on the charge of 'refusing to obey' resulted, and all, together with those in custody from the previous day, were imprisoned with hard labour.[26]

The task of this section of cataloguing the cases of postwar African industrial action would be incomplete without reference being made to a further two strikes that occurred in 1921. One strike, which erupted at the Wankie mine in September 1921, has been

accounted by C. van Onselen. He wrote: 'The miners' right to sell beer was threatened in this case through the actions of a compound 'policeman'; so they came out on a two-day strike which ended only when the police had been called in and marched them back to the pithead. For workers forced to 'live' on below-subsistence wages, the cause of petty trading was one that was vital to fight for'.[87]

The last in our long list of labour disputes was unique in terms of the occupational composition of the strikers. It involved the ricksha pullers working in Salisbury, a fact showing that strike action was not the preserve for those relatively well-placed for combined action, like the municipal labourers or those employed at the railways and mines. In the morning of 3 February 1921 ricksha service was withdrawn from the town. The workers, after having marched to the town house in protest against police harassment, stopped hauling rickshas throughout that morning.[88] Tension between the ricksha workers and the town police had a long history. Unlike other types of employment, those who demanded strict work discipline were not the private employers but the Town Council and the police. The wide-spread practice of ricksha business was an arrangement whereby an African hired a vehicle for 3*s.* a day from one of the several European proprietors operating in the town. The puller was thus out in the street as an independent, self-employed labourer, though his pass was still signed on by the ricksha owner and his accommodation also provided for by the same.[89] On the other hand, the municipality had very strictly regulated the behaviour of the pullers in the street through a set of bye-laws and a registration system of ricksha labourers. For example, pulling a ricksha without licence, being indecently clad, using abusive language, failing to stand in rank, reckless pulling, being asleep in a ricksha--all this was illegal and, indeed, the arrest of pullers for such offences was an everyday occurrence. In January 1921 a ricksha worker, in his dash for a customer, mistakenly bumped into a European woman. An accident such as this in the settler-dominated society was a scandal. The police thereupon became so zealous in enforcing the ricksha bye-laws that within the space of one week they made a score of arrests.[90] It was this police high-handedness that elicited the workers' mass reaction.

The foregoing listing of African industrial protest in 1918-21 seems to be far from exhaustive. An examination of the cases of 'refusing to obey' in criminial registers, as shown in Appendix, hints there were much more protest actions than has so far been accounted. The Salisbury magistrate's court, for instance, recorded in October 1919 two incidences of 'refusing to obey' cases, involving fourteen workers of the Labour Bureau's Letombo Camp, and the Gatooma court three incidences, at least, of the same nature, resulting in the conviction of a score of wood-cutters from August to December 1919.[91] But it is hoped I have managed to etch some outlines of the postwar African industrial action. Certainly, in the wake of the 1914-18 war there *was* a wave-like occurrence of African industrial protest. The intensity and scale of the protest surely differ from those of the earlier African strikes, which were generally isolated and sporadic in expression.[92] Therefore, it may

be regarded as the first major *wave* of African labour protest in the country's history. The peak of action, so it appears, was a period from July 1919 to January 1920, especially its last two months. If the cases of 'refusing to obey' in criminal registers are to be used as an index for militancy, it may be said that the momentum of protest slackened a little after January 1920 and then revived the following year.

As the year of 1922 progressed, however, the incidence of African strike action became less frequent. And the labour movement was at a *low ebb in the subsequent years. This trajectory of* development may be attributed, in part, to an upwards readjustment of African real wages, though to a very slight degree, sometime after 1920. From 1921 the runaway inflation noticeably subsided,[33] and in view of the substantial scale of African protest (which prompted Native Department officials to warn the employers about the 'dangerously' low level of wages),[34] the African power of combination might also have been a contributory factor in this adjustment. However, perhaps the most important reason for the downturn of the labour movement was an increase in African labour supply from around 1920, which seriously damaged the workers' bargaining position obtained after the Influenza Epidemic. The 'market forces' decisively swung in disfavour of African labour after the collapse of the prices of livestock and grain in early 1921 and the ravaging drought of 1922, both driving many indigenous peasants into wage employment. In much the same way, it may be added, from the latter half of 1925, when African labour once again became in short supply owing, above all, to the competition for labour with the Northern Rhodesian mines and the rapid expansion of settler agriculture in the colony, signs were not lacking of the revival of African industrial action. In 1927, according to the Chief Native Commissioner, 'Native labourers have become unsettled, and prosecutions have increased under the masters and servants' enactments', and 'between December 1925 and October 1926', Ian Phimister has noted, 'five strikes and four work stoppages took place on various mines scattered throughout the country'.[35]

II

One of the attitudes taken in official circles after the Bulawayo railway strike in 1919 was, consciously or subconsciously, to pretend not to be impressed. In the official mind, this kind of thing could or should never happen in a young colony like Southern Rhodesia, and so they gave little publicity to the protest. The Native Commissioner, Bulawayo, was among a few Native Commissioners who referred, though vaguely, to the occurrence of strikes in their annual reports for 1919, but he was very reluctant to recognize them as such, as he quibbled: 'In each instance the strike, if strike it may be called, was short lived and of no immediate importance'.[36]

Behind this masked indifference (which made it very hard for historians of later periods to gain the full picture of the events),

however, existed a great alarm and exasperation among officials and employers. This was manifested in the state action of crushing each new unrest by arresting strikers quickly, except in the rare cases where employers became conciliatory in face of workers' pressures. These patterns of reaction may well be understood in conjunction with two structural features of the political economy of Southern Rhodesia. First, the major attraction for capital investment in the colony, despite such serious profitablity constraints as her rather limited natural resources and geographical isolation from world markets, lay in the fact that the country's capitalist enterprises could command with the assistance of the state an ample supply of cheap labour provided by the central African peasantry. The heavy reliance upon the African muscles by Rhodesian industries, many of them operating with limited profit margins, inevitably made the employing class very sensitive to the real or imaginary danger of African labour disturbances. The other side of the coin was the absence of a massive European working class immigration and the consequent 'isolation' of White Rhodesia in the sea of the indigenous population. The system might accommodate the movements of a small number of European skilled or semi-skilled workers and treat them as a subordinate partner (about whom, in the words of a leader of the Rhodesia Labour Party, 'there is nothing of the Red Flag'),[37] but the ruling class 'hegemony' over the African masses remained very weak. This, too, was conducive to creating White Rhodesia's extreme sensitivity to 'race relations'.

Both the state and capital were thus of the same mind, as an industrialist put it in relation to the mining industry in 1919, that 'Rhodesia will be quite out of competition for capital and settlers once economy in the cost of production and *freedom from Labour turmoil* cease to offer compensations for the relatively low-grade of our great ore bodies' (Italics mine).[38] In their view, labour disturbances would pose a direct challenge to the future of the colony, supposedly poised for a great postwar development; and so did the administration delay even in 1920 the repeal of wartime Martial Law in anticipation of labour upheavals.[39] This was done ostensibly on the grounds of the imminence of further European labour unrest, but much of their concern, one may suspect, rather hovered over the possiblities of the radicalization of African labour, as it had recently been happening on the Witwatersrand to the south.

An editoral in *The Bulawayo Chronicle* conveyed such anxiety over the Bulawayo railway strike of 1919 with unusual frankness: 'Here we have a repetition of the recent experiences on the Rand, except that there is no sign of the movement extending. The natives have more than imitated the European workers in that they have asked for the increase of their pay by 100 per cent. ... we may now mention that there were said to have been some irresponsible attempts while the European strike was on to get the natives out also. We cannot believe that any responsible organiser of white labour would have advocated such a step'.[40] A year and half later, by which time the country had experienced several African strikes, a similar sense of uneasiness was expressed by the Native Commissioner, Umtali:

'Portents have not been lacking that the demand for increased wages on the part of Europeans culminating in success where strikes are resorted to, are not without their influence and reaction upon the native labourers.' The pressures of African labour were strong enough to convince at least one cautious Native Department official of the necessity of a Native Labour Board as a safety valve (an idea which was, however, to remain as a heresy within the ruling classes much later until after the Second World War). As the Native Commissioner, Umtali, continued:

> The latter [the African workers] ... are conversant with the white man's methods of combating the increased cost of comodities [*sic*], yet when he attempts to imitate them he finds he is liable to be dealt with criminally. Moreover the Native is often thrown out of work when his European overseer strikes and so suffers loss of wages while the European gains. He is left without means of effectually representing his claims and abstract justice is simply conveniently denied him. These unhappy conditions must inevitably result in fostering general and dangerous discontent. That is a consummation we must be prepared to guard against. As the natives are not permitted to resort to agitation to gain what they consider to be their rights in this respect, a medium for the fair and effective representation of their claims with power to remedy their just grievances when ascertained, should be provided as an act of grace.[41]

Considering a repressive system in which direct action was most likely to result in participants' material loss, rather than gains, it is not surprising that the expression of discontent most commonly assumed various forms of covert protest--desertion, slow-downs, 'negelect of duty', etc.--which could not be easily detected or controlled. Those who stopped work and openly demanded negotiations constituted rare exceptions to this general rule, and nobody took this reality to heart more seriously than the striking Africans themselves, I suppose. Were they, then, a bunch of daredevils, perhaps blindly driven into action by an empty stomach? If not, how did they view and justify their action? And in what ways were the enormous odds against which workers fought reflected in strike behaviour?

Predictably, the overriding concern of the protesters was how best to fend off the counterattack from men in power. This is partly evident in the fact that the workers' protests started precisely at the time of an acute labour shortage, when the employers were inclined to think twice about dismissing the 'disobedient servants' and calling the police. More specifically still, the wave-like character and the largely simultaneous occurrence with the European disputes of the African protests suggest that workers decided to act when they felt themselves strong, and that they tried to take advatage of the situation created by the preceding disputes, whether European or African.

Most illuminating in this respect, however, is the example of the Bulawayo railway strikers. The workers set the timing of action

immediately after the European employees' strike, that is to say, at the very moment when the management were at their keenest to avoid further trouble and maintain an industrial truce. This reading of the situation proved very fruitful in the end. The railway authorities finally caved in and proposed the strikers to select nine delegates for negotiation. This was an extraordinary turn of events. Even in the 1945 railway strike which encompassed many depots and stations in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia and spearheaded the nation-wide, militant labour protest, 'African workers never met management officials at the bargaining table and they did not gain first-hand negotiating experience. Government and corporation officials refused to recognise African workers as negotiating partners'.[42] To this very unusual proposal replied the workers that they 'were afraid that if a deputation were appointed it would be clapped in gaol, or otherwise summarily dealt with'. It was only after the management had repeatedly assured no victimization when the strikers accepted the proposal. Furthermore, being not so naïve as to believe in the managerial promise, the workers unilaterally changed the subsequent meeting into a two-hour mass bargaining session, when 'the deputation appointed by the strikers, which instead of nine comprised 50 boys representing all departments concerned met the Acting General Manager'.[43]

The Bulawayo case, however, cannot be considered very representative. For many other workers there existed no such 'fantastic' opportunity to seize upon. And the 'strength of numbers' forged by the Bulawayo workers at the largest railway workshop of central Africa, was certainly unparalleled. In all probability, the results of action were intervention by the police, exemplary arrests, leaders discharged, the return of the rest to their jobs. That there existed little chance for a peaceful negotiation between management and labour created yet another important element of the strikers' attitude, namely, the preparedness with which workers were to endure personal sufferings, such as the loss of job, and fines or imprisonment with hard labour.

This aspect was embodied in a militant tradition of withholding labour by 'going to gaol'. Since certain industries like settler agriculture were very vulnerable to a sudden withdrawal of labour, workers not infrequently resorted to the act of 'going to gaol' to win concessions or to embarrass their employers. This was well attested by a European farmer in Mashonaland earlier in 1901. He bitterly complained at a farmers meeting that 'in every seed-sowing and harvest season his whole native labour had been taken away, the boys having been hauled up before the magistrate'. According to him:

> No master could avail himself of the [masters and servants] law's benefits during seed time or harvest, because of the loss he would incur personally. He had either to pay his boy's fine [to get him back immediately] or lose his servants during these two most important periods of the year. ... That acted as a direct encouragement to the native, who very quickly saw that he could annoy and disobey his master with impunity in this way. ... If

> he were fined or imprisoned he would go home and boast of it. He was looked upon as a sort of hero if he had done time in the Salisbury gaol.

The farmer went on to say that the employer 'had consequently felt himself compelled to take the punishment of his boys into his own hands'. But a private punishment did not always achieve a desired effect, 'because native telegraphy [*sic*] was so highly developed that if you ill-treated a boy today, before sunset tomorrow it was known 50 miles away', thus with no labour forthcoming.[44]

Hence the state came in as an impersonal agent of discipline. In order to deter such action and other forms of labour 'misconduct', the Masters and Servants Ordiance (No. 5 of 1901), which consolidated the several Cape masters and servants laws hitherto operating in the colony, provided for various forms of penal sanction peculiar to this Ordinance. First of all, since it was believed the Africans did not fear gaol, and also because employers often wished to get the 'disobedient' workers back as soon as possible, the main emphasis of the punishment under the Ordinance was not on long periods of imprisonment but on penalties to make gaol life most painful--hard labour, spare diet, and solitary confinement--apart from rather heavy fines. Furthermore, the law provided that the servant imprisoned must return to the same master to finish his contract, plus for a period he was in prison. And if the convicted servant was employed on public works, he might be sent back as a prisoner to do the same work as he had performed before. Notwithstanding these threats, however, the act of 'going to gaol' was resorted to by some of the strikers, notably municipal workers, in 1918-21.

The municipal strike in Bulawayo in 1921 was filled with intrepid behaviour of this sort from the beginning to the end. On 25 January of that year, when the second group refused to work, they were 'marched down to the police station, where they were given the choice of being arrested, or going on with their jobs'. And '73 boys preferred to be arrested'. At the magistrate court all the workers involved in the dispute were sentenced to a fine or imprisonment with hard labour, but 'the fines were not paid, the natives saying they would go to jail'.[45] The same attitude was apparent in the strike by the Gatooma municipal workers on 2 December 1919: all the workers convicted at the court opted for one month hard labour, with the exception of one worker who later paid a fine.[46] On the previous day, in addition, the Umtali counterparts adopted the same line. The fine of 10s. or seven days hard labour imposed by the magistrate 'was treated as a joke' by the prisoners. The town clerk, much annoyed with the prospect of labour trouble after this, 'promised to go into the matter of wages' and even made an offer 'to advance their fine if they went back to work'. Nonetheless, the workers in the dock were in a defiant mood and 'they all selected to go to prison'.[47] Their hard and uncompromising attitude invited a flippant comment from a European reporter: 'Luckily, however, their punishment will be made to suit the crime and poetic justice meeted [*sic*] out as they are now

employed, in convict garb, and under unusual discipline, in doing the same work as they were doing before. The Government, however, get the money for their work and the municipality saves the food bill'.[46]

In such ways, then, these workers turned the 'court of justice' into a 'counter-theatre' where they tested and celebrated their own values of justice and solidarity. By opting for an imprisonment together, they eliminated, deliberately or not, the danger of strike-breaking within their own ranks. One can only imagine a high level of industrial morale behind such concerted action. It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of this kind of action as a method of pursuing immediate material advances, but the tone of the above-cited farmer's complaint and the Umtali town clerk's eventual conciliatry attitude seem to suggest that in some instances the imprisonment of strikers marked not the finale of a work stoppage but just the prologue to a real labour dispute, and that the act of 'going to gaol' was not totally ineffectual, though demanding considerable sacrifice on the part of labour, as a form of collective bargaining under an extremely labour-coercive system.[47]

III

In the pages which follow we shall attempt to do two things: to extend our study of the postwar labour protest further by placing the issue in a more specific historical context; and to show and analyse the complex modes of African response to urban settings during the period under review (the workshop protest being only part of them and involving a small proportion of the African workers). In order to make these subjects 'manageable', it is necessary to narrow our focus. So we now turn to the task of examining more rigorously the work and life of a migrant group in Salisbury.

The Salisbury municipal strike in August 1919 was staged by virtually all Africans employed by the Town Council, but the leading group was the Tonga sanitary workers.[48] These workers came from North-Western Rhodesia and were commonly referred to as the Zambesis. Outside the municipal employment there were very few Zambesis in the town. Most of them belonged to the peoples of the 'Paramount Chief' Monze, and their home area was a plateau north of the present Kariba Dam.[49]

The Tonga plateau formally came under the rule of the B.S.A. Company in 1899, which by 1904 started to collect a tax in the area with a view to pushing indigenous peasants into wage employment in Southern Rhodesia as well as to financing the cost of administration. In 1906 the railway from Southern Rhodesia was driven through the heart of the plateau to link up with the Congo, which eventually resulted in the alienation of a tract of land along the railway. The region was located relatively close to mines and towns in the south, so that it experienced from as early as the end of the 1890s the operation of labour recruiting agencies coming from south. And

Northern Rhodesia at this stage created virtually no market for the sale of local agricultural produce, through which Tonga peasants' cash needs might be met. These, together with the early Tonga society's proverbial susceptibility to drought and famine, combined to set in motion a large-scale Tonga labour migration to Southern Rhodesia and South Africa from the very early years of colonial rule.[52]

It was shortly after the African risings of 1896-7 that Tonga workers were first engaged by the Salisbury municipality.[53] Despite, or because of the unpopularity of the municipal works in the town, they quickly became an almost exclusive supplier of labour to the Town Council. Their position in the African job hierarchy was one of the lowest. Their job involved manual work in a revolting oder, dust, and very unhealthy conditions or physically-exacting labour under the tropical sun. But the wages and rations they received were notoriously meagre. In 1903 the monthly cash wage for a worker at the public gardens started from 10*s.* and increased, if he proved 'efficient', by 2*s.* 4*d.* every month up to 20*s.* or 25*s.* and the same at the muncipal compound averaged at from 18*s.* to 20*s.* This meant that the cost of labour per head was almost equivalent to, or at least on one occasion even lower than, that of convict labour hired out by the government. Moreover, these wage rates were slashed by 1904, when the colonial economy sank deep into a depression, and thereafter the municipal African wages were normally below the poor wages of *chibaro* (slaves), i.e. workers recruited by the Labour Bureau.[54]

As wages were kept at a more or less irreducible level, so were the employer's expenditure on housing. Until 1921 the workers were billeted on two compounds, the sanitary workers on the Sanitary Farm behind the Kopje, the remainder on a compound on the south-western fringe of the town. At these places they were crammed into shacks, according to the sanitary inspector in 1915, 'badly lighted and ventilated, smoke begrimed, dirty, and so crowded as to make proper cleaning almost impossible', and inhabitants slept on old packing cases and iron bunks.[55] More than that, they, like other African workers, were subjected to a formidable set of institutions and practices, both official and private, to ensure a work discipline and allow for the maximun use of cheap migrant labour. They were discouraged to live independently and expected to stay in the compounds for better supervision,[56] where the managerial philosophy characteristically centred around discipline and punishment. In the compound manager's own words in 1903: 'Treatment: A firm hand. Always keep your word. Punish well when required. Do nothing by halves. ... A child with a man's vice'.[57] Undoubtedly, these alienating conditions contributed in part to rendering the Tonga workers very much 'footloose'. In 1903 the average length of service offered by them was one to one-and-a-half years, apart from a few who worked and stayed in town for several years.[58]

Up to this point it may appear that these people personified the victims of the process of arrested proletarianization *par excellece*. Like S. Thornton's Tonga municipal workers in Bulawayo, they were

pinched between rural poverty and harsh urban conditions, consequently migrating back and forth between town and country to keep themselves afloat.[59] This construct should not be carried too far, however; for these men did not circulate between the two worlds like mindless commodities. They possessed their own 'resources', of course, by which they interpreted and interacted with the societal conditions surrounding them.

Labour migration was closely tied with the strategies of African rural families to obtain cash incomes. We know from the recent studies on the Tonga plateau by M. Dixon-Fyle and K. Vickery that Tonga agriculturalists were heavily dependent on wage employment for survival, in particular between 1904 and the First World War. However, the most striking feature of early Tonga life was, as both Dixon-Fyle and Vickery have demonstrated, that people innovatively used the savings from wage labour (and the incomes from the sale of agricultural produce) for strengthening the economic basis of their families. They gradually increased cattle holdings, introduced ox-plough cultivation and exported agricultural products. The process of peasantization was pronounced in the 1920s and beyond, when the Katanga and then the Northern Rhodesian mines created a market for African rural produce. Accordingly, the Tonga plateau ceased to function as a large reservoir of cheap labour for southern industries and became known for its sale of agricultural products to northern industries.[60] This social alchemy in the Tonga home areas underscores the fact that our protagonists were something more than passive victims of the forces of arrested proletarianization. They had clearly-defined goals of their own when they entered wage employment.

In this light, the archetype of the Zambesi worker was a man of frugality, carefully sparing every penny which he earned from work. Otherwise, it was impossible for him to save up to, say, £4--the average sum the Bureau workers brought home with them--out of his 'starving' wage.[61] Given this, these men were, as it is not difficult to imagine, very much attuned to changes in working conditions and prepared to resist any tendencies to undermine their little economies and threaten the integrity of their goals.

Their first major protest occurred in the 'boom' years of 1908-11. In this period the mining industry began to demand a large share in the colony's African labour supply, and the industry's working conditions were somewhat improved, owing in part to the imposition of the minimun standards on rations, housing, etc. by the government (who found their action necessary for the long-term development of the mining industry). Meanwhile, the colony's capital town expanded rapidly, with its European population doubling from 1,684 to 3,479 in the matter of four years from 1907 to 1911.[62] The municipal works lagged behind this sudden urban growth, the burden of which tended to be, like in the post-First World War years, placed upon the shoulders of the municipal employees. In May 1909 workers refused to receive their Sunday allowance of meat 'on account of it not being sufficient', and a strike resulted. In the manner reminiscent of the 1919 strike, they tried to proceed 'to the

Town House to discuss their grievances', marching 'in a body armed with sticks and axes'. Dete, Mangwali, and ten other Zambesis ended up behind bars on the charge of 'refusing to obey'.[63]

Thereupon, however, the employment by the municipality became unpopular with the Zambesi workers, who instead increasingly looked to employment on mines. In a situation where 'No natives from Southern Rhodesia will undertake the work',[64] their attitude was serious enough to give a headache to the employer and force him to review terms of employment. As the compound manager complained in October 1910: 'I beg to suggest that the Municipal Compound labourers should have their meat rations increased by half. Labour is getting scarce lately. And the Mining Compounds are trying to get the Zambeza [*sic*] natives ... [by] giving higher wages, better food. All the Council Native Labour has been Zambeza natives ... and it's only Zambeza natives that care to do the work. So it would disorganize the Compound to lose hold of those now, and something must be done'.[65]

Viewed from another angle, the Zambesi workers' increased reluctance to come to work for the Town Council from 1909 was a reflection of the competition for African labour between the mining industry and the Salisbury municipality, the latter losing the battle. The position of labour supply to the municipality was so aggravated in the early 1910s, especially after the Labour Bureau had established a semi-monopoly in recruiting labour in Northern Rhodesia by 1911, that the Council grudgingly took on the 'expensive' labour supplied by the Bureau for some years.[66] Meanwhile, a serious search for a new source of cheaper labour was started. A breakthrough was made in 1912, a year of drought, when the Council managed to procure some voluntary labour coming from the north. Thereafter, the municipal works depended to an increasing extent on Angoni and other northern labourers, while the sanitary work continued to be carried out by Zambesi workers.[67]

Another wave of discontent came in 1919-20. The dramatic inflation occasioned by the war seriously ate into the already meagre wages for African workers. Workers responded to this situation by practicing every retrenchment: many people in the non-urban employment started to dress themselves in humbler clothes. An indignation among migrants must have been very widespread. Worst still, the on-going inflation tended to make employers cut expenditures on rations and housing, not to mention wages, and the termination of the war opened opportunities for the expansion and streamlining of industrial activities. The municipal services, which had previously been curtailed to the minimum due to wartime exigencies, were suddenly expanded, often resulting in intensified work pressures on each worker. In Salisbury, because of the compound being incapable of accommodating an expanding labour force, some municipal workers were forced to sleep in the open, and a new system of rationing to economize food bills was introduced.[68] Dissatisfaction mounted. And the tradition of trasforming grievances into collective action was not absent among the municipal

labourers. In July 1919 one sanitary worker was prosecuted for the 'neglect of duty' as an exemplary punishment.[69] In August, and closely following the July railway strikes, a surprise walkout was attempted. Then, in 1920 workers started to resist the new rationing system: that year the Town Engineer's Department was troubled by the workers' slow-down in protest against the supply of the poor quality of meat.[70]

IV

The way in which African workers defended the integrity of their life strategies was not restricted to workshop protest alone. The postbellum years were also distinguished by the birth and proliferation of mutual aid societies--that is, the intensification of group activities to tide over difficulties in industrial life. The Zambesi workers were among those who formed such corporate bodies. Since these societies were authentically the organizational expression of a *modus vivendi* of common workers, and also because their continuity and prescribed norms of behaviour make them perhaps the best entities through which to probe into the interior of the workers' world, it is worthwhile to bring them to a closer scrutiny. Before diving into the subject, however, it seems appropriate to sketch in a certain amount of new developments in the popular life of the capital town.

To start with the upper segments of the African society of Salisbury, something which had future implications was happening after the war. In 1919 a Rhodesia Native Association was founded by 'mission people', working as government messengers, teachers, and the like.[71] In some ways Southern Rhodesia has always been a crucible where ideas and lifestyles of the more industrial South and those of the more rural North are mixed together and a new material is created. The RNA was a local version of the Native Association movement of Nyasaland. Like in Nyasaland, it was started and supported by members of the first generation of mission-educated local Africans, together with a few South African Christians, notably, John Moeketsi and Eli P. Nare, and a Malawian Tonga, J.Y. Bummings. The first president was Eli Nare, a Sotho teacher at the Presbyterian church, and Bummings assumed the post of secretary. The main objects of the association were, as its rules read, 'to secure mutual understanding and unity of action among the various tribes in Southern Rhodesia' and to set up some reciprocal relations with the 'absolutist' government, 'keeping it informed of Native Public Opinion'--the wording is almost identical to that of Nyasaland Native Associations. These 'men of books' regarded themselves as the vanguard for New Life, aiming 'to exhort, guide, lead the natives as to ways of pure, upward, peaceful, and good and right living in their homes'.[72]

Shortly after the establishment of the RNA emerged a kind of South African Bantu Congress movement, less biblical and moralistic, and more political than the RNA in outlook. In July 1921 a

conference of South African Blacks was held near the Salisbury location to organize a Union Bantu Vigilance Association.[73] Unlike their earlier Union Natives Vigilance Organization (formed in 1914), this body intended 'in time to be representative of all the Bantu peoples in Northern and Southern Rhodesia', a sign of radicalization among South African Blacks. Its president was J. Moeketsi, and the organizing secretary A.Z. Twala (who was the former secretary of the South African Native Natal Congress, Vryheid branch and had been experimenting with African self-education as the headmaster of an industrial school at Waterfall). Z. Makgatho, a prominent figure in social movements in Bulawayo throughout the period before the Second World War, was on the Executive Committee. The offshoot of the UBVA was the the Rhodesia Bantu Voters' Association (started in 1923) which struck roots in the southern parts of the colony. Up north in Salisbury and Mashonaland, in contrast, the movement was quickly absorbed into the RNA, to which some of its Salisbury members had already belonged.

The age of New Life, though in a sense a little different from what men like the RNA leaders meant, was also dawning on the ordinary workers. The horizons of popular culture were dramatically extended in these years, and some of the major traits of the recreational culture of the latter-day Harare township clearly date back to this period. Take the tea meeting for example. The tea meeting or party--without which any social function of the Salisbury African workers was said to be incomplete in the mid-century, and whose Salisbury style was to be 'even spoken of as far away as Cape Town'--[74] was started around the beginning of the war but became very popular after 1918. It no longer meant only a respectable meeting held at chapels and churches but a boisterous all-night dance, whether tea was served or not, at the location beer hall or at other places in town (one of the reasons for the meeting held all-night was owing to a night curfew imposed on the Africans in town). The craze of the tea meeting captured particularly a younger generation and quicky spread into rural areas,[75] contributing to the creation of a new genre of dance and music, the Isaba Isaba dance and music, and the growth of African performing arts. Popular enthusiasm was equally exhibited for open dancing and drumming, held at the southern end of the location, with its particular emphasis on communal values. Novel were the intensity of its activity (in 1920 the deafenning sound of drumming and the noise of songs on Sundays being at such a pitch that they travelled to the opposite side of the location and seriously disturbed holy services at the missions there),[76] as well as the appearance by 1919 of a 'modernist' Beni-type along with the more familiar traditional forms of dance and music.[77]

Also in these years football ceased to be a sport exclusively played by mission people, South Africans, and African police members, as in the past.[78] It was now regularly played and watched by common workers at vacant plots outside the town, so that in 1923 the Town Council, a firm believer of the philosophy that a healthy body means a contented mind, set aside a 'recreation ground' within the location for football clubs.[79] Boxing clubs, too, made their

appearance amongst Salisbury Africans in this period, apparently originating from the Police Camp sometime around 1915, although it was only after 1930 when boxing became really popular.[80] All these changes in the modes of popular cultural expression are of particular interest, for they underline an animated atmosphere of the postwar years in which workers made, through group activities and by using old and new cultural resources, their lives directly relevant to the urban milieu.

In the midst of this atmosphere a protest movement developed in the town location (the core of whose population totalled 765 in mid-1920).[81] The soaring prices of mealie meal, clothes and other necessities upset the household budgets of residents. And a man living with his family had to pay a steep monthly rental of 10*s.* for a hut, which had been doubled in 1907. The reduced real wages and the high rentals rendered the urbanized men and women more dependent on 'informal' jobs, but much of this option was precluded when by the end of 1918 the municipality had usurpted the African business of traditional beer sale.[82] These provoked, from 1914 but more impressively from the beginning of 1919, a series of protest movements, boycotting the location and the official beer hall, or sending petitions to the Native Department and the Legislative Council. At a meeting in early 1919 location residents, while complaining of the municipal beer monopoly, high rentals, and other hardships, demanded among others that they should be 'notified beforehand of any contemplated bye-laws affecting their welfare to enable them to hold meetings and discuss such regulations'.[83]

Community consciousness of this sort was particularly evident in women's protest. In 1920 'about 150 native women of all tribes', practically all the women residing in the location, stood together and voiced their grievances before the Superintendent of Natives, Salisbury.[84] And a few month later, in January 1921, when five women and eleven men were taken before the magistrate on the charge of being in possession of 'kaffir beer', the court was surrounded by 'fully one hundred' protesters. 'The gang of natives outside', wrote *The Rhodesia Herald*, 'took a keen interest in the proceedings, and when, by some unknown means, they heard the sentence almost as soon as it was delivered, there was much animated conversation and gesticulation. The hubhub became so great eventually that the police were compelled to clear the courtyard, as it was almost impossible inside the Court to hear the witnesses' evidence'.[85] Certainly, the town location was not simply an official vessel to contain and supervise the African labour force which spilt over the dykes of the private servants quarters and compounds. It was also becoming a neighbourhood in which residents frequently united themselves as a community.

It seems plain that for a complex set of reasons the period was marked by the 'sudden' efflorescence of an African urban culture. At different levels of life and in different forms of expression there was a move towards people bunching together and becoming self-assertive, which gave a degree of coherence to the period. Against this background a wave of protest at workshops is hardly outlandish.

And it is also against this background that the mushrooming of mutual aid associations, yet another new development, must be seen.

The first to set up a mutual aid society in Salisbury was, if a 1955 *The African Weekly* obituary is to be believed, 'Chief' Zuze Komasho who came from Tete:

> Mr. Komasho came to Salisbury in 1605 [1905 ?] and has been residing in the Harare Township ever since that time. In 1918 he influenced his fellowmen to form a burial society which is now known as Tete Burial Society No. 1. As a result of his initiative, many other tribes in the Township followed his example and formed their own burial societies. ... Mr. Komasho was a moving spirit behind his people and all will live to remember his leadership which enabled them to come together and help one another in time of sickness and death.[86]

Yet another association which might also claim to be 'No. 1' was the Senna Burial Society, also started in 1918 (which later split into a Port Herald Burial Society and a Chinde Society Company, Senna Mission).[87] After 1918 the making of such societies came into vogue, the initial energy being concentrated on the several months from about mid-1919 to early 1920. This is attested to by the location superintendent, who first referred to the movement in his annual report for 1919-20: 'Several of the tribes here formed clubs, their subscriptions being devoted to helping one another in sickness, payment of fines for the less serious offences of members, and indulging in expensive funerals'.[88]

By the middle of the 1920s the Salisbury location had seen, in addition to the societies already mentioned, such bodies as the Gazaland Burial Society, the Northern Rhodesia Burial Society, the Chikunda Club, the Atonga Society, the Angoni Burial Society, the Chinyao (Nyau) society, some of them extending branches to mines and other industrial centres.[89] The Chinyao society, or perhaps a group of societies, may belong to a somewhat different category from the rest. The society was a Malawi secret dance group with long pre-colonial roots, and it is on record that by 1915 it had been operating at the Shamva mine. So Chinyao might have been brought into Salisbury, a nub of the Malawi migration network, in the very early years. But at any rate this society, too, gained its strength after the war.[90]

The Zambesi workers formed their own society, the Northern Rhodesia Burial Society, sometime before September 1919. It was started by Simonga, Kawanba and others at the compound on the Sanitary Farm. Simonga seems to be a central figure, since he assumed the title of Governor of the society. They appointed John Simunza as King. Simunza was one of the Zambesi old timers at the age of about 40 and already known as 'King of the Zambezi peoples'. His occupation was a cattle buyer but formerly a 'police boy' for a number of years. The government and employers had been quite uneasy

about the growth of African self-help societies. The former, desiring to bring them under supervision, encouraged the societies to place their funds in the hands of the Native Department in return for official recognition. In compliance with this policy, the new association, as some other societies did, opened an account at the Native Commissioner's Office. This they did on the 9th of September and made a W.D. Masawi or Chipwaya, a Sotho messenger for the Native Department, their President cum Brigadier-General cum Honourable Secretary. On Christmas Day members relished a feast and sports in the location.[91]

One incident which gave a good deal of impetus to the birth of the societies was the attack of influenza epidemic. The societies came into being during the period of 1918-19 when the town, its African populace more than others, was twice ravaged by influenza epidemic (the second one being less severe), besides other infectious diseases which intermittently threatened the town during the same period. In the course of the first influenza attack on Salisbury no less than 300 Africans died, and more than 2,000 were confined in an isolation camp. Many Zambesi workers fell sick, so that the town's sanitary service was almost stopped. The sick and destitute were looked after by their friends and relatives; many ran away from the isolation camp where 'not only actual cases but also suspects' were confined; those who disliked the official camp 'took to the hills around the town for open air treatment of their own'; the most unfortunate perished in streets and the bush; and few escaped from the nightmare of death away from family and home.[92] The scourage accentuated hardships of industrial life and drove home to all the town Africans the vital importance of mutual help. The trauma which it inflicted on the people's mind was clearly displayed in the fashionable name of burial society for new associations, whose activities in truth were not restricted to funeral activity alone.

Yet not all the threads with which the texture of the 'burial' societies was woven had a gloomy colour. The Northern Rhodesia Burial Society, for example, did possess a very colourful and cheerful feature. It was very akin to Beni or, more precisely, the *après guerre* style of Beni. Beni was then being disseminated from eastern Africa to central and southern Africa apparently through ex-African soldiers and carriers. From May 1918 to January 1919 the Rhodesia Native Regiment (many of whom were the Africans who had joined war service from the ranks of the industrial army) had returned to Salisbury and had been demobilized on the spot--because the government did not like to see any body of armed Africans in a peacetime.[93] With these returned solidiers, together with the fresh migrants who had served in the war, came the excitement and memories of the campaigns in Tanganyika and also certain elements of East African popular culture. It is not known whether any Zambesi worker had personally experienced the war, but the society's President, Masawi, had been a high-ranking officer in the Second Native Regiment.[94]

Exactly like Beni, the society laid much stress on hierarchy and status, modelled on a military force and colonial administration. The formal organizational structure comprised officers and soldiers, the former including from President at the top, King, Governor-General, Town Clerk-Business Manager-Interpreter, Solicitor, Brigadier-General, Lieut.-Colonel, Major-in-Charge, down to Warrant Officer. Equally like Beni, it possessed a fictitious military band (*beni*) and staged a drill or dance in leisure time. The rules of the society read: 'No soldier to be allowed to be absent from parade at any day, as the parades are to be held at the location ground at 3.30 p.m. every Saturday and at 2.30 p.m. on holidays. R.S.M. is to see that the soldiers are throughly trained before they join any platoon. They must know how to salute every now and then. He (R.S.M.) will chose [*sic*] the best of his soldiers which he thinks better for promotion'. Also in a manner typical of Beni, the society very much concerned itself with the smart and clean appearnce of members, as another rule had it: 'All soldiers are carefully warned to obtain their uniform which will be of the khaki shirt, 1 knicker (khaki), 1 hat, which will be worn on parade, and puttees (if obtained). Hair to be combed. Feet washed if boots cleaned'.[95]

Clearly, then, our Zambesis were among the primary agents who introduced--with a sense of pride, I presume--the most up-to-date mode of dress as well as the latest dance (and possibly also music) form into Southern Rhodesia. In this respect the society was part and parcel of the contemporary flowering of an urban recreational culture. Not to be outdone, many other societies adopted the Beni mode. In mining compounds organized drill had made its appearance, apparently first at the Globe & Phoenix Mine compound, by the beginning of the 1920s.[96] In Salisbury the Port Herald Burial Society was structured on an elaborate hierarchical line, and the Atonga Society possessed even titles of honour for female members like Queen and Deputy Queen. However, it is not certain whether their Beni enthusiasm was to such an extent that they had military bands to perform drills, except that the Atonga Society would hold open dances in the location.[97]

But in Southern Rhodesia the Beni influence was very much a postwar phenomenon. After all, the war in East Africa had little to do with the vast majority of Africans south of the Zambesi. In Mashonaland especially, the government campaign for recruiting African soldiers met with indifference or resistence and, in some areas, even with a rumour of a British defeat.[98] So the Beni influence gradually withered away, as the memories of the war became distant and obscure. By the mid-1920s, and in Salisbury by 1922, the movement of organized drill was certainly on the wane,[99] although echoes of Beni remained to be heard in some pockets into much later years.

The best way to clarify the extremely nebulous character of the postwar societies is to descend to the social basis on which they were grounded. African workers, essentially powerless and marginal in a society dominated by colonial capitalism and the settlers, were

forced to rely on their own resources to cushion the burden of the system. And many workers left behind their families--the pivot of their whole life--in rural areas, so that they developed, from the very early days of colonialism, a complex network of intimate human ties, or 'communities', through which they ensured their urban existence both meaningful and successful.

See how they travelled to towns. Confronted by dangers in a long journey, peasants formed a group before departure and then marched towards an employment centre. Here is a scene in 1910 of a large group of Northern migrants celebrating their safe arrival at Salisbury, which shows migration itself involved a community:

> A further gang of about 150 native labourers from Nyasaland [*reported a local newspaper*] *arrived in town yesterday morning, as* usual chanting their ... songs and brandishing sundry sticks and knobkerries. One venerable looking native with a beard caused considerable amusement to an interested number of spectators by halting the gang in Second Street whilst he performed various ... evolutions, punctuated with occasional ejaculations to which the gang gave a deep-toned chorus.[100]

See then how migrants moved into jobs. A job was frequently handed over from one relative to another, from friend to friend, and from compatriot to compatriot, not least because, to quote a long-time Hararian, Herbert Dzvairo (who started his career as a wage-earner in 1921): 'it was difficult to find employment in Salisbury at that time. Arrests were the order of the day [owing to a pass system and housing restrictions]'.[101] Among those who obtained a job through a kinship connection was Patrick Pazarangu (who became the first postmaster in the Harare township in the 1950s). Born in Mazoe (Mazowe) in 1915 and brought up by his aunt at Seke after his mother was killed by the Influenza of 1918, he entered the town's labour market at the age of fourteen. Pazarangu recalls: 'I knew George, son of my aunt who was working for H.G. Moilly, a German gunsmith in First Street. ... He is the only person I knew. I went to him and he sought employment for me. ... My nephew [?] helped in the fixing of the guns while I was employed as a cleaner. If my cousin [*mukoma wangu*] failed to hold the butt properly he was sometimes beaten thoroughly with a gun butt. ... He sometimes cried and if he did that Moilly would give him a pound to console him. ... I was paid one pound and ten shillings. ... He then left the job to me. He went and worked at the Post Office, leaving me working there'. This bond between cousins was then used as a lever for procuring a better job. Pazarangu continues: 'I worked there until my nephew called me to work at the Post Office since he was now leaving that employment. My job was simply making tea. My nephew's job was to pass on telegrams at the Telegraph Office'. But Pazarangu before long managed to take over George's job: 'I became a messenger, earning two pounds ten shillings per mensum. ... Two pounds ten shillings was a lot of money'.[102]

In addition, relatives and friends were invariably involved in looking for a sleeping space for newcomers. Again, Pazarangu's

reminiscence is very illustrative. With this respect he relied on the hospitality of his brother-in-law, and through this connection he gradually secured better accommodation. He states: 'I was staying at Creshbam's premises near Charles E. Harris. I had a brother-in-law, Cephas Vhera who had married a sister of mine [a cousin] called Lilian. ... We lived at those premises sleeping on paper. That in-law of mine liked me very much. From there we went to St. Mary's, Hunyani, that is where we lived and cycled everyday to and from work. ... Sometimes we slept at some backyard in town and used paper for blankets until he was allocated a house. ... He managed to get a house in the Old Bricks area of Harare and together with his younger brother Enock Vhera'.[103]

Communities did emerge wherever workers met and shared the same experience--at workshops, location, churches, and other places. But at the core of their associational life lay closely-knit kinship and ethnic ties, which assumed family-like functions for workers living apart from home. It was primarily among their kins and compatriots where people could 'let their hair down'. And 'uncles' and 'elder brothers' did not fail to offer assistence whenever workers found themselves in tensions and trouble. In return, members naturally felt a profound sense of loyalty to their community.

Like others, the Zambesi workers formed a community of their own, where a communal spirit was exercised at every turn in the course of their industrial life. They migrated to Salisbury in a group. 'We have always had a constant supply', in the words of their employer, 'one gang coming as soon as the others left, and often boys have been waiting to be taken on'.[104] When off work, they would hunt together for small animals like *matapi* (rats) on the commonage.[105] Even on duty, their group consciousness was exhibited in such a way that gangs of night-soil labourers were in the habit of singing songs to make their mid-night routine a little more congenial and pleasant.[106]

Widespread ethnic clusters at various occupations may give us an idea of the whole situation. My analysis of the 1911 census manuscripts reveals that domestic employment was overrepresented by Shona and Portuguese workers; ricksha pulling was the preserve for a Shona-speaking group; the municipal work was done by the Zambesis; railway workers were mostly men from the Portuguese territory and Nyasaland; Barotse clustered at the Tobacco Warehouse; Angoni and Chikunda predominated at Elcombe & Co.; servants of the Commercial Hotel were almost exclusively Nyasalanders and Portuguese Africans, whereas those at the Empire Hotel Shona and Chikunda; and drivers of wagons were typically either South Africans or local Africans.[107] Moreover, as in the case of our Zambesi municipal workers, such occupational concentrations frequently continued for years or even decades. These facts suggest that scattered in hidden niches of industrial Salisbury were diverse migrant communities, formed on very intimate human connections, where a story like Pazarangu's one was repeated again and again, and that the process of building up these communities was a historical and cumulative one.

Difficult times around the end of the 1914-18 war cut deeply into the migrant communities and activated them on an unprecedented scale. Workers struggled to restructure their own lives by resorting to what was already familiar to them. A result was the formalized self-help associations. That leaders of such associations were not infrequently referred to as 'headmen', 'chiefs' or 'kings' bears testimony to a close link between the kinship- and ethnicity-centred communities and the formalized associations. A need for mutual aid must have been more keenly felt among foreign, long-distance migrants than among indigenous Africans, the relative proximity of whose homes to industrial centres enabled them to mobilize their social and economic resources. And this seems to speak something for why the movement was pioneered by Northern migrants, rather than Southern Rhodesian Africans.

Let us pick up the thread of discussion which we have left off. In view of the nature of the world African workers made, it is hardly surprising that 'it was often difficult', wrote T.O. Ranger in reference to the colony's mining compounds in his study on Beni history, 'to draw a meaningful line between dance associations and more formally constituted welfare societies':[100] as 'communities' had already done so, societies incorporated communal dancing and joy making into their activities.

Neither surprising is that the societies, whether the Beni style be adopted or not, should regulate relationships within African society in order to secure a better living space. This point becomes clear when one shifts attention from organized recreation to other functions of the Northern Rhodesia Burial Society. To begin with, beneath its military style ran a kind of moral improvement movement: like a family, the migrants' world invloved not only mutual aid but also obligations. The union set certain moral standards and etiquette and expected its members to observe them. Its concern with the clean and smart appearance of members may well be understood in this light. The organized drill, apart from its pleasure making function, may be interpreted as a method for moral improvement through discipline. Furthermore, the members were expected 'to salute superior officers whenever they meet them; Lords as well as their wives'. Significantly enough, this courtesy was extended to other African groups, as it was ruled: 'Every [*sic*] soldiers are strictly warned to salute every [*sic*] seniors, either Chinde, Portuguese, Kings and Governors and Generals. There is no difference'. Nor was it considered a decorous behaviour for a migrant 'to leave the township without giving notice to the Association before he proceeds on journey'.[101]

Particularly emphasized were fraternity and sociability. In the militaristic words of the society, 'all soldiers are forbidden to have themselves in bad condition'.[102] Antonio, the Governor for the Port Herald Society, delineated what 'bad condition' meant: 'The people who join the Society must be of good condition not to rough

each other. If one of the Society offends you, you can go to the Magistrate, Royal or Judge to appeal, and they will decide you. ... If one of your Lords tells you a thing obey him. If you are not quite satisfied with what he says, you can talk with nicely, until he will have it right'.[111] When a proper behaviour was not observed, a general practice was to hold a court to decide the case. The Chikunda Club expelled one member in 1920 on the ground of his 'disgraceful' involvement in a stabbing affray.[112]

The Northern Rhodesia Burial Society was additionally a welfare society to meet the pecuniary and other mundane needs of members. As partly shown by the location superintendent's report quoted earlier, societies as a rule offered assistance through the collection of membership fees to those member workers who fell sick, who were stranded in industrial centres, and who were 'unluckily' arrested by the police for 'petty crimes', like offences of the pass laws and the masters and servants laws, so common and noisome in everyday life. The Port Herald Society had a 'Doctor': 'The duty of "Doctor" is to visit all members daily, and if he finds any of them sick he is to see that such persons' condition is brought to the notice of his employer, and if then he does not get proper treatment the Society obtains proper treatment for him with the consent of the employer'.[113]

Yet no function was more preeminent, so it appears, than arranging and conducting a funeral. Death in a strange land far away from his own kin and home was perhaps the worst calamity imaginable that could befall the migrant. Hence the societies socialized death in a proper manner, buying coffins and on occasion hiring motor cars, a real luxury for the poor men in those days.[114] Some societies spent money on funerals to the point of bankruptcy, as the location superintendent reported in 1920 that 'the cost of one or two funerals with motor cars in attendance seems to have dampened this movement, and treasurers, etc. are frequetly changed'. But in fact the movement was hardly 'dampened', for the same superintendent had to say the following year: 'Benefit societies still flourish'.[115]

To generalize about the early association, it may be said that the social arena in which it operated was essentially a peasant enclave in industrial settings. It was 'peasant', because it was made up of rural migrants, serving to defend their life strategies in the urban environment, and receiving a powerful injection of rural traditions. It was an 'enclave', because it was a self-contained unit, analogous to a family or a kin group, where migrants retained their social identity, and which filled a host of wide-ranging functions. Since we have already discussed much of these points, a few examples should suffice here. J.C. Mitchell has demonstrated in his study of a Beni-Kalela dance group on the Copperbelt after World War II that workers reaffirmed and upheld the culture of their homeland in their dance performance, despite its style which was very much urbane and cosmopolitan. In a song he recorded they praised 'the beauties of their own land or origin' and extolled 'their own virtues'.[116] Still more obvious was the case of

the Chinyao society, which was the most rigorously traditional of the African associations. 'At the new, the full moon or other chosen times', its members secretly met in the bush near the Salisbury location and danced in 'grass skirts and masks' and in the effigies of 'elephant, ostrich, giraffe, zebra, buck or some other', depicting hunting and agricultural scenes.[117]

The older notion that African rural migrants were bewildered and went astray when immersed in unfamiliar urban conditions overlooks or underestimates a remarkable ability of African peasants to 'adapt' to new realities. Not merely was the life of industrial Salisbury structured by demands of banks, shops and households, but also by traditions of African agricultural communities, and the social history of how colonial capitalism pitted its innate imperative for work discipline and urban order against the values and life-styles of rural migrants remains to be studied.

To stress 'urbanization without breakdown' is not to suggest, of course, that the mutual aid movement was an automatic extension of a premigration culture. As we have seen, the activities of the societies were geared towards needs of men in wage employment, and the movement, whatever its styles, symbols and rituals were taken from, developed in response to the industrial situation. The movement naturally involved a pragmatic, interactional process which necessitated new patterns of behaviour and many innovations.

So it was that the manner in which African workers identified and bound themselves was far from static. The way in which some societies were troubled by internal fissures and conflicts hints the intricate patterns of human relations on which societies were built and shows, in an ironic ways, that solidarities were more than something given. The Senna Burial Society suffered from a domestic discord, resulting in its breakup into two regional groups.[118] Within the Northern Rhodesia Burial Society there was a tension between the rank and file and its President Simunza, because the former remembered that Simunza as a 'police boy' had helped prosecute Zambesis in a murder case many years before.[119] The Atonga Society had two internal factions, Zoro or Ntamdoza and Kanyenda factions, rivalry among whom culminated in a violent fight at the location in 1927. Moreover, the Queen of the Kanyenda faction, Catherine, was not a Nyasaland Tonga at all. She was a Manyika woman.[120]

Generally speaking, the formalized organization of mutual aid embodied a new frame of mind in which migrants saw themselves as members of a big social entity, much bigger than that which traditional cultural patterns would engender. The Zambesi union claimed to be representative of the whole of Northern Rhodesia, as its second name went simply by a Northern Rhodesia Association.[121] To this extent, the Zambesi society, along with other kindred societies, shared the same intellectual current as upheld by the Rhodesia Native Association--also the product of 1919--who viewed themselves as a mouthpiece of the Africans in the whole territory, although the latter cannot be regarded as a benefit society for

migrant workers. Furthermore, in the very similar way that the RNA did, the society intended to establish a channel of communication with the Native Department. It was for this purpose, or more generally with a view to widening the scope of its operation, that the society appointed Chipwaya, a Native Department messenger, as a top official, who had a good command of English and was a prominent member of the RNA itself.[122] 'No member [is] allowed', read the society's rules, 'to have interview with Government without proper authority from Brigadier-General [Chipwaya], who shall always be at their need'.[123]

Likewise, other societies claimed to represent, and a few successfully did, large regional or territorial interests. Membership of the Port Herald Society was, it was said in 1924, 'not restricted to any tribe'. And its extensive sphere of influence, with the branches being in Bulawayo, Umtali, Gatooma, Umsweswe, Gwelo, and Shamva, eloquently testifies to a new quality of coherence and an innovation of its organizing principle.[124] The same can be said with the Mozambique Native Association. This society, its headquarters being situated in Midland, was 'not confined to Portuguese natives' and in 1922 'its operations' extended 'to numerous mines', in addition to Bulawayo.[125]

People have often expressed diametrically opposite views on the grass-roots movement of mutual aid. To certain employers it represented a disguised form of trade unionism. As the Secretary for the Rhodesia Chamber of Mines struck a cautious, and perhaps alarmist, note in 1922, when he informed the Chief Native Commissioner: 'It is now stated to be the basis of labour movements, strike committees paying the fines of natives convicted of crime with the option of a fine. Natives of all tribes ... are beginning to join the movement ...'.[126] The location superintendent of Salisbury, on the other hand, saw the societies serving as an agency of social control and so had a good word for them, after all. He reported in 1921: 'up to the present [benefit societies] are doing more good than harm. Most of the officers chosen are quite intelligent and have frequently assisted the Location Police and myself in our work'.[127]

In the same sort of way, but at the other end of the spectrum, African public opinion later on was divided over the subject. In some instances, the narrow horizons of unity as well as the inward-looking nature of the ethnicity-centred communities were frowned upon or openly condemned. Such criticism was not totally unfounded, it is sure. Once in a while ethnic enclaves violently clashed when quarrelling parties failed to find a peaceful means to solve problems of 'anti-social conduct' such as the seduction of a wife.[128] In other instances, however, the benefit societies were thought of as the precursor of trade union movement. T.C. Shato Nyakauru (who started in 1941 an African Waiters Association) recalls: 'Our association in those days was just like a burial society; we helped each other', and we know that one of the major attractions of later trade unions was their burial and other mutual aid schemes.[129] Nor was this all. Some of the so-called tribal

societies even acted as a forum for Nationalist politics: the first public meeting of the Nyasaland African Congress, Salisbury Branch, held in the Harare township in 1946 was attended by such bodies as the Achewa Society, the Angoni Society, the Mang'anja Society, and the Msasa Welfare Association.[136]

All these and other seemingly incongruous views and facts more or less mirrored the complexties of the migrant workers' world, together pointing to one simple fact--the fundamental role of the 'communities' and 'societies' in shaping popular daily life. In such a world could African workers be found, at different times and different places, working, relaxing, mutually helping and quarrelling, imitating, resisting, submitting, and protesting.

CONCLUSIONS

To summ up. Running through the fabric of industrial life in Southern Rhodesia was a thread of a complex set of kinship- and ethnicity-centred communities which African migrant workers made. Forced to rely on their own resources, and separated from their rural homes, workers sought security and survival through such communities.

Difficult times around the end of the First World War seriously undermined and threatened the life goals of Africans employed in industral areas. They sparked an unprecedented reaction on the part of African workers. One major form of popular response was the establishment of mutual aid societies. By forging such formalized unions workers pooled their financial resources for the common weal and strove to solidify a moral order within their communities. Although their character was considerably stamped by the particular circumstances of the late 1910s and the early 1920s, the societies were, nevertheless, firmly grounded on an already well-established 'community' tradition. In other words, much of the ethos of the societies lay in an African worker-peasant culture--the values of fraternity, reciprocity and self-improvement, communal dancing and pleasure making, and others--which cannot be simply reduced to external stimuli alone. Hence, once the movement made its debut, it was easily imitated, quickly disseminated and, as time went on, developed in all sorts of ways.

A few African workers, however, dared to impose a moral order upon a wider world. They bravely raised a voice of protest against 'unjust' wages and rations, 'unjust' work procedures, and 'unjust' prices of commodities, albeit the system yielded an almost absolute power over them. When industries felt a keen shortage of labour towards the end of 1918, people became more inclined to act in collective ways at workplaces. Particularly after the Bulawayo railway workers had managed to make a breakthrough in July 1919, workers' consciousness was raised to a new level. This manifested itself in a wave-like occurrence of industrial action at least from mid-1919 to early 1920.

It is obvious that the directions of these two postbellum phenomena, the mutual aid societies and the industrial protests, were hardly identical. The thrust of the protests was characterized by determination, commitment, self-sacrifice, and worker solidarity, whereas that of the societies by a sense of pragmatism, an ability to adapt to realities, and a loyalty towards the culture of a homeland. Nonetheless, these phenomena did grow, at the deepest level, from one and the same root. At the heart of the industrial protests existed a struggle to defend the integrity of the migrant workers' world, as was the case with the mutual aid societies. Indeed, these apparently very different themes dramatically converged at a labour compound in Salisbury. The Zambesi municipal labourers, together with other work-mates, shocked their employer by attempting a work stoppage in August 1919, and only a month later they officially registered their association. This means that these men started to talk about protest and mutual aid simultaneously.

Historians of African labour have too often been the prisoners of their self-imposed notions of the African worker and failed to come to grips with the subtle and complex patterns of African response to the industrial situation. Much has recently been said of resistence, protest, and 'consciousness', but too little of the interior of the African workers' world, despite that without specifying such a world people's behaviour and attitudes would never be fully intelligible to us. Also much has recently been said of the economics of exploitation as well as the institutions of oppression, but too little of how and by what resources people interacted with harsh realities, despite that a real story of the African workers and peasants, and the precise measurement of the strength of the antagonistic forces in a colonial society might emerge from this interaction. To do justice to the complex profile of the African worker is both empirically and conceptually a formidable task. But in order to take a step towards this direction, we must first discard our own Procrustean bedstead.

The final point I wish to suggest, although much has been missing in these pages, is that the years immediatedly after the First World War deserve special attention from historians. The period seems to mark a watershed in Zimbabwean history. The war situation of 1914-18 made social changes taking place under colonial rule less visible. All of sudden, however, they, together with the impact of the war itself, came to surface after 1918. Through such themes as industrial action, voluntary associations, popular cultural expression, location protest, élite politics--and perhaps many others themes, both urban and rural--one enters a new historical terrain, from which the relatively familiar landscape of the mid-century is not very distant.

APPENDIX AFRICAN INDUSTRIAL PROTEST (AND CRIMINAL CASES OF 'REFUSING TO OBEY'), NOV. 1918–DEC. 1921

	TOWNS (AND MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS)						MINES
	Bulawayo	Gwelo	Que Que	Gatooma	Salisbury	Umtali	
1918							Nov, Strike Globe & Phoenix
1919	July Strike Railway	(Mar, 4 Accused)	(May 3 Accused) July Strike Railway 13 Arrests	(June 3 Accused) (Aug, 3 Accused)	(May 3 Accused) Aug, Strike Municipal 13 Arrests (Oct, 11 Accused) (Oct, 3 Accused)	(July 5 Accused)	Mar, Strike Sanitary Workers Wankie
	? Strike Municipal ? (Dec, 4 Accused)	(Nov, 3 Accused) Dec, Unrest Municipal		(Nov, 3 Accused) Dec, Strike Municipal 11 Arrests (Dec, 3 Accused) (Dec, 15 Accused)		Dec, Strike Municipal 34 Arrests	
1920	(Jan, 12 Accused)						Jan, Unrest Bushtick Jan, Store Boycott Shamva

	TOWNS (AND MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS)						MINES
	Bulawayo	Gwelo	Que Que	Gatooma	Salisbury	Umtali	
		(Mar, 5 Accused)					
		(Mar, 4 Accused)					
	(Apr, 3 Accused)						
	(May, 13 Accused)						
			(June 3 Accused)		(June 3 Accused)	(June 6 Accused)	
1920		(Aug, 22 Accused)					
		(Sep, 3 Accused)					
				(Oct, 3 Accused)			
				(Oct, 3 Accused)			
			(Dec, 3 Accused)		(Dec, 12 Accused)		
	Jan, Strike Municipal 103 Arrests						
	(Feb, 5 Accused)				Feb, Strike Ricksha Pullers		
					(Mar, 3 Accused)		
1921					(Mar, 3 Accused)		
			(Apr, 7 Accused)	(Apr, 8 Accused)	(Apr, 3 Accused)		
	(May 3 Accused)						
	(June 4 Accused)						
	(July 4 Accused)						
	(July 3 Accused)						
	(Aug, 3 Accused)						
	(Sep, 3 Accused)				(Sep, 3 Accused)		Sep, Strike Wankie

TOWNS (AND MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS)						MINES
Bulawayo	Gwelo	Que Que	Gatooma	Salisbury	Umtali	
	(Nov, 10 Accused)		(Nov, 6 Accused)			
		(Dec, 5 Accused)	(Dec, 11 Accused)	(Dec, 7 Accused)		

SOURCE: (1) *The Bulawayo Chronicle*, 15, 16, 17 and 18 July, 1 and 8 Aug., 5 Dec. 1919; 29 Jan. 1921. *The Rhodesia Herald*, 16 July, 7 Aug. and 5 Dec. 1919; 4 Feb. 1921. *Rhodesia Advertiser*, 2 and 8 Dec. 1919. *The Gwelo Times*, 5 Dec. 1919.
(2) D/4 (District Courts: Criminal Registers), 1/34, case 3796, 1919; case 257, 1920. D/4/1/35, cases 1217-19, 1487-99, 1920. D/4/1/39, cases 229-331, 630-4, 1921. D/4/1/40, cases 1484-6, 2034-5, 2065-8, 2096-8, 2152-4, 2725-7, 1921. D/4/20/8, cases 168-71, 633-5, 1919. D/4/20/9, cases 158-62, 187-90, 483-504, 585-7, 1920. D/4/20/10, cases 1016-25, 1921. D/4/30/5, cases 287-9, 467-79, 1919. D/4/30/6, cases 427-9, 894-6, 1920; cases 231-7, 1921. D/4/30/7, cases 809-13, 1921. D/4/17/7, cases 552-4, 656-8, 1919. D/4/17/8, cases 955-7, 975-86, 1016-18, 1033-47, 1919; cases 702-4, 743-5, 1920. D/4/17/9, cases 333-40, 967-72, 1112-22, 1921. D/4/7/23, cases 1097-9, 1919. D/4/7/24, cases 1601-13, 1985-95, 2169-71, 1919. D/4/7/26, cases 1498-1500, 1920. D/4/7/28, cases 3125-36, 1920; cases 763-5, 795-7, 1048-50, 2194-6, 3268-74, 1921. D/4/3/12, cases 677, 1137, 1919; case 546A, 1920.
(3) N/9/1/22, Annual Report of Native Comm., Bulawayo, for 1919.
(4) I.R. Phimister, 'The Shamva mine strike of 1927: An emerging African proletariat', *Rhodesian History*, II (1971), 67-8.
C. van Onselen, *Chibaro* (London, 1976), 222-3.

NOTE: (1) The cases of 'refusing to obey'--the contravention of (6), 1, Chap. IV, the Masters and Servants Ordinance (No. 5 of 1901) as amended--as indicated by ( ), are taken from criminal registers, when more than three persons were brought up at the magistrate's court at one time. They are arranged according to magisterial districts. Thus, not all the prisoners shown here were Africans employed in towns. For example, the five accused at the Bulawayo district court in February 1921 and the fifteen at the Gatooma district court in December 1919 were farm labourers and wood cutters respectively. Similarly, some others were mine labourers.
(2) The precise date of the Bulawayo municipal strike that took place after the railway strike of July 1919 is not known. It is possible that the incident was the same as either the case of December 1919 or the case of January 1920 in Bulawayo in the above list.

NOTES

1. A few scholars, however, have noticed signs of the radicalization of African workers after 1918. See for example E. Lee, 'The trade union movement in Rhodesia, 1910-1924', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, VIII (1974), 224-5; C. van Onselen, *Chibaro* (London, 1976), 221-4.
2. [*The*] *Rhod*[*esia*] *Her*[*ald*], 12 Apr. 1895.
3. See correspondence in National Archives of Zimbabwe, Harare, N/3/33/2. Unless otherwise indicated, all documentary references hereafter are to the above Archives. The long-term trends in African wages are analysed in P. Mosley, *The Settler Economies* (Cambridge, 1983), 114-19.
4. S[outhern] R[hodesia], *Report of* [*the*] *C*[*hief*] *N*[*ative*] *C*[*ommissioner*] for the Year 1919 (Sess. Paps, A2, 1920) 2; N/3/33/2, N[ative] C[ommissioner], Goromonzi, to Supt of Natives, Salisbury, 2 Nov. 1920.
5. See D.J. Murray, *The Governmental System in Southern Rhodesia* (London, 1970), chap. 7; Lee, 'The trade union movement', 215-37; I.R. Phimister, 'White miners in historical perspective: Southern Rhodesia, 1890-1953', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, III (1976-7), 187-206.
6. S.R., *Report of C.N.C. for the Year 1918* (Sess. Paps, A4, 1919), 7.
7. *Rhod. Her.*, 27 Dec. 1918.
8. Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 222-3.
9. [*The*] *Bul*[*awayo*] *Chron*[*icle*], 16 and 18 July 1919. See also ibid., 5 July 1919; *Rhod. Her.*, 16 July 1919.
10. *Bul. Chron.*, 16 July 1919.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 18 July 1919.
13. Ibid., 1 Aug. 1919; D/4/30/5, cases 467-79 of 1919.
14. *Rhod. Her.*, 6 Aug. 1919.
15. Ibid., 7 Aug. 1919.
16. Ibid.; D/4/7/24, cases 1601-13 of 1919.
17. See note 70 below.
18. N/9/1/22, Report of N.C., Bulawayo, for 1919.
19. *Rhod. Her.*, 5 Dec. 1919.
20. Ibid.; *Rhodesia Advertiser*, 2 Dec. 1919; D/4/3/11, case 1137 of 1919; *Bul. Chron.*, 5 Dec. 1919; D/4/17/8, cases 975-86 of 1919.
21. *Rhodesia Advertiser*, 8 Dec. 1919; *The Gwelo Times*, 5 Dec. 1919.
22. *Bul. Chron.*, 26 Sep. 1919.
23. Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 223.
24. S.R., *Report of C.N.C. for the Year 1919*, 1. See also I.R. Phimister, 'The Shamva mine strike of 1927: An emerging African proletariat', *Rhodesian History*, II (1971), 67-8.
25. *Bul. Chron.*, 22 May 1920.
26. Ibid., 29 Jan. 1921; D/4/1/39, cases 229-331 of 1921.
27. Van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 223.
28. *Rhod. Her.*, 4 Feb. 1921.
29. See for example ibid., 18 Nov. 1922.
30. Ibid., 21 Jan. 1921. See also the ricksha cases in the criminal register, D/4/7/28.

31. D/4/7/24, cases of 1985-95, 2169-71 of 1919; D/4/17/8, cases of 1033-47, 1083 of 1919.
32. For the early African strikes, see Phimister, 'The Shamva mine strike', 65.
33. *Rhod. Her.*, 30 Dec. 1921.
34. See for instance N/9/1/22, Report of N.C., Bulawayo, for 1919.
35. S.R., *Report of C.N.C. for the Year 1927* (Sess. Paps, C.S.R. 18, 1928), 5; Phimister, 'The Shamva mine strike', 68-9.
36. N/9/1/22, Report of N.C., Bulawayo, for 1919.
37. *Rhod. Her.*, 17 Feb. 1928.
38. Ibid. 1 Dec. 1919.
39. Lee, 'The trade union movement', 230.
40. *Bul. Chron.*, 15 July 1919.
41. N/9/1/23, Report of N.C., Umtali, for 1920.
42. A. Turner, 'The growth of railway unionsim in the Rhodesias, 1944-55', in R. Sandbrook and R. Cohen (eds.), *The Development of an African Working Class* (London, 1975), 77.
43. *Bul. Chron.*, 17 July 1919.
44. *Rhod. Her.*, 24 June 1901.
45. *Bul. Chron.*, 29 Jan. 1921.
46. D/4/17/8, cases of 975-86 of 1919.
47. *Rhodesia Advertiser*, 2 Dec. 1919; *Rhod. Her.*, 5 Dec. 1919.
48. *Rhod. Her.*, 5 Dec. 1919.
49. Very illustrative on this point is the case of a 1935 labour protest by Bulawayo municipal workers. In that dispute over 300 workers threatened to 'go to gaol', saying: 'if one of us is to be dismissed then we all wish to go to prison and be placed under arrest'. 'For fear of further trouble', the employer 'adopted a concilliatory approach to the strikers'. See S. Thornton, 'Municipal employment in Bulawayo, 1895-1935: An assessment of differing forms of proletarianisation', in *Southern Africa Research in Progress*, 4 (Univ. of York, Centre for Southern African Studies, 1979), 134-5. Yet another similar incident was recorded at the Salisbury magistrate's court in 1923, when fifty-four mine workers, found guilty of having refused to return to work, elected to be imprisoned: *Rhod. Her.*, 11 Aug. 1923; D/4/7/33, case 2841 of 1923.
50. According to *Bul. Chron.*, 8 Aug. 1919, 'many [of the strikers were] connected with the Sanitary Department'.
51. LG/47/19, T[own] C[lerk, Salisbury], to Secr., Adm[inistrator]'s Dep., 7 Sept. 1911. The term Tonga or Zambesi is used rather loosely in this study, refering to the peoples living at Monze and its adjacent areas in North-Western Rhodesia. Before c.1900, however, the Africans coming from the Zambezi valley in the Portuguese territories were referred to as 'Zambesis'.
52. For a recent account of the early Tonga plateau see M. Dixon-Fyle, 'Agricultural improvement and political protest on the Tonga plateau, Northern Rhodesia', *Journal of African History*, XVIII (1977), 579-82.
53. Until early 1898 the municipal labour force had been largely drawn from the local Africans and occasionally supplemented by the Shangaans, etc. (LG/47/1, O.H. Ogilvie, Sanitary Insp. to Board of Management, 17 Mar. 1892; *Rhod. Her.*, 12 Jan. 1894, 16 Feb. and 31 Aug. 1898). By 1903, however, a vast majority of

the municipal employees were Tongas (LG/38, Answers to a Comm. appointed by the Chamber of Mines, Transvaal, Aug. 1903).

54. For wage rates for municipal workers, see LG/38, Answers to a Comm. appointed by the Chamber of Mines, Transvaal, Aug. 1903; LG/52/25/2, Town Engineer to Mayor and Councillors, 5 Jan. 1903; LG/47/13, T.C. to Curator, Public Gardens, 9 Sept. 1904; LG/52/6/1, Report by the Compound Manager ..., 6 Oct. 1911; LG/52/6/4, Town Engineer to T.C., 15 June 1922.
55. LG/52/25/3, Sanitary Insp. to T.C., 6 Oct. 1915. See also R. Parry, 'Murder, Migrants and the Salisbury Municipality, 1907-1912' (unpub. paper, June 1983), 10-11.
56. LG/52/6/1, Ranger to T.C., 17 May 1915; LG/52/6/2, W. Wardley to T.C., 7 Jan. 1920.
57. LG/38, Answers to a Comm. appointed by the Chamber of Mines, Transvaal, Aug. 1903.
58. Ibid.
59. Thornton, 'Municipal employment in Bulawayo', especially 137-8. Thornton, assuming that a 1935 protest by the Tonga municipal employees of Bulawayo was 'the first "major" (recorded) industrial dispute in Bulawayo' (ibid., 135), presented a model of the militant Tonga worker. In this model he attributed the militancy of the Tonga workers to 'the unique interaction of ethnic/cultural identification, the compound system of accommodation, and the nature of the jobs performed' (ibid., 144). However, as this study has shown, his assumption is erroneous. The urban strike record of the colony was much more complicated than Thornton suggested, and so one cannot easily say which ethnic group was particularly prone to act collectively, perhaps except that both the railway and municipal workers were relatively militant. This seems to suggest that 'behaviour' cannot be explained solely in terms of 'structure'.
60. Dixon-Fyle, 'Agricultural improvement', 582-3. See also idem, 'The Seventh Day Adventists (S.D.A) in the protest politics of the Tonga plateau, Northern Rhodesia', *African Social Research*, 26 (1978); K.P. Vickery, 'The Making of a Peasantry: Imperialism and the Tonga Plateau Economy, 1890-1936' (Yale Univ., Ph.D. thesis, 1978).
61. *Rhod. Her.*, 14 Dec. 1910.
62. S.R., *Report of the Director of Census ... 1911* (Sess. Paps, A7, 1912), Table C.
63. *Rhod. Her.*, 20 May 1909; D/4/7/12, cases 583-94 of 1909.
64. LG/47/19, T.C. to Secr., Native Affairs, Livingstone, 9 Sept. 1911.
65. LG/52/6/1, Compound Manager to T.C., 14 Oct. 1910.
66. LG/52/6/1, Compound Manager to T.C., 30 Apr. 1912.
67. For the use of Angoni labour see D/3/5/34, case 1725 of 1913.
68. LG/52/6/2, W. Wardley to T.C., 7 Jan. and 12 Apr. 1920.
69. D/4/7/24, case 1432 of 1919.
70. LG/52/6/2, Town Engineer to T.C., 1 May 1920; ibid., W. Wardley to T.C., 10 May 1920.
71. R. Peaden, 'The contribution of the Epworth Mission settlement to African development', in T.O. Ranger and J. Weller (eds.), *Themes in the Christian History of Central Africa* (Berkeley, 1975), 135-51. See also correspondence in N/3/21/5; J.R.

Hooker, 'Welfare associations and other instruments of accommodation in the Rhodesias between the World Wars', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, IX (1966-7), 51-63.

72. The rules of the RNA can be found in City of Harare, Town Clerk's Departmental Files, Box 14207, Location No. 26/7/9F, Jacket 1, Location Supt to T.C., 11 Oct. 1927. Cf., J. van Velsen, 'Some early pressure groups in Malawi', in E. Stokes and R. Brown (eds.), *The Zambesian Past* (Manchester, 1966), 376-412.
73. *Rhod. Her.*, 25 July 1921. For the activities of South African Blacks, see further N/3/7/2, W.S. Taberer, Supt of Natives, Salisbury, to C.N.C., 30 Mar. 1914; *Rhod. Her.*, 6 Dec. 1922; correspondence in N/3/21/6; T.O. Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia* (London, 1970), 88-109.
74. R.R. Willcox, *Report on a Venereal Diseases Survey of the African in Southern Rhodesia* (Salisbury, 1949), 41.
75. LG/52/6/1, Location Supt to T.C., 3 Mar. 1914; LG/47/44, T.C. to T.C., Umtali, 15 Feb. 1927; correspondence in S235/392.
76. LG/52/6/2, Location Supt to T.C., 7 June 1920; *Rhod. Her.*, 28 June 1920.
77. See note 95 below.
78. Town missions organized football games as a method to attract African workers from the very beginnig. St. Michael's mission (Anglican), Salisbury, set up an 'officially recognized' football ground, the first of its kind, in 1909: LG/38, E.J. Parker to T.C., 27 Aug. 1909; LG/47/17, T.C. to E.J. Parker, 28 Oct. 1909. Philip Mukasa, one of the first Shona students who went to the Nenguwo Training Institute (Wesleyan), was drawn into membership of the Wesleyan Church through a football team in c.1900, when he was working in Salisbury: R. Peaden, 'Nenguwo Training Institution and the first Shona teachers', in J.A. Dachs (ed.), *Christianity South of the Zambezi, 1* (Gwelo, 1973), 74.
79. *Rhod. Her.*, 14 July 1923.
80. S1542/S12, 'A Study of Reacreation for Urban Natives, with special reference to Boxing among Natives in Salisbury', in R. Howman, N.C., Salisbury, to Secr. for Native Affairs, 29 June 1939
81. LG/52/6/2, Location Supt to T.C., 31 May 1920.
82. T. Yoshikuni, 'The Origins and Development of the Salisbury Municipal Location: A Study of Municipal Control of African Workers in Colonial Harare, 1892-c.1923' (Univ. of Zimbabwe, Hist. Dep., Henderson Seminar Paper, 1984), 27-33.
83. N/3/20/2, W.S. Taberer to C.N.C., 3 Jan. 1919.
84. LG/42/14, H.J. Taylor, C.N.C., to T.C., 1 Dec. 1920.
85. *Rhod. Her.*, 11 Jan. 1921. See also D/4/7/28, cases 80-95 of 1921.
86. *The African Weekly*, 19 Oct. 1955.
87. See correspondence in N/3/21/2 and S138/10.
88. Location Supt's Report, in Municipality of Salisbury, *Minute of his Worship the Mayor For the Year ended 31st July 1920* (Salisbury, 1920); hereafter cited as *Mayor's Minute* with mayoral year.
89. In addition to notes 86 and 87 above, see *Rhod. Her.*, 12, 17, 27, 31 Jan. 1920; 28, 29 Aug. 1923; LG/52/6/2, Location Supt to

T.C., 31 Dec. 1920; correspondence and reports in S715/1; D/3/5/78, case 3281 of 1927. Aspects of the postwar societies were dealt with in the context of mine labour in Phimister, 'The Shamva mine strike', 81-3; van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 198-204.

90. S715/1, R. Moorhead, Detective Sgt, to A.D.S., C.I.D., Salisbury, 1 July 1917. Since it was a secret society, Chinyao did not come under official supervison and caused much anxiety and suspicion among the powers that be. Thus, the Location Superintendent expelled the dance from the location by 1922, when they had fights with non-members: LG/52/6/3, Location Supt to T.C., 30 May 1922.
91. This paragraph is based on D/3/5/49, case 2624 of 1919.
92. Yoshikuni, 'Salisbury Municipal Location', 33-4. See also *Bul. Chron.*, 25 Oct. 1918.
93. *Rhod. Her.*, 25 May 1918 and 8 Jan. 1919.
94. N/3/20/3, H.J. Taylor, C.N.C., to Staff Officer, Salisbury, 27 Jan. 1922.
95. *Rhod. Her.*, 12 Jan. 1920. For a sociological study of the Beni-Kalela dance on the Copperbelt, see J.C. Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance* (Manchester, 1956); for a comprehensive and historical study of Beni, T.O. Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa 1890-1970* (London, 1975).
96. N/3/21/4, Secr., Rhodesia Chamber of Mines, to H.J. Taylor, C.N.C., 7 Aug. 1922.
97. For the Atonga society, see D/3/5/78, case 3281 of 1927.
98. P. McLaughlin, 'Collaborators, Mercenaries or Patriots? The "Problems" of African Soldiers in Southern Rhodesia during the First and Second World Wars' (Univ. of Rhodesia, Hist. Dep., Henderson Seminar Paper No. 47, 11 May 1979), 4-10.
99. In 1922 the Superintendent of Natives, Salisbury, stated that 'nothing is known of the movement [organized drill] in these parts': N/3/21/4, W.S. Taberer to C.N.C., 17 Aug. 1922.
100. *Rhod. Her.*, 27 Aug. 1910. W. Schwab has shown that in Gwelo more than half of the Africans he surveyed had come to work in that town because they had kinship connections there: Schwab, 'Social stratification in Gwelo', in A. Southall (ed.), *Social Change in Modern Africa* (London, 1961), 130.
101. AOH/47, H. Dzvairo, Interview by D. Munjeri, 30 Jan. 1979.
102. AOH/56, P.G. Pazarangu, Interview by D. Munjeri, 24, 29 May, 12 June 1979.
103. Ibid.
104. LG/47/19, T.C. to Secr., Adm.'s Dep., 7 Sept. 1911.
105. LG/38, I. Smith to Sub-Insp., S.R. Constabulary, Salisbury, 18 July 1909.
106. LG/38, M. Thompson to T.C., 16 Oct. 1912.
107. T. Yoshikuni, 'The 1911 census and the African workers in Harare: A historical demography', *Zimbabwean History*, XIII (forthcoming). Another reason for such ethnic clustering was that employers themselves often encouraged this practice with a view to better labour management. In some cases employers' preference for certain ethnic groups was a paramount factor in determining occupational concentrations, as the police were associated with Angoni, particularly Muslim ones, and the government messengers with sons of local chiefs.

108. Ranger, *Dance and Society*, 136.
109. *Rhod. Her.*, 12 Jan. 1920.
110. Ibid.
111. S138/10, Memo., 'The Condition of Salisbury Association' by Governor Antonio, 10 Dec. 1923; partly quoted in van Onselen, *Chibaro*, 202.
112. LG/52/6/2, Location Supt to T.C., 31 Dec. 1920. See also N/3/23/2, F. Stephens, Major, Chief Comm. of Police, Zomba, [to C.N.C.?], 27 July 1921.
113. S138/10, Asst N.C., Shamva, to N.C., Mazoe, 2 Jan. 1924; quoted in Phimister, 'The Shamva mine strike', 83.
114. *Rhod. Her.*, 24 Jan. 1921, printed a report on one of the 'pompous' funerals organized by town Africans:

> An unusual sight was witnessed in town on Friday afternoon when the funeral of a Shangaan native who had died the day previously, passed through the streets. A hearse had been requisitioned, mounted upon which, besides the driver, were two of the nearest relations of the dead man. Following the cortege were about 80 natives, amongst whom were the chief mourners, who supplied ... music upon reed pipes, interspersing the ... tune with lamentable groans. A peculiar custom of the Shangaan tribe forbids all the relatives of a dead man to partake in any dance of any kind for six months after the burial.

115. Location Supt's Reports, in *Mayor's Minutes 1919-20 and 1920-21*.
116. Mitchell, *The Kalela Dance*, 8.
117. *Rhod. Her.*, 7 Feb. 1928: S715/1, Statement by T.A. Wright, 20 Sept. 1926. However, it is also worth noting that even this rigorously traditional group had undergone important changes, when transplanted in town. Original Chinyao performed two major functions, viz. conducting initiation and funeral rites, in a rural society. But for obvious reasons, stated D. Saidi, a Ngoni detective, in 1926, 'There is no initiation ceremony in Salisbury'. And 'a native who joins has to pay money to the man who organises the first dance which he attends', which means that Salisbury Chinyao was to all intents and purposes a voluntary association. Consequently, its membership had become less restrictive, although 'Achewa and Achepeta are the two tribes who go in for the Zinyawo dance' in Salisbury; as the same Ngoni detective went on to say: 'I do not join in the dance, but I sometimes watch'. Originally 'the dances held at night time are usually done naked', but this trait seems to have disappeared in town. The urban mode of Chinyao was further different from its parent body. In a crowded urban situation they had to defend the secrecy of their society. According to Saidi, 'In Nyasaland there are no gaurds placed around the dancers as the other natives know that they are not allowed to go near. In Salisbury guards are placed around the dancers ... because the local natives are inquisitive'. See S715/1, Statement by D. Saidi, 13 May 1926.

The picture given here does not reveal much of the internal

logic and order of urban Chinyao: we don't know, for example, how a judicial system dealing with criminal cases as practiced in rural areas was operative in town. But it will be seen such features of urban Chinyao as organized dance in leisure time, the payment of a membership fee, the function of arranging a funeral make it remarkably resemble other apparently urbane associations. *The modus operandi* of Chinyao in Salisbury seems to be very similar to that of Butwa in early Elisabethville, discussed in Bruce Fetter, 'African associations in Elisabethville, 1910-1935: Their origins and development', *Etudes d'Histoire africaine*, VI (1974), 206-10. For the Malawian background of Chinyao or Nyau, see above all M. Schoffeleers and I. Linden, 'The resistence of the Nyau societies to the Roman Catholic Missions in colonial Malawi', in T.O. Ranger and I.N. Kimambo (eds.), *The Historical Study of African Religion* (London, 1972), 252-73; M. Schoffeleers, 'The Nyau societies: Our present understanding', *The Society of Malawi Journal*, I, 29 (Jan. 1976), 59-68.

118. See correspondence in N/3/21/2 and S138/10.
119. D/3/5/49, case 2624 of 1919. For the murder case, see Parry, 'Murder, Migrants ...'.
120. D/3/5/78, case 3281 of 1927; *Rhod. Her.*, 23 Sept. 1927.
121. *Rhod. Her.*, 12 Jan. 1920.
122. Ibid., 4 Feb. 1927; AOH/14, Aaron Jacha, Interview by D. Munjeri, 14 July 1977.
123. *Rhod. Her.*, 12 Jan. 1920.
124. S138/10, Asst N.C., Shamva, to N.C., Mazoe, 2 Jan. 1924.
125. N/3/21/4, Supt of Natives, Gwelo, to C.N.C., 16 Aug. 1922.
126. Ibid., Secr., Rhodesia Chamber of Mines, to C.N.C., 7 Aug. 1922.
127. Location Supt's Report, in *Mayor's Minute 1920-21*.
128. For example, in a 'faction fight' that took place near the location in 1922 and resulted in the death of one person both Chinyao associates (Chipeta) and members of the Angoni community were involved: D/3/5/57, cases 1398 and 1596 of 1922; LG/52/6/4, Location Supt to T.C., 30 May 1922.
129. My interview with T.C. Shato Nyakauru at his home in Mbare, Harare, 18 Apr. 1985. For the burial and other benefit schemes of later trade unions, see for example: The Jesuit Archives, Harare, Personal Files, A. Burbridge, File 1, C. Mzingeli, Secr., Independent I.C.U., to Pope Pius XI, 11 Sept. 1934; R. Riddell, 'The Salisbury Municipal Workers' Union: A case study', *Rhodesian Journal of Economics*, VII (1973), 1 and 27-9.
130. *The African Weekly*, 23 Oct. 1946.

APPENDIX 2 Definition of skills

(1) Unskilled labour

(a) Definition:

Jobs requiring only from one to a few days induction. The tasks are essentially repetitive, involving mostly manual effort from light duties to heavy physical tasks.

(b) Type of positions:

General labourer - cleaner - sweeper - loader - teamaker - packer - warehouse labourer - watchman - etc. ...

(2) Lower Semi-Skilled Jobs

(a) Definition:

Positions requiring the acquisition of elementary skills which the worker exercises on his own. There is not very much scope for initiative. Decisions are characterised by the use of simple check lists.

(b) Type of positions:

Mechanic attendant, mechanic and artisan assistant, office messenger, machine operator (learner) - plant greaser - production assembler (inexperienced) - learner bookbinder - fireman/stoker - induna or bossboy, or any person in charge of unskilled labour, etc. ...

(3) Higher Semi-Skilled Jobs

(a) Definition:

Positions requiring the acquisition of elementary skills which the worker exercises on his own. There is not very much scope for initiative. Decisions are characterised by the use of simple check lists.

(b) Type of positions:

Motor car driver - forklift driver - crane driver - scooter driver - production assembler (experienced) - chargehand, overseer in charge of lower semi-skilled and unskilled labour, etc. ...

(4) Lower Skilled Jobs

(a) Definition:

People without theoretical-technical background performing similar jobs as in the higher skilled category; people in a stage of not having finished their theoretical studies; for these positions some initiative and interpretation of instructions around some basic skills is required.

(b) Type of positions:

Apprentices (printer - carpenter - mechanic etc. ...) - laboratory assistant - handyman - heavy duty driver - sales van driver - storeman or warehouseman (manual) - section chargehand in charge of a production line - people supervising higher semi-skilled positions and positions at lower levels, etc. ...

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Source "Productivity and Wage Negotiation Survey 1971-2".